(RE)CREATING NATURE: THE FINLEY-PACK FILMS, "CAMERA HUNTING," AND THE WILDERNESS CULTURE INDUSTRY (1925-1935)

by

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In 1920s and 1930s, filmmakers William L. Finley and Arthur N. Pack produced a number of short-subject nature documentary films notable for their early use of the narrative techniques that are now considered rote in the genre—including the anthropomorphism, characterization, and staging of wildlife. These "camera hunting" films were financed by Pack's *Nature Magazine*, shown on tours across the United States, and used in advertising campaigns for commodities ranging from 16mm moving picture cameras to organized tours of the burgeoning U.S. National Parks. Drawing from the theoretical approaches of critical media industries studies and ecocriticism and using the methods of document, historiographical, and textual analysis, this dissertation examines the production culture, political economy, and representations of the natural world in the Finley-Pack films, while also attempting to situate their place—and possible influence—in the creation of the modern American "wilderness culture industry" still witnessed today.

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“Man has a peculiar habit of building something with his hands and, at the same time, kicking it to pieces with his feet.”

- William L. Finley, 1935

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CHAPTER I

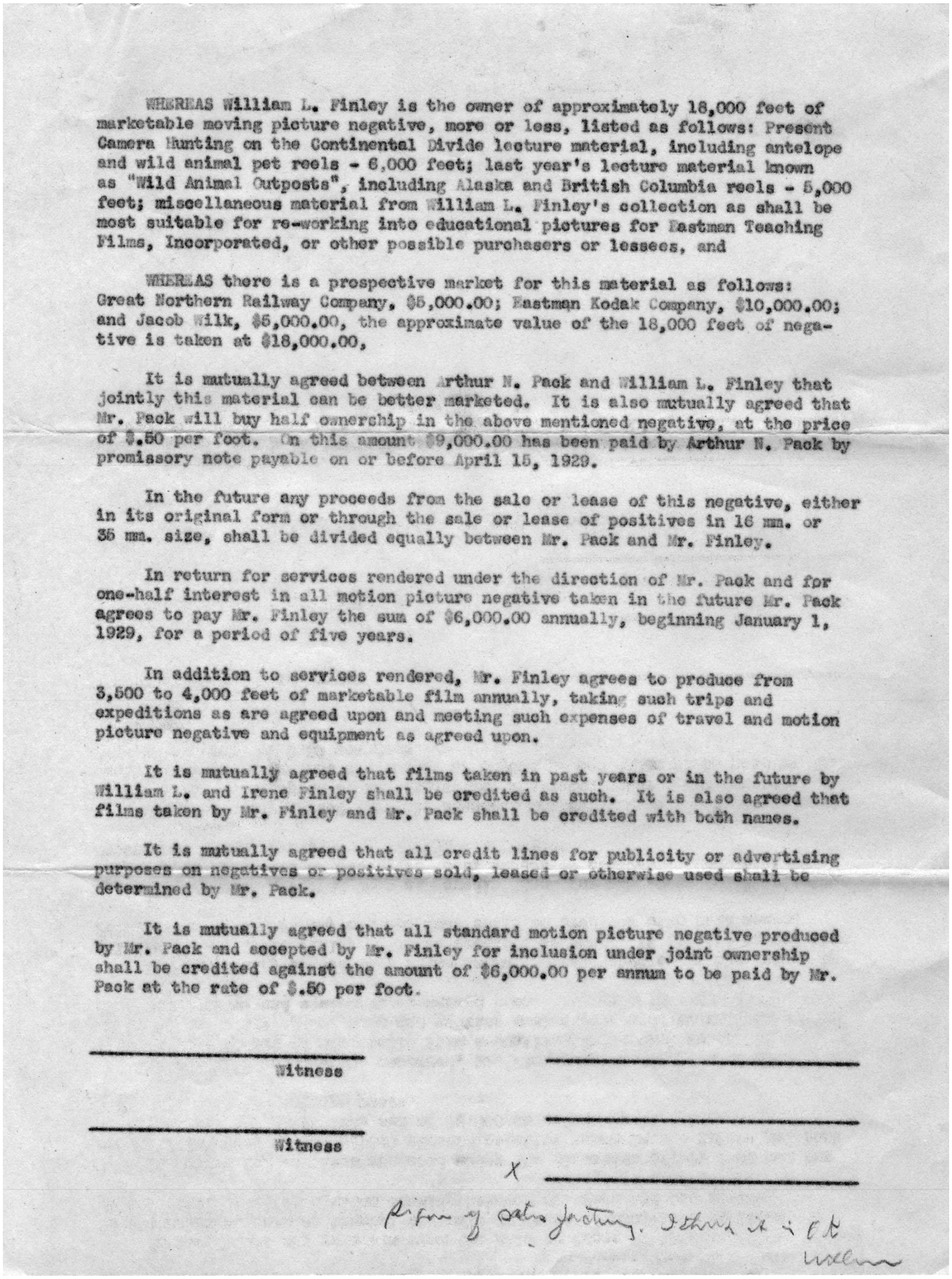
INTRODUCTION

For nearly five years, as I commuted from my current home in Corvallis, Oregon, south on Route 99 to my graduate studies at the University of Oregon in Eugene, I passed the entrance to the William L. Finley National Wildlife Refuge, marked by a nondescript brown placard. Established in 1964, 11 years after Finley's death, the refuge protects over 5,000 acres of rare wetland in the Willamette Valley. As a media historian interested in the history of 'nature media,' Finley's name had loomed large, particularly outsized in the state where he lived and worked for the majority of his life. However, after a number of years passing his namesake refuge almost daily, I made the decision to dig deeper into his work as a conservationist, photographer, and filmmaker. I was surprised (pleasantly, for the selfish sake of my current research) that very little scholarship had explored his work and life, even though press records from the early 20th century show that Finley was nothing short of a local—and even national—celebrity: a friend and confidant of both Presidents Roosevelt, a nationally-regarded lecturer and filmmaker, and an early conservationist who founded local chapters of the Audubon Society and served in leadership capacities in Oregon's Fish and Game Commission.

While this background is discussed throughout this dissertation, Finley's contributions as a filmmaker are what drew me further into his work. Along with a number of collaborators—most importantly his wife, Irene, and son-in-law Arthur Pack—he created some of the earliest, and arguably the finest, examples of nature documentaries on 16mm film. While the aesthetics and influence that these films had on the genre are worthy of a study, I was also drawn into how these films worked within the

context of the burgeoning conservationist movement in the U.S. during the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s, and, perhaps more importantly, how these films co-existed, benefitted, and even influenced an entire industry dedicated to the commodification of the North American western 'wilderness' in an era of massive technological advancements. These advancements allowed this space—once considered a vast and empty 'frontier'—to become accessible through both the logistics of a national transportation grid and the moving images of a sophisticated network of 16mm film production, promotion, and distribution.

Of particular interest are the films that Finley produced with Arthur N. Pack, the privileged son of a noted and wealthy American industrialist, who founded the American Nature Association and its flagship *Nature Magazine*. Together, Finley and Pack created a series of films that captured the wildlife and wild spaces of the western United States in a time when moving images of these areas were still elusive to a national population centered east of the Mississippi River. While these films were arguably instrumental in introducing the 'wonders' of the 'West' into the national imagination—and likely influential in inspiring burgeoning conservation movements—they were also intended to be financially profitable. As seen in an early contract created between Finley and Pack prior to the marketing of their films, both men saw the potential of creating film for commercial interest, with large corporations such as Great Northern Railways sharing an interest in the marketability of these images (Figure 1-1). In fact, Pack was able to affix a potential price of US$18,000 (over a quarter million dollars in 1921) to this work.



WHEREAS William L. Finley is the owner of approximately 18,000 feet of marketable moving picture negative, more or less, listed as follows: Present Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide lecture material, including antelope and wild animal pet reels - 6,000 feet; last year's lecture material known as "Wild Animal Outposts", including Alaska and British Columbia reels - 5,000 feet; miscellaneous material from William L. Finley's collection as shall be most suitable for re-working into educational pictures for Eastman Teaching Films, Incorporated, or other possible purchasers or lessees, and

WHEREAS there is a prospective market for this material as follows: Great Northern Railway Company, $5,000.00; Eastman Kodak Company, $10,000.00; and Jacob Wilk, $5,000.00, the approximate value of the 18,000 feet of negative is taken at $18,000.00,

It is mutually agreed between Arthur N. Pack and William L. Finley that jointly this material can be better marketed. It is also mutually agreed that Mr. Pack will buy half ownership in the above mentioned negative, at the price of $.50 per foot. On this amount $9,000.00 has been paid by Arthur N. Pack by promissory note payable on or before April 15, 1929.

In the future any proceeds from the sale or lease of this negative, either in its original form or through the sale or lease of positives in 16 mm. or 35 mm. size, shall be divided equally between Mr. Pack and Mr. Finley.

In return for services rendered under the direction of Mr. Pack and for one-half interest in all motion picture negative taken in the future Mr. Pack agrees to pay Mr. Finley the sum of $6,000.00 annually, beginning January 1, 1929, for a period of five years.

In addition to services rendered, Mr. Finley agrees to produce from 3,500 to 4,000 feet of marketable film annually, taking such trips and expeditions as are agreed upon and meeting such expenses of travel and motion picture negative and equipment as agreed upon.

It is mutually agreed that films taken in past years or in the future by William L. and Irene Finley shall be credited as such. It is also agreed that films taken by Mr. Finley and Mr. Pack shall be credited with both names.

It is mutually agreed that all credit lines for publicity or advertising purposes on negatives or positives sold, leased or otherwise used shall be determined by Mr. Pack.

It is mutually agreed that all standard motion picture negative produced by Mr. Pack and accepted by Mr. Finley for inclusion under joint ownership shall be credited against the amount of $6,000.00 per annum to be paid by Mr. Pack at the rate of $.50 per foot.

____________________ Witness

____________________ Witness

X

Figure 1-1. An undated and unsigned draft of a contract between William L. Finley and Arthur N. Pack regarding the films they produced together. Oregon Digital.

It is notable that this amount did not account for the revenue from national film lectures and subsequent Western tour expeditions that were organized for inspired readers and viewers.

(Nearly) Lost Artifacts

According to historian Worth Mathewson, the Finley-Pack films (as they will be referred to in this dissertation) were almost lost to history altogether on multiple occasions. In a phone conversation with Mr. Mathewson in the fall of 2019, he explained how the films came into his possession. According to Mathewson, Ruth Zehntbauer, the owner of the Finley's former Jennings Lake, Oregon, home, used a curious concrete room attached to the house for the storage of jams and other preserves. After a number of years, she uncovered a box filled with film canisters. Unbeknownst to her, this room had been used to store the very flammable nitrate originals of the Finley-Pack films, and some were left behind inadvertently when the Finleys left. Mathewson then came into possession of the films and donated them to a regional archive, lamenting in his book that eventually...

> some ninety percent of Finley's movies were burned in 1980 after lying tragically forgotten and neglected in a large western university library for many years. Among those burned were the early Klamath, Malheur and Three Arch Rocks movies, and countless others reels of irreplaceable historical value (Mathewson, 1986, pp. 18-19).

Of those that remained, safety prints and/or negatives were made and moved to archives around the United States, with Oregon State University, the Oregon Historical Society,

and the American Museum of Natural History serving as repositories for the remaining Finley-Pack films. It is these surviving films that serve as the foundation for this study.

The local relevance of these films to Oregon is one of many reasons that these artifacts are worthy of study. Additionally, these surviving films serve as prescient examples of the genre of nature film and media that flourished in the 20th century and continue to serve as one of documentary media's most popular and ubiquitous forms. As discussed in more depth in Chapter 5, many of the cinematic, narrative, and artistic facets of these films continue to influence the modern genre. And while it may be difficult to fully track the scope of these films' impact on the contemporary industry, one may draw a connection to Walt Disney's *Seal Island* (the company's first foray into nature documentary and recipient of a 1949 Academy Award), which starred the seals of Alaska's Pribilof Islands more than twenty years after William and Irene Finley's *The Pribolof Islands*.

In addition to the artistic, stylistic, and narrative influence on the genre itself, these films serve as the subjects of a focused case study on the role of media in a unique time in the history of American ecoculture. Produced in the 1920s and 1930s, they not only existed, but engaged with a burgeoning 'wilderness culture industry' that forged a seemingly incongruent relationship between the power of anthropogenic industry and the allure of the natural environment.

U.S. Ecoculture During the Interwar Period (1925-1935)

While a more substantial definition of the 'wilderness culture industry' is provided in Chapter 4 and examined further in subsequent chapters, this term can briefly be defined as the commodification of nature for profit and/or self-promotion. As Chapter

2 suggests, this is a phenomenon that has existed for millennia, likely dating back to some of the first interactions of homo sapiens with the natural world. However, the concept arguably became more solidified with the maturation of the post-Industrial Revolution of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when technology, infrastructure, and mass communication aided in creating the wilderness culture industry in its modern form. At the center of this concept is the underlying dilemma of whether commodification is necessarily anathema to the natural world, or if conservation and capitalism can co-exist in the earth's wild spaces.

The interwar period in the United States is especially worthy of study in the context of the wilderness culture industry as it proves a transitory time in the political, economic, cultural, and artistic identities. As discussed in Chapter 2, the American frontier was declared 'closed' in the late 19th century, meaning that a physical space that had enraptured the national imagination was no more. It had simply become another part of industrialized America. Around this time, American transcendentalist writers—perhaps most famously represented by Henry David Thoreau's (1854/2006) *Walden*—began articulating some of the cognitive discomfort toward the mass industrialization of nature, as well as its surrounding culture. However, I would argue that the flashpoint of the modern wilderness culture industry in the U.S. occurred in the late 1910s. The country had just emerged from a world war—one made especially horrific due to the use of weaponized, industrial chemicals (such as chlorine) and sophisticated, modern artillery for the first time (Fitzgerald, 2008). Concurrently with the final year of the war, the world was gripped by a crippling influenza pandemic, which was exacerbated by an increasingly urban population drawn to global centers of industrial production. Between

1918 and 1920, this pandemic infected over 500 million people (roughly one third of the global population) and is estimated to have killed between 20 and 100 million (Rosenwald, April 2020). Based on these circumstances alone, one can see the rationale for a populace to seek rejuvenation in the natural world, a place seemingly devoid of the poisons of a bleak, rapidly industrialized world.

Bookending this era, the 1930s was another pivot point for the U.S. wilderness culture industry. A decade of growth and relative peace among a middle class with the time and expendable income to indulge in 'wilderness' leisure began to slow—if not cease altogether—for many. A national economic depression began, as well as the threat of a new world war in Europe. These factors would stymie the growth of the wilderness culture industry for nearly a decade, only for it to reemerge not only intact, but stronger. An example of this can be seen in the nature documentary. As this dissertation discusses, the genre flourished in the 1920s and 1930s as technology made the production, promotion, and exhibition of such films more accessible. This robust period of growth helped to create a vocabulary and industry for nature documentaries that transitioned well into the post-World War II medium of television, where it has continued to thrive. This aspect will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

Biophilia and the Industrialization of Nature

Like any industry, the wilderness culture industry could not have thrived historically or contemporarily without audience and/or consumer demand. This may prompt one to wonder what has drawn humanity to the natural world in the first place. This large and complex question has been discussed thoroughly in fields ranging from biology to psychology. In particular, this study is rooted in the theory of the biophilia

hypothesis of Edward O. Wilson. In the simplest terms, Wilson (1984) defines biophilia as the urge for humanity to affiliate with, as well as our innate understanding of, other forms of biological life. Wilson suggests that this 'urge' is a biologically based need, one that is integral to our development as a species. An example that is often used to support the biophilia hypothesis is humans' seemingly hardwired phobia of wildlife such as snakes and spiders (of little threat in modern times, but historically very dangerous), while more threatening items (such as firearms and automobiles) rarely elicit the same biological response. Similarly, research has shown that people would rather look at water, green vegetation, or flowers than built structures such as glass and concrete (Kellert and Wilson, 1995). While this statement may seem obvious, it appears to support biophilia in its most basic sense. Ecologist Enric Sala (2020) further extends this hypothesis, forwarding that nature serves as humanity's 'best health insurance,' and that the physical and economic benefits of the natural world for our species is justification enough for robust conservation strategies.

At the core of this study is the interplay between humanity's drive for industry and its inborn attraction to nature, seemingly at odds with one another, yet intertwined in a symbiotic relationship that has only grown stronger as advanced capitalism has matured in the western world. This dissertation is by no means the first to highlight this tension. For instance, the transcendentalist writers of the 19th century wrote extensively on this friction between the pastoral ideal and the stark transformations brought about by industrialized technology. Leo Marx (1964/2000) observed that "within the lifetime of a single generation, a rustic and in large part wild landscape was transformed into the site of the world's most productive industrial machine. It would be difficult to imagine more

profound contradictions of value or meaning than those made manifest by this circumstance" (p. 343). While these changes are addressed throughout the following chapters—most notably in the progression of photographic and filmic technologies and the formalization and industrialization of the U.S. National Parks system—Marx expressed a deeper interest in the changes these developments wrought to the 'landscape of the psyche.' He noted the literature of the late 19th century and its attempts to rationalize America's bucolic natural heritage with its new identity as the global center of productivity, wealth, and power. Expanding on Marx's work, this study adds the mass media of the early 20th century to this juxtaposition.

Chapter-by-Chapter Overview

With the tension between the natural environment and anthropogenic industry at its center, this dissertation argues that focusing on the Finley-Pack nature documentary films—and the industries that supported and contextualized them—is significant in that it focuses on the role that emergent mass mediated technology played within the greater context of the industrialization of the U.S. 'wilderness.' A brief description of the study follows.

Building upon the study's introduction in **Chapter 1**, **Chapter 2** provides in-depth context in an attempt to locate the earliest roots of the 'wilderness culture industry.' Additionally, the chapter explores the existing literature on the topic and concludes with a rationale for why this study is significant and how it expands upon this literature. **Chapter 3** introduces the research questions formulated to explore specific aspects of the broader study. The chapter also explains the theoretical underpinnings and research methods used. **Chapter 4** provides necessary biographical information on William L.

Finley and Arthur N. Pack. The chapter concludes with a detailed definition of the 'wilderness culture industry,' the term briefly introduced in this chapter and explored throughout the remainder of the dissertation. **Chapter 5** engages with the production culture and media technology used in the production of the Finley-Pack films, as well how these industrial technologies influenced the overall 'wilderness culture industry.' The chapter also explores the role of amateur 'camera hunting' as a hobby, and its relationship to technology, industry, and the natural environment. **Chapter 6** explicitly details the national film and lecture tours that William Finley conducted in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The tours are used as a case study for a deeper meditation on the political economic implications of mass media, advertising, and industrial infrastructure for the greater 'wilderness culture industry.' **Chapter 7** serves as a conclusion to the study, offering both limitations to the current study and implications for further work in the field.

CHAPTER II

CONTEXT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The films of William L. Finley and Arthur N. Pack were produced, promoted, and exhibited in not only an era of innovation in the young American film industry, but also a time of increasingly complex, interplaying views of nature, conservation, mythology, modern capitalism, and urbanization. This chapter presents the contextual and historical factors of the period in which the Finley-Pack films were created, while also situating this study within the relevant academic literature. A justification for the study is offered at the end of the chapter.

Picturing Wildlife: Image and Industry (2500 BCE - 1880 CE)

According to historian Gregg Mitman (1999), nature documentaries—alternately referred to as wildlife, natural history, and environmental documentaries in this study—draw from the pre-filmic entertainment forms of animal theme parks, museums, and zoos in that all seek "to capture and recreate an experience of unspoiled nature" (p. 3). Deepening this connection, Mitman suggests that each form has "blended scientific research and vernacular knowledge, education and entertainment, authenticity and artifice" (Mitman, 1999, p. 3). Situating the genesis of film before the tangible image is not unique. Beyond the nature documentary, film historian Robert C. Allen (1985) has even suggested that all film—traditionally emphasized for its 'newness' as a medium by film historians—has much in common with other forms of entertainment from the centuries preceding the proliferation of motion pictures. Allen forwards that "the initial uses of motion picture technology do not stand outside of history but are part of it" (Allen, 1985, p. 57). In operating under this assumption, this study begins its exploration

of the nature documentary genre—as both an art form and industry—with some of the earliest recorded human representations and curations of wildlife and 'unspoiled nature.'

The First Metaphor

It is difficult to historically place the first representations of wildlife and wilderness created by human hands, but some—such as art critic John Berger—locate this moment with the first paintings themselves. Berger (1980/1991) suggests that "the first subject matter for painting was animal. Probably the first paint was animal blood. Prior to that, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the first metaphor was animal" (p. 7). The latter point is important, as it suggests that the construct of wildlife—as a vehicle for cultural representation and communication—predates the mass media and is deeply embedded in human language. This echoes philosopher John Dewey (1920) who suggests that the first 'stories' of early hominids would likely have revolved around animals and the hunt, as this process would be central to the survival of the group. This primal relationship between humans and wildlife, in turn, became emotional; one "motivated by anthropomorphic projections: the assigning of human qualities to animals. The urge to anthropomorphize seems almost universal among cultures" (Veltre, 1996, p. 22).

However, locating the root of the wildlife documentary in the first communication—both verbal and pictorial—is problematic for a number reasons. First, understanding the definitive usage of these paintings from the caves of Lascaux, Altamira, and Avignon is impossible due their creation many millennia ago in the early Magdalenian period. Secondly, as scholar Derek Bousé (2000) forwards, linking modern wildlife films with Paleolithic paintings "tells us nothing about wildlife films' own historical development, their place in contemporary culture, or the value people put on

them" (p. 39). To find a better compass point from which to trace the beginning of the nature documentary, it may prove fruitful to look to the legacy of the animal menagerie.

The Animal Menagerie: Industry, Entertainment, and Education

By rooting wildlife films in the menagerie, it removes the primitive survival motivation of the early cave paintings and oral folkloric history. Instead, it draws the connection through the concept of spectacle: taking the 'wild' and capturing it with modern technology and industry for the purpose of both entertainment and education. Scholar Thomas Veltre (1996) states that "unlike animals raised for food, or pet animals (which are usually treated more like members of the family), animals in a menagerie have been singled out to be unique representations of their species" (p. 19). Much like wildlife documentaries, menageries—Veltre argues—are "primarily concerned with the symbolic role of animals within a culture" (Veltre, 1996, p. 20).

This symbolic role was prominent from the first menageries. Pictographic and hieroglyphic records from near Memphis (the ancient capital of Inebu-hedj) show that affluent Egyptians kept animals such as oryx, gazelles, antelope, cranes, baboons, ibis, falcons and others as early as 2,500 BCE (Hoage, Roskell, & Mansour, 1996, p. 9). Many of these animals were considered holy and held special significance and power in religious ceremonies. This power is demonstrated by the specimens found mummified and entombed at Saqqara cemetery (Hoage, Roskell, & Mansour, 1996, p. 9).

The symbolic power of animals in the menagerie continued to grow as trade and exploration during the Renaissance brought the Western world into contact with 'new' wildlife in Africa, the Americas, and Asia. As this wildlife reached Europe, royalty, the aristocracy, and merchants kept these exotic animals in private menageries and gardens

as a sign of wealth and power (Hoage, Roskell, & Mansour, 1996, p. 13). Traveling showmen took their natural specimens from town to town for public entertainment, similar to what filmmakers would later do in the early 20th century with their films.

Charismatic megafauna, such as leopards and lions, were particularly popular with European royalty throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Specifically, "rulers of large and small realms all seemed to have a lion collection of some kind at one time or another, and gifts of lions occurred regularly between them" (Hoage, Roskell, & Mansour, 1996, p. 14). The economies of menageries also influenced politics, the results of which can still be seen in the big cats depicted in modern European royal coats of arms.

In 1793, revolutionary France opened the Jardin des Plantes, the world's first public zoological garden by incorporating animals from the sacked Versailles menagerie. This trend of making captive wildlife accessible to those beyond society's upper echelon continued into the early nineteenth century, with major public zoos opening in London (1828), New York (1828), Amsterdam (1843), and Berlin (1844) (Chris, 2006, p. 3). In addition to providing entertainment, these zoos were also founded for scientific and educational purposes. The nineteenth century, especially the early years, have been identified by historians as the "century of science," due to the widespread support for major advances in science (Kohlstedt, 1996, p. 3). Hoage, Roskell, and Mansour (1996) state that "exhibits in these zoos were based on the scientific classification of animals. As such, "exhibit areas were often dedicated almost exclusively to primates, reptiles, carnivores, birds, ungulates, and so on. Only in the twentieth century have zoos constructed exhibits that illustrate ecological principles" (p. 16).

As agendas of science and education found footing in the newly-founded public zoos of the early 19th century, a private—more entertainment focused—menagerie industry arose in competition, particularly in the United States. As scholar Richard W. Flint (1996) writes, "both American scientists and showmen sought to present zoological and aquatic specimens to the public. Their displays were made possible because of the development of transatlantic trade networks and the growing market for exotic and wild animals in nineteenth-century America" (p. 97). This competition was magnified due to popular attention paid to some animals through the growth of the telegraph and newspaper, with some even becoming national figures via the emergent mass media—such as P. T. Barnum's 'Jumbo' the elephant. Veltre (1996) argues that the "popular press also thrived on stories of the great 'bring 'em back alive' zoo men of the late nineteenth century. Men such as Carl Hagenbeck (and later Frank Buck) not only supplied zoos with ever more exotic specimens, but they did everything they could to encourage the aura of the 'great hunter,' which, in a sense, was little different from the totem bearer of the Neolithic era" (Veltre, 1996, p. 27).

Alongside the animal menagerie, other forms of wildlife 'info-tainment' rose as media technology improved. Between 1827 and 1838, John James Audubon published his famous *Birds of America* containing 435 life-size watercolors of North American birds, all reproduced from hand-engraved plates (John James Audubon's Birds of America, n.d.). While the capture of the animal image may be considered more humane by modern standards than the archaic menageries and zoos of the 18th and 19th century, this may not be entirely accurate. Bousé (2000) writes that "dissatisfied with the tradition of working from stuffed models, Audubon continued to use dead specimens he himself

killed ('I shot, I drew, I looked upon nature'), but devised ways of arranging them in 'action poses' that simulated real behavior" (p. 40).

Toward the end of the 19th century, photographic—and then motion picture technology—was developed, leading to the emergence of the nature documentary from this culture of spectacular live exhibition (Chris, 2006). These films were thus imbued with the qualities of their predecessors dating back to the early Egyptian menageries—the demonstration of power through dominion, the ability to impart scientific education to the public, as well as possessing an overt financial imperative in presenting the spectacle of the natural world to the greater public.

The West, the Wilderness, and the Documentary Film (1880 - 1920)

The implications of emergent technology on the natural world extended beyond that of the media. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the United States—like much of the western world—experienced rapid and widespread industrialization. This industrialization led to drastic shifts in the way Americans viewed and experienced both the western United States and the idea of 'wilderness.'

The Western Wilderness in the American Imagination

A longstanding mythos in the white American identity is the notion of the West—"the centuries-old term for the Anglo-American frontier … a place beyond the horizon that could ignite the imaginations of vicarious explorers" (Moses, 1999, p. 4)—replete with Native Americans, charismatic megafauna, and spectacular natural scenery. For much of the United States' population in the Eastern and Midwestern states in the late 19th century, the American West (capitalized in this study when referring to the mythic

construction) was only attainable through 'Wild West' circuses and dime novels, in the paintings of Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran, or the fiction of Mark Twain and Bret Harte. This sensationalized American West was "a place of wonders and curiosities in which fact and fiction, history and theater, actual and staged events blurred together. It was a tourist's West, performing and reenacting itself for the entertainment of Easterners and Europeans" (Sears, 1989, p. 157).

Dime novels in particular—pocket-sized, hundred-page stories costing between five and twenty-five cents—salaciously blended the concept of fact and fiction in their portrayals of the wildlife and wild spaces of the American West. During the height of the popularity of dime novels, however, the tangible American West of these stories was no more. By the 1890 U.S. census, the U.S. was described as no longer having 'unsettled' area (Brown, 1997, p. 4). As literary critic Bill Brown (1997) notes "while an authentic West is reported to be absent, its authenticity remains insistently present [in dime novels], to the point of being internalized within the visual and literary culture of the East—indeed, seemingly internal and central to America itself" (p. 3).

The ideas of wilderness and wildlife are also entangled within this incongruity of the image of the American West and actual western United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Environmental historian William Cronon (1995) forwards the concept of 'wilderness' as nothing more than a societal construct, citing the existence of native peoples living in these supposed wildernesses for thousands of years prior to European colonization as one example. The relationship with wildlife—or animals more generally—in the age of industrialization is perhaps even more complex. Berger (1980/1991) suggests that our need to sensationalize and anthropomorphize animals in

images and media stems from the disappearance of animals from the western world's daily lives. As urban living displaced them, wildlife became increasingly rare and, those that remained, were often confined to national parks and game reserves.

