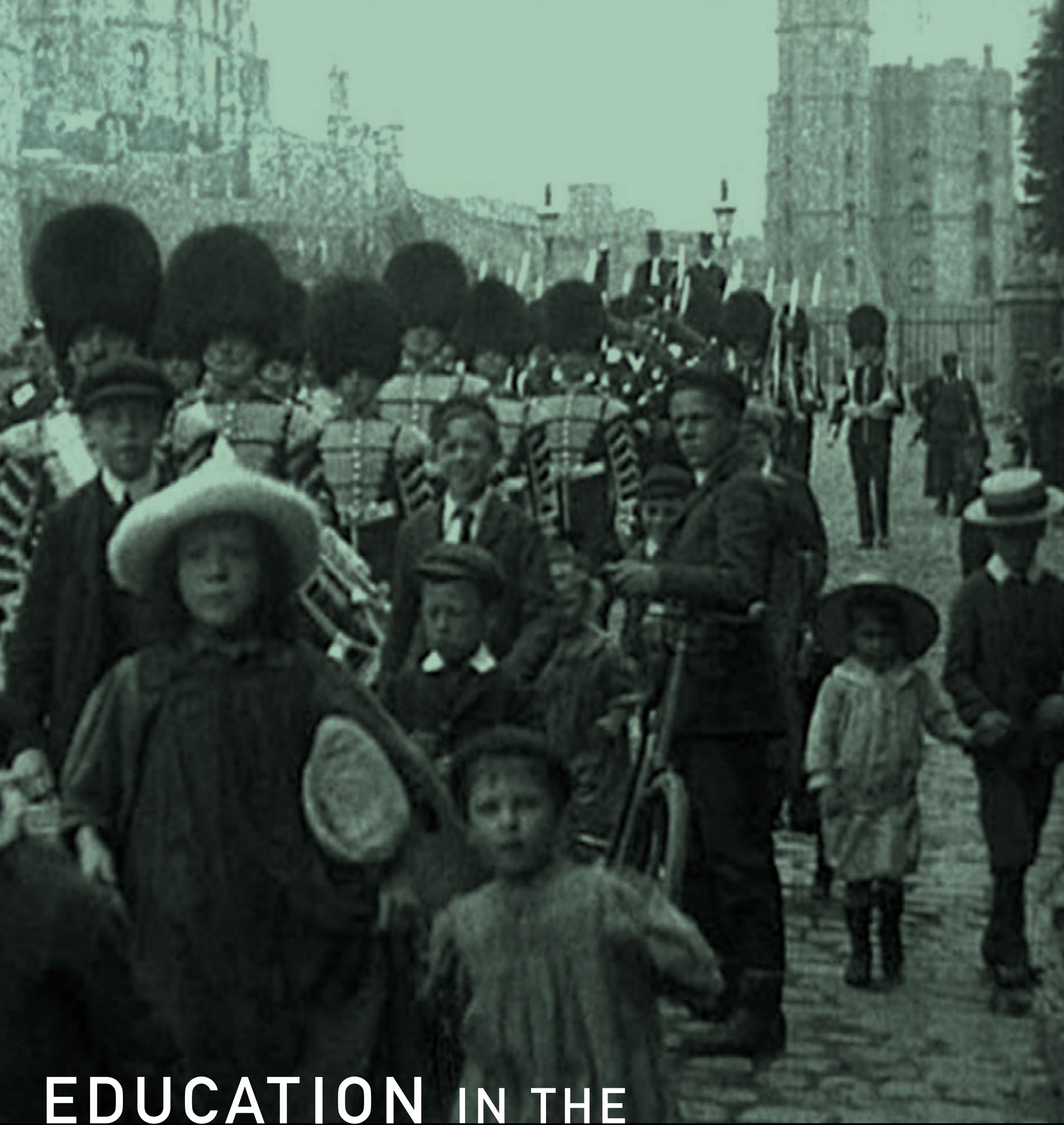

EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL OF DREAMS

Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film

JENNIFER LYNN PETERSON

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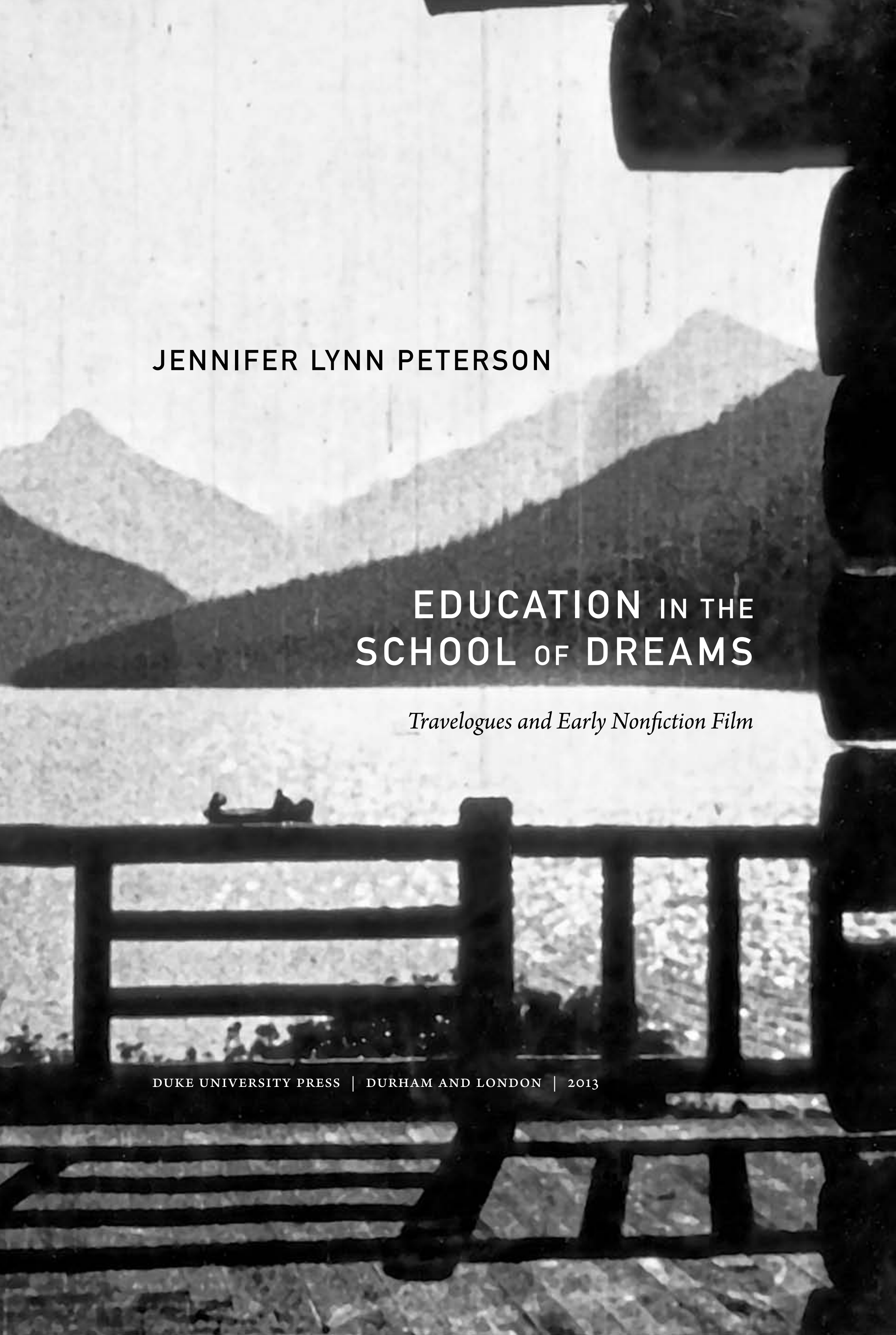

JENNIFER LYNN PETERSON

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Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film

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FOR CHRISTOPHER

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PREFACE

One of the most famous scenes of cinematic travel takes place in Max Ophüls's melodrama *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948). The film is set in Vienna in the early twentieth century, and in the scene, the film's young female protagonist, Lisa, is out on her first and only evening with the famous pianist Stefan Brand, who takes her to an amusement park modeled after the real Wurstelprater in Vienna's Wiener Prater park. Lisa is played by Joan Fontaine, then one of the most important stars at Universal Pictures, and Stefan is played by Louis Jourdan, a French actor newly arrived in Hollywood who was being groomed as a European leading man in the manner of Charles Boyer. The two characters sit in a stationary train car while a painted landscape panorama passes by the window (fig. P.1). As Lisa speaks of her father, a crudely painted landscape of Venice scrolls past, followed by Switzerland: "When my father was alive, we traveled a lot. We went nearly everywhere. We had wonderful times." Stefan, the more experienced of the two, leans in, saying, "Perhaps we've been to some of the same places." As Lisa continues to speak about visiting Rio de Janeiro, we realize from her facetious tone of voice that her travels resemble the painted backdrop passing by: they are imaginary. She soon 'fesses up: "Well, there weren't any trips. Do you mind? You see, my father had a friend in a travel bureau. My father worked across the street. He was an assistant superintendent of municipal waterworks, and he used to bring folders home with him with pictures on them. We had stacks of them. And in the evening, he would put on his traveling coat. That's what he called it. Of course, I was very young."

