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Around the World with Aloha Wanderwell Baker:
Gender and Authorship in Travelogue Lecture Filmmaking

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Film and Television

by

Jessica Elizabeth DePrest

2022

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2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Around the World with Aloha Wanderwell Baker:
Gender and Authorship in Travelogue Lecture Filmmaking

by

Jessica Elizabeth DePrest

Doctor of Philosophy in Cinema and Media Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Janet Bergstrom, Chair

Around the World with Aloha Wanderwell Baker: Gender and Authorship in Travelogue Lecture Filmmaking analyzes the professional practice of Aloha Wanderwell Baker, a travel lecture filmmaker of the 20th century, who is recognized as the first woman to go around the world by car.¹ Born Idris Galicia Hall in 1906, in Winnipeg, Canada, she lived in France and Belgium before joining Walter Wanderwell on a worldwide tour in 1922 under the stage name Aloha Wanderwell. From 1922 until 1950, Aloha traveled to more than 50 countries, capturing moving image footage and photographs, presenting travelogue lectures, and writing about her many adventures. During the span of her career, she produced 11 travelogue lecture films, two autobiographies, and a nationally broadcast radio show.² Throughout her career, she

¹ This accomplishment was recognized by Guinness World Records in 2017.

² I use her preferred and only consistent name, Aloha, rather than her birth name (Idris Galicia Hall) or any other iteration of her stage surname (Aloha Wanderwell, Aloha Wanderwell Baker, Aloha Baker). This avoids confusion with her first husband, Walter Wanderwell, and second husband, Walter Baker, and importantly,

demonstrated a dedication and commitment to the conservation and preservation of her work, maintaining multiple copies and versions of many of her films. Beginning in the 1970s, however, and continuing until her death in 1996, Aloha began to donate and deposit her papers, film materials, and photographs to archives and collecting institutions across the country. Through in-depth historical research of her personal papers, marketing materials, correspondence, and local and national newspapers and visual analyses of her travelogue lecture films, I demonstrate how Aloha's career offers a lens into the professional practice of other women who were travel lecture filmmakers during the first half of the 20th century. To date, scholarship on travel lecture filmmaking has focused predominantly on the men in the profession (Alexander Black, Burton Holmes, Lyman Howe, Father Hubbard, John L. Stoddard, and Lowell Thomas). However, I counter this gendered precedent in my dissertation through my study of Aloha, bringing a contrasting history into focus, showcasing her particular practices and contributions, and highlighting what differentiated women's travelogues and lectures. Through Aloha, I argue that women who worked as travelogue lecture filmmakers were distinct from their male counterparts and represented an integral part of the development of the profession.

adheres to her chosen identity as a performer, travel filmmaker, and lecturer. Indeed, Aloha wrote her personal and press materials using only "Aloha," and her estate continues that usage today.

The dissertation of Jessica Elizabeth DePrest is approved.

Peter Bloom

John Caldwell

Jasmine N. Trice

Janet Bergstrom, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

This dissertation is dedicated to two of the most courageous women I know –

Beverly Travis

and

Rosa Hoste

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Vita

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Introduction

*“So, follow on, adventure reader; it’s not too late now to sign on for a jaunt you’ll never forget. You may join Aloha on a breath-taking journey around the globe, with every day filled with the space and adventure of hazardous and intrepid living.”*³

This dissertation analyzes the life, films, and professional practice of Aloha Wanderwell Baker, a travel lecture filmmaker of the 20th century. Aloha’s approximately 25-year career took her to more than 50 countries and resulted in 11 travelogue lecture films, two autobiographies, and a nationally broadcast radio show.⁴ Through my study of Aloha’s career, I provide a window into the profession and practice of travelogue lecture filmmaking more generally, while also demonstrating what differentiated the films and careers of women in the profession. To achieve this, I look at Aloha’s production and exhibition practice from 1922 until 1950 alongside her work in conservation and preservation that lasted until her death in 1996. Her efforts throughout her career demonstrate her adaptability as a professional, as she worked to shape her films and her own persona to fit the needs and desires of new audiences. Throughout this study, I demonstrate how that adaptability, her gender, and her focus on highlighting her authorial role is what ultimately differentiates her work.

³ J.T., “No Strings Tied to Her,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, January 7, 1940, 51.

⁴ Throughout this dissertation, I use her preferred and only consistent name, Aloha, rather than her birth name (Idris Galicia Hall) or any other iteration of her stage surname (Aloha Wanderwell, Aloha Wanderwell Baker, Aloha Baker). This avoids confusion with her first husband, Walter Wanderwell, and second husband, Walter Baker, and importantly, adheres to her chosen identity as a performer, travel filmmaker, and lecturer. Indeed, Aloha wrote her personal and press materials using only “Aloha,” and her estate continues that usage today.

A Short Biography of Aloha Wanderwell Baker⁵

Throughout this dissertation, I detail elements of Aloha’s personal history alongside her professional career to contextualize her work. My work, however, does not represent a comprehensive biography of Aloha. Instead, my primary focus is her professional production, specifically looking at her filmmaking and archival efforts.⁶ Therefore, I provide a brief biography of Aloha as part of this introduction to help navigate the elements of her personal history provided in each chapter.

Aloha Wanderwell Baker was born as Idris Galicia Hall on October 13, 1906, in Winnipeg, Canada.⁷ Not much is written about her very early childhood, but sometime in the late 1910s, Aloha; her mother, Margaret Headley Hall; and her sister, Margaret “Miki” Hall, moved from Canada to Western Europe.⁸ Her father, Herbert Hall, was killed in action during World War I. In her recollections, Aloha wrote that she attended boarding school in London and finishing school in Belgium, before moving to France to continue her education.⁹

⁵ I wrote a short biography of Aloha that was published as part of the Women Film Pioneers Project. See: DePrest, J. “Aloha Wanderwell Baker.” In J. Gaines, R. Vatsal, and M. Dall’Asta, eds. *Women Film Pioneers Project*. New York, NY: Columbia University Libraries; 2018. <https://doi.org/10.7916/d8-c4ct-7j76>

⁶ Besides her husbands, Walter Wanderwell and Walter Baker, Aloha worked with many other individuals throughout her career. Although I am able to address the contributions of some of these individuals, for many others there remain only limited traces of their participation. As part of my ongoing research, I have compiled a list of known participants in both the Wanderwell and Baker expeditions. See dissertation appendix.

⁷ This is the birth name and date as provided by her grandson, Richard Diamond. In *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World’s Youngest Explorer* by Christian Fink-Jensen and Randolph Eustace-Walden, they cite her birth name as Idris Welch (also on October 13, 1906), born to Margaret Hedley and Robert Edward Welch. For more see: Fink-Jensen, Christian and Randolph Eustace-Walden, *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World’s Youngest Explorer*, 22. In various records her birth year is cited alternatively as either 1906, 1907, and 1908. For example, in a 1934 petition for U.S. citizenship made in New York, NY, she cites her birthyear as 1907 (Roll 0934, Petition number 241343).

⁸ In *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World’s Youngest Explorer* Fink-Jensen and Eustace-Walden note that Aloha’s mother and sister traveled to Europe first in 1916, with Aloha following in 1919. For more see: Fink-Jensen, Christian and Randolph Eustace-Walden, *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World’s Youngest Explorer*, 31; 37-38.

⁹ “Volume I,” Scrapbook, American Heritage Center, 58–60.



ALOHA AND HER YOUNGER SISTER MARGARET
ATTENDING FINISHING SCHOOL AT A BENE-
DICTINE CONVENT IN BELGIUM.

Figure 1: Photograph of Aloha and her sister Margaret in Belgium, undated ¹⁰

While studying in France, Aloha saw an advertisement to join the “Wanderwell Expedition” led by the self-proclaimed “Captain,” Walter Wanderwell (née Valerian Johannes Piczynski).¹¹

¹⁰ Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 1, Scrapbook 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 58.

¹¹ According to her recollections at the American Heritage Center, the advertisement was in the “Sportive issue of the Paris Herald.” Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 1, Scrapbook 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 61. She also alternatively credits the advertisement to the “French Riviera edition of the Paris Herald.” In *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World’s Youngest Explorer* Fink-Jensen and Eustace-Walden note that her first introduction to the Wanderwell expedition was in *Le Petit Niçois* newspaper, and that Wanderwell himself gave her the article from the *Paris Herald*. For more see: Fink-Jensen, Christian and Randolph Eustace-Walden, *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World’s Youngest Explorer*, 50-52.

Born in 1898 in Posen, Poland, Walter made his way to United States sometime around 1915.¹² He reportedly had been working as sailor before finding his way to the United States via Chile and Argentina.¹³ While he was in Argentina, he participated in his first long-distance hike, from Valparaiso to Buenos Aires, a trek that would take him 2 months. By the time he reached New York from Buenos Aires, he was identifying himself as a “world hiker,” set on conducting a cross-country hike of the United States.¹⁴ He set off on his cross-country hike of the United States from New York on March 16, 1916.¹⁵ Newspaper reports are inconsistent during this period, but he made it as far as Fremont, Nebraska, as part of this trek.¹⁶ Likely along the way, he met and married his first wife, Nell Wanderwell (née Miller). Reported in numerous newspapers, Nell and Walter completed their “honeymoon hike” from Chicago to San Francisco in September 1916 (see Figure 2).¹⁷

¹² Walter’s nationality is sometimes cited as Polish and sometimes German. This likely has to do with the contested city of Posen, where he was born. When he was born, Posen was part of the German Empire (as it had been since 1871); it was previously part of the Kingdom of Prussia (since 1815). After World War I, in 1919, it became part of Poland (though the province had been divided between Poland and Germany). His birth year can be found in the 1930 U.S. Federal Census.

¹³ “Here is an Earnest Trifler,” *The Bucyrus Evening Telegraph*, April 4, 1916, 5.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Some of his earliest appearances in major American newspapers were in 1917 for “suspicious behavior.” Indeed, he and his then-traveling companion Hugo Coutandin were arrested in Atlanta in March 1917 under the suspicion of being German spies. Walter and Coutandin were trying to complete a 175,000-mile expedition at the time, mainly by foot. The expedition was financed with the sponsorship of the Wandervogel Walking Club of Posen, Germany (as part of a competition with another walking club from Brussels, Belgium), per “Germans Arrested and Held Pending Government Probe,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, March 22, 1917, 1. Later, in March 1917, he was charged with “white slavery” for attempting to persuade “a young Salt Lake City girl to leave home and fireside and trek with him,” per “Enden Arrested Again,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, April 19, 1917, 16. This particular incident is cited in other articles, including “Young German Girl Accuses Prisoner: Tells Police Walter Wanderwell Persuaded Her to Leave Home on Marriage Promise, Then Refused to Wed,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, March 23, 1917, 1.

¹⁶ “Wanderwel’s [sic] Tour,” *The Fremont Tri-Weekly Tribune*, May 18, 1916, 3.

¹⁷ See, for example, “Mr. and Mrs. Wanderwel [sic] Wander Well,” *The Hutchinson Gazette*, September 12, 1916, 1; “They Wander Well,” *Palladium-Item* (Richmond, Indiana), September 12, 1916, 10; “Mr. and Mrs. Wanderwel [sic] Wander Well,” *Norfolk Daily News*, September 16, 1916, 1; “Mr. and Mrs. Wanderwel [sic] Wander Well,” *East Oregonian* (Pendleton, Oregon), October 12, 1916, 8. It is possible that Walter had a liaison with a different woman after his marriage in 1916, Anna Coltwanger (see, for example: “Gives Maiden Name as Anna Coltwanger,” *The Salt Lake City Tribune*, March 25, 1917, 15). However, there are often conflicting



Figure 2: Nell and Walter Wanderwell featured in the *Palladium-Item*, 1916.¹⁸

By 1919, Nell and Walter’s work had evolved into an automobile expedition, accompanied at the time by “Mickey” Nelson and Al Nelson.¹⁹ The tour was advertised as the “first official effort after the world war to re-establish the broken links of international travel and good fellowship,” with them touring from Canada, the United States, and Mexico to Europe.²⁰

reports in newspapers of the period. Walter’s life and career deserves its own dedicated study. Because this dissertation focuses on Aloha, Walter’s story will be somewhat more limited.

¹⁸ “They Wander Well,” *Palladium-Item* (Richmond, Indiana), September 12, 1916, 10.

¹⁹ Other reports also include Dewey Maher as part of the original party. See, for example, “Here on Tour Around World,” *The Greenville News*, September 26, 1919, 2. As the years went on, different expedition members would join, including Estell Klaas (“World-Wide Walker Arrives Here in Auto to Make Up Lost Time,” *The Birmingham News*, December 6, 1919, 4), John Schlager (“Walter Wanderwell Returns to Miami on Trip Around World,” *The Miami Herald*, January 8, 1920, 6), and Gertrude Shale (“Joy Ride Takes a Party Around World,” *The Anaconda Standard*, November 21, 1920, 29). See dissertation appendix for larger list of collaborators.

²⁰ “Touring World in an Auto,” *The Macon Telegraph*, September 25, 1919, 2.

They were still in the United States in Fall 1920, and by October, there were signs of the team falling apart. On October 4, 1920, for example, the *Seattle Star* reported that Nell had taken off with Al Nelson (in a romantic tryst) in one of the Wanderwell cars.²¹ Following this incident and other similar setbacks, Walter and Nell reportedly traveled together only a few more times, until May 1921, when Nell began advertising her appearances separately.²² In their separation, Nell continued to use the Wanderwell name, though with a new crew and focusing on her own achievements. Indeed, both Nell and Walter continued to have new members rotate in, and at some point in 1922, Aloha joined and adopted her stage name, Aloha Wanderwell.²³

Aloha participated in the production of four travelogue films while working with Walter Wanderwell: *With Car & Camera Around the World*, *The Last of the Bororos*, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, and *The River of Death*, each of which is detailed in this study. Her role evolved across these productions, as did her relationship with Walter. At first a minor team member, she quickly transitioned to a more leading role in the expedition and its footage and presentations. While working with Wanderwell, their personal relationship developed, and in April 1925 they married in Riverside, California.²⁴ They had two children together, Valri (1925–2020) and Nile

²¹ “Wife Fled With Car,” *The Seattle Star*, October 4, 1920, 1; “Just Out for a Spin,” *The Seattle Star*, October 5, 1920, 4.

²² The first instance I’ve seen of this can be found in Amarillo, Texas, where Nell is reported to be traveling only with Peggie Hartnett: “Making Tour of Continent, Girls Stop Off in Amarillo,” *Amarillo Daily News*, May 1, 1921, 5. More articles appear later in the month: “Women Stop Here In Touring World,” *The Democrat-Herald* (Newkirk, Oklahoma), May 12, 1921, 5. In another article, her traveling companion is named as Frances Moore: “Fair Girls on Motor World Tour Appear at Pollard,” *The Guthrie Daily Leader*, May 17, 1921, 5.

²³ The earliest report of Aloha I’ve found in American newspapers dates to August 23, 1923; however, it notes that she had been a part of the Wanderwell team for some time. Based on this and evidence from her personal papers, it is most likely she joined the expedition in 1922 while in Paris. “News of the World Told in Picture,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 29, 1923, 15. In this article, she’s credited as “Aloha Hall.”

²⁴ By 1925, they had traveled to China, Egypt, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Palestine, Poland, Portugal, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sudan, Switzerland, Turkey, and Yemen as part of the *With Car and Camera Around the World* expedition.

(1927–2018), who were rarely featured in early film footage or presentations but were integral to Aloha’s later archival efforts and continued legacy.

Throughout the years, the Wanderwell expeditions used various automobiles and models, but in the 1920s, Walter decided to focus on and alter the Ford Model T to his specific needs for his expeditions.²⁵ He submitted a patent for his design in May 1925, which featured a minimalist take on the touring models (see Figures 3 and 4).²⁶ In addition to their practical role as the expedition team’s transportation, the Wanderwell vehicles also worked as mobile advertisement. Team members painted them with slogans like “WANDERWELL AROUND THE WORLD ENDURANCE CONTEST,” “WANDERWELL AFRICAN EXPEDITION,” and “WANDERWELL EXPEDITION FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICE,” and attached metal “badges” and painted logos from businesses, clubs, and companies as paid advertising.²⁷ The vehicles also featured the signatures of important people and dignitaries that they encountered along the way, with larger objects attached to the sides of the vehicles including guns, storage containers, and at one point, a small cage for Aloha’s pet monkey, Chango. Before the lecture presentations, the vehicles would often be paraded down the street to the theater or venue and parked outside, acting as an effective draw to the presentation.

²⁵ For example, in 1919, they were using a Hanson, a six-cylinder touring style automobile (“Here on Tour Around World,” *The Greenville News*, September 26, 1919, 2).

²⁶ He would submit another patent in 1932, again for a vehicle design. US Patent Application, Serial number 38,536, Des. 87,494, Published August 2, 1932.

²⁷ Slogans per images of Wanderwell vehicles in the Richard Diamond Trust personal collection. See chapter appendix for images of the expedition vehicles and badges.

Sept. 21, 1926.

W. PIECZYŃSKI
AUTOMOBILE BODY
Filed May 21, 1925

Des. 71,118

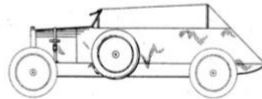


Fig. 1

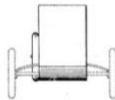


Fig. 2

Inventor
Walter Pieczyński

By *A.B. Brownman*
Attorney

Figure 3: U.S. Patent submission by Walter Wanderwell, figures, 1925

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

WALTER PIECZYŃSKI, OF NEW YORK, N. Y.

DESIGN FOR AN AUTOMOBILE BODY.

Application filed May 21, 1925. Serial No. 13,516. Term of patent 14 years.

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, WALTER PIECZYŃSKI, a citizen of the Republic of Poland, residing at New York city, in the county of New York and State of New York, have invented a new, original, and ornamental Design for Automobile Bodies, of which the following is a specification, reference being had to the accompanying drawings, forming a part thereof.

Figure 1 is a side elevational view of an automobile body showing my design and Fig. 2 is a rear elevational view thereof.

I claim:

The ornamental design for an automobile body, as shown.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand at Los Angeles, California, this 9th day of May, 1925.

WALTER PIECZYŃSKI.

Figure 4: U.S. Patent submission by Walter Wanderwell, 1925

As part of their work producing and exhibiting their travelogue lecture films, Aloha and Walter led the Work Around the World Educational Club (WAWEC). Walter had founded

WAWEC with Nell in the late 1910s, following the end of World War I.²⁸ It was founded with the intention to help achieve world peace through education and disarmament. They promoted WAWEC during their lecture presentations and on their expedition vehicles, similar to the advertisements for businesses on the sides of their vehicles.

Aloha's work with Wanderwell came to an abrupt halt, however, shortly after the conclusion of their South American expedition in 1932. On December 5, 1932, Wanderwell was murdered in Long Beach, California, while aboard his and Aloha's yacht, the *Carma*. Aloha was in Los Angeles at the time and, therefore, was cleared of the crime. When first reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, the details given were as follows: "A well-dressed man appeared at the screened porthole and inquired for Wanderwell. Wanderwell left the dining-room and a few minutes later a shot was heard."²⁹ Because there were no witnesses to the murder and very little evidence, it developed into a complex case that lasted for many weeks. Eventually, William James "Curly" Guy was accused of Walter's murder; however, on February 16, 1933, he was found to be not guilty.³⁰ The case and trial captured public attention at the time and still does to this day.³¹ It remains an unsolved crime and a tantalizing drama in Aloha's life story.

Shortly after the trial in early 1933, Aloha was on the road again, presenting materials she had created while working with Wanderwell.³² As she describes it, while in Wyoming in 1933,

²⁸ I detail WAWEC and its subsidiary, the International Police, in Chapter 1.

²⁹ "Assassin Kills Tourist Chief," *The Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 1932, 17.

³⁰ "Jury Finds Guy Not Guilty of Slaying Capt. Wanderwell on Yacht," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 1933, 18.

³¹ During the trial, the court apparently had one of the suspects reenact the visit at the porthole. To report on this, the *Los Angeles Times* recreated the moment in a printed collage. A clipping is included in the chapter appendix. "Suspect Plays Role of 'Man at Ship's Porthole,'" *The Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1932, 17.

³² Her whereabouts after the trial are difficult to trace; however, by the end of July and into August 1933, she was presenting in person in Oregon, and in September, she was in Washington state (see, for example, Advertisement, *The Eugene Guard*, August 1, 1933, 2; "State," *The Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Washington), September 21, 1933, 5).

she met Walter Baker, a young gas station attendant. He attended one of her presentations and was so enamored he asked her on a date right away. He eventually joined the crew, and a few months later on December 26, 1933, they were married.³³ With Baker, Aloha would produce seven additional travelogues: *To See the World By Car* (1937), *India Now* (1942–1944), *Australia Now* (1940–1944), *Victory in the Pacific* (1945), *Explorers of the Purple Sage* (1945), *My Hawaii* (1949), and *The Magic of Mexico* (1950). However, unlike Aloha’s productions with Wanderwell, Baker stayed out of the spotlight. Their production together instead largely focused on the continued maintenance of Aloha’s star persona, centering her travels and accomplishments.

After the production and exhibition of *The Magic of Mexico*, Aloha’s travelogue and filmmaking career came to a close. She stopped giving lecture presentations in 1950, with the last known presentation of *The Magic of Mexico* occurring on November 14, 1950.³⁴ It is not clear why she stopped at this point. In 1950, she was around 45 years old and without any injuries or bodily issues that would have physically hindered her.³⁵ It is possible that she ended her travelogue and filmmaking practice at this time to focus on her family, because her grandchildren were born around this time.³⁶ There is, unfortunately, no available public

³³ Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 1, Scrapbook 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 50.

³⁴ While November 14, 1950, is the last presentation of *The Magic of Mexico* I have found through my research (Advertisement, *Kansas City Star*, November 14, 1950), it remains possible that she continued presenting travelogues, just without the same advertising in local newspapers. I have not found evidence, however, of any later presentations until her later preservation efforts in the mid-1970s.

³⁵ Her birth year is alternatively listed as either 1906 or 1908.

³⁶ Her daughter, Valri, had an active modeling career in Hawaii, and her son, Nile, was an actor. Both would have likely benefitted greatly from being able to leave their children with Aloha and Walter Baker while working.

documentation on her life at this time, besides the census information that establishes her residence as Newport Beach, California.³⁷

Around 1975, however, Aloha decided to refocus her attention on her travelogue filmmaking career once again and began work on conservation and preservation of her films in archives and collecting institutions across the United States. Between 1975 and 1995, she donated and deposited film, photographs, and paper materials she had created and collected during her expeditions, along with documentation of those materials created specifically for their donation, to nine institutions: Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in Los Angeles, CA, University of Southern California in Los Angeles, CA, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, National Motorcycle Museum in Anamosa, IA, Bishop Museum in Honolulu, HI, American Heritage Center in Laramie, WY, Human Studies Film Archive of the Smithsonian Institution in Suitland, MD, Ford Museum in Detroit, MI, and the Detroit Public Library.³⁸ For each, she curated specific materials based on the mission and goals of that particular institution. To prepare the materials for donation, she not only created supplemental documentation, but also further edited her existing footage, and added descriptive information to photographs and

³⁷ For example, in the California, U.S., Voter Registration, Orange County, 1952. Roll 027, her address is listed as 200 Via Antibes, Newport Beach, California.

³⁸ Details on the archives and collecting institutions that hold her materials are included in the dissertation Appendix. Additional archival collections exist at other institutions. Some materials held by other institutions were either collected by the institution or donated by a private collector. For example, the Library of Congress holds a nitrate print of *The River of Death*, donated by a private collector. The Puke Ariki archive in New Plymouth, New Zealand, has photographs of Aloha in the mid-1930s taken by photographer Caleb Wyatt. It is also likely that Aloha donated to more archives and institutions that I have not yet come across in my research. Since I began this project in 2014, I frequently came across new collections and materials, often in unexpected places. For example, when doing supplemental research on Osa Johnson, I found that the Iowa Motorcycle Museum holds a few materials on the *With Car and Camera Around the World* expedition, because Indian motorcycles were utilized throughout that expedition.

documents.³⁹ Thus, her role in compiling this information was more active and a part of what I explore throughout this dissertation.

Aloha died on June 3, 1996, in Newport Beach, California, a little less than 1 year after Walter Baker, who died on July 27, 1995.⁴⁰ She was survived by her two children, Nile and Valri, and grandchildren, including Richard Diamond and Margaret “Miki” Hall. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I discuss the impact of her family on her legacy after her death and the preservation and restoration efforts being made with her travelogues today.

Despite Aloha’s gender, dramatic life, extensive travel, and creative output, I do not argue in this study that her professional practice was unique. On the contrary, her career reflects many of the same practices of other travel lecturer filmmakers of her time. As I have begun to describe, travel lecture filmmaking practice itself stands apart in both its form and exhibition practice from standard theatrical releases. Travelogue lecture films are by definition presented live. The “lecture” component is as important as the film, creating a unique live experience with each singular audience to whom the film was presented.⁴¹ In addition, although some travelogue lecture filmmakers would assemble their materials into one travelogue film and then present that singular film with an accompanying lecture on a regional or national circuit, others would

³⁹ As she got older, she often utilized the services of Jeanne Councilman. Councilman’s presence can be found through the archival record, primarily through correspondence. In the oral history interview conducted by Jake Homiak of the Human Studies Film Archives with Aloha, Councilman can be heard in the background and is discussed briefly by Aloha and Homiak.

⁴⁰ “Walter Nicholas Baker,” U.S. Social Security Applications and Claims Index, 1936–2007.

⁴¹ As soon as sound on film was developed, travelogues began to include recorded narrations, allowing them to be distributed more widely and without the presence of the travelogue lecture filmmaker. Aloha only had one released production that included a recorded narration, *The River of Death*, but it did not perform well theatrically without her physical presence.

continually edit and adjust their films and lectures while on the road.⁴² The latter practice would result in multiple variants of both the physical film and lecture.⁴³ Throughout her career, Aloha produced travelogue lectures and films that fit *both* of these approaches, allowing for a holistic examination of differing travelogue practices with a single professional.

Two particular qualities, however, make Aloha the ideal subject for a focused study of a travelogue lecture filmmaker. First and most importantly, Aloha firmly believed in the value of her materials and her contributions to the profession of travelogue lecture filmmaking. This confidence led her to maintain and preserve multiple versions and copies of many of her travelogues, in addition to production materials, photographs, scrapbooks, personal journals, and expedition artifacts (including souvenirs, badges, and promotional brochures). Her maintenance and eventual donation of most of this material grants unique access into a profession where most traces of production practice are lost. Indeed, although tracking down her materials in various archives and collecting institutions has complicated my research, those materials have aided me in showcasing the evolution of her career and served to create a point of comparison to the other men and women who worked professionally as travelogue lecture filmmakers.

Second, throughout this study, I argue that women working as travelogue lecture filmmakers were not as unusual as previously described by historians and archivists.⁴⁴ This

⁴² Regional and national lecture circuits developed as part of the Vaudeville tradition where shorter acts were put together to make up a larger program. One-reel films, and at times travelogues, were included as acts in these programs. For more on the travelogue lecture circuit, see Barber, X. Theodore, "The Roots of Travel Cinema: John L. Stoddard, E. Burton Holmes and the Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Travel Lecture," *Film History* 5, no. 1 (1993): 68-84 and Ruoff, Jeffrey, "Around the World in Eighty Minutes: The Travel Lecture Film," *MIT Communications Forum*, December 19, 1999. <http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/papers/ruoff.html>

⁴³ Practitioners would add new footage, remove outdated segments, and adjust the length and primary subject as needed for each audience. For example, versions of Aloha's first film, *With Car and Camera Around the World*, range from 9 to 90 minutes. In the 1924 exhibition of *With Car and Camera Around the World* in China, she removed segments showing her becoming an honorary colonel in the Red Army of Siberia because of the political tension between the Soviet Union and China at that time.

⁴⁴ Indeed, in many studies, if women are mentioned at all, they are largely discussed only in relation to their husbands. In Jeffrey Ruoff's essay "Show and Tell" in *Virtual Voyages*, for example, he noted that, "While there

absence in the critical studies of cinema and media makes Aloha's positioning as a woman travelogue lecture filmmaker (especially in light of the breadth of available archival evidence to analyze) a compelling subject of study. Indeed, this work is the only comprehensive study of Aloha's professional practice and, in fact, the only comprehensive study on the professional practice of a singular woman travelogue lecture filmmaker of the first half of the 20th century.⁴⁵ Although some work has focused on other women travelogue lecture filmmakers, they most often were the subjects of shorter articles or chapter-length studies. Furthermore, the overall careers of these women were often not defined in terms of their travelogue lecture filmmaking, but rather in the context of other areas of their work. For example, well-known filmmaker, lecturer, and adventurer Osa Johnson is most known for her work and filmmaking with her husband, Martin Johnson, and her later writing career, rather than her individual travelogue lecture and filmmaking practice.⁴⁶ For Aloha, however, travelogue filmmaking was a critical part

are few women travel lecturers, many wives are involved in the production process and manage the careers of their filmmaker husbands, handling bookings, publicity, and occasionally mixing sound on the lecture tours," citing the *Travelogue Magazine* as his source. In *Education of the School of Dreams*, Peterson indicated that the practitioners were "almost always men" (23). She only pointed to female practitioners in her note, referencing Giuliana Bruno's work on Esther Lyons (*Varieties of Travel Experience*). She did, however, briefly discuss Martin and Osa Johnson's films, but not in terms of their production or the roles that Martin and Osa Johnson played. In her discussion of the "Moki Land" lecture by Holmes, she noted that visible in the film are "several women in Holmes's traveling party." Her assertion here is not their contribution to the travelogue or lecture, but instead their presence as part of the "assert[ion of] the convenience of modern tourism" and a "gesture toward the many women in Holmes's audience of lecture goers and readers" (49).

⁴⁵ The only published book-length work on Aloha currently is the biography *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World's Youngest Explorer* by Christian Fink-Jensen and Randolph Eustace-Walden. As I detail later, this book does not present a focused study of her entire professional practice, nor does it analyze any of her films. Excellent work is being done by historian Liz Czach on women working as travel filmmakers in the second half of the 20th century.

⁴⁶ See, for example: Horak, L. "Osa Johnson." In J. Gaines, R. Vatsal, and M. Dall'Asta, eds. *Women Film Pioneers Project*. Center for Digital Research and Scholarship. New York, NY: Columbia University Libraries. September 27, 2013. <https://wfpp.cdrc.columbia.edu/pioneer/ccp-osa-johnson/>; James, P., and Imperato E. M. *They Married Adventure: The Wandering Lives of Martin & Osa Johnson*. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Rutgers University Press, 1992; Also see the Safari Museum: <https://safari-museum.com/about/martin-and-osa-johnson/>

of her persona throughout her production career and remains so in the promotion of her life and career to this day.

I look at Aloha's professional practice through a thoroughly archival lens, aided by my unique access to archival materials. My access in large part stems from my professional association with the Academy Film Archive (AFA) in Los Angeles, California. My relationship with the AFA began in 2014, when I was hired to help research and process a collection of materials from Aloha's grandson, Richard Diamond. In that position, I inspected, cataloged, and rehoused more than 55,000 feet of footage in 67 cans of Aloha's original work. The inspection of the film involved a frame-by-frame analysis, by which I became intimately familiar with each of Aloha's travelogues, including their content and overall organization.⁴⁷ As part of this work, I also inspected portions of the original donation of materials made by Aloha. More recently, in my current position as moving image cataloger at the AFA, I have helped bring in a new collection of Aloha's works, deposited by her granddaughter, Miki Hammel.⁴⁸ Whereas the materials that came from Aloha and Richard Diamond focused predominantly on Aloha's earlier work, from the 1920s and 1930s, the materials from Miki Hammel predominantly involve Aloha's later career, from the mid-1940s onward. As a result, at this point, I am the only person to have gone through all of Aloha's film materials at the AFA in a frame-by-frame inspection. Throughout this study, my archival approach is demonstrated alongside Aloha's archival practice. My identities as archivist and cataloger have allowed me to gain a better understanding of Aloha's conservation and preservation practices throughout her career.

⁴⁷ Through this work, I also became very familiar with Aloha's appearance and gait, improving my ability to recognize her in later films and differentiate her from other expedition members and members of her family.

⁴⁸ In addition, as moving image cataloger, I am now responsible for the creation, organization, and cleaning of records across all AFA collections. This position has allowed me to help steward the Aloha collection and move its continued preservation and restoration forward.

In contemporary culture, literature, and media, Aloha has been discussed in two primary ways: first, as a forgotten pioneer and explorer who is overdue for recognition, and second, as an example of an early ethnographic filmmaker. Her positioning as a forgotten pioneer and explorer overdue for recognition has been a consistent narrative defining both her and her career for more than 10 years. In 2019, she was featured as part of *The New York Times*' "Overlooked No More" series, obituaries that highlight "remarkable" people whose deaths weren't covered by the newspaper.⁴⁹ Her achievements are featured on a website, run by her grandson, Richard Diamond; in press releases throughout the years; and by the libraries and archives that hold her materials.⁵⁰ Most recently, her film *With Car and Camera Around the World* was inducted by the National Film Preservation Board into the National Film Registry at the Library of Congress as one of 25 films selected that year as "America's most influential motion pictures,"⁵¹ again reiterating the narrative that recognition of her work is past due. And although this press has engaged more audiences with her life and creative productions, it has not yielded much academic work or research.

As of August 2022, there is only one widely known published dedicated study of Aloha: *Aloha Wanderwell: The Border-Smashing, Record-Setting Life of The World's Youngest Explorer* by Christian Fink-Jensen and Randolph Eustace-Walden. This 2016 text does not aim to analyze her creative production, but rather presents a biographical account, largely in the

⁴⁹ Rickey, C. "Overlooked No More: Aloha Wanderwell, Explorer and Filmmaker," *The New York Times*, April 17, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/obituaries/aloha-wanderwell-overlooked.html>. As described on the webpage, the Overlooked series is "a series of obituaries about remarkable people whose deaths, beginning in 1851, went unreported in *The Times*."

⁵⁰ The website run by Richard Diamond can be accessed at <https://www.alohawanderwell.com/>.

⁵¹ The selection of *With Car and Camera Around the World* for the National Film Registry is framed in the Library of Congress' press release as part of a "record-setting 10 films directed by women" included in the list. "National Film Registry Spotlights Diverse Filmmakers in New Selections," Library of Congress. December 14, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/prn-20-082/national-film-registry-spotlights-diverse-filmmakers-in-new-selections/2020-12-14/>.

timeframe of her first two expeditions. It is part biography, part historical fiction, as Fink-Jensen and Eustace-Walden recount Aloha's adventures through engaging storytelling, historical photographs, and historical research. Most published academic work on Aloha focuses only on her time with the Indigenous Bororo people of Brazil. Often positioning her as a quasi-ethnographic filmmaker, the texts look at how her image production is part of the history of scientific exploration and documentation of the region. Luciana Martins' 2013 *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil*, for example, focuses on the visual construction of Brazil through the use of still and motion pictures from 1900 to 1940.⁵² In Martins' book, Aloha appears as one of two examples in the seventh chapter, which focuses on the visual representation of the Bororo Indians in the Mato Grosso. In that chapter, Martins compares Aloha and Walter's 1930–1931 South American expedition to Claude Lévi-Strauss's 1935–1936 expedition.⁵³ As Martins explains, the purpose of this comparison was to address both the status of ethnographic filmmaking in the 1930s and the visual production of knowledge in the region. Martins' engagement with Aloha and her work, however, is limited to the Bororo expedition and analyzes only one of the films produced from the footage, *The Last of the Bororos*. Similarly, the 2018 article "Landscapes of Memory: The First Visual Images of the Bororo of Central Brazil" by Edgar Teodoro da Cunha and Sylvia Caiuby Novaes addresses Aloha in the context of other early depictions of the Indigenous Bororo people.⁵⁴ In their article, Teodoro da Cunha and Caiuby Novaes utilize Aloha and Walter Wanderwell's *The Last of the*

⁵² Martins, L. *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2013.

⁵³ See also Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes Tropiques*, a memoir Lévi-Strauss published in France in 1955 (it was not published in the United States until 1961) that documented his travel and work in Brazil.

⁵⁴ "Landscapes of Memory: The First Visual Images of the Bororo of Central Brazil." *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, Vol. 16. 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-43412019v16a202>.

Bororos for their study and align it with Luiz Thomaz Reis' *Bororo Rituals and Feasts* and Dina and Claude Levi-Strauss's ethnographic films. Framed alongside these works, *The Last of the Bororos* takes on new significance (despite being categorized as "films as part of exotic adventure").⁵⁵ The purpose, however, of "Landscapes of Memory," is to explore how visual images (both moving and still) simultaneously demonstrate the motivations and qualities of the makers while providing value as accessible artifacts for audiences and as "memories" for descendants of the individuals depicted. This value is thus also granted to Aloha's South American footage in *The Last of the Bororos* and places it more in the genre of ethnographic or anthropological evidence.⁵⁶

Outside of the literature on Aloha herself, my study contributes to and is in conversation with a number of different fields. Motivated in part by a touristic gaze, partly by an anthropological impulse and partly by a seemingly unending quest for self-expansion and self-knowledge, Aloha's films slide across the porous boundaries of documentary and ethnographic filmmaking. Her representation of Indigenous populations, communities and cultures different than her own can be addressed through and contribute to wider scholarship on ethnographic filmmaking as a form of visual anthropology. Put in conversation with texts like Alison Griffith's *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, & Turn of the Century Visual Culture*

⁵⁵ "Films as Part of Exotic Adventure" is the section heading for their analysis of *The Last of the Bororos*. Ibid.

⁵⁶ Both Martins and Rodoro da Cunha and Caiuby Novaes used the collections at the Smithsonian's Human Studies Film Archive to conduct their analysis of *The Last of the Bororos*. The archive was founded in 1975, originally as the National Anthropological Film Center, to both "creat[e] and collec[t] films of anthropological research interest." Indeed, in a 1976 acquisition, Aloha donated film material, photographs, paper materials, and a map to the archive. In addition to original nitrate prints of *The Last of the Bororos*, this included a clipping from *With Car and Camera Around the World* (a short segment focused on the Kavirondo of Africa), with the rest of the materials acting as supporting documentation of *The Last of the Bororos*. This value, created by the simple inclusion in the archive, is a theme I explore in this study, because it is a common narrative of the lifecycle of Aloha's films. See, "Anthropology Archives." Smithsonian Institution. <https://naturalhistory.si.edu/research/anthropology/collections-overview/anthropology-archives>.

and Peter Bloom's *French Colonial Documentary: Mythologies of Humanitarianism*, Aloha's films can provide useful and alternative examples of how to approach visual anthropology, travel cinema, and colonialist film practice.⁵⁷

For example, Alison Griffiths, in *Wondrous Difference*, identifies three key motifs that emerge from the promotional discourse around travel films. These motifs are ethnographic reconstruction, the native dance, and the effects of the returned gaze (that is, when the subject looks back at the camera, what does that tell the spectator about the filmmaker or the context surrounding the films' production?). Read alongside and against these motifs, Aloha's films reflect these trends in travel cinema yet stand apart in certain areas. For example, in *With Car & Camera Around the World*, often rather than focusing on a city or its residents and the returned gaze of those residents, the predominant figure (and often the only one in focus in the frame) is Aloha. As a review in *The New York Times* put it, by the "conclusion of [*With Car And Camera Around the World*] one feels that Miss Wanderwell is an essential part of any landscape, here or abroad."⁵⁸ Therefore the returned gaze in *With Car and Camera Around the World* is from Aloha, rather than the population depicted.

In *French Colonial Documentary: Mythologies of Humanitarianism*, Peter Bloom demonstrates how the camera was used to "categorize" and "catalogue" colonized populations, with the creation of a stereotypical subject, as seen through the touristic, educational, and medical gazes and practices seen in colonial documentary practice.⁵⁹ Bloom argues that the use

⁵⁷ Griffiths, A. *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, & Turn of the Century Visual Culture*. New York, New York. Columbia University Press; 2002. Bloom, P. *French Colonial Documentary: Mythologies of Humanitarianism*. Minneapolis, Minnesota. University of Minnesota Press; 2008.

⁵⁸ "With Car and Camera Around the World," *The New York Times*, December 17, 1929.

⁵⁹ Peter Bloom's work on the sponsored trans-Saharan crossing films, made in conjunction with French automobile companies Citroën, Peugeot, and Renault, is also a useful comparison to my study of the Wanderwell

of the documentary image was intimately connected to a construction of “truth” created and imposed by the French colonial authorities. Read in conversation with Bloom’s work, an analysis of Aloha’s films can demonstrate another stereotypical use of imagery in creating a “truth,” in the depiction of communities outside of the White, economically privileged populations of the United States and Europe. Similar comparisons can be made with texts like Ali Behdad’s *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* and James Clifford and George E. Marcus’ *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*.⁶⁰

Further, because my study of Aloha is deeply intertwined with archival practice and archival theory, my efforts can also be read as a contributing example to the study of the impact of the archive on an archival object’s meaning. As previously noted, Aloha began donating and depositing material to archives and collecting institutions across the United States beginning in the mid-1970s, but her efforts involved a much more active practice in that her donations involved reimagining and reediting materials to better fit the institutions to which she was donating. These acts of archiving have two crucial implications: First, her archiving of her films and ephemera affects how those objects can be understood, not only through their contextual surroundings but through the act of donating (or depositing) to an archive; and second, her archiving influences the understanding of her persona and historical impact.⁶¹ Put into

Expeditions and their relationship with Ford Motor Vehicles and Indian Motorcycles. Bloom, *French Colonial Documentary*, 65–94.

⁶⁰ Behdad, Ali, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*, Durham, North Carolina. Duke University Press; 1994; Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, University of California Press, 2010.

⁶¹ The study of how the physical space in which an object is shown or archived is critical to my approach to Aloha’s career and films. If we trace the lifecycle of her travelogues, the space of exhibition becomes critical to the creation of meaning. The study of exhibition space discussed in the edited collections of *Moviewalking in America: A Sourcebook in the History of Film Exhibition* (Waller, G. A. Malden, Maine. Blackwell; 2002) and *Exploration in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies, Exhibition, the Film Reader* (Maltby, R., Biltereyst, D., and Meers, P. eds. West Sussex, England. Wiley-Blackwell; 2011), for example, offer an

conversations with texts like Jaimie Baron's *The Archive Effect: Found Footage and the Audiovisual Experience of History* and the "interpretive frameworks" of Bill Nichols in *Blurred Boundaries: Questions of Meaning in Contemporary Culture*, Aloha's archival acts can be interpreted as useful examples of an active archival practice.⁶²

Ultimately, however, the most significant contribution of my study of Aloha and her professional career and output is to the study of travelogue lecture filmmaking and the women who worked in the profession. Aloha's primary creative output, and what her professional persona centered on, was her moving image travelogue lectures. Although I do not aim to redefine the historical understanding of travelogue lecture filmmaking, Aloha's professional practice and extensive archival record complicate a more straightforward definition and add nuance to our understanding of the professional practice of travelogue lecture filmmaking.

To date, scholarship on travelogue lecture filmmaking has focused predominantly on the men in the profession, including individuals like Alexander Black, Burton Holmes, Lyman Howe, Father Hubbard, John L. Stoddard, and Lowell Thomas, and very few academic texts focus only on travelogues—instead addressing travelogues as part of a larger cinematic approach

approach to the impact of exhibition, with attention to the numerous nonstandardized practices of cinema before 1927.

