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The Kodak Picture Spot sign: American photographic viewing and twentieth-century corporate visual culture

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Dissertation

**THE KODAK PICTURE SPOT SIGN:
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEWING AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY
CORPORATE VISUAL CULTURE**

by

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This dissertation is dedicated to S.J. Brooks and Dr. Daniel Fink,
who are no longer with us,

as well as

Gordon Brown and Bruce Myren,
who continue to provide inspiration and unending support

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Picturesque era taught by Dr. Michael Charlesworth. Related seminar papers written for my readers included considerations of Joel Sternfeld's book *On this Site* (1996/97) and the institutionalization of artists' viewsheds. Under Dr. Jessica Sewell, formerly of BU's American & New England Studies Program and now the University of Virginia's School of Architecture, I began my explorations of devices and signs: Tower Optical Coin-Operated Binocular Viewers (established 1932) and Kodak Picture Spots. Thanks are extended to all of my instructors and mentors, as well as fellow graduate students in various seminars, for their assistance in developing and enriching these ideas.

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Versions of my Picture Spot project have been presented at, and further developed for, a variety of venues: a 2015 *College Art Association* panel, "A Social Medium: Photography's History of Sharing," chaired by Drs. Stephen Pinson and Elizabeth Cronin, New York Public Library, in conjunction with their exhibition *Public Eye: 175 Years of Sharing Photography*; a 2016 "Focus 45" lecture at the George Eastman

Museum in conjunction with their exhibition *Photography and America's National Parks*; and a 2013 lecture at the national conference of the Society for Photographic Education. On each occasion, I received valuable feedback and leads for my dissertation. Over the years, many photohistorians, photocurators, and scholars spoke with me about my topic, guided my thinking, or gave general advice, including Alison Nordström, Karen Haas, and Mark Rice as well as BU HAA alumni Kate Palmer Albers, Michelle Lamunière, Stacey McCarroll Cutshaw, Rebecca Senf, among others.

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Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2019

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is the first in-depth study focusing solely on Kodak Picture Spots — signs placed into the landscape that highlight particular views and promote specific subjects to photograph. Eastman Kodak Company placed these branded markers along the roadside beginning in the 1920s, in several World's Fairs from mid-century through the 1980s, and at various Disney parks from the late 1950s until Kodak's bankruptcy in 2012. These picture-taking signs encouraged and mediated sightseeing in order to spur photographic activity, sell product, and equate places with pictures.

Using an interdisciplinary approach, the dissertation examines the roles these little-studied photographic objects and their vernacular corporate-controlled views, settings, and activities play in the acquisition and distribution of images, real and ideal. Recommended views have a long history, dating back to eighteenth-century British pre-selected vistas and lasting into twenty-first-century digital culture. Picture Spots promote what Nathan Jurgenson calls “conspicuous photography,” a unique set of expectations and actions tied to corporate culture and technology.

Chapter One explores Picturesque-era precursors related to gardens, tourism, and accoutrements such as maps and optical devices, including the Claude Glass and stereoscope, in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England and America. Chapter Two examines early American tourism and the initial Kodak campaign of an estimated 5,000 metal signs placed along new roads between 1920 and 1925. Chapter Three charts Kodak’s long-standing association with international expositions, concentrating on the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair where Kodak installed nearly 50 signs. Chapter Four considers the partnership of Kodak and Disney, starting with the debut of Picture Spot signs at Disneyland circa 1959 and subsequent incorporation into all U.S. Disney parks.

The dissertation concludes with developments in smaller venues as well as contemporary corporate viewing via social media and camera phones. Selfie sticks and other accessories also aid in reifying conspicuous photography in new and interrelated ways. Due to the ubiquity of photographs today, further aggregated on the internet by enthusiasts using hashtags, picture-taking signs have developed into nostalgic objects and tourist destinations unto themselves.

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INTRODUCTION

Setting the Scene: Landscape Views and Viewing, Public Photography and the Social Sphere, and Kodak Culture and the Standardization of Snapshots

This dissertation is the first in-depth study focusing solely on Kodak Picture Spots—signs placed into the landscape that highlight particular prospects and promote specific subjects to photograph.¹ Kodak was the first photographic company to create picture-taking signs and install them in a variety of environments.² Concentrating on the American iterations and those installed by the Eastman Kodak Company specifically, my cross-disciplinary exploration follows the signs' primary locations—moving from their earliest instances as Kodak roadside markers in the 1920s (figure i.1), installations within

¹ There exists no other study of this length that focuses fully on the Picture Spot signs themselves—as material and visual culture objects, destinations, and locations—as well as their intellectual precedents, installation iterations, and inflections of corporate control over time.

Brazilian scholar Livia Aquino has considered the signs, but only briefly and as a means to an end, and literally at the end, in her dissertation “Picture Ahead: a Kodak e a construção do turista-fotógrafo” (PhD in Visual Arts from the State University of Campinas, 2014), which does not show up in ProQuest database, and a digital e-book of the same name (2016). The titles translate as “Picture Ahead: Kodak and the construction of the tourist-photographer” and both are only available in Portuguese. In each project, she focuses more generally on snapshot and tourist culture and Kodak’s development thereof via print media and advertisements via a series of themes: hunting, remembering, traveling, among others. The signs comprise only seven pages of her approximately 260-page digital manuscript and the primary illustrations are magazine ads and covers, not photographs. See Livia Aquino, “Picture Ahead: a Kodak e a construção do turista-fotógrafo,” (PhD diss., State University of Campinas, 2014), also available at <http://repositorio.unicamp.br/jspui/handle/REPOSIP/285273>, and Livia Aquino, *Picture Ahead: a Kodak e a construção do turista-fotógrafo* (no city or publisher listed, 2016), <http://www.dobrasvisuais.com.br/2015/10/picture-ahead-versao-digital>. Aquino currently teaches at and is coordinator of Cultural Production Technologist of the Armando Alvares Penteado Foundation (FAAP) in São Paulo, Brazil.

On a related note, my first interest in this topic began in Dr. Jessica Sewell’s American Landscape American Studies seminar in Spring 2011. I wrote my seminar paper on the signs, “The Picture Spot: Kodak, Disney, and Photographic Behavior in the American Landscape,” and have presented several lectures on the topic before and during my dissertation research.

² The expression “picture spot” seems to have been coined by Kodak in the late 1950s and was used on the physical signs of that time, while they were referred to as “picture-taking” signs in corporate literature, both internal and public. I use Picture Spot in my title as it is the name under which they are most known today—by Kodak, other companies, and the public alike. The signs’ most commonly used epithets, various phrasings, and types will be discussed later in the Introduction.

World's Fairs at mid century (figure i.2), and further institutionalization in all U.S. Disney parks from the late 1950s and beyond (figure i.3).³ In doing so, I interrogate and examine the roles these little-studied photographic objects and associated experiences, set within the landscape and specific settings, as well as corporate-controlled activities play in the acquisition and distribution of images, real and ideal. Over the course of almost a century, Kodak picture-taking signs institutionalized as well as directed image-making and image-taking for generations of amateur photographers in America.

Simply put, Kodak Picture Spots tell us where and how to take photographs. By doing so, I argue, they also display the act of picture taking and promote “conspicuous photography,” which I am interpreting and defining as a unique set of expectations, actions, and advertising tied to corporate culture and technology, performed and witnessed in public and the social sphere.⁴ The aforementioned illustrations (figures i.1, i.2. i.3) are corporate examples of this phenomenon, which will be discussed in detail below, being promotional photographs taken and distributed by Eastman Kodak itself showing how they ideally intended people to use and interact with their signs.

³ While other companies and organizations developed or sponsored picture-taking signs, Kodak was, for all intents and purposes, the first to do so and subsequent iterations were directly inspired by the Rochester, NY-based photographic leader and appeared much later. Most of the other signs' auspices occurred at Disney World in the 1970s and 80s and happened as a result of other corporations taking over photographic sponsorship (G.A.F. and Polaroid, for example, in the U.S.). Other amusement parks and roadside attractions did develop their own signs or generic signs, but again, these were later and patterned after Kodak's. These will be addressed in Chapters Two and Four.

⁴ This phrase is a turn on “conspicuous consumption,” originally coined by sociologist and economist Thorstein Veblen in 1899 and elaborated on by others, including sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The phrase “conspicuous photography” was first used by sociologist and social media theorist, Nathan Jurgenson in passing in a Tweet: see Jurgenson, January 2, 2015, 8:33 a.m., tweet about conspicuous photography, <https://twitter.com/nathanjurgenson/status/551053733422186496>. I borrow this fruitful term and considerably elaborate on it theoretically. These ideas will be discussed in more detail later in the Introduction. An active speaker, Jurgenson is also Editor-in-Chief of the online magazine of *Real Life* and the co-founder and co-chair of the annual Theorizing the Web conference.

Throughout its materials and other examples of corporate visual culture, Kodak also repeatedly emphasized the conspicuousness of the act of photographing (and, by extension, acquiring more film and cameras) in the company's depiction of people actively composing and taking pictures in their print, display, and later television advertisements.

A Kodak advertisement from circa 1921 (figure i.4) uses the latter half of the same phrase as the first picture-taking roadside signs, "Kodak, as you go" (figure i.1).⁵ While this provocative promotion and others like it will be unpacked more fully later, it is worth introducing now for the issues it raises and how Kodak's print ads worked with the first picture-taking signs. Kodak advertisements notoriously used "Kodak" as a verb early on, and here it is equated with driving, stopping, and clicking. In the accompanying image, a woman pauses to take a picture, her car presumably pulled to the side of the road, possibly even the result of prodding by a Kodak picture-taking sign she saw with the exact same wording. The car's windshield echoes the framing and function of the viewfinder itself. In the ad's copy, Kodak underscores the "latency" of images already within landscape: "wherever the call of the road leads you, there you will find pictures, untaken pictures that invite your Kodak."⁶ To be precise, Kodak implies that their products clear your vision to see the images that are already there, an example of "effortless abundance" cited by literary and cultural historian Nancy Martha West in her

⁵ Using Kodak as a verb eventually was stopped as it led to trademark issues (similar to what happened with Xerox, as in, interchanging xeroxing for "making copies").

⁶ Kodak advertisement as reproduced in Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 68.

study, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*.⁷ Sociologists John Urry and Jonas Larsen go so far as to assert the following of the company's visual power and aesthetic legacy: "Kodak taught us that non-recorded gazes and memories would evaporate."⁸ It is my further contention that Kodak promoted the same concerns of abundance and memory with their Picture Spot signs, suggesting that a place not pictured is a place forgotten.

Recommended views have a long history, extending back to the eighteenth century when British tourists sought out and visited certain pre-selected Picturesque vistas, which reminded them of paintings or prints seen previously.⁹ Throughout this study, I assert that the legacy of such guided viewing and vetted picturing practices lingers well beyond the Picturesque era, yet in different and distinct ways. Introduced in early-twentieth-century America at the height of the Machine Age and continuing through the digital revolution,¹⁰ Kodak picture-taking signs promoted, directed, and mediated sightseeing in order to spur photographic activity, sell more products, and equate places with pictures.¹¹

⁷ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 2. West discusses Kodak Picture Spots in her book, although only for a few pages, as will be discussed below in the literature review. Nevertheless, this is probably the longest treatment these signs have received in a book to date.

⁸ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd., 2011), 180.

⁹ The Picturesque is both a term and a descriptor that refers to a cultural era. The Picturesque emerged as a discursive category, pictorial strategy, and visual experience, between the sublime and the beautiful, in 18th-century Britain. Popular with poets, artists, and tourists, the Picturesque will be discussed in depth in Chapter One. Its legacy lasted into the 19th century, was later welcomed in America, and as I will argue, some theoretical threads last until the present day.

¹⁰ The term "Machine Age" generally refers to the early part of the twentieth century with the later part of the Industrial Age and overlaps somewhat with the Second Industrial Revolution, but can be defined as anywhere between the 1880s and 1940s. These terms and ideas will be parsed further in Chapter Two, "The Road."

¹¹ Former Kodak employee Gordon P. Brown describes the company's goal circa 1950-60 in a matter-of-fact manner: "Since Kodak had a large percentage of the film market, advertising photography itself was, in effect, advertising Kodak film, and the earnings on film were huge as people used up many rolls of film,

Kodak Picture Spot signs encourage emulation and aesthetic assurance while offering the public a unique vernacular/corporate meets individualized/generalized version of didactic rephotography.¹² That is to say, with a Kodak sign the photograph is pre-visualized and already taken for us, even if we do “press the button,” to borrow one of Kodak’s earliest and most famous slogans. The brainchild of George Eastman himself, “You Press the Button, We Do the Rest” debuted soon after the Kodak name was trademarked in 1888, yet its powerful message and legacy lived on.¹³ The similarly-structured phrase emblazoned on its first roadside sign iterations, “Picture Ahead, Kodak as You Go,” also combines an active observation, followed by a pastime assisted by technology (whether a camera, car, or both). West’s astute points on the ramifications of

and the rolls needed to be replaced. What Kodak research revealed was that if people did not have more opportunities to get good results that they would take fewer photographs. People had to get their cameras off the closet shelf, get out, and take good photographs. So, Kodak set about to show people how to take better photographs, and where to take them.” Gordon Brown, email to author, February 21, 2016.

¹² Vernacular photography can be defined as every day, snapshot photography; basically images taken by regular people for a “regular,” non-fine art and non-corporate, audience and environment. The rise of this category as a subject of scholarly study will be discussed later in the Introduction.

Rephotography, as will be discussed more in depth below, is a method mainly developed in the late 1970s via the Rephotographic Survey Project. A group of photographers sought out and calculated the exact point of view of nineteenth-century governmental landscape photographers and then re-photographed the same scene. The project lasted from 1977-79 and was published in 1984, together with the original images, and revisited again in the 1990s. See Mark Klett, Ellen Manchester, JoAnn Verburg, Gordon Bushaw and Rick Dingus, with an essay by Paul Berger, *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984) as well as its “second” iteration, www.thirdview.org. Dr. Holly Markovitz Goldstein’s dissertation on rephotographic strategies is also of interest: see “Reframing the Frontier: Rephotography, Repetition, and Return” (PhD diss., Boston University, 2009). Other photographers who have been “rephotographed” include Eugène Atget and Berenice Abbott.

¹³ Emphasis in original. West cites the debut of the ‘Press the Button’ slogan as 1889 and its end as 1892, when Kodak’s main technology changed and no longer required sending the whole camera back to Rochester, NY for film processing; see West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 8 and 210, note 11. As described in a later footnote in this manuscript, this marketing motto is occasionally assigned to Lewis Bunnell Jones, Eastman’s advertising right-hand man who likely crafted the “Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go” catchphrase and sign campaign, although the former (“You press the button...”) predates his presence at the company. The slogan certainly comports with Jones’s style; while likely not the author, he certainly imbued it with further authority and popularity via his print advertisements and visual materials.

this catchphrase can easily be mapped to subtexts surrounding Kodak's picture-taking slogan and signs:

Kodak ads have consistently assured us that *we* produce these images... By beginning with the word “You,” the slogan announces its primary focus: the consumer—the new amateur photographer—now has the capability to create her own photographs. The second half reassures us that all the mess and mystery of the darkroom will be handled by the company. Snapshot photographs, unlike other commodities, thus manage to have it both ways: they veil the history of their production while at the same time maintaining the illusion that they, and the meanings they represent, are produced by us. Thus they represent the ultimate commodity: the embodiment of reproducibility with the aura of the unique.¹⁴

This cycle is recapitulated with picture-taking signs: while standing at a Kodak Picture Spot, an average amateur photographer personally re-takes the corporate view—usually selected or captured by professional Kodak photographers together with the venue—pointed out by or pictured on the sign itself. Much like a mass-produced postcard, we “acquire” the image at the place pictured. Also akin to a postcard, the photograph taken at a Picture Spot can be re-authored by its later insertion into an album, slideshow, or other display. This push-pull between corporate control and individual reclamation will vacillate over the years and with the types of Kodak picture-taking signs.

I submit that Kodak Picture Spot signs, when mapped onto the American landscape, condition photographers to create conspicuous, public photography within the social sphere while simultaneously participating in the advancement of Kodak culture

¹⁴ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 8. Emphasis in original.

and the standardization of snapshots.¹⁵ In addition to the marketing inherent in the markers, including their designs and allied print campaigns, Kodak's brand and taught behaviors were witnessed by others as people photographed from their designated locations, thus becoming a form of performative, repeated advertising. Conspicuous photography, or conspicuous *viewing* pre-photography, thus becomes a unique collection of presumptions, deeds, and image types within the natural environment and public spaces.¹⁶ An interrelated massive and major part of Kodak culture, from a company perspective, was to promote and sell film. Markedly, Kodak's profit margin on film was at its height about 70-80%.¹⁷

One of Kodak's main business methods is known colloquially as the "razor and blade model," in which one item (a razor or a camera) is sold at a low price to facilitate increased sales of supplies (razors or film) at higher prices.¹⁸ Kodak's Picture Spot signs

¹⁵ As a term "Kodak Culture" was first coined and defined by anthropologist Richard Chalfen in 1987. Chalfen described the concept as such: "'Kodak culture' refers to 'whatever it is that one has to learn, know, or do in order to participate appropriately in... the home mode of pictorial communication.'" See Richard Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987), 10. Chalfen also puts forth what he called "Polaroid People," who are also part of "Kodak Culture." While Chalfen does acknowledge various modes of photography, including tourist, he focuses primarily on what he terms "Home Mode" photography and more general experiences within a domestic setting. For this project, I am additionally interested in how Kodak culture, as a corporate promoted idea, is performed and codified publically within the landscape and taught in the field.

¹⁶ Kodak helped to set key precedents for later activities, production, and presentation in the 21st century. The selfie and especially the selfie stick, which will be discussed in the conclusion, are the epitome of this later form of conspicuous photography.

¹⁷ Todd Gustavson, Curator of Technology at the George Eastman Museum, conversation with author, September 24, 2013. This focus on profiting from film sales would be Kodak's model for decades, even in the face of the rising interest in digital photography.

¹⁸ For more on Kodak's corporate approaches and changing market dynamics, see Vrinda Kadiyali, "Eastman Kodak in the Photographic Film Industry: Picture Imperfect?," in David I. Rosenblum, *Market Dominance: How Firms Gain, Hold, Or Lose it and the Impact on Economic Performance* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 89-108.

A former Kodak staffer explains how the advent of digital decimated the "razor-blade" model for Kodak: "When digital photography came of age, I help start up a group of Digital ambassadors, as the need for good photographs still existed. However, the "razor blades" were gone. It was said that Gillette would

and associated campaigns fit perfectly within these corporate approaches and goals, as they model and publicize photographic activity as well as encourage and illustrate multiple photographs at numerous locations. Just as they created a monopoly within the camera and film markets for most of the twentieth century, Eastman Kodak dominated the photographic field as well as the greater landscape by associating themselves with the road, the fair, and the amusement park.¹⁹

Whether posted along a road or later online on the information superhighway,²⁰ picture-taking signs—grounded as they are to physical locales or connected virtually across social media with hashtags—offer some comfort in the face of image proliferation. Specifically, today, Picture Spots are welcoming sentinels that limit and structure one’s photographic and visual experiences amid busy, often overwhelming, physical or virtual landscapes. In the present moment, Picture Spot signs, or their previously-known locations, have developed into destinations unto themselves and are seeing a renaissance akin to analog processes such as Polaroid and film-based photography.

The emphasis of an individual Kodak Picture Spot sign vacillates—from the promotion of potential pictures to sharable experiences—along with its time and venue. Whereas the signs were originally planted across the United States, they later found their

sell the razors at a loss, and that they would make their money on the blades. At Kodak, our “blades” were the rolls of film that we sold. With digital, there were no “blades,” you could take thousands of photos at no cost at the time of exposure. That was the beginning of the end for our support of Photo Spots, and all that went with them as our budgets got smaller and could not support the effort. Even the Digital ambassadors did not last much beyond 2005.” Gordon P. Brown, email with author, February 21, 2016.

¹⁹ I credit and thank my committee member Dr. William Moore for helping me flesh out this point. William Moore, comment on dissertation draft to author as well as in defense, November 16, 2018.

²⁰ The phrase “information superhighway” refers to the internet, communications sent across it or similar systems, or the digital networks themselves. The term has obvious associations with the U.S.’s Interstate highway system, generally seen as a post-World War II phenomenon.

natural habitat in the Disney landscape. Taken altogether, the totality of the Picture Spots—including Nikon’s examples now ensconced in the Disney “empire,” Kodak’s signs that remain in the larger environment yet are no longer maintained, new corporate or generic models, and our memories of the objects and actions themselves—now resonate with nostalgia and serve as inspiration for artists and other companies. From an artist’s book of anti-Kodak Picture Spots published by an artistic collective in the mid 1990s to more recent Instagram hot-spots placed into the environment, both of which will be discussed in the Conclusion, these signs have inspired endless creative and critical responses, suggesting just how ubiquitous this visual training has become.²¹ Given Kodak’s bankruptcy in January 2012 and renewed popular and scholarly interest in public photographic acts and sharing—from selfie sticks to social media—an examination of this topic now is especially essential and apt.²²

Mapping the Dissertation: Chapters and Organization

Akin to a Kodak Picture Spot, this Introduction “sets the scene” for the main chapters of this dissertation by defining its prospects, parameters, and paramount concepts. After an opening chapter regarding the establishment of key precedents in the

²¹ This specific project and book is an ironic take on Picture Spots. Melinda Stone and Igor Vamos placed signs into the landscape at problematic sites and created an artist book of bound postcards. This will be discussed more in depth in the Conclusion. See Melinda Stone and Igor Vamos, *Suggested Photo Spots: A Site Extrapolation Project of The Center for Land Use Interpretation* (Boise, ID: Hemingway Western Studies Center at Boise State University, 1998), n.p. For more on The Center for Land Use Interpretation, another extended project and organization founded in 1994 by Matthew Cooldidge and still active today in various outposts, see their website www.clui.org.

²² Eastman Kodak Company emerged from bankruptcy in September 2013. Additional history of this rebuilding as well as Kodak’s corporate makeup today will be discussed in the Conclusion.

Picturesque era and nineteenth-century America, the dissertation's next three chapters are based upon the signs' chief settings—the Road, World's Fairs, and Disney parks—and traffic in discourses of national tourism, technology, and institutionalization. With each change of environment for the Kodak signs, their purpose, design, and function transforms, raising new ideas and issues on the part of the relevant companies, situations, and audiences. The Conclusion brings the discussion full circle and considers the legacy of the Kodak Picture Spot in extensions of the above locales, contemporary art production, digital and social media, and broader American culture.

Chapter One explores Picturesque precursors and pertinent history related to the signs—from gardens, to tourism, to associated touristic accoutrements such as optical instruments, guidebooks, and maps in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England and America. The Picturesque era in the United Kingdom taught a public to view their own landscape in aesthetic terms. After a discussion of the development of Picturesque ideals and its major theorists, the discussion centers on four “devices,” defined broadly, which relate to conceptual qualities of the Picture Spot: the Claude Glass, the stereoscope and stereoview, the photographic travel album, and the viewing “station.”²³ While the first three are handheld objects, the last is either a designated location or an actual

²³ Briefly, Claude Glasses are plano-convex cased dark mirrors used to look at the landscape, and stereoscopes are optical amusement apparatuses designed to showcase the three-dimensional quality of dual photographs pasted onto stereoview cards. These devices were mostly used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, respectfully. These will be discussed in full in Chapter One.

My interest in this topic started when I wrote a paper on the Claude Glass in Fall 1995 for Dr. Michael Charlesworth's seminar on the Picturesque era, “The Metaphorical and Metaphysical Landscape Mirror,” during my masters' coursework at the University of Texas at Austin. On a related note, in Fall 2009, I wrote seminar paper for Dr. Jessica Sewell's Material Culture course, “Nostalgia with a View: Meditations on the Tower Optical Coin-Operated Binocular Viewer.” Since then, I have presented several lectures related to both devices. See also Tower Optical Company: <http://www.toweropticalco.com>.

architectural feature set within the landscape from which to take in a view and thus the Picture Spot's closest kin. These stations, which were most often some sort of physical structure, together with other items, set up significant pictorial models and behaviors for later 19th- and 20th-century looking, imaging, and sharing. The chapter ends with how the Picturesque shifts to the United States, bringing with it established aesthetics, actions, and patterns.

Chapter Two examines the development of American tourism as well as the preliminary Kodak picture-taking campaign of an estimated 5,000+ metal signs, placed along the country's burgeoning road system between 1920 and 1939 (with circa 1920-25 being its peak years). The concept and initial phrase on the signs—"Picture Ahead, Kodak as you go!"—was likely the brainchild of Kodak advertising executive Lewis Bunnell Jones, known for his slogans and the person in charge of most copy for Kodak's ads (figure i.1 and i.4).²⁴ Tested initially in the Rochester area, focusing on so-called "Beauty Spots," the signs paralleled a rise in road construction and use. After a preamble on nineteenth-century predecessors and the development, and geographical codification of American sightseeing, the section situates the signs within in the Machine Age—including technology and progress—as well as national and regional parks.

²⁴ The man in this picture is likely Warren "Doc" Haskell, who is mentioned along with an assistant, as driving around the country and placing the signs in humorous anecdotes in an internal Kodak employee publication. This image, and the metal sign itself, is owned by Charlie Kamerman, an avid Kodak ephemera and camera collector, and will be unpacked further in Chapter Two, "The Road." I have been in contact with Kamerman, and he has since retired to Mexico, so he has not been able to measure the sign for me or make additional observations of its makeup. He explained that he has not decided what he wants to do with the collection as it is so large, but hopes to donate it to a museum. Charlie Kamerman, email message to author, April 20, 2015.

Chapter Three investigates Kodak's long-standing association with World's Fairs. The discussion focuses primarily on the 1964-65 New York World's Fair: the first exposition at which Kodak installed Picture Spots (figure i.5). Kodak patterned these signs directly after their Disneyland markers in design and function, installing 25 during the first season with more added in the second season.²⁵ Just as in the first chapter, this section begins with applicable precedents in the nineteenth century, specifically the 1893 Columbia Exposition in Chicago, known also as the White City, and later fairs. George Eastman, Kodak's founder, was adamant that the company have a presence at the Chicago Expo and many corporate and place-based patterns were established here that would be expanded upon later with the picture-taking signs in New York and beyond.²⁶ As national and international fairs represent pinnacles of institutionalization and planned environments, they offer opportunities to examine Kodak's strategies of photographic access tempered by company control, along with the ensuing image standardization among amateurs by way of professionals.