Perhaps the most well-known examples of this juxtaposition between the expectations of the American West and the western states of the United States are found in the national parks. From their creation, the national parks have been tethered to the logistics of industrialization. The creation of the first park in 1872, Yellowstone National Park, followed only three years after the first transcontinental railroad was constructed. In 1916, the National Park Service (NPS) was formalized by the U.S. Congress. As the NPS's first director, Stephen T. Mather understood the importance of accessibility in the growth of the park service. Under Mather's direction, the park system was industrialized. For instance, in the 1920s, as automobiles became accessible to a growing American middle class, Mather hired landscape architects to design new roads through the parks that framed the scenery of the parks through the windshield of an automobile. This framing was likely tied to the moving images of the West that had become available to the public through motion pictures. Design scholar Linda Flint McClelland (1998) states that "accessibility was the foremost concern. Mather was particularly interested in bringing the public to the national parks. He felt that the federal government had an obligation to pursue a broad policy for the extension of road systems in the parks and to encourage travel by railroad and automobile" (p. 124). Mather reached out to railway companies and automobile associations, including Great Northern Railways, a company with commercial ties directly to Arthur Pack and *Nature Magazine* and indirectly to William Finley through its advertising campaigns.

This industrialization of the national parks made them not uncomplicated acts of environmental preservation, but complex cultural technologies for the reproduction of nature as landscape art (Grusin, 2004)—in some ways no different than the films that reproduced images of nature or the menageries that curated them. The national parks worked with other cultural forces (such as media) to "enmesh the wilderness of the American West into the social, political, and economic networks of Eastern capitalism" (Grusin, 2004, p. 11). With the Western image available (and attainable) to a growing segment of the American public, and a national park system that presented the wilderness as a consumable media itself, the context was in place for a wilderness culture industry to be commodified.

This commodification, or what may be considered a synergistic conservationist-capitalist model, is also present in the films co-produced by the U.S. National Park Service, as well as other governmental entities in the early twentieth century. In the 1920s, the park service collaborated with the Ford Motor Company and the U.S. Bureau of Mines collaborated with the White Motor Company to produce films highlighting the accessibility of western natural areas by automobile. These acts effectively transformed the parks into film sets and their natural images into the products of 'cinematic resource extraction' (Peterson, 2019).

Wildlife and the Moving Image

With each advancement in visual media technology, wildlife were often used as some of the first subjects captured as the technology's 'proof of concept.' Curator Matthew Brower (2011) writes that by 1890—less than two decades after the establishment of Yellowstone as the first national park in the United States—

photographic technology had become both portable and instantaneous enough to successfully allow for the photographing of wild animals. Before this time, this process was difficult; most animal photographs used captive, tame, or dead subjects. As with many depictions of wildlife in all forms of media, these early photographs also relied on anthropomorphism. One of the earliest wildlife photographs, *Piscator No. 2* by John Dillwyn Llewelyn from 1857, was of a heron. It was accompanied by an epigram, awash in purple prose, that read: "And in the weedy moat, the heron fond of solitude alighted. The moping heron motionless and stiff, that on a stone as silent and stilly stood, an apparent sentinel, as if to guard the water lilly" (Brower, 2011, p. 1).

As photographic technology matured, a new visual media began with the experiments of photographer Eadwaerd Muybridge. In 1872, seeking to settle a bet, former California governor Leland Stanford hired Muybridge to photographically prove that all four of a horse's feet left the ground at one time during a trot. Using a rudimentary flash bulb and trip wire system, Muybridge not only proved the hypothesis correct—but had invented the proto moving image. Muybridge's work with motion pictures and animals continued, and in 1884, he accepted a position at the University of Pennsylvania to continue his work. At the Philadelphia Zoological Garden, he created moving images of over a hundred different captive wild animals, including lion, jaguar, kangaroo, pine snake, and eagles (Bousé, 2000, p. 41). This practice to use animals as film subjects was not unique to the work of Muybridge. For example, scientist Étienne-Jules Marey experimented with birds in his early motion picture experiments, while Thomas Edison famously filmed the electrocution of a captive elephant. In his discussion of Muybridge, scholar Akira Mizuta Lippit (2000) suggests that "what is remarkable in

Muybridge's work, what immediately seizes the viewer's attention, is the relentless and obsessive manner in which the themes of animal and motion are brought into contact—as if the figure of the animal had always been destined to serve as a symbol of movement itself" (p. 185). Through this work, Muybridge not only forwarded both motion picture technology and the proto animal film, but, as film scholar Erik Barnouw (1974/1993), writes "Muybridge had foreshadowed a crucial aspect of the documentary film: its ability to open our eyes to worlds available to us but, for one reason or another, not perceived" (p. 3). However, Chris (2006) contends that "when animals appeared in early popular cinema—it was frequently in circumstances that would produce unfortunate outcomes, at least for the animals" (p. 10).

As technology improved, a nascent film industry developed around these early factual films. Historian Kevin Brownlow (1979) writes that "the factual film was born with the motion picture, although it took thirty years for it to be recognized as an individual art and dignified with the term 'documentary'" (p. 403). Thomas Edison, before developing (or co-opting, according to Hendricks [1961]) his own peep-show camera/projection system in 1894, met with both Muybridge and Marey to discuss their technologies. Edison often spoke on the instructional and educational value of motion pictures. However, in practice, his work quickly took a "show business direction" (Barnouw, 1974/1993, p. 5). The insertion of 'entertainment' into the narratives of early documentaries came swiftly as the modes of producing and exhibiting these early films improved. However, the subjects of wildlife and wilderness remained viable, and were often used as the raw material for compelling yet manufactured narratives. Brownlow (1979) forwards that "in the realm of the silent drama, D. W. Griffith is proclaimed the

guiding force, almost the patron saint. Was there a man whose spirit so affected the factual film? I submit there was. Not a film-maker, not even a regular film-goer, but a man whose spirit and example imprinted themselves indelibly upon the minds of the prewar generation: Theodore Roosevelt" (p. xv).

Roosevelt was an early promoter and a star of the factual motion picture industry. This included the influential *Roosevelt in Africa* (1910), in which filmmaker Cherry Kearton followed the former president as he hunted African wildlife for the sake of the camera. Brownlow (1979) contends that "Roosevelt was as much the father of factual film as the Lumière brothers, for he created a market for the documentary" (p. xvi). Indeed, *Roosevelt in Africa* spawned a media and cultural frenzy, as Mitman (1999) writes, inspiring showman William Selig to produce a fictionalized film of the Roosevelt-Kearton safari—a film that eclipsed the original documentary in popularity at the box office.

In 1913, amidst the popularity of the Roosevelt films, the term 'natural history film' began to appear in trade journals. At first applied mainly to films shot under captive conditions for educational purposes, it soon expanded to include scenes of animals in their natural habitats (Bousé, 2000, p. 37). As Hollywood drama celebrated modernity in general, these natural history films proved contradictory and nostalgic, celebrating the "last bastions of the world of 'primitivism.'" (Fischer, 2009, p. 10). This trend was amplified with the commercial and critical success of Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922), a film that presented the culture of Inuit people in northern Canada and widely considered the first documentary film. This film is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Flaherty followed this with a number of other films depicting non-Western cultures living in natural places, perhaps most popularly with *Moana* (1926).

This trend toward 'primitivism' in the documentary film of the 1920s echoes the proliferation of the national parks of the time. Both could be considered responses to the rapid urbanization taking place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States. Counter to the films of Flaherty, the 'city symphony' was also a popular form of documentary in the 1920s that responded to the Western world's mass industrialization. These films, such as Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler's *Manhatta* (1921) and Walter Ruttman's *Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis*, were "poetic paean[s] to the beauty and majesty of the city—its ports, skyscrapers, automobiles, bridges and trains" (Fischer, 2009, p. 3). As the United States struggled to define its interwar identity, Hollywood studios worked to produce documentary films with a broad appeal. However, outside of the studio system, an alternative system developed that created a schism in the genre of the nature documentary—one that would find filmmakers such as Flaherty on the side of Hollywood and filmmakers such as Finley and Pack on the other.

"To Amuse and Entertain is Good / To Do Both and Instruct is Better": Educational Film Programs (1903 - 1920)

To understand the production, promotion, and exhibition of the Finley-Pack films, it is important to discuss the dual trajectories of the nature documentary genre in the early twentieth century. Mainstream films, such as those starring Roosevelt, gravitated toward the action-centric filmic vocabularies being introduced in narrative films, such as *The Life of an American Fireman* (1902) and *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) (Bousé, 2000, p. 45). This model was later adapted by filmmakers such as Flaherty to great commercial

success. However, a subgenre—one that created nature and science films focused on educational and scientific purposes—also emerged in the early twentieth century outside the mainstream channels of production, distribution, and exhibition.

Film as Educator

As with the introduction of any new mass medium, motion pictures were almost immediately criticized for being both morally and socially corrupting. However, some enterprising educational and religious leaders regarded 'natural history film' as a genre in which to emphasize the scientific and educational possibilities of this new form of entertainment (Mitman, 1999). This interconnectedness of motion pictures and scientific pursuit can be traced back to the aforementioned original pioneers of moving images. Marey, for example, was not interested in cinematography for its own sake; the professor of natural history wanted to forward his concept of 'animated zoology,' where one day scientists could see all the imaginable animals and their true movements (Bousé, 2000).

Some saw this new technology as a way to revolutionize the educational system. Scholar Haidee Wasson (2005) states that the film industry lobbied for use of films in the schools and that there were film projectors in select schools from as early as 1910 (p. 50). Thomas Edison advocated for replacing costly textbooks with films (Wasson, 2005). And, in 1915, poet Vachel Lindsay predicted that "the motion pictures will be in the public schools to stay. Textbooks in geography, history, zoology, botany, physiology, and other sciences will be illustrated in standardized films" (Wasson, 2005, p. 49). However, it was Charles Urban, who stated that "a series of living pictures imparts more knowledge, in a far more interesting and effective manner, in five minutes, than does an

oral lesson of an hour's duration" (Gaycken, 2015, p. 45), and his work with F. Martin Duncan that arguably brought these predictions to fruition.

The Urban-Duncan Films and the Creation of the Popular Science Film

Urban began his career in sales, first selling books and then stationary. As scholar Oliver Gaycken (2015) writes "the first stage of Urban's sales career contained an attitude toward cultural commodities that later would characterize his popular science filmmaking as well" (p. 16). Looking to capitalize on the growing educational film industry, Urban hired F. Martin Duncan, a microphotographer and naturalist. Prior to his work with Urban, Duncan had established himself in the field of popular science by publishing titles such as *Some Birds of the London Zoo* (1900) and *Some Curious Plants* (1900).

With Duncan, Urban founded the Charles Urban Trading Company in 1903, which produced the "first series of popular-science films in the history of cinema" (Gaycken, 2015, p. 16). These films, shown as part of an event titled "'The Unseen World' A Series of Microscopic Studies, Photographed by Means of the Urban-Duncan Micro-Bioscope" premiered in London in 1903. A cover from a program of the event reads "to amuse and entertain is good / to do both and instruct is better" (Gaycken, 2015, p. 42). The Urban-Duncan films would inspire a new generation of filmmakers to use nature and science to create both entertaining and educational motion pictures, thus establishing a niche outside of the mainstream channels of film production, promotion, and exhibition.

Justification of the Study

This chapter is intended to contextualize this study, while also discussing the literature that supports this context. While much has been written on the history of the animal image, animals in cultural representation, western American history, documentary film, and even science documentaries, little or no work has explored the nature documentary industry of the early twentieth century from an industrial standpoint, much less how this industry interacted and influenced the 'wilderness culture industry' at the time. By looking at the films of William L. Finley and Arthur N. Pack, themselves unstudied in the field of film and media studies, this study highlights the intricacies of the production, promotion, and exhibition of educationally-focused nature documentaries in the 1920s and 1930s and their relationship to these other overlapping industries and institutions.

The nature documentary has been described by Bousé (2000) as a "neglected tradition … [making it] clear that serious scholars of film and television [have] either overlooked wildlife films or simply dismissed them altogether" (p. xi). This trend appears to be improving in the early twenty-first century as scholarship has emerged that critically engages with the study of the genre of the nature documentary. This includes work that addresses narrative (Sperb, 2016), ideology (Macdonald, 2006), genre (Duncan, 2018), scene reconstruction (San Deogracias & Mateos-Pérez, 2013), cinematography (Bousé, 1998), and the roles of nature documentaries in the future of limited wildlife (Horak, 2006) and in animal rights (Mills, 2010). In addition, scholars such as Margaret J. King (1996), Janet Wasko (2013), and Claire Molloy (2013a; 2013b) have written about the nature documentaries produced by the Walt Disney Company.

However, much of this scholarship focuses on the post-World War II industry when the nature documentary achieved great growth through the medium of television. This study fills a lacuna in the literature by exploring nature documentaries in an earlier period, in a time when the United States was developing a distinct ecoculture that was reliant on the images of an emergent mass media, including motion pictures (as described in Chapter 1). This study traces the tendrils from this early proto industry to the modern developments in the nature media and the American 'wilderness culture industry.'

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH QUESTIONS, THEORY, AND METHOD

As discussed in Chapter 2, this study aimed to address a gap in the literature in regard to the production, promotion, and distribution of nature documentaries in the early twentieth century, as well as the relationship between these films and the emergent 'wilderness culture industry' in the United States during that time. To do so, this study focused on the films of William L. Finley and Robert N. Pack as a case study. This chapter presents the theoretical and methodological approach that was used to address the following four research questions.

Research Questions

The following research questions were utilized to guide the direction of this study and to engage in a comprehensive look at the texts and contexts surrounding the Finley-Pack films.

RQ 1: What is the context and historical significance of the Finley-Pack films on the nature documentary film genre?

> This question aimed to explore the Finley-Pack films, providing biographical and contextual information on the filmmakers, their films, and the era in which they were made.

RQ 2: What were the production culture and political-economic structures in which the Finley-Pack films were produced, distributed, and exhibited?

As RQ1 provided biographical context, RQ2 was interested in exploring the context of the industry in which the Finley-Pack films were created, including the production, promotion, and exhibition of these films. Both RQ1 and RQ2 aimed to create the necessary historical framework from which to explore additional research questions.

RQ 3: How did these films represent wildlife and wilderness?

This question addressed the texts of the Finley-Pack films specifically by looking at concepts such as representation and commodification.

RQ4: How did the representations of wildlife and wilderness in the Finley-Pack films and paratextual materials interact with the commodification of outdoor recreation in this era?

This question looked at the possible implications that the Finley-Pack films and paratextual materials had within the commodification of outdoor recreation in this era, including tourism, material products, animal products, etc.—particularly in Arthur Pack's *Nature Magazine*.

Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach to this study was inductive rather than deductive in that, instead of testing theory, theory is selectively applied to elucidate data as it emerges through historical inquiry. This approach applies theory primarily grounded in the tradition of critical media industries studies that employs a blend of political economic

analysis, the study of production cultures, semiotic / symbolic analysis, and ecocriticism. These approaches are discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

Critical Media Industries Studies

The study of media industries is important as they are "powerful forces in contemporary societies, and it is essential to comprehend how they work in order to understand, act in, and transform the environment in which we live our lives" (Kellner, 2009, p. 95). Douglas Kellner's rationale can be extended to historical media institutions as well, as the study of these allows us to comprehend their roles in past societies in addition to their possible contemporary implications. In Kellner's theorization of critical media industries studies, he suggests an approach that combines both political economic analysis with more sociologically and culturally oriented approaches to the study of media culture, including the methodological combination of text- and theory-based humanities approaches with critical social science approaches. Kellner's theorization of media industries studies runs counter to others in the field, specifically those that diminish the role of the political economic approach in the field (such as Haven, Lotz, and Tinic, 2009) and others that forgo a critical approach altogether. The goal of a critical media industries theory, Kellner suggests, is "to stress the importance of critical analysis of both news and entertainment, and the need to combine history, social theory, political economy, and media/culture studies in order to properly contextualize, analyze, interpret, and criticize products of the media industries" (p. 95). This study aims to utilize this theorization of critical media industries studies.

Political Economy of Communication

The tenets of a critical political economic approach provide a rubric with which to examine the context and specificities of the early twentieth century 'wilderness culture industry,' particularly the interrelations of capital, power, class, the modes of production/reproduction, labor, and other aspects.

Critical political economy is rooted in the study of classical political economy, an approach that emerged formally in the work of Adam Smith (1776/2003), who developed a theory of free, competitive, and mutually beneficial markets. However, it is from the formal critiques of political economy leveled by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1845/1998) and Marx (1867/1967) that the critical study of political economy emerged, particularly in their discussions of problems such as exploitation, commodification, and reification that are associated with capitalism and free market principles.

These critiques have carried over to the critical study of the political economy of communication in the examination of the processes behind cultural and media production, reproduction, and distribution. Early work by Dallas W. Smythe (1960) suggested that the study of communications should incorporate the economic factors of their production, while Herbert I. Schiller (1969/1992; 1976) explored the political power of media as it pertained to cultural imperialism.

Graham Murdock and Peter Golding (1973) further apply Marxist theory to the critical study of the political economy of communication, theorizing that pieces of media are commodities produced within a capitalistic structure. They argued that media has the ability to leverage both economic and ideological power that limits the determinism of people in their lives, continuing that "the obvious starting point for a political economy of

mass communications is the recognition that the mass media are first and foremost industrial and commercial organizations which produce and distribute commodities" (p. 205-206). Vincent Mosco (2009) describes commodification as "the process of transforming things valued for their use into marketable products that are valued for what they can bring in exchange" (p. 127). By looking at the materiality and use-value of the wilderness culture industry, a critical political economic approach aided in tracing how the natural world has been exploited and turned into marketable products.

A critical political economic approach has been applied to specific culture and media industries. This approach to the study of film industries has been especially significant for this study. While early scholarship of the North American film industry looked at economic factors (Hampton, 1931/1970; Lewis, 1933), few examined the field through a critical lens. However, in the second half of the 20th century, more scholarship in this vein emerged, specifically in the work of Thomas Guback (1969), Janet Wasko (1982), and Manjunath Pendakur (1990).

Production Studies

As a critical political economic approach was helpful in looking at the structures of the nature documentary film and wilderness culture industries, a production studies approach proved useful in the exploration of the cultures of production for these industries. While the historic basis of production studies is situated in the industrial-cultural research of Leo Rosten (1941) and Hortense Powdermaker (1950), its codification by Vicki Mayer (2009) was especially relevant for this study. Mayer states that "production studies … 'ground' social theories by showing us how specific production sites, actors, or activities tell us larger lessons about workers, their practices,

and the role of their labors in relation to politics, economics, and culture" (p. 15). This approach continues to illuminate the social and cultural facets of modern media production, such as in the production cultures of below-the-line workers (Caldwell, 2008), reality television production (Grindstaff, 2009), Canadian television production (Levine, 2009), visual artists, women in production, and those in development and show running (Caldwell, 2009a).

John T. Caldwell's (2009b) cultural analysis of paratextual materials in a production culture provided a theoretical basis for this study's exploration of the production cultures surrounding not only the Finley-Pack films, but of those surrounding the amateur 'camera hunters' who both consumed and produced wildlife film in the early twentieth century. Caldwell (2009b) states that "film and television companies, in particular, acknowledge image making as their primary business, and they use reflexive images (images about images) to cultivate valuable forms of public awareness and employee recognition inside and outside of the organization" (p. 11). These reflexive images are presented from dual perspectives: first, through images and icons that circulate largely off the public's radar; and second, in iconography that represents and expresses below-the-line production cultures. These images and artifacts foster an 'imagined community' among the self-identified craft specializations. Using this rubric, this study expanded beyond that of a traditional analysis of a media or culture industry and also looked at the cultural factors within.

Semiotic/Symbolic Analysis

A semiotic analysis has been used to explore both the texts and contexts of the wilderness culture industry. This approach to semiotic analysis blends anthropologist

Clifford Geertz's (1973; 1974) theory of symbolic and interpretative anthropology with Roland Barthes's (1957/2012; 1978) work in second-order semiological systems. Geertz forwarded that cultural symbols—in the case of this study, the products of the wilderness culture industry—can be examined critically to gain a richer understanding of a society. To Geertz, "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun … I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning" (Geertz, 1973, p. 5).

This interpretative approach toward a culture and its products also aligns with Barthes approach to semiotic analysis that expanded upon Ferdinand de Saussure's (1916/2011) theory of semiology by introducing a 'second order' semiological system, where a complete sign—or cultural symbol—is implemented in the signification of another sign, thus creating a 'myth.' In Barthes's (1957/2012) description, the sign would be "at the same time meaning and form, full on one side and empty on the other" (p. 117). This signification, Barthes argued, serves the building of myth, as myth assumes a common rubric of signs among a culture. Barthes (1957/2012) described myths almost as linguistic zombies: a language that "wrests from the meanings which give it its sustenance an insidious, degraded survival" (p. 133). Through this interpretative approach to cultural signs and symbols, this study also critically focused on representations of the environment through the frameworks prescribed in the literature on ecocriticism.

Ecocriticism

While studying the political economic, production, and semiotic/symbolic aspects were helpful in the analysis of texts and contexts through a media studies lens, an ecocritical approach rooted in the humanities tradition aided in the exploration of these texts more specifically in their representations of the natural environment. Ecocriticism, defined by Lawrence Buell (2005) as an "environmental turn" in literary-critical studies, is an emergent discourse with ancient roots.

In a contemporary context, arguably the first example of ecocriticism was Rachel Carson's (1962) *Silent Spring*, in which she explored the tactics used by the chemical industries to spread environmental disinformation through marketing. As the first wave of ecocriticism progressed, scholars looked at how the environment itself had been defined in cultural and mediated representations. This is seen in the critiques of pastoralism in literature and culture by Leo Marx (1972) and Raymond Williams (1973). Ecocriticism has been expanded beyond literature to also include film and other visual media (Rust, Monani, & Cubitt, 2013). Of note for this study, J. Keri Cronin (2011) explored both the visual depictions and industrial factors in Canada's Jasper National Park.

An ecocritical approach extends beyond the broad context of the environment or wilderness and has been used to explore cultural representations of animals as well. Steve Baker (1993) suggests that culture not only constructs the animal through symbolic practices, but that it is done "to make a statement about human identity" (ix). Jonathan Burt (2002) extends Baker's suggestion further, stating that "animal imagery does not merely reflect human-animal relations and the position of animals in human culture, but is also used to change them" (p. 15).

Methodological Approach

To apply these research questions and theoretical approaches, I have considered a number of objects of study using a variety of methods of inquiry.

Objects of Study

Films

This study primarily focused on the Finley-Pack series of films. However, for contextual support, other films produced by Finley and his collaborators outside the scope of study were analyzed. Many, if not all, of these films are preserved on 16mm safety film and—in some cases—have been digitized. The Finley-Pack series is housed in the moving image archives of Oregon State University Special Collections, the Oregon Historical Society, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Paratextual Materials

In addition to the study of the films themselves, paratextual and contextual materials surrounding the Finley-Pack films, including letters, lecture notes, lecture slides, film title slides and placards, photographs, film ownership documentation, legal contracts, governmental communications, etc. were analyzed. These materials are found in the archives at Oregon State University Special Collections and the Oregon Historical Society.

Nature Magazine

This study also included an analysis of *Nature Magazine*, both its editorial and advertising content. Specifically, I looked at the issues from 1925-1935, which are available in collected omnibuses from the Oregon State University Library.

Governmental Records

Of particular interest to the contextual/cultural aspect of this study was the development and organization of the U.S. National Park Service in the 1920s and 1930s. This aspect was explored, in part, through the study of historical governmental records including periodic reports from the National Park Service to the United States Congress. These reports included information such as funds spent on development and park visitorship numbers.

Press Records

Both national and regional newspapers have also been consulted to provide historical context for the study.

Methods of Inquiry

As an inductive study, this project eschewed a pre-established mode of analyzing data. Instead, I used the following methods—document analysis, historiographical research, and textual analysis—to collect observations and data from my objects of study and secondary sources. These observations were then honed, examined using the appropriate theoretical lenses, and organized in a comprehensive outline. From this outline, focused chapters coalesced around emergent themes in the work.

Document Analysis

The aforementioned objects of this study were explored using the method of document analysis. Using historian John Tosh's (1991) model, primary sources in this study are classified into two areas: one being, published or unpublished works, and second, material based on the authorship of each source. Of special note are the 'published' (or publicly presented and advertised) films of Finley and Pack, however, other materials both published/unpublished and from other sources were analyzed. Following Tosh's criteria, my approach to analyzing these materials was both source- and problem-orientated. Tosh describes a source-oriented approach as one that begins with a group of related sources from which one extracts research value, while a problem-orientated approach begins with a historical question that is then explored using relevant sources. Tosh suggests that each approach is not exclusive to the other. As this study begins with both groups of sources and a historical "problem," both approaches have been beneficial.

Once the sources were classified and the approach methodology established, the study analyzed the historical documents according to John Scott's (1990) criteria for the assessment of quality in documents, which includes the material's authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning. In establishing the primary sources for this study, both Tosh and Scott present clear methods for organizing and analyzing historical texts.

Historiography

Beyond the analysis of primary historical documents, I also drew from the body of historical work on various topics involved in this study. However, drawing from

historiography proved challenging, as the scope of an entire industry provided many entry points. As Michele Hilmes (2009) writes: "by taking an industries approach to the critical study of media we are indicating a perspective that is inherently contextual and interrelated. The concept of 'industry' implies the coming together of a host of interests and efforts around the production of goods or services; it also indicates commercial purposes, meaning the distribution of goods or services in a marketplace for the accumulation of profit" (p. 22). With this in mind, I have used Hilmes's criteria in addressing the historiographical facets of the study: the author (the producers and modes of production within the industries), the text (the output of the industry), the object (the materialism of the output), the nation (loosely, the socio-political-economic context of the industry), and the quality.

Textual Analysis

Beyond document and historiographical analysis, this study employed textual analysis as a primary method. Robert McKee (2003) states that "we interpret texts (films, television programmes, magazines, advertisements, clothes graffiti, and so on) in order to try and obtain a sense of the ways in which, in particular cultures at particular times, people make sense of the world around them" (p. 1). Additionally, this study—in its exploration of film—applied textual analysis to the films as prescribed by Béla Baláz (1923/2012), André Bazin (1967/2004), Sergei Eisenstein (1969), Christian Metz (1986), and others.

Beyond the material texts, this study also understands the cultures of this study to be texts themselves. This aligns with Geertz (1973), who suggests that through "thick description," cultural analysis should be an interpretive, semiotic endeavor. Thus, the

cultural analysis for this project extended to production and audience cultures. To explore the production cultures, I looked to Caldwell's (2009b) framework that extends film scholarship beyond its traditional boundaries and argues for a "cultural studies of film/television production" (p. 199). To consider the audiences of both the Finley-Pack films, and the consumers of the wilderness culture industry more generally, I employ film scholar Janet Staiger's (1992) theorization that utilizes a neo-Marxist materialist historiography to stress the contextual factors in the film industry to extend cultural studies into the historical study of film audiences.

In this chapter, I presented the research questions that informed the approach undertook throughout this study. Following Chapters 4, 5, and 6, each question will be revisited in the Chapter 7 with a final discussion.

CHAPTER IV

THE BIRD IN ITS WILD STATE:

WILLIAM L. FINLEY, *NATURE MAGAZINE*, AND

THE WILDERNESS CULTURE INDUSTRY

Before exploring the production, promotion, and exhibition of the Finley-Pack films explicitly in the following chapters, an overview of the lives and of works William L. Finley and Arthur N. Pack serves to contextualize their partnership. In addition to a discussion of their biographies, this chapter also presents a definition of the 'wilderness culture industry'—a concept introduced in this study and that is used as both a historic and modern explanation for the sociological, cultural, political, and economic engagements with wildlife and 'wild' environments. This definition also contextualizes the historical period of this study, while also further justifying its focus on the 1920s and 1930s as a watershed moment in the modernization of a 'wilderness culture industry.'

William Lovell Finley

In many ways, William Lovell Finley serves as a prototype for the popular image of the naturalist filmmaker in the 20th century. Like those that followed him—Jacques-Yves Cousteau, David Attenborough, Marty Stouffer, and others—Finley delicately balanced the dueling identities of adventurer-artist and scientific conservationist. His life and career took many turns, alternately pulling him through the extremes of adventuring (as a wildlife photographer, writer, and filmmaker) and monotony (as a bureaucrat at the Oregon Fish and Game Commission). Because of the sparse scholarship on his life, it proved difficult to separate myth from truth in Finley's life, a point noted throughout this

dissertation. Some details—such as his influence on President Theodore Roosevelt in creating federal wildlife refuges in the western United States—are well supported. Others—such as Finley harassing prostitutes in the street for wearing hats adorned with illegal bird plumage—read as apocryphal.

The majority of what is known about Finley is drawn from his work: his films, photographs, and writings, as well as discussions in the works of others, including those of his wife, Irene, daughter Eleanor, and son-in-law/collaborator, Arthur Newton Pack. Beyond these writings, the definitive biography of Finley's life is *William L. Finley: Pioneer Wildlife Photographer* by historian Worth Mathewson (1986). This study draws on Mathewson's work to provide context and information for the following brief discussion of Finley's life, however without the ability to independently confirm Mathewson's sources or methodology, unconfirmable details have been either omitted or noted as speculative.