⁶² Related to this, Vivian Sobchack's 1999 essay "Towards a Phenomenology of Nonfictional Film Experience," can serve as a useful text for understanding how to approach Aloha's films and career as a mixture of both her professional and private life. Sobchack described three modes of identification by which the audience experiences a film: the film-souvenir, documentary, and fiction, and how the audience is positioned is what makes this identification possible. For Aloha, although spectators may see *With Car and Camera Around the World* as documentary, industrial film, or ethnographic film, for Aloha, it functions more as a film-souvenir, or home movie (recalling our own lived experiences and memories). Additionally, although these multifarious identifications are important in considering her early work, they become more critical for her later films such as *My Hawaii* and *The Magic of Mexico*, which blur the line between home movie and travelogue film even further. Sobchack, V. "Towards a Phenomenology of Nonfictional Film Experience." See also, J. Gaines and M. Renov, eds. *Collecting Visible Evidence*. Minneapolis, Minnesota. University of Minnesota Press; 1999. Pg. 241–254. Also see Zimmermann, B. *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*. Bloomington, Indiana. University of Indiana Press; 1995. Moran, J. M. *There's No Place Like Home Video*. Minneapolis, Minnesota. University of Minnesota Press; 2002. Ishizuka, K. I. *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories*. Berkeley, California. University of California Press; 2007. Tepperman C. *Amateur Cinema: The Rise of North American Movie Making 1923-1960*. Berkeley, California. University of California Press; 2014.

to travel and tourism. Studies like Kevin Brownlow's *The War, The West and The Wilderness*; Charles Musser's 1991 *High Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Travelling Exhibition, 1880-1920* and his contribution to *Early Cinema: Space, Frame Narrative*, "The Travel Genre in 1903-04: Moving Towards Fictional Narrative"; Jeffrey Ruoff's edited collection *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*⁶³; Jeanette Roan's *Envisioning Asia: On Location, Travel, and the Cinematic Geography of U.S. Orientalism*; and Jennifer Peterson's *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film*⁶⁴ all are foundational in establishing a dedicated study of travel cinema and travelogues. They build on work by authors like Tom Gunning and John Fell, whose work on early cinema established the foundational knowledge of how travelogues came to be.⁶⁵ In addition to these works, there are also more focused studies on particular practitioners such as Eric Ames' *Carl Hagenback's Empire of Entertainments*, R. Scott Williams' *The Forgotten Adventures of Richard Halliburton: A High-Flying Life from Tennessee to Timbuktu* and Genoa Caldwell's *Burton Holmes Travelogues: The Greatest Traveler of His Time, 1892-1952*.

⁶³ *Virtual Voyages* focused on travelogues and their significance as an alternative to dominant narrative forms of cinema. Its overall argument was that film studies should recognize and engage with the heterogeneity of the objects—one of these being the often-neglected travelogue. In Ruoff's essay, "Show and Tell: The 16mm Travel Lecture Film," he emphasized how travel lectures leave little trace of their production and exhibition insofar as they are half live and ephemeral performance and half film. Moreover, he emphasized the corporeality of both travel and the lectures as demonstrated in the physical appearance of the travelers, recalling travel lecture filmmaker Thayer Soule's claim that the travel lecture film, or travelogue, "lives only when the producer and his audience are together." Ruoff, *Virtual Voyages*, 217.

⁶⁴ Addressing Ruoff's call for a reevaluation of the value of travelogues in film studies, Jennifer Peterson's 2013 *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film* focused on the significance of the travelogue film in terms of its aesthetic and commercial history, imagining the travelogue genre as "a new form of picturing the world." Peterson, *Education in the School of Dreams*, 20.

⁶⁵ Theoretical and foundational concepts, such as those found in Tom Gunning's "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant Garde" and John L. Fell's *Film Before Griffith* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press; 1983), are especially important for the reading of early travelogues and their spectatorial experience. Using scholarship such as Gunning's helps demonstrate the evolution and impact of travelogue filmmaking and the industrial practices surrounding their production and repositioning alongside the work of travel lecturing. Gunning, T. "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant Garde." *Wide Angle*. Vol. 8, No. 3-4. 1986.

As previously noted, women who worked as travelogue lecture filmmakers are rarely covered in academic work. My contribution, along with work being done by scholars like Liz Czach and Courtney Stephens, aims to change that.⁶⁶ My work argues against the gendered precedent in scholarship by bringing a contrasting history into focus, showcasing Aloha's particular practices and contributions, and noting what differentiated women's travelogues and lectures. I argue that the women who worked as travel lecture filmmakers were distinct from their male counterparts and an integral part of the development of the profession. There are some key published studies on women, however, with which my analysis on Aloha's persona and career is in conversation. Kimberly Tarr's "Round the World and Back Again: Mapping the Cultural and Historic Significance of the Adelaide Pearson Film Collection" looks at a collection of 16mm travel films made by Adelaide Pearson, whose career offers a useful comparison to Aloha's. Studies like Andy Uhrich's "'Beautiful to the Eye, Pleasing to the Ear': Educational Performance in A Pictorial Story of Hiawatha (1904-1908)" and Giuliana Bruno's *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* also offer comparative studies, where the women discussed were not travelogue lecture filmmakers per se, but worked in related professions that offer useful points of comparison to Aloha's work.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Liz Czach's recently published article, for example—"Researching as Searching: Refusing the Archival Lacunae" in *Feminist Media Histories* (Spring 2022)—gives a fascinating look into her research and work on women travel filmmakers and lecturers. Courtney Stephens is a scholar and filmmaker whose work like *Terra Femme* (Archival film or live-performance, 2017-2021) highlights the work of women practitioners. For more on *Terra Femme* and Courtney Stephens' work see: <https://www.courtneystephens.net/Terra-Femme>

⁶⁷ In *Atlas of Emotion*, the chapter "Fashioning Travel Space" focuses on Esther Lyons, a female travel lecturer. See also, for example, Friedberg, A. *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*. Berkeley, California. University of California Press; 1993. Mills, S. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. New York, New York. Routledge; 1993. Strain, E. *Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment, and the Tourist Gaze*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Rutgers; 2003. Siegel, S. *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing*. New York, New York. Peter Lang; 2004.

My study of Aloha contributes to this dialogue on women and travelogues and the importance of understanding the heterogeneity of film production more generally. Through my analysis of Aloha's production practice, in her time working with both Walter Wanderwell and Walter Baker and on her own, and I highlight Aloha's insistence on underscoring her authorial role and presence in her travelogues and presentations. Indeed, throughout her career, Aloha repeatedly emphasized her creative role in productions, often including her credits but not those who had also contributed to the productions.⁶⁸ Beginning as early as her work in *With Car and Camera Around the World*, she and Walter Wanderwell were featured far more prominently than any other crew member, and in her production resume, she credited herself as "co-cinematographer, editor" of the film.⁶⁹ And later, for films like *My Hawaii*, Aloha coopted footage from other sources and filmmakers and failed to credit them altogether, with only traces of the origins of the materials visible in the archive.

Interrelated to her emphasis on authorship and authorial presence was her focus on the promotion and centering of her gender and overall positioning as a woman travel lecture filmmaker. The performance of gender plays an important role throughout Aloha's career, from her appearances on screen to her in-person appearances at lectures, where her femininity was emphasized through both costuming and marketing. With my study, I hope to bring forward an example of a woman travelogue lecture filmmaker who countered the claim that the profession was only done by men, and my own claim that through her positioning as a woman, her practice differed from men in the profession.

⁶⁸ See dissertation appendix for a compiled list of known participants in both the Wanderwell and Baker expeditions.

⁶⁹ Aloha's resume was emailed to this author by Richard Diamond on July 25, 2018. The email correspondence included the date the resume was compiled. The complete resume is included in the dissertation appendix.

Chapter Overview

My dissertation is largely organized chronologically, following the original production of Aloha's travelogues. Chapter 1 focuses on the production, exhibition, and preservation of Aloha's first work, *With Car and Camera Around the World*. Chapter 2 focuses on her three South American travelogues, *The Last of the Bororos*, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, and *The River of Death*. Chapter 3 focuses on Aloha's creative production and career during World War II, including three films: *India Now*, *Australia Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific*. Finally, Chapter 4 analyzes Aloha's final three travelogues, *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, *My Hawaii*, and *The Magic of Mexico*, all produced in the postwar period.

Although the chronological structure seems straightforward, in each chapter, I trace each travelogue's history past its initial production to consider her more contemporary conservation and preservation efforts. Indeed, for nearly all her films, Aloha consistently reimagined her role and persona in them, fitting them to whatever needs she had at that time. This work remained until her death in 1996, as she continued her conservation and preservation efforts. Throughout all her work, questions of both gender and authorship arise, as she continually positioned herself as the primary author while simultaneously emphasizing her gender, differentiating herself from her male counterparts in the profession.

Chapter 1: With Car and Camera Around the World

Chapter 1 focuses on the first production Aloha participated in, *With Car and Camera Around the World*. This chapter traces the history of *With Car and Camera Around the World* from its production to its original exhibition and its later conservation and preservation. By following the travelogue's lifecycle alongside Aloha's evolving career, I provide a detailed

example of the travelogue profession that grants access to the unique production and exhibition practice of this filmmaking form.

With Car and Camera Around the World was produced from materials captured during the first Wanderwell expedition (from approximately 1921 to 1929). Throughout the expedition, film materials were being produced and exhibited with changes being made to the exhibited materials while the expedition was traveling. Indeed, the history of the travelogue is complicated yet defined by the duality of describing the film as the expedition and conversely, the expedition as the film. Although a release date of 1929 is noted in the press and copyrights (and the end of the expedition), that only represents one version of the travelogue. Therefore, in Chapter 1, I examine *With Car and Camera Around the World* comprehensively, detailing all versions of the travelogue, both during and after the original years of production. Indeed, revisions to *With Car and Camera Around the World* continued far beyond the expedition's end in 1929, with versions in the 1930s, 1970s, and even more recently, in the 2020s.

In Chapter 1, I argue that through the malleability of the travelogue form and the adaptability of the role of the travelogue filmmaker, women found footing in the profession. In parallel, I begin to trace how by approaching the travelogue profession more holistically and redefining its boundaries, I can demonstrate that there were far more women in the profession than previously thought.

To conduct this chapter's analysis, I use all available "versions of *With Car and Camera Around the World*. This includes "complete" versions (as identified through clean prints, with title cards) and "working" copies, with splices, open-ended sequences, and abrupt starts and

stops.⁷⁰ Although many versions still exist physically, many others have been lost due to the nature of travelogue exhibition. Because of this, I also look at additional ephemeral material to obtain a better sense of the many versions, particularly the versions no longer available to view. The film materials that remain include 16 reels of 35mm nitrate, five reels of 35mm safety, and 12 reels of 16mm safety.⁷¹ Other related materials include Aloha's 1939 autobiography, *A Call to Adventure*; 1976 marketing materials for *With Car and Camera Around the World*; and a 1995 interview between Jake Homiak of the Smithsonian Human Studies Film Archives and Aloha.

Chapter 2: The South American Expedition

Continuing the argument brought forward in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 addresses how the adaptability of the footage gave space for women in the profession of travelogue lecture filmmaking and widened the possibilities for how (and where) women professionals could present their materials. Specifically, Chapter 2 analyzes Aloha Wanderwell's performative work as filmmaker, lecturer, distributor, and curator in relation to her three South American travelogues, *The Last of the Bororos*, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, and *The River of Death*, each produced from the same footage captured during Aloha and Walter Wanderwell's 1930 South American expedition.⁷²

⁷⁰ As defined by the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia, "A splice is when a film has to be cemented or taped together because of breakage or as part of the editing process." For more information see: <https://www.nfsa.gov.au/preservation/preservation-glossary/splices>

⁷¹ Aloha Wanderwell Baker Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

⁷² I purposefully do not attempt to identify separate release years for the three travelogues. The distinctions between the travelogues and an exploration of their release years are part of the analysis undertaken in this chapter. Very little has been written on these films because of lack of accessibility and the confusing overlaps between the films made from the South American footage. Luciana Martins' *Photography in the Making of Modern Brazil* looks in some depth at this period of Aloha's career. Although this is a useful text, Martins had access to only one archival collection, the Smithsonian's Human Studies Film Archive (Suitland, Maryland), thus limiting her research to only one film, *The Last of the Bororos*.

In contrast to Chapter 1, where I examine the variations and evolution of a singular travelogue, *With Car and Camera Around the World*, in Chapter 2, I look at how one set of footage was manipulated and repurposed into three distinct travelogues, demonstrating how Aloha continually shaped and reshaped the same footage to impact its perceived value as entertainment, scientific evidence, or cultural heritage object for diverse audiences. Through her work, Aloha not only established new significance for the same materials, but also continuously redefined her persona for personal, promotional, and financial gain.

To conduct this chapter's analysis, I utilize fragments, outtakes, complete versions, and trims and outs of Aloha's three South American travelogues: *The River of Death*, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, and *The Last of the Bororos*.⁷³ In addition, I use unpublished manuscripts, shooting scripts, scrapbooks, photographs, audio interviews, and original paper marketing materials. The film and additional materials are held at various institutions, including the AFA, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Library of Congress, and the Smithsonian's Human Studies Film Archive.⁷⁴

Chapter 3: Wartime Production

After the period of production discussed in Chapter 2 (approximately 1930 to 1933), Aloha produced one additional film before the start of the United States' involvement in World War II. That travelogue was *To See the World By Car*, which covered her and Walter Baker's

⁷³ As defined by the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF), trims and outs are "Portions of scenes and out-takes left behind after the utilised part is cut into a production, often stored after negative cutting." For more definitions of related preservation and archiving terms, see: <https://www.fiafnet.org/pages/E-Resources/Technical-Terms-Full-List.html>

⁷⁴ Some of the film materials have been digitized, while others have not yet, thus accessibility to the film materials is different for each film and dependent on the institution which holds that material. For example, *The River of Death* has been digitized by the Library of Congress, and is publicly available online, whereas *The Last of the Bororos* has not. Preservation work on the materials from *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* has begun, however as of August 2022 that work is still in progress.

“Honeymoon” expedition.⁷⁵ The *To See the World By Car* expedition retraced a very similar path to *With Car and Camera Around the World* and featured many of the same sites. Although I briefly address this film in Chapter 3, my primary analysis is centered on her three principal films produced in between 1941 to 1945, *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific*.

The travelogues and lectures Aloha produced and exhibited during this time were both visually and thematically different than her earlier productions, reflecting not only her professional evolution but also that of the profession during the war. Her wartime travelogues and lectures largely focused on the Indo-Pacific region, centering on Australia, India, and Malaysia. Her lecture and travelogue titles included *New Horizons for Women* (1941), *Australia Now* (1942–1944), *India Now* (1942–1944), *The Pacific* (1945–1946), and *Victory in the Pacific* (1945–1946).⁷⁶ Continuing from my analysis of Aloha’s performative work with the South American footage in Chapter 2, in Chapter 3, I discuss how World War II affected the output of travelogue lecture filmmakers, particularly women filmmakers, as seen through Aloha’s production and exhibition practice. In doing so, I look at how Aloha’s production and exhibition during World War II demonstrated both the adaptability of the travelogue profession and the manner in which women travelogue lecture filmmakers positioned themselves both in relation and in contrast to their male counterparts.

To conduct this chapter’s analysis, I use surviving 16mm copies of three of her wartime travelogues, *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific*. All three are part of the collections at the AFA. As of August 2022, there are no known surviving paper materials or accompanying ephemera that would allow for a more in-depth analysis of this period. Instead,

⁷⁵ Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 1, Scrapbook 2, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

⁷⁶ Of these, only *India Now*, *Australia Today*, and *Victory in the Pacific* survive in any physical capacity.

my analysis of the films is supplemented by extensive historical newspaper research, which allowed me to begin to reconstruct how, where, and when these travelogues were presented.

Chapter 4: Postwar Production

The final chapter of this study analyzes Aloha Wanderwell's three postwar travelogues, *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, *My Hawaii*, and *The Magic of Mexico*, and how together they reflect the culmination of her professional practice and the evolution of travelogue filmmaking. Using Aloha's three travelogue films and lecture presentations of the postwar period, I examine how larger concepts of the home and homeland shaped the content and locations she presented, and how her "local" positioning and positioning as a woman traveloguer both granted her access to a more intimate portrait of the people and locations featured in each travelogue and established her expertise as an American citizen. As discussed, whereas in Chapter 1 and 2 Aloha's development of her travelogue persona reiterated her celebrity, expertise, and positioning as a global citizen, starting in the war and further developing during the postwar period, Aloha's focus instead reinforced her American-ness and positioning as a woman.

To conduct this chapter's analysis, I utilize a wide variety of film, paper and photographic materials. Indeed, for *Explorers of the Purple Sage* and *My Hawaii*, not only do the final edited travelogues exist in full, digitized copies, but there are also typed transcripts of both narrations, original marketing materials, and photographs. Additionally, production elements and trims and outs exist for both films.⁷⁷ With these materials, along with extensive historical newspaper research, I conduct an in-depth analysis of the content, exhibition, and preservation of

⁷⁷ There are substantially more materials from *My Hawaii* that survive than *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, including more than 30 100-foot 16mm reels, as opposed to *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, for which only a few 400-foot 16mm reels remain. As of August 2022, the materials detailed here are what have been found.

these films. The final film I discuss, *The Magic of Mexico* has the least amount of surviving material, with only a few short film fragments held in the personal collections of Miki Hammel and Richard Diamond at the AFA in Los Angeles, California.⁷⁸ However, with these materials and the production practice established with *Explorers of the Purple Sage* and *My Hawaii*, I was able to conduct my analysis of *The Magic of Mexico* and the end of her production career.

When I started this dissertation project in October 2014, I imagined that Aloha would be only one example of many filmmakers whom I covered in this work. Through the past eight years of work and research on her career, life, and preservation and conservation work, however, it became clear that Aloha's complex life and career merited its own dedicated study, and my project began to shift to include detailed visual analyses of each of her films, in-depth research on her paper materials and other ephemera, and analyses of larger thematic questions of gender and authorship that arise from the examination of her work. Since 2014, I have come across many women travelogue lecture filmmakers in my research, each of whom deserves her own study.⁷⁹ For this dissertation, however, I use Aloha as a window into the profession as a whole and hope through my work to inspire further scholarship on this unique profession in cinematic history.

⁷⁸ Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA; Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

⁷⁹ Some of these women worked as part of the Wanderwell and Baker expeditions, and are included in the list of collaborators in the dissertation appendix.

Introduction Appendix



Figure 5: Photograph of Wanderwell Expedition vehicle with badges, undated.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Undated photograph, Richard Diamond Trust, Mission Viejo, CA. Alohawanderwell.com.



Figure 6: Photograph of Wanderwell vehicle badges, undated.⁸¹

⁸¹ Undated photograph, Richard Diamond Trust, Mission Viejo, CA. Alohawanderwell.com.



Figure 7: Recreation by the *Los Angeles Times* on Walter Wanderwell murder scenario, 1932⁸²

⁸² "Suspect Plays Role of 'Man at Ship's Porthole,'" *The Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1932, 17.

Chapter 1: With Car and Camera Around the World

With Car and Camera Around the World premiered at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse in New York in mid-December 1929.¹ That first showing was widely reported in New York area newspapers, and Aloha, Walter, and the Wanderwell expedition thus made their “official” debut as a theatrical travelogue. In the “On the Stage and Screen – Of Interest to Women” section of *The Standard Union*, a local newspaper in Brooklyn, *With Car and Camera Around the World* was reviewed as follows: “Some of the photography is extremely beautiful, but, on the other hand, much is blurred and indistinct, due probably to the severe or unfavorable conditions under which the recording was done. Many interesting scenes of strange customs ... are shown, marred, however, by the childish insistence on proving that Mrs. Wanderwell and her automobiles were really there.”² Ultimately, the film did not perform well, and press reviews ranged from dismissive to outright negative, but crucially, throughout them all, the common narrative was Aloha’s persistent visibility in the footage. The press coverage’s focus, however, does not tell the complete story, because the 1929 version was just one of many, and throughout its years of production, the travelogue presented many different areas of focus and points of view.

The film materials from which *With Car and Camera Around the World* was created were originally produced as a supplementary means of financing the Wanderwell expedition. The Wanderwell expedition was a worldwide automobile tour that lasted from 1919 to 1929.

¹ The Fifth Avenue Playhouse was located at 66 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY, in the Greenwich Village neighborhood. According to the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, it was “arguably the first art movie house in America,” opening on December 16, 1925, with the German film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*. Moskowitz, Sam, “Why Isn’t This Landmarked? 64-66 5th Avenue,” Village Preservation, Accessed August 8, 2022, <https://www.villagepreservation.org/2020/05/14/why-isnt-this-landmarked-64-66-5th-avenue/>

² “Around the World With a Camera,” *The Standard Union* (Brooklyn, NY), December 17, 1929, 9.

Conceived by Walter Wanderwell, the idea for a worldwide automobile tour had sprung from the long-distance walking tours he had done in Germany and the United States. The expedition was financed through sponsorships, the sale of pamphlets and marketing materials at public presentations, and more. Aloha would later call it a “finance-as-you-go” expedition, and eventually, a large part of the financing would relate to the production and exhibition of film materials. Their importance would develop to become the creative center of the expedition and ultimately, the expedition and film became one and the same.

The history of this production is complicated yet defined by the duality in describing the film as the expedition, and the expedition as the film. Although the title *With Car and Camera Around the World* was released in 1929, as previously detailed, it only represents one version of the travelogue and expedition. Capturing the entire production using the terminology of standard film production does not do justice to the evolution of the materials, the ongoing production past the release date, and the expedition itself.³

Thus, in this chapter, I examine *With Car and Camera Around the World* more holistically, from the expedition itself to all versions of the travelogue, both during and after the years of production. Indeed, revisions to *With Car and Camera Around the World* continued far beyond the expedition’s end in 1929, with versions in the 1930s, 1970s, and even the 2020s. Such an examination inevitably challenges the notion of what a travelogue film is and can be, and how versions are identified both historically and currently, by tracing the production, exhibition, and distribution of this film from its original production in 1919–1929 to today. I also

³ A more useful concept to conceptualize the versions of *With Car and Camera Around the World* is the archival metadata standard, EN 15907. This standard functions as a core organizational principle for many film archives. The structuring principle in EN 15907 revolves around a hierarchal structure, where a “work” represents all variations, or “manifestations,” of a film. Thus, *With Car and Camera Around the World* can be discussed as one film, with the many versions representing one larger “work.” “EN 15907,” Filmstandards.org, Accessed March 27, 2022, http://filmstandards.org/fsc/index.php/EN_15907.

trace Aloha's role in the production and expedition. Furthermore, I examine how her evolution as a filmmaker paralleled the evolution of the film itself. By tracing the original production and exhibition, then its subsequent distribution, reframing, and redistribution, this examination demonstrates, through the lens of this "one" film, not only the malleability of the travelogue as a film form, but also how that malleability allowed women to creatively find a footing in the profession.

The malleability of the travelogue form has not been widely addressed in wider cinema and media studies scholarship. Indeed, in much of the scholarship on travelogues, the reader is assumed to understand the form as it is presented by the author.⁴ This, however, ignores that a travelogue can take many forms—its definition cannot be assumed and should not be restrictive.⁵ The description found in Jeffrey Ruoff's introduction to *Virtual Voyages*, an edited collection published in 2006, however, clearly recognizes the form's malleability: "The travelogue often involves a live component, embracing experiential and performative dimensions of the cinematic experience that challenge our conceptions of the medium. Frequently episodic, travelogue narration offers an alternate to hegemonic narrative forms in both the documentary and feature film."⁶ This, together with what Ruoff called the "vortex" of travel, tourism, and colonialism,

⁴ BFI Screen Online's definition is as follows: "The travelogue film developed from its roots in simple actuality - perhaps a single take of a scene - to an attempt to provide a more structured analysis and presentation of that scene. While it is not easy to discern a distinct crossover point in this evolution, common characteristics of the form became quickly established. Distribution catalogues, which advertised films to exhibitors, repeatedly emphasise [sic] four key elements: movement; the picturesque; the exotic; or conversely, the familiar." Stewart, Jez, "Travelogues," BFI: Screen Online, Accessed February 27, 2022, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/1321388/index.html>

⁵ In her 2013 monograph *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Non-Fiction Film*, Jennifer Peterson leaves room for interpretation in her definition of travelogues as a genre that "provide[s] an unparalleled opportunity to focus on key questions of aesthetics, ideology and commerce in early cinema," as a "technological mode of representation that takes the concept of movement as its very subject," and as "a new form of picturing the world" (see Preface and Chapter 1). She noted that the term's meaning broadened in the later 20th century to include literature (20).

⁶ *Virtual Voyages*, 2.

defines travelogues.⁷ Ruoff's definition embraces the often difficult-to-define elements of the travelogue form, recognizing the performative elements alongside the combination of travel, tourism, and colonialism in both the form's content and its actual physical forms.

What Ruoff's definitions and most definitions provided by the previously mentioned scholars do not stress is the impact of the lecturers' performance, the temporality thus associated with travelogues, and how gender plays a role in the profession. Indeed, each presentation could, and often would, be at least slightly different (or significantly different in Aloha's case). Furthermore, filmic materials would often be used repeatedly until worn out or outdated. The fluidity of the form, however, made a crucial space and stage for female filmmakers, and depending on how broadly or narrowly the genre is defined, many more women than widely assumed worked in the profession.

To conduct this chapter's analysis, I used all available "versions" of *With Car and Camera Around the World*. Although some versions still exist physically, many have been lost due to the nature of travelogue exhibition. Because of this, I will look at additional ephemeral material to obtain a sense of the many revisions, particularly the revisions no longer available to view. The film materials that do remain include 16 reels of 35mm nitrate, five reels of 35mm safety, and 12 reels of 16mm safety.⁸ Other materials include Aloha's 1939 autobiography, *A Call to Adventure*; 1976 marketing materials for the film; and a 1995 interview with Jake Homiak of the Smithsonian Human Studies Film Archives. In this chapter, I look first at the Wanderwell expedition and the original production of the film materials that resulted in the earliest versions of *With Car and Camera Around the World*. Following this, I examine the

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

revisions authored by Aloha after the original production, in the 1930s, 1970s, and 1980s. Finally, I look at how the materials are discussed and defined today, revised yet again by and through their archival setting.

The Wanderwell Expedition

The Wanderwell expedition originated from the early activities of its leader, Walter Wanderwell. Born Valerian Johannes Pieczynski circa 1894, Walter was a Polish expatriate who had been traveling and lecturing internationally since approximately 1916.⁹ He was a seafarer and hiker before working as a filmmaker and lecturer. In early reports, he is described as participating in the “Wander-vogel” club of Posen, Germany (modern-day Poznan, Poland) on a cross-country hike from New York to San Francisco.¹⁰ In 1917, his cross-country hike became a “walk around the world,” as he began to develop what would eventually become the Wanderwell expedition.¹¹ At its start, the Wanderwell expedition’s advertised goal was to complete a global tour using automobiles. It was reported that the expedition was part of a global race involving other automobile teams. This narrative of the “race” as the Wanderwell expedition’s origin story would continue throughout the 1920s. Eventually, other motives would be interwoven into the narrative of the Wanderwell expedition, including promoting the claim to having the first woman to go around the world by car and later, the first woman to fly around the world by plane, helping establish a road from Cape Town to Cairo, participating in the Mexican revolution with Pancho

⁹ Walter Wanderwell, similarly to Aloha, did not use his given name while presenting on the lecture circuit. His stated birth year of 1894 in Posen, Poland, is approximate.

¹⁰ The reports on Wanderwell continue throughout 1916, detailing his successes and failures (which included numerous arrests). “First Real Lincoln Highway Hiker in Some Time,” *The Bucyrus Evening Telegraph*, April 4, 1916, 5; “Held Twice Prisoner of War; Walks 2900 Miles,” *The Times* (Munster, IN), April 14, 1916, 1. This effort was hindered by another arrest in March 1917 under suspicion of being a spy. “Germans Arrested and Held Pending Government Probe,” *Atlanta Constitution*, March 22, 1917, 1. “Young German, Arrested Once as a Spy, Is Now in an Atlanta Hospital,” *Miami News*, October 8, 1917, 3.

¹¹ “Personal Mention,” *The Miami Herald*, January 9, 1917, 3.

Villa, and establishing the Work Around the World Educational Club, or WAWEC.¹²

WAWEC was an international “police force” meant to maintain world peace through global disarmament.¹³ The organization had “units,” or teams of cars and volunteers, that were tasked with helping achieve the Wanderwell global peace plan.¹⁴ The Wanderwell expedition thus became a sort of recruiting branch for WAWEC, and members were instructed on how to dress and act as part of the international peacekeeping mission. In the expressed motivations of the Wanderwell expedition, from WAWEC to having the first woman to accomplish a travel feat, gender and the role of women in the expedition was a very important factor. This focus on gender had begun to develop before Aloha joined the team in 1922, with Walter’s first wife, Nell Wanderwell.

Nell Wanderwell was born Nell Miller circa 1897 in San Francisco. At 19, she married Walter Wanderwell, and with their marriage immediately began their working relationship. Right after their wedding, Nell began to appear frequently alongside Walter in newspaper reports.¹⁵ While working with (and being married to) Walter, however, Nell did not become the central figure of the Wanderwell expedition, as would Aloha. Instead, their marriage took the initial

¹² The claim that the expedition would have the first woman to have traveled around the world by car seems to have come up around 1925. “‘Onto Mexico,’ Is the Motto of Intrepid Capt. Wanderwell,” *Austin American Statesman*, April 35, 1920, 16.

¹³ The names WAWEC and International Police, Ltd. seem to be interchangeable in reference to the same activities organized and run by Wanderwell and Aloha (as based on Aloha’s journal, expedition films, official paperwork, and newspaper reports). Additionally, the acronym WAWEC is at times defined as the “Wanderwell Around the World Endurance Contest,” pointing more towards the original foundation of the Wanderwell Expedition, rather than any international peace efforts.

¹⁴ As far as I can deduce from my research, the “units” were local clubs and chapters that Aloha and the Wanderwell team formed worldwide.

¹⁵ Reportedly, Walter and Nell were 22 and 19, respectively, when they married in 1916. According to family lore, they separated as early as 1919 but remained legally married until 1922. She married again, to Raymond Farrell, later in life. “They Wander Well,” *Palladium-Item* (Richmond, IN), September 12, 1916, 10. “Volunteers Barred from Asking Funds,” *Atlanta Constitution*, July 25, 1919, 13. “Miller” as her maiden name is noted here. “Wanderwell Jaunt Ends When Entourage Quits,” *Altoona Tribune*, September 22, 1925, 1. “Wanderwell’s First Wife is Found Here,” *The San Francisco Examiner*, December 9, 1932, 8. In another article, her name is given as Nell Wanderwell Farrell. “Walter Loved-Too-Well,” *Daily News* (New York, NY), December 11, 1930, 3.

focus in both the expedition and its related reporting. This was short lived, however, as Nell and Walter's personal and professional relationship would come to an end after 6 years of marriage in 1922.¹⁶ At this time, newspapers began to report that Nell was leading her own expedition, conducted separately from Walter's. As the year progressed, Nell began to garner more traction and attention in the press as a pioneering woman traveler and stage personality in her own right.¹⁷

Perhaps inspired by Nell's personal success outside of Walter Wanderwell's tour (and a desire to reclaim the "Wanderwell" name), the visual makeup of the Wanderwell expedition under Walter's leadership began to shift around this period to highlight contributions of the female expedition members more significantly. This shift is crucial to understanding the development of the narrative and presentation of the film materials. In the following analysis, I look at how the emphasis of the expedition and the film materials shifted and evolved, beginning with the expedition's start in 1919.

At the expedition's onset, the marketed focus was not the achievements of the female expedition members. Instead, the expedition focused on the more "technical" achievements, from the distance covered by the party to the production of film. The following three examples of early reports on the Wanderwell tour demonstrate its reliance on film. First, an article published in October 1919 noted: "Party, which started from Poland, Taking Motion Pictures for Travelogue film."¹⁸ In spring 1920, the *El Paso Times* reported: "Captain Wanderwell is taking

¹⁶ "Wanderwell's First Wife is Found Here," *The San Francisco Examiner*, December 9, 1932, 8.

¹⁷ Little is known about Nell and Aloha's relationship. Aloha's daughter's middle name was "Nell." Nell noted in an article at the time of Walter's murder that they separated because of the start of his relationship with Aloha (she is noted in that article as Galcia Hall). "Wanderwell's First Wife is Found Here," *The San Francisco Examiner*, December 9, 1932, 8.

¹⁸ "Autoists on World Tour Pass Through Richmond," *Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), October 2, 1919, 10. This article, in addition to detailing the traveling conditions, roles for each traveling members were identified: "Nell

news pictures for film companies, filming scenes for chambers of commerce, and taking scenes on the old Spanish trails.”¹⁹ And finally, a report in the *Motion Picture News* from December 1920 stated: “present[ing] motion pictures of their world trip. ... The pictures form an interesting and instructive entertainment and show Wanderwell tours in many nations of the Globe.”²⁰ The common thread among these articles is the importance of the production of the film materials. The purpose of that production, as seen in these examples, shifts from their use to creating materials for other companies to providing “instructive entertainment.”

Alongside the development of an emphasis on the production of film and its use, a separate title (from the expedition) began to come into use. In the early years, however, there was still significant blurring between the travelogue lecture and the expedition. In newspapers, the promotional titles included “Wanderwell Tour Around the World,”²¹ “Round the World By Auto,” “Around the World by Auto,”²² “Around the World In Auto,”²³ “Paris to Peking By Auto,”²⁴ “Across 4 Continents in Twin Fords,”²⁵ and “By Auto Across Four Continents.”²⁶

Wanderwell is recording secretary, ‘Mickey’ Nelson, camerawoman, ‘Al’ Nelson, mechanic, and Miss Dewey Moher, correspondent.”

¹⁹ “Traveler to Film Death Valley Stops Here to ‘Shoot’ Juarez Visited 19 Countries on Trip,” *El Paso Times*, May 17, 1920, 8.

²⁰ “Ogden, Utah,” *Motion Picture News* (New York, NY), December 18, 1920, 4688.

²¹ “Touring Country,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, December 7, 1919, 1.

²² “A Thrilling Narrative of Adventure Encountered while Crossing 39 Countries of Europe, Africa and Asia in Ford cars,” Advertisement for lecture at Regent Entertainment, *The Ottawa Journal*, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, July 10, 1926, 12. The same performance at the Regent was also advertised in *The Ottawa Citizen*. “Around the World By Auto,” Advertisement for lecture at The Strand, *Burlington Daily News*, July 24, 1926, 6.

²³ Advertisement for lecture at Empire Theater, *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* (Hilo, HI) December 19, 1924, 4.

²⁴ The whole ad reads: “Extraordinary Special Attraction! Aloha Wanderwell; Canadian girl, having girdled globe with the International Police Expedition presents personally in French and English her remarkable film “Paris to Peking By Auto.” Advertisement for lecture at Palace Theater, *The Gazette*, Montreal, Canada, July 3, 1926, Pg. 13. This is advertised numerous times in *The Gazette*, including July 5–7, 1926.

²⁵ Advertisement for lecture, *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 13, 1924, 6.

²⁶ “By Auto Across Four Continents,” Advertisement for lecture at The Strong, *The Burlington Free Press*, July 26, 1926, 6. “By Auto Across Four Continents,” Advertisement for lecture at Shea’s Theatre, *Fitchburg Sentinel*, August 3, 1926, 7. Nell Wanderwell, after her separation from Walter, was still presenting films and touring, and

Again, these titles all represent variations of this first travelogue during its first stages of production from 1919 to 1929.

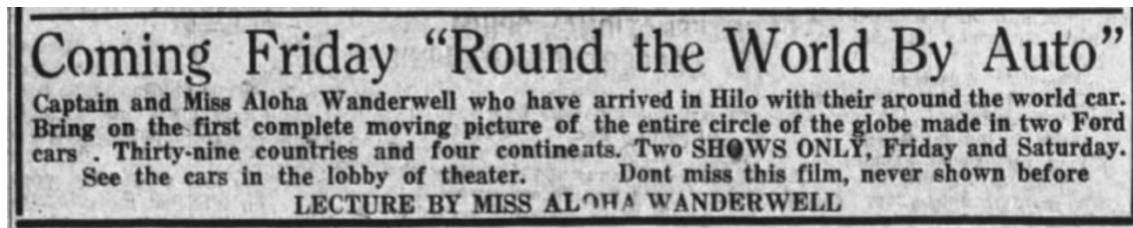


Figure 8: Advertisement for lecture by Aloha, with film “Round the World By Auto,” 1924²⁷

What is left out of the titles, and remains in question, is the role women played as travelogue lecture filmmakers. In *With Car and Camera Around the World*, Aloha’s involvement began simply when she joined the production, but it would continue to evolve during her career. Aloha began to be advertised alongside the expedition around late 1923, just before the more distinct travelogue lecture titles became more prevalent in 1924. For example, a report in *The Morning Post* of New Jersey stated:

GOIN’ SOUTH – Miss Aloha Wanderwell, American girl, is in Paris preparing to make a lone dash across the Sahara desert in a flivver. She has seen America, Norway, Northern Africa, Spain and Portugal in that manner. She is a startling beauty.²⁸

While her presence within the footage itself was likely not as prevalent as in later versions, her visibility within the marketing was becoming more persistent. In this, and many other reports, she is the primary draw for audiences as the young and “pioneering” figure. Words like “girl” and “plucky” are scattered throughout these reports. Aloha also appears alongside Walter

in articles, her lecture is cited as “Around the World.” “Covered 190,046 Miles Since 1919 in Trip Around the World,” *York Daily Record*, October 4, 1924, 9.

²⁷ Advertisement for lecture at Empire Theater, *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* (Hilo, HI), December 17, 1924, 2.

²⁸ “The Days News in Pictures,” *The Morning Post* (Camden, NJ), December 28, 1923, 11. The same picture and article was published in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Alabama. “Flivver” is a slang term used to describe an inexpensive, older, and usually used automobile or plane.

Wanderwell in reports, often credited as brother and sister, as at this point Walter was acting as her legal guardian.

Capt. Wanderwell and sister entered the [around the world] contest with other automobiles in order to win film royalties by the greatest number of countries visited until the next world's fair. They claim the lead with 39 countries visited. ... Miss Wanderwell writes, they have been self-supporting through exhibition of their own films to the natives.²⁹

This 1924 article from the *Tampa Bay Times* demonstrates most critically the importance of the production and exhibition of the travelogue films to the expedition and the effect of this cinematic shift on women's roles and access,³⁰ not only financially, but also in the personal nature of these films—referred to as “their own” films, allowing Aloha an authorial role in their production.

For *With Car and Camera Around the World*, what was shown often changed on a performance-by-performance basis, with each presentation largely unique relative to the last. A large component of this would have been the live portion, but it is also likely that the film materials were constantly evolving, due to editing choices regarding what to include based on their probable audiences. Although there is no documentation detailing what was shown at successive shows, reasonable inferences that this was the case can be made based on other evidence, such as newspaper reports and surviving materials. First, in many newspaper reports,

²⁹ “Greenville citizens who saw the cars of the Wanderwell Expedition in Greenville in 1922 will be interested in the information that Captain Wanderwell and his sister Aloha, are now in Japan.” “Wanderwell is Now in Orient: Expedition Passed Through Greenville in 1922 – Ford Car is Leading,” *The Greenville News*, September 13, 1924, 2. “Motorists in City Early Last Spring Now Touring China,” *Tampa Bay Times* (St. Petersburg, FL), September 21, 1924, 35.

³⁰ An article in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, for example, notes that “in the course of their wanderings the Wanderwells, who are filming motion pictures as they travel have visited [many countries]. ‘It was great fun for a while,’ sighed pretty Aloha Wanderwell. ... ‘But it soon grew stale. I would not make the trip again for any amount of money. In the future when I want to travel I will watch a travelogue picture at a motion picture theater. I have enough to last me the remainder of my life.’ “Covered 40,000 Miles in Auto Tour of World,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 6, 1924, 3.

clues as to what was covered in the narrative are provided. Take, for example, an article in the *Honolulu Advertiser*:

By special arrangement with the managers of the Liberty Theater, a most interesting moving picture log will be shown at this popular theater. ... Captain Wanderwell and his plucky little sister will present ten reels of scenes never before caught by the camera. Both Captain and Mis [sic] Wanderwell will appear personally and give a detailed lecture on their adventures through thirty nine countries on four continents. ... The difficulties of a dash through the barb wire entanglements of the Ruhr made under cover of a night storm, were nothing compared to starvation in a Carpathian snowdrift or the dangers they were exposed to in the Lybian[sic] Desert and across the arid tracks of Arabia.³¹

While Aloha is not the focus within this article, focus is still drawn to her through her description as the “plucky little sister,” Her appearance at the Liberty Theater is aligned with Walter’s, as equally important, despite not being noted by name. Articles like these provide clues as to what content *With Car and Camera Around the World* would have covered at this time. Additional and perhaps more critical evidence lies in the physical materials that survive, in archives and collecting institutions. In the following analysis I look specifically at those physical materials that remain, to not only demonstrate what content was shared and how it evolved from presentation to presentation, but also to demonstrate more generally the malleability of the travelogue as a film form. Furthermore, by looking at Aloha’s role within the marketing and her later work on the film, I demonstrate how she was able to creatively work within the form to reimagine and reconstitute her own role.

Most of the original physical materials of *With Car and Camera Around the World* that remain are held at the Academy Film Archive of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences and include not only prints, but also negatives, and “extra” materials like trims and

³¹ “Globe Circling Tour By Wanderwells is Full of Excitement,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, December 14, 1924, 32.

outtakes.³² “Original” in this context is intended to refer to materials that were likely last worked on during the film’s production, up to 1929. These materials are largely split into 17 reels, each generally focused on one or two geographic regions. Most of the film dates between 1922 and 1929. Although the film stock largely dates to the years between 1919 and 1929, these reels have been through many hands, and the traces left in the prints and their storage cans lend additional clues to how they might have been used in the many versions of *With Car and Camera Around the World*.

In those 17 reels, the Wanderwells are seen in the United States, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Egypt, for example, is depicted in seven of the 17 reels: Can 2, Can 4, Can 7, Can 11, Print 2, Print 4, and Reel 8 Can 8.³³ But of those seven reels, the other countries highlighted changes, from Japan, the United States, and Russia in Can 4 to the Arabian Peninsula and India in Can 2 and Print 2. Each reel arrived at the film archive in individual cans, labeled by both Aloha and the labs she worked with (for example, Sherman Grinberg in Los Angeles, CA; see Image 9 in Appendix). The reels I analyze next represent three of the 17 reels. Each functions as an “opening” or introductory reel, identified through the use of title cards and introductory shots of both Aloha and Walter. By analyzing each reel in turn, the differences in their content demonstrate some of the variations of the materials, reflecting editing contemporary to the production itself, as well as long after.

In the reel identified as Print 1, the Wanderwell expedition travels from the United States to Scotland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and Poland. The stock manufacturers included Pathé, Gevaert, AGFA, and Kodak. Although the Pathé, Gevaert, and

³² Trims are usually shorter outtakes, less than a foot in length.

³³ These reel titles “Can 2,” “Can 4,” etc. are original to the materials at the time of their arrival at the Academy Film Archive.

AGFA stocks are very difficult to date due to a lack of identifying edge codes, edge codes on the Kodak film stock help pinpoint the original date of production.³⁴ The opening shot of Print 1 begins with an animated spinning globe before cutting to a fade-in of the title card: “CAR AND CAMERA AROUND THE WORLD.” The following intertitle cards read, “Dedicated to those who extended hospitality to strangers” and “where only a few years ago burnt the watch fires of the Seminole tribes.” The four shots include both Pathé and Kodak stock—and the earliest date identifiable through the Kodak edge code is 1921, before Aloha joined the expedition.