Chapter Four considers the partnership of Kodak and Disney, starting with the Picture Spot signs' debut at Disneyland circa 1959 (figure i.6) and subsequent incorporation into all U.S. Disney parks. While Disney's Kodak picture-taking signs

²⁵ See online bulletin board of "The World's Fair Community," made up mostly of collectors and enthusiasts, especially "A Kodak Moment," thread started by Randy Treadway, June 25, 2011, accessed December 13, 2015, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>. This will be discussed in depth below. Note that the signs, while in the traditional Kodak colors, do not say KODAK on them: this is by design, at the request of the Fair.

The 1964-65 Fair was initially resistant to Kodak's proposal, pitched on behalf of Kodak by J. Walter Thompson in 1960. The signs were a very late addition to the New York Fair and a concession for Kodak agreeing to produce murals for the Pan-American Highway Gardens that encircled their pavilion. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

²⁶ The Conclusion will briefly chart the Kodak Picture Spot signs appearance at later and more regional fairs, such as HemisFair '68 in San Antonio, TX.

predate their introduction to World's Fairs setting (1964), it is fitting to end this dissertation with Disney as they continued the sign's use well beyond the fairs and are the epitome of an authoritative and effective corporation, eventually taking over the photographic reins from Kodak. The Kodak signs do not appear to have been at Disneyland when it opened in 1955, but seem to first appear surrounding the opening of the Monorail, Submarine, and Matterhorn in 1959. On this occasion, Kodak sponsored a television program and advertising campaign, and the signs made an appearance in the Kodak store featured in the TV spot.²⁷ The aim of this particular promotion for Disneyland was to encourage pictures, in large quantities, and underscore Kodak's customer service and presence throughout the park.

In order to create his fantasy lands, Walt Disney drew upon several factors: his interest with trains, replicas, and, notably, World's fairs and expos, which also contained Kodak signs. In addition to the nearby Knott's Berry Farm amusement area (only eight miles away from Disneyland by car and established in 1920),²⁸ these efforts served as inspiration for Disney's many parks—including California (1955), Florida (1971), Tokyo (1983), and Paris (1992). The Disney picture-taking signs have carried other logos for short periods of time—including that of G.A.F. (General Aniline & Film) corporation—but Kodak's decades of backing of the photographic markers and their original idea made their effort the most successful and impactful, both in the parks as well as across the

²⁷ As seen in Figure i.3, this early Kodak Disney sign features the silhouette of a man with a camera up to his face. These date to circa 1959 and are featured in snapshots throughout the 1960s.

²⁸ It is not known at present if there were any Picture Spot signs at Knott's Berry Farm, but it does appear that Kodak had a presence.

world.²⁹ Both Kodak and Disney specialize in highly constructed experiences and controlled imagery; together, their brand recognition and reach led the masses to take their guidelines seriously, happily following along in order to maximize their memories. After Kodak ceased their Disney sponsorship at the end of 2012 due to bankruptcy, Nikon took over photographic sponsorship of all U.S. Disney parks in November 2014, and the signs with it. A professionally-oriented camera company that does not sell film, Nikon reduced the number of signs, but did not generally alter the name “Picture Spot,” overall design, or locations of the markers. Thus, the iconic signs live on, and with it the legacy of Kodak’s visual education, under a different aegis.³⁰

Various Picture Spot signs: Text, Types, and Photographs

Before reviewing the literature and methods related to Kodak Picture Spot signs and this dissertation, it is worth describing how the signs work as well as commenting on the names and texts associated with them and the types of photographs produced. The original roadside signs functioned very differently from those introduced at mid century in World’s Fairs and Disney parks. As mentioned previously, Kodak’s first picture-taking signs were installed beginning around 1920, along the side of the road, and bore text only, which likely coordinated with, and possibly referred to, a series of print ads

²⁹ When Disney World in Florida opened in 1971, GAF (General Aniline & Film) supplanted Kodak as the sponsor for both parks and created a Photo Trail in 1972. Polaroid was the Disney photographic sponsor from circa 1979 to 1982, offering a camera sharing and rental program, when Kodak returned and Epcot opened. GAF’s and Polaroid’s presence and efforts in the parks, as well as Fujifilm’s in Tokyo Disney, will be analyzed briefly in Chapter Three, the Disney section.

³⁰ Despite or perhaps because of these minor changes, Nikon traded on a nostalgic attitude and association with Kodak, as will be discussed in the Conclusion.

from the same time period, proclaiming, “Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go” (figure i.1). The earliest signs from the 1920s do not appear to have a readily agreed-upon shorthand moniker. The phrase “Picture Ahead” contained part of how the company intended for the signs to be used: the landscapes and sites along the road were pregnant with possibilities. While we cannot know for sure, and no internal corporate explanations or directions for the early signs exist, Kodak likely meant for travelers and tourists to take pictures at or near the signs themselves, due to their general placement, as well as prime their eyes and visual appetites for potential pictures, ahead.

The most well-known appellation “Picture Spot” appears to have been coined by Kodak sometime in the late 1950s and was used on the markers first installed in Disneyland and later in the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair. The label “PICTURE SPOT” is usually printed in all capitals as red on Kodak’s well-known yellow (as seen in figure i.5 and i.6). Both types of Kodak sign had the following on an accessory panel: text suggesting tips as well as film and shutter speed information, along with several sample pictures taken from that particular sign to guide and inspire photographers. On the 1964-65 Fair Kodak signs, along with the phrase, a stylized camera was included, but not the company’s name (figure i.2 and i.5), which was withheld at the request of fair officials. By contrast, Kodak originally included their logo on the panel for Disneyland’s signs, after the pointed phrase “Selected by,” and along with their trademark picture curl as if the paper was being turned over like a photograph.

In mid century, Kodak switched to the more descriptive idiom “picture-taking sign,” and used this phrasing informally until the 1970s-80s. Thereafter, “picture spot” returns and eclipses previous terms in Kodak material and general parlance, with “photo spot” being a suitable alternative. During this time, the signs no longer include sample photographs in non-Disney locations. While a 1980s sign at an outlook in Los Angeles, California (figure i.7) featured only words and a stylized Kodak logo, for example, a somewhat later series of signs along Pier 39 in San Francisco, California used the more generic term of “Photo Spot” (figure i.8), with the logo and additional notation suggesting that this particular view and experience was “presented by Kodak.”³¹ In the former instance, the photographer documents the tourists’ action and stasis in a balanced composition of an equally structured scene. In the latter, an amateur shooter acts almost as a cultural anthropologist, gathering and documenting all ten signs, including the wear caused by individuals repeatedly leaning on the corporate markers to take pictures or take in the view.

While there is paucity of period material regarding how Kodak meant the “Picture Ahead” signs to be used, and how they were received initially, more documentation exists in reference to the mid-century and successive Picture Spot signs. The anatomy and design of these specific signs will be addressed fully in later chapters, but for now it is worth considering the signs in action. Amateur photographers took these two photographs (figure i.9 and i.10) at the same Kodak Picture Spot sign in Disneyland, only

³¹ While I use these for illustrative purposes here, it is worth underscoring that these two instances occur within different genres—a documentary photograph by a well-known Magnum photographer and casual snapshots taken by an enthusiastic amateur—yet share underlying, but also divergent interests.

a year apart, in 1959 and 1960. Taken perhaps inadvertently and through a crowd, the first snapshot shows the sign in action: the father perches on a stone wall right next to the sign and holds a camera up to his face (figure i.9). The second photograph shows a picture posed and taken (figure i.10). Although we cannot see the sample pictures on the auxiliary panel in the first to compare, the result in the second photograph very likely is similar to one suggested. The resulting snapshot is a well balanced composition that includes a fair amount of the setting to identify, and advertise, it as Disneyland. Even so, both photographs departed from Kodak's recommendations by showcasing one element: the sign itself. This speaks to the difficulty of locating pictures taken from these markers: if there is sign present or a known map to triangulate the images, one has to envision and reconstruct the landscape, which is often considerably altered today.

When identifiable, as seen in this montage of samples (figure i.11, abc), the attendant Kodak Picture Spot images generally fall into several categories—ranging from 1) the depiction of the vista or monument alone, 2) the view with people and/or the sign included, and 3) people posing with and pointing to the signs themselves. More recently, conceivably due to the shift in “selfie” culture and aesthetics as well as rise in nostalgia, the more common, and redolent, chosen epithet appears to be “Kodak Picture Spot” and an increasing number of people pose together with the signs themselves.³² Regarding the

³² “Selfie” here refers to the self-taken photograph or yourself, a version of the self-portrait but usually snapped with the arm extended (rather than on a timer and/or tripod), often discussed in tandem with a so-called selfish turn in society. It is almost always taken to be shared immediately, or soon thereafter, on social media. By their nature, selfies are quite locational, often showcasing a part of the locale of the subject; in essence, they offer proof of “being there.” This will be addressed in conjunction with Picture Spots on social media and related trends, such as data-associative aspects like hashtags and photo-sharing sites like Instagram and Flickr, in the Conclusion.

latter, while the practice does begin to show up in the 1980s, more recent visitors often gesture to the corporate signposts humorously and also put their arms around them, suggesting that they see the Kodak markers as anthropomorphic presences and friendly guides in the landscape (figures i.12 and i.13). Indeed, these Kodak markers, and their associated aesthetic principles, have become so iconic that many people still use the phrase even when there is no sign present.

Taking a cue from the Kodak signs' directives and their resultant photographs, my project aims to take a step back and holistically take into consideration their physical, social, and cultural contexts. With each new environment in which they were installed, as seen in some Disney variations (figure i.14), the markers' design and meaning changes. Departing from more traditional art historical studies, this dissertation takes a different tactic in that it considers the material and conceptual surrounds of the Kodak Picture Spot: the signs themselves; their "siting" and landscape architecture; the producers and users; the associated photographic behaviors, maps, and uses; as well as the final images, both the sample and consumer pictures.³³ This dissertation thus follows a narrative path that flows outward in concentric and overlapping circles based on the Picture Spot locations—from the garden to the road, from the fair to the amusement park, and then finally to broader culture—to categorize, conceptualize, and contextualize these

³³ Quite interestingly, of all of these items and ideas, it is the sign-related Picture Spot photographs that are the most difficult to locate. Unless the sign is physically in the picture itself or, if it is no longer extant, can be triangulated from first-person experience or maps, most photographs taken from or at Kodak signs are hard to identify, especially in public collections. This is not to say that Kodak Picture Spot pictures cannot be found. Most examples that I have identified are posted online from bulletin boards, private collections, or found on the online image sharing site, Flickr. Appropriately, it is the commonality of composition and ubiquity of certain subjects that help in ascertaining pictures taken from or at Kodak signs.

fascinating picture-taking signs and images.

State of the Literature

This dissertation situates Kodak Picture Spot signs within social history and their surrounding landscapes as well as brings together viewing and amateur picture-taking behaviors with corporate and cultural concerns. Surveys of vernacular photography and exhibitions on art and tourism encompass broad brushstrokes that relate to and occasionally mention the Kodak Picture Spot signs, but do not afford the geographically- and theoretically-based depth of case studies. Scholarship on these particular photographic markers and their associated concepts legacies is rare and limited. What follows is an overview of the status of the literature in regards to the photographic signs, Kodak, and allied histories, issues, and themes. As will be shown throughout, my analysis benefits from and builds upon concomitant ideas and connected issues across myriad topics and several disciplines.

Short citations of Kodak picture-taking signs and their associated photographs exist within only a handful of studies. While valuable for background, they do not consider the objects and aesthetics fully within their cultural context or with any rigor. Only one concise scholarly 1998 article by art historian David T. Doris addresses Kodak Picture Spots exclusively and at any length.³⁴ Many other references even repeat false

³⁴ See David T. Doris, "It's the truth, it's actual . . .": Kodak picture spots at Walt Disney World." *Visual Resources* 14 no. 3 (1998): 321-38. Doris has not continued his research along these lines, focusing more on history of African arts and visual cultures; see his faculty page, University of Michigan, accessed September 29, 2015, https://www.lsa.umich.edu/histart/people/faculty/ci.dorisdavid_ci.detail.

information, such as overall numbers of initial signs and dates, as will be shown. Nancy Martha West briefly takes up photo spots in a short section devoted to the company's automobile related campaigns in the most fundamental, and critical, book about Kodak and their advertising to date, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*.³⁵ Nevertheless, West's handling as well as most references to the Kodak signs by other scholars seem confined to or derived from the same scant reference in a 1990 corporate history by scholar Douglas Collins.³⁶ George Eastman biographer Elizabeth Brayer claims that Kodak advertising manager L.B. Jones did "sloganize" the signs' original wording, "Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go!," but does not connect this adage to the markers nor does she cite the original source of the phrase.³⁷ For these reasons, this dissertation relies on

³⁵ West discusses Picture Spots on pages 65-66, and more broadly car culture and Kodak ads 66-73, but mistakes several key facts, which have been repeated in other studies, or does not fully cite her sources. She mentions L. B. Jones sending teams to drive the "well-traveled" roads, which were then still relatively new, in 1922, when I have found reference to the practice beginning in 1920 and mentions 6,000, where others reference 5-6,000. Both of these citations derive from Douglas Collins's corporate history, see the next note, and West's *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 65 and note 38, page 217. Kathy Connor, Curator of the Eastman Legacy Collection, cites the 6,000 number alone. Connor, as quoted in an internet Q&A, George Eastman Museum, copied in full on this blog: Ilya Vedrashko, Advertising Lab, "In Memoriam: Kodak Scenic Spots," January 12, 2012, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://adverlab.blogspot.com/2012/01/in-memoriam-kodak-scenic-spots.html>. The original official museum Q&A was linked at the following URL, but with the museum's name change and new website, it appears broken: http://support.eastmanhouse.org/eastmanhouse/topics/kodak_picture_spot_road_sign.

³⁶ Douglas Collins, *The Story of Kodak* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 156. There is no citation for this reference ("In the early 1920s, nearly six thousand signs were erected by the Kodak advertising department") and no picture credit given for a photograph of a "Picture Ahead" sign installed along a road with a car, 387.

While archival research has borne out most of Collins's claims, the lack of specifics and sources on these early signs and the associated campaign is quite unfortunate; the balance of what amounts to a paragraph and picture caption on this one page will be parsed fully in Chapter Two, "The Road." As background, Collins is an emeritus Associate Professor of French and Comparative Literature, whose PhD is in English, at the University of Missouri. Corporate or institutional histories seem to have been a focus of Collins's, ranging from Kodak to Campbell's (Abrahams, 1994) to the Olympics (St. Martin's Press, 1996). His photographic books, besides Kodak, include a monograph on the Bachrach studio (Rizzoli, 1992) and a contribution to a Harold Edgerton catalog (George Eastman House, 1994).

³⁷ Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 205 and 206. I met with and interviewed Betsy Brayer, who has since passed away, on May 4, 2015. She did not recall the specifics of this citation, but overall was quite helpful, along with Lois Gauch, the former librarian of Kodak Office Business Library. For Brayer's obituary, see Jim Memmott, "Elizabeth Brayer,

archival research and studies that correlate to picture-taking signs, supplementing threads of thinking related to conspicuous photography and corporate vision.

Within the optical realm, art historians Martin Kemp and Jonathan Crary examine apparatuses in relation to perception, but their studies do not extend into the twentieth century.³⁸ While Kemp's book provides an appropriate scientific backdrop, Crary adopts a critical approach that is more effective methodologically, as will be discussed below.

Perhaps more than any other study, I conceive this dissertation as continuing the historical and conceptual framework set out by Crary in his pioneering study *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. Scholarly extensions of optical considerations and a history of seeing as told through technological devices—all issues and items which are, markedly, subjected to and undergird cultural change just as much as their visual endpoints (a photograph, an advertisement, etc.)—within art history are sorely needed. While not engaging picture-taking signs specifically, recent offerings based around connected concepts such as framing and vision within the landscape and larger environment by media scholar Anne Friedberg and landscape historians Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles address highly applicable objects, histories, and ideas, especially for mid-century America.³⁹

Eastman's Biographer, Dies at 84," *Democrat and Chronicle*, November 3, 2017, accessed December 1, 2018, <https://www.democratandchronicle.com/story/news/local/roccroofs/people/2017/11/03/elizabeth-brayer-eastmans-biographer-dies-84/830933001/>.

³⁸ Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) and Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).

³⁹ Anne Friedberg, *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006) and Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007). For example, *Sites Unseen* includes an essay by architectural historian Sandy

The Kodak Picture Spot signs and related imagery occupy unique positions that cross vernacular and corporate, as well as public and private, channels. Photohistorian Geoffrey Batchen has led the charge to envision a broader history of photography that incorporates vernacular photographs, and even Picturesque precursors, but does not mention Kodak signs.⁴⁰ In her 2013 book, *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images*, photohistorian Catherine Zuromskis reflects on this public/private question and posits everyday photography as reflecting “widely held cultural conventions.”⁴¹ More specifically, her assertions—that “snapshot photographers.... are not so much creating spontaneous records of their lives as they are participating in a prescriptive cultural ritual”—could just as easily apply to a person photographing at a Kodak Picture Spot sign and their subsequent sharing of their vacation snapshots.⁴² While her case studies remain primarily focused on familial and media conventions, not touristic modes, her contentions and connections regarding social and public conformity have keen applications to this study. Previously, photographer and critic Deborah Bright engaged the idea of national conformity via the mass distribution of photographs of Western vistas in popular

Isenstadt, “Four Views, Three of Them through Glass,” regarding postwar America’s framing of the landscape via hearths, televisions, picture windows, and automobile windshields, 213-240.

⁴⁰ See Geoffrey Batchen’s chapter “Vernacular Photographies” in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 56-81 and Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press and the Van Gogh Museum, 2004). Batchen does address the Picturesque and the Claude Glass, which are relevant to and will be discussed in Chapter One.

⁴¹ Catherine Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography: The Social Lives of Images* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013).

⁴² Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, dust jacket. It is worth noting that pictures taken at Kodak Picture Spots are either devoid of people, focusing on the landscape and built environment, or contain rigid poses.

magazines and picture books in her important and pertinent essay “Victory Gardens: The Public Landscape of Postwar America.”⁴³

As other forms of vernacular/corporate objects, souvenirs and postcards equally tread in these waters as items of mass consumption and tourism, but both can also be personalized through selection and text. The Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History mounted an exhibition germane to this study, with an attendant publication *Souvenir Nation* (2013). Curator and historian William L. Bird makes the distinction between “relics or associated objects” and the category of “souvenir.”⁴⁴ Important for this project, the latter can contain the former via an action of “taking,”⁴⁵ which could equally apply to Kodak’s unique hybrid category/behavior of “picture-taking,” described below. Scholars David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson in fact identify a new genre of “postcard studies” in their recent anthology.⁴⁶ In her book *On the Beaten Track: Tourism, Art, and Place*, critic Lucy R. Lippard equates what she calls “firsthand photography” and its substitute (a postcard) with first nature and its substitute (a scenic overlook) and also engages related items and objects, such as observation points

⁴³ Deborah Bright, “Victory Gardens: The Public Landscape of Postwar America,” from *Views* (Spring 1990) re-published in Daniel P. Younger, *Multiple Views: Logan Grant Essays on Photography 1983-1989*, (University of New Mexico, 1991), 329-361. The Logan Grant Essay awards were overseen by the Photographic Resource Center, where I used to work as curator from 2001-09. A photohistorian, the late Younger was the PRC’s librarian, the editor of *VIEWS: The Journal of Photography in New England* from 1987-1993, and mostly recently worked at Kenyon College. See Younger’s obituary, Thomas Stamp, “Kenyon Mourns Dan Younger,” *Kenyon News*, January 23, 2016, accessed December 1, 2018, <https://www.kenyon.edu/middle-path/story/kenyon-mourns-dan-younger/>.

⁴⁴ William L. Bird, *Souvenir Nation: Relics, Keepsakes, and Curios from the Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, in association with Princeton Architectural Press, 2013), Preface, 7.

⁴⁵ William L. Bird, “The Triumphal Souvenir,” in *Souvenir Nation*, 9. Bird notes other publications and scholars that discuss the various iterations of souvenirs in note 2, 158, several of which will be engaged in later chapters.

⁴⁶ David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), xii.

and viewing binoculars, snapshots and souvenirs.⁴⁷ Lippard also regularly incorporates the work of contemporary artists to flesh out her thoughts and theories, a technique paid tribute to in the Conclusion.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Lippard and others focus mainly on twentieth-century tourism, but do not stretch their studies into contemporary iterations of souvenirs or postcards, which I would suggest exist in social and electronic media, nor do they trace the origins of earlier touristic items and practices.

Histories of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tourism greatly outnumber twentieth-century treatments, but several surveys do cover crucial precedents which will be discussed at the beginning of Chapters One and Two. Focusing on the “production” of scenery and the growing middle class, for example, historian Dona Brown uses an institutional lens in her study of nineteenth-century New England tourism. Brown astutely points out the irony within what she calls the back-to-nature “retreat from the marketplace to travel straight into the arms of the marketplace,” which can equally apply to the early history of Kodak’s picture-taking signs.⁴⁹ Related logistical, visual, and commercial corollaries—Claude Glasses, stereoviews, maps, albums, and books, including the early cataloguing of scenic sites across the nation—and associated attendant studies will be discussed in detail in Chapter One. An exhibition hosted at the Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, *Landscape in View: Landscape Photography*

⁴⁷ Lucy R. Lippard, *On the Beaten Track: Tourism, Art, and Place* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 139.

⁴⁸ Lippard’s most relevant discussion occurs in her Introduction, “On Rubbernecking,” and chapter “Parking Places,” 135-52. In both, she references contemporary artists and specific projects, specifically N. E. Thing, Co. and the Center for Land Use Interpretation’s book, *Suggested Photo Spots*, 10 and 149-50, which will be addressed in the Conclusion.

⁴⁹ Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 13.

1865 to Now (2013), connects earlier sensibilities to later work in a variety of essays.

While not invoking the signs, photohistorian Douglas Nickel, like Batchen, touches upon comparative behaviors of interest to this dissertation when discussing Picturesque pre-existing mental images and the framed view in the Claude Glass.⁵⁰

Connected to these touristic concerns, and relevant to Kodak picture-taking opportunities, are specific topics and scholarship related to Chapter Two, “The Road,” and the development of codified tourism. In *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, American Studies scholar Marguerite S. Shaffer connects a new “national” tourism with the simultaneous growth of industrial infrastructure, the creation of comforting national narratives, and “virtuous consumption.”⁵¹ The myth of the road has long been a draw for photographers, reaching a highpoint around the time of Robert Frank’s seminal photobook *The Americans* (1959) and its resultant influential wake, but the roadside is less explicitly theorized within art and photographic history.⁵² An Aperture book, *The Open Road: Photography and the American Road Trip* (2014) intends to right this shortfall, but is still a summary. While not mentioning Kodak Picture Spots, it does address the topic in the form of illustrated road guides and briefly addresses

⁵⁰ Douglas Nickel discusses the Claude Glass, the Picturesque, and a predilection for photographic seeing before photography in his essay for a highly applicable RISD Museum exhibition, along the lines of Batchen. See his contribution “Photography, Perception, and the Landscape,” in Deborah Bright, Jan Howard, and Douglas Nickel, *America in View: Landscape Photography 1865 to Now* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, 2012), 21-22. Notably, he dubs the Picturesque urge to confirm what individuals learned, desired, and then transformed into a visual rendition, “landscape perception,” 22.

⁵¹ Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 39. Useful for background, Shaffer discusses the boosterism across travel-based industries.

⁵² More recently, the National Gallery of Art produced an extensive and rigorous study and re-examination of this important tome as well as Robert Frank’s process. See Sarah Greenough, ed., *Looking In: Robert Frank’s The Americans* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2009).

the history of highways, and roadside attractions, but focuses its main energies on nearly 20 distinctly fine art photographic projects.⁵³

Recently, scholars and museums have turned their attention to cultural kitsch and other overlooked aspects of the built environment. Likewise, histories of roads, national highways, roadside culture, and signs and souvenirs from other perspectives—geographical, sociological, historical, and architectural—do not address the Kodak signs specifically, but the aesthetic and nationalistic concerns touched upon in more topical treatments certainly apply. In the wake of lessons learned from Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour’s seminal treatise *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972)—which goes so far as to say that “the sign is more important than the architecture”—theorists turned their attention to the structural design of the common man, including the commercial strip and vernacular signage.⁵⁴ Geographer John Jakle and historian Keith Sculle’s *Signs in America’s Auto Age: Signatures of Landscape and Place* consider how signs shape meaning since the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵⁵ While they do not engage or mention Kodak “Picture Ahead” markers, they do credit the 1920s as a

⁵³ While scholars have engaged individual photographers and road-related projects, there are not that many theme related studies that engage the road itself. David Company, *The Open Road: Photography and the American Road Trip* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2014).

⁵⁴ Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1972), 13. The ultimate expressions of these are, of course, their idea of the “duck,” a building that is also a sign (such as a duck and egg store in the shape of a duck), or the “decorated shed,” a building with a false front or a generic structure identified only by its signage or applied symbols.

⁵⁵ John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, *Signs in America’s Auto Age: Signatures of Landscape and Place* (University of Iowa Press, 2004), 40-41. Jakle and Sculle’s books, while filling an important gap in American Studies and road scholarship, tend towards the general and later efforts can be a little redundant; nevertheless, they are useful for background and framing discussion. See also John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America: Preserving the Recent Past as Landscape and Place* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2011).

highpoint in roadside sign development and briefly discuss the Burma Shave's similar, sequential small signs that debuted around 1925, postdating Kodak's first signs. Despite his omission of Kodak in his study, graphic designer Martin Treu's *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts* is perhaps most useful for his discussions of the creation of new spaces marked with signage (and the ramifications thereof), the development of commercial corridors, industry sign standards, and the simultaneous use of signs in advertisements and vice versa.⁵⁶

Conceivably the ultimate opportunity to study architecture and "concentrated" tourism, World's Fairs and expositions also offer key precedents related to picture-taking. Chapter Three will focus mainly on the first fair at which the Picture Spots appeared, the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, along with a discussion of pertinent Kodak culture in earlier fairs. Such displays of nationalism and commercialization set up instances of structured seeing and the commercialization of items, images, and ideas, yet scholarly references are scattered or the studies dated.⁵⁷ Monographs on specific World's Fairs are particularly out of date and in need of cross-disciplinary analysis, while anthologies and

⁵⁶ Martin Treu, *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts: A History of Architecture and Graphics along America's Commercial Corridors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012). Treu's foundational chapter on the making of Main Street (1700s-1899) is quite useful and his approach to the activation of space via the visual is novel, but unfortunately for the purposes at hand, his chapter on the automobile "Visions and Velocity: The Expansive Age of the Automobile, 1918-1945," concentrates on mostly theatres and cinemas, within city centers, and not more broadly on the extension of roads and signage into more rural and scenic areas.