William Lovell Finley was born in Santa Clara, California, on August 9, 1876. His parents, John Pettus Finley and Nancy Catherine Rucker, moved west by covered wagon in the mid-19th century from Missouri as children. In 1887, the Finleys—including 11-year-old William—moved to Portland, Oregon. By this time, William's uncle, William Asa Finley, was already serving as the first president of Corvallis (Ore.) College (later to be renamed Oregon State University). In Portland, Finley began his long and productive partnership with classmate and fellow bird enthusiast, Herman T. Bohlman (Figure 4-1). As another Finley collaborator, Dallas Lore Sharp (1920), writes, "it started when the boy Bohlman, the son of a coppersmith, met Finley, the son of an undertaker, watching a bird in a tree along the streets of Portland, Oregon" (p. 2).

Together, Finley and Bohlman refined their skills in photographing wild birds. The duo's photographs were so novel, skillful, and influential that President Roosevelt was inspired to set aside areas in the western United States as federal bird reservations, as discussed later in this chapter.

Figure 4-1. William L. Finley and Herman Bohlman capture photographs of eagles in their treetop aerie in 1904. Oregon Digital.

Finley continued to blend art and advocacy throughout his career. As he and Bohlman progressed in their photography, Finley served as a field agent for the National Audubon Society and, in 1906, was elected the second president of the Oregon Audubon Society. That year, Finley also married Irene Barnhart. Together, they would spend the remainder of Finley's life as collaborators in writing and filmmaking. It was also around this time that Finley's professional relationship with Bohlman ended, with Bohlman—perhaps one of the best bird photographers of all time—resuming work with his family's Portland plumbing business, a venture he would be associated with for over 40 years (Oregon State University Special Collections and Archives Research Center, 2009).

While honing his filmmaking abilities and raising a young family, Finley also worked in various capacities for Oregon's Department of Fish and Wildlife between 1911 and 1930, serving as a commissioner for the Oregon Fish and Game Commission between 1911 and 1919. In the 1920s, the Finleys began a long relationship with *Nature Magazine* as collaborators—with William Finley making a series of films with *Nature Magazine*'s publisher Arthur N. Pack throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

In the 1940s, Finley suffered a series of debilitating strokes. He died on June 29, 1953, in Portland at the age of 76. At the time of his death, Finley was acknowledged professionally as a writer, photographer, filmmaker, and conservationist. Each of these personas are discussed in more depth in the following sections.

Finley as Photographer/Writer

In 1903, Finley graduated from the University of California, where he met classmate and fellow 1903 graduate, Irene Barnhart. Together, in July 1906, the now married Finleys moved to Oregon and William reconnected with his childhood photography partner, Herman Bohlman (Mathewson, p. 5). It was during this time that the Finleys and Bohlman captured arguably their most renowned photographs. Young and apparently risk averse, Finley and Bohlman lugged their heavy collodion plates and cameras up trees and rock cliffs in pursuit of the perfect shot. It was also during this time that Finley's ethics toward camera hunting took root, as he wrote in the November-December 1901 issue of *The Condor*, a magazine dedicated to California ornithology:

> "Within the last two or three years a great deal has been written on the art of photographing birds and their nests, but from all that has been printed not half as much may be gained as by a little experience in the field. Hunting with a camera

affords not only a pleasing pastime but encourages the closest study and its results are likely to be of considerable scientific value. To be successful the photographer must have a good knowledge of the actions, ways and habits of birds. There is a charm in getting a good picture of a nest in its natural position that one does not experience in the collecting of eggs. There is a fascination in obtaining a good photograph of the bird in its wild state that one misses entirely when he uses a gun. Natural history picture-making shows a much higher development in a man's love for nature than the mere collecting of specimens to lie hidden away in some cabinet" (Finley, November-December 1901, p. 137-138).

Complementing his photographic work with Bohlman, Finley began his career as a writer during this period of immense productivity. He sold his first article to *Country Life Magazine* in 1901, and in 1907, his first book *American Birds* was published by Charles Scribner. The book features photographs by both Bohlman and Finley, with the text exclusively written by the latter. Mathewson (1986) suggests that this book's publication marks a time of transition when Finley began working more closely with Irene than Bohlman, and moved more toward his filmmaking, writing, and advocacy work (Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2. William and Irene Finley, circa 1915. Oregon Digital.

Following the success of *American Birds*, William and Irene Finley co-wrote two additional books: *Little Bird Blue* in 1915 and *Wild Animal Pets* in 1928. The latter was based on the menagerie of wild animals that the Finleys kept at their Jennings Lake

home. *Wild Animal Pets* sold well nationally – its publication coincided with Finley's rise as a noted national film lecturer and copies of the book were sold at his tour engagements and events (Figure 4-3). As Finley detached professionally from Bohlman and moved in new directions, he would become heavily invested in the nascent field of governmental environmental management and conservation.

Finley as Bureaucrat

Early in William Finley and Herman Bohlman's partnership, the two boys started a supplementary business to their photographs—the harvesting and selling of bird skins and eggs. After being taken from nest and carcass, the two sold the eggs and skins to A. B. Averill, a Portland collectables dealer (Mathewson, 1986). Though Finley would later renounce his and Bohlman's macabre endeavor of youth, this anecdote demonstrates Finley's ability to bifurcate the natural world in both his morals and actions: on one hand, he saw the natural world as a place of beauty and splendor worth capturing in images and protecting for future generations. On the other, he could also see the environment through the eyes of capital—where the natural world can also serve as a larder for personal and corporate exploitation. As Cary Elizabeth Myles (2017) writes:

> "… [Finley] wasn't sentimental or romantic about wildlife. He supported sport hunting, though he seldom hunted himself. While photographing birds was less destructive than shooting them, Finley and his partners used invasive tactics. He and his partners did not hesitate to uncover nests, handle chicks, or tame wild animals as pets. He was also a firm believer in collecting specimens in the interest of scientific advancement. His conservationism was rooted in a destructive boyhood hobby of collecting eggs" (p. 6).

This little antelope likes home-cooked dinners.

Learn All About the Furred and Feathered Creatures that Inhabit Our Forests

by reading

"WILD ANIMAL PETS"

By William Finley & Irene Finley

Mr. Finley says that the Bear Cub is the most human of all children of the woods. Panthers, Porcupines, Coyotes, Squirrels, Condors, Moose, Rabbits, Gulls, Armadillos, Opossums, Sea-Lions, Deer, Goats, and many other creatures are discussed in a most appealing and interesting fashion.

"WILD ANIMAL PETS"

solves many mysteries of animal ways and causes the reader to yearn longingly to collect all these "children of the woods" from our forests and place them in our own back-yards to play with.

"WILD ANIMAL PETS" will delight both old and young

Over 80 half-tone illustrations

Write Now For Your Copy—Only $3.00

Don Q

Raccoons

Book Sales Department, 1214 Sixteenth Street

Figure 4-3. An advertisement for William and Irene Finley's *Wild Animal Pets* from the January 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine*, a national bestseller that was also sold on Finley's film tour.

This dichotomy is the basic argument behind the notion of the 'wilderness culture industry' that will be discussed later in this chapter and explored throughout the remainder of this study. In the early 20th century, as widespread industry evolved in the United States and moved westward, people like Finley developed complicated, often incongruous relationships with the natural world. These relationships, captured in the conservation and artistic work of Finley and his peers, would help define the American West and wilderness for the next century.

As conservationists, Finley and Bohlman understood early the importance and power of the photographic image. Their work, either directly or indirectly, was instrumental in President Roosevelt's decision in 1907 to name Three Arch Rocks, off the coast of Oregon, as the first nationally protected wildlife refuge on the west coast. Dallas Lore Sharp (1926), a close friend and renowned wildlife writer himself, recalls:

> "Swinging their dory from her rocky davits, they launched her empty on a topping wave, loaded in their precious freight, and, pulling safely off, headed for shore, making a solemn promise to the old bull sea-lion, and to the flippered herds sprawling along the ledges, and to the flying flocks that filled the air. But none of the multitude heard it above their own raucous screaming, and none of them knew. They did not know how that vow took one of the boys across the States to the other ocean shore. They did not see the pictures of their rainy, sea-washed home spread in high excitement over a table in the White House, nor watch an eager man, all teeth and eyes and pounding fists, whanging about and bellowing, 'Bully! Bully!' just like an old bull sea-lion. But Finley did. They did not see him

> study the pictures and vow, 'We'll make a sanctuary out of Three Arch Rocks.' But Finley did" (p. 20).

In his final years of office, Roosevelt created over 50 federal wildlife refuges across the United States, often consulting with naturalists—including Finley—to suggest critical sites. In addition to Three Arch Rocks, Finley would also convince Roosevelt to protect both the Klamath and Malheur bird refuges in 1908 (Mathewson, 1986, p. 9). Not only were these the largest refuges created at the time, but they were the first created on land that had viable agricultural potential—a noteworthy fact considering the rapid growth in population and industry in the western United States.

Finley's work in conservation and wilderness management expanded beyond his role as an informal advisor to the President. In perhaps his most active role, Finley—as president of the Oregon Audubon Society—arrested proprietors of the leading Portland millinery establishments in 1909. Finley (1909, August) writes of his raid:

> "On April 2 [1909], Mr. William L. Finley, President of the Oregon Audubon Society, arrested ten of the proprietors of the leading millinery establishments of Portland and seized a quantity of plumage as evidence. On April 6, the two leading department stores of the city, Lipman, Wolfe & Co. and Meier & Frank, although arrested the first time, failed to withdraw all the forbidden plumage and were again arrested. The following week when these cases came up for trial, all the milliners pleaded guilty. In view of the fact that they promised to ship out of the state within two weeks all plumage that is forbidden under the law, and since the largest firms showed telegrams and letters countermanding orders for fall

aigrettes to the extent of several thousand dollars, a nominal fine of ten dollars was imposed for the first offense and twenty dollars for the second" (p. 188).

In 1911, Finley's role expanded to the public service sector through employment with the State of Oregon. Working with Governor Oswald West, Finley helped form the state's Fish and Game Commission by serving as the first commissioner from the Portland area district. However, Finley was reportedly restless in this desk-bound bureaucratic work. He quickly negotiated an appointment as the State Game Warden, and eventually State Biologist, in an effort to satisfy his need to work outdoors. However, in 1919, the Fish and Game Commission—with whose other members Finley had clashed—abruptly fired Finley from the commission without warning. According to Mathewson (1986) "the Oregon public was shocked and outraged by Finley's firing. Letters of protest numbered into the thousands, and schoolchildren had a Finley day" (p. 11). To support Mathewson's claims, the December 27, 1919, issue of *the Oregon Voter* ran a lengthy defense of Finley that bordered on the hagiographic:

> "'Finley's been canned!' That is the expression that was used by hundreds of Oregonians last week, when it became known that William L. Finley, popular State Biologist, beloved genius, ardent naturalist, famous student of bird and animal life, nationally known scientist, lecturer and writer, had been discharged from the state's services by the State Game Commission. Finley is Oregon's great genius, possibly the one living Oregonian whose name will be known centuries hence and whose fame will transcend that of any of our statesmen. Finley deserves all the credit and compliments tendered him, for he is a genius, an

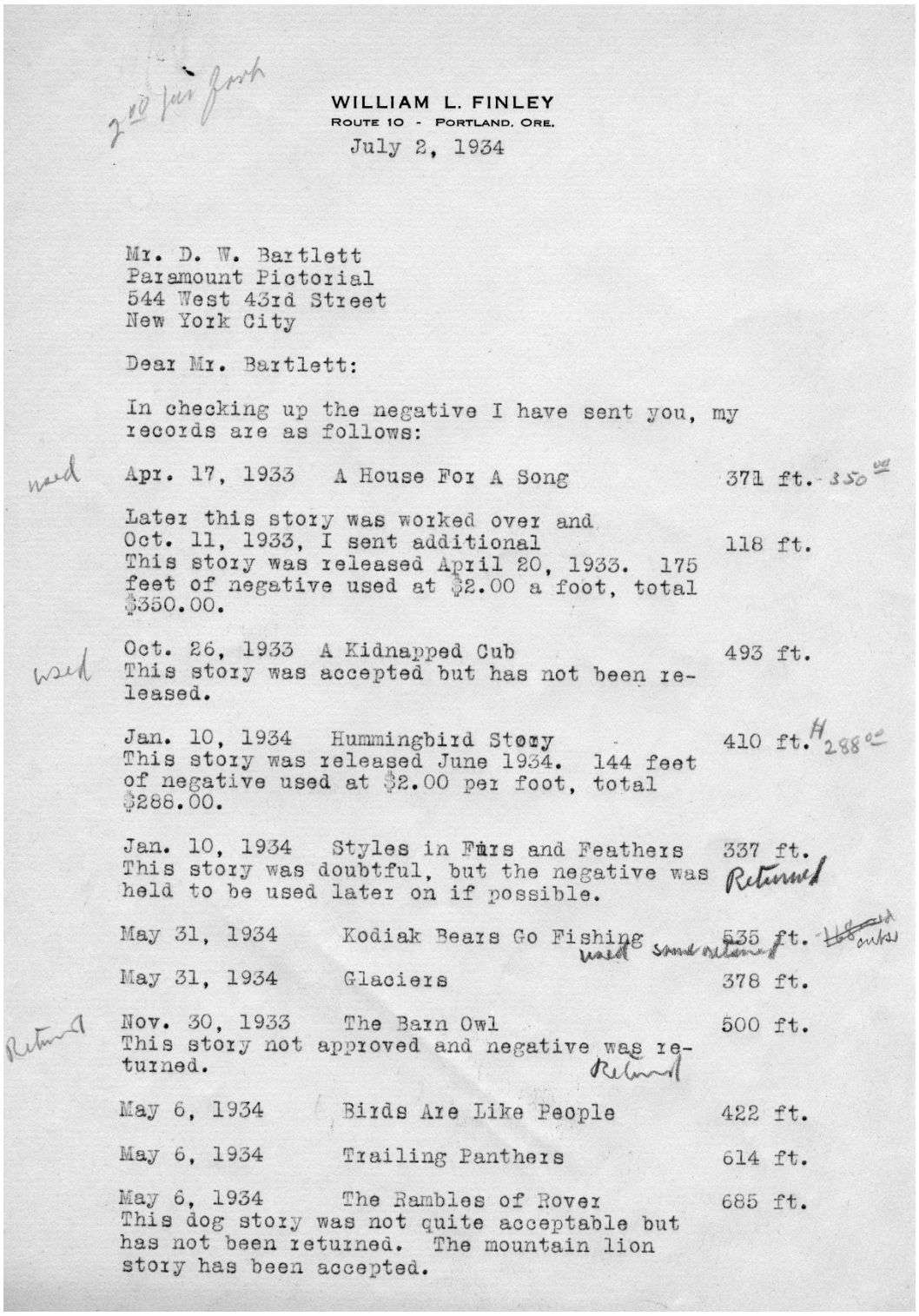
> unselfish lover of the denizens of the world, an educator and an authority even among scientists" ("Editorial," [1919, December 27]).

Despite the uproar, Finley's firing freed him from the tether of public service and allowed him the ability to embark on a relationship with *Nature Magazine* in the 1920s as a consultant, spokesperson, and filmmaker.

Finley as Filmmaker

This study focuses primarily on Finley's role as a filmmaker, privileging the films he created under the auspices and with the support of *Nature Magazine*. Through this role, Finley transitioned from a regional conservationist and writer to a nationally known 'science personality.' While scientifically trained, Finley was never a scientist, even in his capacity as State Biologist for the state of Oregon. Instead, Finley was a popularizer of science and scientific content—a skill that synced with the visual nature of film as a medium and the performative style of Finley's tours.

Finley's first introduction to film was through the motion pictures of Edward S. Curtis. After viewing Curtis's films of Native Americans at the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition, Finley shifted his photographic interests toward moving pictures. (Mitman, 1999, p. 97). Over the course of his career, Finley—in collaboration with Irene Finley and Arthur Pack—created over 55 ½ hours of film composed of birds, mammals, flowers, and North American wildlife (Petterson, 2011, p. 129). Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, Finley toured extensively with these films. However, later in his career,



WILLIAM L. FINLEY
ROUTE 10 - PORTLAND, ORE.
July 2, 1934

Mr. D. W. Bartlett
Paramount Pictorial
544 West 43rd Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Bartlett:

In checking up the negative I have sent you, my records are as follows:

Apr. 17, 1933	A House For A Song	371 ft.
Later this story was worked over and Oct. 11, 1933, I sent additional This story was released April 20, 1933. 175 feet of negative used at $2.00 a foot, total $350.00.		118 ft.
Oct. 26, 1933	A Kidnapped Cub	493 ft.
This story was accepted but has not been released.		
Jan. 10, 1934	Hummingbird Story	410 ft.
This story was released June 1934. 144 feet of negative used at $2.00 per foot, total $288.00.		
Jan. 10, 1934	Styles in Furs and Feathers	337 ft.
This story was doubtful, but the negative was held to be used later on if possible.		
May 31, 1934	Kodiak Bears Go Fishing	535 ft.
May 31, 1934	Glaciers	378 ft.
Nov. 30, 1933	The Barn Owl	500 ft.
This story not approved and negative was returned.		
May 6, 1934	Birds Are Like People	422 ft.
May 6, 1934	Trailing Panthers	614 ft.
May 6, 1934	The Rambles of Rover	685 ft.
This dog story was not quite acceptable but has not been returned. The mountain lion story has been accepted.		

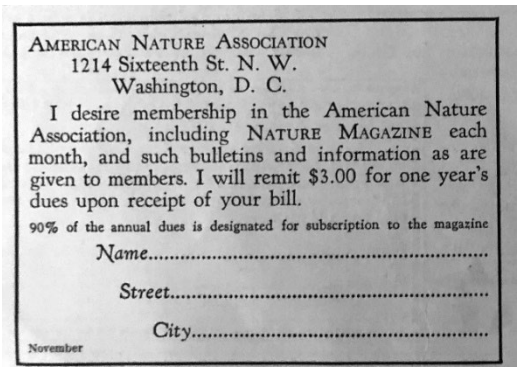
Figure 4-4. A letter written by William Finley in July 1934 that discusses film footage submitted to D. W. Bartlett of Paramount Pictorial. Oregon Digital.

Finley began selling his footage to Hollywood studios for their usage in theatric newsreels. In a letter to Paramount dated July 2, 1934, Finley appears to negotiate with the studio and the amounts paid for his contributions are listed (Figure 4-4).

Arthur Newton Pack and *Nature Magazine*

In 1923, Arthur Newton Pack (Figure 4-5), with the support of his father, launched the American Nature Association, along with the organization's flagship magazine, *Nature Magazine*. From early in the magazine's existence, Finley was affiliated as 'associate' in the masthead, sometimes under the title of 'Director of Wildlife Conservation.' In this role, both William and Irene featured prominently in the publication. Both wrote articles, appeared in advertising, and published photographs. Beginning in the mid-1920s, the Finleys and Pack began creating films and other ventures together.

Figure 4-5. Arthur Newton Pack in 1923. Oregon Digital.



AMERICAN NATURE ASSOCIATION
1214 Sixteenth St. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

I desire membership in the American Nature Association, including NATURE MAGAZINE each month, and such bulletins and information as are given to members. I will remit $3.00 for one year's dues upon receipt of your bill.

90% of the annual dues is designated for subscription to the magazine

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

November

Figure 4-6. A membership subscription form to join the American Nature Association from the November 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine*.

As of November 1929, a one-year membership to the American Nature Association cost $3.00 USD and came with a complimentary monthly subscription to *Nature Magazine* (Figure 4-6). Former *Nature*

Magazine editor Richard W. Westwood (1946) describes the foundation of the magazine as a response to the lack of environmental consciousness among the general public. He writes, that in the early 1920s:

> "'nature faking' was still much the order of the day in newspapers and many magazines, and conservation of wildlife resources was a sleeping infant, awakening only occasionally to let loose a lusty howl. It was, therefore, the objective of the American Nature Association to stimulate public interest in all phases of nature and the outdoors, to further nature study in the schools and elsewhere, and to promote an understanding of the natural resources of woods, waters, and wildlife. To accomplish these aims, Arthur Newton Pack, as first president of the association, believed that a noncommercial magazine, presenting the story of nature and the outdoors, popularly yet accurately, should be the primary activity of the association" (p. 722).

The Pack Family Fortune and Conservation

Arthur Newton Pack was born on February 20, 1893, as the heir to a multi-generational fortune. He founded the American Nature Association with his father, Charles Lathrop Pack, who was one of the five wealthiest men in the United States prior to World War I (Eyle, 1994). The elder Pack, through investments in southern timber, banking, and real-estate, was a multimillionaire. However, Charles Lathrop Pack was also an ardent early conservationist; he reportedly gave over US$2.8 million to forest conservation during his lifetime (Eyle, 1994).

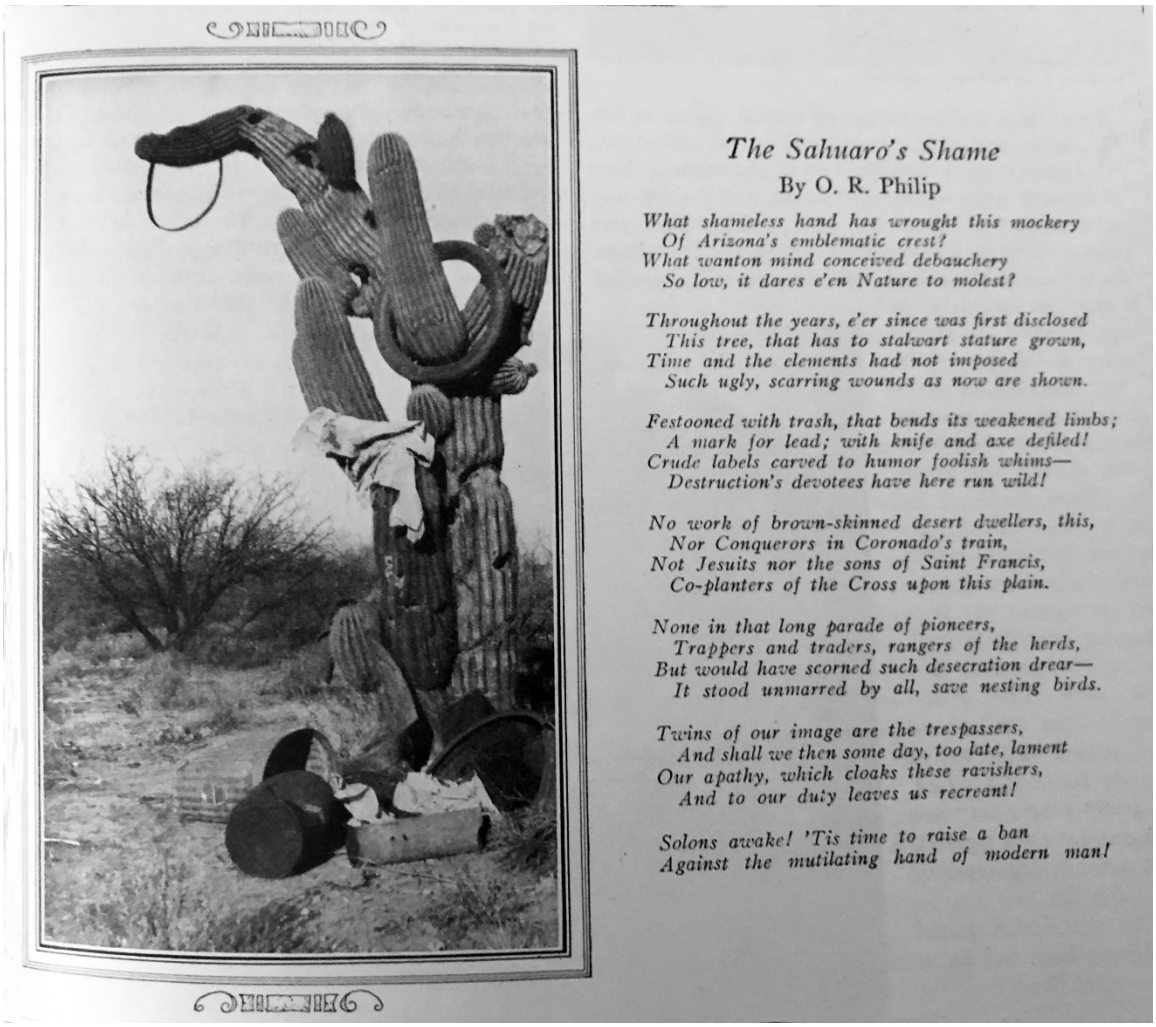
Arthur Pack followed his father's example. After marrying and having three children, Pack dedicated himself to the AMA, *Nature Magazine*, and other work. In 1926,

he wrote *Our Vanishing Forests,* in which he addressed issues in American forestry. Later in life, after a divorce from his first wife, Pack married William and Irene Finley's daughter—Phoebe Katherine (Finley) Pack—with whom he had two more children. The Packs continued their work for the remainder of their lives, eventually helping to establish the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum in Tucson, Arizona. Pack died on December 6, 1975.

Nature Magazine and the Commodification of Nature

The pages of *Nature Magazine* featured stories about both wild and domesticated animals, natural history, nature poetry, flowers and gardens, biographies, astronomy, and much more. A sample of articles from 1929 ranged from a natural history of white lab mice (Johnson, January 1929) to an anti-timber industry polemic (Westwood, March 1929), a biography of the 'Homer of Insects" (Peattie, September 1929) to a poem titled 'The Sahuaro's Shame' that—as a possible response to the excesses of the wilderness culture industry—lambasts litterers in the American southwestern deserts (Philip, June 1929) (Figure 4-7).

This array of topics seemed to influence (or be influenced by) the extensive advertising featured in the magazine, which "offered readers a cornucopia of products advertised to enhance their outdoor experiences; everything from horticulture and garden supplies to kennels and pet products to sporting goods, summer camps, and travel packages to the national parks" (Mitman, 1999, pp. 95-96).



The Sahuaro's Shame

By O. R. Philip

What shameless hand has wrought this mockery
Of Arizona's emblematic crest?
What wanton mind conceived debauchery
So low, it dares e'en Nature to molest?

Throughout the years, e'er since was first disclosed
This tree, that has to stalwart stature grown,
Time and the elements had not imposed
Such ugly, scarring wounds as now are shown.

Festooned with trash, that bends its weakened limbs;
A mark for lead; with knife and axe defiled!
Crude labels carved to humor foolish whims—
Destruction's devotees have here run wild!

No work of brown-skinned desert dwellers, this,
Nor Conquerors in Coronado's train,
Not Jesuits nor the sons of Saint Francis,
Co-planters of the Cross upon this plain.

None in that long parade of pioncers,
Trappers and traders, rangers of the herds,
But would have scorned such desecration drear—
It stood unmarred by all, save nesting birds.

Twins of our image are the trespassers,
And shall we then some day, too late, lament
Our apathy, which cloaks these ravishers,
And to our duty leaves us recreant!

Solons awake! 'Tis time to raise a ban
Against the mutilating hand of modern man!

Figure 4-7. A poem by O. R. Philip from the June 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine* laments litter in the 'wilderness' of the southwestern United States.

However disparate the products advertised, most fit a common theme. As mass production and a national logistics network became widespread, so too did the development of mass-produced, nature-inspired products that could be shipped directly to the magazine's readers. These ranged from the practical, such as rustic pioneer-inspired hickory furniture to the surreal, such as live armadillos shipped directly to anywhere for either $5.00 USD a piece, or $9.00 for a pair (Figure 4-8). Whether chairs or armadillos, tents or seeds, each advertisement promised the purchaser a piece of 'nature' or 'natural

living'—as a consumable product—delivered directly to the comfort of home. This commodification of the natural world led directly to the establishment of an American 'wilderness culture industry' in the early 21st century, an industry propagated—both directly and indirectly—through the work of Finley, Pack, and *Nature Magazine*.

Figure 4-8. An advertisement from the June 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine* for live armadillos delivered directly to the home.

The Wilderness Culture Industry: A Definition

Before presenting the works of William L. Finley and Arthur N. Pack as case studies to illustrate the wilderness culture industry of the early 20th century, a definition of this term is needed. The following discussion defines each word in the context of this study, before offering a brief overview of the phrase holistically.

I argue that the origin of the wilderness culture industry in the United States began in the postindustrial era of the 1920s, a time when an explicit, mass commodification of the western 'wilderness' and its inherent leisure opportunities began in earnest. With the mass marketing of the automobile, 'sage-brushing' (or car camping) became popular and with it a new range of commercial products and services. As one Yellowstone sage-brusher boasted, a sage-brusher "cuts loose from all effeteness" and brings "clothes and furniture and house and food—even the family pup—and lets his

adventurous pioneering spirit riot here in the mountain air" ("Neighbors for a Night…," August 1924, p. 45). These new camp-friendly commodities were well attended to in the advertising of Pack's *Nature Magazine*. The magazine was also the primary sponsor of the Finley-Pack films, creating a compelling, transmedial symbiosis of art and nature, conservation and commerciality, worthy of study. In this regard, this study works from a similar understanding of materialism and nature as forwarded by sociologist John Bellamy Foster (2000; 2020), who—instead of seeing materialism and nature as antithetical—emphasized that materialism has historically promoted, even made possible, "ecological ways of thinking" (p. 1). An exploration of the symbiosis of the material and the natural, as opposed to a strictly antagonistic view of the two, leads into a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the wilderness culture industry.