In this story of Lisa's childhood love for her dead father, imaginary travel serves as a playful escape from the dreariness of everyday life. In the present tense of the scene between Lisa and Stefan, the imaginary travel of the train

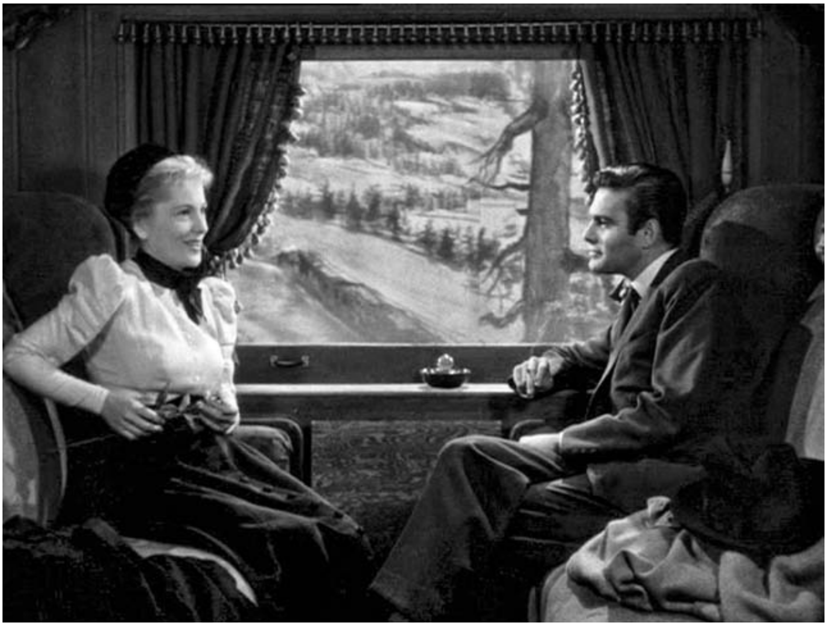

FIGURE P.1 Frame enlargement, *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (Max Ophüls, 1948). Courtesy Universal Studios Licensing LLC. All rights reserved.

car serves as a setting for love and desire — both the narration of Lisa's love for her father and the enactment of her desire for Stefan. As the moving panorama of Switzerland comes to an end, the camera holds on a shot outside the closed train compartment door for several seconds, discreetly evoking the erotic encounter taking place inside, until Stefan emerges to pay the ticket taker for another ride. "Where haven't we been?" he asks the old woman in the booth. "We have no more countries left," she replies. "Then we'll begin all over again," he proclaims, handing the woman a coin. "We'll revisit the scenes of our youth."

The film makes much of the mechanical apparatus and workers powering the moving panorama: the ticket taker, the old man pedaling a rickety bicycle that powers the panorama, the raising and lowering of new landscape backdrops — all are documented with relish by Ophüls's renowned fluid camera. Yet to Lisa within the train compartment, these mechanics appear uninteresting. She resides in the realm of make-believe travel and fantasy love (later giving birth to Stefan's child without telling him about it), fully aware of the mythical status of her experience but stubbornly clinging nonetheless to the fantasy that fuels her most powerful emotions.

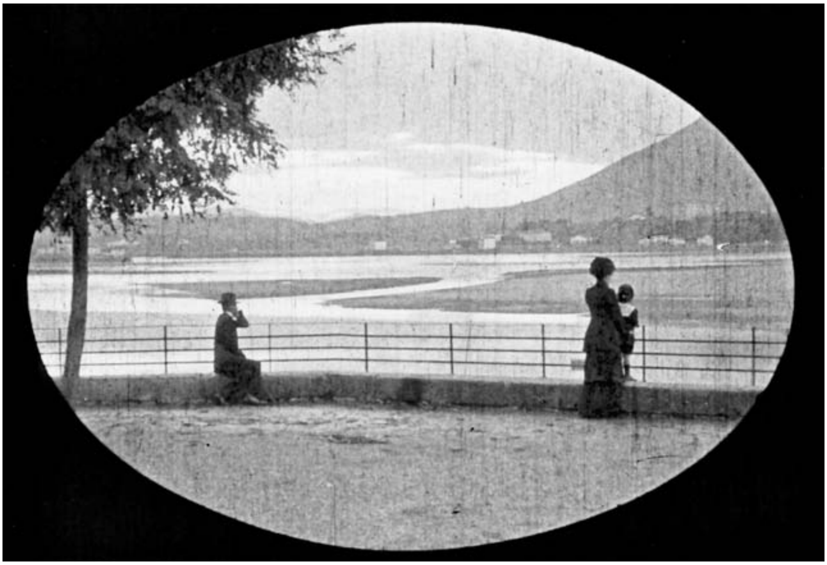

FIGURE P.2 Frame enlargement, *Under Basque Skies* (Eclipse, 1913). Courtesy EYE Film Institute Netherlands.

The scene enacts the fantasy dimension of cinematic travel in several ways at once. Not only are two kinds of imaginary travel represented in the scene — that from Lisa's childhood and that of the moving panorama train ride — but the film itself provides a form of imaginary travel for the spectator. *Letter* shows us turn-of-the-century Vienna (represented on a Universal Studios soundstage) from the vantage point of postwar Hollywood, thus inviting the film's spectators to enjoy a kind of time travel along with cinema's intrinsic quality of spatial travel. All of these dimensions are clear, but the specificity of the scene has more insight to offer. For Lisa, imaginary travel (and fantasy love) are more powerful, more moving than actual travel (and an actual relationship). What matters in this melodrama is emotional, not physical, movement. Yet travel — physical, material, geographic travel — provides a means of accessing that emotional movement: travel becomes a metaphor for desire.

Now consider a nonfiction travel film, made roughly around the time in which *Letter*'s story is set: *Sous le ciel Basque* (*Under Basque Skies*), made by the French film company Eclipse in 1913 (fig. P.2). On the surface, nothing could be more different. *Under Basque Skies* is a nonfiction film; it features no stars or even any professional actors. It does not tell a story; instead, it presents a series of disjunctive views of the Basque region of France and

Spain: fishermen, a few towns, a bridge, a train, and a few moving cityscape shots of San Sebastian, which was already a popular resort town in the opening years of the twentieth century. It is a short film, running approximately five minutes. And it is a film from the silent era, which means that when it was originally shown, it would have featured live sound accompaniment (music, or perhaps a lecture) that has not been preserved.

Everyone involved in the production of *Under Basque Skies* is anonymous, from the director and the cameraman to the people depicted in the film. In contrast, *Letter* is a famous masterwork by a revered auteur, Max Ophüls. An impressive list of renowned Hollywood studio personnel worked on *Letter*: John Houseman (producer), Howard Koch (screenplay), Franz Planer (camera), Alexander Golitzen (art director), Travis Banton (costumes). The production of *Letter* has been well documented, and we know that Ophüls himself was responsible for the mock train-ride scene: "Out of his own memories of Vienna came ideas for new scenes such as the one in which the lovers appear to be traveling together in a train compartment, gazing out the window at the exotic, foreign scenery which turns out later to be merely a rotating backdrop in one of the amusement concessions in Vienna's Prada [Prater]."[1] *Letter* is regularly shown in film classes and public screening series and occupies an important place in film history.[2] *Basque*, on the other hand, has been available only in film archives until very recently and remains mostly unseen by the general viewing public. (The Library of Congress lately made its print available for online viewing and downloading, which opens the film to a theoretically vast audience—although it still lacks the renown that would lead viewers to seek it out.[3]) In sum, *Letter* is a well-known text in the film history canon, while *Basque* is an anonymous film.

Both *Letter* and *Basque* are concerned with representing travel, and each provides significant insights about the phenomenon of voyaging in film. On the simplest level, both films provide the spectator with a perceptual experience of motionless travel, and each provides a commentary of sorts on travel as a phenomenon. More important, both films construct travel as a kind of setting for desire, but they do so in different ways. Based only on the two frame enlargements provided here (see figs. P.1 and P.2), one can see that *Basque* captures a melancholy sensibility that seems to emanate from the scenery itself (emphasized further by the distance between the two adult figures who survey the landscape), whereas the melancholy pathos of *Letter* is conveyed not by the clearly artificial landscapes (which create a rather jovial mood) but by the film's story and the actors' performances.

Yet despite the differences between the representational strategies of fiction and nonfiction (not to mention the thirty-five years of changing film style that lie between them), I believe that both of these films have the potential to move and affect the spectator, perhaps even in related ways. In part this is due to the common ground shared by fiction and nonfiction, which both use the "reality effect" of real locations and real bodies to activate the cinematic experience for the viewer. More simply, these films both mobilize the cinema's complex dynamic of identification and fantasy, a dynamic that film studies has made so many attempts to analyze. But this book is not a psychoanalytic account of cinema and desire. Rather, it is a mostly historical account that takes a marginal genre and makes it central. My claim is that at this juncture, *Under Basque Skies* can reveal new insights that *Letter from an Unknown Woman* cannot. It tells us about the difference of early cinema, when, for a moment, "educational" film genres seemed to represent a commercial opportunity for the film industry. It reveals the utopian dimension of early cinema, when virtual voyaging via moving pictures was championed as a democratic form of travel and cosmopolitanism for the masses. In addition, films such as *Basque* openly display the so-called Progressive Era's imperialist ideology, propagating all-too-familiar hierarchies of center and periphery, as well as the stereotypical notions of cultural and racial difference that ruled the day. Finally, I argue that early travelogue films presented audiences with the opportunity to experience a kind of poetic reverie, delivering flashes of wonder and perhaps even the potential temporarily to overcome the strictures of modern life.

Certainly, travel is a huge topic that films have engaged in multiple and complex ways. Film history is filled with scenes of travel, many of which, like the scene in *Letter*, are familiar to scholars, students, and fans of cinema. I am not saying that *Letter* (a film I love) has nothing left to reveal. But unlike such narrative feature films, which have been analyzed frequently, travelogue films such as *Under Basque Skies* have only recently become a subject of film scholarship, even though travelogues have been a staple genre throughout film history. A great many fiction films thematize the subject of travel: *King Kong* (Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack, 1933), *Lost Horizon* (Frank Capra, 1937), *Mr. Hulot's Holiday* (Jacques Tati, 1953), *Badlands* (Terrence Malick, 1973), *El Norte* (Gregory Nava, 1983), and *After Hours* (Martin Scorsese, 1985), to name just a few. No doubt, the reader will easily come up with many more examples, for the journey is one of the most common narrative themes, as the very genre of road movies attests. This book, however, is concerned with a largely unexplored and relatively anonymous genre of film: the travelogue. The vision of travel presented in *Basque* is no less important than that presented in *Letter*; it is just different. Travelogues provide an unparalleled opportunity to focus on key questions of aesthetics, ideology, and commerce in early cinema. Furthermore, the history of travelogues underscores the fact that in early cinema, films were just one of many significant texts in a complex media landscape. As Rick Altman explains, "Early moving pictures were in many cases like theatrical props," simply one part of a live performance that also involved lecturing and slides, and they were often screened not in moving picture theaters but in town halls, public auditoriums, and other "nontheatrical" spaces.[4] Of course, intertextual complexity still defines the film experience today but in a very different way as the Internet, promotional media, and fan discourse continue to shape a film's meaning just as much as the text itself.