⁵⁷ For example, John Opie's chapter title "Human Kodaks in the Future Perfect" is more of a metaphor than a topic. See John Opie, *Virtual America: Sleepwalking through Paradise* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). Primary sources and additional archival research are necessary to analyze the fairs and these issues more fully.

thematic studies do not delve deeply enough.⁵⁸ A notable exception related to the present topic is media scholar Eric Gordon's analysis of the Fair's and Kodak's role in preparing visitors for experiencing and remembering Chicago's White City; while he introduces several useful concepts, this represents only one chapter of his wide-ranging study.⁵⁹ Except for the 1893 exposition, the majority of World's Fair literature concentrates on the 1939-40 New York World's Fair.⁶⁰ Although Kodak did have a major presence at this expo and tested related concepts, "Picture Ahead" markers (only two decades old by then) or other markers for specific sites were notably absent.⁶¹

As mentioned before, 25 Kodak Picture Spots were installed in the first year of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair across the fairgrounds, besides camera platforms installed atop the Kodak Pavilion, with additional signs added the second season.⁶²

⁵⁸ The most thorough analyses of American World's Fairs, while still overviews, are by or edited with historian Robert Rydell. These include Rydell's classic study *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Rydell with John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000); and Robert Rydell, ed. with Laura Schiavo, *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). While very helpful for foundational history, with *All the World's a Fair* being the most thorough, the balance of Rydell's are for the most part cursory or contain mostly pictures.

⁵⁹ Eric Gordon, *The Urban Spectator: American Concept-Cities from Kodak to Google* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2010). The term "concept-city" is a nod to Michel de Certeau. Gordon also proposes a highly productive concept concerning urban spaces and burgeoning technologies: "possessive spectatorship," 3.

⁶⁰ Architectural historians Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson treat Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition in one of their excellent case studies of institutionalized locations. Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 2003). Other places include National Parks and the Tennessee Valley Authority, among others. The majority of the studies of the 1939-40 New York World's Fair are either primarily picture books or sweeping histories, with some even occasionally incorporating fictionalized characters as in David Gelenter's *1939: The Lost World of the Fair* (New York: The Free Press, 1995).

⁶¹ Kodak did include a pavilion with photographic backdrops and a fair brochure for the 1939-40 New York World's Fair as well as designed pertinent features, namely a "photographic garden."

⁶² Kodak paid for and produced these signs and the locations were pre-approved by the 1964-65 New York World's Fair corporation. While they were originally proposed in 1960, the Fair only agreed at the last minute in exchange for the production of another project. Kodak did offer an additional 25 signs for the

Notably, it was at this fair that Walt Disney designed several pavilions and “tested the water” for an East Coast Disneyland. Later, alternately designed Kodak picture-taking signs were also included in several smaller Fairs: the aforementioned HemisFair ’68 (San Antonio, Texas), 1982 World’s Fair (Knoxville, Tennessee), and the 1984 Louisiana World Exposition (New Orleans, Louisiana), among others. Nevertheless, scholars do not address the Picture Spots’ presence or the possibility of the inclusion of the signs, previous patterns, or other Kodak promotional activities in any expositions, leaving the analysis to amateurs, collectors, and online bulletin boards.⁶³ The Queens Museum recently hosted a photography exhibition on the two New York fairs and Kodak, but unfortunately the Picture Spots were not addressed specifically and there was no official museum publication.⁶⁴

1965, but it is unclear if a full 50 debuted during the second season. This will be discussed in full in Chapter Three.

Internal Kodak magazines also mention that they were included in some Olympic areas (namely the 1960 Winter Olympics in Squaw Valley, CA), which will be addressed in the Conclusion, although it is unclear if this actually came to pass.

The Kodak camera platforms are discussed and pictured (from collector Bill Cotter’s collection) on The World’s Fair Community, see Kevin’s post (aka “Yada Yada”), June 28, 2011, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.

⁶³ See, for example, “A Kodak Moment,” a bulletin board post started by Randy Treadway on “World’s Fair Community” online, June 25, 2011, accessed May 25, 2013,

<http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/>. This scavenger hunt attempts to locate the Kodak Picture Spot signs by triangulating along the collectors’ snapshots, maps, and collective knowledge of the fair and its layout. They located roughly 22 of the 25 signs in the first iteration of the Fair. More complete and official locations of the picture-taking signs will be addressed in Chapter Four.

⁶⁴ The Queens Museum’s building was built for the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair and was the New York State pavilion for both iterations. It was reused for the 1964-65 Fair and still features a diorama map, referred to as “The Panorama,” of New York’s five boroughs. I spent time viewing the exhibition and reviewing the small holdings related to the Fairs at the Queens Museum in Spring 2015. The show, *That Kodak Moment: Picturing the New York Fairs*, was drawn mostly from their collection and drew greatly from loans from private collectors. It had a brochure as well as a small online presence, both available at the following, accessed October 1, 2015, <http://www.queensmuseum.org/2014/08/that-kodak-moment-picturing-the-new-york-fairs>. *That Kodak Moment* will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Most scholarship related to Disney parks, germane to Chapter Four, falls into the enthusiast category and is generally written by non-academic, but extremely well-versed, historians in print and online in various blogs.⁶⁵ Save the aforementioned Doris article on Kodak signs and passing references within the fan communities, there is no substantial scholarship on Kodak's picture-taking signs or these two corporate juggernauts, Kodak and Disney, together. While not addressing the signs directly, art historians Karal Ann Marling and Cher Knight approach the Disney parks through the lenses of social history and post-modernism as well as focusing on architecture and/as public art.⁶⁶ Such approaches and treatments are valuable for this study as the Kodak Picture Spots benefit from a consideration of their greater visual and built environments. Marling brings together multiple disciplines in her anthology and specifically analyzes Disney and the Imagineers' visual goals and strategies. Knight's more recent book considers Disney as a socio-cultural phenomenon, examining it as a garden of Eden, destination for pilgrims, and, appropriately, a World's Fair.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ryan Wilson's "Main Street Gazette," Major Pepperidge's "Gorillas Don't Blog," and the "Matterhorn1959" blogs likely have the most discussions of Kodak Picture Spots and related vernacular pictures, see <http://www.mainstgazette.com/search?q=Kodak+Picture+Spot>, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/search?q=Kodak+Picture+Spot>, and <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/search?q=Kodak+Picture+Spot>, and specific posts cited below, accessed December 1, 2015.

⁶⁶ There are relatively few Disney studies that engage their archives in depth. Disney generally limits access to their materials and until recently, their archive was overseen by only one person, its founder, as will be discussed later.

⁶⁷ Karal Ann Marling ed., *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance* (New York: Flammarion, 1997) and Cher Knight, *Power and Paradise in Walk Disney's World* (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2014). Karal Ann Marling is Professor Emeritus, American Art and Culture at the University of Minnesota, and the other contributors include Neil Harris (History), Erika Doss (Fine Arts), Yi-Fu Tuan (Geography), and Greil Marcus (critic).

Scholarship pertinent to the Conclusion, which looks at the legacy of the Kodak Picture Spots, once more does not generally address the Kodak picture-taking signs specifically. Nevertheless, such research is broadly applicable and, like the photographic sharing culture it examines, is fast-paced and often occurs in less traditional media outlets. Scholars of digital photography and social media, for example, often write and publish exclusively in online platforms, and their efforts are no less valuable to academics. In 2015, art historian Kate Palmer Albers launched an online writing project, *Circulation | Exchange: Moving Images in Contemporary Art*, bringing together disparate theories of digital and social media with a photohistorian's lens.⁶⁸ Albers's proposals for approaching social impulses, as well as their nexus with online platforms, significantly broadens and adds to the study and theorization of vernacular (and digital) photography, ideas which will be returned to throughout this examination.

Theoretical Framework and Methodological Approaches

This dissertation considers how these iconic Kodak signs and images both reflect and affect America's relationship to place, primarily from a visual culture and sociological perspective using an institutional lens. A network of interrelated methods

⁶⁸ See Kate Palmer Albers, *Circulation | Exchange: Moving Images in Contemporary Art*, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://circulationexchange.org/about.html>. Albers's online project, a repository for her writing and digital projects, considers moving photographic images: those that move "through space, between friends, across platforms, from digital to material space and back again." It is supported by the Creative Capital | Warhol Foundation Arts Writers Grant Program.

In her analysis of digitally mediated work, Albers is interested in photographic items as objects *and* images as well as resisting the urge to categorize everything "pre-digital" as exactly the same and unchanged as well as how photographs function, are shared, and move through and across space and time. Sample recent essays include artists and ideas associated with Google Street View, Snapchat, large format "selfies," and Flickr.

frames the discussion: social history and semiotics, postmodern theory, approaches to space and place, American and technological studies, material and visual culture, tourism and landscape studies, and the use of contemporary artists to address applicable issues. Because Kodak Picture Spot markers and their attendant (actual or potential) photographs are simultaneously ideas, locations, and objects—situated within larger built environments and histories of photography—their multivalent nature requires a multivalent approach. This section will chart some of the major methodological approaches and themes related to these items, and their associated places, behaviors, and photographs, which will run throughout this dissertation.

Taking a cue from the hybrid triad W. J. T. Mitchell dubbed “space/place/landscape,” this dissertation seeks to read these devices *vis-à-vis* what Mitchell has termed “show seeing,” a phenomenon similar to Nathan Jurgenson’s “conspicuous photography” which will be described in more detail at the close of this Introduction.⁶⁹ Just as geographer Denis Cosgrove has described landscape as “a way of seeing,” another goal of this project is to assess how these Kodak picture-taking signs engage what precedes and follows the pictorial, specifically in how tourists are simultaneously shown to see certain prospects and taught to take pictures by a corporate entity.⁷⁰ One might even expand Mitchell’s connective urge and propose that Kodak

⁶⁹ W. J. T. Mitchell proposes this trio as a “complex” or “process of thinking” in his “Preface to the Second Edition” to Mitchell, ed. *Landscape and Power* (1994; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), xi. See also W. J. T. Mitchell, “Show Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 1, no. 2 (2002): 165-181.

⁷⁰ See Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008). Cosgrove emphasizes the graphic nature of maps and mapping within landscape and vision.

signs extend the equation to “space/place/landscape/picture,” while flowing backwards and forwards along this chain of concepts. Woven throughout this dissertation is the theme of how the Kodak Picture Spot signs, spaces, and responses extend, and even elide, typical visual, spatial, and theoretical categories.

The philosophical writings of Roland Barthes and Walter Benjamin underscore the importance of context and reception, both key for a consideration of the functions and applications of touristic devices such as picture-taking signs. Barthes’s dual categories of the *studium* and *punctum* are useful for images that have already been “selected, evaluated, approved” by corporations such as Kodak, and their effects on spectators.⁷¹ Notably, the pictures taken at Kodak Picture Spots seem to cross and combine aspects of both of Barthes’s concepts: encapsulating the general appeal of the *studium*, while also having aspects of the more personal *punctum*.⁷² Equally applicable to scenic attractions and their repeated representations are Benjamin’s emphasis on the construction of perception as well as the roles of the aura, originals, and copies.⁷³ Benjamin’s notions of “exhibition value” and “cult value,” echo the aforementioned public and personal categories of Barthes as applied to Kodak examples, also help to tease out issues surrounding the commodification of picture and place. Later theoretical works by critics Rosalind Krauss and Craig Owens extend these same issues into the related realm of

⁷¹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 16.

⁷² Barthes’s twin concepts derive from Latin and are useful categories for analysis. The *studium* is a more general element of interest in a photograph and is also related to its interpretation, which is more commonly shared. It speaks to the artist’s intention and is affected by history and culture of the creator and the viewer. The *punctum* is an element, object, or detail that immediately and very personally grabs an individual viewer’s attention, creating a direct relationship with it and the observer.

⁷³ See Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” 1936, in *Illuminations: Walter Benjamin*, edited by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).

appropriation—an approach and topic correlated with the process of “re-taking” an already-existing picture presented to you on a Kodak sign, as well as the related artistic and documentary method of rephotography, as defined earlier.⁷⁴

From a postmodern viewpoint, theorists Jacques Derrida and Frederic Jameson allow me to highlight the important concepts of framing and pastiche as they connect to Kodak picture-taking signs—they are, of course, framing devices themselves—as well as the adjoining landscape architecture. As desired views imply a surround and selection, Derrida’s and others’ citations of the *parergon*—derived from *parerga*, an accessory and *ergon*, the work—are highly appropriate to these issues.⁷⁵ Derrida’s deconstructed version of this term points to the rigidity and the fluidity of the frame, suggesting how these signs and ideas might structure our sight as well as permeate and become an extension of the conceptual and physical environs. Particularly relevant to this project, Jameson identifies pastiche as one of postmodernism’s central features, which, like issues allied with Kodak and the advertising-laden roadside, World’s Fairs, and Disney, specifically employs and engages imitation, mass culture, and nostalgia.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Rosalind E. Krauss interrogates relationships between copies and originals in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985) as does Craig Owens in his anthology, edited by Scott Bryson, et al., *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998). Notably, the Picturesque and landscape figure prominently in Krauss’s recognized chapter, “The Originality of the Avant-Garde,” 162-168.

⁷⁵ Derrida evokes the *parergon* in his critique of Kant and his reference to the *passe-partout*, a border or mat, is pertinent here. See “The Parergon” in *Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (1978; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 37-82. Several scholars discuss Derrida’s *parergon*, including Owens in *Beyond Recognition*, 31-39, and Batchen in *Each Wild Idea*, 58-59. Also engaging the concept in *Sites Unseen*, Harris and Ruggles propose several relevant questions: “Does the frame belong to the represented object (the view), or to its exterior (the outside that defines an inside), or to the viewer (shaping our ability to see)?,” 13-14.

⁷⁶ Frederic Jameson, “Postmodernism and Consumer Society” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Hal Foster, ed. (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), 127-144.

The liminal qualities of place-based representations, accoutrements, and behaviors *vis-à-vis* Kodak Picture Spot signs also mirror Michel Foucault’s critical notions of the panopticon and the heterotopia. In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault brings space together with power in his reading of institutions, discourses, and the panopticon, an institutional building associated with surveillance. While Kodak Picture Spots are far from panoptic prisons, Foucault’s description of the panopticon as a “mechanism” to control viewing and behavior can easily be applied to institutional didactic signs, guided picture-taking behaviors, and pre-approved vistas.⁷⁷ In a later article, “Of Other Spaces,” Foucault introduces another useful concept for picture-taking markers: heterotopias are “counter-sites,” which also contain or reference other sites; aptly, many of the heterotopias that Foucault names are institutions specifically related to tourism.⁷⁸ For instance, he argues that “vacation villages,” museums, and gardens—all of which have contained or contain Kodak or similar picture-taking signs—blend together several spaces and times and are semi-permeable and regulated. Like Foucault’s examples of heterotopias, idealized locales, viewing experiences, and images associated with Kodak Picture Spots could also be said to be “at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal.”⁷⁹

More recently, geographer Edward W. Soja has united Foucault’s heterotopias and similar “other spaces” under the heading “Thirdspace,” a constructive concept for this dissertation considering the unique spatial and aesthetic characteristics associated

⁷⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (1975; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 202 and 209.

⁷⁸ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22-27.

⁷⁹ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 24.

with a photograph deemed “the best” from a particular point of view.⁸⁰ In particular, Soja observes a “spatial thirding,” a way of thinking that occurs within heterotopias, trialectics, marginalities, and hybridities of Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, and others.⁸¹ Soja’s invocation of Lefebvre is apt: of the many triads in his *The Production of Space*, for instance (and triads noted in this Introduction), Lefebvre locates the last category of representational spaces in his third category of lived space, which is the space of “‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’” as well as artists.⁸² Of note, Lefebvre sees this as overlaying physical space and as capable of being affected by the imagination, a provocative suggestion for Eastman Kodak Company and its marketing efforts. That is to say, this idea of multi-use spaces, used by multiple users as well as a metaphorical and institutional “overlay” glossing one’s personal pictures, proves useful for what I believe is a corporate-controlled aesthetic at work with picture-taking signs and their later artistic and social reactions.

Turning from the corporate to the more existential, the interrelated roles of imagination and phenomenology also undergird my analysis of the Kodak picture-taking signs, as an idealized image implanted in the mind as well as a “spot” that becomes something more than its location *qua* location. Valuable for considering latent and nascent imagery, philosopher Gaston Bachelard, like Lefebvre, emphasizes the

⁸⁰ Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1996). Soja’s category of “real-and-imagined” is also very valuable.

⁸¹ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 163. Soja sees this “thirding” in the thought of Henri Lefebvre, bell hooks, and Homi Bhabha. Elsewhere in the book he expands this to include the decentering and openness of feminist spatial critiques and the “imaginative geographies” of Edward Said.

⁸² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicolson-Smith (1974; repr., Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 39.

significance of imagining in experiencing and remembering space in *The Poetics of Space*.⁸³ Pairing Bachelard's ideas with the experiential and mythical space of geographer Yi-Fu Tuan allows this study to extend this phenomenological dialogue outside the home and into the greater landscape. Also pertinent to this pedagogical foundation of the Picture Spots and their pictures, whether potential or resultant, Bachelard sought "to specify the image that comes before thought."⁸⁴ Cosgrove, cited earlier, broadens this to our ability to form mental images, even of places not yet visited—a key aspect of Kodak's engrained training associated with the signs as well as the places and events with which they pair themselves.⁸⁵

Continuing in this visual vein, optical studies that feature other devices further ground this discussion in the history and construction of seeing. Crary, as mentioned previously, argues that a shift from disembodied optics to the embodied observer occurred circa 1830 and he uses the earlier optical devices of the camera obscura and the stereoscope as models to symbolize this move.⁸⁶ Communications scholar Alison Griffiths looks later in her more recent exploration, *Shivers Down the Spine: Cinema*,

⁸³ See Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 1958, trans. Maria Jolas (1964; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1994) and Yi-Fu Tuan and Steven Hoelscher, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (1977; repr., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

⁸⁴ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, xxiii.

⁸⁵ Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*, 8.

⁸⁶ A stereoscope is briefly defined above and a camera obscura, notably, is essentially the earliest form of a camera, pre-photography, which is a box or an entire room with a hole or a lens which would then project a scene from the outside, inside. See Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*. Crary's more recent book is equally worthwhile: *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

In addition to a chapter by Crary, "Modernizing Vision," other useful theoretical approaches can be found in Hal Foster's anthology *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988) and Renzo Dubbini's *Geography of the Gaze: Urban and Rural Vision in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002). Architectural historian Dubbini's insistence on the "how" we see affects the "what" is specifically connected to graphic representations.

Museums, and the Immersive View, to an “expanded paradigm of spectatorship,” which she argues offers new models for views and experiences.⁸⁷ While Griffiths reflects on panoramas, planetariums, dioramas, and the like, these ideas can be easily extended to these picture-taking signs and planned prospects. Such studies allow me to reflect on how implements differ from their optical and scenic ancestors and if Kodak’s signs might be another paradigm shift or simply an historical extension.

Histories of technology and institutionalization provide effective strategies for approaching manifestations of industrially-based items and corporately-regulated imagery and designed landscapes. Most of these scholars and histories will be engaged in Chapter Two, during a discussion of “The Road” and the rise of technology within the landscape, as well as in Chapter Three, “World’s Fairs.” A student of the preeminent American Studies scholar Leo Marx, David E. Nye traces several iterations of the man-made Sublime—from the industrial to the consumer—in his critical analysis, *American Technological Sublime*.⁸⁸ Significant to this project, Nye argues that these strands come together in the 1939 New York World’s Fair, a fair that continued a tradition of Kodak’s involvement dating back to the 1893 Colombian Exposition and culminating in their debut picture-taking signs at the 1964-65 Fair.

In a wide-ranging and important study, art historian Terry Smith explores “the role of visual imagery within the so-called second industrial revolution” in *Making the*

⁸⁷ Alison Griffiths, *Shivers Down the Spine: Cinema, Museums, and the Immersive View* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

⁸⁸ David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). See also Leo Marx’s seminal study *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America, and how this was linked to mass consumption, machines, and eventually forged a “new imagery of modernity.”⁸⁹ Two chapters within this tome appear applicable, “The Garden in the Machine” and a later one on the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair, but Smith paints with a broad brush. While not engaging Kodak or signs specifically, Smith does propose a useful thematic zeitgeist and provides broad context on the Machine Age, advertising, and institutionalization. Kodak’s early efforts in advertising, via L.B. Jones, and the first Kodak “Picture Ahead” signs, parallels the development of the discipline of advertising itself, which merits more attention. Lacking more specialized studies and tending towards overviews, the history of advertising is unfortunately under theorized from a humanities perspective.⁹⁰ Indeed, the Kodak Picture Spots recalled existing consumer and advertising products—such as

⁸⁹ Terry Smith, *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 6 and 7.

⁹⁰ A more communications and industry-focused book, *Building Strong Brands* does mention the 1920 picture-taking sign campaign, yet only in passing, and uses at least two exemplars, Kodak and Saturn, which are no longer in existence in their former states. David A. Aaker, *Building Strong Brands* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 3 and 2-7, for “The Kodak Story.” Aaker does not cite any references for the signs themselves or in his general discussion of Kodak.

Other studies, while seemingly promising at first, do not mention Kodak more than a handful of times, but are useful for general history as well as the J. Walter Thompson agency, which worked in tandem with Kodak from circa 1930 to 1997. See Stuart Elliott, “After 66 Years, Kodak Dismisses Thompson,” *New York Times*, June 17, 1997, accessed December 12, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/06/17/business/after-66-years-kodak-dismisses-thompson.html>.

Kodak ended their long-term ties with JWT and went with Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide in 1997, with which it had already worked on a few product-specific accounts. While Kodak has at times worked with as many as 40 advertising agencies across the world, JWT was the agency with the longest run and produced some of its most famous campaigns.

Two ad-related books by a historian and freelance writer, respectfully, again give the impression of fruitful investigations for this project, but lack specific applications for Kodak and this particular 90+ year-old advertising sign campaign: Rowland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-40* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) and Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997). Another study that initially appears to address visual culture and photography within institutionalization and corporatization, in exactly the appropriate time period, is Elspeth H. Brown’s *The Corporate Eye: Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). Beyond the Introduction, however, Brown’s project is too narrowly focused on specific case studies to have much use for the topic at hand.

road signs, postcards, and other touristic objects. At the same time, I contend that these picture-taking signs' subsequent lack of innovation in design, purpose, and application contributes to their success and status today.⁹¹

Still a relatively young discipline, tourism studies brings together beneficial socio-cultural approaches from sociology, history, geography, and other areas. Noting a sociological sea change along the lines of Crary and Smith, sociologist Dean MacCannell has connected tourism specifically with modernity in his classic volume *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976).⁹² According to MacCannell, a physical site comes together with its interpretation, what he terms a “marker,” to form an attraction.⁹³ Apropos these markers, many signs and maps include extensive descriptive and didactic text and pictures. Moreover, MacCannell's structural stages of “sight sacralization” offer additional and fruitful methods and paths for analysis: 1) naming 2) framing and elevation 3) enshrinement 4) mechanical reproduction, and 5) social reproduction.⁹⁴ Geographer John A. Jakle also stresses the role of props and tools, the latter of which he considers photography, in helping tourists understand, perform, and validate place-

⁹¹ Bringing this further into the present, Jurgenson has explored the “Faux-Vintage” aesthetic of Instagram and other digital applications as well as a broader media nostalgia. There are several applicable essays on Jurgenson's Cyborology blog on The Society Pages, <http://thesocietypages.org/cyborgology>, including “The Faux-Vintage Photo” and “Life Becomes Picturesque: Facebook and the Claude Glass.”

⁹² Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). MacCannell was trained as a sociology; he most recently taught in the Department of Human Ecology, focusing on Landscape Architecture and Environmental Design. See University of California at Davis, “Dean MacCannell, PhD, Professor Emeritus,” <https://humanecology.ucdavis.edu/dean-maccannell>.

⁹³ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 41.

⁹⁴ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 43-44.

appropriate expectations and behaviors.⁹⁵ What is unique about the Kodak Picture Spot signs and their associated witnessed behaviors, I maintain, is that they become touristic “sites” and sociological “cues” unto themselves—above and beyond the locales that they are supposed to mark and highlight—equally cycling and evolving through MacCannell’s stages as well as acting as and augmenting Jakle’s social guides.

Still grounded in physical items and images, this dissertation combines theoretical approaches with close readings of the various Kodak objects and photographs themselves, what anthropologist Clifford Geertz calls “thick description.”⁹⁶ Along these lines, art historian Jules Prown provides a systematic method for analyzing things in one of the first codifications of material culture itself.⁹⁷ Prown’s essay codified material culture as a discipline and methodology, and its fundamental ideas function as a foundation for this study. Equally emphasizing materiality, a recent anthology *Photographs Objects Histories* takes a lead from Prown’s legacy and applies it to photographs, offering specific and valid tactics for pictorial devices that combine mental and physical pictures, apt for Kodak’s idealized and well-crafted vistas. The editors remind us that “a photograph is a three-dimensional thing, not only a two-dimensional image” and that vernacular or commercial images evade singular readings, akin to

⁹⁵ John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century America* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 40-45. The originator of the term “touristic,” Jakle has explored car landscapes, gas stations, and roadside lights in other books, as well as with Keith Sculle. See also John A. Jakle, *The Visual Elements of Landscapes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987).

⁹⁶ Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3-30.

⁹⁷ Jules David Prown, “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 1-19. Moving from description to deduction to speculation, Prown encourages researchers to hold back assumptions, notice patterns and details, and engage all senses. Roland Barthes’s ideas, including his invocation of photographs as time travelers, will be invoked in Chapter One.

Barthes, moving through time and space and “thus social and cultural experiences.”⁹⁸

What is interesting about the Picture Spot and its images is not only their combined invocation of a perfect picture as well as the signs’ “thingy-ness,” but also how the two items are bound together as cultural objects and experiences. While still engaging visual theory and social history, the material aspects of these picture-taking accoutrements and artifacts are motifs to which I repeatedly return.

Lastly, how contemporary artists engage the Kodak Picture Spot and related ideas can prompt new understandings of the past and the present. Such instances, authors, artists that engage these approaches will be considered more fully in this dissertation’s Conclusion. Several artists and photographers engage picture-taking signs and related ideas and their artwork and words help in understanding this phenomenon and how it continues to resonate with contemporary audiences and concerns. In *Terra Infirma: Geography’s Visual Culture*, for example, Irit Rogoff theoretically forefronts artistic practice to mine and understand a specific theme within history and ideology—not vice versa.⁹⁹ Similarly, photocurator Toby Jurovics has turned to modern-day landscape practitioners to offer new insights into nineteenth-century photographic history. Moreover, art historian Barbara Maria Stafford, Lucy Lippard, and others have established effective models for yoking together disparate eras and media, including earlier centuries and contemporary art, and both have written extensively on optical and

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Photographs* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1.