At its root, the term 'wilderness culture industry' owes its genesis to the work of Frankfurt School theorists Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (1944/2007), who famously introduced the term 'culture industry' in their seminal study. Like this original definition, my expansion of the term argues that the products of culture—including the construct of wilderness (discussed below)—are manufactured through the interests of capital and power. This suggests that wilderness is a consumer product, one that is not autonomous but instead shackled to the logic of industrialized, capitalist rationality.

Wilderness

This study engages the concept—or construct—of 'wilderness' as a cultural contradiction. Prior to industrialization, the relationship between white Europeans and Americans and 'wilderness' was not one of romance and adventure. William Cronon (1995) writes that "as late as the eighteenth century, the most common usage of the word

‘wilderness’ in the English language referred to landscapes that generally carried adjectives far different from the ones they attract today. To be a wilderness then was to be ‘deserted,’ ‘savage,’ ‘desolate,’ ‘barren’—in short, a ‘waste,’ the word’s nearest synonym. Its connotations were anything but positive, and the emotion one was most likely to feel in its presence was ‘bewilderment’ or ‘terror’” (p. 2). Yet, as industrialization made the ‘wilderness’ appear safer and as white colonization spread across the North American continent, this fear dissipated—or at least morphed. By the end of the 19th century, transcendentalist writers and artists argued for a reverence toward the natural world that bordered on the spiritual.

This spiritual draw toward the natural world emboldened the myth of the American West, a promised land that presented rewards to those who aimed to conquer and colonize. In Frederick Jackson Turner’s (1893/2014) ‘frontier thesis’, he suggested that easterners and European immigrants, in settling the ‘unsettled’ lands of the western frontier, would have the opportunity to shed the trappings of civilization, rediscover their primitive energies, and reinfuse themselves with the qualities of vigor and independence indicative of American democracy and national character. These connotations as applied to ‘wilderness,’ impregnated with the arch emotions of fear and divinity, provide ample materials for cultural mythmaking.

This definition understands myth and mythmaking in the Barthesian (1957/2012) usage of the term. Barthes argued that a myth is more than simply a message, but a system of communication. As such, a myth is a second-order semiological system, in effect a ‘sign of a sign.’ In this system, the first sign takes ahold in the language, similar to the concept first forwarded by de Saussure (1916/2011). In this sense, wilderness is

already a “motivated form” (Barthes, 1957/2012, p. 236), a symbolic image “received of its fat” (Barthes, 1957/2012, p. 237) and ready for a seemingly endless array of signification. Here we are presented with one of many contradictions in the ‘wilderness culture industry’: a natural ecosystem—at once primordial and ancient—that exists solely as a complete cultural manifestation within the national (and possibly global) psyche. Or, as Cronon (1995) writes:

> “Far from being the one place on earth that stands apart from humanity, it is quite profoundly a human creation—indeed, the creation of very particular human cultures at very particular moments in human history. It is not a pristine sanctuary where the last remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature can for at least a little while longer be encountered without the contaminating taint of civilization. Instead, it’s a product of that civilization, and could hardly be contaminated by the very stuff of which it is made. Wilderness hides its unnaturalness behind a mask that is all the more beguiling because it seems so natural. As we gaze into the mirror it holds up for us, we too easily imagine that what we behold is Nature when in fact we see the reflection of our own unexamined longings and desires” (p. 1).

If wilderness is understood to be a cultural construct, it is now necessary to define the term ‘culture’ as it relates to the ‘wilderness culture industry,’ especially in the context of the United States in the 20th century.

Culture

From the many understandings of ‘culture’ in media and cultural studies, this study draws from Clifford Geertz’s (1973) definition of culture as a public act in which

people express themselves through their use of various signs and symbols that have been imbued with a pre-ascribed cultural meaning. The interpretative lens of semiotics presents culture—much like wilderness—as an anthropogenic construct, as opposed to a more ethereal psychological concept. This notion becomes more apparent when the machinations of capital begin to use and exploit these signified constructs in the pursuit of profit.

The 'culture' of the wilderness culture industry is arguably a product of the Progressive Era in the United States that spanned the 1890s through the late 1920s. The Progressive Era was a period of sweeping political reform and liberal activism; many consider the establishment of antitrust regulations for monopolies (trust busting) and the founding of governmental industrial regulation industries—including the establishment of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in 1906—as a direct response to the rampant and unchecked industrialism of the time. This growing distrust of the urban and the industrial spurred an interest—principally among the middle-class and white—in rediscovering natural spaces, specifically those in the western United States, considered unspoiled by factories and feedlots. This led to what historian William A. Gleason (1999) refers to as the American 'gospel of play,' the "Progressive Era's belief that right recreation held the key to regeneration… [that] quickly became a matter of cultural necessity" (p. 1). A new American culture of leisure was born to counteract the bleakness of industrialism and the still-fresh wounds of the Civil War. This culture of leisure included the rise of amateur sports and fitness associations, professional spectator sports, amusement parks, vacations resorts, and—of particular interest to this study and discussed in Chapter 5—national parks and the western American tourist infrastructure. Due to a variety of factors—

including the inhumane laws and policies toward people of color in the United States during this so-called 'progressive era'—there is a pronounced absence of non-white participants in the nascent wilderness culture industry of the 1920s. A deeper exploration of this omission, whether malicious or simply ignorant, is beyond the scope of this present study, but important to acknowledge.

While engaging in leisure activities, this middle-class, white American culture of outdoor and wilderness leisure was not engaged in simple play. As Geertz (1973) also forwarded, even activities that seem leisurely and playful are full of the semiotic systems that comprise the complex social practices of a culture. The wilderness culture industry is no different—in fact, this culture incorporates a complicated system dedicated to the presentation of financial, physical, and spiritual health. For the latter, drawing upon millennia of Christian mythology that considered the wilderness a space for supernatural intervention, a young minister named William H.H. Murray wrote the first 'how-to' manual for camping in the wilderness in 1869. This book promoted "a powerful combination of nature as physical cure, and camping as an open and equal activity… [and] took a previously quiet region [the Adirondack mountains] and transformed it into a nationwide destination, and gave Americans a new, reassuring form of leisure" (Young, October 2017). Beyond the spiritual, wilderness leisure was used as a performative act for the display of physical strength—a forum for the demonstration of heteronormative masculinity, much like the 'rough-riding' Roosevelt whose administration oversaw the architecture of the Progressive Era.

The present study, however, focuses on the demonstrative financial health that the wilderness culture industry creates, manipulates, and ultimately exploits. This type of

health is more abstract, yet also conspicuous. As Thorstein Veblen (1948) suggested, much of the subjective value of leisure "is no doubt in great part secondary and derivative. It is in part a reflex of the utility of leisure as a means of gaining the respect of others, and in part is the result of a mental substitution" (p. 85). As such, the culture of the wilderness industry is innately vicarious in many ways and many experience the wilderness through mediation, including through the films of Finley and Pack in the early 20th century. However, as industrial actors quickly realized, there was space for mass production and industry in a culture that was desperately trying to eschew what they considered mainly urban concerns.

In the 1920s in the United States, the chain store emerged as the predominant space for mass marketing goods and services. Infrastructure and shipping improved. Economies of scale and monopsony power provided goods for reduced costs (Gomery, 1985). These developments were applied to the needs—both immediate and aspirational—of this growing wilderness culture.

Industry

While this study argues for an ontological acceptance of both *wilderness* and *culture* as anthropogenic phenomena, the use of *industry* is firmly rooted in the realities of capitalist economics. However, the industrial interventions in the 'wilderness culture industry'—especially in the early decades of the 20th century—are complicated and multi-faceted. Finley found himself, as both bureaucrat and conservationist, pulled between the competing industries at play in the 'wilderness.' At the core of this conflict was the dichotomy between the wilderness as a provider of exploitable resources and the wilderness as a refuge from modernity, a place of restoration and leisure.

In 1911, with Finley's appointment as Oregon's State Game Warden, tensions between these dueling interests grew. As historian Lawrence Lipin (2007) writes, Finley advocated for a new set of propositions to limit the commercial and subsistence exploitation of wildlife species in the state. Even with these laws, the state's rural population continued to assert their right to harvest wildlife as a means for making a living, believing that "the act of capturing, shooting, and killing animals conferred ownership to the hunter or fisherman" (Lipin, 2007, p. 51). These industrial disagreements over the role of wilderness in a capitalist economy continue to the modern day; disagreements that suggest "that those who live in the country will rely on the exploitation of natural resources while those in the cities will see in those resources an intrinsic value, or a means of recreation and respite from society" (Lipin, 2006, p. 166).

While this study will focus primarily on the use of wilderness for recreation purposes, it is important to understand the symbiosis at play between the multiple industrial interventions within the 'wilderness culture industry,' a term that attempts to describe the popular culture commodification of the natural world and one that can be witnessed as growing more sophisticated throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries. As the following chapters illustrate, the production, promotion, and exhibition of the Finley-Pack films—and *Nature Magazine* more generally—inhabit a fluid political economy that juxtaposes the imagery of a constructed Edenian 'wilderness' with the economic imperatives of a rapidly-industrializing and mass-produced United States in the early 20th century.

CHAPTER V

SHOOTING NATURE:

TECHNOLOGY, NARRATIVE, AND THE VOCABULARY OF WILDERNESS

William Finley and Arthur Pack created their films during a time of great technical innovation in both the production and exhibition of motion pictures. These innovations—discussed in this chapter—led not only to advancements in the quality of nature documentary film footage, but also to the rise of an amateur 'camera hunting' hobby in the United States. These developments aided, in part, in the creation of the wilderness culture industry.

Most details about the production of nature documentaries are found in autobiographies written by the producers themselves. However, many of these read as pure adventure pabulum, including Cherry Kearton's *Photographing Wild Life Across the World* (1923), Stirling Gillespie's *Celluloid Safari* (1939), and Michela Denis's *Leopard on my Lap* (1955). For example, Kearton—whose book is 'dedicated to the memory of [his] dear friend Theodore Roosevelt'—wrote about his many expeditions to Africa, Asia, and the Americas with little detail paid to the specifics of filmmaking. Among these books are a few manuals for those interested in learning the craft of nature filmmaking. Of particular interest to this chapter is Oliver Pike's *Nature and my Cine Camera* (1946). Pike was a contemporary of Finley and Pack and one can assume that some of the experiences he recounts were common among other nature filmmakers of the 1920s and 1930s. This chapter aims to supplement and expand the current understanding of early 20th century field production of the wildlife films of Finley, Pack, and their contemporaries. In addition, an analysis of the texts of the Finley-Pack films provides an

understanding of the vocabulary and narrative of these early nature films and how these tropes continue in the modern context. Beyond the analysis of professional production, this chapter concludes with an examination of amateur production and the industrial interventions within this practice by the wilderness culture industry.

Nature Documentary Production: A Technological History

Early nature documentary film production might be seen to have set the tone for the industry that followed as it straddled the line between the authentic and the contrived, the professional and the amateur. As previously described, both Marey and Muybridge used captive animals as test subjects for their moving image experiments in the late 1800s. The use of captive and domesticated animals was necessary in these early experiments, as the size and complexity of the equipment used—Muybridge with his trip-wire system and Marey with his 'photographic gun'—dictated the need for a controlled set. Even as motion picture technology progressed, wildlife filmmakers continued to use captive animals in the creation of their films, including the influential work of Raymond L. Ditmars at the New York Zoological Park and Jean Painlevé and his surrealist revolutions in underwater cinema (Cahill, 2019).

In 1897, Thomas Edison is credited with creating the first true proto-wildlife film, one where the camera shot wild animals in their natural habitat (Bousé, 2000, p. 44). *The Sea Lions' Home* (1897) features distant shots of wild sea lions from the stern of a boat, all captured on 25 feet of film (Figure 5-1). While aesthetically crude by modern standards, the film demonstrated the potential of the nature documentary from a technological standpoint. As the 20th century began, so too did a series of technological developments that would make films, such as the work of Finley and Pack, possible.

Figure 5-1. A grainy still from Thomas Edison's *The Sea Lions' Home* (1897), considered the first 'wildlife film' to capture footage of wild animals.

The obvious starting point for any discussion on the development of camera technology is with the camera itself. Early 'camera hunters' who ventured into the natural environment to capture images, struggled with both the complicated process of capturing images and the staggering weight of the equipment. Early photographers were forced to carry not only heavy cameras, but large and fragile glass plates for the cumbersome collodion wet-plate process. To further complicate the process, these photographers were forced to use dangerous chemicals—such as ether—to develop their work in makeshift field tents used as darkrooms (Brower, 2011). Pike wrote of the challenges with the collodion process: "I reckon such an outfit was at least fifty times slower than the average equipment to-day [in the 1940s]. That is what I had to work with when I commenced to take nature photographs. It was not easy, and I had many failures. But plates were cheap, and after making a large number of exposures there were at the end always a few successful shots to reward my efforts" (Pike, 1946, p. 12).

As moving image technology progressed in the early 20th century, both Pike and Finley—seeing the potential of the new medium—embraced it. However, as early adopters, both struggled with the limitations of the new technology. Pike wrote that his "first 'cine' camera was a strange and noisy instrument" (Pike, 1946, p. 14). Noise, in any form, is an enemy of a nature filmmaker trying to capture images of skittish wildlife. Additionally, it was not unusual for these early moving image cameras to weigh 100 pounds or more, making them difficult to transport even in normal conditions, let alone difficult terrain (Petterson, 2011).

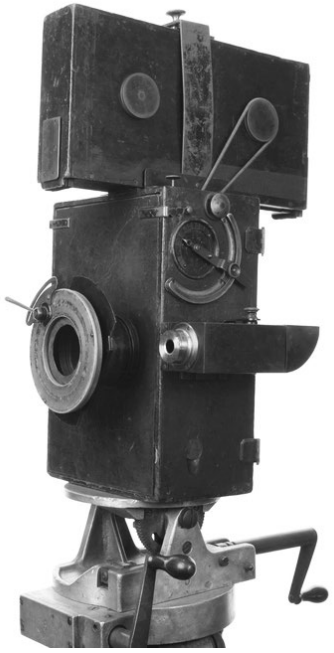


Figure 5-2. The 1910 Pathé camera, revolutionary in its design and portability. Malkames Collection.

After witnessing the Edison Company's development, the kinetoscope, that allowed them to monetize both the production and exhibition of motion images, French film company Pathé Frères introduced their own multipurpose camera in 1910. The Pathé camera (as it was known) was a direct descendent of the Lumiéres' cinematograph (Malkames Collection, n.d.). Early iterations of the camera, based on the designs bought by Charles Pathé from the Lumiéres in 1902, included the ability to not only capture images, but to project them as well. Yet the true revolution was the Pathé camera's portability and ease-of-use (Figure 5-2). Unlike many cameras at the time, its ocular, buttons, handle, and film reel were positioned in a way that the camera could be operated from behind (Petterson, 2011, p. 63). Additionally, the camera included a 400-

foot magazine and footage counter. The camera was housed in a lightweight, yet durable, wooden exterior and possessed a single frame crank capability that gave operators the ability to control the frame rate (Malkames Collection, n.d.). Pike was an early and enthusiastic adopter, writing that the "Pathé camera was far in advance to anything produced in this country [the United Kingdom]. I had two in constant use. It was an easy camera to work and gave a rock-steady picture" (Pike, 1946, pp. 18-19).

Beyond innovations to the technology of the camera itself, another impactful development in the early 20th century was the improvement of the telephoto lens. These advancements led to crisper image quality and shortened exposure times (Brower, 2011). Early camera lenses had poor light sensitivity and small focal lengths, making it difficult to capture wildlife, especially at dawn and dusk when they were most active (Petterson, 2011). Gradually, larger and more powerful lenses—developed for and used during World War I—were readily adopted by wildlife filmmakers.

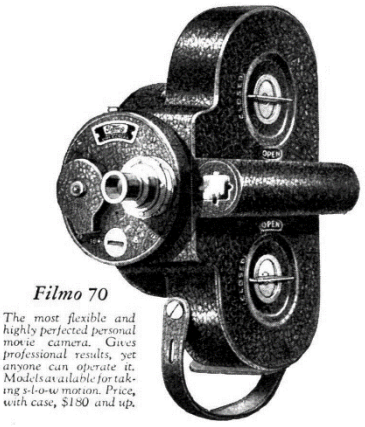


Figure 5-3. The Bell and Howell FILMO 70, as depicted in an advertisement featured in *Nature Magazine*.

In the 1920s, these rapid improvements in motion picture camera technology coalesced in a camera that would have a profound impact on both professional filmmakers (such as Finley and Pack) and amateur camera hunters: the Bell & Howell FILMO camera series. Bell & Howell was formed in Chicago in 1907 by Donald J. Bell and Albert S. Howell. In the beginning, the company provided only repair and service for existing camera equipment. However, soon after, the company leveraged this expertise into manufacturing their own proprietary

cameras. Bell and Howell were so successful as a manufacturer, in fact, that by 1919 nearly 100 percent of the professional camera equipment used by Hollywood film studios was created by the company. In that same year, Bell and Howell entered the amateur camera equipment market. Beginning by creating cameras that used 17.5mm film, the company transitioned to 16mm in 1921 after observing experiments conducted by George Eastman of Eastman Kodak.

In 1923, Bell and Howell introduced the FILMO 70 (Figure 5-3), which was the first handheld spring-driven 16mm camera on the market. Its portability was unprecedented; it quickly became the standard in documentary film and was used to capture events, wars, and nature. Though not inexpensive at $175, the FILMO 70 was in such great demand that it was on backorder until 1930. In 1928, Bell and Howell followed with the FILMO 75 (Figure 5-4), an ornate and much more compact 16mm camera that was marketed primarily to women. These cameras were the first to have a battery-driven motor and a fully aluminum body. Weighing only four pounds, nature filmmakers had a machine that would allow them to capture moving images of wildlife never before seen.

Figure 5-4. The Bell and Howell FILMO 75, as depicted in an advertisement featured in *Nature Magazine*.

The role of Bell & Howell, their relationship with William Finley, and with the greater wilderness culture industry will be discussed later in this chapter. However, with

an understanding of the immense developments in motion picture camera technology in the early 20th century, it is worthwhile to look at how these developments influenced the representation of nature and wildlife in film. This new technology—the modern camera—embodied the core tension with the representation of wildlife in the early 20th century. Brower (2011), writing about the development of the telephoto lenses, stated that the distance between photographer and subject diminished the sense of contact between the two in their images. Mitman (1999), in agreement with Brower, questioned whether this

> "machine, which offered cheap, readily accessible, mechanical reproduction [would] lead to a wider and more democratic appreciation of authentic nature? Or would it turn nature into artifice, yet another imitation among the many that flooded the marketplace to entice an emerging consumer culture at the end of the nineteenth century? If nature on screen was a sham, simply another money-making product crafted by savvy writers or modern motion picture men, then its power to sooth the antimodernist anxieties of the urban elite by offering a brief respite in a more innocent place would be lost" (p. 13).

To explore the concerns of Mitman and Brower—that advancements to camera technology may have led to the misrepresentation of nature, or possibly even an industrial commodification of the wildlife image in general—a closer look at the texts of these early films may prove fruitful. As an early example of the use of these technologies, the Finley-Pack films are worthy of study.

The Finley-Pack Films

Between January and July 1928, *Nature Magazine* featured a series of articles that detailed the production of the Finley-Pack films. The features read as dramatic adventure fare reminiscent of the romantic Western stories published as dime novels from the previous century. The first article from the January 1928 issue was written by Pack himself, who set the stage with the expedition's cast of characters:

> "We were seven small specks in the great wilderness, each with an idea of telling its story—Bill Finley with his movie machines, Bruce Horsfall with his paints, Mrs. Horsfall with collecting paraphernalia, Mrs. Pack and I with still cameras and more movies, Betty Ridsdale with her typewriter as official stenographer for the outfit, and Jim Whilt—ex-lion hunter, trapper, poet, and guide extraordinary" (Pack, January 1928, pp. 9-10).

The second installment, published in the February 1928 issue and also written by Pack, tells the story of the expedition to the continental divide. In his account of the expedition's 'camera hunting' endeavors to capture footage of the elusive Rocky Mountain goat, Pack colorfully differentiates between the professionalism of the *Nature Magazine* expedition and the average park tourist. He states that while this wildlife is "widely celebrated because of their pictorial prominence upon the freight cars, menu cards, time-tables, and what-nots of the Great Northern Railway" by "tourists and tramps alike," that in the field (or within "the wild confusion of Nature") one needs to be properly equipped, trained, and mentally and physically disciplined (Pack, February 1928, pp. 88). This presentation of ruggedness, whether real or embellished, featured prominently not only in Pack's writing, but in other's narratives as well, codified in the

early works of European explorers and colonizers and adapted to suit the modern image of the American wilderness culture industry by Finley's friend, Theodore Roosevelt.

Specific focus on risk and adventure is captured in the same article. With a flair for drama, Pack recounts his experience as he watched Finley shimmy along a cliff face and drop out of view as he pursued a mountain goat:

> "Ten minutes passed and still he worked around in circles without getting anywhere. Was he stuck? How could I get word to the guide to go back and help him? Shouts brought no response and the situation looked serious. Another five minutes went by, and then Bill Finley disappeared altogether. My brain worked feverishly. How could we get the body pack to camp, and how could the remains of our star photographer best be transported to Oregon? Then suddenly Bill and Jim appeared together on the slide and a few moments later they came slipping and sliding down" (Pack, February 1928, p. 92).

This Rooseveltian mythologizing is common throughout these articles, especially in those stories retold by Pack, the more urbane of the duo and obvious admirer of his father-in-law. In a subsequent piece, Pack details how Finley never budged when bluff-charged by a black bear (Pack, July 1928). This presentation of the expedition, and of Finley in particular, carried over to the films themselves. In many ways the Finley-Pack films are less about the wildlife and wilderness than the interactions of the filmmakers with their environment. By making this choice, the filmmakers were not only translating an ancient wilderness narrative to a new medium, but also positioning technology and filmmaking as narrative itself.

The Texts of the Finley-Pack Films

With an understanding of how Finley and Pack produced their films from a technical standpoint, it is also important to look at the texts of the films themselves—as they proved to be early exemplars of tropes that are still common in the modern environmental media industry. Additionally, the texts of these films provide insight into the views held toward wildlife and wilderness in the early decades of the 20th century.

Due to the technological constraints of 16mm in the 1920s, the Finley-Pack films range from about 5-15 minutes apiece—roughly the amount of footage that could be fit on a standard 16mm film reel. As short films, they all possess a loose narrative structure; indeed, one could argue that the filmmakers were more attracted to the aesthetics of nature than the crafting of story. However, upon closer viewing, the films employ the techniques of the emergent film vocabulary, specifically those that are now considered rote in the nature documentary genre.

The Finley-Pack films can be organized into three categories. The first, 'the hunting picture,' are films that focus primarily on the filmmakers as the subjects of the narrative. These stories follow Finley and Pack as they, at times, risk their lives to capture footage and are direct descendants of some of the earliest nature documentaries in which hunters were filmed stalking and killing wildlife. The second category, 'the character picture,' inverts the focus and frames the wildlife itself as the protagonists of the film. Finley was one of the earliest adapters of this style, which became the exemplar for nature documentaries in the latter half of the 20th century through the work of the BBC's Natural History Unit and Disney's True Life Adventures. The third category, the

'comedy picture,' takes elements of both the hunting and character pictures to create a film that invokes family-friendly and widely accessible humor.

The Hunting Picture

Hunting Narratives

A vocabulary for the filmic narrative was developed during the first years of the 20th century, crafted through films such as *The Life of an American Fireman* (1902) and *The Great Train Robbery* (1903). Both films exploited the storytelling potential of the new medium, including the ability to splice non-linear footage to demonstrate diverse perspectives including wide, close, and reverse shots. The ability to cut and splice film and—more importantly—the audience's ability to nascently follow and understand these edits, transitioned film from solely a technology to a new medium complete with its own conventions.

To take advantage of the new filmic vocabulary, filmmakers began reimagining culturally ubiquitous narratives and adapting them to the new form. The hunting narrative in particular lent itself well to the new medium. With a well-defined beginning (the hunt starts), middle (the hunt ensues), and end (the animal is killed), hunting stories were visually compelling and easily conveyed in silence through linked scenes and intertitles. The fluency in this new vocabulary led *Hunting the White Bear* (1903), produced by Pathé, to become (possibly) the first 'nature' film to be distributed and exhibited internationally (Bousé, 2000, p. 45).

The Finley-Pack films, though mostly focused on the 'camera hunt,' also relied on the simplicity of the hunting narrative. In particular, *Nature's Side Show* juxtaposed shots

of a rabbit and a fox. It is hard to determine if the animals were near each other, if the rabbit was truly scared, or if the fox was looking for prey. However, using close shots of each, edited in a way to suggest an impending confrontation, demonstrates a working knowledge of hunting film tactics by the filmmakers.

Additionally, in *Thar She Blows*—perhaps the cruelest of the Finley-Pack films—the tropes of the early hunting films are repurposed for the sake of the film's narrative. Finley and Pack capture footage aboard a boat off the coast of Alaska. As the ship lurches in the frigid waves, the mariners aboard chase and harpoon porpoises, posing with smiles as the carcasses are hung from chains. The film also captures the crew chasing a larger whale and harpooning it, however, it escapes to an uncertain future. It is difficult to understand how Finley and Pack, such ardent conservationists, felt comfortable making a traditional hunting film. As an outlier in their filmography, perhaps *Thar She Blows* is testament to the attractiveness of an action-packed hunting narrative in film, even at an ethical cost.

The Scientific Safari

As the sophistication of camera technology grew and public sentiment toward the cruelty of animals shifted, the hunting film was steadily replaced by a new, yet similar, genre during the interwar period. Instead of following hunters with rifles as they stalked and killed wildlife, the camera hunting film followed the exploits of the filmmakers themselves as they stalked and attempted to 'shoot' wildlife with their camera. The masculine impulses of the hunt were still evident; Chris (2002) writes that the camera hunters "sought out animals as ... objects of the camera's gaze rather than the quarry of the gun" (p. 46). Similar to the plots of early hunting films, scenes that show the journey

of the camera hunting expedition are common. In the Finley-Pack films, the audience is treated to footage that some may consider early 'behind-the-scenes' access. For instance, in *In the Wake of the Wapiti*, the audience is presented with shots of a small Montana train station nestled in the expanse of the Rocky Mountains. Trains are loaded with the expedition's gear before cutting to scenes of the expedition fording rivers on horseback, aided by pack animals. As the film continues, Finley plays the role of protagonist—the subject of sophisticated sequences that feature shots of wildlife and reverse shots of Finley, camouflaged in the brush with his FILMO camera (Figure 5-5).

Figure 5-5. In *In the Wake of the Wapiti*, Finley and his FILMO camera become the protagonists in a series of sophisticated sequences that depict Finley 'camera hunting' wildlife.

With the visual drama of the hunt and blood sport removed, new plotlines were developed as camera hunting films looked to embrace the sophisticated stories possible through nonlinear editing. While the conceit of traditional hunting films lies in the hunter's need to kill an animal for sport, many camera hunting films centered their narratives on the filmmakers need to film and (oftentimes) interfere and handle wildlife

for scientific purposes, earning these films the denotation of "scientific safaris" from Chris (2002).

In many ways, the Finley-Pack films could be considered early influencers in the scientific safari genre. In *Wings to the South*, a film made on the Texas gulf coast, Finley and crew are depicted trapping sage hens under the pretense of relocation for conservation purposes. Similarly—and yet in an even more cinematic manner—*Riding the Rim Rock* shows Finley loading pronghorn antelope fawns into a bush plane so that they can be relocated thousands of miles from the American southwest to eastern Oregon (Figure 5-6). The scientific safari genre is further exemplified in *Riding the Rim Rock* when Finley attempts to film a running herd of antelope while hanging from the window of a car. As Finley's car gives chase, an intertitle reads: *Jiggly shots at forty-five miles an hour*. Finley wrote of his experience filming this scene in an article published in the September 1928 issue of *Nature Magazine*:

> "Our purpose was to discover the speed of the American antelope, and we had done so—first by the speedometer of the car and second by measuring the length of the jumps taken by the buck and determining through the known speed of the film, running over the sprockets of my spring-controlled camera, the number of jumps per second. The rest is a matter of arithmetic. Some day perhaps Henry Ford will invent a car to negotiate sagebrush without a road, or the low flying airplane will solve the difficulty. I hope not, for the American antelope or pronghorn is today fighting a losing match against his enemies" (Finley, September 1928, p. 154).

Finley's conservation work, with antelope in particular, bore fruit as the species was reintroduced to eastern Oregon with great success. However, these facts are neglected in *Riding the Rim Rock*. The film expects, perhaps reasonably, that the audience will trust the validity of the science being conducted through the filmmaking. However, this science is never fully explained. As such, *Riding the Rim Rock* (and the other Finley-Pack films that follow the tropes of the scientific safari storyline) simply use the quest for science as a narrative propellant; in a sense, the science becomes a shorthand that gives the subjects of the film the credibility to use their adventures in the natural world as fodder for the plot.

Figure 5-6. Under the pretense of conservation work, *Riding the Rim Rock* features adventurous footage such as transporting antelope fawns by airplane. Like many films in the 'scientific safari' genre, Finley and Pack use scientific work as a narrative propellant.