I preface this book by contrasting *Letter from an Unknown Woman* with *Under Basque Skies* to make a point about some of our most basic assumptions of what constitutes cinema. Even today, some forty years after cinema studies began to be accepted as an academic discipline, the popular idea of cinema is still dominated by narrative, feature-length films with characters, stars, and directors. As Jeffrey Ruoff has put it, "Our general histories of motion pictures continue to privilege a distinct minority of feature fiction films, particularly Hollywood movies, and, at best, some documentary and avant-garde alternatives."[5] This default point of view leads many to overlook a wide array of other, equally important kinds of film: educational films, short films, home movies, sponsored films, films that were commercially unsuccessful. A couple of decades ago, most scholarly film books focused on canonical texts such as *Letter*. But in recent years, cinema studies has been transformed by a new attention to film history that has broadened the discipline's focus to include other kinds of cinema beyond well-known, narrative, feature-length films.[6] Thankfully, it is now much less possible to write an account of film history that completely ignores the diversity of that history, which includes early cinema, oppositional cinema, and marginal cinematic practices. Still, there is a strong tide of popular opinion that continues to pull film fans and beginning film students toward the obvious (narrative, feature-length films), fostering a lack of interest or even scorn for what are seen as the side roads of film history. It is time for this narrow focus to broaden, not just within the academy, but also in journalistic and popular discourse. So while this is a scholarly book of film history that aims to address specialists in early cinema, I also hope that it will be of interest to more casual readers who might find the issues it raises to be pertinent beyond the domain of early film history.

This book, then, defies the two most popular dimensions of film studies: authorship (great directors) and what has been called the "masterpiece tradition" (great films).[7] Although authorship and the masterpiece tradition have been subject to critique for some time now, it is surprising how much they continue to drive much of the field of film studies, evident in any quick survey of courses offered and books published. Most film students and scholars will gladly recite lists of their most beloved films—indeed, one of the pleasures of cinephilia is watching such personal lists evolve over time. However, I would wager that very few travelogues make it onto such lists. Even though they have always been a presence on film screens, travelogues are not typically the kinds of films that inspire warm feelings and fan appreciation. Certain exceptions exist—*Sans Soleil* (Chris Marker, 1983) is a perennial travelogue favorite for a certain kind of film viewer—but this is, once again, a feature-length film made by a famous director. In contrast, the travelogue films I analyze in this book are noncanonical and largely unknown today outside a small community of early cinema specialists. Rather than forcing the issue of the travelogue's importance by artificially inflating its dominance in film history, I acknowledge the travelogue's marginality and explore the alternative space it inhabits. Rather than viewing its marginality as a reflection of the travel film's unimportance, I believe this minor quality is one aspect that renders it significant. I echo Altman's exhortation that film historiography must "consider unsuccessful experiments and short-lived practices."[8] Rather than a procession of great directors and ever greater films, early cinema is characterized by instability and experimentation. Travelogues were not exactly "unsuccessful" (nor were they short-lived); rather, they have consistently maintained a presence, if marginal, within the film industry. To a degree that may seem surprising to us today, these nonfiction, non-narrative subjects were a major part of commercial film shows in the years before the rise of the feature film and the hegemony of "classical" cinema.

In addition to these issues of genre and canon, another set of questions motivates this book: What are the ideologies propagated by early nonfiction film, and how might they have functioned within the complexity of their historical moment? Travelogues are known for being boring and obvious—so much so that they repeatedly have been parodied. However, alongside my exploration of the travelogue's formulaic aspects, this study aims to rehabilitate their enigmatic and unexpected components. Travel films allow us to ask new questions, such as: How can an "educational" genre, one that Charles Musser has called a "cinema of reassurance," contain any elements of wonder or surprise?[9] How does a formulaic genre transcend its prosaic form? What desires and ideologies were mobilized by early travel films, and how might they have been read against the grain by early film spectators?

Early travelogues are filled with some of the most memorable and surprising images in early film history. Even today, a century after they were produced, these films have the power to send the viewer into a daydreaming state of mind. Yet I am not interested in fetishizing these films as precious documents of the forgotten past. Like a series of postcards come alive, these films are filled with clichéd images — sunsets, flowers, smiling women and children — that are fascinating for their very obviousness. This book aims to unpack this arsenal of clichés to discover a wider range of uses to which they might have been put. These films propagated colonialist ideologies, and they simultaneously had a magical ability to captivate their audiences — in fact, the two effects are directly related. Intended to be educational, these films capture much more than their producers realized, from moments of remarkable beauty to moments of unveiled racism. These are films that have not yet learned to disguise the gawking, objectifying nature of their gaze. They present the early twentieth century as a fascinating, diverse world — but a world in which nothing lies beyond the conquering eye of the motion picture camera.

Finally, while this is a historical project it is worth emphasizing that I view these films with an eye that has been influenced by surrealism, experimental filmmaking, and other oppositional artistic practices. In particular, the surrealists strove to confront and view culture in unintended ways, recognizing a transformative potential in even the most prosaic images. My view of early travelogues has been inspired by films such as Luis Buñuel's masterly *Las Hurdes* (1932), which revels in exposing the ideologies of mainstream documentary film practice. In fact, I would venture to speculate that Buñuel, too, might have found a film like *Basque* more interesting than a film like *Letter*, both of which trade in bourgeois notions of travel, but the first of which opens itself up more obviously to critical use. Buñuel was interested in discourses of cruelty, sacrifice, and obscenity, elements that travelogue films try to repress, though they do not always succeed.[10] As Dudley Andrew has written, "The shock of the very first scene of [Buñuel's] first film, the notorious eye slashing of *Un Chien Andalou* (1928), deliberately turns the fat stomachs of the bourgeoisie and cuts the threads that make up the delicate web of their precious subjectivity."[11] Surrealism, which Walter Benjamin described as a methodology of "profane illumination," is a useful interpretive context for travelogue films, whose imperial gaze can be turned inside out through a process of reading against the grain.[12] While your average early cinema spectator was certainly no Buñuel, it is my contention that travelogues and other early nonfiction genres, in revealing their ideologies, formulas, and aesthetic traditions so explicitly, created at least the potential for a mass critical reading practice.

The surrealists were among the first to realize that art can be found not only in the artwork itself but also in the viewer's point of view.[13] Around the time the films in this book were first being shown, the surrealist writer André Breton liked to drop into movie theaters in the middle of a program and leave as soon as the films became boring or began to make too much sense, moving to the cinema a few doors down for another dose of the same. Of this deliberately scattered film-viewing practice, Breton wrote: "I have never known anything so *magnetizing*: it goes without saying that more often than not we left our seats without even knowing the title of the film, which was of no importance to us, anyway. . . . The important thing is that one came out 'charged' for a few days. . . . I think what we valued most in it . . . was its *power to disorient*."[14] This practice of discovering a kind of "involuntary surrealism" has been greatly inspiring to me. As James Clifford has explained, "André Breton often insisted that surrealism was not a body of doctrines or a definable idea but an activity."[15] While this book is certainly not a "surrealist" account of travelogue films, I want to make plain that much of what I find intriguing in these films was not intended by their makers or exhibitors — and perhaps was not perceived by many viewers at the time. Although this is a historical account of the travelogue genre, then, at the same time I view these films against their grain and outside their historical moment (as all histories must necessarily do) in ways that could not have been foreseen.

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My parents, Larry and Carol Peterson, have encouraged me to follow my own path for as long as I can remember. Their love and steadfast support created the conditions of possibility for me, a first-generation college student, to envision myself capable of producing a book such as this. My family's own complex relationship to migration and place has undoubtedly shaped the critical analysis of travel representations in this book. My mother immigrated to the United States from cockney London as a young teenager, while my father is descended on his mother's side from the Spanish Mexican founders of the California town in which I grew up. Between these two very different family histories, I learned at a young age the power of place as both geography and mythology. My brother, Jeff, and I processed our family's sense of displacement through our mutual appreciation of the View-Master. (A 3D stereoscopic toy that was popular in the 1950s–1970s, the View-Master has a history that traces back to the New York World's Fair of 1939.) In fact, I would locate the germ of my interest in travel representations in those little 3D views of Paris or Fiji (or Charlie Brown) that we glimpsed in the View-Master as children, which represented a fascinating world of places that were somehow always inaccessible. Thanks to Jeff for sharing this with me and, in later years, for helpful computer hardware support.

Ewan Malcolm Fenton appeared on the scene just as I was returning to this book after a hiatus of a few years. Ewan's arrival has reshaped my experience of cinema in surprising ways, and he has made everything else in life more worthwhile. Finally, my greatest debt of gratitude, which cannot be adequately expressed here, goes to Christopher Fenton. Without his support, generous spirit, and sense of adventure, none of this would have been possible. This book is dedicated to him, with love.

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INTRODUCTION

THE DREAMWORLD OF CINEMATIC TRAVEL

In October 1911, an anonymous editorial in the trade journal *Motography* asserted the popularity of travelogue films: "Of all forms of motion pictures, scenics are the most popular and will always be so." This is true, the writer explained, because "in all the broad field of motion pictures—dramatic, comic, educational—none are so pleasing to all of us, or bring out the best that is in us, as the perfect reproductions of beautiful scenery. The human craving for scenery is unquestionably the strongest of any purely aesthetic demand of our natures." While it may be surprising today, this sort of claim about the popularity of travelogues (also known as "scenic" films) was in fact commonplace in the early 1910s. Such breathless declarations of the travelogue's dominance were eventually proven incorrect, but for a brief moment in early film history, travel films and other "nonfiction" subjects such as science films, nature films, and industrial films were touted by some as the future of the film industry. Even more striking about the editorial is its attempt to put forth an aesthetic theory, given that aesthetics were not a common concern of the early film trade press:

> Among those who have not thought much about it, there is prevalent a misunderstanding of the function of the scenic picture. It is popularly classified as educational; yet scenery is fundamentally and primarily merely entertaining. That is, it appeals first to our emotional side. We respond to beautiful scenery, whether real or pictured, much as we respond

> to beautiful music. It is educational, first because anything that is beautiful and appeals to the better emotions is educational; and second because it gives us a knowledge of the harmony of construction of this beautiful old world of ours. But the educational function is purely secondary. A scenic motion picture is really only a pleasure-giving device. Perhaps if that were better understood, exhibitors would feel less reluctance to show scenic subjects. It is that dry word *educational* that is objectionable.[1]

As the writer indicates, by 1911 scenics were often classified as "educational," an umbrella term for all manner of subjects we would now label "nonfiction." Educational films were an important part of the motion-picture industry's attempt to legitimate itself as a respectable form of entertainment in the early 1910s. But the editorialist is also on to something in arguing, against the tide of the era, that scenics can fulfill a non-educational function. Many questions are raised but left unanswered: How exactly do scenic films give pleasure? What "aesthetic demand" do the films meet? Moreover, the editorialist's conflation of entertainment, aesthetics, and emotion is intriguing, for these are quite different categories. Such imprecision is to be expected—after all, this is not a philosophy tract but a trade paper editorial. Yet the basic idea that travelogues are primarily an aesthetic experience rather than an educational one anticipates the argument of this book. I argue that travelogues exemplify a particular kind of turn-of-the-century attraction that we might call "instructive entertainment," a form of attraction that packaged didactic intentions as an aesthetic commodity. Even though they used observational techniques of photographic realism that would seem to lend them to educational purposes—and, indeed, even though travelogues were overwhelmingly marketed as educational subjects—in fact their representational strategies focused primarily on creating a pleasing, marketable experience for the viewer. In this way, early travelogue films combine the concerns of pragmatism, romanticism, and commercialism.