⁹⁹ Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography’s Visual Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 13.

landscape-based topics.¹⁰⁰ I firmly believe that approaching artists' work as a form of research can pay significant dividends in understanding the past as well as open up novel possibilities for writing art history.

Foundational Concepts

Allying itself most closely with the social sciences, the aforementioned “social turn” in photography needs to be contextualized. My study sits firmly within this new generation of photohistorical scholarship. Before turning to the main, and more topical and location-based, chapters of this dissertation, it is necessary to put forward a few interrelated, introductory ideas. As mentioned briefly at the outset of this Introduction, I propose three concepts and categories foundational to Kodak Picture Spots: conspicuous photography; public photography and the social sphere; and Kodak culture and standardized snapshots. What follows is an epigrammatic discussion of concepts that scholars have recently brought to the fore, but remain nascent despite their associations with earlier, mostly late-nineteenth-century, theories. All of these categories are understudied as well as the associated accoutrements and environs that go hand-in-hand with such heavily instructed photographic experiences and devices.

¹⁰⁰ Toby Jurovics, Carol M. Johnson, Glenn Willumson, and William F. Stapp, *Framing the West: The Survey Photographs of Timothy H. O'Sullivan* (New Haven: Yale University Press with Library of Congress and Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2010). For the exhibition, Jurovics accompanied and interviewed six landscape photographers. In her many books and projects, Stafford consistently connects Enlightenment art and science with twenty-first century transmedia and cyberculture, while Lippard discusses contemporary artists who engage tourism and the landscape across many media.

While a critical mass of scholarship is still forming around these topics and themes, and this will be addressed more in detail below, what I am proposing is essentially a knitting together of these loose and interconnected notions into something more broadly applicable to photographic history, a new corporate-meets-vernacular, public-private category in essence. What unites the following categories, as well as the Kodak signs themselves, are their grounding in collective actions that play out in sociological spaces. That is to say, the actions associated with taking a picture at a Kodak Picture Spot are meant to be public, witnessed, emulated, and shared several-fold: both in the action of picture-taking at the location of the sign and the subsequent sharing of the photographic object itself (almost always with the intention that the audience will in turn copy the images) or today even more publically, in social media.

Conspicuous Photography

Kodak Picture Spots are “conspicuous photography” *par excellence*: the signs are in the public sphere and designed to encourage the act of photographing at specific locations, both for emulation of previously-taken pictures and, by extension, for others to witness and reenact. In using the phrase “conspicuous photography,” I borrow from a reference by an emerging media scholar as well as nod to nineteenth-century, mid-twentieth-century, and contemporary sociologists. Sociologist and social media theorist Nathan Jurgenson has written much about “public photography,” including Instagram and selfie sticks. Jurgenson appeared to coin, in passing, the phrase “conspicuous

photography,” when sharing an article on selfie sticks and Disneyland on social media in 2015.¹⁰¹ In crafting this term and this particular instance, Jurgenson seemed more interested in the negative connotations and affects of perception on the part of the photographic user, rather than exploring how a company or tourist venue might promote and advertize the act of photography itself in a more constructive, but still self-serving, and public way.

In this dissertation, I elaborate on this phrase to highlight its associated promoted consumer and corporate behaviors as they pertain to Thorstein Veblen’s theory of “conspicuous consumption,” extended by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and others.¹⁰² While Veblen’s and Bourdieu’s views, and the latter’s related notion of “cultural capital,” refer more to the display of wealth via certain objects and associated prestige, I propose that the current concept of “conspicuous photography” transforms equally into a “brand,” with its own cultural cachet. To be precise, it is to Kodak’s benefit to promote such

¹⁰¹ As quoted before, Jurgenson states: “there [is] a big pushback against very conspicuous photography. conspicuous documentation admits a desperation for (& thus a lack of) attention [sic].” Jurgenson, January 2, 2015, 8:42am, tweet about conspicuous photography, <https://twitter.com/nathanjurgenson/status/551053733422186496>. Jurgenson notes in a reply in this thread that he will be “adding this to a longer piece on conspicuous photography, documentation shame, ‘being in the moment’, thirsty,” etc., but to date he has not written this piece. Jurgenson, January 2, 2015, 8:42am, reply to conspicuous photography tweet, <https://twitter.com/nathanjurgenson/status/551055877521031168>.

Jurgenson does have a forthcoming new book, which appears to collect and update his various essays across the internet, due to be published by Verso Books, an imprint of Penguin Random House, in April 2019. As the publisher’s website states, he hopes to update how we think about smart phone, social media, and the screen by analyzing, among other topics, “the selfie, the faux-vintage photo, the self-destructing image, the food photo.” Within these contexts, and especially as it relates to selfies, Jurgenson will presumably also expand upon “conspicuous photography.” See the preview page for *The Social Photo: On Photography and Social Media* by Nathan Jurgenson, Verso Books, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/564144/the-social-photo-by-nathan-jurgenson/9781786635440>.

¹⁰² Thorstein Veblen, “The Theory of the Leisure Class.” (1899; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 1994). Veblen’s discussion of “Conspicuous Consumption” is Chapter Four. Veblen argues generally against conspicuous consumption and leisure, which he sees as wasteful. For an excellent overview comparing and contrasting Veblen’s and Bourdieu’s versions of this concept, see Andrew B. Trigg, “Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption,” *Journal of Economic Issues* 35, no. 1 (March 2001): 99-115.

actions, whether or not the action is carried out by the consumer; it is the potentiality of pictures promoted by the signs, along with seeing people photographing at them, that helps the company to continue its spread of ideas.

One prime example of showcasing such photographic activities—which also encouraged amateur photographers to observe and consider others clicking away as Kodak Picture Spot locations “by proxy”—can be seen in a dealer promotion from 1981. In this map and related accoutrements provided to dealers, customers are encouraged to play “Where’s Waldo” and count the number of “picture-takers” hidden in an illustrated map (figure i.15). Included in the kit, is a 2 x 3-foot map, an entry box, forms, a guide for the photographic store and dealer, as well as advertising and promotional materials. Kodak’s internal *Trade Circular* explains its premise and how it is fully customizable for the store’s clientele: “It’s not as easy as it sounds, because all the people illustrated are not picture-takers, and a few of them are in pretty unique places. In addition, the map is a decorative poster in itself that will attract a lot of attention and comment.”¹⁰³ Titled “Photo Fun USA,” the map likewise suggests to laypersons that the entire country is also there for their taking, photographically, from coast to coast. In essence, whether it was via this contest within a photographic store or outside in the world, Kodak sought to teach and suggest picture taking locations, opportunities, and scenarios by way of a variety of visual paradigms and social cues.

¹⁰³ Eastman Kodak Company, *Kodak Trade Circular: Picture-Taking Equipment & Supplies*, as contained in the George Eastman Legacy Collection, George Eastman Museum (June 1981): 9. The kit was numbered A10-17 and cost \$7.50, with additional maps at \$2.50, available from the Advertising Distribution Department. From the Collection of George Eastman Legacy Collection at George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY (hereafter referred to as GELC at GEM).

Public Photography and the Social Sphere

Photography's recent social turn, along with its study, is now being recast as having been intrinsic to the medium all along.¹⁰⁴ The New York Public Library's (NYPL) exhibition *Public Eye: 175 Years of Sharing Photography* (2014-15) and their related College Art Association panel argued that "photography has always been social" (figure i.16).¹⁰⁵ Stephen C. Pinson, the NYPL's now former curator of photography, hoped that the exhibition "could look at the history of photography through the contemporary uses of social media, how photography becomes public."¹⁰⁶ In the *Public Eye*, the curators placed the images into three broadly applicable categories: photo sharing, street view, and crowd sourcing.¹⁰⁷ Public photography, as a distinct phrase, is most often used today to refer to the right to take photographs in public, but it is my intention to broaden this more colloquial use by considering it along with its social and

¹⁰⁴ While photo historians have been talking about the cultural work of vernacular and snapshot photography since the 1960s and 70s, it was not in fashion and studied extensively within art history until more recently. See, for example, an early special snapshot edition of *Aperture* from 1974: Jonathan Green, ed., *Aperture* 19, no. 1 (June 1974). This issue explored "the relationship between contemporary photography and the family album photograph," featuring photographs and portfolios by Richard Albertine, Robert Frank, Lee Friedlander, Emmet Gowin, Gus Kayafas, Wendy Snyder MacNeil, Joel Meyerowitz, Tod Papageorge, Nancy Rexroth, Henry Wessel, Jr., Garry Winogrand and Bill Zulpo-Dane, along with texts by Walker Evans, Steven Halpern, John A. Kouwenhoven, Lisette Model, Tod Papageorge, Paul Strand, and Judith Wechsler.

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth Cronin and Stephen Pinson, exhibition brochure for *Public Eye: 175 Years of Sharing Photography*, New York Public Library, December 12, 2014 - September 30, 2015. Cronin and Pinson also proposed a 2015 College Art Association session, in conjunction with the exhibition, "A Social Medium: Photography's History of Sharing." I presented a paper at this panel, "Mastering and Sharing the View: The Kodak Picture Spot," held on February 12, 2015. For a full list of participants and paper titles, see College Art Association, Schedule, "A Social Medium: Photography's History of Sharing," accessed December 13, 2015, <http://conference2015.collegeart.org/programs/a-social-medium-photographys-history-of-sharing/>.

¹⁰⁶ Stephen Pinson is now a curator of photography at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cronin and Pinson, exhibition brochure for *Public Eye*.

¹⁰⁷ Cronin and Pinson, exhibition brochure for *Public Eye*.

spatial aspects.¹⁰⁸ Pinson elaborated on a similar goal of the NYPL's *Public Eye* exhibition: "So much of the discussion today is negative as to the pervasiveness of photography now... It's ubiquitous. But part of what we're trying to show is that sharing and the pervasiveness of photography has been part of a long lineage that has been occurring since 1839," the year photography was first introduced to the world.¹⁰⁹ Germane to this topic, the term "public sphere" comes from German philosopher Jürgen Habermas.¹¹⁰ While Habermas is more focused on debate and discussion, his concentration on institutional structures offers a good reminder for corporate devices such as Kodak signs set within official public spaces, such as roads, international fairs, and amusement parks.¹¹¹

Indeed, since its inception, photography has led a very public and social life: from its announcement to the world by France in a public setting to its current ubiquity and

¹⁰⁸ This is an especially pressing issue given recent attention given to police violence and the right of citizens and journalists to photograph and film them, and the legal designation of "Freedom of Panorama," a copyright provision allowing photography and videography of buildings and works of art in the public space.

¹⁰⁹ Stephen C. Pinson, as quoted in David Gonzalez, "Sharing and Liking Since Day 1," *New York Times Lens Blog*, December 3, 2014, accessed December 9, 2015, http://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/12/03/sharing-and-liking-photos-from-day-one/?_r=0. While successful experiments pre-date 1839, the "birth" of photography is generally cited as 1839. This was the year that Dominique François Jean Arago announced and described Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's daguerreotype process to a joint meeting of the French Academy of Sciences and the Académie des Beaux Arts. See Arago's "Report" as well as excerpts by Daguerre and Talbot on early photography, as contained in Alan Trachtenberg, ed., *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980).

¹¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Space: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger, with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

¹¹¹ Habermas does also use the phrase "social sphere," mainly to contrast with the "intimate sphere" as the family space became even more private and the social space even more public. See the section "The Polarization of the Social Sphere and the Intimate Sphere," in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Space*, 151-159.

employment in our everyday lives.¹¹² Kodak Picture Spot signs and their attendant behaviors and photographs are meant to be seen, meant to be public, and meant to be social. In highlighting these aspects, I consciously choose the interrelated word pairings used in this section header (public photography and the social sphere, which could be interchangeable) to focus attention on 1) the initial encounter with, and intent of, the sign itself, its “official” image, and the re-taking of it as a public act and 2) the subsequent after-life in the form of a personal photograph that is essentially a copy of a pre-approved view, in all probability re-presented socially in albums or slideshows.

The Kodak picture-taking signs and resultant or potential pictures shuttle and are shared back and forth, moving in and out of private and public actions and spaces. It is this movement, and potential changes in meaning thereof, that scholars such as Albers explores in her newest venture, specifically underscoring how images are “defined by their channels of circulation and their points of exchange.”¹¹³ A consideration of Kodak Picture Spots expands upon Albers’s attention to “images that live multiple lives,”¹¹⁴ in that they are locations, objects, and entities that by definition give rise to many images, which lead even more multifarious lives. The pictures taken at Kodak Picture Spots also occupy and move in several conduits, which in turn reinforce each other: the images simultaneously prove and tout “having-been-there”; encourage first time or return

¹¹² The daguerreotypy process, named after Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, was announced to the world at a joint meeting of French Academy of Sciences and the Académie des Beaux Arts in 1839. For a transcription of this speech by the astronomer and Deputy Dominique François Arago, see “Report,” in *Classic Essays on Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenberg, with notes by Amy Weinstein Meyers (New Haven: Leete’s Island Books, 1980), 15-25.

¹¹³ Palmer Albers, *Circulation | Exchange*, “About.”

¹¹⁴ Palmer Albers, *Circulation | Exchange*, “About.”

visitation at the aforementioned venues to those back home; and promote even more photography (with Kodak products) to the public.

The social aspect of photography has, not surprisingly, been tackled by social scientists, but their insights are a small subset of the discipline and often not drawn upon or into the history of art. The proxy viewing and picturing experiences associated with Kodak Picture Spot signs relate to what sociologists Carol Crawshaw and John Urry term “public photography,” images specifically used in place-marketing texts.¹¹⁵ Urry extends this thinking in the update to his book *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, along with Jonas Larsen, stressing the performative and pedagogical function of photography *vis-à-vis* what he terms the “tourist gaze,” arguing that the former affects the latter and vice versa.¹¹⁶ Photography has become so ubiquitous, so social, since the advent of camera phones and selfie sticks as to be banned in some museums and even by Disney itself.¹¹⁷ After exploring pre- and early-photographic origins in Chapter One in the eighteenth and

¹¹⁵ Carol Crawshaw and John Urry as quoted in Stephen Wearing, Deborah Stevenson, and Tamara Young, *Tourist Cultures: Identity, Place, and the Traveller* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2010), 113. American studies scholar Martha A. Sandweiss uses a slightly different concept of “public photography” in *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 4. Speaking of nineteenth-century landscape and western images, Sandweiss writes: “This selective survey of western photographs focuses on what I call *public photographs* [emphasis hers]. If *private photographs*, the vast majority of which were made for particular clients and designed to be held and used as private mementoes, public photographs were produced for less personal uses, and intended to be distributed through exhibition, publication, and sale,” 4. Like Sandweiss, to borrow some of her discerning words, I am less concerned with “photography’s impact on individual Americans’ sense of self than with the medium’s impact on broader cultural imaginings...and with the impact that such imaginings had, in turn, on photography,” 6.

¹¹⁶ Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. This third edition of Urry’s classic 1990 study, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, has one of the most extensive discussions of the ramifications of digital cameras and digital screens on tourism.

¹¹⁷ Aaron Smith, “Disney Bans Selfie Sticks over Safety Fears,” *CNN Money*, June 26, 2016, accessed December 10, 2015, <http://money.cnn.com/2015/06/26/news/companies/disney-selfie-stick>. Disney banned selfie sticks at Disneyland and Disney World, along with other American parks, starting June 30, 2015, and in Disneyland Paris and Hong Kong Disneyland, effective July 1, 2015, after repeated incidents on rides.

nineteenth centuries, these paired and transferable concepts will underlie much of the following place-based chapters.

Kodak Culture and Standardized Snapshots

Established and trademarked in 1888, Eastman Kodak Company focused on the amateur market and encouraged picture-taking beginning with its introduction of its Kodak box camera the same year.¹¹⁸ Kodak culture was recognized from the very beginning, with George Eastman setting the tone and Kodak’s advertising manager, later vice president in charge of sales and advertising, Lewis Bunnell Jones charting an equally crucial course. Jones oversaw Kodak’s vast print campaigns and wrote most of the slogans and early advertising copy. Jones worked for the company from 1892 until his death in 1934 and has been cited as one of the top “five persons who were most influential in helping Eastman establish and shape the company,” by Eastman’s biographer.¹¹⁹ Eastman’s famous slogan—“You press the button, we do the rest” (figure i.17)—from the early days of the company is echoed in the later Kodak’s picture-taking sign text, most likely coined and created by Jones himself: “Picture Ahead, Kodak as you

¹¹⁸ Prior to trademarking Kodak in 1888, George Eastman began the manufacturing of dry plates (versus wet plate photography) in the early 1880s. The Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company was a pioneer in dry plates as well as roll film, which opened up the photographic market to amateurs. For a history of the company see the corporate history, Douglas Collins, *The Story of Kodak*, cited earlier, as well as the biography of George Eastman, cited below.

¹¹⁹ Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 135. Brayer credits Jones with the phrase used in print advertising, “Picture Ahead: Kodak as you go,” but does not mention the signs nor provide a direct citation, 205. West recounts this same story and emphasizes Jones’s background in newspapers, which will be explored more in full later, 24.

go” (figure i.4).¹²⁰ There is relatively little written about Jones and his company papers are likely no longer extant; nevertheless, his vital contributions to Kodak are many and will be investigated further in Chapter Two.¹²¹

These abovementioned slogans, written by two powerful people within Kodak, had several commonalities: they are two-part catchphrases that emphasize personal action, but essentially command photographers to keep clicking, while placing their trust in the benevolent company. Fundamentally, the marching orders in Kodak’s early slogans spurred snapshooters, but also spoke to them directly on a personal and public level. In an episode recounted by George Eastman’s biographer, after returning from a trip Eastman remarked to Jones that his advertisements were better than normal, and wondered why out loud, to which Jones replied: “Maybe they were written for the public instead of Mr. Eastman.”¹²² The power of this proclamation, a direct appeal to the public, and Jones’s advertising prowess cannot be overestimated.

Sometimes defined as vernacular or everyday photography, snapshots occupy an interesting niche: they are generally made by amateurs for non-artistic and personal reasons, often emphasizing or commemorating events.¹²³ Kodak signs challenge the personal in that they universalize moments and standardize compositions. Bourdieu

¹²⁰ While the slogan predates Jones’s arrival at Kodak, some do also credit him with Eastman’s slogan. See American Advertising Federation, “Advertising Hall of Fame: Lewis Bunnell Jones,” accessed December 5, 2015, http://advertisinghall.org/members/member_bio.php?memid=674.

¹²¹ While George Eastman’s archives and letters are carefully catalogued at the Eastman Museum’s Legacy Collection (GELC at GEM), I suspect that Jones’s business archives are long destroyed. Nevertheless, I have been in contact with a relative of his and did go through some personal papers. His contributions and early ads related to the “Picture Ahead” signs will be discussed in conjunction with the early development of this roadside and automobile-focused campaign (circa 1920 until his death).

¹²² Jones, as quoted in Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 206.

¹²³ Nickel, *Snapshots*, 12. Nickel invokes Bourdieu on the same page, albeit briefly.

considers this genre from a sociological perspective in his 1965 book, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*. Bourdieu emphasizes what is “photographable,” or falls within the category of a “takable” image, is defined by class and convention.¹²⁴ In his introduction, Bourdieu claims that “there is nothing more regulated and conventional than photographic practice and amateur photographs,” while photography itself seemingly has “no traditions and makes no demands,” in and of itself.¹²⁵ While I agree that photographic occasions, canons, and compositions are not random, and speak to the proclivities of a group and larger concerns, Bourdieu places too much importance on a vague definition of the medium itself to push his theories. Moreover, Bourdieu ignores or skips over companies such as Kodak that also actively help to identify, generate, and advertise to social categories.

Continuing along the lines of photograph as confirmation, in her well-known book *On Photography* (1977), Susan Sontag spoke of what might just as easily be termed the “Kodak effect”: “Needing to have reality confirmed and experience enhanced by photographs is an aesthetic consumerism to which everyone is now addicted.”¹²⁶ The standardization of compositions that goes along with both snapshot photography and pictures taken at Kodak Picture Spots certainly ticks off all of Sontag’s boxes, and continues unabated, even accelerated, today. See for example, two photographs, taken by two different people from the exact same Kodak Picture Spot (figure i.18, a and b): the

¹²⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, with Luc Boltanski, Robert Castel, Jean-Claude Chambordon, and Dominique Schnapper, trans. Shaun Whiteside, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art* (1965; repr., Cambridge, UK: Policy Press, 1990), 6.

¹²⁵ Bourdieu, et al., *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, 7.

¹²⁶ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 24.

aesthetic arrangements are almost identical, save minor differences due to slight variances in camera lenses. While not including people as the sample suggests (see figure i.19), the rest of the elements are ordered, as in a classical landscape painting or eighteenth-century garden vista: perfectly groomed trees and greenery graze and frame the left and right sides; sensuous and “Beautiful” S-curves lead our eyes from the foreground to the background; and the Cinderella Castle, a contemporary folly, pleasingly sits in the middle of the frame. Through such prompting and standardization, Kodak assuages and pleases its users, and might even metaphorically “push the button,” guaranteeing a perfect picture.

On the eve of Kodak declaring bankruptcy in 2012, *The Atlantic* magazine reaffirmed Kodak’s cultural legacy in a piece fittingly titled for this foundational category, “The Triumph of Kodakery: The Camera Maker May Die, But the Culture It Created Survives.”¹²⁷ In this piece, the author compared snapshots to sharing culture, akin to the New York Public Library’s exhibition *Public Eye*, concluding “Our social, mobile moment is the realization of the original Kodak vision.”¹²⁸ Even the phrase “Kodak Picture Spot” has become an idiom, no longer referring specifically to the signs but a more generally beautiful location. Not unlike Disney, and Facebook now, Kodak was prescient in emphasizing the ability to capture and tell one’s story visually, yet perhaps to its own detriment. Kodak certainly created “a culture of life recording” and

¹²⁷ Alexis C. Madrigal, “The Triumph of Kodakery: The Camera Maker May Die, But the Culture It Created Survives,” *The Atlantic*, January 6, 2012, accessed December 9, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/01/the-triumph-of-kodakery-the-camera-maker-may-die-but-the-culture-it-created-survives/250952>.

¹²⁸ Madrigal, “The Triumph of Kodakery.”

standardization, and we live with that legacy today.¹²⁹

Closing Stages and Restricted Views

By way of an initial conclusion to this Introduction, which parallels the actual Conclusion, I turn to what might be termed an anti-Kodak Picture Spot photographic device or artistic intervention, *The Camera Restricta*.¹³⁰ This speculative, and as-yet-unproduced, camera by German designer and photographer Philipp Schmitt prevents its users from taking pictures in well-trodden venues and locales. Schmitt, who describes his prototype as a “disobedient tool for taking unique photographs,” gives examples of what he describes as “generic tourist photography,” which the camera is designed to avoid, in a video on his website (figure i.20, for example, shows 889 images, split into five columns or types based on similar compositional elements, taken within the vicinity of Berlin’s Brandenburg gate).¹³¹ *The Camera Restricta* uses GPS metadata culled from online image-sharing websites, such as Flickr.com and Panoramio.com, to determine if a location or destination is too popular. As a *Wired* magazine article explains, “If it identifies more than 35 photos taken in a given location—basically about 115 feet in any

¹²⁹ Madrigal, “The Triumph of Kodakery.”

¹³⁰ This device went viral in the online press in September 2015 and, ironically, the *Camera Restricta* was shared and referenced repeatedly on social media around the world. Schmitt has a “best of” reactions section on his website as well as an extensive archive of his favorite 112 internet comments, good and bad: <http://philippschmitt.com/notes/restricta-comments-list>

¹³¹ Philipp Schmitt, “*Camera Restricta*,” accessed August 10, 2017, <http://philippschmitt.com/projects/camera-restricta>.

direction from where you're standing—the camera's shutter retracts and blocks the viewfinder so you can't take a photo.”¹³²

The Camera Restricta name is a direct nod to the *camera obscura*, one of the earliest forms of imaging devices and the precursor to the camera (incidentally, like analog cameras or those not outfitted with GPS, its original inspiration could bypass Schmitt's system). The visual display of the back of the camera not only shows how many nearby photographs have been taken, but also emits a ticking sound (akin to a Geiger counter) when it has reached its locational quota (figure i.21, a). The Camera Restricta is meant not only as a comment on how algorithms and sharing have permeated our lives, and can likewise easily be used against us, but also references a controversial measure in the European Parliament that almost passed in Summer 2015.¹³³ The proposed bill would have overturned the poetically termed “Freedom of Panorama,” thereby restricting the ability of tourists to take pictures of copywritten buildings, monuments, and artworks, even in public spaces.¹³⁴

What is interesting for the topic at hand is that this artist Schmitt, via the Camera Restricta, seems to be suggesting that location trumps everything else; that is, one cannot

¹³² Liz Stinson, “This Camera Won't Let You Take the Photo Everyone Else Does,” *Wired*, September 14, 2015, accessed December 9, 2015, <http://www.wired.com/2015/09/camera-wont-let-take-photo-everyone-else/>.

¹³³ John Brownlee, “When You Point it at a Cliche, This Camera Censors Itself,” *Fast Co. Design*, September 14, 2015, accessed December 10, 2015, <http://www.fastcodesign.com/3051023/when-you-point-it-at-a-cliche-this-camera-censors-itself>. Brownlee goes on to explain that “The measure was defeated, but the point Schmitt is making with Camera Restricta is that if such a law were enacted, it could easily be implemented, just by a silent over-the-air update to your smartphone or tablet.”

¹³⁴ Brownlee, “When You Point it at a Cliche, This Camera Censors Itself,” *Fast Co. Design*. For more on the “Freedom of Panorama,” see Julia Reda's excellent overview. A German politician and member of the European Parliament, Reda authored a copyright evaluation report and review on which the Parliament voted, but some proposed to amend. See Julia Reda, “Freedom of Panorama under threat,” June 22, 2015, accessed December 12, 2015, <https://juliareda.eu/2015/06/fop-under-threat/>.

take a unique image at a popular site, despite a creative approach to composition, at all. Similar to Bourdieu, Schmitt also appears to place the agency within the hands of a generalized “photographic” category, and by proxy the camera—not the user, but instead corporate entities or institutional ideas that might have taught us that images taken at these monuments and places are good pictures. It is worth mentioning that Schmitt’s Camera Restricta most certainly would bar photographs taken at Kodak Picture Spots. This prototype, and its associated historical purviews, calls to mind an interesting assertion by Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour’s in *Learning from Las Vegas*: “if you take the signs away, there is no place.”¹³⁵ Here, however, the GPS coordinates substitute for Kodak’s location-based signs. Even so, if such sites were no longer tagged via a physical or satellite-based markers, would these settings cease to be places today, too (the answer, I would argue, is no)?