The Character Picture

Anthropomorphism

The Finley-Pack films also were early adopters of the 'character picture' framework in their storytelling—a narrative mode that has had a profound impact on the genre. Unlike the hunting genres, the character picture, also referred to as a 'blue chip' film (Bousé, 2000), typically eschews the portrayal of humans altogether. Additionally, the machinations of humanity are also removed or diminished; many character-centric nature films neglect discussions of science, history, and politics. Yet a bit enigmatically, while these machinations are ignored, the animal subjects themselves are imbued with human qualities and characters. This type of anthropomorphism was not novel when it was applied to moving images; indeed, anthropomorphism is found nearly uniformly across world cultures beginning in humanity's first mediations with the natural world.

Nature Magazine adopted anthropomorphism heavily in the articles it published through the 1920s and 1930s. In a sample of articles from this era, readers were regaled with stories about a pair of "not so handsome as some, perhaps, but with better dispositions" birds named "Jimmy and Jerry" (Dolman, January 1930, p. 27), the homemaking abilities of "Nailie" the snail (Jaisohn, February 1930, p. 105), the oddly named "Skeezix" the white coyote (Finley, W. L. & Finley, I., April 1930, p. 227) (Figure 5-7), as well as the "outlaw" exploits of "Philibert" the squirrel (Lampman, October 1930, p. 233). This type of characterization was carried over to the Finley-Pack films as well. In *Wings to the South*, intertitles suggest that a pelican acts as a 'wisehead,' while terns are ascribed the role of monarch of the intertidal areas as 'the royal terns prefer crowded quarters instead of a shoreline estate.'

SKEEZIX WAS INTRIGUED BY THE CAMERA

He was a good subject for the movie film but less easy to have pose for the still camera

SKEEZIX, *a* WHITE COYOTE

A Rare Member of His Tribe is Interviewed

by

William L. and Irene Finley

Illustrated from Photographs Taken by the Authors

HE was white. That was what saved his life.

It all came to pass this way. Where the homesteaders come with their flocks and herds to the lands of eastern Oregon, there are coyotes. These wild dogs of the sand and sage find easy food among these domesticated beasts. So war has been declared and there is a bounty on their wily heads. One of them had been dispatched by a federal hunter and his den discovered.

In it were four pups, cuddled in the enlarged badger burrow. Fate decreed that three should not grow to roam the rim rocks, but the fourth . . . Well, he was white. Not a true albino, to be sure, for his eyes were gray, not pink, but his coat contained none of the coloring matter that made him one with the land in which his fellows roved.

It was rather a small family that the hunter unearthed, for the coyote is a prolific breeder.

Figure 5-7. Anthropomorphism was commonly used in wildlife media in the early 20th century, as evidenced by an article written by William and Irene Finley in the April 1930 issue of *Nature Magazine*.

Beyond naming and characterization, the Finley-Pack films also depict the animal subjects of their films within the context of a heteronormative family unit. In *Big Game Parade*, a group of bears eating from a Yellowstone garbage dump are denoted as the 'Grizzly Family.' This type of anthropomorphism took a foothold particularly in the early to mid-20th century as nature films were promoted as wholesome family entertainment. However, scholars have noted that 'traditional' family units are exceedingly rare in nature. For instance, Myra J. Hird has argued for a discussion on the queerness of nature, suggesting that biology offers a potent lens to explore the boundary transgressions associated with queer theory (Hird, 2004). However, these explorations are rare in contemporary nature media, possibly owing to the hegemonic vocabulary established by the genre's early filmmakers, such as Finley and Pack.

Wildlife "Pets"

As a subgenre defined through its intimate footage of wild animals, the character picture has long relied on the use of captive or 'pet' animals to serve as its subjects. This fact has always been—and continues to be—an open secret in the field of nature filmmaking, even in work that purports to film animals in their natural habitats. Christopher Parsons (1971), a longtime wildlife film producer for the BBC's Natural History Film Unit, writes:

> "There are those who maintain that the audience has a right to know whenever a wildlife film has been made under some degree of control. My own view is that, unless the film is of an academic nature and made primarily for a scientific

audience, the film-maker's only obligation to his audience is to ensure that his film is true to life, within the accepted conventions of film-making" (p. 14).

The "accepted conventions of filmmaking" of which Parsons writes have historically proven to be fluid. Early wildlife filmmakers, such as Cherry Kearton, not only used captive animals, but treated at least one as an actor with its own agency. In writing about a chimpanzee called 'Toto,' Kearton (1923) describes the ape as "a loveable companion and the greatest animal comedian that has ever come out of Africa. Like other comedians his weakness was for an audience, and he would spare no effort to please" (p. 219). Pike also wrote of his penchant for using tame animals in his films. Wild mammals, especially, proved elusive to Pike (1946), who writes: "most of them [mammals] live in dark underground holes and seldom show themselves during that period of the day when it is light enough to make exposures. I will defy anyone to make a successful film of the wild badger, otter, fox, or any of the small common animals that are found in the countryside. There is only one thing to be done, you must first have your mammal and train it for the job" (p. 68).

The Finley-Pack films that feature character-driven stories are also heavily reliant on captive wildlife. A number of these films feature 'Cuffy' and 'Tuffy', a pair of orphan black bear cubs that the Finleys kept as pets. *Off to Glacier Bay* features the pair as they interact with the camera, drink milk from a saucer, and slide around the deck as the boat roils at sea (Figure 5-8). Perhaps to create humor, *Ramparts of the North* features a scene where one of the cubs in placed in a raft and launched over a series of swift river rapids.

Beyond the use of obvious wildlife pets such as ‘Cuffy’ and ‘Tuffy,’ Finley and Pack also used ethically murky tactics to film semi-tamed wild animals. For *Big Game Parade*, the filmmakers took advantage and filmed a formalized performance at Yellowstone National Park, where park officials fed grizzly bears garbage as park guests watched from bleachers. This practice is explained via an intertitle that reads: ‘Gentling Black Bears with Garbage.’ Additionally, *Big Game Parade* features footage of ‘civilized bears’ ‘trumping up business’ by begging for food from passing tourists in their automobiles.

Figure 5-8. ‘Cuffy’ and ‘Tuffy,’ a pair of black bear cubs and pets of the Finleys, make an appearance aboard a ship in *Off to Glacier Bay*.

The Comedy Picture

Humor has long been used as a narrative tool in natural history film. Raymond L. Ditmars, as curator of reptiles at the New York Zoological Park in the 1910s, used comedy in his series of educational films (Bousé, 2000). The films that Ditmars made with reptiles on tiny stages in the Bronx were a hit; *Moving Picture World* exclaimed, "it is easy to make entertaining pictures educational, but to make education pictures entertaining is a more difficult problem. Professor Ditmars has solved the problem absolutely … we look and laugh and learn in one process" (Bush, November 1914, p. 769).

Similarly, many of the Finley-Pack films use a mixture of entertainment and information in their narratives. In promotional materials for Finley's 1931 tour, the press touted Finley's films as 'funnier than a circus' and that during previous lectures, 'waves of laughter filled the auditorium.' The humor of Finley and Pack is present in *Cruising North (Bird Island)* where, intercut with footage of flora and fauna, the audience is given the visual gag of the ship's cook trying to bake bread on the churning open sea. *Queer Creatures of Cactus County* presents Finley wearing an outsized saguaro cactus costume as he tries to camouflage himself. The final shot of the film provides one final gag—Finley's Ford leaving the desert with the cactus costume tied to the roof.

Perhaps the duo's best-known film, and the one most reliant on comedy, is *Getting Our Goat*. Proclaiming in an intertitle that 'it takes a goat to get a goat,' Finley dons a crude flannel goat costume in an attempt to film the notoriously skittish Rocky Mountain goat. The spectacle of the scene is discussed in an article published in the June 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine*:

> "When Bill Finley deposited his pack on the narrow ledge and produced a roll of white flannel that looked like a cross between a child's sleeping suit and a circus clown's costume, three other members of the party gasped. When Bill donned the thing and pulled over his head a hood with two waggling ears and a pair of curved black horns attached, we could hardly keep from rolling off the cliff with laughter, the more painful because it had to be smothered. Away on the opposite ledge stood a Rocky Mountain billy. He was too far off to register on the film and we did not believe he had seen us, but we knew that at our first attempt to approach more closely the game would be up—at least, the goat would be up the mountain and out of sight. Bill Finley finished buttoning the grotesque affair, concealed a camera in his bosom, and dropped down on his hands and knees. 'Whatever that goat does I'm going to do,' he announced, 'but I'm going to get nearer all the time' ("Bill and the Billy," June 1929, p. 401).

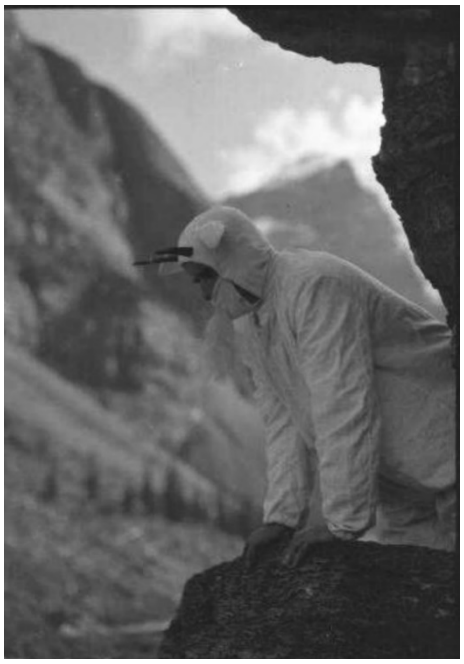


Figure 5-9. In *Getting our Goat*, Finley dons a crude flannel goat costume to comedic effect. Oregon Digital.

The film that follows features intercuts of Finley, in his goat costume (Figure 5-9), with shots he managed to take of wildlife while in pursuit. In many ways, this film encapsulates all three of the primary genres of the Finley-Pack and other early nature films. The protagonist of *Getting Our Goat* is the camera hunter Finley, a masculine hunter willing to risk his life for the 'trophy' of footage. However, the goats

themselves are also characterized through the use of anthropomorphism. Both narrative tactics are ascribed a further layer of comedy, creating a film that struck a chord with a national audience and influenced future work in the genre.

The Amateur Camera Hunting Industry

"A Truer Test of Woodcraft"

It was not solely professionals such as Finley and Pack who embraced the 'sport' of camera hunting as moving image technology became both more affordable and technologically advanced. Amateur interest in the hobby can be traced to *Forest and Stream* magazine's inaugural Amateur Photography Competition in 1892 that offered prizes for reader-generated images related to the magazine's field of interest: game and fish (alive or dead), shooting, fishing, camping, camp life, or anything else 'sportsman' related. This first contest was judged and prizes were awarded by a committee comprised of Edward Bierstadt, Theodore Roosevelt, and Thomas Wilmot (Brower, 2011).

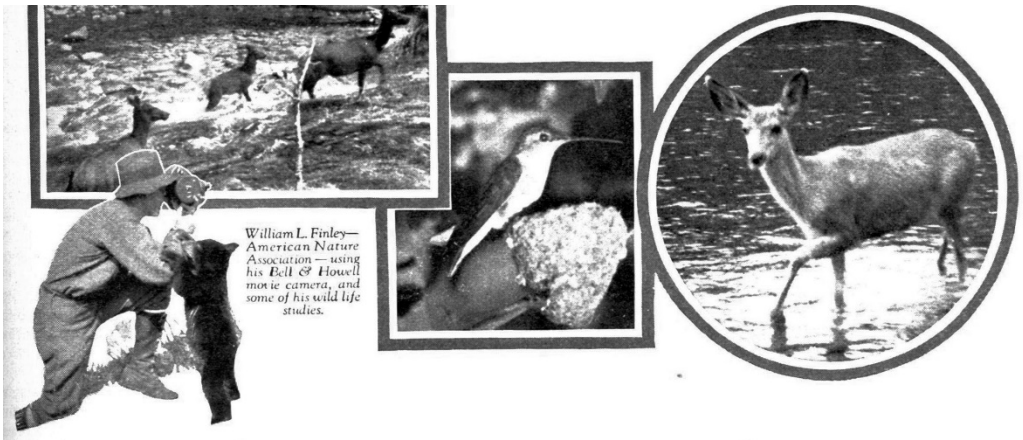
Those who embraced camera hunting touted the superior skill it took to undertake the hobby as opposed to traditional hunting. American critic James B. Carrington described wildlife photography as both a test of outdoorsmanship and a means to bag game, thus "a truer test of woodcraft" (Brower, 2011, p. 25). This sentiment is echoed in a February 1928 *Nature Magazine* article by Walter D. Kerst, who wrote: "in the domain of the sportsman, the amateur movie camera is gaining great headway, and in the years to come one will probably see an increasing army of enthusiastic hunters stalking their quarry, camera in hand, hunting for a trophy that will bring far greater pleasure than killing for the sake of the kill" (Kerst, February 1928, p. 115). By the mid-1920s, the

hobby was bolstered by the general popularity of the new 16mm amateur market; by 1927, it was estimated by enthusiasts that there were 30,000 amateur filmmakers in the United States. Ten years later, it was speculated to have more than tripled (Wasson, 2005, p. 48).

Bell & Howell, a major producer of 16mm film technology in the early 20th century, was especially pursuant of the nascent amateur camera hunting hobby. Bell & Howell, in promoting its FILMO camera series, employed Finley as a spokesmodel, with Finley appearing in print advertisements with 'Cuffy' and 'Tuffy' alongside text that read 'keep lasting records of your outdoor experiences with FILMO movies.' (Figure 5-10). In many ways, this advertisement—and the dozen others—that Bell & Howell ran in *Nature Magazine* portray wilderness and wild animals similar to the films produced by Finley and Pack. As such, a case study that implements a textual analysis of Bell and Howell's advertising in *Nature Magazine* proves fruitful in exploring the role of 16mm film, amateur filmmakers, and the wilderness culture industry.

The Bell and Howell FILMO Advertisements

Perhaps the best exemplar of Bell & Howell's approach to advertising in *Nature Magazine* is seen in a full-page piece from the September 1928 issue of *Nature Magazine*. (Figure 5-11) The top third of the advertisement is filled with an illustration depicting an incredibly photogenic possum, seemingly smiling and posing for the man in front of it. The man—depicted as clean-cut, young, middle class, and white—holds a FILMO 70 to his eye to capture footage of the animal. Beneath this tableau the text reads: 'A Natural Actor for Bell & Howell FILMO Movie Cameras.' Immediately the reader is to assume that the 'natural actor' (by a play on the word *natural*) is the possum, depicted



William L. Finley—American Nature Association—using his Bell & Howell movie camera, and some of his wild life studies.

Keep *lasting* records

of your outdoor experiences with FILMO Movies

Make your own nature movies when you go camping this summer. The best chances for wild life pictures always occur when least expected. With a Bell & Howell Filmo movie camera you are always ready for the unexpected and the results you get have all the snap and brilliance of professional pictures.

Filmo Cameras are ideal for all outdoor uses. Special lenses and filters are available for Kodacolor and telephoto work and the new Kodacolor-Equipped 57-G Filmo Projector gives the highest quality of color-movie projection ever attained.

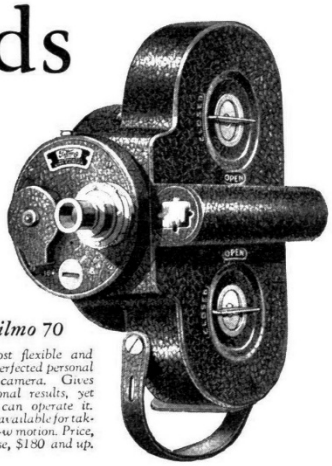
For over two decades, Bell & Howell have supplied the professional cinema world with the studio cameras used in producing a majority of the pictures shown in "first run" theaters. Bell & Howell Filmo personal movie equipment is backed by the same manufacturing traditions of precision and accuracy.

For black and white pictures, Filmo Cameras use Eastman Safety Film (16mm.)—in the yellow box— both regular and panchromatic—obtainable at practically all dealers' handling camera supplies. Filmo Cameras and Filmo Projectors are adaptable, under license from Eastman Kodak Company, for use of Eastman Kodacolor film for home movies in full color. Cost of film covers developing and return postpaid, within the country where processed, ready to show at home or anywhere.

See your nearest Filmo dealer for a demonstration now, or write for booklet "What You See, You Get."

BELL & HOWELL

Filmo

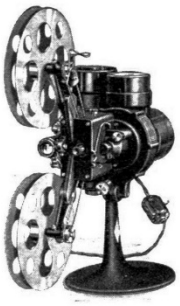


Filmo 70

The most flexible and highly perfected personal movie camera. Gives professional results, yet anyone can operate it. Models available for taking s-l-o-w motion. Price, with case, $180 and up.

Filmo 75

The pocket size movie camera, weighs but 3½ lbs.—comes in Walnut Brown, Ebony Black or Silver Birch. Price, with case, $120



Filmo Projector

Shows pictures of theater-like brilliancy Runs forward, backward or stops on any picture. Operates from any light socket. Easily equipped for Kodacolor projection. Price, with carrying case, $190 and up.

BELL & HOWELL CO. *Dept. F, 1800 Larchmont Ave.*, CHICAGO, ILL. · NEW YORK · HOLLYWOOD · LONDON (B. & H. Co., Ltd.) · *Established 1907*

NATURE MAGAZINE is published by the American Nature Association
Entered as second-class matter May 31, 1927, at the post office at Washington, D. C. Additional entry at Greenwich, Conn.
Publication and Editorial Offices, 1214 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Additional Offices of Publication, Greenwich, Conn.
Chicago Advertising Office, Mather Tower Bldg. New York Advertising Office, 171 Madison Avenue.

Figure 5-10. A Bell and Howell FILMO advertisement featuring Finley, 'Cuffy', and 'Tuffy' from the June 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine*.

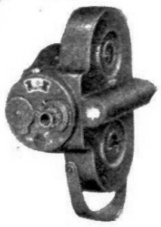
A Natural Actor
for Bell & Howell
Filmo *Movie Cameras*

HERE'S a humane huntsman, making movies of friend possum who inhabits a neighboring brake. Another interesting film for an ever-growing living picture library such as *every nature lover* can have.

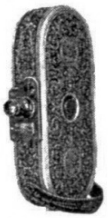
There are now *two* beautiful, precision Bell & Howell cameras from which to choose at the price you prefer to pay. See illustrations and prices at right.

With either Filmo 70 or 75 you can interchange special speed lenses, or telephotos for taking close-ups of your shy friends from a distance. "What you see, you get"—simply by looking through spy-glass viewfinder and pressing the button.

Eastman Safety Film (16 mm.) in the yellow box is used by either Filmo camera. No extra charge for developing. Then your movies are brought to life in sharp, brilliant action—at home or anywhere—with the famously precise Filmo Projector. Mail coupon to us for full particulars.



FILMO 70
Price with carrying case
$180



FILMO 75
Pocket size. Price with carrying case
$120

There is also EYEMO, using standard 35 mm. film, for those desiring to commercialize their movies. Write for details.

BELL & HOWELL

Filmo

BELL & HOWELL CO., 1800 Larchmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.
New York Hollywood London (B & H Co., Ltd.)
Established 1907

BELL & HOWELL CO.
1800 Larchmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.
World's largest manufacturers of motion picture equipment.

Please mail descriptive Filmo Booklet "What You See, You Get."

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

Figure 5-11. A Bell and Howell FILMO advertisement from the September 1928 issue of *Nature Magazine* that markets the product toward amateur 'camera hunters.'

as relishing the opportunity to star in the film. In the copy that follows, the man—and, by extension, the reader—is referred to as a "humane huntsman, making movies of friend possum who inhabits a neighboring brake." In this short sentence, both nature—and the reader of the advertisement—are arguably exploited. Building on the visual image of the willing possum, the animal is further referred to as "friend"—a tactic of discourse that further applies anthropomorphic agency to the animal. In the early 20th century, this type of folksy anthropomorphism was popular in work ranging from Mark Twain to Walt Disney. As Mitman (1999) suggests "portraying animals as individual friends in the advertising copy for Bell and Howell's FILMO cameras readily conformed to the presentation of wildlife in national parks, such as the bear shows at Yellowstone, and to prevailing attitudes toward management and cultivation of prized game species" (p. 96). Secondly, the reader of the advertisement is exploited through the reference of 'a humane huntsman.' This suggests—without explicitly stating—that 'camera hunting' is a more civilized endeavor than traditional hunting, by pandering to the 'humanity' of the hobby. The advertisement forwards a narrative of cross-species fellowship where both man and animal are fulfilled through the camera hunting act.

This advertisement in the September issue of *Nature Magazine* appears to be an extension of a Bell and Howell advertisement printed the month prior in August 1928 (Figure 5-12). This half-page advertisement features the same illustration of the man with the FILMO 70; however, the object of his gaze is not an illustration but a still image of a doe, staring forward, centered in the frame. The doe is flanked on both sides by large illustrations of both the FILMO 75 and the FILMO 70. The use of a photograph of a deer (as opposed to the illustration of the possum) is important, as the doe is the only

Figure 5-12. A Bell and Howell FILMO advertisement from the August 1928 issue of *Nature Magazine* that refers to readers as 'movie huntsmen.'

representation of reality in the entire piece. Even the cameras themselves—the purpose of the advertisements—are illustrations. This, in effect, privileges the doe as the subject of the piece—its image again exploited for the service of the advertisement.

Similarly, this advertisement also focuses on the hunt. In this piece, in large text beneath the images, are the words: "'Movie Huntsmen" Here is your complete equipment.' It is worth noting that "movie huntsmen" is in quotation marks, in a way to highlight the differences between a "movie huntsmen" and a traditional hunter. To similar effect as the September advertisement, "movie hunting" is shown to be a civilized—yet still masculine—hobby.

The focus on the "movie huntsmen" is extended in a full-page Bell and Howell advertisement from *Nature Magazine*'s July 1929 issue (Figure 5-13). This advertisement features the FILMO 70-D, a multi-speed camera that allows more customization in the way footage is captured. The piece implores the reader to 'Hunt with this master of all personal movie cameras…' Again, the word "hunt" is showcased as the engine of the hobby. The piece features a photograph of a young fox along with an image of the FILMO 70-D—each image roughly the same size. The copy of the advertisement seems to reach out to the reader from a breathless, second-person perspective:

> "Br'er fox sticks out his nose unexpectedly. And you're 100 yards away. What chance have you got? If you move, he's gone! But you *don't* move with the new FILMO 70 D! With this amazing camera you can catch a distant view of Br'er Fox surprised at the mouth of his den, turn a telephoto lens into place for a 'close-up' without taking your eye off him, and then change speeds for a s-l-o-w movie of his escape down a rocky path …"

This fictional scenario places the reader in the heat of the hunt, seemingly trying to exploit the reader's venatic urges. At the same time, the animal subject of the piece, Br'er Fox—the animal receiving its name from the colloquial Uncle Remus folktales—is exploited in a similar manner to the aforementioned possum. While not a "natural actor" like the possum, the fox becomes prey for the FILMO 70-D, a more advanced tool for an increasingly savvier camera-hunter.

Now
the new seven speed
FILMO
70-D

Hunt With This
Master of All Personal
Movie Cameras . . .

Conquers speed! light! distance! with a twist of the wrist

BR'ER FOX sticks out his nose unexpectedly. And you're 100 yards away. What chance have you got? If you move, he's gone!

But you *don't* move, with the new Filmo 70 D! With this amazing camera you can catch a distant view of Br'er Fox surprised at the mouth of his den, turn a telephoto lens into place for a "close-up" without taking your eye off him, and then change film speeds for a s-l-o-w movie of his escape down a rocky path . . . all in a breathless minute or two.

A twist of the wrist gives you any of three lenses, a touch of the finger any of seven speeds, at a turn of a knob you see through the spy-glass viewfinder the field area of the lens you're using. Simply look through it, press the button, and "what you see, you get." In fact you get *more* than you can see with this crowning achievement of Bell & Howell's 22 years experience in the manufacture of professional and amateur moving picture equipment.

Its only rivals are Bell & Howell studio cameras, costing up to $5,000, that film Hollywood's leading productions. Yet Filmo 70 D, including one Taylor-Hobson Cooke 1-inch F 3.5 lens, costs but $245 in its smart, Sesamee locked cowhide case with shoulder strap. Like all Filmo Cameras, Filmo 70 D takes either a 50 or 100 foot roll of film.

Ask the Filmo dealer to demonstrate the new Filmo 70 D, or write for descriptive literature and the illustrated movie booklet, "What You See, You Get."

(Right to Left) Filmo 70 A, the original personal movie camera, surpassed only by Filmo 70 D, $180 and up with carrying case; Filmo 75, pocket-size and aristocratic, $120 with carrying case; Filmo Projector, insuring brilliant, flickerless screening of the movies you take, $190 and up with carrying case.

For black and white pictures, Filmo cameras use Eastman Safety Film (16mm.)—in the yellow box—both regular and panchromatic—obtainable at practically all dealers' handling cameras and supplies. Filmo cameras and Filmo Projectors are adaptable under license, from Eastman Kodak Company, for use of Eastman Kodacolor film for home movies in full color. Cost of film covers developing and return postpaid, within the country where processed, ready to show at home or anywhere with Filmo Projector.

BELL & HOWELL
Filmo
WHAT YOU SEE, YOU GET

BELL & HOWELL CO., *Dept. G, 1800 Larchmont Ave.*, CHICAGO, ILL. · NEW YORK · HOLLYWOOD · LONDON (B. & H. Co., Ltd.) · *Established 1907*

NATURE MAGAZINE is published by the American Nature Association
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Chicago Advertising Office, Mather Tower Bldg. New York Advertising Office, 171 Madison Avenue.

Figure 5-13. A Bell and Howell FILMO advertisement from the July 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine* that markets the new FILMO 70-D, an increasingly more sophisticated machine for camera hunting.

These advertisements, as textual artifacts, and the context in which they exist, point to a time in middle-class white American history when the demographic was seemingly nostalgic for a pre-industrial time. At its core, the camera hunting hobby—and other forms of early 20th century outdoor leisure—were ways to escape the modernization and industrialization of the era. However, this nostalgia for a time when men entered the wilderness to hunt was co-opted and commercialized by the very industrial influences from which the hobby advertised escape. The tools of the hunt were updated; the gun and the bow were replaced with a highly mechanical and sophisticated camera. The wilderness was replaced by a sophisticated simulacrum of landscape art and leisure. And while these changes were made, the advertising media retained a sense of the former vocabularies with which to attract consumers into a modern commodity-driven market.

These amateur camera hunters were undoubtedly influenced by the films of filmmakers such as Finley and Pack. Exposed to their work through the pages of *Nature Magazine*, as well as the national film tours discussed in the next chapter, these hobbyists mimicked the filmic techniques of the professionals. Through this practice, the vocabularies of these films—films that adopted hunting narratives, characterization, and humor for the sake of story—were solidified in the foundation of the genre. With these vocabularies enforced, the language of the wilderness culture industry was standardized and is still used in contemporary discourses.

CHAPTER VI

OLD WEST, NEW AUDIENCES:

NATURE DOCUMENTARIES, NON-THEATRICAL EXHIBITION, AND CROSS-PROMOTION

In the first days of 1930, William Finley departed his home in Jennings Lodge to begin an ambitious two-and-a-half-month lecture tour that would bring his photographs and films to audiences in nearly 20 states. The program—'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide'—featured six reels of film shot during the 1928 Pack-Finley expedition throughout the western United States. *The Oregonian* noted that "two of the reels were made by Mr. Finley in southwestern Oregon, showing antelope, sage grouse and various birds and animals of the state. The remaining pictures were taken during two expeditions into Glacier National Park, the Rocky Mountains, and Canada. They show beaver, deer, moose, elk, mountain sheep and goats, as well as scenic views and pictures of camping, fishing and out-of-door life" ("Finley Plans Lectures," January 4, 1930).

Finley's 1930 tour occurred during a time of acute transition in the nature documentary industry, when the field was being reshaped by dual interests that, on the surface, appeared to be incompatible with one another. Chris (2006) contends that "on one hand, many films of the era still took the form of travelogues documenting the expeditions of white, mostly American and British adventurers … [while] on the other hand, profit seeking producers and distributors welcomed the genre, not so much to popularize scientific knowledge as to appeal to mass audiences through the films' exoticism and action-adventure themes" (Chris, 2006, p. 2). While the Finley-Pack films share similarities with the popular nature films of the 1920s and 1930s in content, these

films were not intended for the burgeoning theatrical audience. Instead, the Finley tour of 1930 took a decidedly more grassroots approach, one that embraced the nascent messaging of conservation—still a relatively unfamiliar term in the early 20th century. However, despite his less commercial approach, the Finley tour was sponsored by *Nature Magazine*, a media outlet that—as previously discussed—embraced many tactics of symbiotic commerce still witnessed in the modern wilderness culture industry.