This book focuses on travel films exhibited in commercial U.S. theaters during early cinema's transitional era, roughly the years 1907 to 1915, when films first began to be shown in dedicated movie houses and cinema emerged as a distinct form of media with its own set of practices. One of the most recognizable genres on cinema screens around the world throughout the silent era, travelogues played an important role in defining popular images of global landscapes. Inextricably linked to discourses of empire, they powerfully shaped early twentieth-century attitudes about race and geography. Connected also to emergent practices of modern tourism, travelogues were regularly celebrated as a form of virtual travel experience for those who could not otherwise afford to travel. As an entirely unique commodity in the early twentieth century — one that provided a new kind of experience, traveling in the cinema — travelogue films provide much of historical and critical interest to explore. In picturing the world that *does* exist, early travel films created a world that *does not* exist: an idealized geography that functioned as a parallel universe on the cinema screen.

Travel films have been present throughout film history. It is well known that many of the earliest actualities were "travel" subjects: the film programs projected by Louis and Auguste Lumière in 1896 included titles such as *Leaving Jerusalem by Railway, Niagara Falls,* and *Hyde Park, London*. The Lumière brothers' films are perhaps the most famous examples, but many of the earliest film companies participated in the manufacturing of "foreign views," as they were first called, featuring street scenes (Paris, Madrid, Moscow, Jerusalem, Tokyo), views of famous natural landmarks (Yosemite, Niagara Falls), or scenes of traditional cultures and everyday life around the world. As Charles Musser has stated, "It was undoubtedly scenes of foreign lands that provided the [Lumière] cinématographe with its chief attraction for American audiences."[2] It is less frequently acknowledged, however, that nonfiction continued to be a major presence on movie screens throughout the nickelodeon period and into the silent feature film era.

Travel subjects began to take shape as a film genre with specific formal and stylistic conventions around 1907. During the 1907–15 period, and particularly in the years 1910–13, travelogues occupied an important position in the burgeoning film industry. At this time, travelogues were shown alongside short comedies and melodramas as part of the "variety format" of the nickelodeon theater, which also typically included live music, stereopticon slides, and audience sing-alongs. During these years, some reformers and entrepreneurs argued that travel films represented cinema's future as a respectable cultural force and a profitable business. While these assertions ultimately proved incorrect, they provide important insight into the developing film industry and the broader cultural values it negotiated in the 1910s.

Travelogues persisted in commercial movie theaters throughout the silent era and into the sound era; one of the best-known travelogue series is James A. FitzPatrick's Traveltalks, produced and distributed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer from 1930 through 1954. Travel films continue to thrive today on Imax screens (such as *African Adventure: Safari in the Okavango* from 2007 and *Grand Canyon Adventure: River at Risk* from 2008), television (with the Travel Channel and the Discovery Channel devoting much of their air time to such subjects), and on the Internet (of course, YouTube is full of travel videos).[3] While these later travelogue incarnations involve tendencies that are distinct from its early cinema form, the travelogue has proven remarkably steadfast across more than a century of media history, which suggests that persistent cultural needs are being met by the genre.

Returning to the early cinema context, the *Motography* editorialist's idea of scenic films as a kind of aesthetic education connects to the title of this book: education in the school of dreams. At the time the article was written, travelogues were being marketed as educational films, and reformers who otherwise looked down on the new medium of cinema as a form of cheap amusement began to celebrate travel films and other "educational" genres for their ability to uplift their viewers. Whether or not they were "the most popular," as the writer claimed, travelogues were the subject of a major promotional push during the years covered by this book. While I trace the travelogue's trajectory as an "educational" genre, I also explore how travelogues were not necessarily consumed for their educational merits. Instead of taking the reformers' rhetoric as a description of truth, I argue that travelogues were just as likely to be experienced as a dreamlike reverie involving notions of exoticism and the picturesque. Although they were celebrated for their ability to serve as surrogate travel, I analyze travelogues as a unique experience in their own right: a multimedia sensory interlude in which spectators sat immobile in a darkened theater surrounded by strangers, their eyes and minds mobilized by images of geographical and cultural difference.

It is the travelogue's singular distinction to call attention to the act of looking, perhaps more than any other film genre of the early or "classical" cinema periods. Watching a travelogue film, the viewer becomes a disembodied eye floating through a foreign landscape. The people in these films stare back at the camera, returning the spectator's gaze. These films stoked viewers' fantasies and fears of difference with simulated trips to exotic lands and ultimately created a new vision of a globe filled with wondrous yet manageable people and places. As we shall see, these exotic views were actually quite generic, drawing from older traditions of picturesque travel representation in popular media such as postcards, illustrated magazines, and stereopticon lectures. The films also drew on dominant notions of racial and cultural hierarchy, presenting all forms of difference within a grid of preexisting formulas. It is my contention, however, that despite these quite obvious traditions and formulas — indeed, because of the very obviousness of these traditions and formulas — early travelogue films contained a great deal of oppositional potential.

From its inception, cinema was viewed as a quintessentially "modern" phenomenon. Travelogue films, in capturing landscapes and people in movement, updated older forms such as the photograph, the stereograph, and the magic lantern lecture for the new century. The years I discuss in this book, after the dawn of the twentieth century but before the First World War, represent a particular moment in the history of modernity. The so-called Edwardian Era, or the Progressive Era in the United States, was a moment of rapid transformation (industrialization, urbanization, immigration, new technologies, new cultural forms) that yet held fast to many nineteenth-century values and sensibilities. While the word "modern" contains an age-old paradox in that it seems to indicate "nothing more than the shifting proportions of writers old and new," in fact, as Hans Robert Jauss has argued, this particular era of historical modernity represents the emergence of a new consciousness, or self-consciousness: a "modernity that ultimately only ever distinguishes itself from itself."[4]

In literary and film studies, modernity is often defined experientially as a distinct sensory environment created by new technologies of space and time, such as the railroad and the cinema, and new forms of commodification, such as mass-reproduced images, shopping malls, and tourism. The modernity thesis (so called by those who oppose it) has been the subject of much debate in film studies, and I do not want to rehash those debates here, especially since others such as Ben Singer have done such a thorough job of summarizing them.[5] I do want to underscore an obvious point, however: Not all conceptions of "modernity" are the same, nor do they need to be. For the purposes of materialist historiography, the sensibilities of an era are determined from the ground up — that is, through an analysis of texts and contexts — rather than imposed from the outside. Travel films are "modern" because many of their key features — their technologized view of landscape, their mechanical reproduction of movement, their compulsion to represent all corners of the globe on film — were not possible before the onset of cinema in the 1890s. Likewise, travel films constitute an important (and overlooked) step on the road to the formation of cinema's new mass audience, or what Miriam Hansen has analyzed as the cinema's public sphere: "the commodity form of reception."[6]

One of the primary goals of this book is to argue that travelogues are less monolithic and less politically retrograde than they might appear. Even in the press discourse of the day, we can find at least two competing views of cinema's social significance: Early cinema in general was criticized by reformers as a form of "cheap amusement," but travelogues and other educational genres were singled out as "high-class" subjects. Alongside this contradictory reformist rhetoric is another more theoretical tradition to which we might turn for a critique of travel films as ideological products in the context of modern mass culture. My invocation of dreams in this book's title is meant to resonate with Walter Benjamin's analysis of mass culture as a "dreamworld."[7] In his landmark *Arcades Project,* Benjamin identifies mass culture as a primary source of modernity's alienation effects and political dissolution. His crucial intervention, against the pessimistic critical tide of the era, was to argue that the road to surmounting the decline of experience in modernity can be found only by moving through mass culture. As Susan Buck-Morss explains, Benjamin's "theory is unique in its approach to modern society, because it takes mass culture seriously not merely as the source of the phantasmagoria of false consciousness, but as the source of collective energy to overcome it."[8] For Benjamin, the critic's task was to describe what he called the dreamworld of mass culture and, more important, to dissipate its mythic powers. For Benjamin, the path to overcoming this disenchantment was precisely through the agent of disenchantment: mass culture.

My analysis follows Benjamin's model by looking for the tools for demythification that can be found within mass culture itself, under certain conditions and for certain viewers. I analyze travelogues as a contradictory genre that poses as a form of knowledge but actually functions as a form of mythification. Moreover, my analysis reveals a film genre so fraught with contradiction and ambivalence that it contains many moments of rupture and opportunities for resistance. Although the idea of movies as a "dreamworld" is a cliché that Hollywood had already exploited to its fullest by the 1920s, travelogue films literalize this metaphor of dreaming. As much as they document places, travel films can also be seen as documenting mythologies about those places. Analyzing these myths entails not prolonging the dream but debunking its fictions in the spirit of awakening from the dream.

As a form of landscape representation, travelogues engage questions of territory, nationalism, and political power. Indeed, W. J. T. Mitchell echoes Benjamin with his remark that "landscape might be seen more profitably as something like the 'dreamwork of imperialism.'"[9] This dreamwork—and, by extension, these films—are not seamless purveyors of imperial ideology, however, but fractured images containing multiple meanings. Travelogues are deeply imbricated in the power dynamics of empire, but while they enact an imperial gaze, they also display the contradictions of that gaze. The dream metaphor is useful for signaling the deeply ambivalent nature of the fantasy landscapes conjured up by travelogues: Some dreams become nightmares, after all, and the dreamer does not always triumph in her dreams. This book does not provide a Freudian or psychoanalytic account of travelogues. Rather, I take a historical approach to the travel film genre, mounting a critique of the travelogue's mythologizing power but also paying attention to how it contains within itself the seeds of its own undoing. The act of critical analysis, or reading against the grain, then, is akin to an act of awakening.[10]

Modes of Travel in Modernity

One of modernity's primary characteristics is an increase in mobility of all sorts — the mobility of people (travel, migration, socioeconomic mobility) and of things (commercial goods, images, customs, cultural values). Travelogues are the cinematic corollary of all this new mobility, both reflecting and enacting the modern world's compulsion to find new images and experiences. As an experience of technological modernity, travelogues contributed to a changing human perception of the world: What had been seen before through an inert series of still images now became a moving panorama of consumable places and people.