Those opening shots were likely produced long before Aloha joined and were printed and reprinted for repeated use. Indeed, visible on the edge codes are symbols indicating both 1932 and 1935. The sequence that follows the globe and opening title cards shows Walter Wanderwell with Seminole Indians in Florida and does not include Aloha. The film stock is Pathé and lacks edge code dating, but Walter’s positioning in the foreground suggests that the sequence was likely produced before or right after Aloha joined, because she would otherwise likely have been foregrounded.

The second reel, labeled as “Can #1 Roll #1,” again covers the first part of the journey, across the United States, Scotland, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Poland. In this reel, instead of Belgium and the Netherlands, a lengthy sequence of bullfighting in Spain is included. This version of the film begins with the title card “WITH CAR AND CAMERA ROUND THE WORLD,” followed by an overlaid fade-in of the next title card: “From the diary of the world’s most travelled girl.” These cards are then followed by two short closeups of Aloha, followed by

³⁴ It is unlikely that the Wanderwells would have retained extra raw film stock for very long, because nitrate stock was not only very heavy, but also very expensive. Nitrate stock is also very flammable and can be dangerous if not properly stored.

Walter Wanderwell. After this introductory sequence, the film shifts to the same Florida Seminole Indian sequence as described for Print 1.³⁵

The third reel, labeled as “365649,” begins with Aloha and Walter in Milan, Italy. The opening shots show the Wanderwell cars, first with an establishing shot in the city streets, then a long shot of the Wanderwell cars again, but this time Aloha is visible in the midground on a motorcycle. After three shots in succession of Aloha and Walter on a motorcycle near the Wanderwell cars, the reel then switches to the same introductory shots, featuring closeups of both Aloha and Walter looking directly at the camera.³⁶ These shots are tinted yellow, before the next sequence switches to a green tint as it focuses more on the architecture of the Milan Cathedral.

These three reels of the early footage give insight into how that material may have been utilized in production and exhibition during the expedition, from 1922 to 1929.³⁷ For example, the inclusion of the bullfight in Can #1 Roll #1 could have been for a younger audience, more inclined towards physical sports and action, while in “365649,” the focus on Milan’s cathedral could speak to an audience more interested in traditional touring and architecture. 1929,

³⁵ The opening shots are on AGFA stock, so their date identification is difficult. The rest of the footage dates identically to the corresponding Print 1 shots. Title card, fade-in: “WITH CAR AND CAMERA ROUND THE WORLD,” overlay with next title card fade-in: “From the diary of the world’s most travelled girl.” Closeup of Aloha, closeup of Aloha, overlaid closeup of Walter saluting the camera, long shot of Walter by Wanderwell car talking to people in local dress, with tropical and warm plant life. Similar to Print 1, Sequence 2, Sequence 3 corresponds with Print 1, Sequence 1. Water stands with Seminole Indians (based on plant life, indications from intertitle cards, and 1976 script, Pg. 2). See Johns, Willie, “A Seminole Perspective on Ponce de Leon and Florida History,” *Indian Country*, January 19, 2015, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/04/08/seminole-perspective-ponce-de-leon-and-florida-history-148672>. Sequence 3 has four shots and is not tinted.

³⁶ In Reel 365649, however, there are no intertitle cards as seen in Print 1 and Can 1, Roll 1.

³⁷ These reels point to how the lecture presentations of *With Car and Camera Around the World* may have been like. Most of the shots within all the surviving reels are less than 10ft long, or less than 6 seconds in length. With some as short as 2ft long (or about 1 second), the movement from one shot to another was very rapid and would not have left time for detailed explanations of the content. Instead, lectures would have had to more broadly cover the scope of content being shown with only a few quick verbal identifications.

however, marks the end of the period of simultaneous production and exhibition and the release of the first “traditionally” distributed version.³⁸ It also marks the fully realized shift from Walter as the perceived central figure and leader of the expedition to Aloha.³⁹ For example, one report announced the arrival of Aloha in Paris as the end of *her* “trip around the world, begun in 1922.”⁴⁰ In a press release distributed across the United States shortly before the official release of *With Car and Camera Around the World*, the story centers on how Aloha and “her husband” gifted their car to Henry Ford:

Henry Ford is to receive a gift, and it will be an automobile. It is one of his own models in which Aloha Wanderwell, lecturer and explorer, and her husband, Walter, wandered in seven years through 43 countries. At times it was greased with crushed bananas and elephant fat. The Wanderwells bought it second hand for \$50.⁴¹

Emphasizing Aloha here rather than Walter helps frame not only the expedition on her, but also the shortly to be released *With Car and Camera Around the World*.

As of 2022, there is no surviving copy of the 1929 version of *With Car and Camera Around the World*. What does remain, however, are the few reviews it received before it was pulled from the circuit and returned to its “original” form as an inconstant, ambiguous travelogue. *With Car and Camera Around the World* premiered at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse in

³⁸ According to an article printed in the *Tulare Advance-Register*, Aloha and Walter won the around the world race. “Flivvers Win World Race,” *Tulare Advance-Register*, January 9, 1925, 6. In 1928, Aloha is still advertised as completing the around-the-world challenge. The text reads: “Aloha Wanderwell, a Canadian girl whose name is well chosen to say the least, is completing a motor trip around the globe. In the course of her auto tour Miss Wanderwell has already visited 42 nations with still some distance to go. The picture of the young gasoline globe trotter was snapped while she was enjoying the hospitality of Antwerp, Belgium.” “Girl is Completing Drive ‘Round World,” *The Akron Beacon Journal*, November 1, 1928, 26. The same picture and blurb were published nationwide (in Madison, WI; Racine, WI; South Bend, IN; Vineland, NJ; Greenville, SC; Lancaster, PA; Yonkers, NY; Richmond, ID; San Pedro, CA; and Austin, TX) through December 1928 and into January 1929.

³⁹ At this point, Aloha would have still been in partnership with Walter, and was not the leader of the expedition herself.

⁴⁰ Beulah, Om’ly. “A Letter from Paris,” *The Evening News* (Wilkes-Barre, PA), August 27, 1929, 5.

⁴¹ “Flashes of Life: By the Associated Press,” *The Berkshire Eagle* (Pittsfield, MA), November 29, 1929, 22.

December 1929. It was scheduled to show there from December 16th to 22nd.⁴² Overall, the reviews that came from that showing were not positive,⁴³ and by early 1930, Aloha and Walter were back to advertising more general appearances and their upcoming expedition to South America.⁴⁴ Reviews for that premiere of *With Car and Camera Around the World* give a sense of the experience of watching the travelogue, its overall construction, and its failings in its new form as “distributed” travelogue. A review in the *Daily News* noted:

Who isn't interested in touring the world in seventy-five minutes? ... We'd bet anything there's just as much that is strange and fascinating on the cutting room floor as appears on the Fifth Avenue Playhouse screen this week. As a matter of fact, we were terribly disappointed in the sharp, sudden fadeouts of various shots. So many explorers give over their entire bolt of celluloid to uncivilized territories that the really up to date parts of this little old world, as photographed in the Wanderwell picture, gave us a bigger kick than the pictorial account of life (as we've seen it countless times before) in the dangerous jungles of America and among the savages of the still uncivilized parts of this land. ... There's something nice and informal about this travelogue. It suffers from cutting-and from amateurish photography, which sometimes does lean[sic] things to particularly thrilling scenes.⁴⁵

While not revealing much of the content, the review gives a clear sense of the overall tone of the travelogue and its construction, in that it is less polished and more “amateurish” than some other travelogues of the period. Indeed, travelogues of the period often portrayed locations outside of the Western world as largely “uncivilized.” While *With Car and Camera Around the World*

⁴² “With Car and Camera Around the World,” *Daily News* (New York, NY), December 16, 1929, 38.

⁴³ Daly, Phil M., Jr. “Along the Rialto,” *The Film Daily* (New York, NY), December 19, 1929, 3. “11,350 Titles: Of Feature Releases Since Jan. 1 1915,” *Yearbook of Motion Pictures*, *The Film Daily* (New York, NY), 1930, 347. In another article, the film is simply noted as a “silent travel adventure film produced by a woman.” “At the New York Theatres: New Films,” *Exhibitors Herald-World* (Chicago, IL), December 21, 1929, 24.

⁴⁴ “Wanderwells Wander Here,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 27, 1930, 11. By February 1931, they were in South America. “To Invade Jungle: Women Aviators Accompany Move Expedition in Brazil,” *The Cincinnati Post*, February 25, 1931, 13.

⁴⁵ “With Car and Camera Around the World,” *Daily News* (New York, NY), December 16, 1929, 38.

included sequences that fit into these stereotypes, it also included more contemporary sequences. For example, the sequence focused on China features many “typical” shots, such as men and women in traditional clothing and hairstyles (such as the queue hairstyle), and famous historic locations (including the Great Wall of China). However, it also includes an extended sequence of Aloha interacting with the border control, very atypical in more formal travelogues.



Figure 9: Still from *With Car and Camera Around the World*, circa 1924⁴⁶

A review from *Motion Picture News* gives more of a sense of the content and focuses on what the writer saw as the pitfalls the travelogue had encountered. The heading reads “Freak Travelogue,” and the review noted:

This is a freak. In some of the small towns the picture might get over on the strength of a ballyhoo with the principals of the expedition and their automobiles parading the streets and making personal appearances. Otherwise, there isn't a chance for it anywhere. This picture is just a serial diary of the trip that two or three couples made from Paris to the Orient, into Manchuria, to South America and finally to South Africa. It covers a period of ten years of traveling by automobile. ... Mrs. Wanderwell – looks like a coined name incidentally – has a camera complex. She cavorts before the lens until the procedure becomes both tiresome

⁴⁶ Still from *With Car and Camera Around the World*, circa 1924, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Richard Diamond Trust, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA. In the sequence at the Great Wall of China, the shadow of the moving image camera and its operator is visible in the frame, emphasizing the “amateurish” qualities of the travelogue pointed out in the *Daily News* article. An alternative reading of this sequence, however, is that by including the shadow of both the camera and its operator, Aloha's presence (whether she is operating the camera or not) is felt in every frame. The date noted here reflects the approximate date of Aloha's visit to that region.

and boresome. All of which makes an unimportant picture decidedly more so.⁴⁷

From this review, it is clear that a wide geographic area was covered, even including South America. This is particularly surprising because they did not go to South America on their first tour. This inclusion more than anything points to a narrative trait of the travelogue—a lack of clear indication of locations both in the footage and the lecture, and as this reviewer noted, a clear focus instead on Aloha. This review also gives us clues as to the exhibition practice, with the “ballyhoo” of having Aloha and Walter there, along with the cars in which the world tour was accomplished.

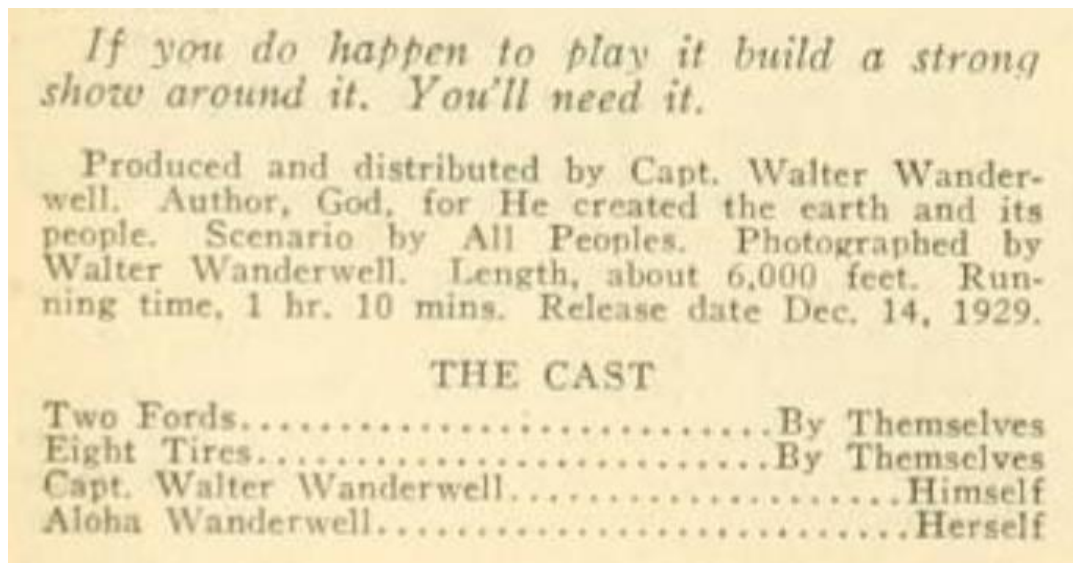


Figure 10: Film Review for *With Car and Camera Around the World*, 1929⁴⁸

After the unsuccessful premiere of *With Car and Camera Around the World* in 1929, the

⁴⁷ Schader, Freddie, “With Car and Camera Around the World,” *Motion Picture News* (New York, NY), December 21, 1929, Pg. 40.

⁴⁸ A version of the cast was included by the review’s author, playing up the point that the principal draws were the performers and their cars. Schader, Freddie, “With Car and Camera Around the World,” *Motion Picture News* (New York, NY), December 21, 1929, 40. A *Variety* review is not much better: “Purely geographical. Cut down would make an interesting short if sounded, but in present shape doesn’t mean a thing for box office. Mrs. Wanderwell, accompanied by her husband and two children, covered more than 100,000 miles over a period of 10 years filming these scenes. ... Photography as a whole is poor. Here and there some shots display unusual color and effect, but it appears that Mrs. Wanderwell was handicapped a good deal by climatic conditions.” “With Car and Camera Around the World,” *Variety* (New York, NY), December 25, 1929, 32.

footage went through additional iterations during the next few years.⁴⁹ The next significant shift for the material came in early 1933, after the murder of Walter Wanderwell.⁵⁰ Walter was murdered on December 5, 1932, shortly before he and Aloha were due to premiere their second theatrically released film, *The River of Death* from the expedition which followed *With Car and Camera Around the World*. *The River of Death* focused solely on that expedition, and featured sequences taken in South America, and particularly Brazil. Aloha presented *River of Death* theatrically, although its run was again very limited, like *With Car and Camera Around the World*.⁵¹ Indeed, shortly after its premiere and very brief run for which she was in person for each exhibition, Aloha was on stage once again, this time presenting her journeys and films more broadly and returning to materials from the expedition. This new iteration of the *With Car and Camera Around the World* footage was likely supplemented with footage and information from

⁴⁹ By 1930, newspaper articles begin to indicate that the Wanderwells were preparing for their next journey. *The Miami Herald* even noted the Wanderwells were no longer using Fords and had purchased a Cadillac. "Used Cadillac Bought By Travelogue Couple," *The Miami Herald*, March 23, 1930, 34. In one article, Walter was the primary focus, rather than Aloha. Interestingly, this article noted the adaptability of the footage to the specific area where they traveled: "Motion pictures taken by Captain Walter Wanderwell and Lieutenant Hans Welfare during a 240,000-mile automobile tour covering 43 countries will be shown in six installments at the Orpheum Theater during the next three weeks, as a result of a visit paid by Wanderwell and his expedition to Cincinnati last week. Lieutenant Welfare will remain in Cincinnati during the coming three weeks to deliver lectures on the adventures of the motor expedition during the showing of the films." The article went on to note that "motion pictures of Cincinnati points of interest were taken last week and will be shown in other parts of the world it was said." "Motor Cavalcade Stops at Orpheum With Travel Film," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 25, 1930, Section 3, 4. In Cincinnati newspapers, the various installments were advertised with, for example, the "China and Arabia" leg being shown the week of June 1 ("Travel Films to Continue," *The Cincinnati Post*, May 31, 1930, 5.). In one article, "Widow of Slain Captain to Talk at Lunch Meet," Aloha's talk is described as follows: "Mrs. Wanderwell will tell of her varied experiences in travel, having covered practically every country on the globe." For example, at the Capital Theater in Long Beach, CA, on January 30, 1933, she is simply advertised by the name "Aloha Wanderwell" and that she will be appearing in person. In an article in Eugene, Oregon, she is again advertised, with more indication as to the subject of her talk: "The World's Most Widely Traveled Woman; Aloha Wanderwell (In Person) On the Stage, Also, Talking Travel Film of Her Experiences In Darkest Africa, India and China." Another advertisement reads: "America's most glamorous adventurer. Telling of her strange experiences with car and camera in the world's exotic corners. Hear her adventure talk with her film record of many thrills." Respectively: "Widow of Slain Captain to Talk at Lunch Meet," *Long Beach Sun*, January 10, 1933, 6. Advertisement, *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, January 30, 1933, 4. Advertisement, *The Eugene Guard*, January 31, 1933, 2. Advertisement for show at Park Theatre, *The Palm Beach Post*, May 1, 1934, 6.

⁵⁰ For more on the murder of Walter Wanderwell, see the introduction at page 9.

⁵¹ Further analysis of this period of Aloha's career is covered in Chapter 2.

her South American expedition for *River of Death*, as that would have been reported on only shortly before. As of 2022, there is no archival evidence of those lectures from 1933—thus, we can only speculate based on newspaper reports of the time. *With Car and Camera Around the World*, however, was next released as a book, *A Call to Adventure*.

By July 1934, Aloha's focus had shifted from film to the printed page. Starting that summer, she was reported to be publishing a book called *The World is Mine*.⁵² Eventually, this book would come to be known as *A Call to Adventure*. The book chronicles Aloha's early travels with Walter Wanderwell and in many ways, acts as a supplement to and reimagining of *With Car and Camera Around the World*. Primarily, it functions to restructure the events of the narrative around Aloha, centering her as the protagonist, rather than Walter or any other expedition member. It effectively rewrites the story, the expedition, and the film, giving the somewhat simple and "amateurish" images a deeper meaning, as the "film diary" of a pioneering filmmaker. It also gives one discrete version that stands apart from the variants and evolutions of the materials previously discussed.

In a chapter titled "Red Colonel with Curls," Aloha details the portion of her trip while in Vladivostok. In the chapter, she describes how while staying at a hotel, a Soviet officer came into her room:

I sprang to my feet in some consternation when a very smart Soviet officer strode across the dreary bare waste of my room, saluted and barked out a command. It lost some of the snap, for I could not understand him, since my Russian for the time being was kindergarten in quality. At last, what with his parading up and down the room, snapping to salute and pointing to his watch, I understood I was to report at the Soviet Army parade grounds at three o'clock precisely. I tried to keep calm but I felt panicky

⁵² In this article, she was advertised as "Aloha Wanderwell Baker." "At Home in Jungles, Woman Explorer Fears City Streets," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), July 2, 1934, 10. In another article, the book was said to be titled "This World of Mine." "'Crocodiles Attacked Me,' Yawned Aloha," *The Province*, Vancouver, Canada, November 15, 1934, 3.

inside. The parade ground is also the place of execution, and I had heard a good deal about so-called trials and their results. I had not seen Cap all day, and I did not know where he was; we did not have a film-lecture to give that day, and the next day was set for our departure to Japan.⁵³

The text goes on to detail her arrival at the parade grounds and how she was received by the soldiers. At one point, she writes that she was whisked into position alongside the soldiers, and only then did she suddenly notice the sound of a moving image camera (though the text makes it sound like it is the camera of the regiment and not the Wanderwells).



Figure 11 and Figure 12: Stills from *With Car and Camera Around the World*, circa 1924.⁵⁴

The film materials portraying this encounter tell a different story. In the reel titled “AW-F 044,” the “parade” sequence follows a short series of shots taken in Manchuria, which highlight an ornate wooden church. The “parade” sequence then begins with the arrival of the Wanderwell cars, before cutting to highlight Aloha. She is shown in a short series of shots standing beside and in front of the uniformed men (Figures 11 and 12). The sequence closes with a series of medium shots where a marching band passes in front of the camera, and Aloha stands in the

⁵³ Wanderwell Baker, Aloha, *A Call to Adventure!*, 136.

⁵⁴ Stills from *With Car and Camera Around the World*, circa 1924, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA This portion of the film was shot in Vladivostok, Russia. The date noted here reflects the approximate date of Aloha’s visit to that region.

same position in the background.⁵⁵ The short sequence does not convey the drama as detailed in the text, nor any hint of the title she claims was bestowed on her, of “Honorary Colonel of the Red Army.”

With the United States’ entry into World War II in 1941, Aloha began to shift away from the presentation of footage associated with the *With Car and Camera Around the World* travelogue. Instead, she produced new travelogues that focused on Australia, India, and the Pacific region. Not until the 1970s would she return to *With Car and Camera Around the World*. The period marked a turn in her career. Now in her 60s, she became focused on the conservation and preservation of her travelogues. During this period, she began to compile film, photographic, and paper materials for donation to various academic and collecting institutions, carefully selected as part of her efforts to secure a place for herself in history.

As is evidenced in the collections of these institutions, Aloha organized her materials according to topic and what she thought might be of interest to each institution. With this action, she also recasts and reclaims her role within the production, as well as further emphasizes the focus on her own persona within the footage. For example, to the Academy Film Archive, she deposited her *With Car and Camera Around the World* materials, particularly the nitrate, which included shots made in 1925 at United Artists and Paramount, showcasing Aloha with movie stars like Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Monte Blue, and Ernst Lubitsch. To the Smithsonian, she donated much of her materials focused on her South American expedition (and a copy of *With Car and Camera Around the World*), whereas to the American Heritage Center in

⁵⁵ *With Car and Camera Around the World*, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

Laramie, Wyoming, she donated her film *Explorers of the Purple Sage* and a detailed scrapbook on her second husband, Walter Baker, who was from Laramie.

The scrapbook included in the donation to the American Heritage Center served to both provide photographic images and further context for the donated film. This was common practice for Aloha with all her donations, and in this period, she created materials that helped provide additional contextual information. Among the items she produced and distributed with nearly all her donations were what can be called “fact sheets.” Each sheet amounted to a one-page descriptive synopsis of an individual film, with technical stats and what Aloha perceived as their “value” in terms of what was depicted. The one-sheet for *With Car and Camera Around the World* provides clues as to how she hoped the film would be seen and assessed.

First, the travelogue’s title is abbreviated as “Car & Camera Around the World” and no singular release date is given. Instead, the dates are listed as 1922–1929, and the only credit listed is “Aloha Baker” as the producer. These few details point to how Aloha intended the film to be understood. With the title, her slight abbreviation harkens to how the title was adjusted as the *With Car and Camera Around the World* materials were shown time and time again. More critically, noting the dates as 1922–1929 points to the malleable nature of the materials, moving the work away from being associated with a specific release date. And finally, the inclusion of her name, notably her second married name, positions the film as distinctly her creative effort, rather than that of her and Walter Wanderwell or any other expedition member. In the synopsis, her authorial control is again reiterated with the first line: “This is a film diary of the first girl to

drive an automobile around the world.”⁵⁶ By calling the film her diary, Aloha positions it as personal. She is allowing privileged access to the collecting institutions and future audiences.

The most significant production of contextual material Aloha made in the 1970s, however, was several 16mm prints of *With Car and Camera Around the World*. These prints represent “finished” versions of the film and largely follow the Wanderwell expedition sequentially, starting in Europe. The 16mm versions keep the same narrative structure as the 35mm version, in that they focus on specific geographic vignettes—showing the Wanderwells, and particularly Aloha, touring from one location to another, focusing on their images over the locations around them. What differs is that these 16mm versions represent several of the 35mm reels combined, making for a more “complete” film.

It is most likely that these 16mm versions were created in 1976, and to accompany them, Aloha made a 29-page shooting “script.” The script was made to help with the navigation through the 16mm, because it was silent, with no intertitles or live lecture to help provide context. The shooting script functions more as a catalog with occasional contextual information. It provides not only details on the locations and individuals depicted, but also a sense of the goals of each short sequence. For example, in the segment focused on India, the script provides additional details on the individuals depicted, while still emphasizing Aloha’s own exceptionalism, “Calcutta India, half way [sic] round the world from the United States, the historic meetings of the Pioneers of Progress, the first American round-the-world flight, Capt. Smith, Nelson, Ericson, and Wade and their squadron and the first girl to drive around the world and her cars. Lowell Smith said ‘Aloha, you see something of the world, we see nothing up

⁵⁶ “Car & Camera Around the World,” Scrapbook NHM F.P.1.80-8 B. Courtesy of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

there.”⁵⁷

With Car and Camera Around the World is also noted in other materials gathered and created by Aloha for the perseveration and conservation of her work. In her resume, for example, compiled in 1986, she includes “Car & Camera Around the World,” with her credit as: “co-cinematographer, editor.”⁵⁸ “Car & Camera Around the World” is also the first title listed and separated from the rest of the paragraph focused on her travelogue titles. Her privileging of *With Car and Camera Around the World*, however, is not surprising, per her longstanding efforts to use and reuse the materials in a wide variety of ways. This resume and the 16mm versions, shooting script, and many exhibited versions of *With Car and Camera Around the World* all point to one production and one film, despite the lack of a physical copy that can be identified as the definitive version.

Indeed, finding the definitive version has been part of more recent efforts at the Academy Film Archive, where the preservation team has been working on the preservation and restoration of Aloha’s materials. The work initially started in 2014 with Richard Diamond’s deposit of materials to the archive, and preservationist Heather Linville worked on utilizing the best portions of the 35mm nitrate to recreate the full version of *With Car and Camera Around the World*, based on the 1976 16mm. These efforts, although contradictory to the preceding discussion, are important because without a definitive version, the materials are difficult to share with wider audiences. Indeed, the archive cannot distribute a new version for every request made, centered on that individual or institution, but must instead decide on a version that is final.

⁵⁷ “Print 16MM (1976): CAR & CAMERA AROUND THE WORLD 1922-1929,” Shooting script, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

⁵⁸ See full resume in dissertation appendix.

This reconstitution of the material is a necessary part of archival practice, and part of the effort to recreate the experience as best as possible for today’s audiences.

These efforts by Aloha and the Academy Film Archive have resulted in a new “version” of *With Car and Camera Around the World* for a new audience. In December 2020, the National Film Registry listed *With Car and Camera Around the World* on its annual list of “America’s most influential motion pictures.”⁵⁹ In the press release, *With Car and Camera Around the World* is praised as one of the “record-setting 10 films directed by women on the 2020 [National Film Registry] list.”⁶⁰ The following explanation was included:

Filmed from 1922 to 1929, “With Car and Camera Around the World” (1929) documented the expeditions of Walter Wanderwell and Aloha Wanderwell Baker, the first woman to travel around the world by car. The couple, along with a crew of volunteers, crisscrossed dozens of countries in a caravan of Ford Model Ts, filming people, cultures and historical landmarks on 35mm film. Learning the filmmaking craft along the way, Aloha served as camera assistant, cinematographer, editor, actress, screenwriter, interpreter, driver, negotiator, and, at times, director. The Academy has preserved both edited and unedited shots from “With Car and Camera Around the World” in addition to a few sequences and outtakes from other films, including “The Last of the Bororos” (1931), “The River of Death” (1934) and “To See the World by Car” (1937). More information is available at: <https://www.oscars.org/film-archive/collections/aloha-wanderwell-film-collection>⁶¹

I drafted this explanation with then Public Access Manager May Haduong for the Library of Congress. We tried to express some of the complications of this film while still honoring its place in film and travelogue production history. By aligning Aloha with the other female film

⁵⁹ “National Film Registry Spotlights Diverse Filmmakers in New Selections” Library of Congress, December 14, 2020, Accessed March 8, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/item/prn-20-082/national-film-registry-spotlights-diverse-filmmakers-in-new-selections/2020-12-14/>.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

directors, the Library of Congress elevated Aloha's role throughout the production of the *With Car and Camera Around the World* material. Indeed, as seen through the reviews of the time, the materials and her role within them were largely dismissed as "amateurish," but through her continuous work, she transformed the materials so that a little more than 90 years later, she is the creator of one of "American's most influential films." The complex history of this production and film only reflect the start of Aloha's career. In the following chapter, I discuss her second expedition with Walter Wanderwell. I focus on her performance of (and appearance in) footage made in South America in the 1930s, resulting in the films *The Last of the Bororos*, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, and *The River of Death*, starting at the time of production and release and continuing to their subsequent preservation and exhibition from the 1970s onward.

Chapter 1 Appendix



Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford give a Hollywood Welcome to Aloha Baker — 1925.

Car & Camera Around the World.

1922-29
Producer
ALOHA BAKER

SPECIFICATIONS

Black & White 35 mm Nitrate Positive, 7500 ft. (8 reels), 6000 ft. of Negative. Travel documentary, long and short shots, close-ups of personalities, racial types, historical events — all filmed during a competitive round-the-world expedition driving Model T's with Custom bodies.

SYNOPSIS

This is a film diary of the first girl to drive an automobile around the world. From the Cape to Cairo, the filming of Africa records the first car to ever roll across Mozambique. As wheels continue to roll, Aloha Baker is towed by Chinese coolies through floods, mud and civil war, so that she might later pull the trigger on trench mortar weapons for General One-Arm Sutton. And in Soviet-Siberia she is made an honorary Army 'Colonel.'

The raw battlefields of WWI and Marshall Foche are re-visited in 1922 as the expedition rolls through the European countries documenting the gathering Black Shirts of Mussolini's Rome. An angry German mob desecrates the Stars and Stripes in a 1923 dollar crisis, somehow overshadowing the friendliness of Crown Prince Wilhelm exiled in Holland.

As cameras continue to grind the automotive safari joins a mecca-bound caravan in Arabia. In Calcutta, the half-way point, the historic 1924 rendezvous is made with U.S. Army flight crews on the first world flight. And the same cameras were turning when in Japan the God-Emperor actually bowed to the intrepid travelers. They set sail for Hawaii and primitive Waikiki, never again to be so photographed.

It was Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford who turned out for a Hollywood style welcome when Aloha Baker returned home. But, it was Detroit, pleased as punch, that held a massive car parade to celebrate an automotive achievement — and it's all on film — as it was then, preserved until now!

MEMORABILIA AVAILABLE: Stills and official documents, a rare collection of 200 automobile badges and motor emblems, courtesy flags, road and travel maps actually used enroute, and other data to serve in additional footage or exploitation.

COUNTRIES FILMED (24)

SCOTLAND
FRANCE
BELGIUM
HOLLAND
SPAIN
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
POLAND
GERMANY
ITALY
EGYPT
ADEN
SO. AFRICA
MOZAMBIQUE
TANGANYIKA
KENYA
UGANDA
INDIA
SUDAN
ARABIA
JAPAN
CHINA
SOVIET SIBERIA
MALAYSIA
U.S.A.

Figure 13: Fact sheet provided to the Museum of Natural History of Los Angeles County, undated⁶²

⁶² "Car & Camera Around the World," Scrapbook NHM F.P.1.80-8 B. Courtesy of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.



Figure 14: Photograph of “Can # 7” of *Car & Camera Around the World*⁶³

⁶³ This image, taken in 2015 by this author, is showing one of the original cans the film was stored in.

Chapter 2: The South American Expedition

In this chapter, I analyze Aloha Wanderwell's performative work as filmmaker, lecturer, distributor, and curator in relation to her three South American travelogues, *The Last of the Bororos*, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, and *The River of Death*.¹ Each travelogue derives largely from the same source material, captured during the Wanderwells' 1930 South American expedition, and follows a similar narrative structure. Yet the three were marketed as completely distinct films. Through a detailed analysis of each travelogue's content, ancillary materials (including unpublished manuscripts, oral histories, and marketing materials), and exhibition and preservation history, I demonstrate how Aloha continually shaped and reshaped the footage's meaning for audiences through each travelogue, impacting its perceived value as either entertainment, scientific evidence, or cultural heritage object. Through her work, Aloha not only established new significance for the same materials, but also continuously redefined her own persona for personal, promotional, and financial gain.

In contrast to Chapter 1, where I examined the variations and evolution of *With Car and Camera Around the World*, in Chapter 2 I look at how one set of footage was manipulated and repurposed into three distinct travelogues. While the division into three distinct travelogues seems to stand in stark contrast to her approach with *With Car and Camera Around the World*, the visual style and production of the footage as used in the three travelogues was nearly

¹ I purposefully do not here attempt to identify separate release years for the three travelogues. The distinctions between the travelogues and an exploration of their release years is part of the analysis undertaken in this chapter. Very little has been written on these films because of lack of accessibility and the confusing overlaps between the films made from the South American footage. Luciana Martins' *Photography in the Making of Modern Brazil* looks in some depth at this period of Aloha's career. Although a useful text, Martins had access to one archival collection only, the Smithsonian's Human Studies Film Archive (Suitland, Maryland), thus limiting her research to only one film, *The Last of the Bororos*.

identical. The difference instead lies with her marketing of the films as separate types of content (as entertainment, as scientific evidence, and as cultural object). In this chapter, I look holistically at her work, continuing from the production of the footage itself in the 1930s, until its donation and preservation in the 1970s and 1980s.

For my study of Aloha, I focus on film footage, oral histories, paper materials and other artifacts among her donations to three institutional archives: the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences' Academy Film Archive (AFA) in Los Angeles, the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County (NHMLA), and the Smithsonian Institution's Human Studies Film Archive (HSFA) in Suitland, Maryland. Each institutional archive represents a different professional field and area of interest in its collecting.² Furthermore, the collections at each institution are not equal in size nor in the types of materials held. The collections are, however, representative of the different values Aloha was marketing in her work. For example, in their collection of Aloha's South American expedition materials, the HSFA holds unpublished manuscripts, photographs, audio interviews, and original paper marketing materials in addition to a 16mm copy of *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* and a 16mm clipping from *With Car and Camera Around the World*.³ The clipping is only of the Kavirondo segment in Africa. All the materials are more "anthropological" in focus, adhering to the HSFA's collecting policies. The collection at the AFA, on the other hand, is primarily composed of film material, with complete films, fragments, outtakes and original negatives on both 16mm and 35mm, with no original paper materials or

² The AFA focuses on American motion picture history. In the case of footage that is unrelated to the motion picture film industry, the AFA generally focuses on materials produced in Southern California or related to Southern California residents. The NHMLA, on the other hand, is primarily focused on the study of natural sciences, flora, and fauna; motion pictures are not one of their collecting priorities. And finally, the HSFA prioritizes the collection of moving image material that is anthropologically focused.

³ As noted, the Smithsonian's HSFA holds a variety of materials, including film, manuscripts, photographs, audio interviews and marketing materials.

other artifacts. The films were donated alongside a larger collection of film materials, showing her breadth as a filmmaker and in particular, her impact as a pioneering *woman* filmmaker. This disparity in quantity (and focus) among the collections furthers my analysis of these materials and the interpretation of their donation, preservation, and restoration histories.

Indeed, in addition to the work attributed to Aloha herself, I argue that the collecting institutions holding Aloha's materials have played a role in defining the content of the films and their interpretation. The impact of the collecting institution begins before the moment of acquisition, in the act of collecting material for donation. Next, the curators and archive professionals responsible for ingesting and maintaining the material have an impact on its meaning, by deciding how to document, categorize, and share the material. As discussed in this chapter, evidence of this is found across a wide variety of film and paper materials, including, typed shot lists, correspondence, transcribed narration script, marketing materials, donation paperwork, and the films themselves. Together, these materials yield insight not only into how Aloha perceived each archival object she created, but also how the institution itself did.

Although this chapter analyzes Aloha's South American footage and films in terms of both their content and exhibition, I also use the lens of their accompanying history of donation and preservation. Ultimately, by analyzing the content and exhibition of Aloha's South American films, their accompanying histories of donation and preservation, I aim to reveal the often complex and shifting priorities that can shape the professional choices of the travelogue lecture filmmaker and how those priorities are reflected in each film's production, exhibition, and ultimately, preservation. To begin this chapter, I will first discuss the history of the Wanderwells' South American expedition and the larger cultural context in which it occurred.

This is followed by a close analysis of each version of the footage chronologically according to its release, alongside its marketing, and donation and preservation history.

The Wanderwells in South America

In the summer of 1930, newspapers in the United States began to report on the Wanderwells' next expedition: a several-month voyage across numerous countries in South America.⁴ The itinerary, as originally reported, had the Wanderwells travelling to Mexico, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.⁵ The expedition's stated purpose at this point, however, was to exhibit and promote *With Car and Camera Around the World* and showcase the efforts of the Work Around the World Educational Club (WAWEC).⁶

Promotional pamphlets with WAWEC's mission statement, crew biographies, photographs, maps, and advertising were distributed at the exhibitions of *With Car and Camera Around the World* and helped shape the audiences' interpretation of the film. Generally around 30 pages long, the pamphlets and accompanying presentations projected sentiments of international goodwill, peacekeeping, and world citizenship that was part of the Western European popular narrative at this time.⁷ The pamphlets that survive today have images from the

⁴ "Wanderwells Wander Here," *Indianapolis Star*, June 27, 1930, 11; "Wanderwell Is Visitor Here," *Tallahassee Democrat*, November 24, 1930, 3; "World's Greatest Motor Adventure," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 25, 1930, 4.

⁵ "Globe Trotter Pauses Briefly in Pensacola," *Pensacola News Journal*, November 25, 1930, 10.

⁶ By this point WAWEC was well-established, with at least 11 units operating beyond Walter and Aloha's immediate crew. See, for example, "Belgian Girl, On World Tour, Is Visitor in Chattanooga," *The Chattanooga News*, May 1, 1930, 17; "Wanderwell Unit Makes Visit Here," *Orlando Evening Star*, April 10, 1930, 1; "Wanderwell is Visitor Here," *Tallahassee Democrat*, Nov. 24, 1930, 3; "Seek to Promote Universal Peace," *Edmonton Journal* (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada), Sept. 3, 1930, 2; "Wanderwell Party Here on Way West," *Daily Advertiser* (Lafayette, LA), Dec. 23, 1930, 7.

⁷ *Expedition Pamphlet*, Richard Diamond Trust, Mission Viejo, CA, 1929/1930, Alohawanderwell.com. See cover image in chapter appendix. It is important to note that all pamphlets that remain available are in English, or English and French. It is likely that there were other pamphlets in additional languages; however, I have not at this point come across any. WAWEC's mission for global peace was far from the only international effort made by enterprising groups and individuals. As travel and tourism became more global, efforts toward world peace and collaboration became increasingly prevalent.

first expedition which ran from 1921 until 1929. Below each image within the pamphlet captions are provided in English, French, and German. Information on WAWEC and how to join is provided in only English and French, while the classified section and Aloha's biography are provided only in English.

The first mention of the Wanderwells' 1930 South American expedition is found in one of these expedition pamphlets for *With Car and Camera Around the World*.⁸ Found within the classified section, a full-page block titled "Reach the Tourist and the Theatergoer," advertised available printing space within the "South American Edition" pamphlet, encouraging potential investors to associate their name and brand with the upcoming expedition.⁹ This, in essence, worked as a print announcement of the expedition, before press began to appear in late 1930.¹⁰

While identifying the original purpose (to exhibit and promote *With Car and Camera Around the World* and to showcase the efforts of WAWEC), at the time of departure any additional goals, including any anthropological motivations, were not publicized. In her 1993 interview with Jake Homiak of the Smithsonian Institution, however, Aloha stated that the original timing and purpose of the expedition to South America, and specifically to Brazil, was to coincide with and promote the launch of the Brazilian Air Mail route that would fly into the

⁸ The Wanderwells' South American expedition was first publicized in one of these pamphlets in 1929.

⁹ Along with an advertisement for an organized gathering of WAWEC members, the "Jamboree," in December 1931, this places the expedition in 1930-1931, with this publication shortly before in 1929-1930. "Reach the Tourist and the Theatergoer," *Expedition Pamphlet* (Mission Viejo, CA: Richard Diamond Trust, 1929/1930, 32).

¹⁰ We can speculate that they would have also made announcements at screenings and lectures, but there is no existing physical evidence of that. Aloha, Walter, and Olga Van Driesk arrived in Brazil in spring 1931. Van Driesk was a WAWEC member, having led her own team under the Wanderwell banner, and was part of the team that brought one of the expedition cars to Henry Ford in early 1930. They left for South America around the end of 1930. "Wanderwell Party Here On Way West," *The Daily Advertiser* (Lafayette, LA), Dec. 23, 1930, 7; "Girl Travelers Visit Tampa With Old Car Holding Touring Record," *The Tampa Times*, April 2, 1930.

Brazilian state of Mato Grosso.¹¹ Airline routes in Brazil until this time had been designed primarily for external rather than internal needs (*e.g.*, tourism), but with this new expansion, flights now flew into the interior, including Corumbá and Cuiabá (the capitals of Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso respectively), rather than just the popular coastal routes, allowing for more economic access to the interior of Brazil.¹² As Aloha explained, the arrangement was to be as follows: the Wanderwells would provide a platform to showcase the new airmail route, while gaining *free* access to both planes and personnel.¹³ A letter from Walter Wanderwell to the Indian Motorcycle Company dated January 1931, however, presents a different motive altogether.¹⁴ In the letter Walter provides details on how he, Aloha, a stenographer, and a “native girl” will go into the interior to find and film two groups of “native women warriors.”¹⁵ In the letter, he additionally details that he and Aloha will bring specific film equipment for the climate. At the end of his letter, he asks that they not share the details of the expedition until the ship departs.¹⁶ Without a paper trail, it is near impossible to trace the timeline of these unrealized strategic choices for production, but it seems likely that the idea of working with the airmail company developed after they had arrived, while the motivation to find the groups of “native women warriors” developed earlier.

¹¹ Aloha Wanderwell, interview by Jake Homiak, February 1993, Aloha Baker film collection, Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology.

¹² Condor established the first interior phase in Mato Grosso. Colin M. MacLachlan, *A History of Modern Brazil: The Past Against the Future* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 93.

¹³ Aloha Wanderwell, interview by Jake Homiak, February 1993, Aloha Baker film collection, Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology.

¹⁴ The letter is misrepresented as being written by Aloha in an article published in *The Vintagent*: “Around the World with Aloha Wanderwell,” *The Vintagent* (May 14, 2018). <https://thevintagent.com/2018/05/14/around-the-world-with-aloha-wanderwell/>.

¹⁵ Walter Wanderwell. Walter Wanderwell to Indian Motorcycle Company, January 3, 1931. Letter. National Motorcycle Museum.

¹⁶ This motivation, to find and film “native women warriors,” is never publicly associated with the expedition.

But, regardless of the “why” for the expedition, the Wanderwells arrived in Brazil in February of 1931, for what would turn out to be the most crucial portion of their expedition. A report published in *Diario Carioca*, a Brazilian newspaper based in Rio de Janeiro, announced the Wanderwells’ arrival and upcoming presentations:

There is a club in North America, the “WAWEC,” whose main purpose is to send expeditions around the entire world with the aim of universal reconciliation, having as an ideal the establishment of the International Police, a way of connecting everyone to avoid future wars. The problem is complex, and the solution is maybe even more so, but what is certain is that the members of this club are crossing the entire world. Now, the members of this club who make up the Wanderwell Expedition, which has already traversed the entire world by automobile, have found themselves among us. From this excursion that represents true modernity, action, and adventure, crossing 45 countries and four continents, was made a film that will be shown next week at the Gloria Theater. Miss Aloha Wanderwell, pilot, journalist, and member of the expedition, will make an oral presentation on that theater’s stage, explaining the scenes as they appear on the screen, scenes that show moments from this great journey, whether taken in the civilized countries, or whether taken in the countryside of Africa, Russia, Siberia and China.¹⁷

The report, which briefly reviews the expedition’s mission and itinerary, was most likely constructed from a press release circulated by the Wanderwells themselves. Indeed, nearly identical details and phrasing can be found in reports of other local newspapers.¹⁸ The language of “universal reconciliation” and “true modernity, action, and adventure” used in *Diario Carioca* and others is evidence of this, but also shows how the Wanderwell’s viewed their own efforts, and, how they wanted them to be viewed.