When Finley began his extensive touring in the late 1920s, he was already a nationally renowned naturalist, lauded as being "known to thousands of people" ("Naturalist and Photographer to Show Pictures, February 8, 1931). In Oregon, Finley was considered a local hero, with one report anticipating wild success for his upcoming tour: "known internationally for many years as one of the great naturalists of modern times, Finley is sure of a crowd of cultured people wherever he lectures. He is an honor to Oregon, his native state. His name probably will be remembered long after oblivion has covered the prominence of our mighty men of affairs" ("Untitled Article," February 8, 1930). In addition to his expertise as a naturalist, the films themselves were celebrated as "the finest films of American wild life ever made" ("W. L. Finley Lectures at High School," February 4, 1931). This praise, at times, even rose to the divine as John van Schaick, Jr., editor of the *Christian Leader*, reportedly remarked that "the Finley motion picture reels, this year, are by far the finest he has ever exhibited, and among the finest we have ever seen. The Finleys are doing remarkable work. It is about the highest form of ministry that we know of" ("Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide with Motion Pictures…," January 24, 1930).

The ‘Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide’ tours were prominently featured in *Nature Magazine* with advertisements that depicted images of a mountain goat with its kid, as well as one that depicted Finley famously disguised in the goat costume. (Figure 6-1). These advertisements drew from the more interesting anecdotes of the tour referenced in the 1928 and 1929 series of behind-the-scenes articles written for *Nature Magazine* by both Finley and Pack (discussed in the previous chapter). In addition, local Oregon media launched a civic effort to increase Finley’s audiences through a campaign in the *Oregon Journal*. An article from January 12, 1930, implores “Portlanders … to urge friends to hear Finley in the East” followed by a schedule of the tour. (“Portlanders Asked to Urge Friends to Hear Finley in East,” January 12, 1930).

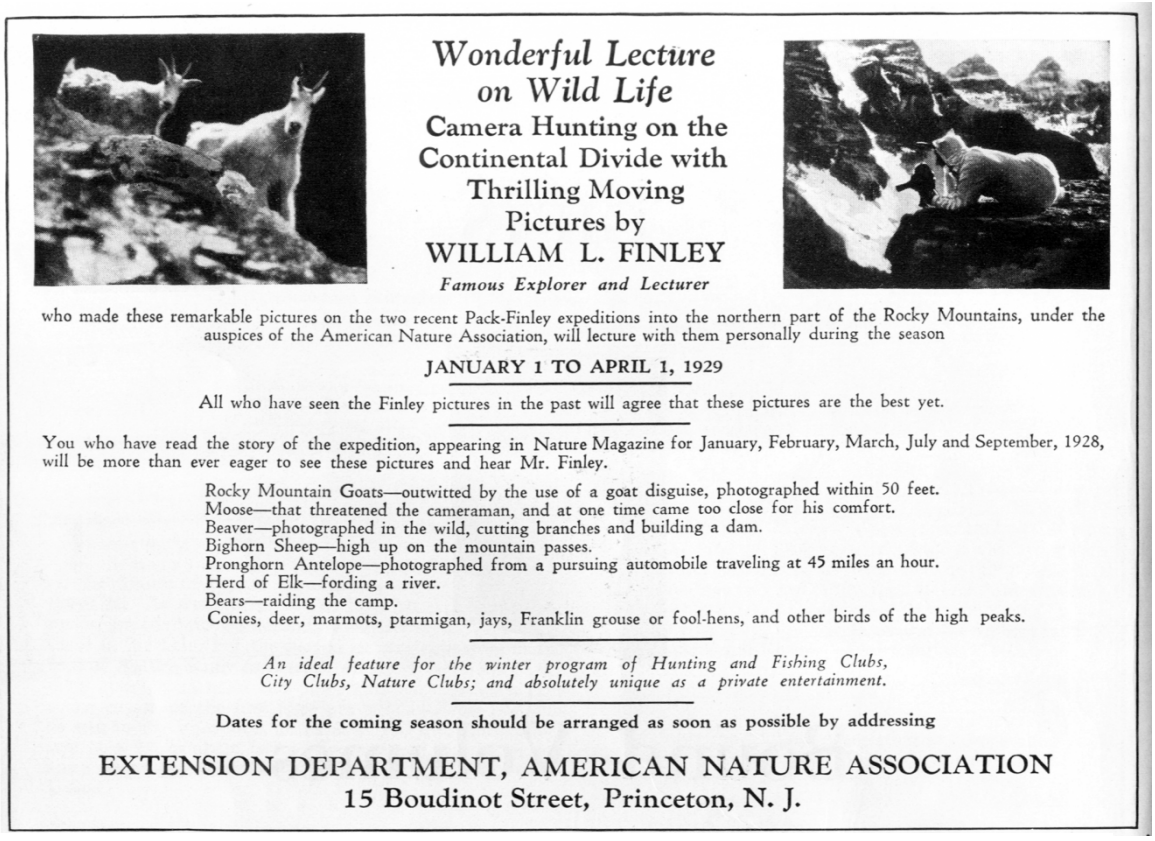


Figure 6-1. Half page advertisements for Finley’s “Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide” tour appeared in *Nature Magazine* between 1927 and 1930.

The 1930 tour was organized by Ellison White of Portland, a representative of the Affiliated Lecture Bureaus under the auspices of *Nature Magazine* ("Finley Plans Lectures," January 4, 1930). Beginning in Merced, California, on January 6, the tour wove through California, Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Maine before concluding on March 19 in Provo, Utah. Along the way, Finley lectured and presented his images to audiences in a diverse array of non-theatrical venues, including the Women's City Club Theatre in Oakland, California (January 9), the American Legion hall in La Grange, Illinois (January 25), a high school auditorium in New Haven, Connecticut (February 12), the Keystone Athletic Club in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (February 19), the Penney Memorial Church in Augusta, Maine (March 6), and the Sportsman Club banquet at the Hotel Raymond in Fitchburg, Massachusetts (March 7). While on tour, Finley was reported to focus on a progressive conservation-forward message. The *Fresno Bee* reported that Finley told the Parthenon audience that "game has [the] right to live" ("Plea is Voiced for Wild Animals," January 7, 1930). Others voiced shock that Finley ventured into the woods without first arming himself. The *Hotel Pennsylvania Daily News* mentioned that "after a career of thirty years as a naturalist and authority on wild life, William L. Finley, of Portland, O., feels that the danger in hunting wild animals has been grossly exaggerated" ("Hunts Thirty Years Without Gun and Still Unhurt," March 4, 1930). Finley was different than most hunters of big game, suggested West Virginia's *Charleston Gazette*, in that he "prefers to 'shoot' his quarry with a camera, as will be shown in his lecture…" ("Lecture on Wild Life in Rockies," March 9, 1930).

The lecture itself—as evidenced in a transcript printed in Chicago's *The Executives' Club News* from Finley's January 24 lecture—also supported these claims. The program began with Finley setting the scene at Glacier National Park, a place Finley described as "perhaps the most tumbled mass of mountains anywhere in our country" ("Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide with Motion Pictures…," January 24, 1930). Before moving to a description of the wildlife encountered on this trip, Finley spoke of the "need of outdoor recreation," perhaps tacitly outlining his views on the burgeoning wilderness culture industry by stating:

> "You know, this out of door movement is, as I said before, very important. More people are going out into the woods and the forests and cooking on an open fire, sleeping under the stars, and it is important, because it builds for better citizenship. As our business life becomes more tense year by year, it is important that we have recreation out of doors, and the west is coming to be the great summer playground of the country" ("Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide with Motion Pictures…," January 24, 1930).

Finley's 1930 'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide' presented an interesting case study for deeper examination in this chapter. First, the tour—while unique in its presentation of western wildlife films—was part of a long lineage of illustrated 'lantern' lecture tours focused on natural history and science. Secondly, as Finley created his films on 16mm film and exhibited them non-theatrically, a study of both the medium and mode of exhibition proved fruitful. And lastly, the tour directly juxtaposed the conservation messaging of the Finley-Pack films with the commercial interests of *Nature Magazine*, as the magazine used the publicity of the films and tour to

create and launch a number of formal expeditions for audience members to camera hunt the continental divide for themselves. It is also important to mention that these films were silent, and there is no mention in the historical record that Finley's lectures included a live music component, giving Finley's voice and narration much more power in the description and mediation of the natural world to his audiences. This added emphasis on the presenter aligns with exhibition practices from models that predate film.

The Intertextuality of Lantern and Cinema Cultures

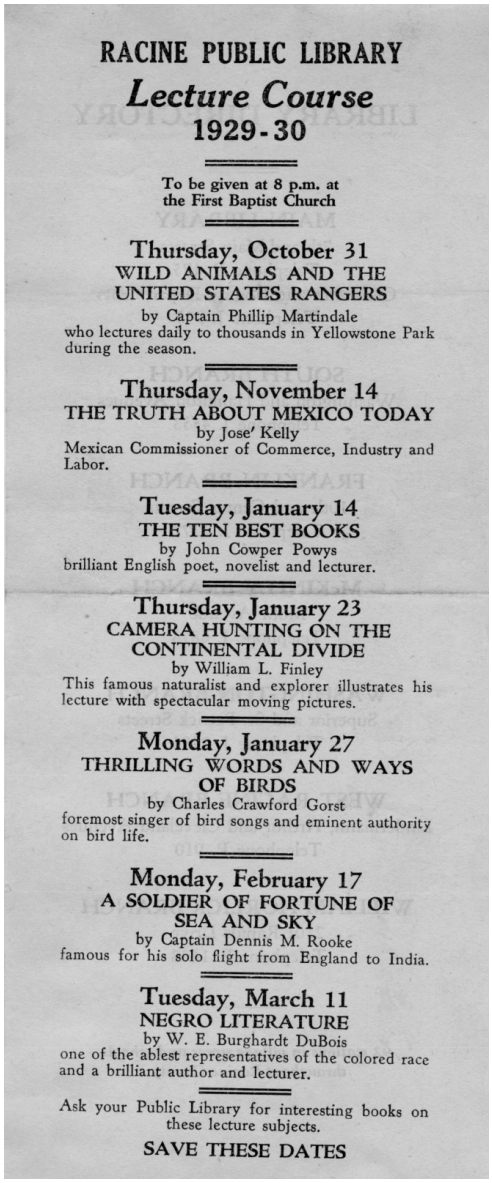
In writing about the educational film tours of Charles Urban and F. Martin Duncan, Gaycken (2015) suggests that these tours had intertextual similarities with earlier 'lantern' lectures. Rooted in the projection technology developed by Philip Carpenter in the waning years of the eighteenth century, lantern lectures were widespread in the two hundred years preceding the Urban-Duncan films. Educational and scientific lectures were especially popular topics for lantern lectures, including Carpenter's own *The Elements of Zoology* (1823) (Talbot, 2006). By showing projected images from glass slides, "the lantern lecture was a widespread way popular science reached audiences" (Gaycken, 2015, p. 24). As with Duncan, and later Finley, these programs also featured a lecturer to accompany, contextualize, and narrate the images. As moving image technology progressed, lantern lecturers welcomed the new form to accompany their images. The intertextuality of the forms was combined in an effort to promote "modern educational methods" (Gaycken, 2015, p. 25). This hybridized model proved popular with traveling naturalists. In addition to Duncan's lectures on the *The Unseen World*, both Kearton and Pike also adapted the static and moving image format in their exhibitions as well.

The incorporation of moving images into the programming of lantern lectures was a natural fit, as early documentary film exhibition followed a similar model. In the late nineteenth century, touring operators of the *cinematographe*—a dual camera and projection system developed by the Lumières—would shoot footage of a location and show the developed footage to an astonished local audience later that same day. As the number of permanent cinemas increased, these Lumière-style tours continued, shifting their focus from cities to smaller towns and villages (Barnouw, 1974/1993). According to Barnouw (1974/1993), these early film lecturers learned to read an audience, stating that "for wandering operators, improvisation became a habit. Because they hand-cranked, in shooting and projection, they quickly learned the uses—comic, dramatic, symbolic—of slowed or speeded motion" (p. 15).

This hybridized presentation model was by no means unique to the western world. In particular, this model found success in Japan, where *benshi*—the lecturers—acquired great prestige and fame for their work (Barnouw, 1974/1993). However, as technology advanced, the mainstream success of these hybrid lectures waned. Improved equipment increased the length of reels; at the turn of the twentieth century, a one-reel film was only one to two minutes long. However, half a decade later, reels ran for five to ten minutes. This increased time reduced the need for a live lecture to fill the spaces between reel changes, while also allowing filmmakers more time to perfect fictional storytelling through non-linear editing. The increased sophistication of narrative through technological advances allowed fiction films to usurp the early industry dominance held by proto-documentary films and film lectures (Barnouw, 1974/1993).

Naturalist Tours of the Interwar Period

On January 23, 1930, Finley delivered a lecture to a capacity crowd at the First Baptist church in Racine, Wisconsin. Hosted by the city's public library, Finley showcased his photographs and films to a crowd comprised largely of children. While surely exciting to these children—as well as to the adults in the crowd—Finley's performance was likely far from the first they had seen. 'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide' was but one of a series of lectures hosted by the Racine Public Library in the 1929-1930 season (Figure 6-2). In this era of the naturalist film lecture circuit, the Racine series included several lectures on wildlife from Finley's contemporaries. This included the October 31, 1929, lecture 'Wild Animals and the United States Rangers' by Captain Phillip Martindale, an interpretative guide from Yellowstone National Park, as well as 'Thrilling Words and Ways of Birds' on January 27, 1930, by the internationally renowned bird authority, Charles Crawford Gorst. However, the program also included non-natural


RACINE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Lecture Course

1929-30

To be given at 8 p.m. at the First Baptist Church

Thursday, October 31
WILD ANIMALS AND THE UNITED STATES RANGERS
by Captain Phillip Martindale
who lectures daily to thousands in Yellowstone Park during the season.

Thursday, November 14
THE TRUTH ABOUT MEXICO TODAY
by Jose' Kelly
Mexican Commissioner of Commerce, Industry and Labor.

Tuesday, January 14
THE TEN BEST BOOKS
by John Cowper Powys
brilliant English poet, novelist and lecturer.

Thursday, January 23
CAMERA HUNTING ON THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE
by William L. Finley
This famous naturalist and explorer illustrates his lecture with spectacular moving pictures.

Monday, January 27
THRILLING WORDS AND WAYS OF BIRDS
by Charles Crawford Gorst
foremost singer of bird songs and eminent authority on bird life.

Monday, February 17
A SOLDIER OF FORTUNE OF SEA AND SKY
by Captain Dennis M. Rooke
famous for his solo flight from England to India.

Tuesday, March 11
NEGRO LITERATURE
by W. E. Burghardt DuBois
one of the ablest representatives of the colored race and a brilliant author and lecturer.

Ask your Public Library for interesting books on these lecture subjects.

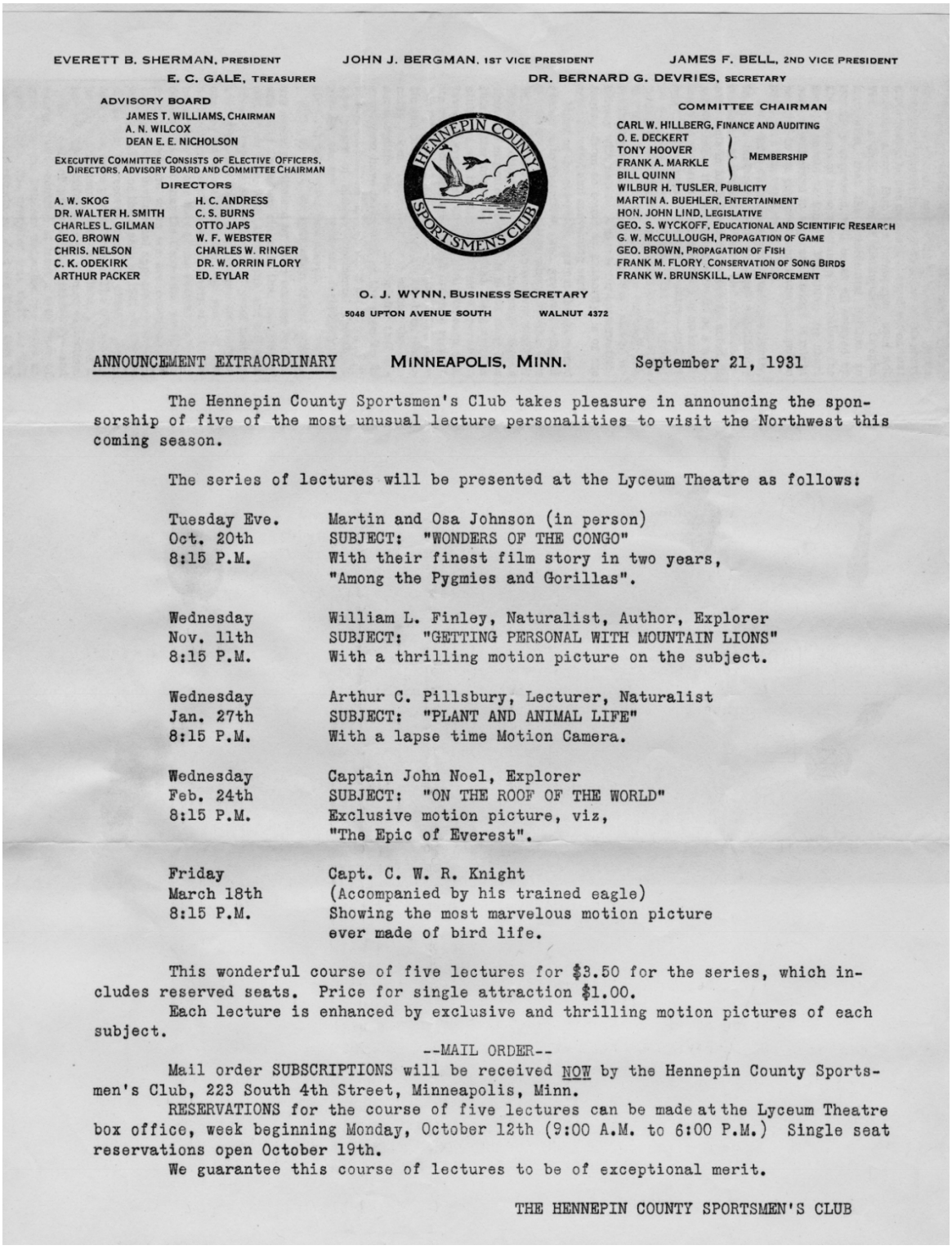
SAVE THESE DATES

Figure 6-2. An advertisement for the 1929-1930 lecture series hosted by the Racine (WI) Public Library, including Finley, Phillip Martindale, Charles Gorst, and W.E.B. DuBois. Oregon Digital.

history—yet still educationally-focused—programming as well. This included Captain Dennis M. Rooke's 'A Soldier of Fortune of Sea and Sky' on February 17, 1930, about the captain's solo flight from England to India. Perhaps the most famous name to share the program with Finley was W. E. B. DuBois, who presented a lecture titled 'Negro Literature' on March 11, 1930.

While impressive in its scope, the Racine lecture series of 1929 and 1930 were not unique during this time. Lecturers—particularly naturalists and naturalist filmmakers—flourished in niche venues during the interwar period in a time when mainstream movie theaters were still primarily an urban recreation. In the year following Finley's 1930 'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide' tour, he sojourned again across the country with his 'Getting Personal with Mountain Lions' series. This series landed him on the 1931 lecture program sponsored by the Hennepin County Sportsmen's Club in Minneapolis, Minnesota (Figure 6-3). In the weeks leading to Finley's lecture, Martin and Osa Johnson—perhaps the most famous wildlife filmmakers of the 1920s and 1930s—presented 'Wonders of the Congo.' Following Finley, Arthur C. Pillsbury, a photographer famous for his images of Yosemite National Park and the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, presented his lecture on 'Plant and Animal Life,' which featured his time-lapse motion pictures.

To fulfill the audience demand of these national lecture series, Pack's American Nature Association sponsored a number of natural history film tours, including those of William Finley. These tours were advertised for up to a year in advance in *Nature Magazine*. For example, an announcement for Howard H. Cleaves' motion picture lecture series was featured in the magazine's January 1928 issue.



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ANNOUNCEMENT EXTRAORDINARY — MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. — September 21, 1931

The Hennepin County Sportsmen's Club takes pleasure in announcing the sponsorship of five of the most unusual lecture personalities to visit the Northwest this coming season.

The series of lectures will be presented at the Lyceum Theatre as follows:

Tuesday Eve. Oct. 20th 8:15 P.M.	Martin and Osa Johnson (in person) SUBJECT: "WONDERS OF THE CONGO" With their finest film story in two years, "Among the Pygmies and Gorillas".
Wednesday Nov. 11th 8:15 P.M.	William L. Finley, Naturalist, Author, Explorer SUBJECT: "GETTING PERSONAL WITH MOUNTAIN LIONS" With a thrilling motion picture on the subject.
Wednesday Jan. 27th 8:15 P.M.	Arthur C. Pillsbury, Lecturer, Naturalist SUBJECT: "PLANT AND ANIMAL LIFE" With a lapse time Motion Camera.
Wednesday Feb. 24th 8:15 P.M.	Captain John Noel, Explorer SUBJECT: "ON THE ROOF OF THE WORLD" Exclusive motion picture, viz, "The Epic of Everest".
Friday March 18th 8:15 P.M.	Capt. C. W. R. Knight (Accompanied by his trained eagle) Showing the most marvelous motion picture ever made of bird life.

This wonderful course of five lectures for $3.50 for the series, which includes reserved seats. Price for single attraction $1.00.

Each lecture is enhanced by exclusive and thrilling motion pictures of each subject.

--MAIL ORDER--

Mail order SUBSCRIPTIONS will be received NOW by the Hennepin County Sportsmen's Club, 223 South 4th Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

RESERVATIONS for the course of five lectures can be made at the Lyceum Theatre box office, week beginning Monday, October 12th (9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.) Single seat reservations open October 19th.

We guarantee this course of lectures to be of exceptional merit.

THE HENNEPIN COUNTY SPORTSMEN'S CLUB

Figure 6-3. An announcement for the 1931 naturalist filmmaker lecturer slate for the Hennepin County (MN) Sportsmen Club featuring presentations by Finley, Martin and Osa Johnson, and Arthur Pillsbury. Oregon Digital.

Featuring an image of a native Canadian woman with a pipe in her mouth (captioned, “She Knows Her Smokes”), ‘Cruising the Canadian Labrador’ was “illustrated by motion pictures and expertly hand-tinted slides.” (Figure 6-4) Additionally, *Nature Magazine* also sponsored other lectures by Cleaves including ‘Wild Life Adventures,’ ‘Outdoors in the West,’ and ‘Birds of the Atlantic Coast.’

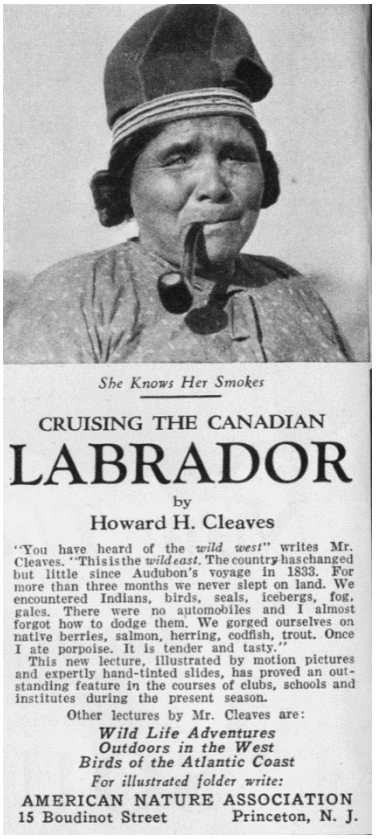


Figure 6-4. An advertisement from the January 1928 issue of *Nature Magazine* describing Cleaves’ magazine sponsored lecture series.

The American Nature Association’s hybrid slide-film lectures appeared to reach a fever pitch in 1929. In addition to advertising Finley’s lectures for 1930, *Nature Magazine* also featured advertising for lectures by Guy C. Caldwell and the prolific Charles C. Gorst. Both lectures focused on wild birds and, in addition to featuring films and slides, also included recitations of bird calls by both men. Gorst in particular was touted for this skill, regaled in the advertisement as the ‘foremost singer of bird songs’ with albums available via Victor and Edison records (Figure 6-5).

Figure 6-5. An advertisement in the January 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine* for Gorst’s magazine sponsored lecture series.

The intertextuality of both the lantern and moving image lecture tours of Finley and his

contemporaries proved a successful model for national tours. The lantern lecture was a well-established tradition in the United States, and these modern hybrid models were the natural evolution of the form. However, as motion pictures matured as an industry, with their own industrial methods of exhibition, a juxtaposition between Finley's model and the emerging model appeared. These developments will be discussed in the next sections of this chapter.

Early Models of Film Exhibition

Mainstream Exhibition

As naturalist filmmakers toured the country showcasing their work at churches, schools, museums, and other community centers, a different and more-commercially focused mode of exhibition began to flourish in the United States. The roots of this industry can be found in the late 1890s when Thomas Edison, concerned about the implications of the arrival of the Lumières's *cinematographe* in United States, hastily developed a projection system of his own—the Edison *Vitascope*. This allowed for Edison to premiere his new technology at Koster & Bial's Music Hall in New York City, two months before the *cinematographe* reached the United States (Barnouw, 1974/1993).

In the early years of the twentieth century, the proto exhibitions of Edison, among others, led to the establishment of nickelodeon theaters in New York and other large American cities, reaching a peak in 1905. Referred to as a "pioneer movie house, a get-rich-quick scheme, and a national institution" (p. 83) by historian Russell Merritt (1985), the nickelodeon phenomena lasted a scant nine years yet established the first permanent

spaces for the exhibition of moving images as well as a proven structure of nationwide distribution. The establishment of an organized and profitable system of distribution and exhibition occurred alongside the industrialization of film production. In the United States, companies such as Biograph, Vitagraph, Essanay, Selig, Lubin, and Kalem were created. Internationally, Pathé (France), Ambrosio (Italy), Nordisk (Denmark), Drankov (Russia), and Madan (India) were established and were soon creating films for an international audience (Barnouw, 1974/1993).

Building upon this infrastructure, theaters designed specifically for the exhibition of motion pictures were being built and operated on a regional level. However, in the interwar period—as Finley and his contemporaries crisscrossed the United States—the most profitable of these regional chains expanded and established a set of industry-wide trends (Gomery, 1985). These companies included Loews in New York City, Grauman in Los Angeles, Skouras in St. Louis, and—perhaps most successful in this period—Balaban and Katz (B&K) in Chicago.

16mm Film and Non-Theatrical Exhibition

As exhibition practices bifurcated, the most common frameworks used to define these divergent modes were *theatrical* and *non-theatrical*. Wasson (2005) writes that the "former indicates that, on the one hand, there are movie theaters, the majority of which are populist in spirit, linked to mass audiences, profit motives, and Hollywood corporate control. On the other hand, there is everywhere else that moving images appear" (p. 35). While the latter constitutes the vast majority of moving images, the term non-theatrical has long been used to designate films—as well as their methods of distribution and exhibition—as culturally and economically inferior. Even the term, *non-theatrical*, is

defined in the negative. These films have been further classified as *educational*, *instructional*, *industrial*, *amateur*, and *church* films (Wasson, 2005, 36). These demarcations, as Barnouw (1974/1993) suggests, overlap with the labels applied to early documentaries in general. Early documentary critic and producer John Grierson lamented these types of non-theatrical documentaries as merely "lecture" films without any sort of social or cultural weight (Barnouw, 1974/1993).

However, even Grierson could not discount the possibility of a nontheatrical film revolution working in concert with the growing network of 16mm film distribution. In 1935, upon seeing the results of cross-country 16mm film tours, Grierson wrote: "as I see it, the future of the cinema may not be in the cinema at all. It may even come humbly in the guise of propaganda and shamelessly in the guise of uplift and education. It may creep in quietly by way of the Y.M.C.A.s, the church halls and other citadels of suburban improvement. This is the future of the art of cinema, for in the commercial cinema there is no future worth serving" (Wasson, 2005, p. 58). 35mm film became the standard gauge for theatrically-released films, arguably of a higher quality yet prohibitively expensive for most of the amateur and semi-professional market. Throughout the 1920s, admissions to theatrical films rose steadily; studies suggest that most Americans in this decade went to the movies at least once or twice a week (Wasson, 2005). While the appetite for theatrically-released, commercially-produced films increased in the early twentieth century, so did interest in non-theatrical and home film exhibition. As Wasson (2005) states, "throughout the 1920s and 1930s, film culture outside of commercial movie theaters was expanding exponentially. Brokered by an increasing number of films and a new standardized film gauge (16mm), self-operated projectors and specialized audiences

became a recognizable part both of a culture ideal and of widespread film practice" (p. 36). This is supported by a study issued by the U.S. Department of Commerce in 1933 that reported that 190,000 non-theatrical projectors were in use in the country, as opposed to roughly 17,000 to 18,000 commercial movie theaters.

While 16mm film originally referred to the width of the film gauge, the term grew to encompass the network of ideas and practices tethered to an array of cameras, projectors, and film stock. From early in the development of 16mm, manufacturers saw the opportunity to create and market portable cameras, projectors, and film gauges designed for home and small-venue exhibition (Wasson, 2005, p. 44). However, it wasn't until 1923—just as Finley was becoming serious about his filmmaking—that industry agreements between Bell and Howell, Victor Animatograph, and Eastman Kodak codified 16mm in a successful bid to dominate other non-theatrical film gauges and equipment. With this technology, films were able to be exhibited on steamships, trains, planes, beaches, military outposts, and in non-theatrical venues across the world.