Who moves and who doesn't? Where do they go, and why do they go there? Travelogue films can help us think through some of these crucial questions of modernity. Travelogues traffic in images of the globe, enabling a trade in place-images to accompany the trade in material goods. As Kristin Whissel has argued, traffic is a central metaphor for modernity, signifying not only the circulation of goods but also "the vehicles, bodies, and disembodied communications that move, in one form or another, through the landscape," and eventually "the various technologies — such as the railway, steamship, telephone and telegraph — that precipitated the annihilation of space and time and gave rise to new forms of 'panoramic perception.'"[11] The travelogue is a technological mode of representation that takes the concept of movement as its very subject.

The early twentieth century was characterized by an unprecedented level of movement, not only of goods but also of people. In the visual culture of travel that emerged out of this climate, a popular taste for foreign views emerged. Travelogue films found a niche in the mass culture of the era (along with stereoscopes, postcards, and illustrated magazines) by catering to this desire to see foreign places and foreign cultures. The new visual culture of travel enabled people to envision the world as a series of consumable places. This sense of consumption is crucial: the various new forms of mass reproduction created a sense that places were now endlessly representable commodities. Indeed, given that the early twentieth century is also the high-water mark of imperial power, this era should also be seen as marking a new kind of visual imperialism, achieved through travel practices and the visualization of travel. As John Mackenzie writes, "The British and other empires were not only empires of war, of economic exploitation, of settlement and of cultural diffusion. They were also increasingly empires of travel."[12]

Travelogue films enact the era's fascination with mobility not just by representing the experience of travel but also by enacting the ideologies of travel. Mary Louise Pratt's notion of contact zones can be usefully adapted to fit the travelogue experience. For Pratt, contact zones are "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination."[13] As films, travelogues function not as true contact zones but as virtual contact zones; thus, any clashing and grappling that the viewer might have experienced was undertaken in the safe zone of the movie theater. Nonetheless, what is so striking about these films is how they capture the awkwardness of the encounter between filmmakers and their subjects. More than a representation of a people or a place, it is this *encounter* that travelogues reenact for the viewer. This is not an actual contact zone but a represented one. The viewer witnesses not only a foreign culture or landscape but the "relations of domination and subordination" that are inscribed by the act of filming that foreign culture or landscape.

As films that are "about" travel — even though they are more frequently about places, not journeys — travelogues are often said to embody a "tourist viewpoint."[14] But while the films' connection with tourism is important, the majority of their viewers were not actual tourists. While leisure travel was accessible to more people than ever before at the turn of the twentieth century, it was still not the common experience it became after the Second World War. International travel in this period still implied high-society leisure, luxurious trains, and ocean liners. Undoubtedly, some travelogue spectators were actual tourists, but more important, the travelogue's association with tourism served to lend cultural prestige to the genre. Therefore, it is more precise to state that travelogues confer a tourist point of view on their spectators, whether or not those spectators were actually tourists. As such, the films were regularly advertised as "high-class" subjects. My analysis teases out the implications of this "high-class" veneer, arguing that while travelogues may have been associated with elite tastes, as products of mass culture they were accessible to diverse audiences. Even though travel films were often figured as a kind of compensatory travel, making tourism available to those who could not otherwise command the power of the tourist gaze, I argue that early travel films constitute an experience in their own right. This is not an experience of travel but an experience of sitting in a darkened movie theater. Travel films use a specific set of cinematic techniques—framing, editing, movement—that tend to call attention to the act of looking. So while the spectator stared at these images on the screen, more often than not, the anonymous people filmed by travelogue cameras stared directly back at the audience. This returned gaze is one way in which travelogues undermine the security conferred by their formulas, and can be opened up to resistant viewings.

Outside the movie theater, too, the experience of actual mobility in the early twentieth century was hardly "exclusive." Although some upper-middle-class travelers undertook international travel in this era, the majority of people crossing international borders were migrants rather than tourists. Migration within Europe for economic reasons was already commonplace as early as the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth; as one historian says of that period, "Stability was a privilege in this world." With industrialization and the population surge of the nineteenth century, migration increased, and "regional migration systems became overlaid with international systems."[15] Migration fed the unprecedented urbanization then taking place in Europe: "Where there had been only 23 cities with populations of more than 100,000 in 1800, 125 stood a century later."[16] The period before the onset of the First World War was one of tremendous population movement, and most of that was economic or political migration.

Caren Kaplan has posed the question, "Why, if the modern experience of forced or voluntary movement has been widespread and diverse, [do] the metaphors and symbols used to represent displacement refer to individualized, often elite, circumstances?"[17] This certainly holds true for travelogues and other popular forms of travel representation, which evoke touristic experiences with regularity but rarely mention other kinds of travel experience. The early cinema period coincides with a peak era of immigration to the United States in the early twentieth century. But despite the fact that many early cinema spectators were themselves migrants, migrancy was infrequently depicted in early cinema, although it was a major concern of reformers and educators.

Why were representations of migration suppressed in this period, when so many people were actually migrating? One probable reason has to do with issues of class and cultural distinction. My analysis is indebted to the work of Pierre Bourdieu, whose influential book *Distinction* traces the ways in which "art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating differences."[18] Leisure travel is one such form of cultural consumption that serves efforts to shore up distinction. Travel was one way for affluent citizens to display their wealth in the early twentieth century, while recent migration was often a mark of one's lower-class status. Perhaps the emergence of a film genre devoted to tourist imagery in an age of migration is symptomatic of the larger aspirations of upward mobility that characterize the Progressive Era.

As recent scholarship on tourism has established, one of the constitutive points of tension in tourism is that between the tourist and the traveler. Tourism, as one means of conspicuous consumption, has long been a way for the middle and upper classes to distinguish themselves from each other and from those who are less economically endowed. The origin point of modern tourism, the European Grand Tour, emerged in the seventeenth century as a sort of finishing school for the patrician (male) citizens of Great Britain. From the beginning, efforts were made to distinguish the "proper" form of travel from the "improper." By the early 1800s, "tourist" had emerged as a term with negative connotations, useful for distinguishing the more salutary practices of the "traveler," who was thought to have more integrity. This new word made it easier to distinguish between the "authentic" practices of the traveler and the shallow or falsifying practices signified by the "tourist." As Jonathan Culler writes, "The tourist, it seems, is the lowest of the low. . . . Animal imagery seems their inevitable lot: they are said to move in droves, herds, swarms, or flocks."[19] Although popular culture — and even some twentieth-century critics such as Paul Fussell — continues to assert the opposition between tourists and travelers, scholars of tourism such as Culler and James Buzard, who follow on the heels of Dean MacCannell's influential study *The Tourist,* interpret these practices as two parts of a dialectic: "The formation of modern tourism *and* the impulse to denigrate tourists [is] a single complex phenomenon."[20] In this context, the travelogue's irrefutable status as virtual tourism rather than actual travel means that it can never achieve the prestige of a "real" travel experience. Another way to put it is that no matter how "high class" they might have seemed, travelogues always remained motion pictures and carried with them the cultural baggage of cinema's reputation at the time.

Largely because of the construction of the railroads, travel for recreation became more common by the mid-nineteenth century—so much so that in 1850, the *Times* of London wrote, "Thirty years ago not one countryman in one hundred had seen the metropolis. There is now scarcely one in the same number who has not spent a day there."[21] This increase in tourism was also spurred by a wave of World's Fair exhibitions in the second half of the century, beginning with London's Great Exhibition of 1851 in the famous Crystal Palace. According to one estimate, nearly one-fifth of the British population attended the Great Exhibition (still a minority, we should note), and "this massive movement of people marked the beginning of a revolution in leisure."[22] Thomas Cook organized a series of affordable excursions to the Great Exhibition and, building on this and other successes, soon began marketing European package tours to middle-class and working-class British citizens. With the increase in leisure travel came an increase in attempts to distinguish between different kinds of travelers, and the term "Cook's Tour" came to be synonymous with the idea of mass (and thereby debased) tourism.[23]

Today tourism is recognized as the world's largest industry, and tourism has become a subject of academic interest.[24] A massive amount of data and analysis is now available on tourism from a variety of perspectives (geography, anthropology, sociology, economics). Historians do not seem to be able to agree, however, on when the era of mass leisure travel actually began. Some locate it in the Cook's Tour era of the mid-nineteenth century with the advent of the railroad; others locate it in the early twentieth century with the rise of car culture. And some argue that the post–Second World War era was the beginning of truly mass tourism as airplane travel became commonplace.[25] It is clear that the history of tourism is one of increasing access, as more and more middle- and working-class citizens acquired the means to become tourists; moreover, this history is directly tied to changing modes of transport.

While the scope of mass tourism has only continued to broaden since the nineteenth century, the scope of migration has followed a different path. In terms of migration to the United States, before the recent spike in immigration that has occurred since 2000, migration's peak era was the so-called new immigration period of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth. Between 1900 and 1920, almost 14.5 million people, many from Eastern Europe and Southern Europe, entered the country; this influx peaked in 1907 with 1.3 million immigrants, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.[26] Migration fell off with the beginning of the "Great War" in 1914 and began to increase again after the end of the Second World War.

Migration takes many forms and has always been an important part of human history. But representations of migrant experience — including economic migration, forced migration, or migration to escape persecution — have not proven as marketable as representations of tourist experience. When considering travelogue films, we should keep in mind the displacements of migration that are masked by their tourist gaze. When those who were themselves migrants viewed a travelogue film, perhaps of their home country, the film might have served as a compensation for migrancy, enabling the viewer to reconnect with the homeland. But it might have just as well served to underscore the viewer's sense of loss at his or her displacement. All of these social changes are an important context for the travelogue film of the early twentieth century, but aesthetic traditions present another crucial framework for understanding the genre.