¹⁷ “Un Film que Servirá para Apresentar a Expedição Wanderwell” [A film that will serve to introduce the Wanderwell Expedition], *Diario Carioca* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), Feb. 23, 1931, Edition 00820. Translation by Mariah Schaefer. Full article in chapter appendix.

¹⁸ See for example: “Um Ford que custou 50 dollars fez a volta ao mundo,” *A Noite* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), Mar. 16, 1931, Edition 06932; “A Policia Internacional: Os objectovos da e Wawec atravez do mundo,” *Jornal do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), Mar. 4, 1931, Edition 00054.

Upon their arrival in Brazil in February 1931, one of the Wanderwells' first meetings was with Brazilian military officer General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon. Not only an officer, Rondon was also an explorer himself and a major figure in Brazilian politics. By the early 1930s, he was largely responsible for the government relations with the indigenous populations of Brazil and had previously been part of the establishment of the "Strategic Telegraph Commission of Mato Grosso to Amazonas" ("Comissão de Linhas Telegráficas Estratégicas de Mato Grosso ao Amazonas"), more commonly known as the Rondon Commission.¹⁹ The Commission was established in 1907 in order to construct the first telegraph line across the Amazon. Part of the work of the Rondon Commission involved extensive exploration, mapping, and surveying of the Mato Grosso state. For the Wanderwells, the meeting with Rondon, and the chance to feature him within their footage was a great opportunity. As a well-known figure internationally, his inclusion on-screen added authority to their footage of the indigenous Bororo population. According to Aloha, Rondon suggested where to film, how to interact with the indigenous population, which locations might result in better footage, and what equipment they should use.²⁰ Rondon additionally suggested that to best preserve their nitrate film in Brazil's jungle environment, they should use "felt-lined fibre film containers in lieu of metal. [These boxes]

¹⁹ See: Diacon, Todd. *Stringing Together a Nation: Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon and the Construction of a Modern Brazil, 1906-1930*, Duke University Press, 2004, 3.

²⁰ In comparison, Rondon does not appear in the Penn Museum expedition's film, *Matto Grosso: The Great Brazilian Wilderness* (1931), and may have purposefully hindered the expedition's progress by not granting them permits to film. Given the prestige of the Penn Museum's expedition, it is noteworthy that Rondon seemed more supportive of the Wanderwells. For a more thorough look at Rondon's association and work with the Bororo in the Mato Grosso, see: Todd A. Diacon, *Stringing Together a Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, Kindle Edition, 2004); Luciana Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in Brazil* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2013), 164-167. *Last of the Bororos* (Academy Film Archive, 1930/1931, supplemental materials, Los Angeles, CA). Rondon was not credited for his advice, or appearance, in the footage.

were lined with half inch carpet felt and didn't sweat." He suggested more accessible filming locations for spectacular wildlife shots—including, for example, the National Aquarium in Rio.

Rondon's greatest contributions to the Wanderwells' South American films and footage were perhaps his suggestions of where to shoot, and likely his suggestion to focus the narration on the Bororo.²¹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the earliest moving image documentation of the Bororo peoples can be found in materials created as part of the Rondon Commission.²² The moving image materials date back to 1912. Surviving fragments held by the Museu do Índio in Brazil represent the titles: *Parimã*, *Ao Redor do Brasil*, *Viagem ao Roraima*, and *Sertões do Mato Grosso*.²³ Outside of the Rondon Commission, Rondon was involved either directly or tangentially in other early productions. For example, from December 1913 to May 1914, Theodore Roosevelt went on an expedition with Luiz Thomaz Reis and Rondon, which resulted

²¹ Without documentation, it is nearly impossible to confirm all details about the filming of the footage. It is likely that some of the footage was taken at Desclavados Ranch, near the city of Cuiabá. Desclavados Ranch often served as a base and starting point for expeditions heading into the jungles of Mato Grosso. Aloha's presence there can be visually confirmed in the photographic collections of the Detroit Public Library. See, for example: "Dwelling as Desclavados Ranch," photograph, Aloha Baker Collection, National Automotive History Collection, Detroit, MI.

²² The Bororo had occupied areas of Mato Grosso long before their first contact with European colonizers in the 17th century. Those interactions had increased in frequency and intensity with the advent of Christian missionaries and gold exploration in Brazil, eventually escalating into violence and divisions among the Bororo. In the 19th century, the construction of a road would lead to a violent conflict that lasted more than 50 years between the Brazilian government and a portion of the Bororo population, leading to the establishment of a "pacification" program, wherein the remaining Bororo surrendered control of their land to the central Brazilian government. The Bororo were placed under federal "protection" starting in 1910 with the founding of the agency Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which functioned on paper to protect their interests, but in reality protected the interests of the state. Through the agency, outposts were set up in the Bororo territory, allowing for state communication and monitoring.

²³ There are no available approximate dates on these titles besides 1912. The Cinematography and Photography Section of the Rondon Commission was founded in that year (per, Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, Landscapes of memory: the first visual images of the Bororo of Central Brazil. *Virtual Braz. Anthr.* 16, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-43412019v16a202>). The film material is titled in the Museu do Índio's database as "Fragmentos de vários títulos de filmes produzidos pela Comissão Rondon." Translating roughly to "fragments of various titles from the film production of the Rondon commission." Official museum site: <https://www.gov.br/museudoindio/pt-br>. *Sertões do Mato Grosso* is alternatively titled *Os Sertões do Mato Grosso*.

in the film *Expedição Roosevelt a Mato Grosso* (1915).²⁴ Reis, like Rondon, was an officer in the Brazilian army, and acted as both director and cameraman for *Expedição Roosevelt a Mato Grosso* and one of the more commonly cited early films depicting the Bororos, *Bororo Rituals and Feasts (Rituais e Festas Bororo, 1917)*.²⁵ Reis was the head of the photography and film unit for the Rondon Commission, but as historians Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, and Paul Henley describe, the idea for *Bororo Rituals and Feasts* did not originate with Reis himself, but instead with Amilcar Armando Botelho de Magalhães (head of the bureau of the Rondon Commission) and Rondon himself.²⁶ *Bororo Rituals and Feasts* was used as a means of justifying the Rondon Commissions actions, as well as a means to raise further funds.²⁷ This popularity of depicting the Bororo in moving images continued to build, leading to perhaps the most internationally well-known expedition undertaken shortly after the Wanderwells, by anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. His 1935-1936 expedition resulted in numerous 8mm ethnographic films and the text, *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), which will be discussed later in this chapter.²⁸ Given the history and growing popularity of the Bororo as a topic of study, the Wanderwells' choice to frame the narrative of their footage around them is unsurprising.

²⁴ This film is currently lost. According to research by Alexandre Pacheco and Robson Mendonça Pereira, however, portions of the film may have been used in the 1928 film *The River of Doubt*. Per, "A Expedição Roosevelt-Rondon O Caso Do Filme "The River of Doubt" (1928). *Revista Nós*, Cultra, Estética e Linguagens. Volume 3, no. 2. August, 2018. According to historians Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, and Paul Henley, the film was not a success, and Reis was not in attendance for the whole expedition as there were not enough funds. Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, Paul Henley, "The First Ethnographic Documentary? Luiz Thomaz Reis, the Rondon Commission and the making of *Rituais e Festas Bororo* (1917), *Visual Anthropology*. 30, 2017, 121.

²⁵ Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, Paul Henley, "The First Ethnographic Documentary? Luiz Thomaz Reis, the Rondon Commission and the making of *Rituais e Festas Bororo* (1917)," *Visual Anthropology*. 30, 2017.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, Landscapes of memory: the first visual images of the Bororo of Central Brazil. *Virtual Braz. Anthr.* 16, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-43412019v16a202>

²⁸ Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, Landscapes of memory: the first visual images of the Bororo of Central Brazil. *Virtual Braz. Anthr.* 16, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-43412019v16a202>

The framing of their expedition itself within its initial marketing, however, did not reflect the same topic. According to Aloha, Rondon suggested that the Wanderwells promote their expedition as part of the search for Colonel Percy Fawcett. Fawcett had gone missing in 1925 after departing from Cuiabá on an expedition to chart “unknown” areas of the Mato Grosso.²⁹ Since Fawcett’s disappearance, numerous international expeditions had tried to retrace his route, find him, or retrieve any artifacts or evidence they could. Newspapers in Brazil and globally reported on the search for Fawcett throughout the 1930s, and reportedly as many as 100 expeditions went looking for Fawcett within the first years of his disappearance. Some expeditions conducted around the time of the Wanderwells’ arrival included the 1928 expedition led by George Miller Dyott, the 1930 expedition led by Albert Winton, the 1931 expedition led by Stefan Rattin, the 1932 expedition led by Robert Churchward and John G. Holman, and the expeditions led by Roger Courtville and Luis Longobardi. Using the search for Fawcett as part of their promotion helped the Wanderwells to gain the traction and attention needed to fund and legitimize their expedition, providing an appealing narrative that could be claimed without much substantiating proof. The expedition stood apart from the rest in foregrounding Brazil’s involvement in the search through Rondon’s appearance in the footage.³⁰

The footage captured on the South American expedition resulted in more than 4,000 feet of 35mm nitrate footage.³¹ In Brazil, they shot footage in Rio De Janeiro, Corumbá, and more

²⁹ The “unexplored” areas were regions that had not been charted during the colonial era exploration conducted between the 16th and 19th centuries.

³⁰ Aloha Wanderwell, interview by Jake Homiak, February 1993, Aloha Baker film collection, Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology. In the materials I’ve been able to find, Aloha’s expedition is the only *advertised* female-led expedition for Fawcett. I am continuing to research for other female-led expeditions. The expeditions were less concerned with *actually* finding Fawcett and more focused on the attention that would come simply by association.

³¹ This is a rough estimate based on the amount of unique surviving footage (45 mins) held at each institution and could range immensely. The cameras they used included a 1913 35mm Debie with tripod, a “key-wind-motor” hand-held 35mm Bell and Howell Eyemo, a Graflex still camera, and one other camera. However, while Aloha

“remote” locations in Mato Grosso. It covers topics that are more traditional to travelogue filmmaking (famous sites and individuals) and others that are more anthropological or ethnographic in nature (dance sequences, feasts, village life and routine, etc.).³² The background of the production and exhibition, and content around it shows how it was already dealing with varied and at times conflicting motivations – which are in turn reflected in its preservation history. For my analysis, I look at each rendition of the footage in turn, chronologically according to its original release. By tracing the films in this way, I simultaneously tell the story of the production of the films themselves and their preservation history. I begin my analysis with *The River of Death*, the first version of the footage that was advertised and exhibited as a singular and cohesive travelogue. This, however, was not the first time the footage was *exhibited*. Indeed, the first time the Wanderwells’ South American expedition footage was publicly shown was during the summer of 1932, when it was shown as part of Aloha’s larger ongoing accomplishments. Similar to *With Car and Camera Around the World*, it focused on a breadth of geographic locations and on the individual expedition members, rather than on any specific city or peoples. *The River of Death* represents the first attempt by the Wanderwells to push away from the work and style they had adopted in *With Car and Camera Around the World*.

was staying in the jungle, she did not have the Debrie with her. *The Last of the Bororos*, narration (1930/1931, Aloha Baker film collection, Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology).

³² The footage that the Wanderwells captured in Mato Grosso was not unique and far from the only footage available of the Bororo. By the early 1930s, audiences both nationally in Brazil and internationally would have been very familiar with the Bororo from news coverage, literature, and films. For example, see: *Rituais e Festas Bororo* (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, 1917) and *Expedição Roosevelt a Mato Grosso Rondônia* (1915).

The River of Death

Advertisements for *The River of Death*, first appeared in newspapers on December 7, 1932. The timing of these advertisements, however, brings forward larger questions on what external influences prompted the creation (and titling) of this film. On December 5, 1932, two days earlier, Walter Wanderwell was mysteriously murdered while aboard his and Aloha's yacht, the *Carma*.³³ According to her testimony, Aloha was in Los Angeles at the time working on editing the footage from their most recent expedition (to South America). This raises some questions as to how the design of the film and its narrative was impacted by Walter Wanderwell's murder. It is clear that the film benefited from the attention of the press surrounding Walter's death, and allowed what would have otherwise been a fairly standard travelogue to gain a large and enthusiastic audience. In the eyes of the public, *The River of Death* was part of the evidence of an ongoing murder trial.

The River of Death premiered as part of a week-long double feature presentation alongside Douglas Fairbanks' *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* at the United Artists Theater in Los Angeles, California.³⁴ *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* had premiered three months earlier in New York on September 16, 1932 and by that point had played out to all the second and third tier theaters.³⁵ An adventure comedy film, *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* starred Douglas Fairbanks as a modernized Robinson Crusoe, set in the South Seas. The pairing of *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* with *The River of*

³³ "Widow Tells of Mutineer," *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 1932, 1-2.

³⁴ "Mrs. Wanderwell to Appear With Picture," *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), Dec. 15, 1932, 7; "Doug Goes Back to Nature," *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), Dec. 17, 1932, 7. It was also the last film Fairbanks would personally produce. Tracy Goessel, *The First King of Hollywood: the life of Douglas Fairbanks*, (Chicago: Chicago Review Press Inc.: 2016), 432.

³⁵ Alternate premiere dates include September 21, 1932. See, John C. Tibbetts and James M. Welsh, *Douglas Fairbanks and the American Century*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press: 2014), 313.

Death made sense - *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* was travelogue-esc in its nature (and was made in part as an excuse to travel the South Seas), and Aloha's perceived persona was that of an adventurer.

Aloha and Walter had in fact met Douglas Fairbanks about seven years earlier while on the *With Car and Camera Around the World* expedition. They visited both the United Artists and Warner Bros studio lots while in Los Angeles, capturing shots of Aloha with well-known stars and filmmakers of the day. At that time Mary Pickford was filming *Little Annie Rooney* (1925), and Fairbanks was in the height of his popularity, having just completed *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924) and a follow-up to *Zorro*, *Don Q, Son of Zorro* (1925). In the sequence that ended up in *With Car and Camera Around the World*, Fairbanks is seen presenting Aloha and the Wanderwell vehicle with a "Miss Los Angeles" plaque. The Wanderwells visit to the lot was not as privileged of a moment as they would have led the audience to believe. Indeed, it was common practice at that time for Fairbanks and Pickford to invite spectators to watch them filming – and many would have gotten an opportunity to greet them.³⁶ It is unlikely that Aloha and Fairbanks met again after that 1925 encounter, but that meeting was likely something that Aloha would have brought forward in her lectures at the Los Angeles premiere of *The River of Death*.

Mr. Robinson Crusoe was produced near the end of Douglas Fairbanks' career. His popularity had not transitioned to the sound era and by 1932 his films were not receiving the same attention that those of the 1920s had. Despite this, the pairing of *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* with *The River of Death* was very unusual for any of the travelogues the Wanderwells produced. They were likely able to secure this double feature in large part due to the surge in celebrity surrounding Aloha with the sudden death of and murder trial for Walter Wanderwell. The case

³⁶ Tracey Goessel, personal conversation with author, April 23, 2022.

continued to grow in notoriety as the weeks passed because it remained unsolved, and it was covered in both local and national papers.³⁷ The presentation would have likely been of interest as a short-term feature for the United Artists exhibitors, because of its potential to attract audiences eager to hear more about the murder.³⁸ In an advertisement for the screening in the *Los Angeles Post Record*, for example, the “special added sensation” is Aloha herself, presenting *River of Death*. She is described as the “‘Rhinestone’ woman of the hour” (see Figure 15). What’s telling about this advertisement is how Aloha is equally weighted alongside Douglas Fairbanks. The title itself, *River of Death*, is relegated towards the bottom in much smaller print, and its description in the advertisement demonstrates that its value lay in depicting Aloha’s last adventures with Walter Wanderwell, and not the depiction of the people or places that they visited.

³⁷ Aloha had met Fairbanks and Pickford in the 1920s during her first world tour, and he is briefly featured in that film (*With Car and Camera Around the World*).

³⁸ Reports in *The Los Angeles Record* noted this with the sensational headline, “WANDERWELL’S WIDOW SIGNED BY SID GRAUMAN.” There is no evidence of any contract between Aloha and Grauman, and as noted above, was likely just part of a publicity stunt. Relman Morin, “WANDERWELL’S WIDOW SIGNED BY SID GRAUMAN,” *The Los Angeles Record*, December 15, 1932, 4.



Figure 15: Advertisement for presentation of *The River of Death* and *Mr. Robinson Crusoe*, 1932³⁹

Reviews of her performance further emphasize this tactic. In the *Daily News*, her performance during the premiere week was described as follows: “One of Mrs. Wanderwell’s bit of stage business was to come forward, face the audience, tell of some tragic incidents in her life, and invite women in the audience to weep with her. It was noticed that a great many of the women did weep.”⁴⁰ The theatricality of her performance emphasized part of the new persona

³⁹ Clipping, *The Los Angeles Post Record*, December 15, 1932.

⁴⁰ *Daily News* (New York, NY), December 20, 1932, 42; see also “World’s Events in Pictures and Story,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, January 15, 1933, 25.

she was building, not merely as a member of a larger expedition team, but as a protagonist audiences could identify with, separate from Walter Wanderwell.

As of May 2022, there is only one surviving copy of *The River of Death* that I know of. Held at the Library of Congress, the copy was donated by an independent collector named Charlie Tennesen in 1988.⁴¹ The copy, on nitrate film stock, has an emerald green tint throughout the footage, in addition to a narration and musical score. Surprisingly, however, the copyright date in the opening titles dates the footage to 1934, rather than 1932. There is no evidence in available supplemental archival materials as to why there was another version released two years after the initial run of the film. In the 1934 copy, Aloha is credited as “Aloha Wanderwell,” rather than “Aloha Baker,” as she had already begun to be credited by that time. In reviews of the 1934 release, Aloha is presented as the expedition leader and primary filmmaker. For example, in *Film Daily*, the film is reviewed as follows “A pictorial record of Mrs. Wanderwell’s trip to the Brazilian jungles in search of Col. Fawcett and his two sons [...] With her husband, Capt. Wanderwell Aloha flies over the barren country ...”⁴² To conduct my analysis of the footage, I will be approaching the 1934 version as a comparable version to the 1932 one.

Aloha’s first appearance in *The River of Death* is within two quick shots on the deck of a transport ship en route to Brazil. The shots follow immediately after the title card, credits, and written “Foreward” text. In the opening shot, she is barely visible, appearing at the very bottom of the frame alongside an unidentified companion (Figure 16). She is seen from behind and from

⁴¹ Mashon, Mike. “The Films of Aloha Wanderwell Baker: An Archival Collaboration” March 25, 2015. <https://blogs.loc.gov/now-see-hear/2015/03/the-films-of-aloha-wanderwell-baker-an-archival-collaboration/>

⁴² “Aloha Wanderwell in ‘River of Death’” *Film Daily*, 28 March 1934, pg. 9. In another *Film Daily* article, *River of Death* is noted as being a “three-reel adventure film.” “Kandel to Start Features,” *Film Daily* (New York, NY), May 4, 1934, 9.

a lower deck as she scouts the horizon with binoculars (Figure 17). The low-angle shot which follows, functions as her true introduction, presenting her as a lone and heroic figure—with her tall build emphasized by the angle and camera placement behind her. Rather than intimidating, the framing suggests she is an aspirational figure for the spectator. In comparison, the introductory shots in *With Car and Camera Around the World*, for example, show each member of the crew in turn, in a sequence of closeups that function more to introduce a team, rather than just Aloha.



Figures 16 and 17: Stills from *The River of Death*, 1934⁴³

The River of Death includes a score, narration, and sound effects.⁴⁴ Aloha provides the narration and is credited as writer, cinematographer, and star in the opening title cards. The film's content and narrative structure follows that of many travelogues and anthropological films of the era—starting with a journey on a ship, followed by a first encounter with a non-Western “native” community, integration into that community, and finally, the journey back and

⁴³ The date noted here reflects the copyright date of this copy of *The River of Death*.

⁴⁴ In the promotional announcements leading up to and during its premiere, there is no clear indication of whether *The River of Death* was originally released silent or with the soundtrack described above. At all the advertised showings – Aloha was to be present, and on stage, presenting her experiences with the Bororo as well as sharing with audiences details on her experiences with the murder trial. It is possible that the soundtrack was only added in 1934, based on the copyright date in the surviving version of *The River of Death*.

reintegration into the Western and “white” landscape. Running approximately 30 minutes, starting from the opening title cards, Aloha is clearly identified as the one star and protagonist of the film. The first sentence of the “Foreword” on the title card reads: “The following is the film record of Aloha Wanderwell’s flight by plane into the hitherto unexplored regions of the Amazon in search of the lost British explorer, Col. Fawcett.” Her roles are emphasized by her physical appearance throughout the film.



Figure 18: Still from *The River of Death*, 1934⁴⁵

In the opening shots, and in the majority of her on-screen time, she wears the standard expedition ensemble established during *With Car and Camera Around the World*. Although the standard uniform of “long sleeve shirts, leather leggings, [and] felt hats instead of our solar topis” for South America, would usually allow (or at times encourage) the spectator to lose sight of an individual amongst other expedition members, here her white shirt stands out as a visually dramatic signifier of her difference from the indigenous population.⁴⁶ Indeed, two thirds of the film’s screen time is focused on the Bororo and Aloha’s interactions with them.

⁴⁵ The date noted here reflects the copyright date of this copy of *The River of Death*.

⁴⁶ “Solar topis” is another way of describing the expedition helmets commonly used in colonial expeditions. *Last of the Bororos* (Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, 1930/1931, supplemental materials, 5). The standard expedition members also wear: “Olive drab waterproof trench coat with shoulder straps having WAWEC and Unit No. above, in gold, embroidered. ... Wool olive drab tailored short with sport collar and two large patch pockets. Wool olive drab pair of shorts 70 cm circumstance on bottom 28 cm length in crutch. (For

All in all, the film through its content functions primarily as a demonstration of Aloha's journey into Mato Grosso, and her interactions with the Bororos. Considering the copyright date of 1934 on the surviving copy of *The River of Death*, paradoxes arise as to how the film was advertised versus what is included in the content. By July 1933, Aloha's presentations had been reframed to focus on her personal story, rather than Walter Wanderwell and his murder. Billed with headlines such as "The World's Most Widely Traveled Woman ... on the stage [with] Talking Travel Film of Her Experiences in Darkest Africa, India and China," Aloha's position had clearly shifted again, away from the Wanderwell expedition itself.⁴⁷ This shift in the press coincided with changes in her personal life. In December 1933, Aloha had married the newly joined expedition member, Walter Baker, almost exactly one year after Walter Wanderwell's murder. Baker had, according to Aloha, joined the expedition in September 1933, and in those first months as part of the expedition, quickly adapted to the expedition lifestyle, taking on the roles of mechanic and driver.⁴⁸ The marriage with Baker, however, was very different than that with Walter Wanderwell. Despite her new marriage, she maintained a sense of independence visually in content and narratively in marketing. Baker would almost never appear on camera or in the marketing, taking instead a more supportive background role in her endeavors. With her new marriage, Aloha adopted her new stage name, Aloha Baker, further disassociating from Walter Wanderwell and the Wanderwell expeditions.

ladies, breeches of same material.) Aviation cap, (R.A.F.), same material. A second suit as above in tropical khaki. Pair of olive drab, one color wool golf socks and one pair of cotton. Pair of low-heeled brown shoes. Wool pullover. Brown leather belt plain metal buckle 5 cm wide ... All b[u]ttons 2 ½ cm diameter, plain." "How to Become a WAWEC," *Expedition Pamphlet* (Mission Viejo, CA: Richard Diamond Trust, Alohawanderwell.com, 1929/1930, 25). For films like *With Car and Camera Around World*, this uniform, with this amount of specificity, allowed and encouraged the expedition members to become visually undifferentiated on screen. Indeed, once they are in uniform and shot from a distance, it becomes extremely difficult for the spectator to distinguish between each member.

⁴⁷ Advertisement, *The Eugene Register-Guard*, July 31, 1933, 2.

⁴⁸ Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 1, Scrapbook 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 55.

The question of her name and how she was identifying herself in the marketing and the footage began to shift during this period. By 1935, she was filming new footage under her new married name, for what would eventually become *To See the World By Car*.⁴⁹ At times she would use Aloha Baker and sometimes Aloha Wanderwell Baker, however she was still utilizing her time with Walter Wanderwell as a marketing tool. In one example her life with Walter Wanderwell was transformed into a weekly newspaper illustrated serial. Released in 1935 both nationally and internationally, it gave an abbreviated and glamourized version of her life with Walter Wanderwell, and his murder and murder trial.⁵⁰ The series featured six installments, each with illustrations or images accompanied by text from the previous expeditions.⁵¹ Highly glamourized, the images showed Aloha in expedition gear with her signature bracelet, taking action, and leading the crew and expedition. The image below (Figure 19), for example, is representative of the style of illustrations featured in the series. The focus of this particular episode covers the conclusion of their first leg of the *With Car and Camera Around the World* expedition, their brief time in the United States (including their marriage), and the start of the Africa portion of the expedition. The series is written as if it was from Aloha's personal journal, and unsurprisingly centers her as the protagonist throughout.

⁴⁹ "Aloha Wanderwell Baker Ready For Another Adventure Trip. This Time 'Round World by Air," *The Decatur Daily*, December 7, 1934, 1. This expedition didn't quite go as planned, but they did depart for a worldwide expedition in October 1935, leaving from Seattle and spending time in Australia by June of the following year.

⁵⁰ The first "comic book" was released in 1933. By 1935, the popularity of comic books had increased immensely, as well as weekly serial stories in newspapers. Popular comic characters like Doc Savage were clear influences on the serial comics about Aloha.

⁵¹ For example, in *The Times* of Shreveport, Louisiana, it ran on Sundays between January 27 and March 3, 1935.



Figure 19: Illustration of Aloha from newspaper serial, 1935⁵²

In the penultimate installment of the series, Aloha describes the South American expedition, but does not make any direct reference to the title, *The River of Death*.⁵³ In this episode, the time in South America is what ultimately led to Walter Wanderwell’s murder. The story focuses on her interactions with the crew members and what led to the murder, and little time spent on the expedition itself. Indeed, no mention is made of the Bororo or Fawcett, with the footage and expedition instead reframed yet again, this time as evidence of what was to come with Walter Wanderwell’s murder.

The River of Death would not appear in newspapers again until her later preservation efforts. Instead, the South American footage would become part of Aloha’s larger oeuvre until

⁵² “Estranha Vida de Aventuras: Percorrendo o Mundo em Busca De Emoções,” *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), May 12, 1935, 18. The Brazilian release ran from April 21 to May 19, 1935.

⁵³ “The Untold Story of My Amazing Life Around the Globe Before [and after] the Famous Capt. Wanderwell Mysterious Yacht Tragedy,” *The Times* (Shreveport, LA), Feb. 17, 1935, 49.

she again revisited the material with a more preservation-oriented approach. What *River of Death* demonstrates, however, are the paradoxes in how the footage was interpreted at the time of production, versus exhibition, versus distribution, and its later life as “past accomplishment.” These paradoxes become particularly apparent in Aloha’s next version of the South American footage, *Last of the Bororos*.

An Archival (Re)Framing

As previously noted, this chapter looks at Aloha’s South American travelogues chronologically according to their release date, however this is complicated by the fact that two of the three films did not have an official release date. Indeed, their story, or discovery, begins in the archive itself with traces leading back to the time of production. Aloha’s work in the conservation and preservation of her films starts as early as the 1970s, and, as I will demonstrate, had a profound impact on the interpretation of both the meaning and value of the materials. Starting in the mid-1970s, Aloha began to donate materials from all her expeditions to archives, universities, and libraries across the United States.⁵⁴ For each donation, she put together supplemental paper materials to help contextualize her films, identify people and places, and ultimately, shape the meaning of how the materials and her role within them should be understood. In the following analysis I examine supplemental documents created for *Last of the Bororos* and *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, including fact sheets, manuscripts, and scrapbooks, to demonstrate how meaning shifted from what was seen in the 1930s with *River of Death*, to the new meanings gained during its preservation.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Aloha’s relationship with the Smithsonian Institution began in 1976 with her donation to the National Anthropological Film Center. After this initial arrangement, Aloha continued to make modifications to the agreement into the 1990s. As late as 1993, Aloha donated film segments, around 500 feet of 16mm fine grain positive of *With Car and Camera Around the World* that she saw as of interest to the Smithsonian’s mission.

⁵⁵ Additional materials she donated with films included photographs, clippings, and shot lists.

It is crucial to note, that of her South American travelogues – the only ones she made preservation efforts for were, at least in title, the ones primarily focused on the Bororo peoples. Indeed, she did not donate any materials directly relating to *River of Death* to any archives – the surviving copy was donated to the Library of Congress by a private donation many years later, and she excised *River of Death* from her official resume. Her interest in the preservation and distribution of her work on the Bororo in particular, however, is unsurprising for a number of reasons. Academic and popular interest in the Bororo had steadily increased since her and Walter Wanderwell’s expedition. In addition to the famous expeditions that occurred earlier and around the same time as the Wanderwells (Theodore Roosevelt in 1913-1914, the Penn Museum expedition in 1931, and Claude Lévi-Strauss from 1935-1936), anthropological and literary work on the Bororo people continued in the Western world.

The most well-known literary work was Claude Lévi-Strauss’ *Tristes Tropiques*, published in France in 1955. The memoir extensively documents his travels in South America and larger anthropological work, focusing primarily on his time in Brazil. The English edition was published in 1961 and was met with wide acclaim. The portion of *Tristes Tropiques* that focuses on Brazil and the Bororo stems from Lévi-Strauss’ 1935 expedition he did with his wife at the time Dina Lévi-Strauss, and René Silz (a childhood friend of Claude Levi-Strauss and agronomist).⁵⁶ During that expedition, they produced a number of 8mm films that focused on the Bororo, including, *Cerimônias Fúnebres entre os Índios Bororo (Funeral Ceremonies among the Bororo I and II, 1935)* and *A vida em uma aldeia Bororo (Life in a Bororo village, 1935)*.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Emmanuelle Loyer, *Lévi-Strauss: A Biography* (Medford, MA: Polity, 2018), 139; Luciana Martins, *Photography in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 159.

⁵⁷ The films were shot on 16mm and run for about 8 minutes. Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, Landscapes of memory: the first visual images of the Bororo of Central Brazil. *Virtual Braz. Anthr.* 16, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-43412019v16a202>.

Indeed, the Bororo, and particularly the Bororo funeral ceremony, became more widely known because of the Lévi-Strauss account. However, as noted by historians Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes and Paul Henley, this became even more popularized with the publication of *Vital Souls: Bororo Cosmology, Natural Symbolism, and Shamanism* by Jon Christopher Crocker in 1985, inspiring further studies and accounts of the Bororo.⁵⁸

More broadly speaking, Aloha's donation of footage and ephemeral materials at this time played into her self-presentation as an adventurer and pioneering women as it coincided with some of the cultural movements of the period.⁵⁹ In particular, popular movies at this time often had defining themes of nostalgia and nationalism. Films like *Alien* (1979), *Indiana Jones: Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *Indiana Jones: The Temple of Doom* (1984), all played into the idea of a heroic figure, alongside an adventuring and pioneering spirit. Fittingly, now, nearly 50 years later, Aloha's estate labels her a "female Indiana Jones."⁶⁰

The Last of the Bororos

Widely accepted today as a "scientific" or anthropological film, the *Last of the Bororos* stands apart from *The River of Death* in its positioning as anthropological object rather than entertainment. That designation, however, arose from Aloha's archival efforts rather than any actual production differences. Indeed, the title *Last of the Bororos* does not appear until Aloha's later conservation and preservation efforts. In the 1930s, and even into the 1940s and 50s the

⁵⁸ Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, Paul Henley, "The First Ethnographic Documentary? Luiz Thomaz Reis, the Rondon Commission and the making of *Rituais e Festas Bororo* (1917), *Visual Anthropology*. 30, 2017.

⁵⁹ In critical studies, this period is often referred to as the "Reagan Era." J. Hoberman dates the Reagan Era in his book *Make My Day: Movie Culture in the Age of Reagan*, to the years between *American Graffiti* (1973) to *They Live* (1988). In his analysis, Hoberman looks at the intersection between paranoia, nostalgia and nationalism in films of this era.

⁶⁰ "Aloha Wanderwell: The World's Most Widely Traveled Woman," Aloha Wanderwell, September 13, 2017, <https://www.alohawanderwell.com/>.

footage produced in this period is only known as the South American expedition, or, *The River of Death*. Evidence of its history is instead visible in the collections of the HSFA at the Smithsonian Institution.

As previously noted, included in the Smithsonian's collection are artifacts relating to the South American expedition, including photographs, documents, and film footage, including a print of *Last of the Bororos* on 35mm.⁶¹ At 4,000 feet, the film runs for 32 minutes and covers largely the same topics as *The River of Death*. As described by the Smithsonian record for the film, *Last of the Bororos* "[...] documents various aspects of daily and ceremonial life in the Bororo village of Boboré on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá." The donation was received in 1976 from Aloha.

Included as part of the Smithsonian materials, but also in the donations distributed to NHMLA and AFA, are descriptive fact sheets, that provide the films' technical specifications, as well as outline its content and "value." On 8.5 by 11 inch print outs, each fact sheet focuses specifically on one of Aloha's films. Even though the fact sheets do not indicate when they were created, or by whom, they do serve as an important means of documentation for both the film and the creator (Aloha). In the fact sheet for *Last of the Bororos*, for example, the film is described as follows:

This is an exploration documentary with close-ups, long shots, aerial and ground by plane and canoe. This film is not of the same negative as "Flight to Stone Age." To better depict native customs, it contains scenes shot in Hollywood which were not possible in the jungle.

THIS FILM IS NOT OFFERED FOR SALE

⁶¹ In addition to the 35mm nitrate print, the donation included a 35mm duplicate negative (a duplicate made from the original negative), and two 16mm prints.

THIS RARE ARCHIVE FILM WILL BE DONATED TO AN
INSTITUTION⁶²

In this excerpt, it is clear from the insistence that it does not derive from the same negative as *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* that Aloha was determined to frame the footage as not only anthropological, but also as a unique and valuable artifact. The fact sheet, however, is misleading, as *Last of the Bororos* utilizes footage that is identical to footage use in both *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* and *The River of Death*.⁶³ That the film is “not offered for sale,” but available as a donation only further emphasizes the persona that Aloha is crafting for herself and the footage. As a donation, the film is framed for educational use and in turn, holds “educational value.” In contrast, the presentation and marketing of *The River of Death* focused on Aloha and her role as a heroine and Hollywood star framing both her and the film as “entertainment.”

The primary image on the fact sheet of *Last of the Bororos* again demonstrates how the film’s content was meant to be seen by Aloha: as an anthropological study, rather than a travelogue.

⁶² This particular fact sheet appears in the donations for the HSFA, NHMLA, and AFA. The full image of the fact sheet is included in the chapter appendix.

⁶³ All three films share the first encounter and Bororo village sequences, including the sequence that was recreated in Hollywood.

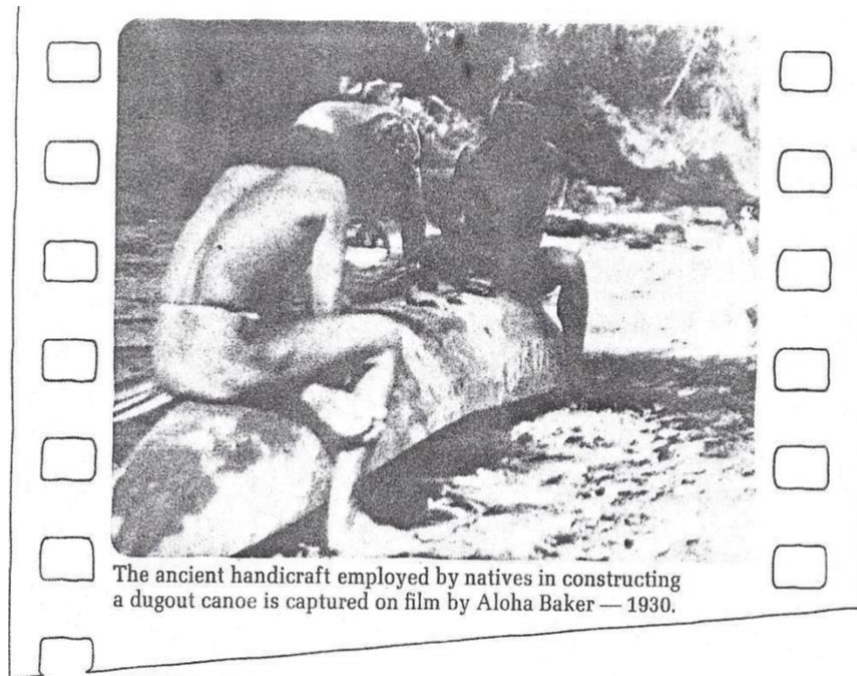


Figure 20: Fact sheet for Last of the Bororos, undated⁶⁴

In the image, three Bororo men work on “the ancient handicraft” of creating a dugout canoe. The men do not directly engage with the camera, focusing instead on their work. The image functions as a vignette to and within the film, and as a demonstration of the types of scenes one might expect to see. In contrast with her other fact sheets, Aloha herself is not featured, nor is there any visible evidence of her (no plane, ship, camera) in the image. Instead, she is relegated to the description only, as the person who “captured” the image. The description suggests her apparent distance from the image making, rather than the more likely arrangement that it was a demonstration set up for her. While her lack of appearance could classify it as more authentic, her intervention through the declaration that scenes were shot in Hollywood to “better depict native customs” challenges that.⁶⁵ Instead, it positions her either as expert and educator, in that

⁶⁴ Fact sheet, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

⁶⁵ In her description of the sequence in the interview with Jake Homiak, Aloha essentially avoids Jake’s questions on the authenticity of this particular sequence. She later points out that some of the sequences were shot at Descalvados Ranch. In her interview she uses the same terminology over the two days of interviews, for example

she can depict the sequence more clearly than the Bororo themselves, or, that with better technology outside of the onsite location, she can more clearly show indigenous customs and practices. Either way, by being “better” able to depict a sequence, she is taking away from its authenticity.

To supplement the footage, the additional materials donated add further weight to her claim of the footage as critical and cultural object. For example, in a manuscript titled “Last of the Bororos,” Aloha presents the “full” record of her exploits and expedition in Brazil. The document aims to further describe the episodes seen within the footage and to give further information on her time with the Bororo. It covers the challenges of filming day-to-day and some of the creative licenses taken to get the “shot.” For example, in one sequence, Aloha describes how because of the lighting and weather conditions, getting candid shots was challenging and sometimes near impossible, particularly inside of the community structures. Similar to the infamous igloo sequence in Robert Flaherty’s *Nanook of the North* (1922), the document illustrates how a segment of the long house building was removed in order to make their shot work.⁶⁶

This practice of revision carries over from the content, to the very process of archiving. As part of the preservation efforts of the Smithsonian’s HSFA on the *Last of the Bororos*, a

the “Sanitation department of the jungle.” The terminology and its repeated use likely indicates that it was part of her lecture.

⁶⁶ Aloha Wanderwell, interview by Jake Homiak, February 1993, Aloha Baker film collection, Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology; *Last of the Bororos* (Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, 1930/1931, supplemental materials, 18). In *Nanook of the North*, both the hunting and igloo construction scenes were staged for Flaherty. By having only half the igloo built, the lighting set up could be more substantial, and therefore more could be visible and more “authentic.” See: Fatimah Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema and the Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); John W. Burton and Caitlin W. Thompson, “Nanook and the Kirwinians: Deception, Authenticity, and the Birth of Modern Ethnographic Representation” *Film History*, 2002, Vol. 14, No. 1, *Film/Music* (2002), pp. 74-86. Zimmermann, Patricia R. and Sean Zimmermann Auyush, “Nanook of the North,” *Library of Congress: National Film Preservation Board*. <https://www.loc.gov/static/programs/national-film-preservation-board/documents/nanook2.pdf>

recorded narration which had previously been “lost” was recovered. I say “lost” here, as the narration wasn’t misplaced, but purposefully physically scratched out by Aloha. In her initial correspondence with the HSFA, Aloha requested that the narration not be recovered, and instead stay unrecovered and unknown. With her death, that choice passed to her estate, and her grandson Richard Diamond granted permission for that audio to be studied. The recovered narration reveals a different tone for *Last of the Bororos* than the scientific evidence Aloha was going for. Instead it is more comparable, nearly identical in fact, to what was created for *River of Death*. In addition, the sound appears to be original to the film, indicating that it was either reworked from one primary recording, or, that she recorded two separate narrations. Take, for example, the narration over the fabricated Hollywood sequence shared in both *Last of the Bororos* and *River of Death*, where Aloha places “gifts” for the Bororo. By comparing the narrations, their similarities are clear.

Last of the Bororos:

“The natives ran out of the village, seeking protection of the jungle. [drums] I proceeded to place some presents on a log. Those that would most interest them. Fishhooks and mirrors. [drums] I next tried climbing a tree and calling to one of the [men] and he returned to investigate. Seizing one of the presents, he ran back into the jungle...”

River of Death:

“As we landed and came towards them, the natives ran in fright from the village seeking the protection of the jungle. To [elay] their fears and show them that we were friends, I took some mirrors that we brought along with us and placed them on a fallen tree trunk. I felt sure that their natural curiosity would bring them out to investigate. I then climbed a tree to watch developments. I’d hardly [got] set when I saw one of the natives sneak out of the woods and come towards the mirrors on the tree trunk.”

The existence of this narration demonstrates the complex and ever evolving nature of these materials and Aloha’s relationship with them (and her estate after her death).

Flight to the Stone Age Bororos

The “final” travelogue made from South American expedition footage was *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*. This film is in many ways similar to *Last of the Bororos*. It continues many of the claims of authenticity and scientific evidence similarly claimed for *Last of the Bororos*. However, whereas *Last of the Bororos* keeps its primary focus on the Wanderwells’ time with the Bororo, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* takes a more expanded approach—including not only their time with the Bororo, but also their travels within Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Guatemala, Mexico, and the United States.⁶⁷

A now largely nonextant title, only short fragments remain, held in the Natural History Museum collection in Los Angeles.⁶⁸ These fragments combined with the fact sheet and scrapbook give some indication as to what the film would have covered in addition to the Bororo materials. In the footage, Aloha’s role is visually more prominent than seen in any of her prior materials. While these materials may not represent the completed travelogue – they do give a sense of what the additional contextual material around the Bororos material may have been like, and how it would have impacted its meaning.

The first reel begins with what appears to be a series of introductory shots to Aloha and the expedition. Shown aboard a ship, Aloha is visible in the far left of the frame, wearing a luxurious looking fur-trimmed leopard-skin coat (Figure 21). From the first reel, this is a very

⁶⁷ A shortened version of *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* was also produced, focused only on the Bororo encounter in Brazil and foregoes the footage in Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Guatemala, Mexico, and the United States. Because of poor labeling, the two “versions” of this film became comingled, leaving it essentially impossible to separate the two. However, it illustrates how frequently changes were made to footage and how fluid these films could be.

⁶⁸ The filmic materials that survive from *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* include three short reels donated to the NHMLA, and a few clippings at the AFA. The reels at the NHMLA each run from 2 to 5 minutes and appear to be more of an incoherent collection of shots than a purposefully edited film. We can assume that these reels are not representative of what was shown in the 1980 performance, or of the advertised version of *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* pitched in the ancillary materials like the fact sheet and scrapbook.

different aesthetic than seen in *Last of the Bororos* or *The River of Death*. The glamorous coat, a stark contrast to the standard uniform of the expedition team, showcases Aloha as an individual.