Markedly, the Camera Restricta offers an interesting twist on the term and potential of the “viewfinder” itself. Frequented places, which give rise to a surfeit of images, are seen by Schmitt as “infested.” When the Camera Restricta user can no longer find novel locales and views, a large red X appears in the eyepiece (figure i.21, b).¹³⁶ In this instance, an X no longer marks the spot as in a picture-taking marker or map. Ultimately, the Camera Restricta is a thought experiment more than an actual device (although he meant the camera to be 3D printed, Schmitt admits that this could just as easily be made into an “app” for a smartphone or device). Nevertheless, this artistic

¹³⁵ Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, 18.

¹³⁶ Brownlee, “When You Point it at a Cliche, This Camera Censors Itself,” *Fast Co. Design*.

project leads credence to the place-making authority of Kodak Picture Spot signs and corporate entities, while at the same time becoming an aesthetic and technology-based authority itself. Likewise, the simple fact that the Camera Restricta encourages one to resist type and well-trodden areas also attests to the preeminence of the Kodak and touristic aesthetic as well as the power of place.

Akin to the purpose of the Picture Spot, and hopefully in direct contrast to the obfuscation of the Camera Restricta, the Introduction of this dissertation defined its foundation, surroundings, direction, and purview. In the following chapters, I trace the development of the Kodak picture-taking signs, from their earliest physical and theoretical precedents. From establishing Picturesque patterns and touristic behaviors in Chapter One, to the first signs planted along the nation's burgeoning roadways and parks in Chapter Two, to their presence in two types of corporate creations, World's Fairs and Disney, in Chapters Three and Four—this journey moves roughly from Kodak signs most based in “reality,” to those ensconced more fully within fantasy spaces. In this project, I also move from the didactic in the main chapters to the creative via responses by other companies and artists in the Conclusion. The imaginative ways that Picture Spots and their legacies are dealt with in the real world as well as cyberspace range from nostalgic to “hacked.” While the Kodak Picture Spot and similar signs simultaneously represent the height of institutionalization and corporate control of photographic behaviors and results, I also hope to highlight the malleable quality of these markers and how audiences both follow their directives and push back.

CHAPTER ONE

Pre-Visualizing the View: Picturesque Predecessors and Theoretical Underpinnings of the Kodak Picture Spot

In July 1922, one of Kodak's internal employee publications touted and illustrated 15 of Rochester's "Kodak City Beauty Spots," a term more at home in the eighteenth than the twentieth century.¹³⁷ Given their scenic nature and proximity, these locales could very well have served as test locations for the earliest Picture Spot signs. Kodak outlined their outreach effort, noting that this company town was also the "ideal home for the Kodaker," replete with numerous public parks easily accessible via a short trolley ride and scenes well within the city limits capable of filling "a goodly number of albums."¹³⁸ The feature's layout also recalled photographic albums, with deckle-edged snapshots strewn scattershot across the page (figure 1.1). In the next issue, Kodak invited participation, by example: "By request, we will publish each month an illustrated 'beauty-spot' in and around Rochester, principally for the purpose of *telling by picture* the possibilities for artistic photography within a few miles of our homes."¹³⁹

While Kodak's Beauty Spot column did not continue, the author's reference and evocative phrase, "telling by picture," are both apt. As art historian Geoffrey Batchen

¹³⁷ Kodak, "Kodak City Beauty Spots," *The Kodak Magazine*, 3, no. 2 (July 1922): 2-4. From GELC at GEM. It is worth noting that this first instance includes all of the Frederick Law Olmsted designed parks (Genesee Valley Park, Highland Park, Maplewood Park, and Seneca Park) and a later mention includes sites around Kodak Park, their industrial complex. "Beauty Spots" were referenced again in the following issue, August 1922, "The Park Beautiful," page 2, and later in December 1922, page 7, welcoming employee submissions. Unfortunately, *The Kodak Magazine* did not appear to continue the column into 1923 or thereafter. From GELC at GEM.

¹³⁸ Kodak, "Kodak City Beauty Spots," 3.

¹³⁹ Kodak, "A Rochester Beauty Spot," *The Kodak Magazine*, 3, no. 7 (December 1922), 7. Emphasis mine. From GELC at GEM.

explains, the term “beauty spot” originates in the Picturesque era and referred to locales where tourists stopped, observed, and sketched: “Beauty Spots these were called,” he explained, “the precursors to postcard views we seek out today.”¹⁴⁰ In her landmark essay “The Originality of the Avant-Garde,” critic and art historian Rosalind Krauss specifically connects the Picturesque to the modernist myth of artistic originality. Providing a description that could equally apply to an ordinary tourist searching for a Beauty Spot or taking a photograph at a Kodak Picture Spot sign, she writes: “Through the action of the Picturesque the very notion of landscape is constructed as a second term of which the first is a representation. Landscape becomes a repudiation of a picture which preceded it.”¹⁴¹ Taking inspiration from Batchen, this chapter privileges the “conceptual and metaphoric” precedents of the Kodak Picture Spot over “technological and functional manifestations,”¹⁴² the latter of which will be discussed in subsequent location-based chapters.

While there is some agreement that the first use of the word *Picturesque*—specifically to refer to nature that is arguably, and agreeably, “like a picture”—occurred in the early to mid eighteenth century, the endpoint of this era is harder to pin down.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 73. There is not much written about beauty spots, perhaps as it was not consistently used as an accepted or authoritative moniker during the period and is a more colloquial term today. Nevertheless, a Beauty Spot in the 18th century seems to connote a location where one stops to behold the view, whereas in the early 20th century is a more general locale. The term is still in use in Britain today and used mostly in connection with travel websites (i.e., “Top Ten Beauty Spots” in a particular town).

¹⁴¹ Rosalind Krauss, “The Originality of the Avant-Garde,” in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), 163.

¹⁴² Batchen, “Desiring Production,” in *Each Wild Idea*, 5.

¹⁴³ As several scholars point out, the Oxford English Dictionary makes note of the word being used as early as circa 1705 in Sir Richard Steele’s play *Tender Husband*. Garden historian Christopher Hussey estimated its initial and more popular use to range from “roughly between 1730 and 1830” and was a

As J. B. Jackson reminds us, the word “landscape” itself changed over time and “when it was first introduced (or reintroduced) into English it did not mean the view itself, it meant a *picture* of it, an artist’s interpretation.”¹⁴⁴ I believe that the Picturesque era and its associated aesthetic yearnings for visiting pre-approved vistas and then recreating similar images en masse has not left us. Picturesque tourism thus parallels Kodak tourism; both democratized the experience to a wider public as well as taught the public how to visualize the landscape. Furthermore, our predilection for accoutrements to mediate such environmental encounters, what Victorian and Visual Studies scholar Malcolm Andrews has dubbed “travelling ’knick-knacks,’ ” continues unabated.¹⁴⁵ Following a cue via Batchen, by way of Michel Foucault, I aim to search for “the appearance of a regular discursive practice for which” the Kodak Picture Spot sign, as a specific idea, object, and space “is the desired object” and outcome.¹⁴⁶

This chapter addresses the development of Picturesque ideas, prompts, places, and objects, beginning in England in the eighteenth century and transforming in America in the nineteenth century. Bookended by discussions of the Picturesque, the discussion

“prelude to Romanticism,” Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (1927; repr., Hamden, CT: Archon, 1967), 4. Lastly, Ann Bermingham singled out the 1790s as the “Picturesque Decade,” during which the “eighteenth-century taste for nature and the natural reached an apogee...in the cult of the picturesque.” See Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley: University of California, 1986), 57.

¹⁴⁴ J.B. Jackson, “The Word Itself” in *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 3. See also Jackson’s former student, John Stilgoe, for an overview of the word: John S. Stilgoe, “Landscape and Linearity: Two Archetypes of Landscape,” 29-46, in *Landscape and Images* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005).

¹⁴⁵ Malcom Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760 – 1800* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1989), 67-82. Andrews’s book is perhaps the Picturesque authority and “travelling ’knick-knacks” is the name of section 4 in Part 1 of his valuable volume.

¹⁴⁶ Geoffrey Batchen, “Desiring Production,” in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 5.

centers on three handheld “devices,” defined broadly, which relate to conceptual qualities of the Picture Spot and set up significant pictorial models and behaviors for looking at the landscape and picture-taking: 1) the Claude Glass 2) the stereoscope/stereoview and 3) the photographic travel album.¹⁴⁷ The first two devices—what Batchen calls portable “machines for seeing” and Jonathan Crary describes as “optical instruments” that garnered “the status of tools”—and their associated prospects provide key precedents for the comparative, arbitrated actions encouraged by Kodak.¹⁴⁸ The third device, the travel album, takes up traits from the first two and allows us to draw out threads relevant for later chapters. Appended to aforementioned is a crucial consideration of Picturesque “Stations,” pre-selected scenic locations from which to take in views.

It is my contention that these conceptual threads coalesce and culminate in the Picture Spot signs as well as their associated behaviors and images—shuttling between vernacular and corporate, personal and universal, and real and ideal. The first Kodak signs used only text (“Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go”), and later iterations included didactic content, comparative pictures, and corresponding maps. The earlier exemplars discussed in this chapter serve as models for Kodak’s approach to teaching a public how to follow a directed sequence within the environs, perceive the landscape through another’s eyes, and, in turn, picture a prospect for themselves and then sell it for Kodak

¹⁴⁷ This is not to say that these are the only related devices or topics to Picture Spots. While aspects of nineteenth-century landscape photography as well as “Great Picture” paintings and panoramas/cycloramas do relate to the issue at hand, specifically in their codification of the ideal “view” and linear sequence, their allied ideas and underpinnings are more appropriately discussed in later chapters, together with *The Road and World’s Fairs* respectfully.

¹⁴⁸ Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 73 and Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 131. Batchen rightly connects this early desire for photography to “picturing nature” and explores it in a section of his third chapter, “Desire,” titled “Views of Landscape,” 69-78.

and its proprietors. As stated in the Introduction, Picture Spots, as ideas and as signs, cross and confuse categories; hence certain aspects will be held for discussion in later chapters. Much like a peripatetic Picturesque tour, this initial part will weave between the physical and the philosophical with a few thematic digressions.

From a Picture to the Picturesque, and Back

Beginning mainly in eighteenth-century England, British writers such as William Gilpin, Richard Payne Knight, and Uvedale Price developed the concept of the Picturesque as a separate category from the more dramatic and fearsome “Sublime,” theorized earlier by Edmund Burke, and the graceful and pleasing “Beautiful.”¹⁴⁹ While there are generally agreed upon characteristics (and earlier variants such as the Italian *pittoresco* or French *pittoresque*), each theoretician placed his own unique inflection onto the Picturesque. As literary scholars Stephen Copley and Peter Garside rightly assert, “It can be argued that the cultural importance of the Picturesque stands in direct proportion to the theoretical imprecision of its vocabulary.”¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, British tourists readily learned this terminology and these associated behaviors, which they in turn re-performed and re-presented in public arenas, to display and promote their aesthetic erudition. Pre-photographic desires and Kodak Picture Spot precedents, as it will be shown, surfaced in

¹⁴⁹ See Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, available online with several other additions (1757; repr., New York: Bartleby, 2001), accessed November 25, 2018, <https://www.bartleby.com/24/2/>.

¹⁵⁰ Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, “Introduction,” in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape, and Aesthetics since 1770*, eds., Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1.

the Picturesque era, providing key aesthetic and sociological prototypes as well as material and visual culture models for picture-taking signs.

A hallmark of Picturesque practice was the description of a view in reference to another person, usually comparing it to the work of a painter, poet, or writer who came before. As such, tourists describe Beauty Spots or stops in terms of another's visual experience, not unlike how Kodak would later recommend and brand their own Picture Spots. Andrews presents an early example of this compulsion in his important and initial overview of this era, *The Search for the Picturesque* (1989).¹⁵¹ After a picnic in the Kent countryside, an upper-class lady set the scene for a different type of consumption: "After tea we rambled about for an hour, seeing several views, some wild as Salvator Rosa, others placid, and with the setting sun, worthy of Claude Lorrain."¹⁵² Similar to this woman and her companions, Picturesque tourists typically associated the scenery that they beheld in person with landscape paintings or prints of three specific artists of almost a century prior: Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), Gaspard Dughet also known as Gaspard Poussin (1615–1675), and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673). As seen in a typical Claude pastoral landscape painting (figure 1.2), trees frame the setting; distances are demarcated with figures, architectural elements, and mountains; and the entire scene is bathed in a warm glow. The names of Claude, Poussin, and Rosa thus became default descriptors in their own right—expressing characteristics, sequentially, of light-infused, linear, and more expressive scenes. Applied with increasing frequency to their own country as an

¹⁵¹ Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760 – 1800* .

¹⁵² Elizabeth Montague, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 39.

alternative or addition to the European Grand Tour, artistic adjectives were de rigueur in a cultured and well-informed British vocabulary.

Of the main critical Picturesque trio of writers and thinkers—Gilpin, Knight, and Price—the ideas most related to this dissertation are those of William Gilpin and Richard Payne Knight, with the former schoolmaster and clergyman serving as the main guide for this chapter.¹⁵³ One of Gilpin’s first and clearest articulations of the Picturesque came in his *Essay on Prints* (1768): “a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture.”¹⁵⁴ As seen in a plate from *Three Essays* (1792), Gilpin differentiates between “Non-Picturesque” (top) and Picturesque (bottom) landscapes (figure 1.3). The Non-Picturesque landscape is smooth and undulating and might best be classified as Beautiful, while the more detailed Picturesque landscape has features and framing elements (trees, scrubs, and outcrops), varied distances, and a path leading one’s eye into the scene. Above all, as demonstrated by two figures, it is physically accessible and visually interesting.

In contrast to Gilpin, collector and scholar Knight leaned more heavily on phenomenology and perception, proposing innate, but teachable, abilities to recognize ideal views. In his *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), which developed ideas in *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem, In Three Books, addressed to Uvedale Price* (1794), Knight states: “The spectator, having his mind enriched with the

¹⁵³ While this chapter will focus on Gilpin and Knight, it is worth noting Price’s major contribution: Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as compared with the sublime and the beautiful, and on the use of studying pictures, for the purpose of improving real landscape* (London: J. Robson, 1794).

¹⁵⁴ William Gilpin, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 56.

embellishments of the painter and the poet, applies them, by the spontaneous association of ideas, to the natural objects presented to his eye, which thus acquire ideal and imaginary beauties.”¹⁵⁵ What Knight is describing (and helping to create) here is a Picturesque connoisseur, one who has cultivated his eye via travel as well as the careful and repeated study of prints and paintings. Perhaps most importantly, Knight’s connoisseur develops and displays his knowledge by way of how he perceives and describes the land and, in turn, re-envisions and re-images it through the lens of his imagination. Gilpin’s compositional recommendations coupled with Knight’s discerning eye served to craft the perfect Picturesque prescription: an aesthetic recipe that tourists would readily emulate for hundreds of years to come.

As seen in portrayals by tourists and theorists alike, not only did Picturesque practitioners articulate scenes in terms of others’ accounts, but their own individual agency is somewhat deferred or deflected. That is to say, an individual’s Picturesque visual experience is not only expressed in terms of another person’s, or even many others, but it is compared to previous, repeated, images. As Krauss astutely asserts, the idea of *landscape* itself embraces, and in fact requires, both the unique and the “formulaic”:

The prioress and repetition of pictures is necessary to the singularity of the picturesque, because for the beholder singularity depends on being recognized as such, a re-cognition made possible only by a prior example. If the definition of the picturesque is *beautifully circular*, that is because

¹⁵⁵ Richard Payne Knight, *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), 147, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 40. Knight, *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*. (London Printed for T. Payne, Mews Gate and J. White, Fleet-Street, 1805). See also Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem. In Three Books, addressed to Uvedale Price* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1794).

what allows for a given moment of the perceptual array to be seen as singular is precisely its confirmation to a multiple.¹⁵⁶

Armed with numerous images from books and prints in their minds, earlier tourists likewise followed, quite literally, in others' footsteps and, as a consequence, "individual agency [was] subjugated."¹⁵⁷ Even one of the first photographic practitioners, William Henry Fox Talbot, was not only surrounded by Picturesque gardens thanks to his mother who was an avid aficionado, but dutifully displayed his training when he wrote to her in 1826: "I wish Claude were here to take a view for me."¹⁵⁸ Following designated routes or word of mouth, Picturesque tourists and adherents stood at overlook after outlook in dutiful sequence, with optical devices in hand, in order to take in the scene independently, together.

Part I: The Desire to Fix a Picture: The Claude Glass

The Claude, or alternatively Gray, Glass or Mirror perhaps best speaks to the Picturesque mediated experience (figure 1.4). The Claude Glass could be one of two different kinds of visual apparatuses, both of which were associated with the rich coloration of Claude's canvases: a plano-convex tinted cased mirror within a rectangular, square, circular, or most often oval shaped case or actual "glasses" with different colored

¹⁵⁶ Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant-Garde," 166. Batchen also quotes this potent passage in full, *Burning with Desire*, 75. Emphasis mine.

¹⁵⁷ Prescient point paraphrased from William Moore, comment on dissertation draft to author as well as in defense, November 16, 2018.

¹⁵⁸ William Henry Fox Talbot, as quoted in Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 72.

lenses at the end of a handle to turn, on a revolving dial-like device, in front of one's eyes (figure 1.5).¹⁵⁹ The former cased format was by far the preferred type for tourists and perhaps no one person endorsed it more than Thomas Gray. This well-known poet actively promoted and extensively described the use of the Claude Glass in his *Journal of A Tour to the Lake District in 1769*, published six years after his death in 1775.¹⁶⁰

As a mirror, the Claude Glass shared heritage with studio mirrors used by Renaissance painters and was also offered as an alternative to the camera obscura, both of which were used by some artists to sketch *en plein air*. Nevertheless, as one artist described it in 1775, the Claude Glass's typical smaller size (usually about "four inches in diameter) and portability ("bound up like a pocket book") contributed to its ease of use in the field: "A glass of this sort is perhaps the best and most convenient substitute for a Camera Obscura, of anything that has been hitherto been invented, and may be had of any optician."¹⁶¹ Made with velvet or cloth lining the inside and leather on the outside, the landscape mirror was also a precious and intimate object. Mainly widespread within

¹⁵⁹ Maillet, *The Claude Glass*, 19-20. This example pictured has six colors: green, light brown, dark brown, purple, dark orange, and burgundy, Van Leest Antiques, "Claude Lorraine Filters," accessed June 6, 2015, <http://www.vanleestantiques.com/product/claude-lorraine-filters-mid-19th-century>. An 1856 instrument catalog described the glasses as useful "for producing a great variety of colors and showing their combination; it also will be found both pleasing and useful for viewing eclipses, clouds, landscapes, &c," Benjamin Pike, *Illustrated descriptive catalogue of optical, mathematical, and philosophical instruments*, (New York, 1856), as quoted in the aforementioned.

¹⁶⁰ See an e-version of this work as well as all of Gray's poems, prose, and more is available here: Thomas Gray Archive, "Texts," accessed November 20, 2018, <http://www.thomasgray.org/texts/>.

¹⁶¹ A. Mason, "The Poems of Mr. Gray. To Which are Prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings" (London: A. Ward, 1775), 352, as quoted in C. S. Matheson, "An Eye Made Quiet: The Claude Mirror & the Picturesque" in the online companion exhibition "Enchanting Ruin: Tintern Abbey and Romantic Tourism in Wales," 2007, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, accessed November 07, 2014, <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/144575/mirror.html>.

the United Kingdom, the Claude Glass also found its way to France, Germany, and eventually America.¹⁶²

As a touristic tool, this optical device was not only named after another person (the painter Claude Lorrain or the poet Thomas Gray), but in order to use this landscape mirror, the tourist must literally turn his or her back to the scene, in effect redirecting or denying his or her own initial observation. As French art historian Arnaud Maillet has observed in the only monographic study of the device, the Claude Glass vacillates between “notions of prosthesis and surplus,” underscoring “these two functions, adding and substituting, belong to one and the same instrument.”¹⁶³ An extreme example of the denial of one’s sight and substitution of it with a Claude Glass can be found in an oft-repeated story of Gray during one of his visits to Lake Windermere. Within several anecdotes of the famous Lake District, Andrews relates that “many subsequent writers told the story of how Gray had had to blindfold himself for the ferry journey..., reserving his first view for his Claude Glass.”¹⁶⁴ As form of an analog handheld appendage, the dark mirror amended and altered experience, but also supplanted sight. The fact that Gray’s descriptions and his suggested journeys, along with his preferred prospects, became so popular that the Claude Glass was also alternately called the “Gray Glass,” adds additional layers to this array of mediated phenomena.

¹⁶² Maillet, *The Claude Glass*, 19 and 27.

¹⁶³ Arnaud Maillet, *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art*, trans. Jeff Fort (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 101.

¹⁶⁴ Gray, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 165.

As mentioned before, the Claude Glass was related to pre-photographic drawing-related devices of the camera obscura and camera lucida, as seen in this sketch by Thomas Gainsborough, *Artist with a Claude Glass*, from circa 1750 (figure 1.6). Here, the artist turns his back on the scene before him, with a tree serving as his perch and a piece of paper in his lap, to stare into the depths of the dark mirror. Whether used as an artistic aid, as in the case here, or for mere contemplation, the Claude Glass was above all an optical device used within a touristic space where one could see and be seen. The use of such an optical device outside created a “conspicuous viewing” opportunity for others to behold and also presaged later photographic desires. As it related to tourism, the public sphere of the 18th century, and even into the 19th century, could be generally accessed spaces, such as public parks or natural settings, or private estates that were occasionally opened to the public.¹⁶⁵ In the 20th century, places relevant to this discussion became more institutionalized and exclusive over the years. Nevertheless, the landscapes and spaces associated with all of these arenas still attract multitudes of people and ample opportunities to observe others observing.

Picturesque mavens repeatedly described their deep yearning to make permanent the image in a camera obscura or fix an ephemeral scene as witnessed in the landscape mirror. Indeed, as Batchen has explained, “it is hardly surprising to find the picturesque inhabiting the discourse of proto-photographers.”¹⁶⁶ Moving from philosophical to physical characteristics, these devices were essential in laying the groundwork for the

¹⁶⁵ Stourhead and Stowe were private estates that encouraged visiting for the “right” kind of tourists. Later, this practice of opening private estates to the public would be expanded even further in America, i.e., Frederic Edwin Church’s Olana.

¹⁶⁶ Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 69.

later development of photography in terms of technology, design, and optics. Thus, photography is uniquely tied to entreaties to envision the landscape, specifically because of and through mediating devices. Decades later, Kodak would place the first picture-taking signs in order to create and feed a similar craving.

For Gilpin, and others, this collection of images and Picturesque-approved views coalesced into one “*ur-scene*” or sanctioned impression, what he and others often termed a “general view” or idea, while simultaneously allowing the viewer to focus on specific and personal aspects—both attributes that the Kodak Picture Spot would allow for as well.¹⁶⁷ This duality had both psychological and technical reasons. The slight convex quality of the Claude Glass helped to “pull in” distances and even slightly bend trees to frame more properly a prospect,¹⁶⁸ while the overall tone had the effect of a harmonizing mist. The tinting of the landscape mirror was achieved by crafting it out of black glass or backing with a dark or a silver foil. As seen in a demonstration of an antique Claude Glass today, it yields a somewhat condensed, dim, and ethereal view of nature, which is framed by the wooden casing and transformed by the darker color of the shaped glass (figure 1.7). The view is thus brought to you—re-envisioned as a delicate and intimate replica, held within your own hands, ready for contemplation.

¹⁶⁷ Gilpin, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 189. For example, Gilpin’s watercolor sketch is titled “The general idea of Keswick-lake” and various labeled are labeled.

The idea of a “general view” calls to mind Carleton Watkins’s well-known photograph: *Yosemite Valley from the Best General View*, 1866, albumin silver print, collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum. As the webpage for this artwork states, “In this image, he captured what he considered the best features of Yosemite Valley: Bridalveil Falls, Cathedral Rock, Half Dome, and El Capitan.” J. Paul Getty Museum, collection entry for Carleton Watkins, *Yosemite Valley from the Best General View*, accessed December 11, 2018, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/55583/carleton-watkins-yosemite-valley-from-the-best-general-view-american-1866/>. I have a draft paper in progress that follows the development of this particular, general view from before Watkins to the present day.

¹⁶⁸ Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 73.

Gilpin's aquatints accompanying his philosophical and travel writing were oval shaped and colored, variously tinted blue, green, rose, or orange (figure 1.8). As Norman Nicholson rightly observed in his study *The Lakers, The Adventures of the First Tourists* (1955), Gilpin's drawings "both in their oval shape and the carrotty colours of the aquatints, were in great part an imitation of the image in the mirror."¹⁶⁹ Functioning akin to an amateur photographer coming across the sample prints displayed on later Kodak Picture Spot signs, a Picturesque viewer would have seen Gilpin's shaped and colored aquatints in their touristic preparation and sought out the very same scenes with their Claude Glass, thereby reaffirming what they had already, and dutifully, studied.

While Claude Glasses did help to achieve a more generalized impression, reference prints (even Gilpin's own notated illustrations, as seen in figure 1.9) when used as guides occasionally literally led tourists astray. Indeed, such criticisms, both in terms of lack of instructions or specific locations, would later be harbored against Kodak picture-taking signs, which also pre-selected a general view. As one tourist noted in 1793, "I last year took drawings of waterfalls with me into the North and return'd to London – without being able to discover them; tho' I since learned that I was within a mile, or two, of some of them."¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Gilpin saw a silver lining in the Claude Glass's ability to simplify and go beyond the human eye. He summarized the mirror's

¹⁶⁹ Norman Nicholson, *The Lakers, The Adventures of the First Tourists* (1995), 53-54, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 69.

¹⁷⁰ John Byng, "A Tour to North Wales: 1793," in *The Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. Bruyn Andrews (1936), III, 254, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 35. Many period writers made fun of tourist's penchant for these "knick-knacks" and the Picturesque craze. One example is William Combe's satirical poem, with illustrations by Thomas Rowlandson, about a bumbling doctor who gets lost and falls into a lake, among other adventures, all the while seeking the perfect Picturesque experience, *The Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (serial 1809-11, book 1812).

capabilities to blend the general and the particular, the foreground and the distance, seamlessly and simultaneously together: “In the minute exhibitions of the convex-mirror, composition, forms, and colours are brought closer together; and the eye examines the general effect, the forms of the objects, and the beauty of the tints, in one complex view.”¹⁷¹ Echoing Gilpin’s multifaceted claim, literary scholar Jean Hagstrum has observed that like regular mirrors, which suggest both “faithful realism and stylized idealism,” Claude Glasses, via their various aesthetic alterations, “reproduced nature that was more idealized and corrected but that remained nature still.”¹⁷² Looking at nature in a Claude Glass, the general becomes more complex, and thus more Picturesque and, in some ways, more real.