Naturalist filmmakers were early adopters of 16mm technology and the opportunities its portability in production and exhibition presented. As early as 1906, lecturer/filmmakers such as Lyman H. Howe, maker of such hunting-centric films as *The Perils of Whaling* (1906), *A Real Bullfight* (1906), and *Hunting the Hippopotamus* (1907), screened his films across the world as part of a traveling 16mm exhibition (Chris, 2006). As Finley began his own tour in the winter of 1930, motion pictures—especially for more rural and suburban communities—were still somewhat of a rarity. In a review of Finley's performance in Reading, Pennsylvania on February 21, 1930, the *Reading Times* reported that Finley presented a "celluloid zoo" in that he "brought Reading 'shots' of

wild creatures that are as rare as some of the creatures themselves. He flashed them on a screen against a background of the great outdoors, in their own haunts in mountains and rivers and valleys" ("Shows Celluloid Zoo at Lecture," February 22, 1930). The tone of this review, one that evokes both novelty and reverence, was repeated in reports that followed Finley through the United States in 1930. Finley's partner, Arthur Pack, noticed this response and—as a clever promoter—realized that he and Finley's films could not only draw audiences to churches, union halls, school auditoriums, and museums, but also to the very parks in which the films were made.

The Business of Nature Documentaries

A History of Nature Documentary Sponsorship

As the film industry became more sophisticated in the twentieth century, prominent nature filmmakers began funding their films through both corporate and nonprofit channels. These filmmakers understood the significance of producing films that straddled the fertile ground between commercial and educational themes. Kearton's film expedition with Theodore Roosevelt to Africa, discussed in an earlier chapter, was one of the earliest examples. This mission was sponsored by industrialist Andrew Carnegie and the National Museum in Washington, D.C. with the goal of collecting fauna and flora specimens for the museum (Mitman, 1999, p. 5). In addition to Roosevelt and company bringing roughly 11,000 vertebrate specimens back to the United States, Kearton had also collected enough footage for his film, *Roosevelt in Africa* (1910), which received a cool critical response but was influential in jumpstarting not only the nature documentary genre, but a joint funding model.

Following Kearton's model, Paul Rainey, a sportsman and big game hunter, secured over $250,000 USD from private sources, the New York Zoological Society, and the Smithsonian Institution for a film of his own. Rainey used this funding to travel to Kenya in 1911 to shoot (quite literally) *Paul Rainey's African Hunt* (1912)—a film that Mitman (1999) describes as the largest money-making wildlife film of the decade. This mixed funding model—one that used both corporate and charitable funding—was not without controversy. Martin and Osa Johnson secured funding for their work through the patronage of wealthy members of New York City's Explorers Club and the American Museum of Natural History. The result was the Johnsons's *Trailing African Wild Animals* (1923), a film overtly aimed at the commercial box-office. This fact upset patrons of the American Museum of Natural History, with some noting that "to exploit wildlife on camera in the interests of crass commercialism threatened to degrade the sanctity of nature and its importance as a therapeutic retreat from the profane influences of modern civilization" (Mitman, 1999, p. 27).

This conflict between "crass commercialism" and "the sanctity of nature" has haunted the genre from its beginning. This is possibly due to that fact that, as Bousé (2000) states, wildlife and nature films are different from traditional "nature" narratives to which people are accustomed through fables, tales, and myths. Wildlife films were, from their genesis, "industrialized commodities produced for sale in a competitive global marketplace." Vincent Mosco (2009) defines commodification as the process of transforming objects (even intangible objects such as media artifacts and audience labor) into marketable products. This social process penetrates many media processes and

institutions, thus it is no surprise that the wanton commodification that crept into early twentieth century outdoor recreation would also reach deeply into nature media as well.

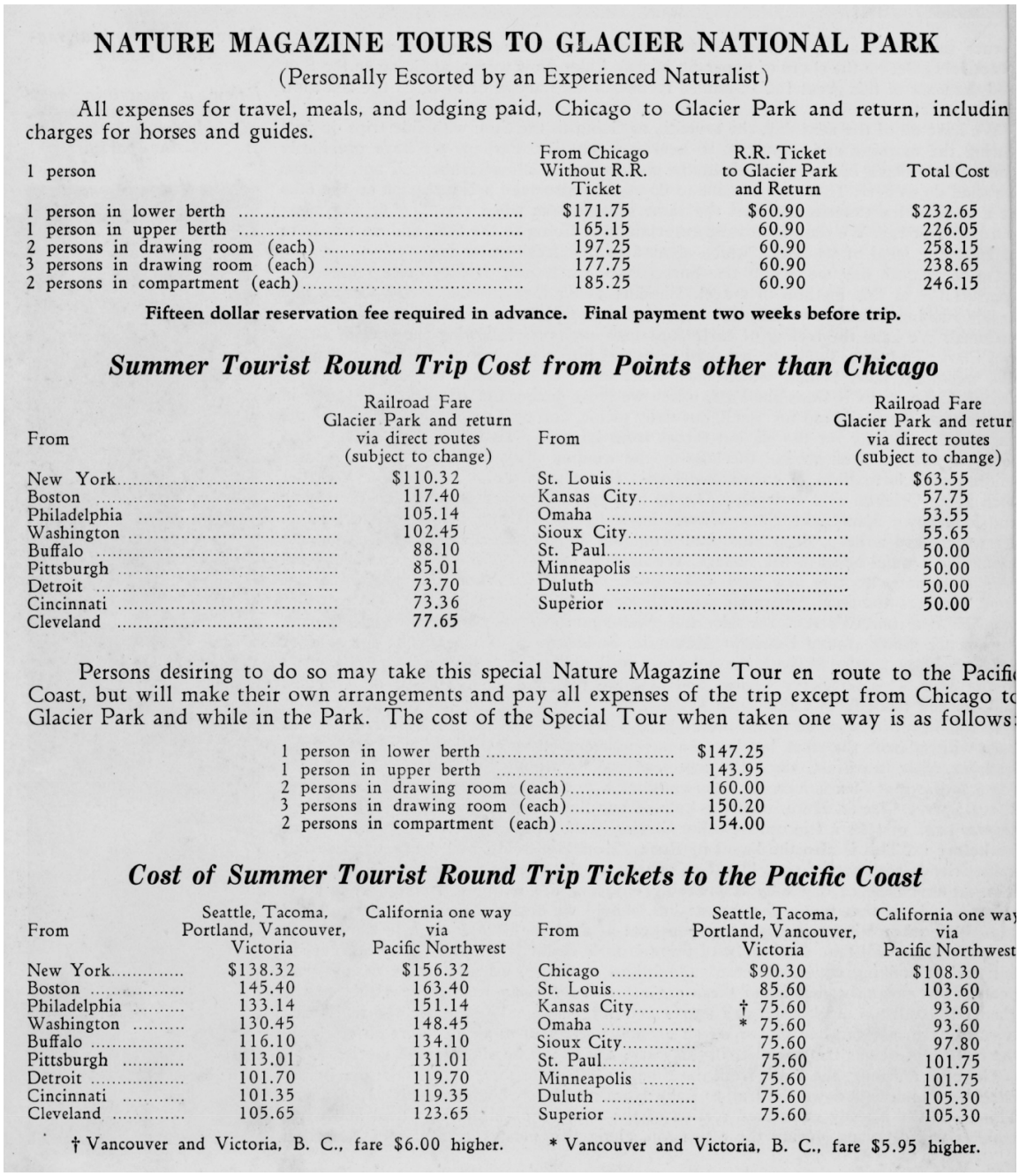
Arguably the best example of the interplay of film financing and the commodification of nature during this era was the work of Robert Flaherty, long regarded as a founder of the nature documentary genre. As Flaherty struggled to fund his film work in the Canadian arctic—which was nearly double his anticipated budget—he was offered funding from the French fur company, Revillon Frères (Barnouw, 1974/1993). One could argue that this patronage can be seen in Flaherty's film, *Nanook of the North* (1922), in the treatment of a European fur trader and his interaction with the Inuit family that serve as the film's protagonists. In a scene that Barnouw (1974/1993) describes as wholly scripted, the family is shown visiting a fur trading outpost, where the family trades furs for other 'practical' goods (perhaps most importantly medicine for a young boy) with the jovial postkeeper. Though subtle, this scene (and others) could be read as highlighting the social benefits of Revillion's work in traditionally indigenous lands. While *Nanook of the North* is Flaherty's best-known film, he relied on corporate patronage at other times to fund his films. For example, for his final film, *Louisiana Story* (1948), Flaherty was given $258,000 USD by Standard Oil in return for producing a film that was related, in some way, to oil exploration in the Gulf of Mexico (Barnouw, 1974/1993, p. 216).

Mapping the funding model for the Finley-Pack films proves a bit more convoluted than the overt sponsorships of Kearton, Rainey, the Johnsons, and Flaherty. For one, the films were produced under the auspices of a not-for-profit organization, the American Nature Association. Secondly, the films were co-directed by Arthur Pack,

president of the American Nature Association and publisher of *Nature Magazine*. However, it appears that Pack used a sophisticated system to profit from his films—one that relied on a tour business based on the success of Finley's film lectures and synergistic advertising from sympathetic stakeholders.

The *Nature Magazine* Tours of Glacier National Park

Capitalizing on the success of Finley's 'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide' lectures of 1929 and 1930, Pack and *Nature Magazine* launched a tour operation that promised to bring audiences to the heart of Glacier National Park so that they could re-live the experiences seen in the Finley-Pack films. The link between the tour and Finley's lectures was explicit; to announce the 1929 expedition, *Nature Magazine* published an article in its April 1929 issue titled "Nature Magazine Arranges Tour in Glacier Park," stating that "Glacier National Park needs little introduction to the readers of *Nature Magazine* so far as pictures and descriptions are concerned. The Pack-Finley Expeditions of the past two summers have brought back a wealth of picture and story" (p. 238). The article continues by mentioning that the decision to launch the tours was inspired, in part, by the "many letters of inquiry" from magazine readers and lecture attendees to whether they could join on a similar expeditionary party. While it would be "manifestly impossible" to take those inexperienced in wilderness living on the same arduous tour that Pack and Finley experienced, the article assured that, in partnership with Superintendent J. Ross Eakin of Glacier Park and the National Park Service, "the tour will escape the hardships and inconveniences ordinarily a part of photographic trips such as Mr. Pack and Mr. Finley have made" (p. 238), while also presenting an itinerary that promised tour guests would be privy to the same wildlife and natural spaces.



NATURE MAGAZINE TOURS TO GLACIER NATIONAL PARK

(Personally Escorted by an Experienced Naturalist)

All expenses for travel, meals, and lodging paid, Chicago to Glacier Park and return, includin charges for horses and guides.

1 person	From Chicago Without R.R. Ticket	R.R. Ticket to Glacier Park and Return	Total Cost
1 person in lower berth	$171.75	$60.90	$232.65
1 person in upper berth	165.15	60.90	226.05
2 persons in drawing room (each)	197.25	60.90	258.15
3 persons in drawing room (each)	177.75	60.90	238.65
2 persons in compartment (each)	185.25	60.90	246.15

Fifteen dollar reservation fee required in advance. Final payment two weeks before trip.

Summer Tourist Round Trip Cost from Points other than Chicago

From	Railroad Fare Glacier Park and return via direct routes (subject to change)	From	Railroad Fare Glacier Park and retur via direct routes (subject to change)
New York	$110.32	St. Louis	$63.55
Boston	117.40	Kansas City	57.75
Philadelphia	105.14	Omaha	53.55
Washington	102.45	Sioux City	55.65
Buffalo	88.10	St. Paul	50.00
Pittsburgh	85.01	Minneapolis	50.00
Detroit	73.70	Duluth	50.00
Cincinnati	73.36	Superior	50.00
Cleveland	77.65		

Persons desiring to do so may take this special Nature Magazine Tour en route to the Pacifi Coast, but will make their own arrangements and pay all expenses of the trip except from Chicago t Glacier Park and while in the Park. The cost of the Special Tour when taken one way is as follows

1 person in lower berth	$147.25
1 person in upper berth	143.95
2 persons in drawing room (each)	160.00
3 persons in drawing room (each)	150.20
2 persons in compartment (each)	154.00

Cost of Summer Tourist Round Trip Tickets to the Pacific Coast

From	Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, Vancouver, Victoria	California one way via Pacific Northwest	From	Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, Vancouver, Victoria	California one wa via Pacific Northwest
New York	$138.32	$156.32	Chicago	$90.30	$108.30
Boston	145.40	163.40	St. Louis	85.60	103.60
Philadelphia	133.14	151.14	Kansas City	† 75.60	93.60
Washington	130.45	148.45	Omaha	* 75.60	93.60
Buffalo	116.10	134.10	Sioux City	75.60	97.80
Pittsburgh	113.01	131.01	St. Paul	75.60	101.75
Detroit	101.70	119.70	Minneapolis	75.60	101.75
Cincinnati	101.35	119.35	Duluth	75.60	105.30
Cleveland	105.65	123.65	Superior	75.60	105.30

† Vancouver and Victoria, B. C., fare $6.00 higher.

* Vancouver and Victoria, B. C., fare $5.95 higher.

Figure 6-6. A price sheet listing the cost of rail travel from a number of American cities to Glacier National Park. This sheet was presented to *Nature Magazine* readers to promote the magazine tour based upon Finley's lecture series. Oregon Digital.

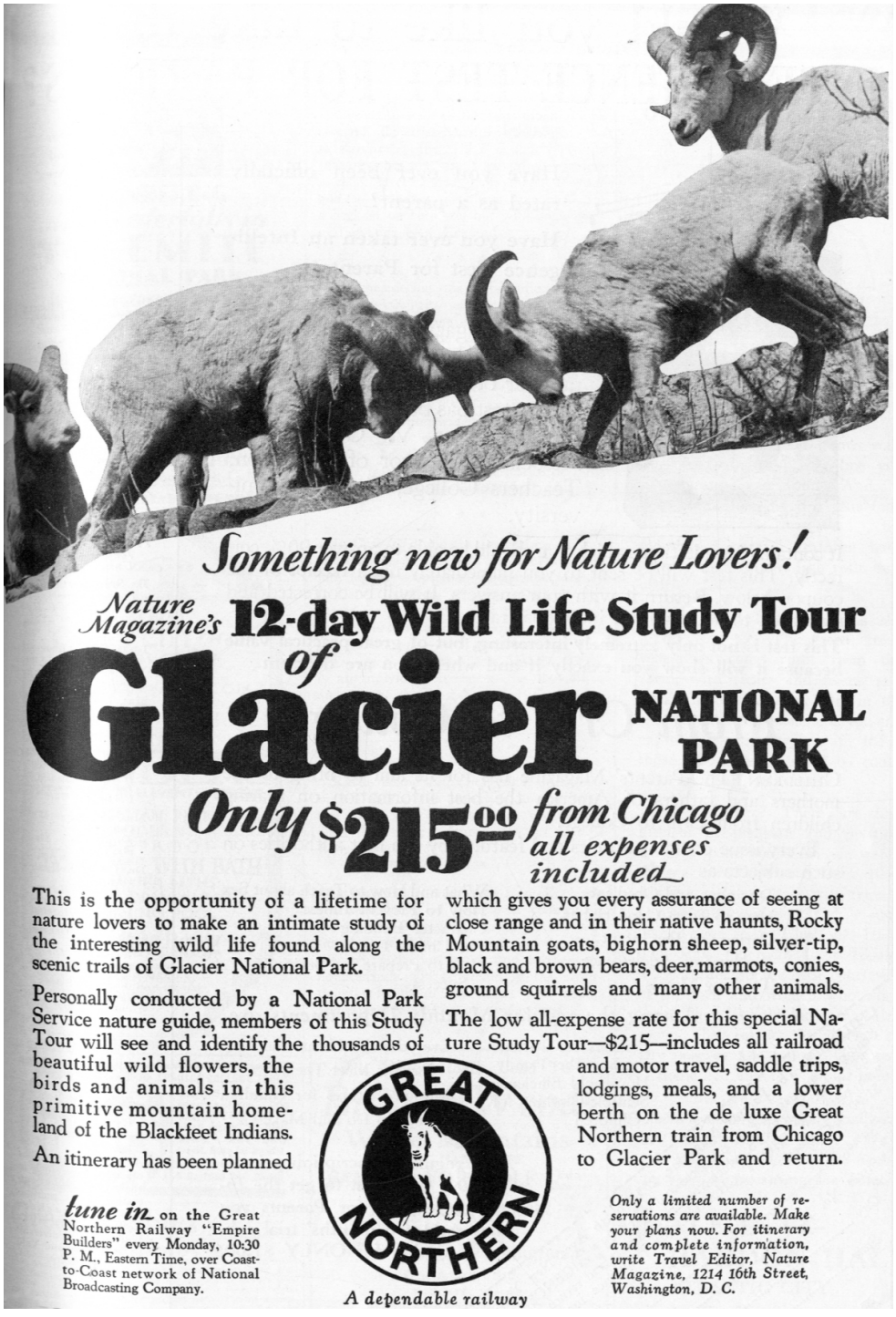


Figure 6-7. This full-page advertisement for Great Northern ran extensively in *Nature Magazine* between 1927 and 1930. The advertisement features images of wildlife taken during the Pack-Finley expedition to Glacier National Park.

The tours embarked from Chicago via corporate partner Great Northern Railways for a 12-day tour of the park. Demonstrating its tie to Great Northern, an advertisement (Figure 6-6) gave readers a variety of pricing options dependent on their railway needs. The tours promised experiences that would give guests the same opportunities to 'camera hunt' as Finley and Pack. Excursions included horseback rides over Swift Current Pass, mountain goat sightings on the Sperry Glacier, followed by meals at the Many Glacier Hotel, a Swiss alpine-inspired chalet built by Great Northern Railway in 1915. In a full-page advertisement in the April 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine* (one that uses images from the Finley-Pack films), the trip promised to be all inclusive—all railroad and motor travel, saddle trips, lodging, and meals were included in the tour fee (Figure 6-7).

Despite the cost and time of the trip, three separate tours were planned in the summer of 1929. By July 1929, *Nature Magazine* stated that "with the First Magazine Tour to Glacier National Park entirely reserved at the time of going to press with this issue and reservations for the second and third tours coming in rapidly, these unique pilgrimages to one of Nature's most glorious wonderlands have been received in a way which justifies the work and effort put into planning them" ("On to Glacier Park…," July 1929, p. 36). Following the 1929 tour, *Nature Magazine* reported that the trips had been a major success. In an October 1929, the magazine published a photograph of the first party of 'camera hunters' to the park (Figure 6-8), accompanied by a trip-inspired poem written by Edna F. Townsend of Winthrop, Massachusetts:

<u>To Glaciers Waters</u>

If I could choose my pathway out of life

'Twould be from some high hour with beauty rife,

Through some deep lake whose quiet water lies

Rimmed by the mountains under summer skies,

Its emerald edged with sapphire in the sun

Changing and shifting as the ripples run;

Or, by a swirling pool of beryl green,

Foamy with bubbles in a rainbow sheen

Flung from the spray where glacial waters fall

Between the singing pine trees straight and tall ("On Glacier's Trails…," October 1929, p. 226).

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST GLACIER PARK PARTY

Standing, left to right,—Mrs. Richard W. Westwood, Washington, D. C.; Mr. E. B. Field, Hartford, Conn.; Miss Agnes Hoffman, Dickens, Iowa; Mrs. Flora S. Little, Bridgewater, Mass.; Mrs. Edna F. Townsend, Winthrop, Mass.; Miss Eleanor Field, Hartford, Conn.; Miss Esther Beard, Ripon, Cal.; Miss Frances Schneider, Meriden, Conn.; Miss Grace Smith, New York City; Miss Kate D. Huber, Indianapolis, Ind.; Front Row, left to right,—Miss Anna Koffinke, Meriden, Conn.; Miss Martha DuBois, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Lorraine Ebinger, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Miss Katherine Crisp, Buffalo, N. Y.; Mr. R. W. Westwood, Washington, D. C.; Miss Helen Pelton, Middletown, N. Y.; Miss Bertha Hoffman, Dickens, Iowa; Miss Helenita Topping, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. Harold A. Bulger, St. Louis, Mo.

Figure 6-8. An image published in the October 1929 issue of *Nature Magazine* depicting the first group of tourists that took part in the magazine sponsored tour inspired by the Finley-Pack films.

Though the most prominently reported and advertised, the *Nature Magazine* tours of Glacier National Park were not the only tours to the western United States affiliated with the magazine. In 1927, *Nature Magazine*—through its New Jersey headquartered

Extension Department—advertised a hybrid lecture series from renowned bird song singer, Guy C. Caldwell, as well as a summer camp that Caldwell was to host for boys in Colorado. Similarly, in the summer of 1927, the *Nature Magazine* Extension Department announced not its own tour, but the services of Dr. William G. Vinal to offer presentations to a number of summer camps across the nation, demonstrating the sophistication of the Extension's commercial outreach.

These tours, much like early nature documentaries, highlight a juxtaposition between the awe of the Western wilderness and the modern technologies designed to make this wilderness accessible. This was a key development in the making of the modern wilderness culture industry; a development evident far beyond the *Nature Magazine* tours and one that influenced the development of the US National Park system itself.

The National Parks of the United States and Tourism

Glacier National Park was established as the tenth national park in the United States on May 11, 1910. From its founding, the geographically remote park has been married to an elaborate transportation grid to bring visitors by road and rail to the park, affectionately known as the 'Crown of the Continent.' (Figure 6-9).

This focused transportation grid flourished in the National Parks of the western United States under the leadership of NPS director Stephen T. Mather. In an article for the August 1927 issue of *Nature Magazine*, Mather reflected upon the decade since the formal establishment of the National Parks Service, and referred explicitly to the additional industrialization of the parks in 1910s and 1920s.

Figure 6-9. A photograph showing the construction of Glacier National Park's Going-to-the-Sun Road in the 1920s. This road was one of the many industrial interventions that made the park more accessible to tourists in the early twentieth century. U.S. National Park Service.

Understanding the changing transportation network in the country, Mather discussed the need for more and better-quality roads throughout the park.

However, he was quick to add that "it is not the purpose of the National Park Service to gridiron the parks with highways. Just the reverse is the case; the greater part of the larger parks will always remain wilderness areas" (Mather, S. T. [1927, August], p. 113). This delicate balancing of wilderness and infrastructure, and thus tourism funding, was also expressed in Mather's discussion of public utilities in the National Parks, stating that "the most practicable method of handling the public utilities in the national parks is to permit private capital under long-term franchise, to furnish the necessary hotel, lodge, and transportation" (p. 113). It is not unreasonable to deduce that Mather was thinking, in part, of the NPS's partnership with Great Northern Railway.

As Mather wrote this article and the *Nature Magazine* tours embarked westward, Glacier National Park was experiencing a noticeable increase in the number of annual visitors. Perhaps most striking was between the years 1928 and 1929, the first year of the 'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide' tours, when visitorship increased by over 32%, from 53,454 visitors to 70,742 (Figure 6-10).

Year	Visitors to Glacier NP
1920	22,449
1921	19,736
1922	23,935
1923	33,988
1924	33,372
1925	40,063
1926	37,325
1927	41,745
1928	53,454
1929	70,742
1930	73,776

Figure 6-10. The number of recreational visitors to Glacier National Park between 1920-1930. U.S. National Park Service.

The establishment and growth of a vibrant wilderness culture industry in the United States is due, in part, to this confluence of nature film lectures, organized tour operations, and improved transportation grid, as well as the white middle class's accessibility to affordable, mass-produced outdoor equipment. This was exemplified in a July 1927 *Nature Magazine* article by Gilbert Irwin titled "Nature Ways by Car and Camp: Light Housekeeping on Wheels Leads to Luring By-Ways." In this article, Irwin discusses the number of technological advancements that aid in camping comfortably, ranging from sporting goods to developed camp sites along major roadways (Figure 6-11). Irwin saw these technological interventions as a great equalizer in the enjoyment of the outdoors; no longer was comfortable Western travel only attainable to the affluent

with access to sleeper cars on transcontinental railroads, but to anyone with a basic camp-kit for the family automobile. Irwin stated:

> "With about every industrious citizen now a car owner, and all the outdoor enjoyments readily brought within the reach of family by merely adding the camping assembly to any car one happens to own, all outdoor pleasures are now just as readily brought to John Doe and family of Toiler's Row as to Rolla Royce of Fortune Boulevard, and the plan of roughing it appeals to almost everyone" (Irwin, G. [1927, July], p. 27).

Figure 6-11. An image that accompanied a July 1927 *Nature Magazine* article titled "Nature Ways by Car and Camp: Light Housekeeping on Wheels Leads to Luring By-Ways." The image demonstrates new mass produced outdoor recreational equipment.

Irwin's sentiment—one held by others, as well—highlights the class implications of the wilderness culture industry in the early twentieth century. This era was a watershed moment in which this culture industry was made available to those in the middle classes.

However, tours targeted to the more affluent—such as the Glacier Park tours—were still dominant, as seen in the advertising campaigns produced for *Nature Magazine* by Great Northern Railways in concert with the tours.

The Great Northern Railways Advertising Campaigns

The development of Glacier National Park and Great Northern Railways are historically intertwined. David H. Hickox (1983) suggests that between 1880 and 1920, railroads were the most important factor behind the capitalistic development of the Pacific Northwest, and cites Great Northern's impact on northern Montana as a case study. In 1880, much of the state was populated by scattered bands of Native Americans. In a relatively short interval of just 40 years, Montana was colonized by white settlers, with Great Northern providing both the infrastructure and marketing to draw them to areas previously considered 'wilderness.' With the development of Montana's industrial infrastructure, Glacier National Park's popularity increased. This brought the aforementioned need for improved transportation and better accommodations—requests that the Great Northern Railway was more than willing to fulfill for a profit as they built hotels, chalets, and horse trails throughout the park's backcountry. Larry Len Peterson (2002) writes that much of the credit for the park's infrastructure should be given to James J. Hill, founder of the Great Northern. However, it was Hill's son, Louis, who forwarded the advertising campaigns that would prove so successful in bringing tourists to the park.

Beginning in 1911, the younger Hill and his advertising team unveiled their 'See America First, Great Northern Railways, National Park Route' campaign that would be used throughout the following decades (Hidy, Hidy, Scott, & Hofsommer, 2004). In the 1920s, Great Northern's advertising was closely tied to that of Glacier National Park, including the printing of park guides and maps that listed attractions, accommodations, and a full listing of the national Great Northern Railway representatives ready to help tourists book their next holiday. In one guide, author Mary Roberts Rinehart (n.d.) introduces the park, while also touting the 'See America First' mentality, writing "I have traveled a great deal of Europe. The Alps have never held this lure for me. Perhaps it is because these mountains are my own—in my own country. Cities call—I have heard them. But there is no voice in all the world so insistent to me as the wordless call of these mountains. I shall go back. Those who go once always hope to go back. The lure of the great free spaces is in their blood" (p. 3).

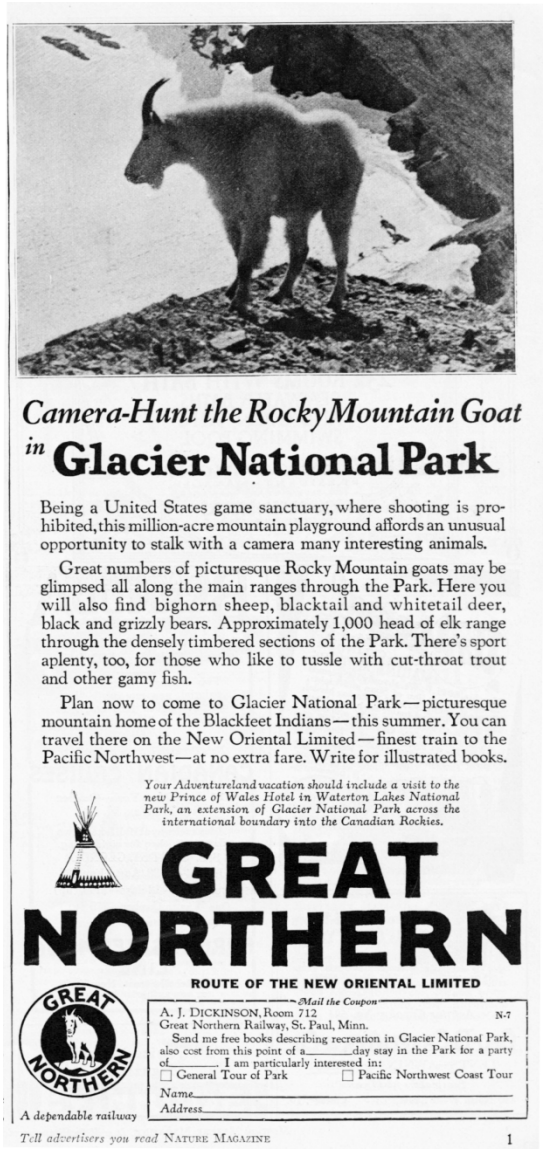


Figure 6-12. An advertisement for Great Northern featured in *Nature Magazine* between 1927-1930 that directly draws from the language and imagery of the Finley-Pack films.