Cinema and Landscape: The Major and the Minor

Popular place-images such as travelogues fostered a new way to see the world as representable through techniques of rational observation, a world filled with locations that could be pictured, landscapes made for consumption. Travelogue films were particularly significant because they modernized the landscape by rendering it in motion and by breaking it into fragments through editing. We might begin, then, by thinking of travelogues as a quintessentially modern kind of space: a mechanized landscape. Approaching the films from the perspective of landscape allows us to locate and analyze their position of cultural marginality.

Landscape is a well-established topic in art history and geography, but it has only just begun to be addressed in film studies. In considering a visual medium that traffics so heavily in images of place and space, cinema studies' inattention to landscape is confounding. Perhaps the lack of interest stems from landscape's traditionally marginal status in the history of art, and most certainly it has resulted from a privileging of narrative in cinema studies, given that narratives tend to dominate the landscapes in which they are staged. In fact, the small body of scholarly work on cinematic landscapes thus far has focused on experimental film, since this is the realm in which landscape has received the most extensive interrogation by filmmakers. Scott MacDonald's *The Garden in the Machine* is one of the few volumes to present a sustained analysis of cinematic landscape, focusing on experimental film.[27] Martin Lefebvre's more recent edited collection *Landscape in Film* has provided several useful concepts and textual readings, with which I will engage momentarily.[28] But there is much more to explore: Landscape in film remains an open field.

As a genre of painting, landscape rose to its highest prominence in the nineteenth century; before this, landscape was considered a lower-order subject. During the Renaissance, the European art academies ranked types of paintings by their significance, with landscape following genre painting, portraiture, and history painting in hierarchical importance. The only genre of painting that landscape outranked, in fact, was the still life, according to institutions such as the Academy of Art in Rome, the Academy of Art in Florence, and the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris. This hierarchy began to change in the nineteenth century, as British painters such as John Constable and J. M. W. Turner forged a new kind of romantic landscape. For the Romantics, painting was no longer merely a matter of artistic practice but a reflection of the inner moral and religious disposition of the artist. At the same time, a new impetus for realistic documentation in landscape paintings was inspired by the ascendance of rational observation, exemplified by painters such as Thomas Cole and Albert Bierstadt.[29] Certainly, the history of landscape painting is well known, and I am not going to rehearse it here.[30] The point I want to make is that landscape was originally a marginalized genre, but in the nineteenth century it became central. Landscape continued to gather significance in the modern world, and in mass culture it followed a path to increasing commodification and mechanization. Landscape became an essential component of illustrated magazines, chromolithographs, photographs, and stereographs, all of which came to constitute a visual culture of travel in the nineteenth century. This emphasis on landscape continued into the new motion picture medium at the turn of the century.

Landscape's marginalization operated not only in the hierarchy of painting genres but also in a hierarchy that existed within the *content* of landscape paintings themselves. Malcolm Andrews has pointed out that the *narrative element* in landscape paintings "used to be termed the 'Argument' of the picture, that is, its principal theme or subject." In turn, landscape was considered *parergon*, or "by-work . . . the accessory element."[31] During the Renaissance, a landscape painting's narrative Argument and parergon were seen as oppositional, but with the rise of landscape painting in the nineteenth century, what was once a mere accessory element became centrally important. Or, as Lefebvre puts it, "In this sense, the birth of landscape should really be understood as the birth of a way of seeing, the birth of a gaze (that of the painter, the collector, or the critic) by which what was once in the margin has now come to take its place at the centre."[32]

Lefebvre is one of the few scholars to attempt a theory of cinematic landscape, which he establishes by distinguishing between what he calls "landscape as setting" and "landscape as landscape." He writes, "In mainstream cinema, natural or exterior spaces tend to function as setting rather than landscape in the vast majority of cases."[33] In contrast, landscape that is significant for itself — or "autonomous landscape," as Lefebvre calls it — appears infrequently in mainstream narrative cinema.[34] Travelogue films, however, unlike narrative cinema, are often composed of nothing but autonomous landscapes. These films demand a different kind of spectator than narrative films. In fact, Lefebvre's analysis emphasizes the role of the spectator's gaze in viewing cinematic landscapes, pointing out that the spectator of narrative cinema "can pull setting from out of the margin."[35] Early travelogue films cultivate attentive spectators, viewers who must fill in the blanks, so to speak, posing and answering questions that the explanatory intertitles do not adequately address. Landscape's marginality — and its cultivation of an attentive spectator — has important implications for travelogue films.

Starting from landscape's status as a marginal form of representation, I argue that travelogue films fit into a category that we might call "minor cinema," after Gilles Deleuze's concept of "minor literature." The label of minor cinema has been hitherto applied to so-called Third Cinema, to describe the oppositional filmmaking practices of filmmakers such as Ousmane Sembène and Tran Anh Hung.[36] Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino's influential manifesto "Towards a Third Cinema" called for a politically militant and formally experimental cinema.[37] Film scholars have demonstrated this manifesto's affinity with Deleuze's concept, both of which can be said to express an attitude of "life-experimentation — the creation and exhibition of local difference."[38] In applying the label of minor cinema to travel films, however, a contradiction immediately arises, for Third Cinema is resolutely anticolonial, while travel films tend to support colonialist ideology. Moreover, Third Cinema is avowedly political, while travelogues are only unconsciously political. How, then, can travel films be understood as a form of minor cinema? And what do we gain by this categorization?

If cinema constitutes its own kind of language (as some have argued since the 1910s), then certainly it speaks in both a major and a minor key.[39] Deleuze's essay on minor literature, written with Félix Guattari, is concerned with describing a kind of language that speaks against the major or master language. For Deleuze and Guattari, Franz Kafka's writing is the paradigm. This minor literature has three characteristics: first, "deterritorialized language," by which they mean language that speaks in an oppositional position against the dominant language and is thus "appropriate for strange and minor uses"; second, a political dimension in which the "cramped space" of the minor "forces each individual intrigue to connect immediately to politics"; and third, a collective character: "precisely because talent isn't abundant in a minor literature, there are no possibilities for an individuated enunciation that would belong to this or that 'master' and that could be separated from a collective enunciation."[40]

Travelogues resonate with all three of these characteristics. First, they occupied an oppositional position vis-à-vis story films in the transitional era, and although they were not necessarily intended for "strange and minor uses," this book demonstrates that they could certainly serve such purposes. Second, travelogues are saturated with political significance, unabashedly displaying their colonial ideologies and their belief in progress through industrialization and modernization. As Tom Gunning has argued, early cinema exhibits "a sort of naiveté in which elements that later became camouflaged are frankly displayed."[41] Travel films provide us with a series of object lessons in how to analyze ideology when it is not carefully sublimated. Travelogues also resonate with Deleuze and Guattari's third quality, for in the anonymous nature of their production, travelogues speak to us as precisely this kind of "collective enunciation" of attitudes about travel from the early twentieth century. In early cinema, directors' names were not made public, so this anonymity is both conceptually and historically accurate. While a few travelogue filmmakers are certainly known to film historians today (e.g., Lumière cameramen Félix Mesguich and Alexandre Promio and Burton Holmes's cameraman Oscar B. Depue), in this book I am less interested in tracking down unknown directors (although this is certainly an important task) than I am in unpacking the rhetoric of travelogues as a genre — or, in a larger sense, as a kind of institution.

So travelogues are a form of minor cinema in the dictionary sense in that they have always been a marginal kind of film (along with industrial films, home movies, and a host of other kinds of film that lie outside the mainstream of film production and exhibition, sometimes labeled "ephemeral film").[42] And travelogues are a form of minor cinema in the Deleuzian sense in that they are collective, political, and they contain oppositional potential, even though this was not their intended stance.[43] I believe that travelogues can be understood as a form of minor cinema because they have the ability to undermine what they show, and to a greater degree than other kinds of cinema. To understand travelogues as a form of minor cinema, we must read them against their grain, unearthing the potentially disruptive and oppositional power they contained. Travelogues are not oppositional in the way that avant-garde cinema is, but they do use a formal strategy that is distinctly different from that of fiction films of the same era. In sum, travelogues are not intentionally minoritarian, but they had the potential for minoritarian effects. For Deleuze, it is only from within a minor discourse that real change can be articulated: "There is nothing that is major or revolutionary except the minor."[44] In this context, it is worth remarking that travel films were virtually the only place in which people of color were represented — rather than parodied by fictional stereotype — in early film. While these displays of difference certainly follow colonialist conventions, they also frequently exceed the boundaries of such conventions. Elsewhere, Deleuze and Guattari explain that even seemingly blocked realms are filled with "lines of flight" (or new potentialities, escape from existing conditions): "Territorialities, then, are shot through with lines of flight testifying to the presence within them of movements of deterritorialization and reterritorialization."[45] The question raised by travelogues would seem to be: To what extent are movements of deterritorialization actually opened up in these films that would seem to be precisely about territorialization? They certainly do not constitute what Deleuze calls an "absolute line of flight," or a purely revolutionary discourse. Rather, they contain avenues of escape; moments that puncture the apparent placidity of existing conditions.[46] Travel films allow us to document and catalogue moments of domination and resistance in early cinema. What we gain by seeing travelogues as a form of minor cinema, then, is a larger political resonance for our task of cataloguing these moments of rupture. We also gain a sense of the travelogue's significance as a distinctly modern, potentially unsettling experience for its spectators.

The Travelogue Formula

To a greater degree than many film genres, travelogues follow rigid conventions. I address the question of early film genre (Did genres exist? What forms did they take? How can we identify them?) in the chapters that follow. For now, I will only make a note about methodology. To analyze travel films as a genre, I have undertaken a serial analysis of a large body of films and related texts. This is the approach endorsed by Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau in their recent edited volume on the related genre of industrial films, and, indeed, this is arguably the only approach possible when analyzing film genre.[47] While my research for this project involved visiting a number of different film archives, the primary corpus of this book is the group of nonfiction films in the Desmet Collection at the EYE Film Institute Netherlands. This remarkable collection was named to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register in 2011.[48] Jean Desmet was a Dutch importer of films from around the world, and unlike most figures from the early film era, he saved everything: film prints, programs, posters, and so on.[49] Desmet kept film prints from production companies around the world—among them Pathé, Gaumont, Eclipse, Éclair, Ambrosio, Itala, Nordisk, Vitascope, Edison, Kalem, and Lubin—and his collection provides an unparalleled view of the early film industry from an international perspective. Indeed, cinema was more international before the First World War than after, and the phenomenon of travelogues makes this internationalism quite literal.[50] After analyzing hundreds of early travel films, certain patterns of style and rhetoric clearly emerge. In fact, the patterns emerge after watching just a few; what changes is the location being documented in each film rather than the travelogues' semantic or syntactic elements.