The image witnessed in a Claude Glass and what Batchen has termed its “pictorial properties,” as he writes, “are strikingly similar to those that later would be found in a photograph.”¹⁷³ So much so, that early witnesses of the first photographic process, the daguerreotype, described it as similar to the effect produced in the dark mirror.¹⁷⁴ Although uttered 70 years before photography was introduced to the world, Gray’s enthusiasm when using a Claude Glass is indeed palpable: “[I] saw in my glass a picture, that if I could transmitt (sic) it you, & fix it in all the softness of its living colours, would

¹⁷¹ Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery, and other Woodland Views (relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty) illustrated by Scenes of New-Forest in Hampshire* (1791), volume II, 225, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 69.

¹⁷² Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 141-42 as quoted in Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 80-81.

¹⁷³ Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 74.

¹⁷⁴ Batchen recounts that Sir John Robinson, secretary and fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh described his first sight of a daguerreotype as thus: “The best idea I can given of the effect produced is, by saying that it is nearly the same as that of views taken by reflection in a black mirror,” as quoted in Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 74.

fairly sell for a thousand pounds. [T]his is the sweetest scene I can yet discover in point of pastoral beauty.”¹⁷⁵ Throughout the Picturesque literature, the aspiration to fix such fleeting images is patent and persistent, laying fertile groundwork for later, more permanent and repeatable, photographic behaviors.

Picturesque “Stations,” the First Picture Spots

Another method by which Picturesque tourists mixed both the personal and the collective were via Picturesque “Beauty Spots” and “Viewing Stations.” As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the former is a more general term for a location that conformed to an ideal, while the latter were specific sites or actual structures within the environment from which to observe the landscape. Given that these sites were located in the public sphere, they likewise promoted what could be called “conspicuous viewing,” an antecedent to “conspicuous photography.” That is, tourists beholding a view at a spot or a station would witness other tourists performing the action, just like later sightseers would see others photographing at a Kodak Picture Spot sign. Above all, both locative Picturesque entities represent essential philosophical and physical models for Kodak Picture Spots and their associated spaces, ideas, and behaviors. While some of these locations were already famous for other reasons, the simple act of singling them out with the addition of a demarcation—a physical structure or a mark on a map—creates a brand new pull for Picturesque and Kodak purposes.

¹⁷⁵ Gray, *Gray: Correspondence*, 1090, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 187.

England's Lake District became a popular tourist destination due to a confluence of factors, some of which were mutually reinforcing.¹⁷⁶ First, the region became closely associated with British literature and was written about in guidebooks and poems, which in turn inspired more to come to the region. Thomas West's *A Guide to the Lakes* (1778) described various locations and scenic spots. This attention inspired what became known as the "Lake Poets" to write about the region, culminating with William Wordsworth's best-selling *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England* (1810/1820).¹⁷⁷ Second, this area's popularity coincided with a period when England encouraged their citizens to stay closer to home, due to political issues in Europe and otherwise, and seek out natural wonders in their own backyards. In many ways its status approached that of later American tourist areas, but physically it was not as grand, frequented, or sublime as a locale like Niagara Falls. In many ways, the Lake District in England was more akin to a blend of the Catskills, White Mountains, and the Wisconsin Dells, put together.¹⁷⁸

Picturesque Stations were most often based upon particularly beautiful sites or determined by locales mentioned in Thomas Gray's poetry and journals, which were then mapped and described in West's *Guide to the Lakes* (figure 1.10), while still others were added by business-minded map-makers or tourists themselves. A contemporary review

¹⁷⁶ For a good, short overview of the Lake District history, see Lake District National Park, "History of Tourism," accessed October 3, 2018, <http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/learning/factstourism/history-of-tourism>.

¹⁷⁷ The Lake Poets included William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey, in addition to several others.

¹⁷⁸ For more on the White Mountains, including tourists and artists, see Donna-Belle Garvin, *Consuming Views: Art & Tourism in the White Mountains*, exh. cat. to an exhibition at the Museum of New Hampshire History (Concord and Hanover, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, distributed by the University Press of New England, 2006).

and census of West's Picturesque Viewing Stations in the Lake District, for example, examined 26 Stations, noting that several locations "were not defined by West but which became popular after his death."¹⁷⁹ Through a method that would later parallel the Picture Spot's placement and expansion, Picturesque scenic areas thus acquired additional Stations via a mutually-bolstering method, which combined selection and codification by institutions and the public alike.

What is a "Station" or "Viewing Station" exactly? In short, it is the Picturesque's version of a scenic overlook, replete with framing trees and features, essentially a Kodak Picture Spot before picture-taking was possible. Very likely, a Picturesque Station would also be a location primed for Claude Glass viewing or simple reflection and occasionally, as discussed below, an actual building.¹⁸⁰ The famed English garden of Stourhead had unmistakable Claudean overtones and the point of view from which its most pictured scene is photographed might be a prototypical Station (figure 1.11), along with naturally framed view from its grotto. Accessed by a serpentine path, the garden specifically evoked the Trojan hero Aeneas's descent in to the underworld. Designed by estate-owner Henry Hoare II over four decades beginning in 1741, Stourhead had multiple points of interest, in a very specific sequence, around a man-made lake, with views and sightlines carefully considered (figure 1.12). In many ways, paintings, prints, and guidebooks of

¹⁷⁹ Caroline Hardie and Caron Newman, of Archaeo-Environment Ltd. and Egerton Lea Consultancy Ltd., "A Review of West's 18th century Picturesque Viewing Stations in the Lake District," prepared for the Lake District National Park Authority, April 2009, iii, accessed November 7, 2014, <http://www.aenvironment.co.uk/downloads/The%20Lakes%20Historic%20Landscape%20Characterisation%20through%20a%20Glass%20Darkly%20Derwentwater.pdf>.

¹⁸⁰ The Stations of the Cross come to mind as well, but heretofore I have not seen reference to them in period Picturesque literature.

the Picturesque era operated as the anticipated “Picture Ahead” or comparative visuals added to later picture-taking signs, with the designated or designed viewpoint serving as the camera and the visual experience—either a view through a Claude Glass or amateur sketch—the photograph.

Hoare, in fact, may very well have been inspired by Claude’s oil painting, *Landscape with Aeneas of Delos*, 1672, which was hanging in his main house (figure 1.13).¹⁸¹ A late work by Claude, this canvas typifies the artist’s Acadian landscape with classical elements and historical references. Aesthetically, the tonal haze and masses of shapes also mirror the simplicity of period aquatints, such as seen in Gilpin’s travel books (figure 1.8). This visual resonance would be heightened if an observer was familiar with the washed drawings or later print reproductions of Claude’s magnum opus recording his completed paintings, *Liber Veritatis* (circa 1635-1682), such as seen in the corresponding colored drawing to Hoare’s canvas (figure 1.14), or the view through a Claude Glass. This particular work, not unlike many Claude compositions, also mirrors the stacked space of Stourhead, and many other subsequent gardens, and invites visual reflection and implied movement; undulating ground and paths lead the viewer into the picture from the observation point where the figures stand to the stone bridge, finally cascading to the structures and water beyond.

This sort of spatial choreography was not unique to Stourhead, leaving some contemporary critics to liken such orchestrated garden settings and directed experiences

¹⁸¹ For more on this comparison, see Malcolm Kelsall, “The Iconography of Stourhead,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983): 133-143.

to a displaced Disneyland. Likewise, this circuit of highly-crafted scenes applies to this project and picture-taking signs. As its authors have noted in the critical study, *The Poetics of Gardens*, Stourhead “is an eighteenth-century theme park—two hundred years before Disney, and with Virgil and Poussin (not Mickey and Donald) as its animating spirits.”¹⁸² Outlining 11 stops, replete with photographs, a contemporary step-by-step Stourhead walking map and guide from the National Trust performs the same function today (figure 1.15). Unlike their Kodak Picture Spot and American descendants, period and even current British counterparts relied more on architectural elements and circulated written accounts to confer their cues and point out views.

The standardized “compositions” of gardens such as Stourhead and views from Stations would be aesthetically familiar to tourists from paintings or prints. Continuing the circular Picturesque archetype, British gardens regularly not only evoked paintings, but some were specifically based on them as well. Landscape historian John Dixon Hunt corroborates this natural and aesthetic reciprocity: “Gardens were thought of, if not specifically designed on the model of, pictures (as Stourhead may have been).”¹⁸³ Alexander Pope’s oft-quoted proclamation, “All gardening is landscape-painting,” further collapsed this distinction.¹⁸⁴ Again, not unlike later photographic approaches, this guideless guided tour, if you will, included various prompts within the landscape and was

¹⁸² Charles W. Moore, William J. Mitchell, and William Turnbull, Jr. *The Poetics of Gardens* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 137.

¹⁸³ John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and The Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architectures* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992), 184.

¹⁸⁴ Alexander Pope, 1734, as quoted in Maillet, *The Claude Glass*, 139.

often accompanied by maps.¹⁸⁵ Just as the Kodak signs would do almost two centuries later in America, Picturesque gardens fastidiously guided the tourist's experience of static scenes and encouraged serial viewing.

As seen in previous period remarks, early tourists seemed to delight in the tension between moving sights and fixed positions from certain points of view. The view from a typical Station was, similar to the preferred Picturesque vantage point, accessed by hikes of varying degrees and neither too high nor too low. As William Wordsworth noted when experiencing a Station on Lake Grasmere (which West had in fact recommended): "The Station whence he look'd was soft and green, / Not giddy yet aerial, with a depth / Of Vale below, a height of hills above."¹⁸⁶ Frequently, the Picturesque guidebook author West borrowed a hill or outcrop or added an architectural element, some of the latter can still be found today, from which to garner a more elevated view.¹⁸⁷ As seen in this example from one of Windermere's Stations, a stone wall provided a backdrop for a perfectly framed prospect (figure 1.16), although obviously altered by the changing foliage. West described the exact view from his selected scenic position as such:

Here a charming picture will present itself in an elegant style. The island, from this stand, appears with much variety of shore; indented and embayed; almost surrounded with islets; adorned with ancient oaks and scattered trees. Here the lake is caught a second time over the island; and the village and church of Bowness hang on its banks.

¹⁸⁵ It is not known if Hoare published a guide to his garden at the time. His grandson, Sir Richard Cole Hoare, who inherited the estate did write a guidebook in 1800: Sir Richard Colt Hoare, *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead* (Salisbury: J. Eaton, 1800). Notwithstanding its title, the guidebook focuses primarily on the art collection.

¹⁸⁶ William Wordsworth, "Home at Grasmere," 19-21, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 173.

¹⁸⁷ Hardie and Newman, "A Review of West's 18th century Picturesque Viewing Stations in the Lake District," 4.

A sweeter picture than this, the lake does not furnish. - The artist will find a proper stand on the inside of the stone-wall.¹⁸⁸

Within England's Lake District, Lake Windermere provides an excellent example for this chapter as it was repeatedly written about in area guides and books, including Thomas West (1778), William Gilpin (1786), and William Wordsworth (1810).¹⁸⁹ While Windermere did not have the most Stations, it is the largest of the 20-plus bodies of water in the region and also featured a substantial physical Viewing Station with unique architecture. As seen in a 1783 map by enterprising publisher and entrepreneur Peter Crosthwaite, West's five stations are labeled with small squares, along with various hills, bridges, and inns (figure 1.17).¹⁹⁰ Proprietor of the Keswick Museum in the vicinity, Crosthwaite produced his own maps of the Lakes, including adding an additional four "good" stations of his own to West's at Windermere.¹⁹¹ In addition to selling "Gray's

¹⁸⁸ Thomas West, as quoted in Hardie and Newman, "A Review of West's 18th century Picturesque Viewing Stations in the Lake District," 64. This is denoted as West's Windermere Station 1b.

¹⁸⁹ Each publication went through numerous editions and publishers, thus I am listing only the first year and title information here: Thomas West's *A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire* (1778), William Gilpin's *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786); and William Wordsworth's *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England* (circa 1810-20). Additionally, there is Thomas Gray "Journal in the Lakes" (1769), included in an edition of his poems in 1775 and later reprinted as an appendix in West's Guide (and referenced in Wordsworth's). See "Romantic Period: Topics - Tintern Abbey, Tourism, and Romantic Landscape: Texts and Contexts," Norton Anthology of English Literature, accessed June 9, 2015, http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/romantic/topic_1/journal.htm.

¹⁹⁰ As a more recent conservation study clarifies, two of these sites are in fact separate locations, making Windermere's Stations a grand total of seven. See Hardie and Newman.

¹⁹¹ Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 182. Even Crosthwaite's museum rival, Hutton prided himself on accompanying him when his stations were chosen. Crosthwaite was proprietor of one of two competing museums in the Lake District near Derwentwater (for comparison, West assigned nearby Derwentwater Lake eight stations) and as Andrews has noted, Crosthwaite never sold satirical tourist literature.

As will be discussed in Chapter Two: The Road, Kodak Picture Spots were just as lampooned in 1920s cartoons as were Picturesque tourists. Examples of sardonic Picturesque material include the comic opera *The Lakers* (1797), which included a scene involving the Claude Lorrain glasses, and *The Three Tours of Dr. Syntax* (1809-21), an epic comedic Picturesque poem by William Combe with illustrations by

Landscape Glasses” and other glasses of “Claude Lorrain’s”¹⁹² at his museum, Crosthwaite even marked one of his Stations “by a cross cut out in the turf.”¹⁹³ Here, with the aid of several maps, a tourist could stand armed with a pre-photographic device—where an X literally marked the scenic spot—and behold the pre-approved prospect at hand. This preparation, on the part of the planner and viewer, is perhaps the closest resonance yet between 18th-century designs and behaviors and Kodak’s later Picture Spot signs. In World’s Fairs and Disney parks, Kodak similarly denoted locations with a marker, and often a symbol on a map, to indicate that this was a vista worth visiting, viewing, and capturing with your camera.

Windermere’s most famous prospect was West’s first station, Claife Station, and it was one of the stations that had an actual physical structure. While today it is a ruin, and much of the view is obscured, it was not designed or planned as such; what remains onsite is an existing wall, a stepping stone, and the remains of a fascinating structure. Claife’s highly elevated point boasted a panoramic view of the entire lake and can be seen in the background, to the left, of a period watercolor (figure 1.18). The original octagonal “pleasure house” was accessed by a winding path, which screened views of the

Thomas Rowlandson, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque, a Poem* (London: Diggins, 1812). For a quote regarding the former, see Maillet, *The Claude Glass*, 153 and a suite of images, see William Combe, “*The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque, a Poem*,” Royal Academy, RA 250, <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/book/the-tour-of-doctor-syntax-in-search-of-the-picturesque-a-poem..>

¹⁹² Maillet, *The Claude Glass*, 35.

¹⁹³ Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 176-177. Crosthwaite is also a town along the shores of Windermere.

lake and the edifice itself, until the last possible moment (figure 1.19).¹⁹⁴ Not unlike the surprise provided by a carefully crafted garden experience or that of a Claude Glass or the colored Claude Glasses, tourists often reserved their first visual experience for looking *through* this architectural “device.”

Notably, this Station was an exercise in synesthesia and a total immersive environment, not unlike those produced by later Romantic artists.¹⁹⁵ In 1802, Robert Southey detailed the interior, replete with comparative imagery, harp music, and colored windows:

The room was hung with prints, representing the finest similar landscapes in Great Britain and other countries, none of the representations exceeding in beauty the real prospect before us. The windows were bordered with coloured glass, by which you might either throw a yellow sunshine over the scene, or frost it, or fantastically, tinge it with purple.¹⁹⁶

Recently, this Station underwent renovation, adding a courtyard cafe, and authorities continue to make improvements.¹⁹⁷ The National Trust’s website describes Claife Viewing Station as “the place to go on Lake Windermere” and, somewhat paradoxically,

¹⁹⁴ I am not reproducing Claife’s views here as they are quite overgrown today. See Hardie and Newman, “A Review of West’s 18th century Picturesque Viewing Stations in the Lake District,” page 63 for photographs looking to the North and East of Claife Tower, taken in 2009.

¹⁹⁵ For example, German Romantic painter Phillip Otto Runge’s *Times of Day—Morning, Evening, Day, and Night* (circa 1802-1810) was to be a series of four paintings, only one of which was finished (*Morning*), in a special multi-sensory setting. According to Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, “He intended the paintings to be seen inside a Gothic-style room, especially constructed for the purpose, to the accompaniment of music and poetry readings,” *Nineteenth-Century European Art* (Boston, Prentice Hall, 2012), 169.

¹⁹⁶ Robert Southey, as quoted in Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 166.

¹⁹⁷ National Trust, “Hawkshead and Claife Viewing Station,” accessed June 11, 2015, <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/hawkshead-and-claife-viewing-station/>.

today it has become a Picturesque folly itself, “a romantic ruin overlooking the lake.”¹⁹⁸

Part II: Stereoscopes, Stereoviews, and the Armchair Traveler

The stereoscope as “optical machine” presents interesting counterparts to, and segue from, the Claude Glass. Moreover, this visual device provides additional key precedents related to later Picture Spot signs, specifically in its promotion of directed, sequential landscape views; didactic text associated with and framing the prospects; and a structure designed to mime travel itself and encourage collection.¹⁹⁹ Invented in 1838 by English physicist Charles Wheatstone, and debuted to wide audience at the first World’s Fair, the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, the stereoscope, and its associated stereoviews and stereocamera, allowed for a three-dimensional visual experience (figure 1.20).²⁰⁰ Like the invention of the Claude Glass, stereoscopy preceded photography, but by only a year or so, and thus many early stereoviews were prints, drawing, or transparencies. As Crary maintains of the stereoscope, “its conceptual structure and the historical circumstances of its invention are thoroughly independent of photography” itself.²⁰¹

However, unlike the Claude Glass, which did not produce a reproducible image save if

¹⁹⁸ National Trust, “Hawkshead and Claife Viewing Station,” accessed November 9, 2014, <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/hawkshead-and-claife-viewing-station/>. The buildings’ individual page has a video that shows the walk up from the lake and into the ruin.

¹⁹⁹ I borrow Krauss’s phrase here, “The Originality of the Avant-Garde,” 314.

²⁰⁰ The year 1838 predates the generally cited time of photography’s “invention” in 1839. Notably, just like photography, Wheatstone envisioned the idea even earlier and experiments preceded its “invention” by a few years.

²⁰¹ Wheatstone’s design was further streamlined by Scottish physicist Sir David Brewster in 1849 and it was at this point the device took off in its popularity. For a good succinct overview of the history of the stereoscope, see Frances Terpak, “Objects and Contexts,” in Barbara Maria Stafford and Frances Terpak, *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2001), 357-362. Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 118. Crary discusses the stereoscope in pages 116 to 136 and mainly focuses on its Wheatstone iteration to prove his points.

the beholder committed it to a sketch, stereoscopy was a complete, mediated and multi-layered, imaging and viewing system. This comprehensive approach to visual tourism is something that Eastman Kodak would later replicate and recreate in their didactic and marketing efforts.

In his landmark book, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, art historian Jonathan Crary argues that the stereoscope was a watershed moment in the history of perception and mass visual culture. That particular device represented a movement away from the model of the camera obscura, Crary argued, and the stereoscope was emblematic of “the observer’s transformed status,” part and parcel of modernization and modernity.²⁰² Apart from photographs, the stereoscopic system represented, according to Crary, “the most significant form of visual imagery in the nineteenth century” and a radical rethinking of the real.²⁰³ This shift in visuality and the “observing subject” that Crary identifies, occurring from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, roughly parallels the rise of the Picturesque and its new modes of viewing, but curiously these are not aspects that he considers. As curator Frances Terpak maintains in her exhibition catalogue with Barbara Maria Stafford, the stereoscope served as “a purveyor of taste and a didactic tool” and was the mass media of its day; “Between 1860 and 1920,” they write in the catalog, “the stereoscope was almost as ubiquitous in British and American homes as the television set is today.”²⁰⁴ As such, a consideration of the stereoscope system—which engaged mass audiences as well as yielded and packaged

²⁰² Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 8 and 9.

²⁰³ Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 116 and 9.

²⁰⁴ Terpak, “Objects and Contexts,” in *Devices of Wonder*, 358.

both a subjective and a collective experience of the landscape—is paramount to understanding Kodak’s approach to tourism.

How was a stereoview produced and how was it used? Using a special camera with two lenses situated approximately the same distance apart as your eyes (figure 1.21), a stereo photographer could take two, slightly spatially different, pictures simultaneously. The resulting photographs—often with rounded top corners suggestive of a further form of framing—would then be mounted to a piece of thick cardboard, roughly matching the original ocular separation. An observer would place the resulting view, alternatively called a stereocard, stereograph, or stereoview, into the wood and wire perpendicular arm of the stereoscope (most likely the most popular model designed by Oliver Wendell Holmes, used from 1860 onwards) and insert one’s head into the velvet-lined hood. After acclimating to its lenses and adjusting the holder back and forth along the rail to produce the maximum effect of depth, viewing commenced. In the end, very few amateurs took their own stereo images, relying on the larger established printing houses for a never-ending inventory of scenes. This shift is not unlike Kodak’s courtship of amateurs in the 19th and early 20th centuries. By mid-century, with the addition of professional photographs as examples on Kodak Picture Spot signs, Kodak brought uniformity and abundance back to the fore.

Unlike the Claude Glass, a stereoscope was a domestic tool for looking at the landscape, used indoors, usually before, after, and sometimes entirely in lieu of travel itself. The ability to travel by proxy garnered the stereoscope the nickname “the armchair

traveler,” and represents the earliest iterations of what environmental historian John Opie dubs “Virtual America,” albeit a 19th-century version.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the actual effect is admittedly less than virtual or realistic; the space of the stereo appears less three-dimensional and more two-dimensional. The spaces, in fact, are “stacked” in a handful of abrupt, almost cut out, planar recessions. Crary enumerates what very few scholars admit or consider at length:

First it must be emphasized that the “reality effect” of the stereoscope was highly variable. Some stereoscopic images produce little or no three-dimensional effect... [while] the most intense experience of the stereoscopic image coincides with an object-filled space, with a material plentitude that bespeaks a nineteenth-century bourgeois horror of the void.²⁰⁶

It is exactly this “inexhaustible detail” and space that Holmes praised in his critical early treatise, “The Stereoscope and the Stereograph” (1859).²⁰⁷ In particular, Holmes emphasized the sequential and multiple nature of the stereo experience and the attention it required: “Oh, infinite volumes of poems that I treasure in this small library of glass and pasteboard!” and how he would “creep over,” “scale,” and “stroll through” various architectural and natural wonders, just as one would do out in the environment itself.²⁰⁸ Kodak’s later picture-taking signs likewise occupied odd and highly controlled

²⁰⁵ John Opie, *Virtual America: Sleepwalking through Paradise*. Opie expands upon useful categories that others have explored, including “First Nature” (the natural world), “Second Nature” (the built environment); and “Third Nature” (cyberspace) as well as “Engineered America,” “Consumer America,” “Triumphal America,” and finally “Last Nature,” but his analysis lacks depth overall.

²⁰⁶ Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 124-125.

²⁰⁷ Oliver Wendell Holmes, “The Stereoscope and the Stereograph,” 1859, as quoted in *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present*, ed. Vicki Goldberg (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 107.

²⁰⁸ As quoted in Earle, ed., *Points of View*, 109.

spaces, namely World's Fairs and Disney parks, with the resultant photographs resplendent with detail to be remembered and recalled after your vacation.

Despite the stereoview's curious spatial and depth characteristics, a later cartoon appropriately captures the experience as described by its proponents and pitched by its manufacturers (figure 1.22).²⁰⁹ In this drawn scene, a young boy sits in a plump Victorian-style chair next to a bookcase and a basket of stereoviews, both full to the brim. As he gazes into the stereoscope, the wall dissolves to reveal the Grand Canyon itself, as his feet dangle near a precipice. The youth's astonishment is evidenced by excitement marks issuing forth from his visage as well as the accompanying quote: "Grand Canyon is going to have to go some to give us the breath taking dizzy thrill we received when we used to gaze down into the old stereoscopic views of it."²¹⁰ Entranced, he pays the "real" view no mind, content to keep his stereoscopic view intact. This action of giving one's own experience over to that of a device or another person both parallels earlier activities with the Claude Glass and later behaviors encouraged by Kodak.

As Krauss observes in her key article "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View," the stereoscope and the viewer's own immobile body precludes the "visual meandering" in our own physical space,²¹¹ a claim which could equally be made of a scenic overlook or Picture Spot, and directs it instead into the mental and optical

²⁰⁹ Crary discusses this curious "failure" of the stereoscope, *Techniques of the Observer*, 124-125.

²¹⁰ Gaar Williams cartoon, dated 6-24-34, *The Chicago Tribune*, as quoted in Edward Earle, ed., *Points of View: The Stereograph in America—A Cultural History* (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press in collaboration with The Gallery Association of New York State, 1979), 8.

²¹¹ Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View," *Art Journal* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1982), 314.

space of the stereoview. The stereoscope's hood, as a turn-of-the-century booklet explained, is an important part of the instrument as it "clos(es) one in with the scene itself."²¹² Very often, much as it did with a cased Claude Glass, velvet fabric lined the interior of the popular Holmes stereoscope (see figure 1.21). This fabric served not only to make it more comfortable, but the experience more precious. The stereoscope's hood functioned in much the same way as a car windshield, which shields vision, or the way a Kodak sign might focus attention, screening out the "real world" in favor of the pre-selected and photographic view.

The geographical panoply of the stereoview parallels the urge to "collect" spaces and places embedded within British and American tourism, while looking forward to Kodak's push towards accumulating all of their selected spots via pictures—in essence, a miniaturized, modern Grand Tour.²¹³ As the stereo craze developed, manufacturers offered stereoviews in pre-packaged groupings, usually by geography (Africa, Jerusalem, Yellowstone, etc.) or event. Early on, Holmes even imagined an "Imperial, National, or City Stereographic Library" in his treatise, citing a salesman using a set to show off samples of his furniture, hinting at the possibilities in advertising and commodification to come.²¹⁴ In a rich metaphor that hints at Benjamin's later democratization of images at the expense of their auras as well as George Eastman's later appeal to amateurs, Holmes

²¹² Underwood & Underwood, *Canvass and Delivery: The Underwood Travel System* (New York: Underwood & Underwood, 1908 and 1909), 28.

²¹³ This analogy would especially be the case for World's Fairs and Disney parks, which sought to depict the world and various different places within a smaller, highly designed space. One could, literally, collect them all. Kodak would later underscore this urge to collect, wedded with corporate standardization, by offering slide sets, professionally taken images, of numerous tourist sites mid century.