Great Northern's tether to Glacier National Park extended to their extensive advertising featured in *Nature Magazine* throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Specifically, in the early months of 1928 and 1929, when *Nature Magazine* was concurrently advertising their 'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide' tours to Montana, Great Northern also joined in the commercial synergy. Specifically, Great Northern produced an advertisement imploring readers to "Camera-Hunt the Rocky Mountain Goat in Glacier National Park." The advertisement even went so far as to feature a photograph of a goat, taken by either Finley or Pack during their namesake expedition (Figure 6-12).

The symbiosis of the 'Camera Hunting on the Continental Divide' film lectures and leisure tours of the late 1920s and early 1930s demonstrate the importance of industrial technology in the creation of the wilderness culture industry at large. The portability of the emergent 16mm technology gave Finley and other naturalist-filmmakers the ability to exhibit their films in a wide array of nontheatrical venues across the nation, exposing audiences to moving images of the western United States that few had seen before. These films inspired many to see the places and wildlife from these films with their own eyes; once again, these audiences depended on the industrial technology of infrastructure and specialized equipment to 'enter' the 'wilderness.'

As Janet Staiger (1992) notes on the importance of audience analysis in studying industrial context, the exploration of these audiences serves as a key linkage between the nature documentaries of the era and the wilderness culture industry. The audiences that Finley and his contemporaries, such as Caldwell and Gorst, encountered were not in a movie palace or other designated theatrical venue. They were found in museums, schools, churches, or other civic organizations, suggesting that they were looking for a cinematic

experience that was more educational and intellectually stimulating than the mass-marketed fiction films of theatres. These films portrayed 'nature'—something that, especially to audiences in the increasingly industrialized and urbanized eastern United States, was quickly associated with the western states. And, in this portrayal, the trained naturalist-filmmakers—such as Finley—provided entertainment in the form of western adventure with charismatic wildlife and cinematic scenery, with the backing authority of science and education.

The expectations of these audiences for a balance of entertainment and scientific information was met (or even possibly created) by the political economic system of the wilderness culture industry that supplemented the images depicted in these nature documentary films. This system existed in both spheres; on the one hand, corporate entities such as Great Northern and Bell & Howell offered, at a profit, the technology needed for the industry to thrive. On the other, non-profit endeavors, such as the American Nature Association, museums, zoological societies, and even the National Park Service, offered the scientific legitimacy that many audiences deemed worthy of the stewardship of 'nature.' The balance of this system was delicate, as seen in its critiques when 'crass commercialism' was observed to threaten the 'sanctity of nature.'

Perhaps the best description of the wilderness culture industry's importance in the early twentieth century came from Stephen Mather (1927, August), who wrote in his *Nature Magazine* article:

> "It is unfortunate that our country has not yet fully awakened to the economic importance of our national parks. Their value lies, not in exploiting the lakes and rivers for the sudden enrichment of a few individuals or corporations, or even a

> neighboring locality which constitutes but small portion of the national domain. It consists not in cutting a few forests, so as to get an immediate supply of lumber which would be ridiculously small when compared with the output from the national forests and from private lands. Rather, the economic value of the national parks lies in offering to American travelers objects of such general scenic interest as to lead them to see and explore their own country first, thus keeping at home millions of dollars which would otherwise be spent abroad, and which spent in the United States in travel brings increased taxes into the Federal Treasury, as well as increased prosperity to the various industries serving the public in and en route to the park, and to the neighboring communities" (p. 115).

Thus, even a non-corporate stakeholder in the wilderness culture industry—the National Parks Service—sees 'nature' as a commodity. While not a traditional natural commodity such as timber or water, the commodity in which Mather refers to are tourists or audiences of 'nature.' These audiences—whether watching Finley's films from a church pew in Racine or traveling by Great Northern to stay in modern chalets in western Montana—are commodities, as described by Dallas Smythe (1981/2012) in his discussion of the audience commodity. The power of the audience commodity in the wilderness culture industry is evident in the pages of *Nature Magazine*, where advertisements for film lectures, National Park tours, railroads, camping equipment, and new cameras shared space with articles discussing the natural history of flora and fauna. Through this symbiotic marketing that trafficked especially in imagery of the wilderness of the 'old west' (a construct that no longer existed, if it ever existed at all), the

stakeholders in the wilderness culture industry, from filmmakers to railroad executives, were able to create new, specialized audiences for their products and services.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has explored the wilderness culture industry of the United States in the 1920s and 1930s through a focused case study on the nature documentary films produced, promoted, and distributed by William L. Finley and Arthur N. Pack. This chapter will begin with a synthesis of the study through its relationship to the research questions presented in Chapter 3, concluding with a look at the possible long-term implications of these films and their contextual industries on the modern wilderness culture industry, as well as a brief discussion of the limitations of the current study and opportunities for future research.

Findings

To articulate the findings of this study, I will briefly present them in response to the study's research questions:

RQ 1: What is the context and historical significance of the Finley-Pack films on the nature documentary film genre?

The Finley-Pack films were produced, promoted, and distributed in a time of great change in the U.S. Emerging from World War I, the country was rapidly industrializing and the mass media were growing. A national network of newspapers had developed, magazines were increasing in popularity, and film had emerged as a popular mode of entertainment and information. This increase in modern technology—especially media technology—had a profound impact on the way that much of the nation interacted with the constructs of nature, wilderness, and wildlife. No longer were they presented only in

prose and still pictures; the wilderness was now accessible in moving images, largely due to improved technology in the production, distribution, and exhibition of 16mm film, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Additionally, the wilderness of the American west was more accessible than ever before. Gone were the days of arduous travel by wagon or horse; a rapidly expanding network of rail and roadways, and the mass production of automobiles, gave even those in the middle class opportunities to see these spaces. Due to this increased access, the wilderness culture industry grew to meet a demand for a new commodity market ranging from nature documentary films to tourism.

This novel context gave Finley and Pack, along with their contemporaries, the latitude to create nature documentaries that were far more complex than previous films. With access to high-quality, handheld camera technology, these filmmakers were able to venture further into nature and capture images that were still rare, even for still photography. With this ability, filmmakers were able to pilot new techniques—while still drawing from the existing conventions—to develop a modern vocabulary of nature documentary film. New terminology included updating 'hunting pictures' (a term that arose with the birth of moving images in the 1890s) to 'camera hunting pictures,' where the filmmaker and the production process became just as central to the story as the wildlife and wilderness itself. The effects of this change can be seen currently in presenter-led television nature programs. Beyond camera hunting films, Finley and Pack created those that utilized characterization, anthropomorphization, and comedy to tell stories, often ascribing wildlife with names and personalities. Again, the modern implications are obvious through the past half century of popular nature media. And

while it is difficult to definitively state that the Finley-Pack films were the first to employ any of these techniques, they were certainly among the pioneers in the field.

RQ 2: What were the production culture and political-economic structures in which the Finley-Pack films were produced, distributed, and exhibited?

The production culture of these films was influenced greatly by the technological advances afforded the filmmakers. This technology allowed filmmakers such as Finley and Pack to capture footage of wildlife and wild spaces previously undocumented in moving images. However, counterintuitively, this technology also allowed the filmmakers and their technology to become central to the stories they produced. This is perhaps the most defining feature of the production culture of the Finley-Pack films—the fact that the filmmakers, specifically Finley, became the protagonists of these films. In other words, he was able to fulfill dual roles: on the one hand, he was the filmmaker responsible for capturing footage of the natural world, and on the other, he was the engine for action, drama, and comedy within the storylines. In Pack's writing about their production process, Finley was often portrayed as fearless (and possibly foolhardy), the prototypical masculine 'outdoorsman' cut from the same narrative cloth as natural history film's first star, and Finley's friend, Theodore Roosevelt.

This elevation of Finley as a larger-than-life character created a distance between him and the consumers of his films, as well as with the wilderness culture industry at large. However, at the same time, Finley was accessible in many ways, but most importantly, through his lecture tours that brought both 'Finley the man' and 'Finley the myth' to consumers across the country, as discussed in Chapter 6. This quality created an ideal both attainable yet still aspirational for many, as evidenced in the rise of the camera

hunting hobby and those willing to travel to the western United States to embark on camera hunting expeditions themselves.

The political economic structure of the wilderness culture industry arose to commodify these ideals. *Nature Magazine* and the hundreds of companies that supported it through advertising were all looking to sell tangible and intangible goods to a niche audience who wanted the same experience in the natural world and to reap its perceived benefits. The magazine itself also looked to exploit this audience beyond the sale of third-party advertisements, through its sponsorship of national film lecture tours and expensive tourism packages. One could argue that the Finley-Pack films, while influential through their content, were created as promotional materials for larger and more lucrative endeavors that included the products of *Nature Magazine,* as well as raw footage for more commercially viable films, such as the Paramount newsreels as discussed in Chapter 4.

RQ 3: How did these films represent wildlife and wilderness?

The Finley-Pack films could be described as part of a second wave of nature documentary films. The first wave began with Muybridge, Marey, and their peers, whose films were made more to prove the concept of moving images than to explore the intricacies of the natural world. However, as technology improved and the vocabulary of modern film became more established, these second wave films came to rely on a set of tropes to represent wildlife and the wilderness.

Perhaps the most obvious and long-lasting characteristic within the genre was the use of anthropomorphism in these films. By attributing names and human characteristics to wildlife, the films joined the long tradition of anthropomorphism in media. However,

equating the anthropomorphism in nature films to that in classic fables and fairytales inappropriately diminishes the role that characterization plays in the films. Nature documentary films are presented as factual representations of the natural world. They are ascribed a level of authority not found in works of fiction. Indeed, one could argue that this was the reason why the Finley-Pack films found audiences in non-theatrical spaces, such as schools, museums, and churches. Thus, an argument could be made that the use of anthropomorphism in nature documentaries is perhaps disingenuous. By using the vocabulary of fiction in a context that is presented as non-fiction, the audience is given a distorted view of the natural world—one in which wildlife are prescribed the faculties and agency of human beings.

Beyond the presentation of animals, the wilderness itself is distorted in these films. Through the introduction of a camera, as well as post-production techniques, the wilderness itself takes the role of a stage for anthropocentric storylines. The geography of the places where these films were made—the flora, the ecosystems, the topography—are unnoted, other than as challenges presented to the filmmakers themselves as they work toward their filmmaking goals, as discussed in Chapter 5. This leads to perhaps the most important representation (or misrepresentation) in the Finley-Pack films, as well as in films of their peers. Though these films were made under the pretense of conservation science and taxonomy, this pretense served almost exclusively as a propellant for the narrative and a justification for the actions of the filmmakers. The ‘science’ of the expeditions is unmentioned, however, the techniques of science (e.g. specimen collection) are used as fodder for visually-exciting plotlines.

RQ4: How did the representations of wildlife and wilderness in the Finley-Pack films and paratextual materials interact with the commodification of outdoor recreation in this era?

Inspired by the films of Finley and Pack, viewers of these films and readers of *Nature Magazine* were provided with opportunities to mimic (even vicariously) the experiences they consumed through these mass media forms. Perhaps the most obvious was through the hobby of camera hunting. Consumers could purchase (for a high price) the exact camera used to produce the Finley-Pack films. The Bell and Howell FILMO was featured extensively in the films and advertised hundreds of times in the pages of *Nature Magazine*—with some of the advertisements featuring Finley himself or photos from the Finley-Pack films. Additionally, readers of *Nature Magazine* had access to a diverse range of niche commodities to assist them in actualizing their own wilderness excursions.

Beyond tangible commodities, such as cameras, tents, and books, the Finley-Pack films interacted with the intangible commodity of tourism. Explicitly linked, the *Nature Magazine* tours to Glacier National Park in the late 1920s and early 1930s were direct responses to audience interest elicited by the Finley film tours and their supplementary articles in *Nature Magazine,* as mentioned in Chapter 6. Perhaps more indirectly, these materials were part of a broader movement toward the commodification of both the wilderness and those interested in partaking of it. Alongside these films and tours, infrastructure expanded throughout the western wildernesses, making these spaces more accessible to more people than ever before. Undoubtedly inspired by the burgeoning

nature mass media from films to magazines, interest in these areas grew exponentially in the 1920s, as evidenced by the visitorship numbers to the western national parks.

Modern Implications

These findings suggest that the Finley-Pack films, as well as films of their peers that could be described as second wave nature documentaries, had a profound impact in the formation of the modern wilderness culture industry. Whereas the first wave of nature filmmakers (such as Muybridge, Marey, Kearton, and Rainey) used rudimentary technology to create basic narratives for an eager audience mesmerized by the new medium, and the third wave (such as Cousteau, Denis, and Disney) had access to sound-on-film, a fully developed cinema industry, and the technology of television, the second wave existed in an interstitial period where they were forced to develop distinctive styles and market niches (Bouse, 2000). Through the use of modern film technology, new techniques to capture a share of increasingly saturated markets, and a sophisticated network of promotion and distribution, the media of the second wave nature documentary filmmakers aided in the creation of a niche audience and market that was readily exploitable by capital-driven industry. This can be seen currently in the modern wilderness culture industry as well.

Mixed Funding Models and Cross Promotion

Beginning with the films of Cherry Kearton, Paul Rainey, and Martin and Osa Johnson, nature documentary films have used a mixed of both private capital and public funding to finance their films. However, the Finley-Pack films added another level of sophistication to this model. As opposed to the earlier films, the Finley-Pack projects

were not aimed at a commercial box office. As non-theatrical, educationally-focused films, they possessed a level of 'scientific legitimacy' not attempted in earlier iterations. The Finley-Pack films were produced under the auspices of the American Nature Association, a non-profit organization dedicated to environmental conservation, even though the organization was supported through private capital in the form of advertising and cross-promotion.

This mixed funding model, where the influence of capital is more convoluted than outward sponsorship, grew as both the film and later, television industries flourished. Shell Oil famously produced hundreds of nature documentary films that unfortunately touted the scientific benefits of activities such as exploratory drilling and industrial pesticides (Barnouw, 1974/1993). Even filmmakers considered ardent conservationists, such as Jacques Cousteau, financed some of their film work through funding from the capital gained from natural resource exploitation (Morton, 2015).

Perhaps the best example of this model in contemporary media is the National Geographic organization. Though founded in 1888 as a non-profit organization dedicated to scientific exploration and environmental conservation, it has transitioned into a global multimedia organization that includes films, television, books, digital content, and—similar to *Nature Magazine* a century before—national multimedia film lectures. The growth in this entertainment content coincides with the organization's acquisition by 21st Century Fox in 2015, when Fox gained a controlling share of National Geographic's media properties in an expanded joint venture, known as the National Geographic Partners. While a separate, non-profit arm of National Geographic (known as the National Geographic Society) stills exists to fund grants, its financial stability continues

to rely heavily on support from National Geographic's corporate endeavors. In 2016, the Society received 51% of its revenue from the joint National Geographic-Fox partnership (National Geographic Society, 2016). As a comparison, 15% of the Society's revenue was received from tax-deductible contributions (Duncan, 2021).

Following the acquisition of 21st Century Fox by the Walt Disney Company in March 2019, National Geographic's television assets became part of the Walt Disney Television Unit, delivering both new and archival content to Disney+'s 26.5 million (and growing) paying subscribers (Duncan, 2021). Therefore, it appears that National Geographic—as well as many other purveyors of natural history—is a brand at the crossroads in the digital era, pulled between the dual identities of conservationist and capitalist in a highly-developed wilderness culture industry.

The Audience / Consumer Commodity

The legacy of this mixed-funding model has also affected the development of the audiences/consumers of the wilderness culture industry. As discussed in Chapter 5, through exhibition outside the 'mainstream' film industry, some nature films have been afforded a level of educational and scientific prestige, as opposed to simply being forms of popular entertainment. Such films were exhibited in museums, libraries, churches, and other civic organizations, i.e. spaces usually reserved for work of great cultural importance. The fact that these films were co-sponsored by scientific, academic, and/or non-profit entities has only bolstered this sentiment. Thus, a niche audience was created—one that was socially-aware, open to new ideas toward conservation, yet interested in the entertaining exploits of adventure in the natural world. This audience,

once formed, was quickly commodified through targeted advertising for goods, such as Bell and Howell cameras, all-inclusive tourism packages, and camping goods.

This audience commodity continues into the modern age with arguably little change, as audiences are still treated—more or less—homogeneously, seen as middle-to-upper class, white, and typically male, and socially-aware, conservationally-minded, yet susceptible to the heteronormative, masculine myths of 'man versus nature.' Echoes of the Bell and Howell camera hunting advertisements can be seen in Canon's 'Wildlife as Canon Sees It' print campaign that has been used since the 1980s. These advertisements are targeted toward a similar audience/consumer as those nearly century before, and use the same tactics of discourse—such as hunting and anthropomorphic narratives (Figure 7-1).

But this discourse has been extended beyond cameras. In a contemporary REI print advertisement, for example, the reader is shown an image almost identical to William Finley on a cliff face. Subjects are shown conquering nature, using modern technology—in this case, lightweight rock climbing gear—in their conquest (Figure 7-2). The text reads "Not Your Typical Office-Cooler Chit Chat," a tone reminiscent of Arthur Pack when he described the strenuousness of his and Finley's expedition, when compared to the comfort of others.

Photographed by Jean-Paul Ferrero ***Giant Panda:*** *Genus: Ailuropoda Species: melanoleuca* ***Adult weight:*** *Male—up to 136kg; female—approximately 113kg* ***Adult length of head and body:*** *152—183cm* ***Habitat:*** *Mountain forests in central China where bamboo, its main food, can be found* ***Surviving number:*** *Estimated 1,000 in the wild*

Wildlife as Canon sees it: A photographic heritage for all generations.

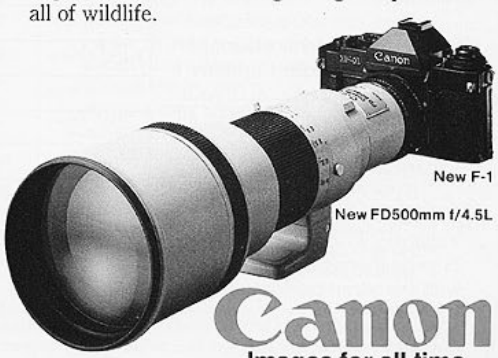
When a work of creation is gone, there is no way to bring it back.

The giant panda, one of the world's most loved animals, is in danger of vanishing forever from the face of the earth. And while photography can record this universally popular animal for posterity, it can also actually help save it and the rest of wildlife.

Photography is the most convenient and useful means of gathering the scientific information needed for saving the panda. It is especially important in this case. The panda is exceptionally difficult to study in the wild. It is unusually rare, and it leads a very solitary and seclusive existence.

It is also largely through photography that people have come to know and love the panda. Most people have seen pandas only in photographs. But a photograph has that extraordinary ability to communicate, and a photograph of a panda certainly contributes to our better understanding of not only the panda but nature itself.

And understanding is perhaps the single most important factor in saving the giant panda and all of wildlife.



Canon
Images for all time

Figure 7-1. An advertisement from Canon's 30+ year 'Wildlife as Canon Sees It' campaign, from the January 1982 issue of *National Geographic* magazine.

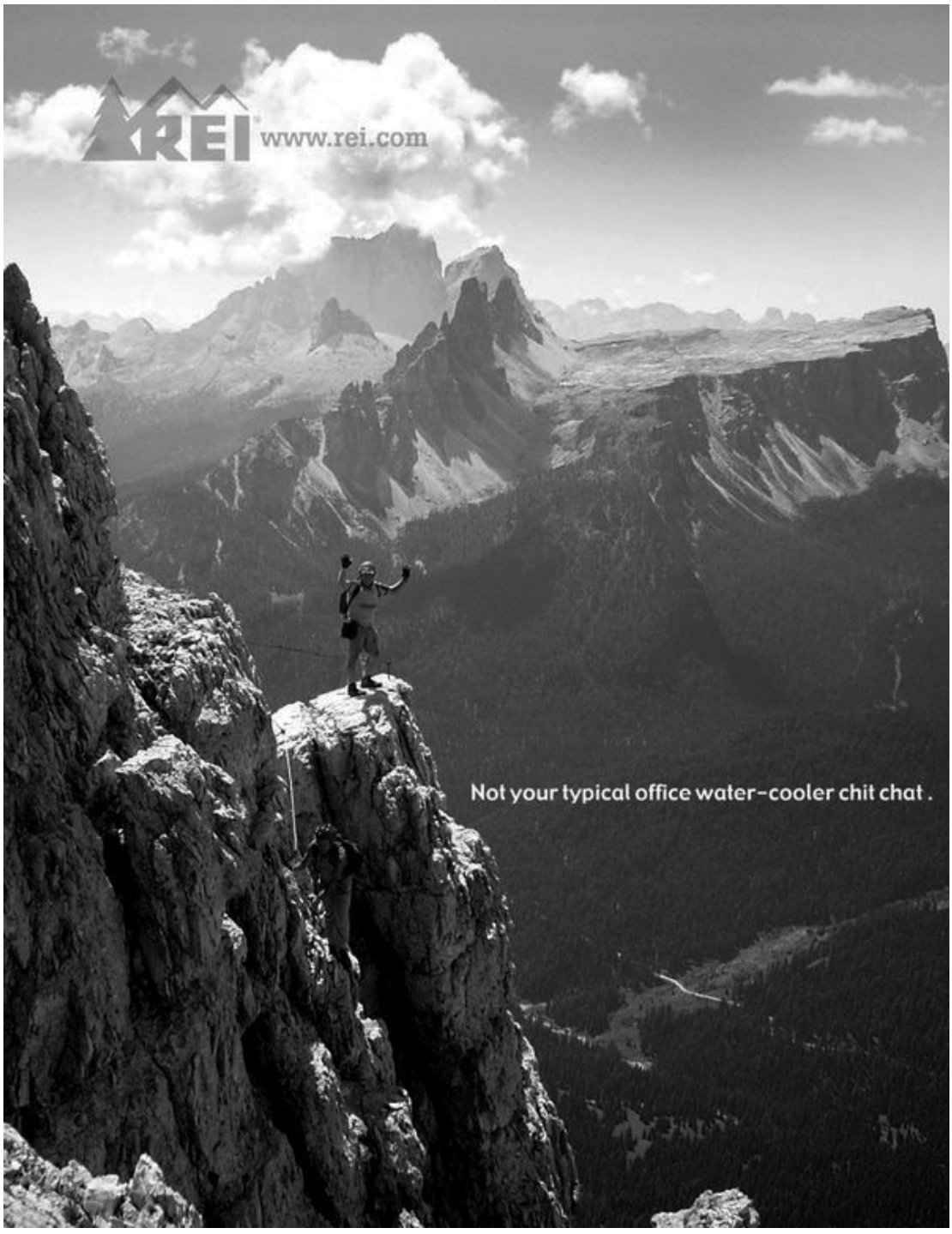


Figure 7-2. A contemporary (undated) advertisement for REI sporting goods, demonstrating the longstanding themes of the wilderness culture industry. REI.

Perhaps drawing these direct connections is too simplistic. However, these examples—and countless others that could have been chosen to illustrate these points—demonstrate that the niche audience commodity first created in the 1920s and 1930s continues relatively unchanged in an increasingly-sophisticated, modern wilderness culture industry. The discourses of Bell and Howell have moved to Canon, *Nature Magazine* tour excursions to *National Geographic* expeditions (Figure 7-3), and Great Northern Railways to Subaru Outbacks (Figure 7-4), yet the target audience is reminiscent to the one created nearly 100 years ago.

Figure 7-3. An advertisement for a National Geographic organized tour (or 'excursion') from the January 2013 issue of *New York* magazine.

Study Limitations

This study of the genesis of the modern wilderness culture industry in the U.S. is not without limitations. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this was an inductive study, where theory was selectively applied to elucidate data as it emerged through historical inquiry.

This suggests that the research is by no means exhaustive or fully generalizable; instead, its aim is to serve as an entry point into the complex and multifaceted wilderness culture industry during an era of great change in the United States.

Figure 7-4. A still from a contemporary (undated) television advertisement for the Subaru Outback, that portrays the same imagery of the Great Northern advertisements of the 1920s and 1930s.

Secondly, and perhaps most problematically, is the use of the term 'wilderness' in the first place. While this study has attempted to frame wilderness as a construct, one made by those invested in the Anglo-American colonization of western North America, its inclusion as a catch-all term is still imperfect. As Cronon (1995) writes:

> It is no accident that these supposedly inconsequential environmental problems affect mainly poor people, for the long affiliation between wilderness and wealth means that the only poor people who count when wilderness is the issue are hunter-gatherers, who presumably do not consider themselves to be poor in the first place. The dualism at the heart of wilderness encourages its advocates to

> conceive of its protection as a crude conflict between the "human" and the "nonhuman"—or, more often, between those who value the nonhuman and those who do not. This in turn tempts one to ignore crucial differences among humans and the complex cultural and historical reasons why different peoples may feel very differently about the meaning of wilderness (p. 15).

The study has focused primarily on the framing of wilderness by the Anglo-American middle class in the 1920s and 1930s, as this demographic group—through contrived social exclusionary practices—was the principal target of the products of the wilderness culture industry, including nature documentaries, outdoor leisure, and their supplementary goods. It is likely that a wilderness culture industry (or industries) existed that was tailored to different demographics, as will be discussed in following section.

Due in part to the focus of the research, this study also excluded previous scholarship that explored the relationship of race, identity, and sexuality in the environmental media context. Examples of such work would include Noël Sturgeon's (2009) detailed exploration of environmentalism in popular culture, as well as Kate Soper's (2000) focused work on feminism in the natural world. The work of scholars, such as David Ingram (2000) and others, on the role of Native Americans in environmental media and 'wilderness culture' would provide the background for crucial future research in the field as well. And Derek Christopher Martin (2004) and Carolyn Finney (2014) have offered much needed context on the role of African Americans in the wilderness culture industry. Unfortunately, these rich veins of research were omitted in this current work, but will hopefully provide the building blocks for future research in the field.

Future Research and Final Discussion

The role of the wilderness culture industry today is more vital than at any other time. The natural environment faces compounding problems, ranging from rapid climate change to mass wildlife extinction. And while the modern wilderness culture industry seems to be responding to these issues (albeit, slowly) in the form of corporate social responsibility initiatives (CSR), it is difficult to ascertain if these initiatives amount to much more than publicity and easy advertising. Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee (2008) suggests that "it is unlikely that any radical revision of corporate social responsibility will emerge from organizations given how this discourse is constructed at higher levels (?) of the political economy" (p. 73) Beyond Banerjee's assessment, one may also argue that CSR initiatives pertaining specifically to conservation and sustainability, when not as beneficial as promoted, may amount to corporate "greenwashing"—defined as a campaign "to mislead (the public, public concern, etc.) by falsely representing a person, company, product, etc., as being environmentally responsible" (Greenwash, n.d.)—thus allowing a corporation to manipulate an image of environmental, social, and cultural responsiveness (Athanasiou, 1996). Future research that traces the tangible impacts of CSR campaigns related to the wilderness culture industry are urgently needed.

Additionally, explorations of the wilderness culture industry from non-middle class, white American perspectives as discussed in the previous section could also prove worthwhile. Similarly, cross-cultural studies that compare the North American industry with its international counterparts may provide new insights into cultural differences regarding wilderness, culture, and industry.

Ultimately, as this dissertation has aimed to elucidate how the duality of human industry and the natural environment have long been tethered and will likely continue to be. The wilderness culture industry has always been satisfied with the commodification of nature, yet can also (at times) self-criticize when the machinations of industry overstep. This can be seen in contemporary CSR campaigns, as well as in historical examples. For instance, a reader-submitted cartoon, published in the August 1927 issue of *Nature Magazine* (Figure 7-5), reads as strikingly prescient, and illustrates the long-standing frictions in the wilderness culture industry. The central thesis to Cronon's (1995) piece states that "the trouble with wilderness is that it quietly expresses and reproduces the very values its devotees seek to reject" (p. 11). Perhaps this relationship between anthropogenic industry and the natural environment—demonstrated through the Finley-Pack films, *Nature Magazine*, the national parks, and all the other permutations of the historical and contemporary wilderness culture industry—can be viewed through the lens of biophilia, the original frame of this study. Wilson (1984) writes that "the unique operations of the brain are the result of natural selection through the filter of culture. They have suspended us between the two antipodal ideals of nature

Figure 7-5. A reader-submitted cartoon from the August 1927 issue of *Nature Magazine*.

and machine, forest and city, the natural and artificial, relentlessly seeking … an equilibrium not of this world" (p. 12). This drive toward an unobtainable equilibrium between nature and the machine continues to serve as the engine of the wilderness culture industry.

APPENDIX

FILMOGRAPHY OF THE FINLEY-PACK FILMS

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (192?). *Wings to the South* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1925). *Nature's Side Show* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1925). *Queer Creatures of Cactus County* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1926). *Big Game Parade* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1926). *Cruising North (Bird Islands)* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1926). *Thar She Blows* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1926). *The Great Bear of Alaska* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1926). *Off to Glacier Bay* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1926). *Ramparts of the North* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1926). *Wild Animal Outposts* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1927). *Babes in the Woods* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1927). *In the Wake of Wapiti* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1927). *The Forests* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1927). *Riding the Rim Rock* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1927). *When Mountains Call* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1930). *The Passing of the Marshlands* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1930). *Woods, Water, and Wildlife* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1930). *Getting our Goat* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

Finley, W. L, & Pack, A. N. (Directors). (1935). *Waterfowl* [motion picture]. USA: American Nature Association.

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