Figure 21: Stills from *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, circa 1931⁶⁹

In these opening shots, she is shown writing in a small notebook and looking out to the nearby shore. If this did indeed serve as the opening and the spectators' introduction to Aloha, it presents a very different version of Aloha than seen in *The River of Death* and *Last of the Bororos*, or indeed *With Car and Camera Around the World*.

Later in the same reel, Aloha is seen in a series of shots by the beach. In these shots, she is wearing a darkly colored bathing suit and filmed from behind, both ashore and in the ocean (Figure 22). Although there is nothing particularly remarkable about this sequence, in that no well-known sites or individuals appear, Aloha's appearance in a *bathing suit* also imparts a very different tone to the footage. Assuming these shots were included as part of the final version of *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, it would have been the only version of the South American footage to include them. Her appearance in a bathing suit, much like the leopard-skin coat, drew attention to her appearance and again differentiates her from the rest of the expedition team. The

⁶⁹ The date noted here reflects the approximate date the original footage was captured.

sequence is not overtly sexualized, but by showing her in a bathing costume, it starkly differentiates her from other traveloguers of the period – playing up on her difference as a *woman* within the profession.



Figure 22: Still from *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, circa 1931⁷⁰

The remaining two reels of footage from *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* feature scenes seen in the *Last of the Bororos* and *The River of Death*. The second reel features a sequence where Aloha and Walter Wanderwell meet Colonel Rondon in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. They are seen meeting at the Copacabana Palace. This is followed by a series of shots of animals likely taken at the National Aquarium in Brazil. According to her recollections in speaking with Jake Homiak of the HSFA, Rondon had suggested they film there, in order to obtain the best possible shots of the wildlife of the region. The third and fourth reels focus predominantly on their time with the Bororo, including a long dance sequence and segment from the staged Bororo scene, filmed in Hollywood.

While *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* was never screened at the time of its production in the 1930s, it was screened as part of Aloha's preservation and conservation efforts. Indeed, the first evidence of *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* can be found in Southern California

⁷⁰ The date noted here reflects the approximate date the original footage was captured.

newspapers in 1980.⁷¹ These reports focus on Aloha's upcoming December 2, 1980 presentation at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County (NHMLA). Aloha's NHMLA presentation was free and open to the public and advertised both in larger regional papers like the *Los Angeles Times* and local papers like *The Santa Clarita Valley Signal*. It was a one-night only screening and performance that would end up being Aloha's final professional appearance. The presentation was not part of a series or standard museum programming, and instead highlighted the materials that would be held at museum. In one of the *Los Angeles Times* articles, for example, the presentation was described as follows: "The saga of a daring young woman living among primitive Brazilian Indians 'Flight to the Stone Age Bororos,' will be presented [...] at the Los Angeles County Natural History Museum. Aloha Baker, who produced the film in 1930, will narrate. [...] Filmed almost half a century ago, 'Flight to the Stone Age Bororos' offers a glimpse into the past, with resource material for scientists and educators and nostalgic adventure for historians and travelers...."⁷² Although framed as an authentic showcase of her travels in the 1930s, the assemblage of the presentation and footage at this time would more clearly indicate her goals with donating materials and reframing her image specific to the various cultural and collecting institutions.

With *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, Aloha's reframing of her own role and persona is especially visible in the scrapbook of images provided as part of the NHMLA donation. The scrapbook contains 19 images, some photographs and some stills from the South American footage; two fact sheets; and a small collection of advertisements and promotional materials. The

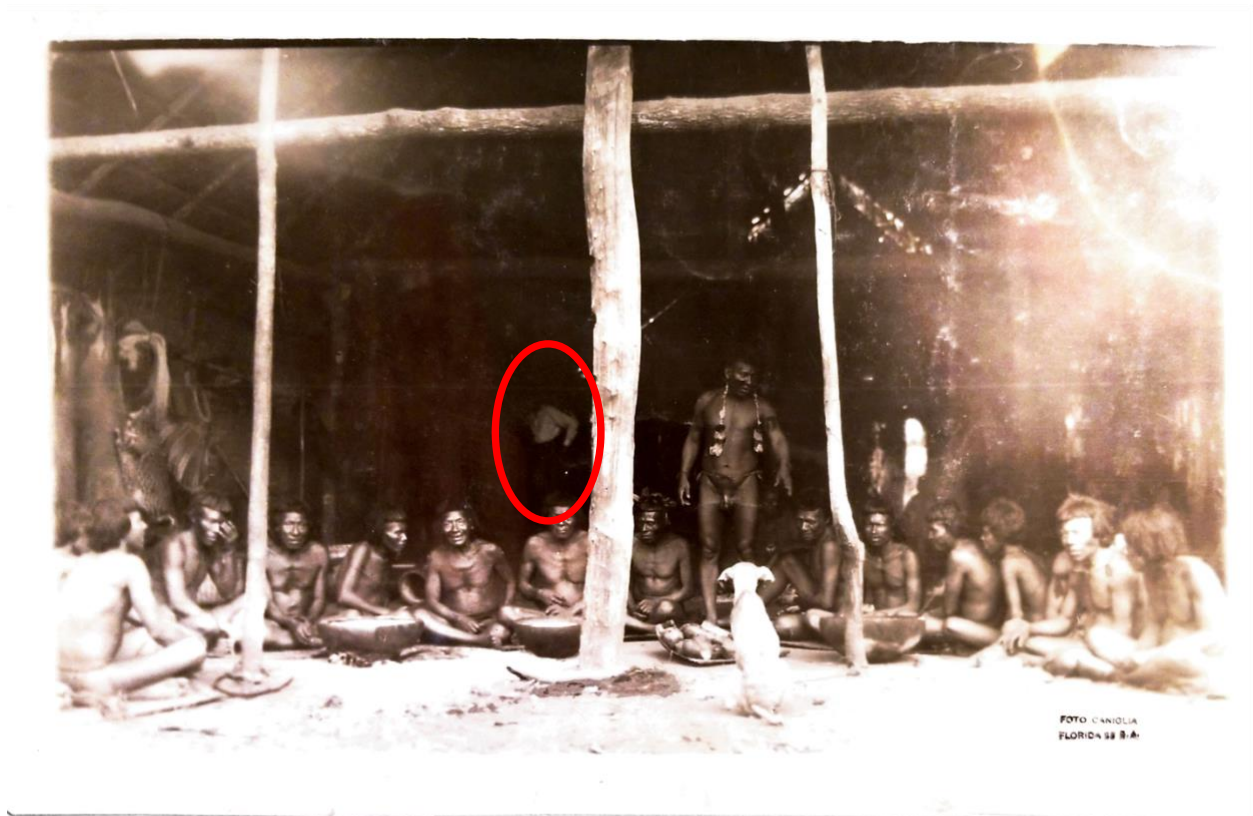
⁷¹ "About Women," *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1980, Part IV; "Stone Age Flight," *The Santa Clarita Valley Signal*, November 2, 1980, 25; "Women Explorer to Show Film of 'Stone Age' Brazil Tribe," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 1980, Part IX.

⁷² "Stone Age Flight," *Los Angeles Times*, November 12, 1980, 25.

fact sheets included are for *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* and *With Car and Camera Around the World*.⁷³ Each of the images contained within the scrapbook is carefully labeled to provide some context and description of the scenes. The images and their accompanying labels also guide the reader, and the archivist, in understanding Aloha's role within the expedition.

Take, for example, one image in the scrapbook: a group of Bororo men and Aloha in "the long hut." The description reads: "The long hut – Chief Tabori upbraiding A.B. before sixteen of his braves. A.B. unobtrusively awaits outcome." The physical structure of the long hut is foregrounded in the image (Figure 23), with seated Bororo men visible across the width of the image. The one individual who is more difficult to see, but who is, however, foregrounded within the text itself, is Aloha. As ascertained from the text, Aloha is the topic of conversation and the primary reason for the gathering of these men. However, she is barely visible in the background, identifiable only by her white top in the center of the image.

⁷³ Throughout the scrapbook material, Aloha identifies herself only as "Aloha Baker," despite the fact that her name was Aloha Wanderwell at the time that these images were taken. These materials were compiled for her NHMLA donation.



THE LONG HUT -- CHIEF TABLORI UPBRAIDING A.B. BEFORE SIXTEEN OF HIS BRAVES. A.B. UNOBTRUSIVELY AWAITS OUTCOME.

Figure 23: Photograph of Aloha with Bororo indigenous peoples, undated.⁷⁴

The image and its description as provided by Aloha encourage the viewer and audience to directly engage with the imagery and question: What was Aloha being “upbraided” for? What did she do? What will the outcome be? How will this affect her role in the community and her “survival” in an “uncivilized” land? The image as well as the context provided by the caption position Aloha as the lone traveler, embedded within the stereotypical narrative tropes of

⁷⁴ The caption on the photograph reads: “THE LONG HUT – CHIEF TABLORI UPBRAIDING A.B. BEFORE SIXTEEN OF HIS BRAVES. A.B. UNOBTRUSIVELY AWAITS OUTCOME. Author has added in a circle to highlight Aloha’s physical location in the photograph. Image from scrapbook NHM F.P.1.80-8 B. Courtesy of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

colonialist explorers. She is both a White woman and an explorer, both threatened and threatening.⁷⁵

The fact sheets included within the scrapbook for both *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* and *With Car and Camera Around the World* give additional guidance as to how her donation and the footage itself was meant to be understood. In the primary image for the *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* fact sheet, Aloha sits with two Bororo men (Figure 24). They are both in elaborate ceremonial dress, whereas Aloha is costumed in expedition gear. She is the focus of attention not only through her physical positioning, centered in the image, but also through her costuming, and again, the context provided for the image.

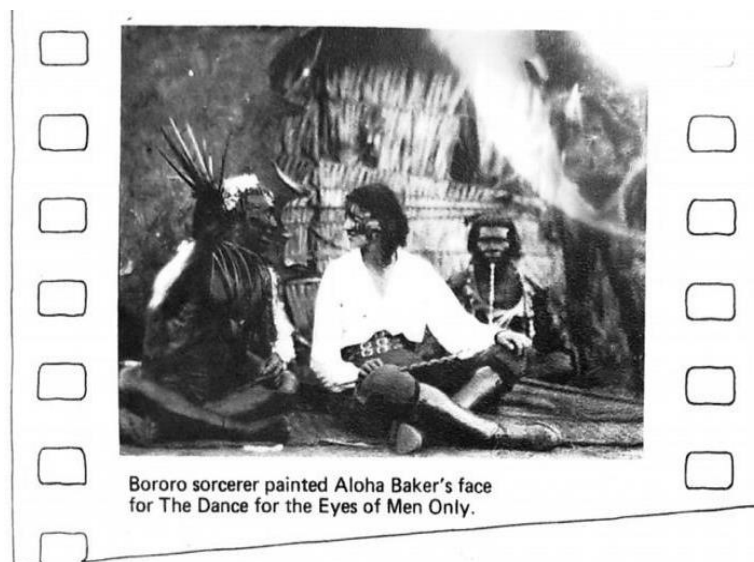


Figure 24: Fact sheet for *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, undated.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Her positioning as threatened White woman would have fit with the racist and gendered representations at the time of production, in the 1930s. In the 1970s and 1980s, when this scrapbook was compiled, Aloha aligned herself with the tropes of anachronistic entertainment heroes like Indiana Jones and other pop culture icons of the era.

⁷⁶ A full image of fact sheet is included in the chapter appendix. Fact sheet, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

Aloha's long-sleeve white shirt draws the viewer's eye to her, even more so due to the exaggerated contrast of the photo, edited as part of the creation of the fact sheet.⁷⁷ The choice to use this photo as the primary advertising image for *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* foregrounds Aloha's role and centers the narrative on her, rather than the Bororo. The caption included with the photo, "Bororo sorcerer painted Aloha Baker's face for The Dance for the Eyes of Men Only," also centers the action on Aloha, and highlights her "pioneering" nature (or, conversely, willingness to transgress local customs), in her participation in the "Dance for the Eyes of Men Only."⁷⁸

With all of these materials forming part of her donation to NHMLA, it is clear that Aloha was building a certain image and persona, different from what she had put forward with *Last of the Bororos*, and even with *The River of Death*. While with *Last of the Bororos* the focus was entirely anthropological and "scientific," in *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, entertainment and science were given equal weight, and in particular her role as a woman began to be prioritized.

Both the period of production of the South American footage (1930s) and its conservation and preservation (1980s) mark a moment where Aloha is working to define a new role for herself. In the 1930s she is really beginning to move away from her association with Walter Wanderwell and the Wanderwell expedition, and establishing her own persona separate from him. By the 1940s she had established her position as an independent travelogue filmmaker. However, with that period came new challenges with the start of the second World War. Aloha's production and distribution work during World War II demonstrates both the

⁷⁷ The increased contrast may not have been intentional. When you make an analog copy of an original positive image, the contrast often increases. However, how it appears is what was included with her donations.

⁷⁸ In her interview with Jake Homiak of the HSFA, he asks her directly about this dance. She avoids directly answering him, noting only that this was a dance.


adaptability of the travelogue profession generally, and how women travelogue lecture filmmakers positioned themselves both in relation and in contrast to their male counterparts. In the following chapter I analyze her three wartime travelogues, *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific*, to demonstrate this adaptability alongside her own continued creative evolution.

Chapter 2 Appendix

ALOHA WANDERWELL

*first girl to have girdled
the globe by auto*

1922-1929



43 COUNTRIES
4 CONTINENTS

Reach the Tourist and the Theatergoer!

Space in this book for next South American Edition of 50000
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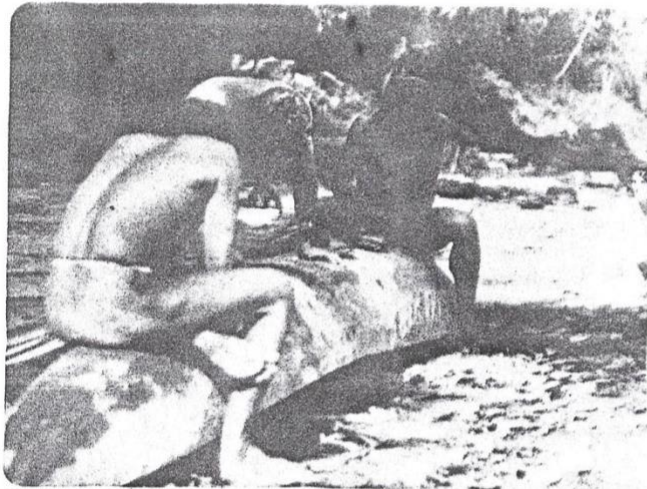
FOR SALE:	WANTED:
World Rights for film "With Car and Camera Round the World" 2900 meters apply Aloha Wanderwell. Poste Restante this City.	Yacht for South Sea Cruise with owner skipper, will furnish officers, crew and expenses. See Capt. Wanderwell or write: 614 N. W. N. Riverdrive, Miami, Florida.
Newspaper and Magazine. Articles and Photos of this expedition 1919-1923. Apply Miss M. Hall. Poste R. local.	Active life members for Wawec World expeditions see particulars this book.
Native Curios from All parts of the World, cheap, apply Uniformed members.	Cameraman for Laboratory and Fieldwork. W. Expedition.
Sensational Outdoor Publicity. See Wanderwell World Record Cars and chose your advertising space.	Chauffeur-Mechanic to do own repairs. Wawec.
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Corral Cables. Miami, Florida. 4 Business lots on Dixie highway, high-land, over looking Biscayne-Bay, City improvements. Wanderwell.	
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ON CHERCHE: Chassis 8 cylindres, de préférence Packard ou Cadillac. Wanderwell.	

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and see
the World!

32

Figure 25: Pages from Wanderwell pamphlet, circa 1929.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Expedition pamphlet, Richard Diamond Trust, Mission Viejo, CA. Alohawanderwell.com.



The ancient handcraft employed by natives in constructing a dugout canoe is captured on film by Aloha Baker — 1930.

Last of the Bororos.

Final stand of Matto Grosso
1930-31
Producer
ALOHA BAKER

SPECIFICATIONS

Black & White 35 mm Nitrate Positive ONLY, no Negative, 4000 ft. (4 reels). This is an exploration documentary with close-ups, long shots, aerial and ground, by plane and canoe. This film is not of the same negative as "Flight to Stone Age." To better depict native customs it contains scenes shot in Hollywood which were not possible in the jungle.

**THIS FILM IS NOT OFFERED FOR SALE
THIS RARE ARCHIVE FILM WILL BE DONATED TO AN INSTITUTION**


SYNOPSIS

This is about the adventures of Aloha Baker, the first girl to explore Brazil's Matto Grosso jungle by plane. Film depicts life among the vanishing Brazilian 'River of Death' Indians of Bororo tribe, while searching for Colonel Percy Fawcett and party. Illustrates the native customs, foods, children, shelter and ornamentation. Describes women warriors who raid villages, burn and pillage to acquire new mates. Rituals of stone-age people now 40 years later practically extinct. Expedition host-guide was his excellency General Candido Rondon, erudite surveyor, explorer, full blooded Brazilian Indian and former guide to Teddy Roosevelt.

MEMORABILIA AVAILABLE: Bororo weapons, ornaments, still photos, drug-food, and a 1912 tome detailing all phases of Bororo race, tribal life, language, music, legends, etc.

Figure 26: Fact sheet for *Last of the Bororos*, undated⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Fact sheet, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.



Flight to the Stone Age Bororos.

Vanishing Indians of Brazil
1930 - 31

Producer
ALOHA BAKER

Bororo sorcerer painted Aloha Baker's face for The Dance for the Eyes of Men Only.

SPECIFICATIONS

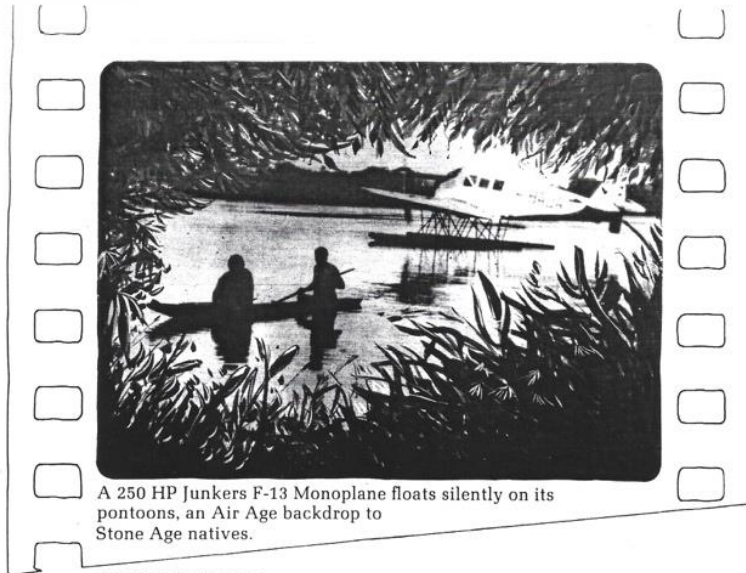
16mm Black & White, silent, 1325 ft., with scene by scene catalog cross-referenced to a manuscript of twenty thousand words describing the circumstances of filming. This is an exploration documentary with close-ups, long shots, aerial and ground, by plane and canoe.

SYNOPSIS

Produced by Aloha Baker, cinematographer, author, first woman to explore Brazil's Mato Grosso by airplane. Actually living among the Brazilian Indians of the Bororo tribe while searching for Colonel Percy Fawcett, Aloha Baker had the unique opportunity to study behavioral patterns of these primitives. The motion picture filmed at that time illustrates the daily activities, preparation of food, crafts, shelter, rituals, social situations and dances of the tribe. Her expedition host-guide was General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, preeminent director of Brazil's original Department of Indian Affairs. Professionally filmed almost half a century ago, it presents an outstanding research resource for scientists. This important window on the past is now available to selected educational organizations.

Figure 27: Fact sheet for *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, undated.⁸¹

⁸¹ Fact sheet, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.



Flight to the Stone Age.

and other South American Lands
1930
Producer
ALOHA BAKER

SPECIFICATIONS

Black & White 35 mm, Nitrate Positive, with Negative, 3000 ft. (3 reels). Travel documentary. Close-ups, long shots, aerial and ground of now extinct jungle indians and stone vestiges of New World's beautiful civilization.

SYNOPSIS

This adventure story is taken from the diary of Aloha Baker, the first girl to use an airplane in the exploration and film documentation of Brazil's Matto Grosso Green Hell jungle — the area is which the famed British scientist, Colonel Percy Fawcett, was believed lost.

From Paraguay River headquarters in 1930, this unusual safari begins when the 250 HP Junkers F-13 monoplane exchanges its wheels for pontoons for penetrating the jungle rivers. A forced landing puts the explorers down among an astounded stone age Bororo tribe whose rare type of male and female nudity, ~~unbelievable courtship practices and actual~~ childbirth ceremonies are captured on film as they actually were over 40 years ago. Tribe members tell of Fawcett's canoeing up the River of Death, never to 'paddle back.' Aloha Baker's party is rescued by General Candido Rondon, sponsor of the expedition.

The next year, a film story is made of the 1000 mile trip by freighter down the Paraguay River to Argentina where the 'jungle' party regroups with the automobile party after a record overland trip to Buenos Aires in a Model A Ford. Both parties then proceed Northwest by car and, at times, by railroad freight car and cavalry mounts to Bolivia, across the Adecan trail to the Incan Empire of Peru, living off the land and in the many native villages, recording all of the rich experience on never-to-be-duplicated film.

Then, the course is North through Guatemala where a jungle train is necessary to move the expedition and equipment to Mexico and the Teotihuacan pyramids. In 1932 Aloha Baker and her party return to Chicago in time for the Graf Zeppelin visit, and in time to catch on film for all time a hallmark of the oncoming air age.

MEMORABILIA AVAILABLE: Bororo weapons, ornaments, still photos, drug-food, and a 1912 tome detailing all phases of Bororo race, tribal life, language, music, legends, etc.

COUNTRIES FILMED (8)

BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
PARAGUAY
BOLIVIA
PERU
GUATEMALA
MEXICO
UNITED STATES

Figure 28: Fact sheet for *Flight to the Stone Age*, undated.⁸²

⁸² Fact sheet, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.



Figure 29: Advertisement for lecture presentation in Rio de Janeiro, 1931⁸³

The clipping above is taken from *Diario Carioca*, a local paper in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The clipping translation is below:

“There is a club in North America, the “WAWEC,” whose main purpose is to send expeditions around the entire world with the aim of universal reconciliation, having as an ideal the establishment of the International Police, a way of connecting everyone to avoid

⁸³ “Un Film que Servirá para Apresentar a Expedição Wanderwell” [A film that will serve to introduce the Wanderwell Expedition], *Diario Carioca* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), Feb. 28, 1931, Edition 00820. Translation by Mariah Schaefer.

future wars. The problem is complex, and the solution is maybe even more so, but what is certain is that the members of this club are crossing the entire world. Now, the members of this club who make up the Wanderwell Expedition, which has already traversed the entire world by automobile, have found themselves among us. From this excursion that represents true modernity, action, and adventure, crossing 45 countries and four continents, was made a film that will be shown next week at the Gloria Theater. Miss Aloha Wanderwell, pilot, journalist, and member of the expedition, will make an oral presentation on that theater's stage, explaining the scenes as they appear on the screen, scenes that show moments from this great cruise, whether taken in the civilized countries, whether taken in the countryside of Africa, Russia, Siberia and China."⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Chapter 3: Wartime Production

*Aloha Baker has taken her place in the front rank of the limited company of women explorers. "The World's Most Traveled Woman," as she is frequently called, has taken expeditions in byways seldom covered by even the most intrepid male rovers.*¹

In this chapter, I examine Aloha Baker's creative production and career from 1941 to 1945, the period of the United States' involvement in World War II. The travelogues and lectures Aloha produced and exhibited during this time were both visually and thematically different than her earlier productions, reflecting not only her own professional evolution but also that of the entire profession during the war. Her travelogues and lectures at this time largely focused on the Indo-Pacific region, centering on Australia, India, and Malaysia. Her lecture and travelogue titles included *New Horizons for Women* (1941), *Australia Now* (1942–1944), *India Now* (1942–1944), *The Pacific* (1945–1946), and *Victory in the Pacific* (1945–1946).² Continuing from my analysis of Aloha's performative work in the early 1930s in Chapter 2, in Chapter 3 I extend that discussion to address how World War II impacted the output of travelogue lecture filmmakers, and particularly women filmmakers, as seen through Aloha's production and exhibition practice.

The war necessitated a creative repositioning of all aspects of the profession for travelogue filmmakers. Many popular locations across Europe, Africa, and Asia were directly affected by the conflict, with filmmakers unable to access certain sites. Moreover, in many locations, the physical landscape had dramatically changed due to physical destruction and/or occupation, limiting and changing what could be included in lecture materials. Germany, for example, could still be highlighted, but presenting it to an American audience necessitated a shift in a traveloguer's presentation to accommodate the new narratives and landscape born from the

¹ "Woman Explorer Will Talk at State College," *The Morning Call* (Paterson, NJ) November 17, 1941, 12.

² Of these, only *India Now*, *Australia Today*, and *Victory in the Pacific* survive in any physical capacity.

conflicts of the war. Alongside changes in production (and the actual content of lectures), shifts in distribution and exhibition resulted in reduced access to exhibition spaces and a decrease in individuals in the profession.³ With these changes, more women began to work independently in travelogue lecture filmmaking, creating new exhibition spaces and engaging new audiences for travelogue lectures and films.

Using Aloha as a lens into the profession, I explore the exhibition spaces and audiences shaped by women travelogue lecture filmmakers. Furthermore, I look at how Aloha's production and exhibition during World War II demonstrated both the adaptability of the travelogue profession and how women travelogue lecture filmmakers positioned themselves both in relation and in contrast to their male counterparts. By analyzing three of Aloha's wartime travelogues, *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific*, I demonstrate this adaptability of the profession alongside Aloha's creative evolution. To contextualize her work in this period, I will first discuss travelogue production and exhibition more generally in World War II and some of the other women working at this time. I will then conduct a close visual analysis of *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific* and their marketing in the context of World War II and alongside the development of Aloha's onstage and travelogue persona.

Travelogue Lecturing and Filmmaking in the United States World War II

In the earliest practice of travelogue lecture filmmaking, travelogues served primarily to entertain, educate, and fulfill the curiosities of audiences that likely had never been outside of their own cities or countries. With World War II, as they had in World War I, travelogues took

³ Many men working as traveloguers were called to duty or shifted their work to focus on wartime film production. Thayer Soule for example, who had been presenting travelogues before the war, became a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps Reserve, taking photographs. Per Soule, Thayer. *On the Road with Travelogues*, 43

on an additional purpose of informing and educating American audiences on the people and places involved in the global conflict.⁴ Key locations of the conflict could be contextualized for the American public, who may have little or no familiarity with certain regions and peoples. For example, in February 1940, Burton Holmes opened a series of travelogues in St. Louis, Missouri on Finland, entitled, “Heroic, Friendly Finland.” In November 1939, the Soviet Union had attacked Finland, with the intent to annex the country. The Soviet Union’s attacks continued through February 11, 1940, leading eventually to the signing of the Moscow Peace Treaty in March 1940. This conflict would come to be known as “The Winter War.”⁵ Holmes’ travelogue could therefore provide a visual reference and context for American audiences, as they were hearing and reading about this conflict. As described in one advertisement for his performance “...Holmes traveled extensively in Finland last summer, completing his work before the Russian invasion started. The pictures, therefore, will not include views of shell-torn cities.”⁶ Instead, they showed a pre-war Finland, giving audiences an idea of what had been destroyed. Holmes

⁴ Film travelogues were, of course, not the only means of informing and educating American audiences on the war. Radio and newsreels, for example, were also important in providing supplemental information to the public. Travel radio broadcasts, like *The World is Yours*, continued their production throughout the war and developed wartime programming. *The World is Yours* ran from 1936 to 1942 and was produced by NBC in conjunction with the Smithsonian Institution and Office of Education. Good, Katie Day. “‘The World Is Yours’: How the Travelogue Shaped Early Public Broadcasting.” *Current*. <https://current.org/2018/12/the-world-is-yours-how-the-travelogue-shaped-early-public-broadcasting/>. Additionally, the Office of War information recognized that media could provide a more approachable method of educating the public about the war, and utilized shorts, newsreels, and radio programs to supplement the public’s knowledge on America’s part in the conflict. Per the Library of Congress, “The Office of War Information (OWI) was created on June 13, 1942 by Executive Order 9182. The primary purpose of this World War II-era agency was to formulate and execute, “...information programs to promote, in the United States and abroad, understanding of the status and progress of the war effort and of war policies, activities, and aims of the U.S. government.”” “Research Guides: Office of War Information” *Library of Congress*. <https://guides.loc.gov/rosie-the-riveter/office-of-war-information>

⁵ See Clemmesen, Michael H., Faulkner, Marcus, eds. (2013). *Northern European Overture to War, 1939–1941: From Memel to Barbarossa*; Edwards, Robert (2006). *White Death: Russia’s War on Finland 1939–40*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson; Trotter, William R. (2002). *The Winter War: The Russo–Finnish War of 1939–40* (5th ed.). Aurum Press; Van Dyke, Carl (1997). *The Soviet Invasion of Finland, 1939–40*. Routledge.

⁶ “First Burton Holmes,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 11, 1940, 34.

continued to present travelogues throughout the war, continuing to refocus his materials and lectures, releasing titles like *Our Russian Allies* and *Our Fronts in North Africa*.⁷

The war impacted theatrically distributed travelogues as much as live presentations. Theatrically distributed travelogues in this period were sound-on-film, making them easy to distribute widely as part of a preshow program. By the time of the war, these programs were well established, occupying a large part of the industry and audience. James Fitzpatrick's films, for example, were a mainstay in American theaters by this time. His most well-known series, *Traveltalks: The Voice of the Globe* distributed with MGM and *Vistavision Visits* distributed with Paramount, were shown from 1930 to 1955.⁸ During the war, Fitzpatrick's filmography shifted from his pre-war global approach to a predominant focus on the United States and Mexico.⁹ In an article published in *The Morning Call*, Fitzpatrick described: "Last year [in 1939] we went through Europe [...] We got what we thought was a particularly good scene in Czechoslovakia, where there was a festival underway. So when we got back [to the United States] I did my little spiel about how peaceful it was in beautiful Czechoslovakia, where men carried violins instead of hand grenades. Two months later, when we were ready to release the reel, there wasn't any Czechoslovakia left. Somehow it made me feel pretty foolish." The author who interviewed Fitzpatrick goes on to describe that, "Since declaration of the European War, [Fitzpatrick] said Americans were taking a greater interest in their own country – huddling

⁷ For some traveloguers, the war meant a temporary end to their practice. For example, from 1939 until the start of the war, Thayer Soule had worked with Holmes while also producing and presenting his own travel lecture films, largely shot while traveling with Holmes. In his memoirs, Soule notes how by the spring of 1940, the war had largely "closed most of the world to travel," and by February 1942, Soule would be working as a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps Reserve, taking photographs. He wouldn't return to travelogues until after the war. Soule, Thayer. *On the Road with Travelogues*, 43.

⁸ Czach, Liz, *Cinema of Exploration*, 126.

⁹ This was determined by cross-referencing his listed filmographies on IMDb, BFI, and the Warner Bros Archive. Other practitioners of distributed travelogues included Andre de la Varre, Lowell Thomas, and Carl Ward Dudley.

together, sort of – and that he therefore was about to release a series of travel films about historic American cities, like New Orleans, Washington, and Seattle.”¹⁰

Despite these efforts and shifts in practice, with the United States’ entrance into the war in 1941, the overall number of travelogues exhibited dropped significantly from the levels seen in the late 1930s or even from the levels in the year before, in 1940. Data drawn from online newspaper archives indicate a significant drop in the use of vocabulary related to travelogues and travel lectures. Figure 29 and Figure 30 demonstrate how the popularity of travelogues, or at least the use of relevant terminology, dropped during the war period.

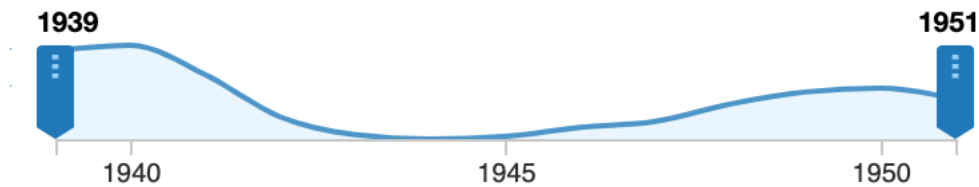


Figure 29: Graph representation of the number of times “travelogue” is mentioned in the Newspapers.com collection between 1939 and 1951.

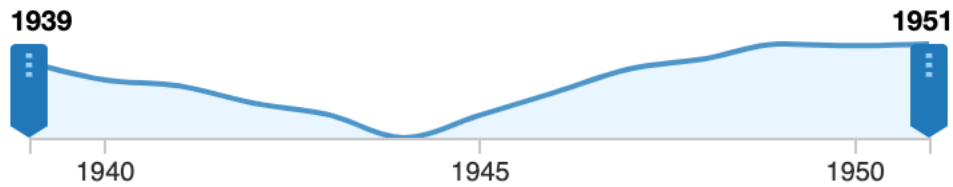


Figure 30: Graph representation of the number of times “travel” is mentioned in the Newspapers.com collection between 1939 and 1951.

The graphs provide a clear snapshot of how language related to travel and travelogues shifted during the war period and relatedly, the apparent decreasing popularity (and availability) of travel and travelogues. Each graph represents information drawn from Newspapers.com, an online repository of scanned searchable periodicals from across the United States (and a few

¹⁰ Othman, Frederick C, “See America First,” *The Morning Call* (Allentown, PA), April 9, 1940, 21.

international newspapers).¹¹ Although not comprehensive of all newspapers, or other means of marketing and advertising, it nonetheless gives a sense of how things changed during the war.

In analyzing this data from newspapers and periodicals, what is lost are details on the presenters themselves, including a crucial question for this study: How many of those travelogue filmmakers and lecturers working during the war were women? The landscape for women travelogue filmmakers had also clearly changed during the war, and their numbers, like male travel lecture filmmakers, were also affected. Women like Ruth Albee and Winifred Walker, for example, can begin to represent the professional shifts women experienced during and due to the war. Albee and Walker, alongside Aloha, represent just a fraction of the women working at the time, their careers, however, can demonstrate a portion of the diversity of approaches in women's travelogue lecture filmmaking careers.¹²

Originally part of a husband-and-wife team with her husband, Bill, Ruth Albee specialized in travelogues on Alaska and Canada. Ruth and Bill Albee were married in 1928 and conducted their first expedition to Alaska in 1930. They ended up living there until 1935, and published a book based on their time there called *Alaska Challenge*.¹³ They wrote articles and gave lectures detailing their time in Alaska, their relationship, and their family.

¹¹ According to the website, "Newspapers.com is the largest online newspaper archive consisting of 720 million+ pages of historical newspapers from 22,600+ newspapers from around the United States and beyond." "About Newspapers.com." *Newspapers.com*. Accessed February 13, 2022. <https://www.newspapers.com/about/>

¹² Just a few of the other women working as travelogue lecture filmmakers include: Edith Bane, Sylvia Christian, C.W. Englund, Irene Hubbell, and Camille Rathbun.

¹³ Bird, Carol, "Wilderness Honeymoon," *Oakland Tribune*, June 16, 1940, 83.



Figure 31: Promotional brochure for Ruth and Bill Albee, 1939.¹⁴

In the brochure it describes their journey, but focuses in on the exceptionalism of Albee, with them “set[ting] out on foot [in the interior of Alaska] . . . a thousand mile tramp through unmapped wilderness to places where no white woman had ventured before.”¹⁵ While it is unclear exactly when this brochure was published, it was before the war in that both Ruth and Bill are part of the exhibition. Indeed, with the U.S.’s entry into World War II, Albee began presenting the family travelogues on her own. In one article it notes that “charming Ruth Albee is carrying on the couple’s planned lecture tour as her husband, now Captain Albee, is with the U.S. Army Air Corps using his knowledge of the north in our defense of Alaska.”¹⁶ Thus with the war, Ruth Albee was able to continue travelogue filmmaking and lecturing, as an independent professional.

¹⁴ “Ruth and Bill Albee.” Redpath Chautauqua Collection. Special Collections, University of Iowa. <http://s-lib012.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tc/id/23891/rec/54>

¹⁵ “Ruth and Bill Albee.” Redpath Chautauqua Collection. Special Collections, University of Iowa. <http://s-lib012.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tc/id/23891/rec/54>

¹⁶ “Ruth Albee Will Give Illustrated Lecture,” *Spring Lake Gazette*, January 7, 1943, 1. Another lecture was noted in Ohio: “Mrs. Ruth Albee to Talk Tomorrow,” *Dayton Herald*, November 18, 1943, 11.

Winifred Walker was another travelogue filmmaker who worked during World War II. Advertisements and articles on her lectures began to be widely published in American newspapers beginning in 1941 and continued throughout the war and after.¹⁷ Walker most often worked independently, though she was occasionally billed alongside her husband. A marketing brochure for her lectures and films focuses on Walker's excellence as a presenter, and the varied expertise she brings. It says:

[...] Winifred Walker has been an American Citizen for thirteen years. She has visited every State in the Union and every Province in Canada taking thousands of feet of colored movies in the last eight years. Shortly before the war Winifred completed her second trip around the world by visiting Australia with her husband and their three children, James, Jean and Jennifer. She has lectured extensively here and aboard and has delighted many of the finest audiences by her clear concise narrative, her sparkling humor, her first-hand knowledge of her subjects, her beautiful pictures and her charming platform appearance.¹⁸

Walker would continue presenting films after the war, focusing not only on Australia, but also New Guinea, Cuba, U.S. National Parks, and the post-war European landscape. By 1949, she had produced her "14th Symphony in Celluloid," with her travel-lecture film "Bermuda Beckons."¹⁹ Ultimately more successful at sustaining her career after the end of World War II than Ruth Albee, Walker is representative of some of the women who were able to benefit from the make-up of the travelogue lecture profession during the war period.

The most common narrative in popular recollections of women's lives and labor in the United States during World War II is that women filled the labor gap left by men in their

¹⁷ She also published an article for the Sydney Morning Herald. It was entitled "Silk Clothes In Winter: American Housewives: Australian Makes a New Home," and was published on October 5, 1937. The article compares lifestyles of living in the United States versus Australia.

¹⁸ "Winifred Walker." Redpath Chautauqua Collection Special Collections, University of Iowa. https://islandora.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atrc_21651

¹⁹ "Showing Bermuda Film at College" *The Star Press* (Muncie, IN), January 13, 1949. 2.

departure for military service. As argued by economic scholar Evan K. Rose, however, the impact of World War II on the female workforce primarily affected industries that started because of the war, rather than filling the gap created by male withdrawal from the labor market).²⁰ In the case of women working in the travelogue filmmaking and lecturing, it was a combination of both. As seen through Ruth Albee, some women were able to create new roles for themselves because of the withdrawal and absence of men (and particularly their male partners). Other women, like Winifred Walker, were able to enter a new profession, where the focus of their travelogues was influenced and inspired entirely by the war.

As outlined above, the career paths taken by women travelogue lecture filmmakers during the war were varied, therefore how much the war affected the travelogue lecturing profession for women is difficult to determine and encapsulate in data, because the impact occurred in many ways. One of the few clear distinctions between male and female practitioners in this period, however, emerged in the advertising and marketing and use of the “woman’s point of view” to embody something new (because women were largely covering the same countries and people in their films and lectures). To demonstrate this difference, I use Aloha as a lens to explore how women travelogues created new spaces for presentation, marketed their lectures and performances, and therefore, continued their work throughout World War II.

Aloha in World War II

Aloha’s activities, from remarrying to conducting a second world expedition to publishing an autobiography, all shortly before the start of the war and in the years leading up to the United States’ entry in 1941, signal her attempts to regain control of her image after the

²⁰ Rose, E. K. “The Rise and Fall of Female Labor Force Participation During World War II in the United States.” *The Journal of Economic History*. 2018, Vol. 78, No. 3, Pg. 673-711.

murder of her first husband, Walter Wanderwell. As Aloha Baker (rather than Aloha Wanderwell), she wanted to present herself as the creative controller of her career, rather than a member and contributor. The first real attempt at this was her book *A Call to Adventure* (published in 1939), which painted her travel with Walter Wanderwell in a highly romanticized light and in turn, lent more authority to her role in the expedition. By doing so, she began to position herself by the start of the 1940s as more of a solo act, even retrospectively, transitioning away from her previous role as expedition member.

Aloha's lectures and travelogues before the war included titles like *Lives of a World Wanderer*²¹ and *Adventure Calls*.²² Unsurprisingly, the travelogues Aloha produced during World War II stand visibly apart from those she produced in the early 1930s and 1920s, and her evolution in style was symptomatic of the new position she had fashioned for herself as solo travelogue lecture filmmaker and the challenges she faced while producing travelogues in this period. For Aloha, this manifested in a shift in the filmic materials used and produced for her travelogues and a shift in the narrative foci of her travelogues.

With constraints on travel and production of new materials during the war, Aloha had to be creative in the procurement and use of materials for her lectures. Indeed, in this period, she first used portions of filmic materials produced from other sources. These sources ranged from private companies and manufacturers to individual filmmakers and production companies to film tourism offices.²³ This affected her productions both stylistically and narratively. First, by using professionally produced material meant for mass distribution, her style adopted a much more

²¹ "High Type Program for Woman's Club of York," *The York Dispatch*, September 21, 1937, 20.

²² "KYF Speaker," *Kenosha News*, December 5, 1938, 7.

²³ Kodak, for example, had film tourism offices that sold film clips representing the most popular locations and shots from the most well-known angles that could be edited into home movies or travelogues.

formal and controlled aesthetic. As a result of the use of mass-distributed materials, her amount of screen time was significantly lessened. Indeed, where her earlier travelogues primarily showcased her physical presence in an everchanging international landscape, her travelogues in this period rarely featured her or other expedition members.

The impact of less screen time for Aloha and other Wanderwell expedition members was a shift in the narrative focus, away from the expedition (and in turn, Walter Wanderwell) and toward the highlighted geographic region and Aloha's authorial role. In her World War II films, she did not entirely remove herself from the narrative, and either through key shots scattered throughout the content, marketing strategies, or the lectures themselves she was able to emphasize her narrative authority and celebrity persona. By largely removing the shots that had become synonymous with the Wanderwell expedition and its travelogue films (*e.g.*, long parades of Wanderwell-branded Model Ts, Model Ts being lifted into boats with Aloha atop them, expedition members posing for the camera with local participants), Aloha began to redefine her career outside of Walter Wanderwell.

With the start of the war and the United States' entry into the conflict, she premiered *Uncivilized* (1939–1942),²⁴ *Adventure Calling* (1939–1941),²⁵ and *New Horizons for Women* (1941).²⁶ Meanwhile, she had started to advertise Afghanistan as part of her lecture talk, in addition to New Zealand and Ceylon.²⁷ By the end of May 1941, Aloha began presenting on “Borneo and the Malay states.”²⁸ As she transitioned to more region-specific content, some of

²⁴ Also noted as *Uncivilized Customs in an Uncivilized World*. The last performance that I could find was advertised in 1942 (“Nassau News Briefs” *Newsday* (Hempstead, NY), April 14, 1942, 8.).

²⁵ Also noted as *Adventure Calls*.

²⁶ “Traveler to Talk,” *The Indianapolis Star*, February 3, 1941, 7.