The basic formula for the travelogue of the nickelodeon era is a series of single, discrete exterior shots of landscapes and people, each preceded by a brief explanatory intertitle. This alternation between landscapes and portraits is a key dualism of the genre. The stand-alone quality of the shots is another of the genre's most notable formal elements. Most shots have been joined together in a manner that preserves the integrity of each shot rather than, for example, making connections between shots via continuous space or matching on action. Travelogues are not usually organized with any clear sense of progression toward or away from a subject. Rather, shots are typically arranged as a series of scenes that meander without a sense of progression. This discontinuous editing principle creates a sense that the shots form a *collection* rather than a unified whole.

While they are entirely formulaic, the travelogue's organizational principles appear unsystematic or even haphazard. For all of the stereotypical images they display, their images seem scattered, the editing arbitrary: Why assemble this series of shots in this particular order? Locations chosen seem almost random at times: Why film this street rather than that? Why show this man rather than that one? Why shoemakers rather than basket makers? Despite this apparent lack of order, a logic becomes clear when one dispenses with familiar notions of structure derived from fiction film, such as continuity editing. In fact, the same set of formal devices can be found in almost every travelogue film: an overwhelming dominance of extreme long shots, movement in just about every shot, editing that shapes the film into a collection of views. At the same time, travel films contain an element that exceeds these conventions, and that element is the contingency of the real world. The chaos of the real, it seems, is managed by the rigid formulas of the genre. Travelogues certainly do not lack a system, but theirs is a system that makes order out of contingency.

So what precisely did viewers see when watching these films? Early travelogues tend to follow a narrow list of subject matter, such as picturesque natural landscapes, exotic foreign cultures, modern street scenes, parks, flowers, sunsets, water (oceans, lakes, rivers, fountains), smiling women and children, locals in traditional dress, traditional crafts. In fact, this variety of subject matter is presented in the form of two of the most classic image types: landscape and figure. Some films focus on just one of these categories: *L'Orne* (Gaumont, 1912) is composed solely of picturesque landscape shots; *Indian and Ceylonese Types* (Éclair, 1913) features only shots of local inhabitants. Most films, however, alternate between landscapes and figures. *Glacier National Park* (Pathé, 1917), for example, begins with a series of landscape shots and concludes with portraits of local types.[51] "Industrial" films such as *Making Getas in Japan* (Pathé, 1911), which focuses solely on the craft of making shoes, have a slightly different iconography based on production rather than landscape or figure, but many such films bear a strong resemblance to travelogues, so I include them in my analysis.

Travelogues typically conclude with an emblematic shot that serves to epitomize the place being documented, similar to a dramatic tableau.[52] This connects to the early cinema tradition of closing a fiction film with a tableau shot, such as the tableau of Abraham Lincoln at the end of Edwin S.

Porter's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1903). The concluding sunset shot is a familiar travelogue cliché; these are typically extreme long shots of a picturesque landscape (a body of water, a city skyline) taken as the sun sets. Such shots participate in the familiar "end of the day" travel narrative convention, which can be found in both nineteenth-century travel literature and the travel lectures of figures such as Burton Holmes. This concluding sunset shot can be found in a variety of films made by different film companies, including *Seeing Los Angeles* (Imp, 1912), *Santa Lucia* (Ambrosio, ca. 1910), and *Under Basque Skies* (Eclipse, 1913). However, the use of this ending convention does not mean that the rest of these films participate in a "day-in-the-life" structure, for other than this concluding shot, none of the films just mentioned follows a temporal trajectory. Rather, the sunset ending shot sums up a film with an emblematic sense of "something picturesque."

Another closure convention of early travelogues is the tableau shot of a smiling child or a smiling woman. The interchangeability of women and children in this concluding slot echoes the familiar rhetorical conflation of these two categories: not "women and children first," but women and children last. The child-at-the-end shot sums up a film with a sense of "something cute," while the woman-at-the-end shot sums up a film with a beckoning "something beautiful." Versions of this ending can be found in *The Touaregs in Their Own Country* (Pathé, 1908), which features a smiling woman and a child, and in *Parks in Japan* (production company unknown, ca. 1915), which concludes with three such shots: one of a smiling woman and two of a pair of cute children holding balloons.

Such tableaux might sound merely kitschy, but their actual effect is much more ambiguous. In the concluding shot of *The Oasis of El-Kantara* (Éclair, 1913), for example, we see two children embracing (tinted blue) who giggle at the cameraman, who obviously is giving them directions from off-screen (see plate 1). They are clearly meant to function as "something cute," but the indexical force of seeing real children—not still but moving and responding moment by moment to the cameraman in front of them—has the effect of creating empathy for them as real people being forced into the service of cliché. Even if the girls are not clearly offering resistance to the camera, what remains is a documentation of the awkwardness of their encounter with the cameraman. The camera's presence is not effaced but highlighted.

These sorts of clichéd images appear often in other forms of represented travel before the emergence of cinema, such as illustrated lectures, postcards, and stereographs. But travelogue films added several crucial new aspects to the itinerary of travel imagery. In addition to portraits (of people, costumes, things) and landscape panoramas (urban, rural, or wild), "tracking" shots (taken from a moving vehicle) are extremely common in travelogue films. While portrait shots are usually stationary, landscape panoramas and tracking shots are all about movement. Portraits were common in travel lecture slides, but no other medium could capture the movement of a panning landscape shot or a shot taken from a moving vehicle. What remains the same is the regime of stereotypical images that cinema co-opted from previous forms of represented travel. Entirely novel, however, are the effects of movement and fragmentation enabled by cinema.

Because I aim to analyze the travelogue broadly as a film genre and as a new form of picturing the world, this book does not restrict its scope to travelogues about particular places (with the exception of chapter 7, a case study of travelogues set in the American West). Instead, this book examines travelogues set in locations worldwide. I have attempted to focus the study, however, by analyzing film exhibition and spectatorship in the United States. To this end, with only a few exceptions, I analyze films that I have positively identified as having been exhibited in the United States. One of the pitfalls of such a global scope is a temptation to lapse into overly broad generalizations; to avoid this, I have worked to draw my conclusions out of close analyses of specific films. I have tried to avoid the limitations of formalism by grounding my close analyses in historical and social context. It is my hope that the global scope of this book results in broad explanatory power, but some universalizing is the unavoidable outcome of this methodological approach. In fact, the travelogue genre is so wide ranging and varied that one can often find exceptions to the systems I map out here. Nonetheless, I believe that this most formulaic of genres will benefit at this juncture from attention to its basic structures and myths.

In chapter 1 I analyze the travel film's nineteenth-century precursors in other media such as stereographs, illustrated lectures, and World's Fairs, with a focus on the travel lecture tradition personified by Burton Holmes. The chapter concludes with a section contrasting the strong authorial presence in Holmes's lectures with the lack of authorial presence in travelogue films. In chapter 2 I explore the place of nonfiction in the early film industry, suggesting the ways that early nonfiction films challenge accepted periodizations of early cinema. I briefly outline the production, distribution, and exhibition of travelogues and discuss early film genre at some length, for in this era, nonfiction genres vastly outnumbered fiction genres. In chapter 3 I explore nonfiction film's role in the campaign to "uplift" the cinema from its reputation as a form of cheap amusement into a respected form of "clean" entertainment. In fact, for a brief moment, some early film businessmen such as George Kleine and Thomas Edison felt that travel films and other "educational" subjects represented the commercial future of the industry. Kleine's efforts ultimately failed, but his attempt to commercialize educational films is a crucial part of the story of early cinema.

In chapter 4 I turn to the aesthetics of the travelogue, with a particular emphasis on questions of editing and movement. I also consider how locations of internal empire, along with colonial locations, were represented in film. Chapter 5 is devoted to an analysis of the picturesque in travelogue films, demonstrating that what began as an aesthetic concept of the eighteenth century had become little more than an advertising term by the twentieth century. By definition, the picturesque refers to a generalized sense of something aesthetically compelling, or "like a picture," but as I point out, in travel films this dynamic has the effect of masking social and political realities with a veneer of clichéd beauty. In chapter 6 I address questions of spectatorship and speculate about the travelogue as an experience. I argue that one appeal of the travelogue may have been to offer a place apart for contemplating other visions of dwelling in the world, a quiet space for fantasy and reverie. I take seriously the travelogue's ability to broaden audiences' horizons and pique audiences' sense of wonder, even though this was brought about through the use of imperial imagery. Chapter 7 is a case study of travelogues of the American West. In focusing for the most part on national parks, early travel films attempted to present a vision of the western United States as timeless and pristine, connecting the nation to an ancient, "prehistoric" past. However, the presence of tourists in so many of these films contradicts this fantasy of a timeless paradise, for tourists render these landscapes modern. Finally, in the epilogue, I gesture toward the travelogue's legacy beyond the early cinema period in theatrical feature films, nontheatrical classroom cinema, and the avant-garde film. I pay particular attention to one avant-garde reworking of the travelogue from the end of the silent era, Oskar Fischinger's *Walking from Munich to Berlin* (1927). As that film suggests, just as they can close off the imagination with formulas and clichés, travelogues have the ability to open up lines of flight for the spectator.

NOTES

Preface

1. Howard Koch, "Script to Screen with Max Ophüls," in *Letter from an Unknown Woman*, ed. Virginia Wright Wexman and Karen Hollinger (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 200.
2. *Letter from an Unknown Woman* was released on VHS in 1998, and after many years of unavailability on DVD in the United States, it was finally released on Blu-ray in October 2012.
3. Film prints are held at the EYE Film Institute and the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress print is available online under its U.S. release title, *On the Coast of the Bay of Biscay, France*. Search by title at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html (accessed 12 October 2012).
4. Rick Altman, "From Lecturer's Prop to Industrial Product: The Early History of Travel Films," *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*, ed. Jeffrey Ruoff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 61.
5. Jeffrey Ruoff, "Introduction: The Filmic Fourth Dimension: Cinema as Audiovisual Vehicle," in Ruoff, *Virtual Voyages*, 14.
6. See Thomas Elsaesser, "The New Film History as Media Archaeology," *Cinémas* 14, nos. 2–3 (2004): 75–117.
7. See Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985), 67–76.
8. Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 22–23.
9. Charles Musser, with Carol Nelson, *High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880–1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 55.
10. On the discourse of cruelty in *Las Hurdes* specifically, see Catherine Russell, *Experimental Ethnography: The Work of Film in the Age of Video* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 38–40.
11. Dudley Andrew, "Praying Mantis: Enchantment and Violence in French Cinema

of the Exotic," *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film*, ed. Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 243.