²¹⁴ Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," 1859, as quoted in *Photography in Print*, 113.

speaks of the possibility of famous monuments shedding their skins, like photographic chrysalises, each being a picture:

There is only one Coliseum or Pantheon: but how many millions of potential negatives have they shed—representatives of billions of pictures—since they were erected! Matter in large masses must always be fixed and dear; form is cheap and transportable. ...Every conceivable object of Nature and Art will soon scale off its surface for us. Men will hunt all curious, beautiful, grand objects, as they hunt the cattle in South America, for their skins, and leave the carcasses as of little worth.²¹⁵

Primed by this evocative metaphor, one can imagine a family sitting in a parlor room, shuttling through successive cards. This scene of collective stereoviewing recalls how one might experience views when seated in a railway carriage, or later automobile, intently looking, but, perhaps even more importantly, reading.²¹⁶

Stereoviews are distinct, robust objects unto themselves and mime other didactic markers. Mounted for mass consumption on thick, slightly curved pieces of colored cardboard (the curvature aids in heightening the three-dimensional effect), the stereocards are replete with educational text and credits. In an essay in the only major scholarly study of the stereograph, Edward Earle pays particular attention to these “layers of information,” but only acknowledges and refers to the more extensive writing on the back.²¹⁷ In fact, didactic text literally frames almost of all these twin photographs: on the front, it often occurs on all three sides, as well as the reverse.

²¹⁵ Holmes, “The Stereoscope and the Stereograph,” *Photography in Print*, 112.

²¹⁶ Krauss compares this to cinema, “In both, the image transports the viewer optically, while the body remains immobile,” see ““Photography’s Discursive Spaces,” 314.

²¹⁷ Edward Earle, “The Stereograph in America: Pictorial Antecedents and Cultural Perspectives,” in *Points of View*, ed., Earle, 14.

Most stereoview companies emblazoned their name or logo on the front of the card, branding and claiming the view as Kodak would later do with its signs. Furthermore, stereo companies would often note the locations of their publishing outposts on the obverse. Thus, a photograph of Yosemite National Park in California might also include a litany of other far-flung sites: Meadeville, Pennsylvania; New York, New York; Portland, Oregon; London, England, and Sydney, Australia (figure 1.23). As seen on the right, the list of cities reads like passing road signs and underscores the locative nature of the larger stereographic series. Stereo companies also typically printed significant didactic text on the reverse of the cards, detailing elements of the history, geography, or geology, along with serial numbers indicating their series or placement. The narrative regularly took on several forms: Keystone View Company, for example, typically placed its shorter text in two columns in the same orientation as the images, while Underwood & Underwood (1.24a) had a somewhat longer text, printed vertically on the back of the card (figure 1.24b). Text, likewise, featured prominently on Kodak Picture Spot signs, from the very first text-only markers to early Disney World's Fair versions, which included a plentitude of information and instruction.

Text, as Roland Barthes reminds us, can augment an image, but also burden it.²¹⁸

Often, a card's text refers to the next stereoview in the series, symbolically linking the photographs in a virtual tour. While Barthes mostly addresses the modern press image in his essay "The Photographic Message," his commentary can apply to the nineteenth-

²¹⁸ Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," In *Image, Music, Text*, edited and trans. Stephen Heath. (New York: Hill, 1977). 15-31. The Kodak Picture Spot sign began as text only, before including sample pictures and narrative mid century, thus it presents a unique example. This will be explored more fully in later chapters.

century annotated image as well, and perhaps even more so: “Formerly, the image illustrated the text (made it clearer); today, the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination.”²¹⁹ Nevertheless, in addition to the increasingly standardized text and images, the stereograph did offer a space for personalization, not unlike the photographic album. Tourists occasionally wrote short notes on the views, as photocurator Thomas Southall has observed, including the phrase “as seen.”²²⁰ This short missive supplements as well as supplants, according to Southall, “the tourist’s ability to accept the photographer’s vision and representation of a scene as a record of the tourist’s own personal experience at the site.”²²¹

Typical shorthand for stereoviews was simply “views,” suggesting the substitution of the real view with one of a photograph. For Krauss, who noted that this term was preferred over “landscape” itself, this speaks to another exchange of authorship: the photographer gives over his agency to that of the company, “e.g. © Keystone Views.”²²² In this example (figure 1.25), E. & H. T. Anthony & Co. is not noted on the front (most likely a logo appears on the back, but with no mention of their cadre of photographers or a name), yet two epithets directly bookend a cascading vista. Not only do the emblazoned words, “American Views” and “THE CATSKILLS,” frame the images akin to Picturesque trees and distill the message, but a man sitting on a rocky outcrop demonstrates how we are to act. As if transposed from a Casper David Friedrich

²¹⁹ Barthes, “The Photographic Message,” 26.

²²⁰ Thomas Southall, “White Mountain Stereographs and the Development of a Collective Vision,” in Earle, ed., *Points of View*, 100.

²²¹ Southall, in Earle, ed., *Points of View*, 100.

²²² Krauss, ““Photography’s Discursive Spaces,” 314.

painting or Thomas Cole's inclusion of painters in his canvases, this fellow acts as a latter-day *rückenfigur* and allows the viewer a point of entry and tourism by proxy: we actively look *with* and *through* him.

The assumed onus of the majority of stereoviews, akin to Picturesque stations, scenic overlooks, and later Kodak picture-taking signs, was to “visit” specific locations and then “collect them all.” Initially, individual photographers sold their own stereoviews via their studios, specialty shops, or the mail, until businesses industrialized the process.²²³ To fill this growing aesthetic need, stereographic companies sent out their own hired photographers, while simultaneously purchasing reproduction rights for existing images.²²⁴ In a practice that many imaging companies would later expand upon, Kodak included, this effort resulted in the standardization of scenery and composition. In his study of White Mountain stereographs, for example, Southall notes the duplication of titles and pictorial conventions, suggesting a “collective vision.”²²⁵ Further systemizing the process, the larger stereo producers sold their finished wares by way of catalogs, their own or through larger department stores, or—quite appropriately for travel-oriented objects—hired traveling salesmen, not unlike later Kodak sales reps.²²⁶

Perhaps the ultimate exemplar of this codification is Underwood & Underwood's “The Underwood Travel System,” launched circa 1905, reflecting a later holistic

²²³ Howard S. Becker, “Stereographs: Local, National, and International Art Worlds,” in Earle, *Points of View*, 92-93. One company, H. C. White Company of North Bennington, VT, could by 1907 print as many as 10,000 titles a hour and make 15,000 prints a day.

²²⁴ Becker, in Earle, ed., *Points of View*, 93-94.

²²⁵ Southall, “White Mountain Stereographs and the Development of a Collective Vision,” in Earle, ed., *Points of View*, 97-108.

²²⁶ According to Keystone View Company, Underwood and Underwood claimed that they hired and sent out 3,000 college students as salesman in one summer. Becker, in Earle, ed., *Points of View*, 93.

approach by Kodak.²²⁷ The complete Underwood & Underwood system included a stereoscope, guidebooks, stereoviews, and a map system. Akin to how Kodak would later approach their annotated brochures, the Underwood maps included vistas marked with numbered positions, small “Vs” to denote bodily viewing stances, and instructions to look “east,” “west,” or within the image, for the purposes of following along as if on an actual excursion. Underwood & Underwood issued their views in pasteboard boxes made to look like bound books (figure 1.26), further associating assembled imagery with knowledge. While Kodak picture-taking spots were not gathered together in books, Kodak did chart and present them in annotated maps, another form of geographical erudition presented in graphic form. The Keystone company also issued their own “Stereoscopic Library: Tour of the World” in double-wide mock book spine slipcases as well as individual volumes featuring different regions and countries. Taken as a whole, Underwood created a kit of recapitulated, and virtual, touristic behaviors. The sequential positions on the maps, together with the stereoscopic photographs, promoted similar visual actions as the later Kodak Picture Spots.

As seen in what was likely a promotional photograph, which was eventually cropped and made into a vignettted stereoview, a man demonstrates “Traveling with the Underwood System” (figure 1.26). Seated at a desk with his head buried in the hood of a stereoscope, a suited fellow turns away from the outside world and points definitively to an actual open book. Atop the cluttered desk is another book, a small pamphlet, a map

²²⁷ There are no direct links between Underwood’s Travel System and Kodak’s approach in the scholarship, but a more extensive study of period literature might contain comparisons.

(conveniently upside down so the other implied viewer can easily read ROME), and one of the book-like collections, ITALY. The man's body language pairs well with a period promotional passage by the company:

That is as a person's eyes are shut in by the hood of the stereoscope with the life sized representation of the place it is possible for him by the help of the maps and the descriptions to lose all consciousness of his immediate bodily surroundings and to gain for appreciable lengths of time distinct experiences of being in the place itself.²²⁸

Indeed, our observer seems lost, turned inwards and toward the wall, almost in a state of stereoscopic travel revelry. Behind the man is a bookcase filled to the brim with more bound stereoviews (Japan, Scotland, Egypt are just a few) and in the space to the left, another bookcase with more stereographs shelved together with regular books.

Interestingly, the room boasts patterned wallpaper that showcases a layered landscape—fittingly a prospect in a clearing in the woods—as well as the suggestion, as seen in the upper left section of the image where the wall appears to end abruptly, that this scene itself is a stage-set, a mere illusion akin to the optical effect of the stereoscope. Germane to the topic at hand, Kodak later offered a different version of displaced travel—set within an actual landscape—as well as an encyclopedic litany of places by proxy. While most picture-taking signs were in and of America, the Kodak signs installed in the spaces of World's Fairs and Disney offered the illusion of travel and global inclusivity, much like the tradition of stereo systems.

²²⁸ Underwood & Underwood, *Canvass and Delivery*, 14.

In his anthology, Earle rightly called stereographs “highly structured objects” that lead to “organized experiences,”²²⁹ and a salesman’s pitch book from the early 20th-century, *Canvass and Delivery: The Underwood Travel System*, underscores this. Replete with three selling scripts, which they encourage one to commit to memory, the seller repeatedly promotes three main themes associated with the stereoview and their “Travel System”: their perfect space and the capability of seeing things and places life-size as well as the ability to provide “experiences of travel.”²³⁰ Throughout its company materials, the Underwood promotional tool uses the metaphors of the window and window-pane to underscore how the stereoscope re-creates a full-scale image of reality, from the small twin photographs. At one point the narrative even describes the salesperson’s role in the language of Gulliver’s travels. Suggesting the collectability and import of these Lilliputian items, which the stereoscope can write large, Underwood reminds the traveling vendor of the following: “realize to the full that you carry in your satchel potential mountains, cities, peoples.”²³¹

The latent potential of these stereographic picture-places mirrors what Benjamin sees as a modern desire to “bring things ’closer,’ spatially and humanly,” in his eminent essay, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.”²³² In a manner similar to an earlier illustration from Underwood & Underwood’s Travel System, a suited man leans against a globe, roughly from the position of the United States, and places his finger

²²⁹ Earle, “The Stereograph in America,” in Earle, ed., *Points of View*, 19.

²³⁰ Underwood & Underwood, *Canvass and Delivery*, 12.

²³¹ Underwood & Underwood, *Canvass and Delivery*, 6.

²³² Walter Benjamin, trans. Harry Zohn, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” 1936, as quoted in *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present*, ed. Vicki Goldberg (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 325.

on the labeled continent of Africa, specifically Egypt (figure 1.27). While his eyes are ensconced within the hood of the stereoscope, he does not fumble, but accurately indicates the actual point of origin of the stereoview. The caption matter-of-factly reads: “To be within arm’s reach of distant countries it is only necessary to be within arm’s reach of the Underwood Stereograph Travel System.”²³³

Quite interestingly, in his essay, Benjamin uses a scenic view as an example of auras associated with natural objects: “If, while resting on a summer afternoon, you follow with your eyes a mountain range on the horizon or a branch which casts its shadow over you, you experience the aura of those mountains, of that branch.”²³⁴ He elaborates on the powerful nature of mass media that is especially apropos for stereoscopes/stereoviews: “And in permitting reproduction to meet the beholder or listener in his own particular situation, it reactivates the object produced.”²³⁵ It is worth underscoring that with the stereoscope and Claude Glass such “reproductions” stimulate the viewer in their own space and by their own hand: the former thrills with tales of world travels at home and the latter captivates within the actual environs depicted.

The Underwood Travel System illustrates indexicality, *par excellence*. While expertly switching out the cardboard views so as to not jostle the instrument, and the customer, Underwood’s book urges the vendor to read aloud an expert’s commentary

²³³ Underwood & Underwood, *The Underwood Travel System*, Catalog No. 28 [p. 4 illustration: Man holding stereoscope, pointing to Egypt on a large globe: line drawing, ca. 1907], Underwood & Underwood Glass Stereograph Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Local No. 87-2132 (OPPS Neg. No.), accessed December 1, 2018, <http://bit.ly/1e6DTUm>.

²³⁴ Benjamin, “The Work of Art,” 325. If the image reproduced is of nature itself, and viewed within a stereoscope, one wonders if Benjamin’s aura might wither a bit less?

²³⁵ Benjamin, “The Work of Art,” 324.

while highlighting points of interest within the photograph and on the atlas (figure 1.26). Together with the diagrammatic arrows on the map, the word “pointing” appears, for example, no less than 11 times on page 23 alone; each time it appears in the text it is *italicized*, underscoring and sharpening the point further. One passage in particular underscores the didacticism inherent in a full stereoscopic experience:

Excuse me, please, let us refer to the map again, First we stood here (*pointing* to Position 14) and looked north (*pointing*); then, we walked along this path and stopped at this point (*pointing*) and looked in a northeastern direction; then, we moved from Position 16 along the eastern wall of Jerusalem. We stopped at Position 17 and looked east.²³⁶

This valiant attempt to recover the sense of “being there” by way of Underwood’s instructional surfeit only seems to prove Benjamin’s points. Kodak’s Picture Spots, of course, function as arrows as well—pointing to potential pictures ahead via text, sample images, design of sign, and sometimes even their names (in Disneyland Paris, for example, Kodak signs were called *Point Photos*).²³⁷

While it was meant to be easily recapitulated, Underwood’s stereoscopic Travel System was, above all, work. Underwood’s use of the word “Position” and numbers in their Travel System also immediately calls to mind British Picturesque Stations and Picture Spots, equally meant to be enumerated, discovered, witnessed, and performed. Cray makes a pertinent point in relation to Marxism that applies to the programmatic

²³⁶ Underwood & Underwood, *Canvass and Delivery*, 10. Emphasis mine.

²³⁷ Nikon does not appear to have taken over sponsorship of the signs in Disneyland Paris. Fujifilm is the official company of Disney’s in-house photographers/photography service, PhotoPass. See Disney, “PhotoPass,” accessed October 5, 2018, <https://www.disneyphotopass.eu/>.

repetitious nature of landscape tools, which “set to work” the viewer/”producer.”²³⁸ This will be considered more fully in relation to increased mechanization and technology in Chapter Two, but is worth quoting in part in relation to the processes outlined above:

What the observer produced, again and again, was the effortless transformation of the dreary parallel images of flat stereo cards into a tantalizing apparition of depth. The content of the images is far less important than the inexhaustible routine of moving from one card to the next and producing the same effect, repeatedly, mechanically.²³⁹

Underwood & Underwood eventually sold their photographic stock to Keystone, consolidating and standardizing the stereo-viewing business even more, thereby contributing to even more reproductions in circulation.

Part III: The Photographic Travel Album

While at first a photographic travel album might seem less of a “device,” an album was both a vessel as well as a vehicle to contain and tell the story of places. More recent attention to photographic albums treat them as a “unique genre,” to which I would add the additional conceptual layer of a travel tool.²⁴⁰ Akin to the Claude Glass and the stereoscope, the travel album was meant to be handled and used in sequenced and mobile fashions as photohistorian Kim Sichel reminds us when writing of photographic books: “We are meant to hold them in our laps, to turn pages, and to follow a certain

²³⁸ Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 132.

²³⁹ Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 132.

²⁴⁰ Verna Posever Curtis, “Page by Page: The Album as Object,” in *Photographic Memory: The Album in the Age of Photography* (New York: Aperture/Library of Congress, 2011), 7. The category under which most of these examples fall is treated in the first chapter, “Souvenirs and Mementos,” 14-6

predetermined progression.”²⁴¹ Sichel offers several potential ordering schemas for the album, including geographic, alphabetical, and personalized, all of which were equally present in the aforementioned vernacular apparatuses. Often commercially produced and available in specialty shops, just like the Claude Glass and the stereoscope, the travel album likewise allowed for structuring of tourist experiences via controlled, ordered, and re-authored images as well as the early commodification of landscape. This last “device-based” section focuses on the nineteenth-century travel album, domestically produced, saving its twentieth-century iterations for subsequent chapters.

One of the most famous descriptions of an individual photograph occurs in Barthes’s short book *Camera Lucida* and, as a few scholars have noted, it was actually contained within a photographic album. In describing the image, which he never illustrates, Barthes emphasizes the materiality of the image: “the corners were blunted from having been pasted into an album.”²⁴² Like the photographs that they hold, which Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart reminds us are “both images *and* objects,” an album is a part of an ongoing process of meaning.²⁴³ Similar to the Claude Glass and the stereoscope as objects, travel albums are tactile and meant to be handheld. Photographic albums are cased and covered, bound together by cardboard, leather, or various fabrics, very often velvet, with their inside pages often embossed, printed, or decorated, ready to receive and subsequently re-present numerous pictures.

²⁴¹ Kim Sichel, “On Reading Photographic Books,” *Views* (Summer/Fall 1989), 3, 22.

²⁴² Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 67.

²⁴³ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, “Introduction: Photographs as Objects,” in *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1.

The Claude Glass, stereoscope, album, and Kodak picture-taking sign engage different senses of space and also function as frames. If an album, either from the 19th-century or 20th-century, contains pre-cut or presentation oriented openings, it literally re-frames the individual photographs and, taken as a whole, the album could be said to provide an ultimate frame itself. Later, more modern photo albums trafficked in abundance and employed other exhibition-related strategies, yet makers and users continued to create and chart intriguing approaches to space.²⁴⁴ Edwards and Hart elaborate on the spatial nature of viewing such visual objects:

Material forms create very different embodied experience of images and very different affective tones or theatres of consumption. For instance, framing devices distinguish between photographic space and the viewer's space, sometimes like the photographic frame accentuating the space, with other forms, like a stereographic card in a viewer, eliding the relations.²⁴⁵

In another variation on the space of an album and the frame, photographs themselves were often shaped or were cut into various forms. For example, in this typical album of cyanotypes, round snapshots from the Kodak #1 camera (introduced in 1888, they yielded circular photographs), produce a peep-hole-like effect on the page, akin to shots, binoculars, or furtive glimpses (figure 1.28). Nevertheless, the Kodak viewing enterprise changed their approach from one of boundless opportunity, embodied in initially round images that showed the totality of what the lens saw and 100-and 200-picture rolls, to one of increasing control and visual limits, all of which Kodak picture-

²⁴⁴ For a reconsideration of the photographic album, see Casey K. Riley, "From Page to Stage: Isabella Stewart Gardner's Photograph Albums and the Development of her Museum, 1874-1924," Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, 2015), available via Open BU (currently embargoed until 2020), Boston University Libraries, accessed November 25, 2018, <https://hdl.handle.net/2144/15722>.

²⁴⁵ Edwards and Hart, "Introduction," in *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, 5-6.

taking signs will expand upon.²⁴⁶ Another album page, featuring two views of the well-known tourist site Yosemite (figure 1.29), demonstrates how cursive text, the studio's printed notations, and especially slots or pre-printed pages contain and vignette the photographs. Just as in a book, the white spaces surrounding the images themselves on the folio, and the occasional skipped page, further serve as another material and aesthetic surround and a mental place to pause.

Photographic travel albums embody mobility stilled: the repository itself was meant to be used and thus mobilized and, in the case of a travel album specifically, contained souvenirs of a mobile and transitory activity. As Batchen reminds us, like so many other vernacular photographies and optical devices, albums are interactive:

They demand we add the physical intimacy of touch to the more distanced experience of looking. And when we do touch, by turning an album's pages, for example, we put the photograph back into motion, both literally in an arc through space and in a more abstract, cinematic sense as well.²⁴⁷

In an exhibition that united vintage travel albums with contemporary photographs, *Voyages (per)Formed* (2000-2001), photohistorian and curator Alison Nordström

²⁴⁶ While at first a round image might seem more restrictive, Kodak's circular photographs actually showcase all that their lenses saw. In many ways they showcase a more expansive view than square or rectangular photographs, which place a frame mask between the lens and projected image. Likewise, Kodak's 100-image rolls represented one of the highest number of pictures the company offered (they produced a special Kodak Kamera edition for the 1893 Chicago Exposition and a 200-image roll).

Within only a few years of the first Kodak camera, Kodak film was offered in rectangular shapes and fewer frames: 48, 24, etc. The No. Kodak (1889) could produce 100 or 48 4x5-inch pictures, while the No. Daylight Kodak (1891) was marketed to travelers and tourists and delivered 24 2 1/4 x 3 1/4-inch exposures on a special roll film that one could load yourself in the daylight. See Todd Gutavson, *Camera: A History of Photography from Daguerreotype to Digital* (New York: Sterling Publishing and George Eastman Museum, 2009), 133 and 135.

Of course, as the photographic giant would soon ascertain, the more film sold, the more money made. Hence, by encouraging unbridled picture taking, within rolls with limited number of frames, and creating a sequence to capture by way of their signs, Kodak ensured profit.

²⁴⁷ Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," in *Each Wild Idea*, 68.

reminds us that it is important to consider “the uses these photographs were put to, not in the places they were produced, but in the places they were brought to.”²⁴⁸ She later cautions a rote “album-as-tour” assumption, as many factors can be altered and arranged, especially chronologically.²⁴⁹ Blending the rigidity and flexibility inherent in the various Kodak sign campaigns, the photographs taken at Picture Spots could similarly be rearranged afterward at home, brought to new locations by juxtapositions within a family album or slideshow.

Behind the mobility of a tourist experience translated to an album is a sequence, both via the volume and a guide. Often, photography travel albums recapitulated journeys, in whatever way the author wished, but they also sometimes mechanically and habitually followed guidebooks. The Tupper Scrapbooks (1891-1895), created by an upper middle class Brooklyn family and held in the Boston Public Library, roughly follow the latter, reifying sites suggested in Baedeker guides (established 1827). Embarking on a latter-day version of the Grand Tour, and traveling to England, Europe, and Egypt, the Toppers followed in others’ footsteps as Nordström observes: “Their itineraries were shared by thousands and the infrastructures that supported this massive volitional migrating include numerous institutions to connect the buyers and sellers of

²⁴⁸ Alison Nordström, *Voyages (per)Formed*, exh. cat. (Daytona Beach: Southeast Museum of Photography/Daytona Beach Community College, 2001), 2.

²⁴⁹ Nordström, *Voyages (per)Formed*, 9.

photographs.”²⁵⁰ Kristen M. Jensen concurs with the role of guidebooks in her essay in

Around the World: The Grand Tour in Photo Albums:

When combined with authoritative narrative, the illustrations provided a particular, frequently exclusionary, framework to guide the traveler through the city or country. To understand this, one has only to think of Lucy Honeychurch in E. M. Forster’s *A Room with a View* running around Florence, face buried in her Baedeker, ignoring everything else around her with the exception of what Baedeker directs her to see.²⁵¹

The Tupperts dutifully purchased most all of their photographs from established outfits and did not take the images themselves (although they could have by that time, it would have been cumbersome traveling). Therefore, much like a Kodak Picture Spot sign or a later postcard, they deferred to a commercial pre-selected point of view. The family’s interests in certain locations are reflected, Nordström proposes, in the “level of photographic intensity clustered around specific sites, rather than the length of time spent in a particular place.”²⁵² To this we might add another possibility for aesthetic abundance in and across certain albums: the availability of images themselves in certain settings and the sheer number of views recommended and recorded.

Marrying the authority of a book with the personalization of a diary, as Nordström notes, the photo album’s narrative both follows and creatively cracks the sequential both in its attention to order as well as annotation. Much like other makers, Tupper added

²⁵⁰ Alison Nordström, “Making a Journey: The Tupper Scrapbooks and the Travel they Describe,” in *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, 83.

²⁵¹ Kristen M. Jensen, “Traveler’s Tales,” in Kristen M. Jensen and Barbara Levine, *Around the World: The Grand Tour in Photo Albums* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 21.

²⁵² Nordström, “Making a Journey,” in *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, 85.

captions and other anecdotes to the album's pages, as seen in this particularly Picturesque page of the ruins of Fountains Abbey in England (figure 1.30). In addition to this, something that she does not engage, there is text on most of photographs themselves, added to either the top or bottom, by the photographer. Like most commercially available prints of the time mixed with amateur photographs likely taken with a Kodak camera, the studio's caption usually lists the location, an inventory number, and their name or initials and it adds another layer of scaffolding to the image. A sublime photograph of the Lauterbrunnen Valley and falls from the Tupper's "Switzerland: Lake Country" album, for example, lists the location, the negative number 12815, and Giorgio Sommer's photographic studio located in Naples (figure 1.31).

Both of these photographs underscore well-healed compositional principles as well as Krauss's "beautifully circular" observation of the Picturesque. They also fall into the most common "type" of image categories featured in albums, writes Nordström of "the so-called views": "carefully composed landscape that generally followed conventions established in visual art long before photography was invented."²⁵³ Often, when re-placed within an album, distant views function akin to a "cinematic establishing shot," which can be dramatic, powerful, and controllable.²⁵⁴ Perhaps even seen in a preview in another's album, most "general views" were pre-viewed for a viewing public. Jensen articulates this mutually reinforcing process, which is worth quoting at length:

²⁵³ Nordström, *Voyages (per)Formed*, 6.

²⁵⁴ Nordström, *Voyages (per)Formed*, 6.

What professional photographers chose to capture with their camera was based upon certain cultural assumptions of what places, sites, and monuments were important, and how they should be viewed... Views of sites and monuments were presented from the best vantage point, and frequently devoid of any associations with people or the modern cities growing up around them; divorced from context, these photographs presented travelers with a private, perfect view, as if the sites existed for them alone, but the site—and the traveler’s understanding of it—existed within an established collective cultural context.²⁵⁵

Much like the personalized metaphysical encounter with the Claude Glass (so named after another’s aesthetic), however, Tupper and others did manage to recast these marketed images and experiences and their emblematic journey in his own voice and vision. Nordström remarks of this recouping of control: “It is the annotations and captions here that ‘author’ the photographs, removing them from the generalised mass-produced image, and making them specific to personal experience, anchoring and performing personal memory and domesticating the iconic status of some of the images.”²⁵⁶ To this I would add selection and sequencing of the albums, as Jensen herself points out: “Souvenir photographs, sold unbound, singly or in sets, presented the opportunity for travelers to create a more personal approach to their journeys.”²⁵⁷ When the tide shifts and snapshotters more fully “take over” the taking of images in the twentieth century, the delicate balance between corporate control and personal goals persists, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, “The Road,” and beyond. That is to say, this “re-authoring” or “re-taking” of a mediated, commercially-guided vernacular image

²⁵⁵ Jensen, “Traveler’s Tales,” in *Around the World*, 21.