²⁷ “Travel and Adventure Lectures Planned at Y,” *Dayton Daily News*, October 6, 1940, 6.

²⁸ Whipple, Harriette, “Junior High Notes,” *The Post-Star* (Glens Falls, NY), April 18, 1941, 3.

her lectures and travelogues still featured the itinerant style for which she had become known. One review, for example, noted that she started her presentation with Spain, then moved to South Africa, north through Africa, then to China, Russia, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, India, and Ceylon.²⁹ It was not until the United States' entry into World War II that her focus became more centered and she began to move toward her new narrative style. As noted in the *Knoxville News Sentinel*: "Since Pearl Harbor she has devoted her talents to portraying our Allies and familiarizing us with their war efforts."³⁰

From 1942 to 1945, Aloha presented the films *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific*. Whereas *Victory in the Pacific* only began to be shown in 1945, *Australia Now* and *India Now* were both shown interchangeably in those years. For Aloha, her greatest concern was the most "relevant" material for the location she was presenting and the news at that time. This is emphasized in reviews of the period, such as one report in 1942 stating that: "Aloha Baker, Australian native, who appeared here two years ago with pictures of Africa, will show films of Australia and India which were taken just prior to the Pearl Harbor attack. Her commentary will concern whichever country is most in the limelight at the moment."³¹ This flexible style gave Aloha more room to adjust her materials and presentation to what worked best for that time and place.³²

Of all the lectures and talks noted thus far, only *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific* survive. The other titles, *Uncivilized*, *New Horizons for Women*, and *Adventure*

²⁹ "Adventuress Reviews World Tour by Films," *Bradford Evening Star and Daily Record*, January 8, 1941, 9.

³⁰ "Institute Series Offers Four Top Notch Speakers," *The Knoxville News Sentinel*, February 13, 1944, C7.

³¹ "To Show Australia Movies," *Bradford Evening Star and Daily Record*, September 24, 1942, 5.

³² Aloha seemed to have tried Australia first, however, with the first advertised showings in April 1942. "Jaycees Book Traveler," *The News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), April 2, 1942, 18. (This presentation of *Australia Now* was shown in conjunction with the Australian war ministry film *Australia Mobilizes*.)

Calling, exist only in traces left in newspaper reporting. In Aloha's resume, compiled in 1986 and transcribed by her grandson, Richard Diamond, these titles are not included. Although it is possible that these films represent different materials from her other travelogues, the more likely explanation is that they are composed of materials already used in other lectures and reworked and repurposed to appear as though they were entirely new material. The benefit of this is she appeared to have significantly more output than in reality, and fresh materials were created for each new performance, city, and venue. In other words, a lecture never or rarely seen before would be more appealing to an audience than one that had been performed for several years. Based on the language used regarding these additional lectures in newspaper advertising, my guess is that *Uncivilized* (presented between 1939–1942), was a version of the Bororos expedition footage, *Adventure Calling* (presented between 1939–1941), was a version of *To See the World by Car* and *With Car and Camera Around the World*, and *New Horizons for Women* (presented in 1941 only) featured selected footage from *Australia Now*. Likely done not only out of a desire to appease audiences eager for fresh and new materials, it would have also allowed her to save time and money by not needing to finance and conduct a new expedition.

Thus, in the following analysis, I examine three of Aloha's wartime films, *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific*, in detail to showcase this refocus on the Allies and effort to define a new style and persona for her travel lecture filmmaking. Through a visual analysis of each film, I demonstrate how Aloha continually reimagined her travelogue–lecturer persona with materials that spoke to the desires of her changing audiences. The content featured in *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific* is largely drawn from Aloha's "honeymoon

expedition” with Walter Baker and additional outside sources.³³ In the honeymoon expedition, Aloha and Walter Baker traveled from Canada to the Philippines, then to Australia, New Zealand, and India.³⁴ The tour lasted from 1935 to 1937, and in addition to Aloha and Walter, included J. E. Nolph, E. W. Owen, and Norman R. Long.³⁵ The term “honeymoon expedition” was only used in later descriptions of the materials and period. As reported at the time, Aloha was traveling to “gather material for educational and travel broadcasts through Station W.L.W. of the Crossley Radio Corporation of Cincinnati.”³⁶

Australia Now

Australia Now showcases some of Australia’s home front efforts during World War II.³⁷ It covers topics from Australia’s domestic agricultural industries like grain and fruit, dairy products

³³ As initially reported, the expedition would travel first to Japan, then Manchuria (Northeast China), New Zealand, India, and North Africa, then end in Scandinavia. Alternate reports had her possibly going to Ethiopia. “Widow of Slain Globe-Trotter in City on Eve of World Tour,” *Minneapolis Star*, August 17, 1935, 3.

³⁴ Classified advertisement for the Lyric Theatre (likely in Manila). *The Tribune* (Philippines), December 8, 1935, 24.

³⁵ They arrived in Victoria (to take the McKinley) on September 14, 1935. “Working Way Around World.” *Times Colonist* (Victoria, British Columbia), September 16, 1935, 6. “Down the Gangway.” *Times Colonist* (Victoria, British Columbia), Sept. 28, 1935, 24. It seems that the SS President McKinley originated in the United States, making stops in Seattle and Victoria. Aloha and the crew, however, were in Victoria before that.

³⁶ “Menaced by Elephants and Brigands.” *The Daily News* (Perth, Australia), May 9, 1936, 3. “World Travellers: Party Now in Perth.” *Sunday Times* (Perth, Australia), May 10, 1936, 18. On Crosley Radio: “Founded in Cincinnati by automotive entrepreneur Powel Crosley Jr., who adopted mass manufacturing techniques originating from the car industry to his radio factory, earning him the nickname of ‘The Henry Ford of Radio.’ Through the 1920s, Crosley Radio specialized in low cost, mass manufactured receivers and grew to one of the largest makers by acquiring several competitors. Crosley Radio was part of a business model that included not just the manufacture, but also broadcasting, and in the early 1930s, the company pioneered one of the first car radios. (Crosley was also making automobiles). During the Depression of the 1930s the Crosley radio business while surviving, failed to maintain its lead among radio manufacturers. Crosley focused and made a larger, pioneering impact in the broadcasting business.” See <http://waywiser.rc.fas.harvard.edu/people/702/crosley-radio-corporation>

³⁷ “[Aloha’s] latest program concerns current events, including industries, the war effort, and the training of women in war work.” Ashton, Leonara. “Red Back High School Activities as Reported by Journalism Students,” *The Daily Record* (Long Branch, NJ), April 18, 1942, 10. “Australia’s plane production has been stepped up 100 percent since the beginning of the war, according to Aloha Baker.” Part of the “World Adventure Series” at the Detroit Institute of Arts. “Australia is presented not as a barren desert but as the greatest industrial nation south of the equator. Pictures of Australia logging, mining and farming will be shown. Infant aircraft industry, miracles wrought in producing Pratt and Whitney motors for fighter and bombing planes, women i[n] war, Australia’s

(from cattle ranching to the final shipping of produced butter), lumber, wool (from sheep ranching to hats and uniforms), and military and aircraft materials production and testing. Each showcased industry is clearly oriented toward the war effort, focusing on their contributions. This was further emphasized in some instances in the exhibition. For example, in an early presentation, *Australia Now* was shown as part of a program with the Australian war ministry's film *Australia Mobilizes*.³⁸

The Australian war effort was frequently emphasized in reviews and advertisements for *Australia Now*.³⁹ In Cincinnati, for example, "'Australia Now' is the timely and authentic program to be presented by Walter and Aloha Baker. ... It is the only wartime motion picture lecture on Australia at this critical period. In 'Australia Now' the Bakers bring to their audiences a comprehensive picture of our sister nation 'down under.' It has been superbly produced with an idea of giving Americans a 'background' for their better understanding of the news we have from Australia."⁴⁰ In Michigan, it was described as "an illustrated lecture showing motion pictures of Australia fighting for its existence as a nation. Uncensored films of war production and defense. Shown also are the countries vital to the Australian war position, China, Siberia, India and New Zealand."⁴¹ In Illinois, a reported noted: "The program shows Australia fighting for its existence as a nation—the country that must be held if we are to win the Pacific War."⁴²

small but gallant army are all introduced to the audience in Mrs. Baker's lecture." "Aloha Baker to Give Talk on Australia," *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington, IL), February 23, 1944, 10.

³⁸ "Jaycees Book Traveler," *The News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), April 2, 1942, 18. This presentation of *Australia Now* was shown in conjunction with the Australian war ministry film *Australia Mobilizes*.

³⁹ "More than 150 persons attended the illustrated lecture given Friday by Mrs. Aloha Baker on Australia and India. ... Mrs. Baker described conditions in the two countries and applied them to her discussion of military operations which may follow." "Institutions Aided by Will," *The News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), April 13, 1942, 11.

⁴⁰ "At Woman's Club: Aloha Baker," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 17, 1942, 14.

⁴¹ "General Meetings," *Lansing State Journal*, January 17, 1943, 31.

⁴² "Aloha Baker to Give Talk on Australia," *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington, IL), February 21, 1943, 17.

These reviews and advertisements set clear expectations for the audience: Aloha would provide a report on Australia and its position in World War II. They position the presentation as more informational, rather than highlighting places and people of interest (in the more standard travelogue style). Aloha clearly adopts a new persona here, as news informant and indeed, as news source.

Australia Now opens with a simple illustrated map of Australia. The map cuts to another map of Australia, now filled with moving images of marching soldiers from various branches of the military (Figure 32). The outline of Australia then disappears, and the images of the soldiers take the full screen.

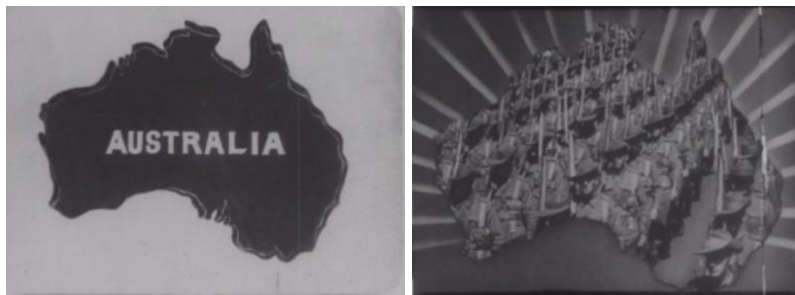


Figure 32: Stills from *Australia Now*, circa 1942⁴³

The sequence also includes shots of marketing materials on joining the military and shots of men assumedly joining and going through recruitment and training. The introductory sequence thus frames the rest of the footage as related to wartime efforts. The short sequences that make up the rest of the film focus on industries in Australia one by one.⁴⁴ Highlighted first are farmers and the fields they work. This is followed by the logging industry, then the rail system (with an

⁴³ The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled. *Australia Now*, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

⁴⁴ About 10 minutes into the first reel, there is a brief sequence that features two aboriginal men. This sequence feels out of place with the rest in that there is no contextual footage and the individuals only appear very briefly.

illustrated map to show rail lines), produce harvesting, dairy production, and a return to more produce harvesting.

Each short sequence showcases details in one area of production, often demonstrating for the audience the many different stages involved in the work. One of the most significant sequences, in terms of screen time, showcases wool production from the care of the sheep to the creation of products like uniforms and hats. Starting at the end of the first reel, the sequence opens with a long shot of ranchers herding hundreds of sheep. Ten short shots follow, all with the sheep framed in long shots, showing the process of herding. Once the sheep are in their pens, a medium shot shows them looking directly into the camera. A mixture of closeup, medium, and long shots follows, including the viewer in every part of the process. After the sheep are bathed, the sequence then shows the feeding process. After this, the sequence moves to gathering, refining, and cleaning the wool and producing products (Figure 33). Through highlighting this sequence by its length, again the productivity and importance of the Australian home front is highlighted, as is how both men and women were contributing.



Figure 33: Stills from *Australia Now*, circa 1942.⁴⁵

Another memorable sequence in the film centers on egg production.⁴⁶ The sequence begins with a chicken farm seen in an establishing shot. After a quick series of medium shots focused on chickens, the film cuts to the interior of an egg factory. Here, eggs are seen passing on conveyor belts, being organized by women. The film then cuts to a young woman holding two eggs. In a closeup, we see that the eggs are decorated to look like Hitler and Mussolini. Cutting back to the medium shot where we first saw the young woman, we see her throw the eggs to the floor. After cutting to a closeup of the smashed eggs, the film then cuts back to the young woman, and she smiles and speaks directly to the camera. The film then draws back to a long shot of her in the factory to finish the sequence (Figure 34).



Figure 34: Stills from *Australia Now*, circa 1942⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled. *Australia Now*, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA

⁴⁶ Reel 3, Timecode: 4:30–5:08.

⁴⁷ The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled. *Australia Now*, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

The amusing sequence functions to both punctuate the travelogue with its humor and highlight women working as part of the war effort. This is not the first or last sequence featuring women in the film, but as the most memorable, it stands apart. Indeed, throughout the film, women are featured working as part of the home front war effort.

One woman who does not appear, however, is Aloha. Indeed, throughout *Australia Now*, Aloha does not appear once. Instead, as previously detailed, the footage focuses on local Australian production, home front efforts, and involved people. In fact, it is likely that Aloha produced none of the footage used in *Australia Now*. Although this claim is speculative, I base it on her later practice in the postwar period (which features definitive evidence of her using footage from alternate sources). This period, thus, is the start of her shift in practice from solely producing her own materials to frequently using alternate sources. As previously noted, this was likely in large part in reaction to Walter Wanderwell's death and the need for new materials to continue her professional career while unable to travel and finance new expeditions and materials. The selection of footage, however, speaks to the continued development of her persona and career.

Aloha's lectures and films of the World War II period are the culmination of the direction she chose after Walter Wanderwell's death. Positioning herself as an expert and professional rather than an innocent girl is a common theme throughout. Although she doesn't show herself in *Australia Now*, she highlights women's work as equally important as men's. Even more of the positioning of her persona relative to the film is seen in newspaper reviews of the period.

Reviews place the film in conversation with the conflict, with Japan's war role in part hindered by Australia's efforts. In one review, the author notes that Aloha rhetorically questioned in her lecture, "Where would we be if Australia had been asleep when the war broke

out with Japan?”⁴⁸ In another, Australia is positively compared to the United States: “The Australians, according to Mrs. Baker, are a direct, straight-from-the-shoulder people like the Americans. When they woke up one day and found the Japs at their backdoor as the result of the fall of Singapore and the destruction of the British Navy, they acted immediately.”⁴⁹ With this film, Aloha positions herself as an expert in the Pacific theater, despite there not being so much of a focus on Japan in the footage of *Australia Now*. We can imagine that she would address Australia in the conflict and the primary opponents, but visually, the focus is elsewhere in the film. *India Now*, however, her other film at this time, does highlight her persona through its footage.

India Now

The first performances of *India Now* likely occurred in October 1942.⁵⁰ In *India Now*, Aloha again highlighted the domestic production and war efforts, this time in India, while also highlighting elements of “celebrity,” as seen in the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi and in Aloha’s own appearances, and location, as seen in extended sequences of recognizable locations like the Taj Mahal and Ganges River. In this way, *India Now* is more of a traditional travelogue than *Australia Now*, while still primarily focusing on the war effort. The footage includes sequences in both rural and metropolitan areas and highlights food production, peace efforts, local landmarks, and individuals.⁵¹ In addition to sequences produced from outside sources, a

⁴⁸ “Poor Roads Lower Australia’s Worth: Country Quote Far Advanced, Says Mrs. Baker,” *The Pantagraph*. (Bloomington, IL), February 25, 1944, 18.

⁴⁹ “Australian Production is Cited as Marvel of War,” *The Knoxville News Sentinel*. March 8, 1944, 2.

⁵⁰ “Lectures Today,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 25, 1942, 94.

⁵¹ “In her discussion here Thursday evening she will lecture on “India as Our Ally” and will show pictures on Indian war production, their religious habits, customs, etc.” “Aloha Baker to Address Rotary.” *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*. Council Bluffs, IA. March 14. 1944, Pg 5.

few are taken from footage produced as part of Aloha's earlier travelogues, including *With Car & Camera Around the World* and *To See the World by Car*.

Similar to *Australia Now*, *India Now* opens with an illustrated map of the region. Pulling back from the map, the film first cuts to shots featuring the Wanderwell car driving on rural roads and in a small village. It is here that we get our first shot of Aloha, seen from the back in a long shot as she exits the expedition vehicle and enters the village (Figure 35).



Figure 35: Stills from *India Now*, circa 1942.⁵²

The film then cuts to shots of locals completing domestic tasks, including washing housewares, grinding grain, and more. This sequence features closeup, medium closeup, and medium shots of the individuals working. A series of shots on entertainment follows, including a dancing bear and a puppet show, then an extended sequence on farming and food production (including work done by local students). Overall, with this footage, Aloha seems to want to capture day-to-day life in this village and India more generally.

Aloha's second appearance occurs about 7 minutes into the first reel. She is standing with a camera next to the Wanderwell car, as seen in a long shot. This shot is followed by a short shot of what assumedly is her perspective from the prior shot. Following this, long shots show the Wanderwell car moving through crowded streets before Aloha exits the car and attempts to

⁵² The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled. *India Now*, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA

maneuver through a crowd. This short sequence, similar to the opening, is drawn from *To See the World By Car*. This is immediately followed by a sequence focused on a street performance of a disabled man, taken from *With Car and Camera Around the World*. By integrating these sequences from prior films, Aloha achieves two things. First, she adds a more “authentic” personal touch, proving she was physically there. Second and more critically, through their inclusion she began to shift the narrative of Wanderwell and her early career away from Walter Wanderwell and toward her redefined positioning as the sole lead. Indeed, in all the *Car and Camera Around the World* and *To See the World By Car* footage she selected for inclusion, only Aloha is visible, excluding not only Walter Wanderwell but also all other expedition members and her second husband, Walter Baker.

Aloha’s appearances aren’t limited to the first reel of *India Now*. The opening sequence of the second reel, however, focuses on Gandhi and his various activities. These shots show Gandhi in personal circumstances, in rural settings, on boats, and in large crowds in Bombay. The footage of Gandhi, approximately 5 minutes in running time, attempts to show the breadth of his influence across India.⁵³ Aloha appears again only after this sequence. This time, she is seen on the grounds of the Taj Mahal in shots originally made for *To See the World By Car*. The sequence begins with an establishing shot of the Taj Mahal, followed by four long shots showing other angles of the building and its grounds. It then cuts to another establishing shot, but this time Aloha is seen walking toward the camera with a man. The next shot shows the Taj Mahal again, this time with her face silhouetted in the frame of a window. She is then seen sitting by the reflecting pools with a young snake charmer (Figure 36).

⁵³ Reviewers also noted this sequence, saying that “sequences illustrating the role which Gandhi is playing as an Indian leader were exceptional.” “Aloha Baker Again Captures Audience,” *Kenosha News*, December 4, 1943, 5.



Figure 36: Stills from *India Now*, circa 1942.⁵⁴

The sequence closes with shots focused on the snake charmer and his snakes before cutting to an interior shot of a school. After the start of the reel with Gandhi's appearances, this appearance by Aloha signals how she is placing herself in the travelogue narrative, with her and Gandhi as the only clear "characters" that the audience can identify.⁵⁵ Furthermore, with the inclusion of this footage from her honeymoon tour with Walter Baker, and she is intermixing materials from a wide span of sources and dates, all while identifying them as "current" to the war effort. This remixing of her own materials and materials from outside sources speaks to the fashioning of her persona away from Walter Wanderwell (and Walter Baker) and toward a reimagined Wanderwell expedition where she was the primary figure and leader.

The end of the second reel and start of the third reel focus on the war effort in India. The sequence begins right after the school sequence, showing young men performing group exercises intercut with shots of a military band, followed by men in uniform training and working on manufacturing. The second reel ends with a shot of the Wanderwell car driving away, again taken from *To See the World By Car*. The third reel, as noted, begins with shots somewhat related to the second reel, again showing military sequences. Approximately 2 minutes into the

⁵⁴ The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled. *India Now*, Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA

⁵⁵ After some industrial shots (men in uniform working on construction and other machinery), the final shot of the second reel is the Wanderwell car driving into the distance.

third reel, another short sequence features Aloha. Here, she enters Khyber, as indicated by a sign. After passing through border control, the car is seen traversing difficult terrain, emphasizing throughout that Aloha is driving the car and appears to be by herself. At one point, she is stopped again, and this time the local guard climbs into her car. A little more than 4 minutes into the reel, she is shown stopping to check the oil in her car and then signaling for help. What follows is an amusing sequence of an elephant helping to move the expedition car.

After the elephant sequence, the rest of the film focuses on World War II and related efforts in India and surrounding areas. The sequences that make up the end of the film show construction and road work, military water and aircraft vehicles, textile production, automotive production, and general military operations. The final images of the film involve a short sequence of military combat footage.⁵⁶ This dramatic ending reinforces Aloha's new role as correspondent and source of news, a conception that audiences would have developed based solely on newspaper reviews and articles.

An advertisement from Illinois stated, "With the allies taking the offensive in the southwest Pacific and the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as commander in chief for the drive from India through Burma, Aloha Baker's lectures are vital to a thorough understanding of this section of the global war. Her material is kept up to date."⁵⁷ Another stated: "A great deal is being written and spoken about India's non-cooperation in the present world struggle, but this is a one-sided mistake, Mrs. Baker contends, 'for you only have to realize that India is making a great and gallant war effort, in producing steel, armoured cars, ships and shells, to say nothing of

⁵⁶ The footage features a sign reading "A CAPUZZO BARDIA TOBRUCH," indicating the location to be Libya. Then, many soldiers in turbans march in front of the pyramids of Giza along with a military band before ending with a "The End" title card. As far as I can tell, the turbans were a distinctive part of the colonial Indian army uniform and not part of any Egyptian uniform.

⁵⁷ "Education, Entertainment Provided by Woman's Club Program for 1944-45: December 9," *The Dispatch* (Moline, IL), September 27, 1944, 13.

her millions of brave soldiers of many religions, races and tongues, who are now desperately pooling their effort behind the British,' says Mrs. Baker."⁵⁸

These pieces, like many others of the time, emphasized her position as a source of information on India and its politics and war efforts.⁵⁹ Furthermore, she was often positioned in advertisements as in a position to "change misconceptions" and "commonly held beliefs." Many reports echoed this powerful position as not only news source but also educator. By furthering this conceptualization of her persona, Aloha continued to redefine herself, moving away from what was part of her persona (a traveler new to the world). She presents herself no longer as a naïve explorer, but rather as the veteran who has already seen and experienced it all.⁶⁰

An alternative presentation and focus of Aloha's for *India Now* centered less on military aspects and more on regional politics. In an article published in Wisconsin shortly before one of Aloha's talks, *India Now* is presented as an illustration of regional politics in India and the controversy around Indian independence, which was occurring at the same time as the war:

This lecture and film was produced by Walter and Aloha Baker to concisely illustrate the vital issues and complications that arise whenever independence is mentioned for India. This is not a program showing India's scenery and beauty, but one dealing with the people and their political problems. ... She adds, "Independence is the supreme political problem facing the Indian people. It can be gained through riots and bloodsheds, with which that country is vastly familiar, or the changeover can be

⁵⁸ "Aloha Baker in India Lecture," *Kenosha News*, December 1, 1943, 7.

⁵⁹ "She supplemented the talk with many motion pictures shown by her husband. ... Commenting on India she said that while compared with the United States the effort India is making is small, it still has great value, for everything made there is immediately available for use." "More than 100 Members and Guests of Monday Talks Attend Luncheon," *The Newark Advocate*, March 30, 1943, 6. "India Authority Appearing on Lecture Series," *Lansing State Journal*, July 27, 1943, 8. "Mrs. Aloha Baker presented pictures of India and its problems in relation to the war, telling many facts about the country which were contrary to popular concept of India, her people and her political position." "Elect New Man on Rotary Board: Mrs. Baker Speaks on India Problem," *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, March 17, 1944, 10.

⁶⁰ "Illustrated Lecture is Given on Far East," *The News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), May 13, 1942, 10. "Museum Lecture Series Geared to War Program: World at War to be Featured in Travelog Programs Free to Public." *Kenosha News*, October 31, 1942, 1.

comparatively peaceful and diplomatic. But the greatest aid in either case will be more education and less religion. Not less belief in their Gods and benefits, but less of the age old [sic] racketeering among the petty religious leaders.”⁶¹

Taking this stance, Aloha reclaims some of the old narratives that surrounded the Wanderwell expeditions as peace missions, but here she presents herself as an authority on political tensions in India. The adaptability of the material is thus demonstrated, because Aloha could easily adjust her lectures (even using the same title) to present on slightly different topics. When viewed relative to the footage, these interpretations all work because the footage has no clear narrative or objective. With no title cards or clear story, Aloha could and did take the films in any direction she wanted.

Victory (in the Pacific)

The final surviving materials from Aloha’s World War II films are most likely fragments from *Victory in the Pacific*. What survives is one 16mm reel that is approximately 500 feet long, containing 13 to 14 minutes of footage. It is likely that this is only a fragment of one of her additional lectures. The material does not include a title card or any identifying material besides an original carrier, a cardboard box marked “‘Victory’ Print cuts; New Guinea Australia etc.” As discussed in the previous sections, Aloha adapted materials as needed and advertised them as the same lecture or something different. If we assume that the materials that survived are part of *Victory in the Pacific*, surviving newspapers can begin to point us toward the version of the footage to which the reel may belong.

Surviving reports, of course, fluctuate widely on the primary area of focus, again bringing forward the possibility (and likelihood) that Aloha adjusted the materials for her exhibitions,

⁶¹ “Authority on India to Speak at College Today,” *Leader-Telegram* (Eau Claire, WI) August 3, 1944, 11.

depending on the location and interests of her audiences. For example, in 1944, articles from Wisconsin and Washington described the film as “portraying the vital stepping stones to Tok[y]o and American fighting men in action in the Southwest Pacific theater”⁶² and noting “it was through permission of the war department that she was able to secure much of her information and authentic pictures.”⁶³ Another article described the content of the lecture as including: “Java in the Dutch East Indies, Australia, New Guinea, the Solomon’s [sic] and other islands on the road to the Philippines. Also, to be shown are pictures of American, Dutch and Australians fighting in the dense jungle and rainforests of this equatorial area and allied troops in amphibious landings to establish beach heads against fierce Japanese resistance.”⁶⁴ Another focuses on the representation of Java, reading: “The movie showed the civilization, industrial development and raw materials of Java and its final fall. Natives carrying vital supplies through miles of jungles to our men fighting in the southwest Pacific, so that we could retake the islands, were shown as Mrs. Baker told the story.”⁶⁵

The surviving materials speak to some of these reports but also contain sequences clearly not addressed in any unearthed thus far. The reel opens as all of Aloha’s World War II materials do, with an illustrated map of the area about to be discussed. This time, the map features the Bismarck Sea, Pacific Ocean, and surrounding areas. The first sequence is an extended military sequence, again showcasing preparations. It begins with shots of White men looking over maps in what appears to be some kind of war room. This is followed by a showcase of military production, including a tank and plane, and then bullets in a factory.

⁶² “Kohler Women’s Club is Planning Distinguished Season,” *Sheboygan Press*, September 28, 1944, 8.

⁶³ “City-U. Talk ‘Pacific Isles,’” *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, WA), October 29, 1944, 21. The same language is used in “Aloha Baker Presents Film-Lecture.” *Redondo Reflex*, October 13, 1944, 1.

⁶⁴ “City-U. Talk ‘Pacific Isles,’” *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, WA), Oct. 29, 1944, 21.

⁶⁵ “Gives Moving Pictures and Travelogue to 200,” *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, WA), November 3, 1944, 6.

The longest sequence in the materials focuses on the production and use of a military vehicle. The audience sees the vehicle being put together on a factory line (with medium and medium closeup shots of good-looking young men working in that setting), a demonstration of how to attach the roof, and driving in the car as shot from the backseat, looking at the back of the driver's head.

The materials also include a fireman-training sequence and shots of a city and shorelines.⁶⁶ Once again, there is not a clear objective or trajectory to the film, and the narrative could be interpreted and reinterpreted as needed. Although these materials might not be part of *Victory in the Pacific*, it is likely, based on the locations indicated in the footage, that they were used as part of those presentations.

The Woman's Point of View

Although the adaptation of new materials and materials from other sources all lent to Aloha's evolution of a new persona, the most significant contribution was seen at the place of exhibition. During her earlier performances with Walter Wanderwell, Aloha would most often be in the standard expedition uniform: a tailored wool shirt, wool breeches, an aviation cap, and second suit all in "tropical khaki."⁶⁷ This uniform was required to be worn by all expedition

⁶⁶ Also included in the original reel is a short piece of film that was most likely added for storage. It is on Kodachrome color stock, whereas the rest of the footage is in black and white. It portrays an extended sequence of horses in a paddock and does not seem to relate to any of the other footage. Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA

⁶⁷ In the promotional brochures distributed at lectures, classified advertisements in the brochure instruct potential members on how to join and what to wear. The advertisement is titled "HOW TO BECOME A WAWEC," and it gives very detailed instructions on the ensemble: "Olive drab waterproof trenchcoat with shoulderstraps having WAWEC and Unit No. above, in gold, embroidered. Wool blanket. Wool olive drab tailored shirt with sport collar and two large patch pockets. Wool olive drab pair of shorts 70cm circumference on bottom 28 cm length in crutch (for ladies, breeches of same material)." "How to Become a WAWEC." Promotional brochure. Circa 1929, Richard Diamond Trust, Mission Viejo, CA. Alohawanderwell.com, Pg 25.

members, and Aloha would have blended into the team, with Walter Wanderwell successfully forming more of a unit rather than focusing on any individual personality or persona.

Beginning in the late 1930s and continuing into the 1940s, as Aloha began to construct an identity separate from Walter Wanderwell, she shifted away from the expedition uniforms and began to wear outfits that focused more on her “feminine” traits and made her clearly and visibly stand out both in the footage and in person.⁶⁸ In one review from 1941, she is described as being “gowned in white crepe and [wearing] a corsage of gardenias.”⁶⁹ In another, she was “wearing a white evening gown to set off her blonde beauty.”⁷⁰ In yet another, the rest of her outfit is described: “Mrs. Baker’s hobby is collecting oriental jewelry and she wore two rare bracelets, one gold and the other silver. She also showed a fur cap made of baby leopard skins, which she wears in her picture. She told of her kangaroo coat, believed to be the one in the world. She took the skins to London, but it was with great difficulty that she found a furrier who would make the coat because of the peculiar swirl of the Kangaroos [sic] fur.”⁷¹

The focus of the reports, however, is often that the draw is not her outfit, but her unique perspective as a woman. For example, one report notes, “what makes Aloha Baker so fascinating, possibly, is the fact that she sees the world from a woman’s point of view and she has viewed with interest [in] feminine standards everywhere, [and] noted how they vary.”⁷² This

⁶⁸ Along with her physical appearance, her self-presentation in terms of language was also reported: “In discussing her lectures, it has often been mentioned that those who have heard her are astonished at the paradox of a woman who has had the audacity to do the unusual and who also lectures using the kingliest of English. She is said to have a flexible and almost unlimited vocabulary.” “Famed Feminine Explorer to Speak Here,” *Oshkosh Northwestern*, March 21, 1941, 8.

⁶⁹ “Bangor Rotary Club Observes Ladies’ Night,” *Bangor Daily News*, January 17, 1941, 12.

⁷⁰ “Mrs. Dole Again Heads Klifa Club,” *Burlington Daily News*, May 12, 1941, 5.

⁷¹ “Traveler Talks at Woman’s League Meeting,” *Battle Creek Enquirer*, November 9, 1939, 6. (In this article, India is referred to as Benares).

⁷² “Mrs. Dole Again Heads Klifa Club,” *Burlington Daily News*, May 12, 1941, 5.

sentiment regarding the value in Aloha's performances of the "woman's point of view" was repeated across news reports. How that woman's point of view took shape was visualized in different ways. Many reports focused on physical beauty (both her own and those around her). In a review from 1941, her talk is described as follows: "What makes it most interesting is that she sees the world from a woman's point of view, her lipstick and makeup kit always go with her and she is vitally interested in the feminine standards of beauty elsewhere—standards that she says vary greatly."⁷³ Another states, "One of the particular points of interests to her are the varying standards of feminine beauty throughout the world. Among some African tribes the deeper the tatoo [sic] the more beautiful the woman is considered. Black lacquer teeth in Indo-China are a signal of glamor among the natives."⁷⁴ This focus on physical appearance, from the content of the travelogue to Aloha's makeup and beauty routine, also points to a focusing of Aloha's target audience. Indeed, after Walter Wanderwell's death, Aloha's presentations were not limited to larger audiences with more widespread interests. She could now focus on a new audience: women. Women's clubs and socials were quite popular in this period (and earlier), but with the development of her new persona, Aloha could use these appearances to maintain her career and aura of celebrity.

Women's clubs were largely founded in the late 1800s as part of a social reform movement. Many of these began as social and literary gatherings but grew to include different areas of focus. In 1921, Alice Ames Winter wrote on Women's clubs, saying:

A great change has crept over the attitude toward the home in the past five years, a change that women themselves hardly recognize

⁷³ "Woman Explorer Is to Address Century Club," *Oshkosh Northwestern*, March 15, 1941, 8. A similar article: "Woman Traveler to Speak at College." *The News* (Paterson, NJ), November 17, 1941, 3.

⁷⁴ "Woman Traveler to Address Students," *The Post Crescent* (Appleton, WI), March 19, 1941, 11. A similar review: "Social Activities." *Burlington Free Press*, May 12, 1941, 9. This one describes her outfit: "Aloha Baker, who herself made an effective picture with her blonde hair and white evening gown."

[...] Women saw their homes as the units out of which society was built, and themselves administrators of those homes, as industrial and political factors [...] Everywhere women are not only saying that home affairs are public affairs, but they are also asking if public affairs are not home affairs.⁷⁵

In the period of World War II, Women's clubs served as a place of education and news on the war, and as a place of activism towards particular causes.⁷⁶ As part of this, travelogues were often presented at Women's clubs, and during the war, this became a crucial site of exhibition for women travelogue lecture filmmakers.

When working with Walter Wanderwell, Aloha and the expedition team presented at a variety of venues, though predominantly at larger public space, from stage and movie theaters, to town halls, to high schools. As she shifted away from Walter Wanderwell, and towards her new role as Aloha Baker, the venues she exhibited at shifted as well. Indeed, starting in the late 1930s and moving into World War II, Aloha began frequently presenting at Women's clubs across the United States. Women's clubs and socials were held at various locations, but very commonly within the actual home of the hostess. This environment for exhibition, the space of the home, would end up shaping Aloha's work as the war ended and she moved away from presenting material narratively shaped by the conflict. During World War II, however, Aloha adopted the space of exhibition as her own, bringing a sense of familiarity to her audiences. For example, one review noted, "Although Aloha Baker was presumably the guest of the day, she was actually the hostess; and her guests found themselves immediately 'at home' in the remote lands Mrs. Baker

⁷⁵ Winter, Alice Ames, "Women's Clubs To-day," *The North American Review*, Volume 214, 637.

⁷⁶ As noted in Jennifer Biser's article, "[Members of women's clubs] participated in a range of programs contributing to national defense. Their most common projects included sponsoring activities to boost soldier morale, such as hosting dinners and dances; volunteering in Red Cross sewing rooms, knitting sweaters and making bandages; and selling war bonds to finance the fight." Biser, Jennifer, "Help from the Home Front: Women's Clubs Contribute to the Cause," *Tar Heel Junior Historian*, Spring 2008. Accessed February 23, 2022. <https://www.ncpedia.org/women%E2%80%99s-clubs>. The racial and age makeup of these women's groups is unclear at this point in my research.

described.”⁷⁷ Aloha as the “hostess” became a trope she continued after the war, as she brought her audiences to the places she considered home.

⁷⁷ “C.W.C. Joins Speaker on Armchair Tour of the World,” *Green Bay Press Gazette*, February 26, 1941, 8.

Chapter 3 Appendix

INDIA
Now!

Walter and Aloha Baker score again with this very timely lecture on India, the newsfront, today. The Bakers have seen many sides of life in India, from the palaces of Princes and Rajas to the hovels and hutches of Untouchables They will tell you clearly why Indian independence is still a dream.

STIRRING PICTURES OF INDIA FRANTICALLY GIRDING FOR WAR . . . HER FAMOUS FIGHTING MOHAMMEDANS, SIKHS AND GHURKAS IN ACTION.

INDUSTRIAL INDIA, STEEL, ARMoured CARS, SHIPS AND SHELLS
. . . INDIAN HOMES WHERE VEILED WOMEN HURRIEDLY HANDLE
BLACKOUT TASKS . . . SEE THE PEOPLE OF MANY RELIGIONS,
RACES AND TONGUES POOLING THEIR LABOR IN A GIGANTIC
WAR EFFORT TO AID ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES . . .
ROMANTIC AND BEAUTIFUL INDIA THAT THE JAPANESE HOPE
TO GRAB, 'PRICELESS JEWEL' OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE . . . NOW
A STRATEGIC BASE FOR UNITS OF THE AMERICAN ARMED
FORCES . . . AND A SMART REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS
FACING INDIA . . . HER HISTORY, HOPES AND POSSIBILITIES . . .
16 mm films.

Mid-West Agency
H. M. McFADDEN
Bismarck Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

HAROLD R. PEAT, INC.
2 West 45th Street
New York, New York

Pacific Coast Agency
A. R. DAYTON
South Terrace
Altadena, California

Figure 37: Marketing pamphlet for *India Now*, circa 1942.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ "India Now," Promotional materials, Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa. The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled, and when marketing materials would have been compiled. The University of Iowa does not have exact dates for this document, and instead labels it as from 1930-1940.



Figure 38: Marketing pamphlet for *Australia Now*, circa 1942.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ "Australia Now," Promotional materials, Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa, page 1. The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled, and when marketing materials would have been compiled. The University of Iowa does not have exact dates for this document, and instead labels it as from 1930-1940.

AUSTRALIA NOW!

The **MUST** program . . . by Walter and Aloha Baker. Here you have an unbeatable team, Walter Baker cinematographer-producer and Aloha Baker lecturer-author. Together they have covered the world, they know it as few others. Australia is their favored scene . . . now they bring it to you.

PICTURES OF AUSTRALIA FIGHTING FOR ITS EXISTENCE AS A NATION! AUSTRALIA THE LAST LINE OF DEFENSE AGAINST THE JAPANESE IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC! AUSTRALIA THE COUNTRY THAT MUST BE HELD IF WE ARE TO WIN THIS PACIFIC WAR!

UNCENSORED FILMS OF WAR PRODUCTION AND DEFENSE . . . AMERICAN PRATT & WHITNEY MOTORS ROLLING OF ASSEMBLY LINES . . . SEE AUSTRALIA'S FAMOUS FIGHTING MEN IN ACTION . . . AUSTRALIA'S WOMEN, UNIFORMED, TRAINED AND READY . . . PICTURES OF ITS PEOPLE, THE COUNTRY AND ITS INDUSTRIES . . . RARE SCENES OF ANIMALS AND THE 'OUTBACK' . . . SHOWN ALSO ARE THE COUNTRIES VITAL TO THE AUSTRALIAN WAR POSITION, CHINA, SIBERIA, INDIA AND NEW ZEALAND . . . SIX REELS OF 16mm MOTION PICTURES.

Figure 39: Marketing pamphlet for *Australia Now*, circa 1942.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ "Australia Now," Promotional materials, Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa, page 2. The date noted here reflects the approximate date the footage was compiled, and when marketing materials would have been compiled. The University of Iowa does not have exact dates for this document, and instead labels it as from 1930-1940.

Chapter 4: Postwar Production

This chapter analyzes Aloha Wanderwell's final three travelogues, *Explorers of the Purple Sage* (1945), *My Hawaii* (1948), and *The Magic of Mexico* (~1950), and discusses how they reflect the culmination of her own professional practice, and the evolution of travelogue filmmaking of the postwar period.¹ As detailed in Chapter 3, during World War II, Aloha's professional practice, and the travelogue profession as a whole, had undergone major changes in all stages of production, exhibition, and distribution. The war necessitated a creative repositioning in all aspects of the travelogue filmmaking profession, greatly affecting who and what was depicted (and by whom). Aloha's work during the second World War demonstrates the adaptability of the travelogue profession and how women travelogue filmmakers began to position themselves, both in relation to and in contrast with their male counterparts. At the end of the war, and with the return of many male travelogue filmmakers, many women travelogue filmmakers found that even further adaptation was needed to both differentiate their work from their male counterparts, and to market their own unique personas.

Aloha's postwar films show these shifts in her use of narration, performance, reflecting the continued development of her own persona as she moved away from the "touring" style that had been a staple of her career toward a more home-circuit based style of working.² Aloha's and other women travelogue filmmakers' travelogues were shaped by their dual identities as both

¹ Many women worked as travelogue filmmakers and lecturers in the postwar period and had long-lasting and successful careers. Successful female travelogue filmmakers and lecturers from this period include women like Mildred Capron, Lisa Chickering, Hjordis Parker, and Jeanne Porterfield.

² As I define it, the "touring" style in travelogues is when the subject of focus is locations beyond the scope of the traveloguer's home. What is their "home" can be broadly defined, but by "touring," they are visiting other places. Home circuit travelogue making is when the traveloguer focuses more on their own home and perform on a circuit that is regional.

travelogueur and woman. Using Aloha's three travelogue films and presentations in the postwar period as a case study, I examine how larger concepts of the home and homeland shaped the content and locations she presented, even as her supposed "local" positioning and positioning as a woman travelogueur granted her access to a more intimate portrait of the people and locations featured in each travelogue and established her expertise as an American citizen.

Citizenship is intimately tied to concepts of the home, homeland, and one's native country. Aloha was born in Canada, and although she maintained her Canadian citizenship for some time, she considered and advertised herself as a "world citizen." Early articles that reported on Aloha and Walter Wanderwell often identify conflicting nationalities, particularly for Aloha, mostly varying between Canadian, British, Australian and American. It was not until the postwar period that she began to more actively claim and advertise an American identity. This claim of American identity and citizenship is seen especially in her three postwar travelogues, *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, *My Hawaii*, and *The Magic of Mexico*. In these films, her persona and identity are tied to a distinctly American idea of home, nation, and nationality.

In her first postwar film, *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, Wyoming is framed as the origin of the American West and the American dream. Images of open landscapes and relics of early pioneer history alongside images of Aloha, her daughter, and motifs of families reflect the iconography of manifest destiny, positioning Aloha as the American explorer destined to achieve that dream.

In *My Hawaii*, the travelogue simultaneously emphasizes what is American and what is not, using visual and narrative motifs of nation and nationality. At the time of filming, Hawaii was still designated as a territory of the United States and would not be granted statehood for another 10 years. This uneasy positioning held the population as Hawaiian yet expected its

members to embrace an American lifestyle and culture. In this context, Aloha positioned herself as an expert “local,” but still as markedly different from those she depicted within the travelogue.

In *The Magic of Mexico*, Mexico, with its physical proximity to the United States and complex political relations left over from World War II, was depicted as effectively under America’s tutelage, indeed as America’s “backyard.” In fact, the introduction to Aloha’s film features her, planning her voyage in her own backyard in California, before travelling by yacht to Mexico. Throughout these three travelogues, Aloha’s own appearances and identity as American are the unifying motifs.