12. Walter Benjamin, "Surrealism," trans. Edmund Jephcott, *Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 179.
13. Recent scholarship has also begun to trace early cinema's influence on cubism. See the exhibition catalogue for *Picasso, Braque, and Early Film in Cubism*, ed. Bernice B. Rose (New York: Pace Wildenstein, 2007).
14. André Breton, "As in a Wood," *The Shadow and Its Shadow: Surrealist Writings on the Cinema*, ed. and trans. Paul Hammond (San Francisco: City Lights, 2000), 73.
15. James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Surrealism," *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 117.

Introduction

1. "Current Educational Releases," *Motography* 6, no. 4 (October 1911): 156–57.
2. Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 145. See also Charles Musser, "The Travel Genre in 1903–04: Moving towards Fictional Narrative," *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser, with Adam Barker (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 123–32.
3. On Imax travel films, see Alison Griffiths, "Time Traveling Imax Style: Tales from the Giant Screen," *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*, ed. Jeffrey Ruoff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 238–58. A search for "travelogue" on YouTube currently yields more than 13,000 results (http://www.youtube.com, accessed 23 September 2012).
4. Hans Robert Jauss, "Modernity and Literary Tradition," *Critical Inquiry* 31, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 331, 360.
5. Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). Singer isolates three main components of the "modernity thesis": that the cinema is *like* modernity, that the cinema is *part* of modernity, and that the cinema was a *consequence* of modernity: ibid., 102–3.
6. Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 84.
7. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). Although it was not published (in German) until 1982, and the English translation did not appear until 1999, Benjamin wrote this text over a period of thirteen years between 1927 and his death in 1940.
8. Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 253.
9. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 10.

10. Nor is this a "surrealist" account of mass culture as a dreamworld. It is important to emphasize that Benjamin found the surrealist emphasis on dreaming to be a romantic notion that valorized the individual's experience over collective experience. He described the emergence of surrealism in the early 1920s as a moment in which "life only seemed worth living where the threshold between waking and sleeping was worn away in everyone as by the steps of multitudinous images flooding back and forth": Walter Benjamin, "Surrealism," trans. Edmund Jephcott, *Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 178. The surrealists found revolutionary energy in the threshold between dreaming and waking, but, as Carlo Salzani has pointed out, "Benjamin's project, to the contrary, is concerned 'to find the constellation of awakening,' to dissolve the modern mythology 'into the space of history'": Carlo Salzani, "The Atrophy of Experience: Walter Benjamin and Boredom," *Essays on Boredom and Modernity*, ed. Barbara Dalle Pezze and Carlo Salzani (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 143.
11. Kristin Whissel, *Picturing American Modernity: Traffic, Technology, and the Silent Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 4.
12. John M. Mackenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict*, ed. John K. Walton (Buffalo, N.Y.: Channel View Publications, 2005), 19.
13. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4.
14. See, e.g., Tom Gunning, "'The Whole World within Reach': Travel Images without Borders," in Ruoff, *Virtual Voyages*, 25.
15. Leslie Page Moch, "Moving Europeans: Historical Migration Practices in Western Europe," *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed. Robin Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 127–28.
16. Ibid., 127.
17. Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 4.
18. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 7.
19. Jonathan Culler, "The Semiotics of Tourism," *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 153.
20. Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989). The quote is from James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to "Culture," 1800–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 4.
21. *Times* (London), 12 January 1850, quoted in Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1991), 57.
22. Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 137.

23. See Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, 57–63.
24. C. Michael Hall and Stephen J. Page, *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place, and Space*, 3d ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 1.
25. The deregulation of airlines after 1978 and the air fare wars of the early 2000s are two other important developments in the history of increasing access to tourism. On the history of tourist practices, see John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); John Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
26. Sharon S. Kleinman and Daniel G. McDonald, "Silent Film and the Socialization of American Immigrants: Lessons from an Old New Medium," *Journal of American and Comparative Cultures* 23, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 80. In 1890, the total percentage of foreign-born U.S. residents peaked at 14.8 percent. This percentage reached a record low of 4.7 percent in 1970 and by 2009 had risen to 12.5 percent. In short, today's immigrant population mirrors that of the early film era when measured by percentage of total U.S. population: Migration Information Source, http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=818 (accessed 23 September 2012). One major difference, of course, is that the immigrants of today and those of one hundred years ago come from very different regions. The top countries of origin for legal U.S. immigrants today (undocumented immigrants by definition cannot be counted), in descending order, are Mexico, China, India, and the Philippines: Migration Policy Institute, http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/countrydata/data.cfm (accessed 23 September 2012).
27. Scott MacDonald, *The Garden in the Machine: A Field Guide to Independent Films about Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). See also P. Adams Sitney, "Landscape in the Cinema: The Rhythms of the World and the Camera," *Landscape, Natural Beauty, and the Arts*, ed. Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 103–26.
28. Martin Lefebvre, ed., *Landscape and Film* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
29. See Barbara Maria Stafford, *Artful Science: Enlightenment, Entertainment, and the Eclipse of Visual Education* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).
30. For a useful basic history see Nils Buttner, *Landscape Painting: A History* (New York: Abbeville, 2006).
31. Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5, 7.
32. Martin Lefebvre, "Between Setting and Landscape in the Cinema," *Landscape and Film*, ed. Martin Lefebvre (New York: Routledge, 2006), 27.
33. Ibid., 24.
34. According to Lefebvre, when landscape is foregrounded in a narrative film, the story recedes: narrative and spectacle are two modes that cannot exist simultaneously. Setting aside the question of the exclusivity of these two modes (I have

reservations about this claim), Lefebvre's basic point about the different modes of narrative and spectacle is important. This argument resonates with an established line of thinking in film studies about the difference between spectacle and narrative—what Donald Crafton has dubbed the "pie and chase" dynamic of slapstick comedy, or what Tom Gunning has analyzed as the "cinema of attractions" in contrast with the "cinema of narrative integration." See Donald Crafton, "Pie and Chase: Gag, Spectacle and Narrative in Slapstick Comedy," *Classical Hollywood Comedy*, ed. Kristine Brunovska Karnick and Henry Jenkins (New York: Routledge, 1995), 106–10; Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser, with Adam Barker (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 56–62.

35. Lefebvre, "Between Setting and Landscape in the Cinema," 28.
36. For an account of avant-garde filmmaking as a form of minor cinema, see Tom Gunning, "Towards a Minor Cinema: Fonoroff, Herwitz, Ahwesh, Lapore, Klahr and Solomon," *Motion Picture* 3, nos. 1–2 (Winter 1989–90): 2–5.
37. See Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, "Towards a Third Cinema" (1969), *New Latin American Cinema*, vol. 1, ed. Michael T. Martin (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 33–58.
38. Constantine Verevis, "Minoritarian plus Cinema," *The Deleuze Dictionary*, ed. Adrian Parr (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 166.
39. Miriam Hansen's notion of cinema as a form of vernacular modernism is relevant here: see Miriam Hansen, "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism," *Modernism/Modernity* 6, no. 2 (1999): 59–77.
40. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 16–18.
41. Gunning, "The Whole World within Reach," 30.
42. "Ephemeral film" is a term favored by film archivists. According to the Internet Archive, "Ephemeral films are non-fiction films usually made for educational, industrial, or promotional purposes": see http://www.archive.org/details/ephemera (accessed 17 October 2012). "Nontheatrical film" is another important label for such film genres, although that label makes more sense after the early cinema period when the divide between theatrical and nontheatrical film stabilized and these terms became adopted by the film industry. In this book I primarily discuss travelogues as a theatrical phenomenon.
43. I am not arguing that every marginal or short-format film is minoritarian. Certainly, we can understand that the phenomenon of cult films, for example, operates largely by taking a marginal film and raising it to a level of new importance among a particular group of viewers, thus negating its marginal status. (Take, for example, *Freaks* or *Night of the Living Dead*, which rose from oblivion to hold important places in film history.) Films can shift in status from minoritarian to majoritarian (and back again) perhaps more easily than literature because of their status as mass culture.

44. Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka*, 26.
45. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 55.
46. See ibid., 55–57.
47. Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau, "Record, Rhetoric, Rationalization: Industrial Organization and Film," *Films That Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media*, ed. Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 36–37. See also Michèle Lagny, "Film History: Or History Expropriated," *Film History* 6 (1994): 26–44.
48. The inclusion of the Desmet Collection on the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's Memory of the World Register was announced in May 2011. The press release is available online at http://www.eyefilm.nl/en/news/eye%E2%80%99s-desmet-collection-inscribed-on-unesco%E2%80%99s-memory-of-the-world-register (accessed 23 September 2012).
49. For an excellent account of Desmet's career, see Ivo Blom, *Jean Desmet and the Early Dutch Film Trade* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003).
50. For more on this subject, see Tom Gunning, "Early Cinema as Global Cinema: The Encyclopedic Ambition," *Early Cinema and the National*, ed. Richard Abel, Giorgio Bertellini, and Rob King (New Barnet, Herts.: John Libbey, 2008), 11–16.
51. All four of these films are in the collection of the EYE Film Institute. I discuss *Glacier National Park* at length in chapter 7.
52. The beginning or ending of a film print was often the first part to be lost (due to its being caught in the projector or trimmed). It is likely that many more such endings would be found if more complete prints existed today.

1. Varieties of Travel Experience

1. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., s.v. "Travelogue."
2. X. Theodore Barber, "The Roots of Travel Cinema: John L. Stoddard, E. Burton Holmes and the Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Travel Lecture," *Film History* 5, no. 1 (1993): 82.
3. Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 223.
4. For an account of the female travel lecturer Esther Lyons, see Giuliana Bruno, *An Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* (London: Verso, 2002), chap. 4. Female lecturers are occasionally mentioned in the early film trade press. For an interview with the lecturer Bernyce Childs, see "Educational Lectures," *Moving Picture News*, 11 March 1911, 9. This interview concludes with the statement, "Our impression is now . . . that the time is ripe, when such ladies as Miss Childs' services can be secured to give educational talks to the various motion picture houses." See also "Miss Steiner Shows Moving Pictures of Northern Ice Fields," *Moving Picture News*, 4 May 1912, 22.
5. The Magic Lantern Society, an organization of collectors, enthusiasts, and schol-