The home and one’s homeland, of course, play a significant role in travelogue filmmaking and presentation no matter what destination(s) are featured. Indeed, although most travelogues focus on destinations that are foreign or “exotic”, the destination and subjects being defined in the context of the identities of the audience. Popular travelogue subjects for American and Western European performers historically included Asian and African destinations, and subjects such as the transcontinental road from Cape Town to Cairo.³ The travelogues of well-known travelogue filmmaker Burton Holmes, for example, included titles like *Buenos Aires, the American Paris* (1911–12), *Cruising Through the Philippines* (1913–14), *Siam, Land of Chang* (1928–29), and *What I Saw in Ethiopia* (1936–37).⁴

Although travelogue filmmakers more frequently focused on more “exotic” destinations, they would also turn to their own country, people, and home. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the “turn to home” became more frequent during the second World War, reflecting increased

³ See Peter Bloom’s *French Colonial Documentary: Mythologies of humanitarianism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

⁴ “List of All Travel Lectures and Travelogues, 1892 Through 1970,” *Hidden Knowledge*. <https://www.burtonholmes.org/travelogues/travlist3.html>.

restrictions on what and who could be depicted within travelogues and a reduced number of destinations accessible for filmmaking. But focusing on the home as subject becomes more complex in relation to a “global” personality, like Aloha. With her claims of citizenship conflicting and her lack of a specific homeland, her work offers one approach to the representation of the home in travelogues more generally.

In Aloha’s three postwar travelogues, *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, *My Hawaii*, and *The Magic of Mexico*, home is a central narrative theme. At times more literal and at times more figurative, what is framed as home in each travelogue centers Aloha’s own persona and serves as support for her claims as a “local” expert in each location.⁵ As I discussed in this chapter, in *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, Wyoming was her literal home, the location of Aloha and Walter Baker’s residence during World War II (and where the Baker family home had been since the turn of the century). In *My Hawaii*, Hawaii is her adoptive home—first demonstrated through simply the title, *My Hawaii*, with the possessive “my” and in Aloha’s stage name, “Aloha” being the traditional and well recognized greeting for hello and goodbye in Hawaiian. Hawaii, at that point, has also become the home of her daughter, Valri. And finally, in *The Magic of Mexico*, Mexico is transformed into an extension of her home in California as her, and America’s, “backyard.”

Aligned with the theme of home and homeland is the visualization of white womanhood and its relationship with the concept of the home.⁶ As I demonstrate throughout this chapter,

⁵ The most thorough address of the local landscape in film, and the evolution of that portrayal, is by Martin Johnson in his 2018 monograph *Main Street Movies: The History of Local Film in the United States*. In *Main Street Movies*, Johnson identifies six modes of local filmmaking, three of which are particularly useful for Baker’s late 1940s filmography. The “municipal booster,” “movies of mutual recognition,” and “civic” modes of local filmmaking each focus on variations in the relationship between identification and recognition, and so are key for Aloha’s filmography. Johnson’s other local film types are “home talent,” “local Hollywood,” and “amateur fiction.” (3).

⁶ For more see Kaplan, Amy, “Manifest Domesticity,” *American Literature* 70, no. 3 (September 1998): 581–606.

Aloha used a variety of tactics to position herself as an emblem of youth and beauty, while being in her late 40s.⁷ These included, for example, the seemingly purposeful visual confusion between her and her daughter and the use of specific marketing imagery and text. By presenting herself as a much younger woman, she emphasized the importance of youth and virility—qualities associated with the pioneering and colonial spirit in the western United States and United States more generally.

In this chapter, I use Aloha’s three postwar travelogues as case studies to demonstrate larger trends within the profession as well as Aloha’s evolution. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, access to travelogues is inherently challenging due to the itinerant style of the profession and the frequent reuse of materials until they need replacement. In the case of much of Aloha’s filmography, a fair amount of material does actually remain, permitting unique access to her process and the process of travelogue filmmaking more generally. Aloha’s materials relating to the postwar period are, however, scattered in archives across the United States. Materials on *Explorers of the Purple Sage* are primarily held at the American Heritage Center in Wyoming, whereas materials related to *My Hawaii* are primarily held at the Bishop Museum in Hawaii. Materials on *Magic of Mexico*, as well as additional materials on the other two postwar titles, are held in the personal collections of Margaret “Miki” Hammel, Aloha’s granddaughter, and Richard Diamond, Aloha’s grandson, both deposited at the Academy Film Archive in Los Angeles, California. These additional materials on *Explorers of the Purple Sage* and *My Hawaii*, consisting largely of trims and outs, discarded sequences, and versions of shots, lend insight into the thought process behind the editing of the final film and inform my analysis equally to what appeared (or might have appeared) in the final edit of the film.

⁷ Aloha was born in either 1906 or 1908.

The amount and nature of materials available and accessible for each of the three films does vary. In the case of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, the full and final edited film is available, along with a typed transcript of the narration.⁸ In addition, a few trims and outs for select sequences as well as marketing materials, including flyers and photographs, have all survived. Likewise, in the case of *My Hawaii*, the final edited film and its narration transcript remain, in addition to trims, outs, and marketing materials.⁹ In fact, substantially more materials cut from *My Hawaii* survive than of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, including well over 30 100-foot 16mm reels (as opposed to *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, where only a few 400-foot 16mm reels remain).¹⁰ In the case of *The Magic of Mexico*, on the other hand, surviving materials include a few short fragments only—no full version of any kind is available.¹¹ And, unlike *Explorers of the Purple Sage* or *My Hawaii*, there are no remaining typed scripts, photographs, or marketing materials.¹²

Travelogues in the Postwar Period

At the end of World War II, travelogues experienced a resurgence in popularity.¹³ That resurgence, however, included significant shifts in the depicted content, as the general public's interests in different geographic areas had altered because of the war. Indeed, the home front during the war had become equally as important as overseas locations. American industries and

⁸ As of May 2022, there are no other versions of *Explorers of the Purple Sage* that this author is aware of.

⁹ As of May 2022, there are no other versions of *My Hawaii* that this author is aware of.

¹⁰ As of May 2022, the materials detailed here are what have been found.

¹¹ As of May 2022, no full version of *The Magic of Mexico* has been found.

¹² As is the case with a lot of materials surrounding Aloha, new discoveries are being made constantly. As of May 2022, this was accurate.

¹³ This increase was observed by Thayer Soule; however, it was also reflected in the press. Through analysis of Media History Digital Library (Arclight) and Newspapers.com, the years immediately following the war reflected a renewed interest in travel and travelogues. See, for example: Pellejero, Carmelo, and Marta Luque, eds, *Inter and Post-War Tourism in Western Europe, 1916-1960*, 2020.

manufacturers had supplied different branches of the U.S. and Allied forces with weapons, food, and supplies, and showcasing these industries and the efforts made became a very popular subject. Furthermore, with the establishment of a new peacetime economy, the importance of the physical home itself took on new meaning, evidenced not only in the exponential growth of suburban communities in the United States, but also in the manner in which lifestyle and culture was framed across popular media.

This emphasis on around the home and home front came forward not only through popular media, but also government intervention. Federal housing policies and the 1944 GI Bill, for example, established provisions that allowed for mass suburbanization. The GI Bill, known more formally as The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, was signed into law on June 22, 1944. The new law included assistance with education; loans for homes, businesses, and farms; and unemployment benefits. According to the Veterans Administration, through the home loan guarantee of the GI Bill, 2.4 million home loans were distributed for veterans between 1944 and 1952.¹⁴ The refocused energy on the home, however, also moved the work force and women into limiting gender roles, which were further propagated by popular media. As historian Elaine Taylor May argued, the government policies and programs that encouraged home ownership in the post war period in turn "fostered the American domestic ideology ... by stimulating ... suburban housing developments and providing subsidies to homeowners, ... effectively underwr[iting] the baby boom, along with the lifestyle and community arrangements that fostered traditional gender roles in the home,"¹⁵ and that "American domestic ideology" was in turn reflected in the travelogue profession.

¹⁴ "History and Timeline," U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, <https://www.benefits.va.gov/gibill/history.asp>

¹⁵ May, Elaine Taylor, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, 163.

In many ways, the travelogues that women produced after the end of World War II were very similar to those of their male counterparts. The same cities and topics served as the primary focus, and the same controversial and more problematic topics were left off screen. Of Aloha's postwar films, *Explorers of the Purple Sage* focused on an immediate postwar Wyoming and its industries, including cattle, wool, and tourism. But, it did not, for example, address the Heart Mountain Japanese American internment camp located in Park County, Wyoming, even though it was the fourth largest such camp in the United States, and, at its peak, effectively constituted one of Wyoming's largest cities.¹⁶ Likewise, *My Hawaii* focused largely on the Hawaii presented to tourists and a few of its regional industries. The protests and unrest around Hawaii's identification as a territory, however, were not addressed. While *The Magic of Mexico* is largely no longer extant, based on the surviving materials it is likely that the political complexities of the relationship between the United States and Mexico were not addressed, nor were any of the political changes Mexico faced, having elected its first civilian president, Miguel Alemán Valdés, serving from 1946 till 1952.¹⁷

In spite of these similarities, however, I will show that women travelogue filmmakers did engage with their own unique form of the travelogue medium. Through the analysis of Aloha's three postwar films, it can be seen that the practice of women travelogue filmmakers differed

¹⁶ The population at Heart Mountain was at one point 10,767 people, making it approximately the third most populated city in Wyoming at the time. See "Heart Mountain Relocation Center" *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/places/heart-mountain-relocation-center.htm#:~:text=Heart%20Mountain%20Relocation%20Center%2C%20located,States%20during%20World%20War%20II.>; See also: "Life in the Camp," *Heart Mountain*. <https://www.heartmountain.org/history/life-in-the-camp/>; "Historical Decennial Census Population for Wyoming Counties, Cities, and Towns," *Wyoming Department of Administration and Information*. http://eadiv.state.wy.us/demog_data/cntycity_hist.htm

¹⁷ For more on Miguel Alemán Valdés see: Alexander, Ryan M. *Sons of the Mexican Revolution: Miguel Alemán and His Generation*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 2016; Sanchez, Mario Raul Mijares. *Mexico: the Genesis of Its Political Decomposition*:(Miguel Alemán Valdés: 1936 to 1952). Palibrio, 2013.

from those of their male counterparts, centering their identities as woman.¹⁸ Although not every traveloguer practicing at this time focused on America and the homeland in the manner Aloha did, her films do reflect the common concerns of the period, while expressing her unique, and feminine, point of view.¹⁹

Explorers of the Purple Sage

Aloha's first film following the end of World War II was *Explorers of the Purple Sage* (hereafter *Explorers*).²⁰ Originally produced for the 1945–1946 American lecture circuit, *Explorers* in fact toured from October 1945 through November 1949.²¹ Shot in silent, 16mm Kodachrome color stock, the 90-minute presentation gives a broad snapshot of the people, industries, and natural landscapes of Wyoming.²² Rather than “touring” foreign destinations, as had been the mode with all her previous travelogues, *Explorers* focuses only on her home at the time, Wyoming.²³ Presented with live narration, Aloha showcases a vision of Wyoming and the American West to her audiences that emphasizes her local knowledge as both a Wyomingite and

¹⁸ Kristin Anderson, Lisa Chickering, Lynn Bram Kamp, Bunny Kamen, Hjordis Parker, Sherilyn Mentes, Jeannine Porterfield, Fran Reidelberger, Shirley Richter, Yetta Robinson, and Edna Stewart are just a few examples of women who worked in the profession after World War II. Evidence of the work of these women can be found in trade journals like *Travelogue Magazine*.

¹⁹ These postwar travelogues were not made only by Aloha. Indeed, her husband, Walter Baker, was often behind the camera, as was Mildred Capron, and many of the sequences were “borrowed” from other sources. I focus on Aloha, however, as the creative center of travelogues because she was centrally billed and as the authoritative promoted figure, lecturer, and overall “voice” behind the travelogues.

²⁰ Available online through the American Heritage Center:
<https://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/view/search:JSESSIONID=0d704ad0-671e-4066-aaa4-9ad4570d1b40?search=SUBMIT&cat=0&q=explorers+of+the+purple+sage&dateRangeStart=&dateRangeEnd=&QuickSearchA=QuickSearchA>

²¹ These run dates are approximate based on evidence found in local newspapers across the United States.

²² Available online through the American Heritage Center:
<https://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/view/search:JSESSIONID=0d704ad0-671e-4066-aaa4-9ad4570d1b40?search=SUBMIT&cat=0&q=explorers+of+the+purple+sage&dateRangeStart=&dateRangeEnd=&QuickSearchA=QuickSearchA>

²³ As I define it, touring style in travelogues is when the subject is in locations beyond the scope of the traveloguer's own home. What is their home can be broadly defined, but by touring, they are visiting other places.

an American.²⁴ During the war Aloha and Walter Baker had lived in Laramie, Wyoming, running a small motel called the Lazy-U until October 1945. And although Walter Baker had spent the majority of his life in Wyoming, Aloha could only claim a short residence in her new home state.²⁵ In her previous work, *With Car and Camera Around the World*, *The Last of the Bororos*, *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos*, *To See the World by Car*, *India Now*, and *Australia Now*, she was consistently framed as an outsider, or global traveler, not distinctly belonging to any single country, but instead showcasing the “exotic” people and places across the globe. By focusing only on Wyoming and its successful industries and leisure culture, *Explorers* signals a shift in Aloha’s practice and persona—from a global traveler to a local expert, and from a world citizen to an American one. To achieve her new roles of U.S. citizen and Wyomingite in *Explorers*, Aloha used her narration, visual and narrative motifs of womanhood, families, and domesticity; and a structuring framework of a distinctly American landscape and its industries for the travelogue.

For Aloha and Walter Baker, choosing Wyoming as the subject for their first postwar project would have been inspired first by Walters’ personal connection to Wyoming. Walter’s family had been in Wyoming since 1909, largely based in Jireh before moving to Manville in 1921, and eventually to Laramie around 1932.²⁶ When Walter and Aloha met in 1933, Walter was working at a local gas station in Laramie, Wyoming. He joined the crew in September of that year, becoming, as noted in Aloha’s written account of his life, “responsible for the care of

²⁴ Wyomingite is the demonym for people from Wyoming recommended by the United States Government Publishing Office.

²⁵ Aloha and Walter sold their Lazy-U Motel in Laramie in September 1945 and began their national tour of *Explorers* that October. *Casper Star-Tribune*, September 30 1945, 13.

²⁶ Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 1, Scrapbook 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 5-8.

the expedition's car, driving it, in charge of the car [and] of all the equipment..., helping Aloha face and deal with the public, setting up future performance dates, handling advertising."²⁷

After the family connection, Wyoming's place in the American popular imagination would have likely been a great influence in their choice to select Wyoming as a topic. In the popular imagination of the postwar period, Wyoming represented American frontier fantasies of the Western United States, with its cowboy culture, farming and ranching industries, and "open" terrain.²⁸ The official imagery associated with the state, the state seal, flag, and license plates all contributed to the comprehensive imagining of Wyoming as a culturally and physically monolithic place. On the official state seal, for example, two male figures are depicted alongside iconography representing the two primary industries of the state, livestock and mining. Behind this there are two pillars with banners that read: "oil," "mines," "livestock," and "grain." In turn, the state seal is centered on Wyoming's state flag within a silhouette of an American bison. Verna Keyes, the original designer of the flag, noted that the bison represents the local fauna while at the same time representing the livestock industry (as though it had been "branded" with the state seal).²⁹ Perhaps the most recognizable symbol of Wyoming, however, is the bucking horse and rider seen on the state license plates, the iconography of which dates back to 1918. First used as an infantry insignia during World War I, the bucking horse and rider was incorporated onto vehicle license plates in 1936.³⁰ The mobile platform provided by cars sporting

²⁷ Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 1, Scrapbook 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 55.

²⁸ I say "open" terrain here from the perspective of the White settlers. This erasure of indigenous populations in Wyoming was common rhetoric in describing the physical landscape of Wyoming.

²⁹ Verna Keyes Papers. Collection number 10627. University of Wyoming, American Heritage Center, Wyoming. See also: Smith, Whitney. "Flag of Wyoming," *Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/flag-of-Wyoming>.

³⁰ Hein, Rebecca. "Wyoming's Long Lived Bucking Horse," *WyoHistory.org*. <https://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/wyomings-long-lived-bucking-horse>; "Bucking Horse and Rider," *Wyoming Secretary of State*. <https://sos.wyo.gov/Services/BHRHistory.aspx>

the license plate made the “bucking bronco” image recognizable beyond the borders of Wyoming. In addition, however, a casting of the famous 1895 statue, “The Bronco Buster,” which similarly depicted a bucking horse and rider, was gifted to Theodore Roosevelt and displayed within the Oval Office, making the bucking horse and rider image even more iconic of the West and Wyoming (even if not exclusively related to Wyoming). For Aloha, harnessing the common language of this powerful imagery together with her own familiarity with the area would have made Wyoming a clear first choice as the subject of her first postwar travelogue.

In *Explorers*, the representation of Wyoming’s uniquely American landscape was achieved not only through the visuals and live narration of the film, but also through the promotional materials. In a promotional brochure created for exhibitors, the opening paragraph describes the film: “A pictorial narrative of the Sage Country depicting this colorful Western Empire in all the glory of its past, the importance of its present and the possibilities of its future. The romance of the cowboy country together with its development as an economic and dominant force in our nation.”³¹ Key framing devices used to draw the spectator in include: “Western Empire,” “the glory of its past,” and “romance of the cowboy country.” From this, we can speculate on how exhibitors might have arranged this screening and in what context.

The film opens with grand and sweeping establishing shots of the Teton Mountains, interspersed with near static shots of flora, fauna, and artifacts of Wyoming’s early frontier history.³² Following this introduction, the film highlights a few of the various commercial industries of Wyoming, including oil refineries, cattle herding, and sheep ranching. The next

³¹ Promotional materials, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

³² The artifacts of Wyoming’s frontier history showcased in the film include: tree stumps with the names of explorers carved into them, beaver pellets, a sign of the Oregon Trail, Fort Laramie, paintings, a broken wheel, the graves of Mary E. Homesly, TP Baker, G.O. Willard, a sign for Pony Express Trail, animal bones, and more.

portion of the film focuses on Wyoming's outdoor leisure activities, including tennis, trail riding, and fishing, and the final sequence depicts a wild horse roundup, featuring the well-known stallion Desert Dust.³³

This film, in contrast to her previous work with both Walter Wanderwell and Walter Baker, focuses solely on one state, rather than an entire, or numerous, countries. This choice allowed Aloha to thematically center on the concept of home by positioning herself as a local in Wyoming while showcasing the state. This central concept of the home is demonstrated throughout in both visual and narrative motifs of motherhood and the nuclear family. The first appearance of these motifs are in the films' framing of Wyoming's fauna.³⁴ In these sequences, sheep and cattle are depicted as anthropomorphized family groups, where the "mothers" have a responsibility to show their children the way things are done.

The first example of this anthropomorphizing focuses on a family of sheep, as part of a demonstration of sheep ranching practices (e.g., clipping tails and tagging). The narration sets the scene: "It is early spring, damp and grey, on the wind-washed wild meadows of sagebrush and grazing range. A band of sheep with laden bellies is resting and ruminating. The precious ewes are heavy with lamb, for it is lambing time in the High Country."³⁵ Soon, the first family is introduced with the birth of a lamb described through the perspective of three generations of

³³ For more on Desert Dust, see Pappa, Paul and R.J. Gillian. *Desert Dust: One Man's Passion to Uncover the True Story Behind an Iconic American Photograph*. HPD Publishing, 2020.

³⁴ One of the biggest challenges Wyoming faced as a state during World War II and into the postwar period was the allocation, use, and preservation of natural resources. Natural resources such as livestock were in high demand throughout the war. For the agricultural and livestock industries, the demand caused such strains that shortages led to micromanagement by the government through the War Food Administration and the Department of Agriculture.

³⁵ The sheep belonged to Swan Ranch at Chugwater and the Warren Livestock Company. Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 10.

sheep, the son, the mother, and the “granny.”³⁶ Jumping ahead to one month later in their life cycle (and most likely an entirely new “family”), Aloha turns to the clipping, tagging, and branding of lambs as part of the ranching process. This series of visually striking and gruesome acts is emphasized and neutralized through the use again of the familial structure. After the description of the lambs’ tail clippings and branding, Aloha states “Three little lambs have lost their tails and maa—mother is bleating urgently for her own babe. Her very own lambkin ... she knows his cry and his scent as he limps by. As in any family there can be a little black sheep ... lost ... or so he thinks, of course! Mothering up ... out of the entire flock they have recognized each other ... never making a mistake. A pitiful little fellow, after a trying day, he rests safely against her familiar belly, comforted.”³⁷ The interchange and exchange between “family” sequences and the acts of the farm reinforce both the themes of family and industry and in turn, emphasizing their reliance on one another throughout *Explorers*.

Following the sheep sequence, Aloha turns to cattle and the task of branding. The sequence is introduced through establishing shots of the herd with grand landscapes of open valleys and the Tetons in the background. Again, families are utilized here to describe the day-to-day practice. Here, when a calf is separated from the herd, Aloha explains that the “mother cow, anxious for her little one, tries bravely to be protective.”³⁸ This continues as more branding and castration is shown—all while being framed as mothers watching over their sons. After this sequence, the travelogue shifts to the cattle ranchers themselves, making coffee around a

³⁶ Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 11.

³⁷ Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 12.

³⁸ Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 17.

campfire. The narrative explains that the woman seen in the center is the owner of the ranch and all the men are her cattle hands.³⁹ The party is then seen rolling cigarettes, and Aloha recalls that her mother also used to roll cigarettes as a girl in Calgary.⁴⁰ The impact of this addition alongside the anthropomorphized animals is demonstrating the importance of the family business—both in the sense of the animals themselves but also the owner, and Aloha’s own mother—mothers with their children is thus a repeated visual and narrative motif throughout.

In *Explorers*, the vast majority of “main” characters are women. Aloha, as the traveloguer, lecturer, and onscreen “star,” is the first “main” character both on screen and off. In addition to Aloha and the ranch owner described above, there are many other female characters, including Aloha’s daughter Valri, Aloha’s cameraperson Mildred Capron, the young daughter of Laramie’s game warden, an indigenous woman, and many other unnamed characters. However, it isn’t until 18 minutes into the 90 minute *Explorers* that the first human character is introduced, and it is not Aloha but rather a young woman identified in the narration as the “Navajo Girl,” a sheep herder.⁴¹ “Navajo Girl” is introduced traversing Wyoming’s plains with wide establishing shots of her alone in the landscape, followed by closeups highlighting her clothes and jewelry. She is the first (and only) visual acknowledgement of any Indigenous population in Wyoming in *Explorers*. Indigenous populations native to Wyoming include the Shoshone, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Ute, Lakota, and Crow peoples.⁴² The Navajo peoples, on the other hand, live

³⁹ Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 18.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 13-14.

⁴² For more information see *The Encyclopedia of Wyoming Indians: Tribes, Nations, Treaties of the Plains and West*. St. Clair Shores, MI: Somerset Publishers, 2001; and “Indigenous People in Wyoming and the West,” WyoHistory.org. Accessed September 24, 2021. <https://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/topics/indigenous-people-wyoming-and-west>

primarily in northeastern Arizona, southeastern Utah, and northwestern New Mexico.⁴³ Thus, in the narration, “Navajo Girl’s” presence is explained as a means to compensate for the lack of (White) manpower due to World War II.⁴⁴ The narration continues to emphasize her displacement and lack of belonging by noting that she is “brought from the southwest border” and is “far from her home state,” thus reinforcing that this is instead *Aloha*’s home.

The visual introduction also works to isolate “Navajo Girl” in the landscape and call attention to her presence while at the same time reinforcing her “naturalness” in the location, contradicting her displacement. In the first shot, she appears as a small figure against the large and open landscape, followed only by a dog [Figure 40], before the camera tracks left, following her walking toward a herd of sheep. This is followed by a series of shots that cut progressively closer to her, first as she moves among the herd, and then more to showcase her appearance and clothing. Medium closeups focus on her face and demeanor as she poses for the camera, shyly smiling and turning away before looking directly at the camera again. The final shot focuses on her hands, pressed against her skirt, with her jewelry visible and on display [Figure 41].

⁴³ The Navajo peoples are native to the Southwest, including the Four Corner areas of the Colorado Plateau, having been in the area since at least 1400 AD; however, with establishment of reservations and forced relocation of the Navajo peoples, the Navajo Nation reservation occupies portions of northeastern Arizona, southeastern Utah, and northwestern New Mexico. See: “Navajo History.” DiscoverNavajo.com. Accessed September, 27, 2021. <https://www.discovernavajo.com/experience-the-navajo-nation/navajo-culture-and-history/>

⁴⁴ “White” here is my addition and is not emphasized in *Aloha*’s narration.



Figure 40: Still from *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945.⁴⁵



Figure 41: Still from *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945.⁴⁶

Her presence in the landscape and Wyoming is positioned visually and narratively as both representative of the land and separate from it. She is representative of the land through the travelogue's equation of her physical presence with that of the natural world around her. She is not shown interacting with any other humans—her only companions are the dog and the sheep. Her displacement, moreover, is reinforced through the narrative, which emphasizes that the Navajo Girl was there only temporarily (whereas it was Aloha's home). The place of women in the frontier is discussed by media scholar Laura Horak in her article "Landscape, Vitality, and Desire: Cross-Dressed Frontier Girls in Transitional-Era American Cinema." Horak juxtaposes the place of the Indigenous woman and the White woman, in that Indigenous women "[were] presumed to be of nature. ... Native woman's masculinity was not a healthy phase, but a racial

⁴⁵ The date noted here reflects the release year of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*. *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 2, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

⁴⁶ The date noted here reflects the release year of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*. *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 2, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

defect,” whereas “the white woman, like her male brethren, was imagined to triumph over nature.”⁴⁷ This trope is reflected in the depiction of the “Navajo Girl,” as well as in the depiction of Aloha and her family, particularly throughout the second half of the travelogue, which focuses on Wyoming’s leisure activities.

The second half of *Explorers* turns to the leisure industry and culture of Wyoming. Aloha and her daughter, Valri, are featured heavily throughout this half of the travelogue, with some appearances by Aloha’s husband, Walter Baker, and her collaborator, Mildred Capron (affectionately referred to as her “camera buddy”).⁴⁸ Despite the frequent appearances of Valri, Aloha does not provide much detail in the narration to help identify her, only saying they are “mother and equestrian daughter” once and leaving it to the audience to recognize both her and her daughter.⁴⁹ Without the narration, however, there would be no way for the audience to know who they were looking at. The reel begins with the start of the summer season, June 21, as carved into a snowbank. In her narration, Aloha explains that the snow is melting and that the first flowers are beginning to emerge. The next sequence focuses on the A-A ranch, a guest ranch that Aloha notes brings “people come from all over America and the world to seek excitement, romance of the Old West, not only nostalgia but action and adventure in the great open spaces.”⁵⁰ The first shot of Aloha is in a two shot with Valri, where they are sitting atop a fence. This is

⁴⁷ Horak, Laura. “Landscape, Vitality, and Desire: Cross-Dressed Frontier Girls in Transitional-Era American Cinema.” *Cinema Journal*. Vol. 52. Issue 4 (Summer 2013) 87.

⁴⁸ Mildred Capron is first formally introduced in the narration on page 24, with: “Camera-buddy, old China-Hand Mildred Capron.” Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 2, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 24.

⁴⁹ Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 2, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 20.

⁵⁰ Typed narration of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, 1945, Walter and Aloha Baker Papers, Box 2, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, 20. The A-A Ranch still operates today, see <https://www.abararanch.com/>

followed by two brief closeups of first Valri and then Aloha. In nearly identical white tops, skirts, and large bracelets, they are not easily discernable from each other. Furthermore, in the sequences that follow, Valri is playing tennis and swimming, all of which is shot from a distance, not allowing the audience to easily identify who is onscreen. Here the narration only identifies her as “our gal.”

Confusion between the two women was likely further exacerbated by the fact that Aloha had exhibited other travelogues in many of the towns where they were presenting *Explorers*, while on her earliest tours with Walter Wanderwell. For some cities, the last time she had been there was more than 20 years prior, when she was Valri’s age. This combined with the fact that the audience would not have been able to see her as clearly if sitting far away, could easily have led to visual confusion or encouragement of ambiguity between the two women. Indeed, throughout the second half of *Explorers*, Valri has significantly more screen time than any other individual—and without any clear identification in the script (using instead “our lefty,” “our gal” and “our lovely gal”), as opposed to how Aloha identifies both her husband and Capron by name or the various local Wyomingites by their specific position and company. Leaving room for confusion as to her own appearance distinguishes her practice from many of her male counterparts of the time. As I have demonstrated, not only did this deemphasize her age, but also created ambiguity for her audience in recognizing what she looked like. As a counter example, Burton Holmes, one of the most recognized travelogue filmmakers, emphasized his aging appearance constantly, from his profile appearing in all his standard advertising to his pointed white beard being almost cartoonishly emphasized. For Aloha and other women travelogue filmmakers, however, the appeal of a more youthful appearance and an idealized physical image fed into the larger societal ideals of the period.

With the juxtaposition of the youthful imagery as seen with Valri against the open landscapes and imagery of a pioneering West, the travelogue also recalls the common trope of “manifest destiny,” that Americans had the right to explore and expand the territory of the United States, in order to fulfill the “young” country’s destiny. Although exploration is generally associated with a male figure lead, *Explorers* changes the narrative to that of female-driven exploration and triumph over the West. *Explorers* coopts this American mythos by visually representing Aloha as an intrepid explorer in certain sequences. No sequence reinforces this more than her depiction astride a horse, riding through mountain terrain in a “wild” area. Thus, her presentation throughout *Explorers* shows her both “at home” in Wyoming and in the United States as a whole, giving her sovereignty over the physical landscape in the same way as the historic pioneers she aligned herself with (by recounting their travel and exploration at the start of *Explorers*).

With *Explorers* as her first postwar film, Aloha tonally set the stage for her filmmaking during the late 1940s and 1950s. The motifs she established through *Explorers* of her roles as both “local” and “American” carried over to her next film, *My Hawaii*. Although *Explorers* focused on her position as an American and pioneer in her own country, *My Hawaii* utilized her stereotypical mainland Americanness to stand against the “exotic” qualities of Hawaii while still visually reinforcing the idea that Hawaii was American in the sense of belonging to the United States, and that a “home” could be made there, too.

My Hawaii

Aloha’s next travelogue, *My Hawaii* (1949), turned away from the American West and mainland of the United States to instead focus on the Hawaiian Islands. *My Hawaii* and its narration include a condensed history of the Hawaiian Islands, with an overview of local

products and industries, Hawaii's national parks, and a cursory look at the people living and working across the islands. Filmed in fall 1948 and shown during the 1949–50 lecture season, *My Hawaii* presents Hawaii through both its natural and demographic landscape as distinctly un-American. This is complicated, however, by Aloha's repeated insistence on her local knowledge and personal connection with the Hawaiian Islands. In *My Hawaii*, the natural environment and local people are framed as exotic, whereas Aloha and her party are seen as distinctly American, yet perfectly fitting in there. Similar to *Explorers*, Aloha is the "local" expert, and repeated motifs of family and womanhood structure the narrative content.⁵¹

At the time *My Hawaii* was being produced and during its run on travelogue circuits, Hawaii was experiencing tremendous political discontent surrounding its status as a territory of the United States. From 1900 through the production and run of *My Hawaii*, Hawaii was an organized incorporated territory of the United States. Hawaii was only granted statehood in 1959 after years of proposals (dating all the way back to 1919).⁵² At the time of filming, strikes were increasing as the local population contested its positioning (1946 sugar strike, 1947 and 1951 pineapple strikes, 1949 dock strike). As common practice with travelogues, a lot of this less idyllic content was left out. However, in *My Hawaii* Aloha does lightly address political issues in the travelogue, noting the union strikes and trade issues in one brief mention of the narrative, but stays largely focused on the more "exotic" aspects of Hawaii.⁵³

⁵¹ The last exhibition of *Explorers* was in November 1949, though this is approximate based on evidence found in local newspapers across the United States. Aloha had already begun work on *My Hawaii* in September of the previous year. "On September 18, 1948 in Hawaii for a 6-week stay." *The Honolulu Advertiser*, September 22, 1938. 11.

⁵² For more information, see "Chronicling America: Historic Newspapers from Hawai'i and the U.S.: Hawai'i Statehood" University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Accessed September 15, 2021. <https://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/c.php?g=105252&p=687125>

⁵³ "My Hawaii" Narration scripts, Bishop Museum Archives, 7.

The complexities of Aloha's position, as simultaneously both tourist and local, is embedded in almost all elements of the travelogue, including its production, exhibition, and marketing. Starting with the title, the use of the possessive pronoun "my" in *My Hawaii* immediately not only positions the travelogue as a personal piece, but also frames Hawaii as her personal property. The ownership of and over Hawaii suggested by the title in turn frames Aloha as an authority (and sole authority) on the subject of the Hawaiian Islands. The physical environment is thus able to be claimed as part of Aloha's expanding "home." In addition, Aloha's own name bolstered her claims of authority. In the narration, she claims, "Though my parentage ... in these waters."⁵⁴ Indeed, her given name was Idris, not Aloha, which had been selected by either Walter Wanderwell or her mother in the 1920s. Her claims of authenticity are further bolstered by Valri's permanent residence in Hawaii. Aloha, is thus shown as "authentic" and local, but nevertheless, through visual and narrative motifs centering on her Americanness, represented as distinct from the native population.

After the opening title cards, *My Hawaii* begins with a sequence of shots showing an empty shoreline with no people or evidence of any human population. The sequence following this focuses on a man traditionally fishing with a large net. In these opening shots, there is no clear indication of a specific place or era visually or in the narrative, as similarly seen in the *Explorers'* opening. Instead, nearly the entire first reel of *My Hawaii* is rooted in a nostalgic "lost past," where Hawaii is presented as a landscape untouched by industry and commercialism. The tone of the film shifts halfway through the first reel towards modern Hawaii, as visualized through the cityscape of Honolulu and modern manufacturing. A series of shots shows businesses and locations of local significance, before showcasing the "arrivals" of tourists to

⁵⁴ "My Hawaii" Narration scripts, Bishop Museum Archives, 29.

Hawaii. Coming off an American Airlines flight, the White Americans stand out as “mainlanders” visiting the islands. Following the arrivals, the travelogue covers an array of topics, including volcanoes, yacht clubs, luaus, and surfing.

The presentation of *My Hawaii* included a live narration, which provided the contextual information to explain the visuals on screen. In addition to the live narration, Aloha would don “local” attire for her performances. The addition of an ‘authentic’ outfit again reiterated her positioning as an expert and “local,” while emphasizing the exoticness of Hawaii in comparison to the mainland U.S. Her outfits are described as “an ankle length formal of bright yellow tissue faille, splashed with huge red floral designs,”⁵⁵ and made of “Hawaiian silk.”⁵⁶ An article published in the *Honolulu Advertiser* notes that the Hawaii Visitors Bureau “staff members ... aided Mrs. Baker i[n] designing an authentic holoku to be used as a lecture platform costume when she appears with her Hawaii film.”⁵⁷ Although this article was aimed more toward a local Hawaiian audience and their interests in how Hawaii was portrayed on the mainland United States, it furthers this idea of authenticity in Aloha’s representation of Hawaii—that her outfit was designed specifically for her with the aid of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau.⁵⁸

The focus on authenticity and demonstrating her local expertise was achieved through somewhat less personalized means when it comes to the materials that constituted her travelogues. *My Hawaii* is, in fact, largely not original footage, but instead numerous locally

⁵⁵ Wortham, Lynne A. “Scenic Beauties of Hawaii Described by Aloha Baker in Kinsloe House Lecture,” *Corsicana Semi-Weekly Light*, October 28, 1949, 35. Aloha also apparently assured her audience that she would be filming in their part of Texas next.

⁵⁶ Perry, Dick. “Receptive Wood River Audience Views Color Movies of Hawaii,” *Alton Evening Telegraph*, November 5, 1949.

⁵⁷ A holoku is a Hawaiian formal gown that features a train, often in bright colors and patterns. “Hawaii Color, Sound Films are Shown to the Mainland,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 23, 1949. 56.

⁵⁸ “Hawaii Color, Sound Films are Shown to the Mainland,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 23, 1949. 56.

produced industrial and commercial films interlaced with shorter sequences produced by Aloha's cinematographer, Mildred Capron. The sequences produced by Capron in the context of the finished travelogue seem to have been inserted solely to reiterate Aloha's authorship of the travelogue as a whole, rather than provide any focused representation of her in Hawaii.⁵⁹ Instead, the majority of the footage comes from several individuals and institutions across Hawaii; ranging from the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, to Oren E. Long (the future governor of Hawaii from 1951–1953), to Dole Plantations and C&H Sugar, who all contributed (sometimes unwittingly) to the larger image of Hawaii presented in *My Hawaii*, as demonstrated through not only the change of style in the film materials themselves, but also correspondence and archival evidence.

Aloha's use of borrowed film materials for her travelogues allowed her to showcase the best material while not actually having to capture it herself. As demonstrated in her preproduction correspondence, Aloha had begun contacting companies months before her trip to Hawaii (when she and Capron actually shot footage). In her correspondence with Albert Bates, director of public relations for Castle & Cooke (the company that controlled Dole), for example, she asks for Bates' assistance in procuring films to include in her presentation. In response, Bates advises Aloha to get in contact with Pat Dowling, a filmmaker who produced 16mm Kodachrome films for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association, Sugar Refining Corporation, and Standard Oil.⁶⁰ In response to Bates, Aloha drafted (and presumably sent) a letter that details her intention for the industrial films. She asks Bates, "Will you ask [Sugar Plantation Association and C&H Sugar] if they will furnish a[n] actual print of [their industrial films] for inclusion in

⁵⁹ Mildred Capron shot with a Bolex with a 1-inch lens, 4-inch telephoto lens, and 15mm wide angle. From a letter from Capron to Aloha, August 25, 1948 on "Diamond C. Ranch" letterhead, "My Hawaii" correspondence, Bishop Museum Archives.

⁶⁰ Correspondence from Albert W. Bates to Aloha Wanderwell. August 17, 1948. "My Hawaii" correspondence, Bishop Museum Archives.

my lecture in return for the advertising. I would edit it down [but still retain] identification scenes such as sugar boxes etc. ... It assures first rate mention [of their] film on screen and [provides a] platform for their products — saves me time and money. I hope this works out.”⁶¹ She goes on to explain that the subjects she wants to shoot will likely appear disjointed, but that the narration will smooth things out. She continues in saying that she hopes that “action and human interest [will] carry the story of the history and development of Hawaii in an [h]our and twenty minutes of film plus a prologue.”⁶² We can assume that Aloha’s hope with this letter was that she would receive the support (and films), and that Bates would generally advocate for her. Aloha did receive approval to use the Dole materials from Bates in February 1949, along with offers for free accommodations, discounted travel, and assistance with the content of her lecture materials from the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, Dole, and C+H Sugar.⁶³ However, the credits at the start of *My Hawaii* do not indicate the origin of any of the sourced filmic material and there is no indication within the narration itself.

In fact, substantially more material was produced by Aloha and Capron than actually appears in the finished travelogue; however, most of that footage ended up unused, as evidenced through the large amount of material discarded for the film but retained in her personal collection. The Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection of materials on *My Hawaii* and Aloha and Walter Baker’s work of the late 1940s and 50s at the Academy Film Archive reveals the much more extensive set of materials produced for *My Hawaii*. The materials include 41 100-foot reels

⁶¹ Updated drafted correspondence from Aloha Wanderwell to Albert W. Bates in response to August 17, 1948 letter. “My Hawaii” correspondence, Bishop Museum Archives.

⁶² Updated drafted correspondence from Aloha Wanderwell to Albert W. Bates in response to August 17, 1948 letter. “My Hawaii” correspondence, Bishop Museum Archives.

⁶³ Correspondence from Albert W. Bates to Aloha Wanderwell. September 14, 1948 and February 18, 1949. “My Hawaii” correspondence, Bishop Museum Archives.

of largely outtakes, trims, and discarded materials from *My Hawaii*.⁶⁴ Much of the footage included in the acquisition is seemingly more personal in nature, showing more of her own visit to the islands, and the people she knew. This unused footage is perhaps more revealing about *My Hawaii* than the sequences that ended up in the finished travelogue, in that her choices to exclude certain materials or trim certain sequences help reveal what Aloha now saw as important or needing to be emphasized: less of her own appearance, and keeping the focus more broadly on the standard image of Hawaii seen in travelogues of the time.

One reel that was not used in the final version of *My Hawaii* depicts a tennis game between an unidentified young man and woman.⁶⁵ In it, the man and woman pose for the camera while on the tennis court. They are each shown in closeup and medium closeup shots individually and together. Their physical proximity in these shots suggests some level of intimacy to each other and also Aloha and Capron. Neither individual is identifiable based on what's visible on screen or in supplementary materials, nor do they show up in any other footage.⁶⁶ This discarded sequence suggests potential directions the travelogue narrative could have taken if it had been included in the final film. There is a potential romantic narrative that could have been built in, more information on leisure activities (as seen with *Explorers*), or more as an advertisement for a particular club.

Additional materials not used in the final travelogue, but within the collection, include shots from the Dole Pineapple and C+H plantations. Both Dole and C+H produced filmic materials in house that covered the harvest, manufacture, and distribution of their products. As

⁶⁴ The discarded materials include shots that ended up in the final film.

⁶⁵ This reel is part of the Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection at the Academy Film Archive, and has not been digitized.

⁶⁶ As of 2021, the family and descendants of Aloha are also unable to identify the individuals.

seen in the correspondence between Aloha and A.K. Tobin, Calvin White, and Ken Boucher of Dole, Aloha was intent on using this kind of material to supplement her travelogue, and not only from Dole, but also C+H and Kodak. These films produced by these companies would however, need to be edited down in order to fit into her 1.5-hour presentation. The Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection includes what assumedly are the discarded portions of those industrial films. Of the footage from C+H, long sequences inside their factories featuring factory workers were not included in the final edit of *My Hawaii*, but are in the Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection. Instead, *My Hawaii* largely features the C+H machinery. This revealing editing choice seems to demonstrate a prioritization of the mechanics of automation over the actual *local* workers, many of whom were people of color.⁶⁷ Although people of color appear very frequently throughout the travelogue, they are portrayed in “traditional” Hawaiian roles of fishermen, hula performers, surfers, etc. Thus, the erasure of modern Hawaiian labor works within *My Hawaii*’s portrayal of the islands as pre-industrial and a tropical paradise escape.

The fantasy of Hawaii is particularly visible in the travelogue’s portrayal of women. In *My Hawaii*, the segments that predominantly feature women again showcase a preindustrial Hawaii. Rather than Aloha, the woman given the most screen time is ‘Iolani Luahine, a well-known hula dancer who lived from 1915 to 1978.⁶⁸ The sequence introduces her in an establishing long shot before cutting to a series of closeups detailing her hands and feet, before slowly moving up her body to her face.⁶⁹ This type of sequence, lasting a few minutes, is a

⁶⁷ Aloha’s exclusion of the workers is likely not racially motivated, but part of her preference to show “modern progress,” in which automation is preferred over manual labor. Throughout her films cars, planes, and ships are often centered.

⁶⁸ Kisselgoff, Anna. “‘Iolani Luahine, at 63; Called Last Exponent Of Sacred Hula Dance,” *The New York Times*, December 14, 1978, Section B, 23.

⁶⁹ Typed narration of *My Hawaii*, “My Hawaii” Narration Scripts, Bishop Museum Archives.

fixture in travelogues, commonly referred to as the “Native Dance.” As described by film scholar Alison Griffiths, the “visual spectacle was decidedly the main draw; the exotic costumes ... and unfamiliar dancing offered a thrilled mix of the abject and the spiritual.”⁷⁰ Here, ‘Iolani is outfitted in a traditional-looking hula outfit. The sequence invokes the “spiritual” nature also through its setting. Instead of seeing the performance on a stage or with other tourists visible on screen, ‘Iolani seems to perform for Aloha and Capron only. This kind of “authenticity” in the performance suggests a more intimate and familiar setting, helping emphasize the unique access Aloha is claiming to have as a local expert.

Following this sequence, *My Hawaii* turns to another fantasy with a more feminine focus in the portrayal of local perfumes. The perfume sequence showcases a tableau of perfumes set against tapa cloth with decorative seashells.⁷¹ Unlike the other more commercial and industrial segments of the film, this reads visually more like an advertisement than an industrial film. The sequence does not appear in her original shooting script, in which the hula segment is instead encapsulated by a “sports” section and a segment on volcanoes. It also doesn’t appear in the published narration script, but it remains within the finished film. This discrepancy between materials, I believe, plays more into the opportunist strategy taken by Aloha for this travelogue—and indeed, the malleability of a sequence like this to be sequestered to “traditional” products and without much more explanation than that. In addition to serving as visual reminders of the “traditions” of Hawaii, depicting these traditional products serves as part of the larger conflicting

⁷⁰ Here, Griffiths is discussing dancing in Native American communities, particularly the “Snake Dance.” She also notes the use of the Snake Dance by itinerant “high-class” lecturers, noting specifically Burton Holmes. Griffiths, Alison. *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture*. Columbia University Press, 2002. 176.

⁷¹ For more on tapa cloth, see Lennard, Frances, and Andy Mills, eds., *Material Approaches to Polynesian Barkcloth: Cloth, Collections, Communities*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2020; “What are Tapa and Woven Mats?” Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County. Accessed May 9, 2022. <https://nhm.org/experience-nhm/exhibitions-natural-history-museum/fabric-community/what-are-tapa-and-woven-mats>

structure that frames the travelogue: with Aloha both as a tourist and a local, “expert” yet “touring,” and in *her* Hawaii, where Hawaii is part of her identity and built persona, yet she is not a resident of Hawaii nor has any connection in her “blood” as she puts it, to Hawaii. These conflicts and discrepancies are also visible in Aloha’s categorization of Hawaii as one of her homes, and more generally, how Hawaii views itself as part of the United States and what the homeland means in the Hawaiian context.

Homeland and what that means to the audiences of *My Hawaii* is crucial to the narrative and visual construction of the travelogue. As previously noted, Hawaii was not given statehood in the United States until 1959, but at the time of *My Hawaii*’s production and its lecture circuit performances, Hawaii was (still) amid heated local protests and discussions about its place aside and inside the United States. Aloha was aware of the unrest and discussion around Hawaii’s relationship to the United States. In the same letter in which Albert Bates granted her permission to use the Dole materials, he signed off by saying, “I hope the fact that Hawaii and its bid for statehood will again be in the news will help your attendance.”⁷² With Hawaii 10 years away from statehood, however, the discussions were still ongoing. Indeed, a longstanding congressional investigation on Hawaii’s statehood had been occurring, with some investigations between 1939 and 1948 (the year before the production of Aloha’s film). To many Hawaiian audiences, integration into the United States as a state was controversial. In fact, many advocacy groups internal to Hawaii were strongly against Hawaii statehood, with John A Burns, governor of Hawaii from 1963—1974, saying that “the reasons why Hawaii did not achieve statehood, say, ten years ago—and one could without much exaggeration say sixty years ago—lie not in the

⁷² Correspondence from Albert W. Bates to Aloha Baker. February 18, 1949. “My Hawaii” correspondence, Bishop Museum Archives.

Congress but in Hawaii. The most effective opposition to statehood has always originated in Hawaii itself.”⁷³ Homeland to them, then, would be a separate identity from America—on the other hand, according to Aloha, there were those who wanted to be “really American.”⁷⁴

One issue that the controversy around Hawaiian statehood really highlighted was that of citizenship and who was American. Toward the middle of *My Hawaii*, Aloha visits the campus of University of Hawaii, Manoa. After a few establishing shots of the campus, there are a series of medium closeup shots of university students speaking directly to the camera (despite this being a silent film). In Aloha’s *My Hawaii* notes, she includes a list of the students’ names and their national backgrounds.⁷⁵ They are as follows:

Dorothy Piefer – Part Hawaiian, German & English
Sarah Park – Korean
Helen Okamura – Japanese
Virginia Mc Gregor – Scotch
Sanji Kimoto – Italy and France
Harriet Lee – Chinese, Greek
Harry Kahuanui – Hawaiian
Kay Maggioros – Greek
Annette Shigezawa
Gwen Botelho – Hawaiian French and Danish

In her narration, however, Aloha does not list the students’ names nor nationalities, but instead notes that their “desire is to be really American, and there is not a custom of ours good or bad which they will not try to emulate.”⁷⁶ Featured within the silent film component of a live lecture travelogue, Aloha is the voice of these students, expressing a unanimous desire while identifying

⁷³ John A. Burns, “Statehood and Hawaii’s People,” *State Government*, Vol. 32 (Summer 1959), 132.

⁷⁴ “My Hawaii” Narration scripts, Bishop Museum Archives, 11.

⁷⁵ This list is only contextualized by Baker’s handwritten note of the film name, *My Hawaii*, at the bottom of the page. “University of Hawaii – Names from notebook.” Not dated. “My Hawaii” papers, Bishop Museum Archives.

⁷⁶ “My Hawaii” Narration scripts, Bishop Museum Archives, 11. Underlining is her emphasis.

them in her own notes as an array of national identities, without including American for a single one. Visually, the sequence stands apart from the exoticism displayed in sequences like the hula sequence and other shots of Indigenous Hawaiian art and culture. Still, it similarly juxtaposes imagery and narration, as throughout *My Hawaii*, to define and shape the travelogue and align it with Aloha's complex understanding of her own identity in relation to Hawaii.

The Magic of Mexico

Aloha would continue presenting *My Hawaii* through October 1950.⁷⁷ By this time, she and Walter Baker had moved from their home in Wyoming to settle in Lido Isle, Newport Beach, California, into a home where she would remain until her death in 1996. Work on her next film started around this time, in December 1949. *The Magic of Mexico* would be her final film and travelogue.

The Magic of Mexico showcases some of the people and cities of Mexico, as well as touching on the ancient civilizations of the Mayans and Aztecs.⁷⁸ Filming was completed by early fall 1950, in time for its premiere in October 1950, although announcements for its presentation came out as early as May 1950.⁷⁹ The exhibition was short lived, however, with the last advertised performance occurring in mid-November 1950, before Aloha returned to presenting her other films, including *My Hawaii* and *Australia Now*. It's hard to tell why *The Magic of Mexico* performances ostensibly suddenly stopped after only a little more than a month, or at least why they were no longer advertised in newspapers, because there is very little trace or

⁷⁷ "Film-Lectures Begin on Friday," *The Des Moines Register*, October 2, 1950, 3.

⁷⁸ "Author-Traveler to tell of Mexico on M.S.C. series," *Lansing State Journal*, November 7, 1950, 8.

⁷⁹ "Iowa Mountaineers Schedule Special Film Program May 21," *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, May 11, 1950, 17.

evidence of the film in either newspapers or archival materials.⁸⁰ As of 2022, there are no known complete copies of *The Magic of Mexico* still in existence. The majority of what is available on *The Magic of Mexico* can be found only in those limited newspaper advertisements and reviews and the few archival fragments of the film that remain. The newspaper advertisements and reviews from 1950 help give a sense of the overarching narrative and details on the content that in turn serves to explicate the surviving footage. For example, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, the film is described as showing “great snow peaks, strange people with ancient beliefs and primitive skills and tropical vegetation.”⁸¹ Other reviews, for example, mention some of the cities depicted: “Her movie will include Mexico City, Chapultepec, Mazatlan, Lake Patzcuaro, Chapala, Guadalajara, and Taxco.”⁸² Unlike her other postwar films, there is no surviving documentation of her marketing materials or narration. Indeed, materials on *The Magic of Mexico* (including the film fragments), were not included as part of any donation that Aloha made herself. Instead, they were part of the personal collections of Aloha’s grandchildren.⁸³

As noted above, the film fragments that do remain of *The Magic of Mexico* are part of the personal collections of Aloha’s grandson, Richard Diamond, and granddaughter, Miki Hammel, currently held at the Academy Film Archive.⁸⁴ Those fragments do not have any identifying information such as title cards, donation documentation, or can labels indicating they are, in fact, part of *The Magic of Mexico*. However, from the content contained in those fragments compared

⁸⁰ This is approximate based on evidence found in local newspapers across the United States. The lack evidence extends beyond newspapers, to Aloha’s personal archival collections.

⁸¹ “Noted Woman Traveler to Show Film at SUL,” *The Gazette* (Cedar Rapids, IA), October 15, 1950, 21.

⁸² “Author-Traveler to tell of Mexico on MSC series,” *Lansing State Journal*, November 7, 1950, 8.

⁸³ *The Magic of Mexico*, however, is listed on her resume, included in the appendix. On it she is cited as co-producer with Walter Baker and the script writer.

⁸⁴ As of 2022, no scripts, shot lists, or relevant correspondence have surfaced.

to the reviews of the period, it can be surmised that the materials are indeed part of the travelogue. It is impossible to know if those surviving fragments would have been used in the final cut (or what would have ended up on the cutting room floor), but from their analysis it is possible to speculate on the overall direction of the content and tone of the travelogue.⁸⁵

The content of the fragments in the personal collections of Richard Diamond (the Richard Diamond Trust) and Miki Hammel differ in both style and content. The Richard Diamond Trust, or Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, includes footage that focuses on home and familial sequences, including shots of: Aloha at home in Newport Beach; Aloha, Walter Baker, and their family aboard a yacht; lunch at a local restaurant in Newport; Newport Beach harbor and nearby ships; and shots of various flora and fauna.⁸⁶ The Margaret Lundahl Hammel materials includes footage of street scenes of Patzcuaro, musical performances, and ancient ruins. In the Hammel footage, there are a few identifying title cards, indicating the physical locations. Taken together, it is possible to speculate what *The Magic of Mexico* might have been like as a travelogue and how it, too, worked to position Aloha as an expert of and at home in Mexico.

The travelogue most likely opened with the short sequence found in the Diamond collection focused on Aloha “planning” her trip. This was a common opening tactic for travelogues—and as seen in Aloha’s own films, such as the “planning” in *River of Death* featuring Colonel Rondon. This potential opening series of shots shows Aloha in an enclosed

⁸⁵ This speculative approach, whereby I address the travelogue materials through scattered archival fragments and newspaper clippings, is reminiscent of film historian Allyson Field’s approach she terms “speculative film history.” In her research, Field discusses that films are affected not only by physical loss or audiences’ memory loss, but can also be marginalized because of the socioeconomic and racial positionings of the filmmakers themselves. “Archive of Absence: Speculative Film History and Early African American Cinema.” UChicago Division of the Humanities. YouTube. Accessed September 20, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aSxtEq5PPww>

⁸⁶ It is possible to confirm that this is Newport Harbor because in the footage there is a sequence displaying the Newport shield and then newspaper clippings (shown on screen) announcing the upcoming Third Annual Newport Harbor race from Newport to Ensenada, which would have been held in spring 1951.

patio, posing with a book titled *A Treasury of Mexican Folkways* and a map of Mexico. Shot in Aloha and Walter Baker's Newport, California, home, the sequence serves to create the impression that Mexico is an extension of their own home and in turn, the audience is an extension of their closest friends and family.⁸⁷ Following the shots within their home, there is a long series of shots portraying the harbor and Aloha, Walter Baker, and Aloha's mother aboard a yacht. Within these featured harbor and yacht shots, there are inserts of newspaper clippings announcing the upcoming Newport to Ensenada Yacht Race. The Newport to Ensenada Yacht Race was founded in 1948, and preparations would have been underway for the third edition at the time of their filming.⁸⁸

In another short sequence that likely would have followed the shots of Newport Harbor and Aloha with her family aboard a yacht in the finished version, is Aloha, Walter Baker, and Humphrey Bogart having lunch at a Mexican restaurant (likely in Newport Beach, California). The sequence begins with a silhouetted medium shot of Aloha against a wrought-iron fence, before quickly fading out and into a medium-long shot of her standing by a table in a restaurant. She is seen talking animatedly to an unidentified man at the table, with her husband Walter Baker to her right, before it cuts to a medium two shot of her and Walter Baker. The next shot is another medium long shot, and this time Humphrey Bogart is centered in the frame, with Aloha and Walter Baker surrounding him and a performing mariachi band behind them. Bogart is partially obscured by the table's umbrella fixture, until the camera shifts to reframe Aloha,

⁸⁷ Aloha and Walter Baker's home in Newport Beach was located on Lido Isle, a small manmade island in Newport Beach's harbor.

⁸⁸ Trela, Christopher, "History of the Newport to Ensenada Race," *Newport Beach Independent*, April 14, 2014. Accessed September 21, 2021. <https://www.newportbeachindy.com/history-newport-ensenada-race/>. The official website of the race organizers can be found here: <https://nosa.org/history/>

Walter and Bogart without any obstructions. The next shot is a close up of Bogart, before panning left to Aloha, an intimate shot on them having a conversation.⁸⁹



Figure 42: Stills from *The Magic of Mexico*, 1950.⁹⁰

Humphrey Bogart was a well-known yachting enthusiast, having participated in races with his boat, the Santana, including the Newport to Ensenada Race.⁹¹ By positioning herself as a friend, or close colleague of Bogart's, Aloha again reiterates her positioning as expert, in that she was among those well-known individuals who accessed Mexico with great ease. Lunching with Bogart additionally raised her celebrity persona exponentially. While it is very likely that this was a posed shot, it is nevertheless effectively positions Aloha as both celebrity herself and as an expert, right alongside Humphrey Bogart.

This kind of familiarity, as seen both through her perusal of the map and book in her backyard, the Newport to Ensenada race, and interactions with Bogart literally and figuratively create an image of Mexico as being as accessible as one's own backyard. Indeed, Mexico began

⁸⁹ The footage featuring Aloha in Newport and with Humphrey Bogart is available online: "Rare color footage from Aloha at Newport Beach Ca." Aloha Wanderwell. YouTube. Accessed May 9, 2022. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ve7Nr7VUBVk>

⁹⁰ The date noted here reflects the release year of *The Magic of Mexico*. Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection, Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, CA.

⁹¹ For more on Bogart's history with sailing see: Dudley, Larry, *Sailing With Bogie: A Memoir of Humphrey Bogart's Passion for the Sea*, Self-published, 2010.

to be referenced as “America’s backyard” as early as 1923.⁹² In the postwar period, this was furthered by the continuation of political relationships that had been established with the “Good Neighbor Policy,” implemented in 1933. This policy, along with the “Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs,” worked to construct an image of South America for people in the United States, particularly in popular media. The postwar period also saw an increased number of stars (including, for example, Carmen Miranda) who could be seen as representing this uneasy bridge between North and South America, and films portraying this image of South America became very popular. *The Magic of Mexico* would have fit into those trends.

The sequences showcasing Mexico alongside the California sequences described above would have fit within this construction of South America. In the sequences that are part of the Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection very stereotypical scenes of Mexico are included. There are three separate reels that feature Mariachi performers and men and women in traditional dress within busy market streets. Similar to *My Hawaii*, these sequences place Mexico in a pre-industrial era, and portray the local people and industries as exotic from American counterparts. Yet, Mexico is also the easily accessible “backyard,” and an extension of Aloha’s own home.

The Magic of Mexico would be Aloha’s last travelogue and the end of her travelogue filmmaking career. Again, through the visual and narrative motif of the home and homeland, she establishes her own “local” positioning in Mexico, while still differentiating herself as distinctly American and the landscapes of Mexico as distinctly pre-industrial and foreign. This film, along with her other films of the postwar period, foreground these themes over the more “touring” style seen in her earlier work; however, they also can be seen as anticipating her retirement from

⁹² Minor, Robert, “The Throne of the United States,” *Capital Times* (Washington, DC), January 16, 1923. pg. 12. This is the earliest reference I have found thus far, although I imagine there are earlier ones.

active travelogue filmmaking.⁹³ Her final three films focused on the locations most familiar or homelike to her, acting as a bookend to her more than 25-year career in the travelogue industry. With this shift away from the actual production of films, her primary focus by the mid-1970s became the preservation of the films and continuation of her legacy. As I demonstrated in each chapter, her turn to the archival legacy of her work and the perpetuation of her persona as an adventurer and distinctly unique filmmaker was, in turn, its own creative process.

⁹³ Again, as I define it the “touring” style in travelogues is when the subject of focus is locations beyond the scope of the traveloguer’s home.

Conclusion

*And here our trail ends.
The merit we attained is wider vision and a humbler posture of spirit.¹*

When I first applied to the Academy Film Archive in 2014, I received a list of the current projects where work was needed. It was there that I first encountered Aloha Wanderwell Baker. The short paragraph in the position description outlined how Aloha's production of "documentary-style films ... presented with live narration" would be the focus of the role, with the intern looking at both 35mm and 16mm materials.² Excited by the prospect, I expressed my interest and was hired in October 2014. For that project, I inspected, cataloged, and rehoused more than 55,000 feet of footage in 67 cans of Aloha's original work, quickly discovering that Aloha was not only a researchable subject for my PhD, but also a superlative lens into better understanding the profession of travelogue lecture filmmaking.

What I hope the preceding chapters have demonstrated is, foremost, the heterogeneity of the travelogue lecture filmmaking profession. Indeed, through the chronological progression of my chapters, I demonstrated how Aloha continually adapted her professional practice and found new audiences. Her travelogue films and lectures demonstrate a wide variety of approaches: a more itinerant practice in *With Car and Camera Around the World*, a more anthropological and scientific approach with her South American expedition travelogues, and positioning herself as a war correspondent with *Australia Now*, *India Now*, and *Victory in the Pacific* or as a "local" with her postwar films, *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, *My Hawaii*, and *The Magic of Mexico*. Second,

¹ Penultimate closing intertitle of *With Car and Camera Around the World*. The intertitle fades in over an animated image of a globe spinning, followed by the final title card, "THE END."

² "2014/2015 Academy Film Archive Internship Description." *Academy Film Archive*. Sent to the author on September 14, 2014.

throughout this study, I demonstrated how women differentiated their work from that of their male counterparts. Using Aloha again as a lens into the profession, I demonstrated how her use of exhibition and marketing allowed her to not only differentiate herself as a woman travelogue lecture filmmaker, but also creatively position herself as the primary authorial figure. And finally, throughout this study, I demonstrated how Aloha's dedication and commitment to the conservation and preservation of her materials offers unique insight into the profession of travelogue lecture filmmaking more broadly. Her foresight to not only maintain multiple versions and copies of her films, as preserve as well a number of "disposable" materials (trims and outs, fragments, production elements, etc.), permits a far more thorough understanding of her filmmaking process than otherwise would have been possible.

Overall, this study is itself a travelogue. It chronicles my research and archival journey in the pursuit of what she left behind. I followed the trails left by Aloha and shared by her grandson Richard Diamond and granddaughter Miki Hammel. Many of these trails involved extensive verification work and cross-checking. As revealed throughout this study, Aloha consistently adapted her story, role, and persona to better suit her needs at that time. And it is likely that there are more materials left to uncover. It is not hard to imagine that more versions and copies of her films still survive, along with more information on the men and women she worked with throughout the years.

What versions and copies survive that haven't been found yet is only one of the mysteries that remain about Aloha. Many other questions surfaced during the research and writing of this dissertation, including, for example: What was the gender, age, and racial makeup of her audiences? How did the financing work, especially after Walter Wanderwell's death? How much of a role did the other members of the expedition play? And to what extent was she aware of the

other filmmakers, anthropologists, and traveloguers of the time? I have considered all of these questions and more throughout my research. Moreover, as I continue toward expanding this manuscript into a book project, I hope to address these questions and others that will inevitably surface.

Around the World with Aloha Wanderwell Baker: Gender and Authorship in Travelogue Lecture Filmmaking is the first scholarly monograph to focus on Aloha's career and films and moves beyond a straightforward biographical account of her life. Throughout this study, I have demonstrated how her adaptability, gender positioning, and focus on her authorial role differentiates her work and makes her a rewarding case study. Indeed, it is impossible to reduce Aloha to simply a woman travelogue lecture filmmaker: She was equally an author, a lecturer, an anthropologist, a war correspondent, a preservationist, and more. Through these many roles and personas her work can guide and contribute to other areas of study and continue to inspire us today.

Appendix

Resume of Aloha Wanderwell

*The text represents Aloha Wanderwell's resume, compiled by Aloha in 1986 and transcribed by her grandson, Richard Diamond.*³

ALOHA WANDERWELL BAKER

Credits: First Woman to Drive Around the World; First Woman to Drive Across India, also Cape Town to the Nile.

First Woman to fly Brazil's Mato Grosso

Member Women's International Association of Aviators Lady Drummond Hay, President

Motion Picture Productions: each catalogued in detail.

'Car & Camera Around the World' - co-cinematographer, editor.

'Cape to Cairo' 'Last of the Bororos' Brazil 'Flight to the Stone Age' 'Australia Now' _ 'Victory in the Pacific' 'My Hawaii' 'Magic of Mexico' 'To See the World by Car' - Co-producer with Walter Baker, script 'India Now' - Producer, script, co-cinematographer with Walter Baker 'Explorers of the Purple Sage' - Producer, cinematographer Walter Baker, script Aloha Baker

Above films presented in person at motion picture theaters (all 6 continents): Europe, Asia, South America, Africa, Australia, and North America.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY at Constitution Hall, Washington, D.C.

Personal appearance narrating film 'Australia Now' Town Hall, N.Y.C. concert stage with 'Australia Now' and 'Sage' Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, presentation of 'Hawaii' and 'Sage' Columbia University presentation of 'Magic of Mexico' Brooklyn Institute of Arts & Sciences, 'Mexico' and others Colorado Museum of National History, seven films.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington, D.C., acquired

Library-of Congress, Washington, D.C., accepted 'To. See the World by Car' University of California, Berkeley, Prof. Hilgard Sternberg, Geography, requested special manuscript titled 'Descalvados Ranch Brazil 1930-31' Natural History Museum, Los Angeles, acquired 'Flight to the Stone Age' for Anthropology studies.

CROSLEY RADIO CORPORATION 50,000 watt stations WLW and WRVAL broadcast monthly from overseas 'Aloha Baker Writes' (1936-1937) Australian Broadcasting Commission (1937) British Broadcasting Corporation (1938) Coast to Coast lectures (1940-1954)

³ Aloha's resume was emailed to this author by Richard Diamond on July 25, 2018. The email correspondence included the date the resume was compiled.

IN PERSON - Natural History Museum, Los Angeles (1980-1982) Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, California (1983)

Partial List of Collaborators

The following list includes the names, position(s), and approximate years of involvement of some of the individuals that Aloha likely worked alongside. In the earlier years of the Wanderwell expedition, it was more common for newspapers to include the names of all members of the travel party. As the travelogues and their marketing increasingly focused on Aloha, other individuals began to be left uncredited. In addition, as demonstrated throughout this dissertation, Aloha did not provide detailed information on the roles played by others in the production and distribution of the travelogues in which she was featured. In an article written in 1934, the Wanderwell expedition and WAWEC organization (Aloha became the head after Walter Wanderwell's death), was said to have around 500 members. It noted that "movies, writing, lecturing, personal appearances, [and] all forms of service to the expeditions provide the means by which the members work their way."⁴ This list, therefore, only represents a small portion of the men and women who worked with Aloha, Walter Wanderwell, and Walter Baker, and represents an area of study that I am continuing to research.

The positions identified in quotations are taken directly from the source. Positions not in quotation marks indicate the best description of the role played by that individual based on the original wording of the source.

Name	Position	Years Active	Source
Aileen Allen*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	"Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?" <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Marie Andre	Expedition member	1930s	"Wanderwell Girl to Seek Jungle Thrills," <i>The San Francisco Examiner</i> , July 12, 1934, 4.
Florenz Bergere	"Secretary"	1930s	"Wanderwells Wander Here," <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , June 27, 1930, 11.
Annie Bryan	"Mechanic"	1920s	"Tourist Makes Wager; Lands in Swiss Hospital," <i>The Indianapolis Star</i> , January 8, 1923, 13.
Mollie Bryan	"Mechanic"	1920s	"Motoring Novelty," <i>Liverpool Post and Mercury</i> (Liverpool, England), October 12, 1922, 5.
Scotty Campbell	"Second in command"	1920s	"Auto Tourists on the Way Home After Trip Around World," <i>Dayton Daily News</i> , August 5, 1925, A-6.
Mildred Capron	"Camerawoman"	1940s	"Lecturer, Camerawoman to Make Isle Travelogue," <i>The Honolulu Advertiser</i> , September 22, 1948, 11.
Jack M. Craig*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	"Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?" <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.

⁴ "World's Most Traveled Girl' Aloha Wanderwell, Visits Here," *The Palm Beach Post*, May 1, 1934, 2.

Lawrence Conrad	“Mechanic”	1920s	“Auto Tourists on the Way Home After Trip Around World,” <i>Dayton Daily News</i> , August 5, 1925, A-6.
James E. Farris*	“Captain”	1930s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Jack Gardner	“Cameraman”	1920s	“Wanderwell, The Gasolinic Nomad,” <i>Stockton Daily Evening Record</i> , July 10, 1920, 13.
Will Gela	“Camera man,” “Mechanician”	1920s	“Nell and Walter Wanderwell Travel in Separate Cars Now,” <i>The Miami News</i> , February 14, 1922, 11; “Wanderwell Car Leaves on Way to Atlanta, GA,” <i>The Charlotte Observer</i> , January 12, 1922, 11.
Isabelle Gela	Member of Wanderwell Party	1920s	“Nell and Walter Wanderwell Travel in Separate Cars Now,” <i>The Miami News</i> , February 14, 1922, 11; “Wanderwell Car Leaves on Way to Atlanta, GA,” <i>The Charlotte Observer</i> , January 12, 1922, 11.
W.C. Golden	“Mechanic”	1920s	“Auto Tourists on the Way Home After Trip Around World,” <i>Dayton Daily News</i> , August 5, 1925, A-6.
Margaret Hall	Aloha’s mother, Member of Wanderwell Expedition “in charge”	1920s	“Wanderwell,” <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> (Sydney, Australia), December 10, 1927, 18.
Miki Hall	Part of “tour” party, Aloha’s sister	1930s	“Widow of Wanderwell, Slain Adventurer, in S.F.,” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> , April 8, 1933, 13.
Ithiel Hoxie	“Business manager”	1930s	“Wanderwells Wander Here,” <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , June 27, 1930, 11.
Estell Klaas	“Photographer”	1910s	“World Tourers Reach Biloxi,” <i>The Sun Herald</i> (Biloxi, MS), February 5, 1920, 8.
Ruby Klaas	Expedition member, photographer, “Correspondent of the New York World”	1920s	“Ogden, Utah” <i>Motion Picture News</i> , December 18, 1920, 4688; “Wanderwell, The Gasolinic Nomad,” <i>Stockton Daily Evening Record</i> , July 10, 1920, 13.
Miss Kuenegal	Part of “tour” party	1930s	“Wanderers - New Mode,” <i>The Leader-Post</i> (Regina, Canada), January 27, 1930, 17.
N.R. Long	Member of Work Around the World Educational Club	1930s	“World Travelers Visit Here,” <i>The Winona News</i> , July 26, 1935, 8.

Ruth Loucks*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Dewey Maher	“Correspondent”	1910s	“Here on Tour Around World,” <i>The Greenville News</i> , September 26, 1919, 2; “World Wide Tourists Spent Night in City,” <i>The Daily Gazette</i> (Salisbury, NC), September 27, 1919, 8.
Anna Moakand	“Camera expert”	1920s	“Tourist Makes Wager; Lands in Swiss Hospital,” <i>The Indianapolis Star</i> , January 8, 1923, 13.
Edward Eugene Fernando Montagu*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Eugenia Nabel*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Mrs. “Mickey” Nelson	Expedition member, “Camera man”	1910s	“Here on Tour Around World,” <i>The Greenville News</i> , September 26, 1919, 2; “World Wide Tourists Spent Night in City,” <i>The Daily Gazette</i> (Salisbury, NC), September 27, 1919, 8.
Al Nelson	“Mechanic”	1910s	“Here on Tour Around World,” <i>The Greenville News</i> , September 26, 1919, 2; “World Wide Tourists Spent Night in City,” <i>The Daily Gazette</i> (Salisbury, NC), September 27, 1919, 8; “Wanderwell, The Gasolinic Nomad,” <i>Stockton Daily Evening Record</i> , July 10, 1920, 13; “World Tourers Reach Biloxi,” <i>The Sun Herald</i> (Biloxi, MI), February 5, 1920, 8.
Anna Noack (Noach)	“Writer”	1920s	“Nell and Walter Wanderwell Travel in Separate Cars Now,” <i>The Miami News</i> , February 14, 1922, 11; “Wanderwell Car Leaves on Way to Atlanta, GA,” <i>The Charlotte Observer</i> , January 12, 1922, 11; “Motoring Novelty,” <i>Liverpool Post and Mercury</i> (Liverpool, England), October 12, 1922, 5.

Eric W. Owen	Member of Wanderwell Party, Expedition member, Member of Work Around the World Educational Club, Part of Wanderwell "unit"	1930s	"Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?" <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7; "Wanderwell Girl to Seek Jungle Thrills," <i>The San Francisco Examiner</i> , July 12, 1934, 4; "Stops Here on World Trip," <i>Battle Creek Enquirer</i> , July 8, 1935, 2; "Wanderwell Unit Makes Visit Here," <i>Fort Lauderdale News</i> , April 7, 1934, 2; "World Travelers Visit Here," <i>The Winona News</i> , July 26, 1935, 8;
Alice Palmer	"Pilot"	1930s	"Wanderwells Wander Here," <i>Indianapolis Star</i> , June 27, 1930, 11.
Mary Parks*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	"Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?" <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Nills F. Pearson	"Member of the expedition"	1920s	"Seizure Lifted on Armored Cars," <i>The Gazette</i> (Montreal, Canada), July 17, 1926, 6.
Forrest L. Plummer*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	"Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?" <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Wayne Pulsipher	Part of "Wanderwell unit"	1930s	"Wanderwell Unit Makes Visit Here," <i>Fort Lauderdale News</i> , April 7, 1934, 2.
Helen Raeburn	"Official Recorder," "Recording secretary"	1920s	"Motoring Novelty," <i>Liverpool Post and Mercury</i> (Liverpool, England), October 12, 1922, 5; "Tourist Makes Wager; Lands in Swiss Hospital," <i>The Indianapolis Star</i> , January 8, 1923, 13.
Oriett Roberts	"Correspondent"	1920s	"World Tourers Reach Biloxi," <i>The Sun Herald</i> (Biloxi, MI), February 5, 1920, 8.
John Schlager	"Machinist"	1920s	"Walter Wanderwell Returns to Miami on Trip Around World," <i>The Miami Herald</i> , January 8, 1920, 6.
Gertrude Shale	"Crew"	1920s	"Ogden, Utah," <i>Motion Picture News</i> , December 18, 1920, 4688; "Joy Ride Takes a Party Around World," <i>The Anaconda Standard</i> , November 21, 1920, 29
Marian Smith*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	"Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?" <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Mary Louise Smith*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	"Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?" <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.

Dagmar Stephens	Member of Wanderwell Party	1920s	“Wanderwell, The Gasolinic Nomad,” <i>Stockton Daily Evening Record</i> , July 10, 1920, 13.
Justine Tibesar	“Member of Wanderwell Work Around the World Educational Club”	1930s	“Girl Travelers Visit Tampa with Old Car Holding Tour Record,” <i>The Tampa Times</i> , April 2, 1930, 13.
Olga Van Driesk	“Member of Wanderwell Work Around the World Educational Club,” “Captain”	1930s	“Girl Travelers Visit Tampa with Old Car Holding Tour Record,” <i>The Tampa Times</i> , April 2, 1930, 13.
Nell Wanderwell (Nell Miller)	Member of Wanderwell Party, “Recording secretary”	1920s	“World Wide Tourists Spent Night in City,” <i>The Daily Gazette</i> , September 27, 1919, 8; “Wanderwell, The Gasolinic Nomad,” <i>Stockton Daily Evening Record</i> , July 10, 1920, 13; “World Tourers Reach Biloxi,” <i>The Sun Herald</i> (Biloxi, MI), February 5, 1920, 8.
Florence Wegal*	“Secretary”	1920s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Cuthbert Wills*	“Engineer of the Carma”	1930s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Edna Wills*	Member of Wanderwell Party	1930s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.
Edmund Zeransky*	“Cameraman”	1930s	“Will Justice Triumph in Wanderwell Case?” <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , January 8, 1933, 7.

*These individuals were reported as part of the expedition team that was supposed to sail on the Carma prior to Walter Wanderwell’s murder. For many of these individuals, it is unclear whether they participated in any other Wanderwell expeditions.

Filmography

The following chronological list of films represents the primary travelogue lecture films produced by Aloha that I know of at this moment, in order of their original production dates. The roles listed are per her professional resume, compiled by Aloha in 1986, unless otherwise noted.

With Car and Camera Around the World

Produced and exhibited between 1919 and 1929. Shot on 35mm nitrate, black-and-white stock. Co-editor and co-cinematographer with Walter Wanderwell.

The Last of the Bororos

Footage produced between 1930 and 1931. Shot on 35mm nitrate, black-and-white stock. Co-producer and script with Walter Wanderwell.

Flight to the Stone Age Bororos

Footage produced between 1930 and 1931. Shot on 35mm nitrate, black-and-white stock. Co-producer and script with Walter Wanderwell.

*The River of Death*⁵

Footage produced between 1930 and 1931. Exhibited between 1932 and 1934. Shot on 35mm nitrate, black-and-white stock. Producer: M. J. Kandel, Ideal Pictures Corporation; story and narration: Aloha Wanderwell; editing: Allyn B. Carrick; photography: Capt. and Mrs. Wanderwell.

To See the World By Car

Footage produced between 1933 and 1937. Shot on 35mm nitrate, black-and-white stock. Co-producer with Walter Baker, script.

*Australia Now*⁶

Footage produced approximately between 1941 and 1944. Shot on 16mm safety, black-and-white stock. Lecturer, Author: Aloha Baker; Cinematographer, Producer: Walter Baker.

⁵ This title is not included in her resume. Credits are sourced from a 1934 copyrighted version, held at the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress' print has a green tint throughout.
https://stream.media.loc.gov/blogs/navcc/River_Of_Death_768x432_800.mp4

⁶ Credits are sourced from the marketing pamphlet on *Australia Now* (see Figure 38, 39).

India Now

Footage produced approximately between 1919 and 1944. Shot on 35mm nitrate and 16mm safety, black-and-white stock. Producer, script, and co-cinematographer with Walter Baker.

Victory in the Pacific

Footage produced approximately between 1941 and 1944. Shot on 16mm safety, black-and-white stock. Co-producer with Walter Baker, script.

Explorers of the Purple Sage

Footage produced in approximately 1945. Shot on 16mm, color Kodachrome stock. Producer and cinematographer: Walter Baker; script: Aloha Baker.

My Hawaii

Footage produced between approximately 1948 and 1949. Shot on 16mm, color Kodachrome stock. Co-producer with Walter Baker, script.

The Magic of Mexico

Footage produced in approximately 1950. Shot on 16mm, color Kodachrome stock. Co-producer with Walter Baker, script.

Archives

The following list of archives and repositories represents the institutional archival collections featuring Aloha that I know of at this moment. I am not including personal collections in this list.

I have included a brief description of the holdings and their provenance.

Academy Film Archive, Los Angeles, California

Aloha donated film materials on *With Car and Camera Around the World* and personal papers, marketing materials, and correspondence to the Academy in 1985. Her grandson Richard Diamond deposited further materials in 2014, which included film materials on *With Car and Camera Around the World*, *The Last of the Bororos*, *To See the World By Car*, *India Now*, *Australia Now*, *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, *My Hawaii*, and *The Magic of Mexico*. In 2021, Aloha's granddaughter Miki Hammel deposited additional film materials on *My Hawaii*, *Victory in the Pacific*, and *The Magic of Mexico*.

American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming

Aloha donated a copy of *Explorers of the Purple Sage*, personal papers, marketing materials, and a scrapbook to the American Heritage Center in 1996.

Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii

Aloha donated a copy of *My Hawaii*, photographs, personal papers, and marketing materials to the Bishop Museum in 1993.

Eye Museum, Amsterdam, Netherlands

The Eye Museum holds a newsreel that features Aloha and Walter Wanderwell.

Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Michigan

In 1968, Aloha submitted papers to the Ford Motor Company as part of a pitch to sell them footage of her travels in Ford cars. The footage she was trying to sell dated between 1920 and 1937. Ultimately, the Ford Motor Company did not purchase her films. However, as part of this process, they made copies of those papers, which were then transferred to the corporate archive. The Ford Museum's collection also includes correspondence among Aloha, Walter Wanderwell, and Henry Ford.

Human Studies Film Archive of the Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Maryland

Aloha donated a copy of *The Last of the Bororos*, photographs, a map, personal papers, and marketing materials to the Human Studies Film Archive in 1976.

Library of Congress, Culpepper, Virginia

The Library of Congress holds a copy of *The River of Death*, which was donated to the library in 1988 by a private collector, Charlie Tennesen.

National Motorcycle Museum, Anamosa, Iowa

Aloha donated a scrapbook, personal papers, and photographs to the National Motorcycle Museum in 1994.

National Archives of Australia, Canberra, Australia

The National Archives of Australia holds a collection of newspaper clippings and documents compiled by Aloha, though how the materials were obtained by the archives is unclear. The collection was received in 1978.

National Automotive Historical Collection, Detroit, Michigan

Aloha donated a collection of photographs, personal papers, and correspondence to the National Automotive Historical Collection of the Skillman Branch of the Detroit Public Library in November 1994.

The Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, California

Aloha donated film footage of *Flight to the Stone Age Bororos* and a scrapbook to the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County in 1981.

Puke Ariki, New Plymouth, New Zealand

The Puke Ariki Library holds a collection of photographs of Aloha, taken by Caleb Wyatt in 1936. This collection was not donated by Aloha and came to the Puke Ariki in 2010.

University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

The Redpath Chautauqua Collection of the University of Iowa contains marketing materials from *Australia Now* and *India Now*. The collection came from the booking offices of the Redpath-Vawter Bureau of Cedar Rapids (Iowa), the Redpath-Chicago Bureau, the Redpath-Kansas City (Missouri) Bureau, and others.

University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California

Aloha donated a scrapbook, certificates, logbooks, and documents related to the Work Around the World Education Club to the University of Southern California in 1985.

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Aloha Baker Collection. National Automotive Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI.

Aloha Baker Collection. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Aloha Baker Film Collection. Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, MD.

Aloha Baker Papers. Ford Motor Company Archives Collection, The Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, MI.

Aloha Wanderwell Collection. Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, CA.

Aloha Wanderwell Film Collection. Academy Film Archive, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.

Margaret Lundahl Hammel Collection. Academy Film Archive, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.

Photographers' Collection (Collection 98). Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA.

Richard Diamond Trust, Mission Viejo, CA. Alohawanderwell.com

Redpath Chautauqua Collection. Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.

Walter and Aloha Baker Papers. American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

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Trade, Newspaper, and Popular Journals

For specific articles, please see the footnotes in each chapter.

A Noite, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Alton Evening Telegraph, Alton, IL
Altoona Tribune, Altoona, PA
American Cinemeditor, Universal City, CA
Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, GA
Austin American Statesman, Austin, TX
Bangor Daily News, Bangor, ME
Battle Creek Enquirer, Battle Creek, MI
Bradford Evening Star and Daily Record, Bradford, PA
Burlington Daily News, Burlington, VT
Capital Times, Madison, WI
Casper Star-Tribune, Casper, WY
Chicago Tribune, Chicago, IL
Corsicana Semi-Weekly Light, Corsicana, TX
Council Bluffs Nonpareil, Council Bluffs, IA
Daily Advertiser, Lafayette, LA
Daily News, New York, NY
Dayton Daily News, Dayton, OH
Dayton Herald, Dayton, OH
Diario Carioca, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Edmonton Journal, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada
El Paso Times, El Paso, TX
Evening Star, Washington, DC
Exhibitors Herald-World, Chicago, IL
Fitchburg Sentinel, Fitchburg, MA
Green Bay Press Gazette, Green Bay, WI
Hawaii Tribune-Herald, Hilo, HI
Honolulu Advertiser, Honolulu, HI
Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Honolulu, HI
Indianapolis Star, Indianapolis, IN
Iowa City Press-Citizen, Iowa City, IA
Jornal do Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Kenosha News, Kenosha, WI
Lansing State Journal, Lansing, MI
Leader-Telegram, Eau Claire, WI
Long Beach Press-Telegram, Long Beach, CA
Los Angeles Times, Los Angeles, CA
Miami News, Miami, FL
Minneapolis Star, Minneapolis, MN
Motion Picture News, New York, NY
Newport Beach Independent, Newport Beach, CA
Newsday, Hempstead, NY
Oakland Tribune, Oakland, CA

Orlando Evening Star, Orlando, FL
Oshkosh Northwestern, Oshkosh, WI
Palladium-Item, Richmond, IN
Pensacola News Journal, Pensacola, FL
Redondo Reflex, Redondo, CA
Sheboygan Press, Sheboygan, WI
Spokesman-Review, Spokane, WA
Spring Lake Gazette, Spring Lake, NJ
St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, MO
Standard Union, Brooklyn, NY
Sunday Times, Perth, Australia
Tallahassee Democrat, Tallahassee, FL
Tampa Bay Times, St. Petersburg, FL
The Akron Beacon Journal, Akron, OH
The Berkshire Eagle, Pittsfield, MA
The Bucyrus Evening Telegraph, Bucyrus, OH
The Burlington Free Press, Burlington, VT
The Chattanooga News, Chattanooga, TN
The Cincinnati Enquirer, Cincinnati, OH
The Cincinnati Post, Cincinnati, OH
The Columbus Dispatch, Columbus, MS
The Daily Gazette, Salisbury, GA
The Daily News, Perth, Australia
The Daily Record, Long Branch, NJ
The Decatur Daily, Decatur, AL
The Des Moines Register, Des Moines, IA
The Dispatch, Moline, IL
The Eugene Guard, Eugene, OR
The Eugene Register-Guard, Eugene, OR
The Evening News, Wilkes-Barre, PA
The Film Daily, New York, NY
The Gazette, Montreal, Canada
The Greenville News, Greenville, SC
The Knoxville News Sentinel, Knoxville, TN
The Los Angeles Post Record, Los Angeles, CA
The Los Angeles Record, Los Angeles, CA
The Miami Herald, Miami, FL
The Morning Call, Allentown, PA
The Morning Call, Paterson, NJ
The Morning Post, Camden, NJ
The New York Times, New York, NY
The Newark Advocate, Newark, OH
The News Journal, Wilmington, DE
The News, Paterson, NJ
The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
The Palm Beach Post, West Palm Beach, FL

The Pantagraph, Bloomington, IL
The Post Crescent, Appleton, WI
The Post-Star, Glens Falls, NY
The Province, Vancouver, Canada
The San Francisco Examiner, San Francisco, CA
The Santa Clarita Valley Signal, Santa Clarita, CA
The Star Press, Muncie, IN
The Times, Munster, IN
The Times, Shreveport, LA
The Tribune, Philippines
The York Dispatch, York, PA
Times Colonist, Victoria, British Columbia
Times Dispatch, Richmond, VA
Tulare Advance-Register, Tulare, CA
Variety, New York, NY
York Daily Record, York, NY