²⁵⁶ Nordström, “Making a Journey,” in *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, 92.

²⁵⁷ Jensen, “Traveler’s Tales,” in *Around the World*, 22.

later shifts and its transformation is a point to which I will return in subsequent chapters *vis-à-vis* the photographs taken at Kodak Picture Spots.

From England to America: *Picturesque America*

Before jumping full force into the next century and other technologies, it is essential to follow the Picturesque and sequential viewing practices as they migrated to America and consider how they in turn changed. There is evidence that tourists used Claude Glasses well into the photographic era, in conjunction with photographing, and also that these mirrors easily made the transition to America's scenic spots along with recommended vistas.²⁵⁸ Stereoscopes, too, lasted into the twentieth century, diminishing in use after World War I, but were reborn with the aptly named "View-Master" in 1939. Photographic travel albums and practices never really abated, until perhaps much later with the advent of digital photography; they increased in popularity and changed format with each new Kodak product. This final introductory segment bookends conceptual and cultural precedents for the Picture Spot sign, which began in England in the late eighteenth century and the Picturesque era, bringing us fully to the United States and the late nineteenth century, via a discussion of the serial/book *Picturesque America* (1872-74). While the images in *Picturesque America* were not photographs, although some

²⁵⁸ Frank Goodyear mentions that European travelers brought and used Claude Glasses when visiting the United States, but it was never really adopted by American tourists. He does not note what papers or guidebooks might make mention of the Claude Glass, but I do also recall a personal conversation with him about this when I was at UT-Austin. The citations were scattered, but did occur. Frank Henry Goodyear, III. "Constructing a National Landscape: Photography and Tourism in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1998), 16.

were based upon them, this effort serves to emphasize the establishment of specific and encyclopedic locales, serial and album-like experiences, and didactic text within the American tourist experience.

Tourism did not just follow development in America, it helped to create it. As historian Dona Brown has argued: “In fact, tourism played a key role in creating a consumer-oriented society and economy.”²⁵⁹ Much like its British counterparts, American “tours” focused on regions or centered on specific features. Instead of the Lake District, we had Niagara Falls and the White Mountains; instead of the Scottish Highlands, people took to Natural Bridge, Virginia and the Hudson River Valley.²⁶⁰ But, before one could visit these areas, as Brown underscores, the region needed to invent itself.²⁶¹ Art historian Tim Barringer estimates the appreciation of landscape, by artists and the broader culture, began circa 1820: “Pure landscape painting, and picturesque tourism on the English model, both took some time to establish themselves in America.”²⁶² While the second chapter of this dissertation, *The Road*, will delve more deeply into Kodak’s development of tourism and experiences in relation to transportation, *Picturesque America* will be approached here in a holistic manner, echoing the broad brushstrokes of its presentation. Suffice it to say, the schema using images to inspire,

²⁵⁹ Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Centuries* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1995), 6.

²⁶⁰ The opening of the Erie Canal and railroads played a major role in opening up these areas to tourism. Singular features, such as Niagara Falls and Natural Bridge, preceded the larger, more general regions due to this development.

²⁶¹ Brown, *Inventing New England*, 11.

²⁶² Tim Barringer, “The Course of Empires: Landscape and Identity in America and Britain, 1820-1880,” in Andrew Wilton and Tim Barringer, eds., *American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States, 1820-1880* (London: Tate Publishing, 2002), 42.

teach, and guide tourists was echoed and amplified in nineteenth as well as twentieth-century America.

The initial component of the ambitious national survey *Picturesque America* first appeared in *Appleton's Journal* November 12, 1870, edited by Oliver Bell Bunce, and later was issued in parts, twice a month over two years. Eventually totaling 48 gatherings, or sets of interconnected pages, it could be bound together in a multi-volume set. The final form most frequently numbered two volumes, but four and six were other options, along with presumably whatever the owner wished, especially if they did not purchase the entire set (figure 1.32).²⁶³ The choice of title, as graphics historian Sue Rainey points out, directly associated it with “Picturesque views” and the European tradition.²⁶⁴ The most prolific contributor Harry Fenn echoed the Picturesque migration itself: he was a British transplant to America.²⁶⁵

Well-known painters of the day as well as hired artists sent into the field provided the raw material for *Picturesque America's* over 900 wood and steel engravings; all together, a total of 13 artists and 28 writers worked on the series.²⁶⁶ Taken as a whole, the endeavor illustrated perfectly well-known, latter-day Picturesque compositions and elements to satisfy sightseers. Moreover, *Picturesque America* also expanded the vocabulary of landscape features and lesser known places, not unlike Kodak's later

²⁶³ Sue Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America: Monument to the Natural and Cultural Landscape* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1994), xv.

²⁶⁴ Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 29.

²⁶⁵ Rainey recounts a story of a party Fenns attended at which an Englishman claimed that American scenery was not Picturesque and Fenn was said to have answered the call, possibly planting the seed for *Picturesque America*, 31. Fenns went on to contribute illustrations to *Picturesque Europe* (1875-79), and *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt* (1881-84).

²⁶⁶ Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 195.

efforts would do along roads and eventually within highly controlled tourist spaces.²⁶⁷

Depictions of the Eastern and Western United States differ in *Picturesque America*, particularly in their projected accessibility. That is, New England scenes often showcase paths and places to linger, while the West is seen as wild and unbridled, ignoring improvements, settlements, and transportation, which by the late nineteenth century had penetrated the area.²⁶⁸

Sequentially and regionally grouped, albeit not in strict geographical progression, *Picturesque America* followed in established footsteps, but served to codify tours and visually-based behaviors. In her thorough discussion, Rainey unfortunately does not consider crossing media and claims that stereos and photographs did not satiate the appetites of an image hungry nation.²⁶⁹ While she does acknowledge that stereoviews likely influenced its artists, Rainey does not probe the experience of engaging the book itself and how it might have mimed and reinforced other media.²⁷⁰ Images occur on almost every spread, leading one to experience locales in rapid succession, akin to using a stereoscope.²⁷¹ Functionally, again like the complete stereographic system, *Picturesque America* used a decidedly encyclopedic pitch. The project's prospectus, for example, emphasized personal observation and virtual travel, but above all uniqueness, progression, and breadth:

²⁶⁷ Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 203.

²⁶⁸ Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 203-204.

²⁶⁹ Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 23.

²⁷⁰ Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 148.

²⁷¹ William Cullen Bryant, ed., *Picturesque America or, The Land We Live In of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests, Water-falls, Shores, Canyons, Valleys, Cities, and Other Picturesque Features of Our Country* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874).

The volume will be something more than a gallery of landscapes... All of the marvelously varied phases of our country will be set forth with the utmost fulness (sic), so that the work will, in its completeness, form a splendid pictorial cyclopedia of American life, scenery, and places.²⁷²

Suppliers included this overview with each of the 24-page parts of the 48-section *Picturesque America* and by virtue of its piecemeal installments, one interacted with its components more so than a normal book. Further underscoring reader contact and decision-making, Appleton's printed numerous panoramic scenes vertically, requiring one to turn the page to take in the prospect fully.

While a few photographs did inspire the cadre of engravers, *Picturesque America* for the most part took drawings and paintings as the preferred starting point. William Cullen Bryant, the "editor" of the book in name only, explained in his preface: "Photographs, however accurate, lack the spirit and personal quality which the accomplished painter or draughtsman infuses into his work."²⁷³ Nevertheless, the book's images do exhibit "photographic qualities" in composition, specifically those of stereoviews. As Rainey points out, many graphic artists of the time placed objects in the near foreground, such as a jutting log, to enhance depth: "Fenn's use of such devices, as well as his penchant for steep verticals and narrow passages, may have been influenced by photography."²⁷⁴

²⁷² D. Appleton and Company, back wrapper, part 1 of *Picturesque America*, as quoted in Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 79.

²⁷³ As quoted in Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 125.

²⁷⁴ Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 148. Fenn did complete a wood engravings based upon William Henry Jackson's photograph of Yellowstone. Bunce was in contact with Ferdinand V. Hayden regarding his survey and, after a few missteps in crediting Hayden's survey in establishing the National Park and missed communications, arranged for use of photographs in exchange for the use of Fenn's illustrations in

Rainey is mostly dismissive of the actual text in *Picturesque America* and while it is indeed not academic, it does guide and prod the reader as if they were actually rambling about in the landscape, not unlike like the earlier cited stereoscopic systems.²⁷⁵ In the very next page spread, for example, we find the writer, and by proxy the reader, outside of Northampton encouraging us to change our position so as to see the site in the next picture. Writing in first-person language, they describe the outlook in highly physical and directional terms, before turning to the artist's description: "Here we are, nearly a thousand feet above the plain below, spreading far away both north and south. From this elevated point let us look about us."²⁷⁶ Many of the engravings in *Picturesque America* are not traditional rectangles, but shaped forms. Similar to the rounded edges of a Claude Glass or arched twin-photographs mounted to a stereocard, the *Picturesque America* illustrations are either slightly rounded off on the top two corners or curve around and frame the text itself.

A page spread within the aforementioned The Valley of the Connecticut section, with engravings by J. Douglas Woodward, illustrates how individual images interact with the text (figure 1.33). Both illustrations are atop the same feature, Mt. Holyoke, and point "outward," beyond the page itself into the outside world, not inward towards the spine. In fact, the man on the left page points, into the valley, while the woman on right, makes the same gesture with her parasol to the famous Oxbow. The reader's eyes

Hayden's report as well as quoted him extensively. Overall, when transcribing Jackson's photographs, Fenn generally exaggerated the steepness of Yellowstone's features and changed the positions of people. See Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*, 163-175.

²⁷⁵ Rainey seems to see value only in the geographical groupings and the images, "It is true that no amount of delving yields profundities in the text," *Creating Picturesque America*, xiv.

²⁷⁶ Bryant, ed., *Picturesque America*, Volume II, 78.

literally skips from “Leaving Springfield, we pass”...to...”rapidly,” with an image of tourists directly in-between, if as jumping over a ravine.²⁷⁷ Inviting an interactive visual experience, the text in *Picturesque America* weaves in and around the edges of the images, much like nature itself.

Frequently, as seen in this sample, *Picturesque America* illustrators included a man or a couple poised on an outcrop, pointing to the vista beyond, or nestled nearby a waterfall, quietly taking in the scene. While a typical compositional device of painters and photographers, the fact that these figures repeatedly address the scene at which we, the reader and viewer of *Picturesque America*, look is uncanny: it is almost as if the implied and directed spectator, much as in the Underwood Travel System, were magically transposed into the scene itself. In sum, as Kodak would later do with its picture-taking signs, *Picturesque America* helped to establish pre-approved sites and structure views and tourist behaviors.

An End to the Beginning

A journey itself, this first chapter began in England and ended in America, seeking to locate eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century pictorial predecessors and theoretical underpinnings for Kodak Picture Spot signs. Speaking of the “view” itself, Nordström elaborates: “The information that the photograph conveyed validated the traveler’s presence and confirmed the expectations that they already held.”²⁷⁸ Blending

²⁷⁷ Bryant, ed., *Picturesque America*, Volume II, 76.

²⁷⁸ Nordström, *Voyages (per)Formed*, 6.

the individual and institutional, this chapter showed that the same validation that occurred in the use of a Claude Glass and stereoscope, likewise happened with an image destined for a photographic travel album or tourist book.

Picturesque Beauty Spots, Viewing Stations, Claude Glasses, stereoviews, photographic travel albums, and *Picturesque America* provided viewpoints along a prescriptive path and, in particular, a sense of solace in a changing world. In regards to Picturesque tourists, Andrews succinctly summarized what amounted to a safely stilled twist on the phantasmagoria of the burgeoning modern era: “Those terms ‘fix’, ‘Station’, and ‘composed’ indicate precisely the nature of this protection, the stability given to these new experiences, by the selection and isolation of landscape components. Untamed landscape can thus be controlled.”²⁷⁹ Chapter Two, “The Road,” will follow a path, quite literally, tracing American tourism via its ties to the development of transportation and parks, designed environments and the rise of pathways and parkways, and the early years of the Kodak picture-taking road sign campaign (1920s-1940s).

²⁷⁹ Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 67.

CHAPTER TWO

The Road: Kodak, Machines, Marketing, and the First Signs

In 1922, American author John V.A. Weaver penned a poem, “Picture Ahead,” and took for its topic the earliest picture-taking roadside signs (which, at that time, read in full: “Picture Ahead, Kodak as you go”). Not only did Weaver borrow the markers’ recognizable preamble phrase for his poem’s title, but he ended his poem with repeated exclamations: “Machinery!... Machinery!... ’Picture Ahead!’” Known for so-called “shirt-sleeve poetry” and his application of American vernacular to iambic pentameter, Weaver begins by describing how he set off for his usual Sunday hike, to shake off the “dirt and noise and nerves” that go along with a week spent working in the city.²⁸⁰ After tramping along the road and playing “games with myself and the view,” he crested the hill, caught a second wind, and came upon another type of sight/site: a didactic sign that indicated where to look and where to point one’s camera, insinuating that an abundance of potential photographs were simply “out there,” ready for the taking:

And then that sign it slaps me in the eye:
“Picture Ahead!”
 Can y’imagine it?
“Picture Ahead!”... I ast you! What the hell!
Is that the fix that all of us has got to?
Is that what machinery has went and done?
Autos, and airryoplanes, and railroad trains,

²⁸⁰ John V.A. Weaver (1893-1938) was a writer, poet, and later screen writer. “Picture Ahead” is included in *Finders: More Poems in American* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1921) and in H. L. Mencken, ed., *In American[sic]: The Collected Poems of John V.A. Weaver* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939). For more on Weaver, see “John V.A. Weaver,” NCpedia.org, overseen by Government & Heritage Library at the State Library of North Carolina, a part of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, supported by the IMLS, accessed February 11, 2016, <http://ncpedia.org/biography/weaver-john-van-alstyne>.

And all the helps the papers yells about,
Tellin' us how the worl' is so much better,
And what a bunch of boobs our fathers was?
They want to make us all machines, is that it?

Even they got to take away the fun
Of guessin' what is comin' on the road!
They tell us, "Hurry! Get the camera out!
You ain't got sense enough to tell what's what.
You can't tell when they's anything worth seein'."
I got so mad, I went and jumped the fence,
And run acrost the field. Damned if I'd go
And see a sight that was all canned, you might say,
Or like a travel-movie.... [...] ²⁸¹

Unfortunately, while initially seeking to escape the business and workaday worlds on his ramble, Weaver found them in the form of the earliest "Picture Spot" signs created by Eastman Kodak Company of Rochester, NY, circa 1920. As this chapter will discuss, and the Conclusion will continue, these picture-taking markers would eventually criss-cross and educate the entire country, dotting the roadside and various scenic locales and parks. These first Kodak Picture Spot signs commanded a set of corporate behaviors, contemporaneous with the development of advertising at the time, and an anticipatory aesthetic state of mind. Some individuals, like the man in the poem, resisted being told what to do or what to see. This push-pull between individual experience and more generic, corporate-backed, photographic vision exists in every encounter of a Kodak picture-taking sign, no matter where it is; gradually, the commercial side of the equation would expand as the photographic markers moved beyond the road.

²⁸¹ Weaver, "Picture Ahead."

The Kodak road sign that Weaver saw and bemoaned was likely identical to the one pictured here (figure 2.1): text-based, originally with no sample photograph for comparative effect. The sign's simple declaration, "Picture Ahead," paired with its attendant command transformed the brand into a verb, "Kodak as you go." Likewise, "Picture" could also be a verb and the motivational conjunction, "Picture Ahead." Together, the two phrases acted as a powerful plea urging one to go forth, akin to a corporatized version of the American cry "Westward Ho!," and *kodak*, or photograph, along the way.²⁸² Weaver's poem perfectly introduces the themes addressed in Chapter Two. Not only does the poet worry that he himself is becoming a piece of technology (a somewhat sinister and personal twist on Kodak's first slogan, "You press the button, we do the rest") in the Machine Age, but he calls out the transformations in travel as well as reinforced "canned" aesthetic tropes in visual entertainment and travel narratives. Somewhat ironically, Weaver abandons his "discovered" vista at the end of the poem and, perhaps in a fit of nostalgia, makes a run for a train instead, yet another machine. Nevertheless, for him, the sign seemed to herald a sea change:

All my life
I had my fun pretendin' to myself
That every view I seen belonged to me,
Different from anybody's, mine especial.
"Picture Ahead!"

I stopped there in the field,
And turned aroun', and beat it for the train.
I just can't get the heart to go no more.
The country's spoilt, and lots of things is spoilt,

²⁸² Kodak later attempted to cease using their name as a verb due to potential loss of trademark. Elizabeth Brayer, George Eastman's biographer, notes in 1996 that Webster's Dictionary still listed Kodak as a verb, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 72.

Just on account that sign.... I feel so old,
And everything I see looks old and worn-out.
“Machinery!... Machinery!... “Picture Ahead!”...

This fitting poetic preface perfectly sets out thematic parameters of this chapter, “The Road.” Chapter Two traces the origin of the earliest form of the Kodak Picture Spot sign, beginning with its first appearances in the American landscape as a roadside advertising campaign in the 1920s. The chapter follows a roughly chronological history based upon key dates within the picture-taking signs’ history as well as that of related cultural topics and events. In this discussion, I trace the photo-scenic signs’ cultural foundations and formative period from 1920 to 1939, and introduce an interruption in Kodak’s roadside-based campaign in the late 1930s to early to mid 1940s, which would last until the late 1960s. Over this time period, sanctioned ideas and actions of the Kodak signs fluctuated—from advocating for photographic prospects just around the bend to encouraging a perpetual state of photographic pre-visualization.

This first of the dissertation’s placed based chapters, “The Road,” is thus necessarily frontloaded with key precedents for the picture-taking signs and early automobile, road, park, and touristic history. Beginning circa 1920, as stated, Kodak instituted a roadside sign campaign that mirrors its print advertising campaign, even using the same wording and occasionally picturing the signs themselves.²⁸³ The Kodak

²⁸³ The earliest reference that I have found to the “Picture Ahead” roadside signs occurs in a September 1920 article, A. Rowden King, “Normal Advertising the Result of Normal Business,” *Judicious Advertising* 18, no. 8 (September 1920): 43-46. This essay includes the same image reproduced with the PICTURE AHEAD poem in the *Kodakery: A Magazine for Amateur Photographers* from June 1921, suggesting this was a PR image related to the campaign itself. The earliest, to date, reference by Kodak itself comes in *The Kodak Magazine* article “Mt. Shasta at Sunrise,” from April 1921, cited below. From GELC at GEM.

picture-taking road sign campaign can be divided into three phases: 1920-25, 1925-39, and late 1960s-1990s. It is important to note that the initial phase of this Kodak promotion is more substantial than their later roadside efforts and scholars have not yet contextualized the earliest picture-taking sign phenomenon, if they even acknowledge it much at all. While most of the thousands of roadside “Picture Ahead” locations cannot be specifically identified at this point, the signs were placed along parkways and regular roads; mentions occur in period literature ranging from California to Western New York and tourist attractions. As a part of its corporate marketing campaign, Eastman Kodak featured the signs themselves in about half a dozen print advertisements and references also appear in store window displays. While some details of the original Kodak signs, and even most of the original physical signs themselves, are lost to history, I can still lean upon related aspects using a multivalent, interdisciplinary approach, trading and combining various disciplinary lens—photohistorical, sociological, architectural, geographical, and visual and material cultural—when appropriate.²⁸⁴

As stated earlier, Picture Spot signs and their associated (real or potential) images are concurrently ideas, objects, and sites. The three concepts and categories introduced in the Introduction re-emerge and serve as threads throughout the following chapters: conspicuous photography, the social sphere and public photography, and Kodak snapshot culture and standardization. Building upon the foundation built in Chapter One regarding theoretical and Picturesque precursors, and in order to define and develop relevant

²⁸⁴ To date, as cited in an earlier footnote, I have been only to locate only one physical sign, in the collection of Charlie Kamerman as cited above. More on why this rarity might be the case, including the signs’ total physical removal from the landscape and their increasing unpopularity similar to the gradual cessation of another prominent roadside sign campaigns, is discussed later in the chapter.

concepts, it is necessary first to introduce selected initial stages of viewing and travel practices within American history and the burgeoning Machine Age. Thereafter, this second chapter follows the rise (and sometimes fall) of roadside advertising and signs, and the debates surrounding them, and addresses related landscape architectural elements, physically and philosophically.

I: Touristic and Structural Foundations: 19th Century to Early 20th Century

Eastman Kodak Company's marketing efforts built upon and contributed to a developing tradition of American tourism as well as consumer culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The "Picture Ahead" signs by their very nature had a symbiotic relationship to the locales they framed along with the conditions that made accessing them possible. Even the idea of a picture-taking marker itself complicates the usual function of a sign and its environs as noted by geographers John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle: "Signs 'foreground' themselves in turning other things into background. Signs tend to be noted first, and other things in landscape are noted thereafter."²⁸⁵ By contrast, and at the same time, Kodak's signs sought to point towards as well as *foreground* the background. Once captured with the click of the shutter, the scene itself was conflated to two dimensions; once printed as a flat photograph, the product was usually stamped with Kodak's logo, on the front or back, marking it once again as a corporate, yet still personal, product.

²⁸⁵ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 142.

The Kodak picture-taking signs also mirrored and encouraged the advancement of the roadside as a *place* itself, historically and aesthetically, and fit in naturally with its associated and growing accoutrements. As this opening section deals with paths and infrastructure before and immediately after there were passable automobile roads, it will wander, by necessity. Just like the signs themselves, these foundational ideas serve as mental maps—the picture *before* the picture ahead, if you will—and help to set the scene for the more specific story of the development of the Kodak “Picture Ahead” campaign, its employment and deployment in culture and across the country, as well as its dialogue with the built environment.

Machines in the Gardens: From “See America First” campaigns to the Kodak Camera and Model T Ford

Sociologists John Urry and Jonas Larsen date what they term the “tourist gaze”—specifically “that peculiar combining together of the means of collective travel, the desire for travel and the techniques of photographic reproduction”—to the year 1840: a year after the official invention of photography, the occurrence of the first packaged tour, the first national railroad timetable, and the advent of steamship and stagecoach services, among other transformations.²⁸⁶ While all of the aforementioned technological aspects are certainly formidable, I would suggest that the first is foremost: reproduction and photography. As detailed in Chapter One, sequential touring based upon established locations and codified imagery, such as seen in cultivated gardens and the illustrated

²⁸⁶ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd., 2011), as cited in the Introduction, 14.

serial *Picturesque America* (1872-74), built upon precursors borrowed from the Picturesque Era in England. Ironically, while photography helped to found the first National Park in 1872, Yellowstone, direct access by amateurs and the general populace was difficult and most instead experienced the newly public wonders via books and stereoviews, as discussed in Chapter One.²⁸⁷ After a discussion of the “See America First” campaign as well as Machine Age themes, this chapter will guide its attention back to the road and its physical surrounds.

American Studies scholar Marguerite S. Shaffer provides an important reminder and ruminates on how the *visual* in fact preceded the *physical* when conceiving of and later visiting the landscape during these early years in her book, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*:

Although celebration of dramatic western scenery by scientific surveyors, artists, photographers, sportsmen, publicizers, and adventurous travelers had become commonplace by the early 1870s, access to these scenic wonders remained difficult... Not until the 1880s did construction of scenic railroad lines, shortlines, and branches begin to make western scenery and attractions more accessible.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Part of the Hayden Geological Survey of 1871, led by geologist Ferdinand Hayden, the large-format photographs of William Henry Jackson and paintings by Thomas Moran helped to convince congress to set aside the land for Yellowstone National Park. The Hayden Survey was one of the four “Great Surveys” of the West, funded by the American government in the late 1860s to the late 1870s, prior to the establishment of the United States Geological Service, and photographers and artists participated in all explorations. The photographs of Carleton Watkins would play a similar role in the establishment of Yosemite National Park (although Yosemite was actually established earlier). For an overview of the four main surveys, see USGS, “The Four Great Surveys of the West,” accessed February 22, 2016, <http://pubs.usgs.gov/circ/c1050/surveys.htm> and Kim Sichel, *Mapping the West: Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Photographs from the Boston Public Library* (Boston: Boston University Art Gallery, 1992).

²⁸⁸ Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 25-26.

As the railway gave way to the automobile, new modes of travel and methods of seeing emerged. The mass-produced Model T Ford, launched in 1908, aimed at a similar market to that of Kodak's first mass-marketed camera, the Brownie, introduced in 1900. The legacy of these two mechanical items and ideas would meet in the plentiful picture-taking road signs. To borrow a phrase from American Studies scholar Leo Marx, these new "machines in the garden"—the camera and the car—promoted the standardization of American imagery, resulting in pictures produced over and over much like products manufactured on the assembly line.²⁸⁹

While bemoaning the fact that motorists might have overlooked the then-brand-new Kodak picture-taking signs, an author writing in a September 1920 issue of *Judicious Advertising* saw enormous possibility and power in the photographic giant's efforts. Although coined and adopted earlier in the vernacular, the provocative proposal-*qua*-phrase "See America First," referenced herein, was launched more officially within a corporate setting via an advertising campaign by The Great Northern Railroad in the 1910s. In one of the very first references to Kodak's "Picture Ahead" sign campaign, the author connected it directly to the stance of "See America First," a broad corporate-governmental boosterism-based philosophy:

Whether the Eastman Kodak Company is planning actually to erect such ("Pictures ahead") signs in great quantities throughout the land we do not know. They could do much worse from an advertising standpoint. They have it within their grasp to make the public think of Kodak every time it comes upon a pretty scene, just as it has come to think of coca cola every time it comes upon an arrow. Incidentally, in doing so, the Eastman

²⁸⁹ See Leo Marx's seminal study *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Company would be doing a really worth while service to America along the lines of “See America first.” It would be teaching the nation of the beauties of the land, at the same time supplying the means for remembering and rehearsing those beauties at will by the old living room lamp at home at any time.²⁹⁰

In this shrewd observation, the writer brings together the didactic nature of the nascent signs with conspicuous photography and a place-based, aesthetic erudition reviewed at home via prints or albums, with the familiar tourist campaign and refrain “See Europe if you will, but see America first.” While less well known today, early iterations of the “See America First” movement included a conference, league, publication, proposed association, among other efforts. The “See America First” 1906 conference delegates—who aimed to create a “tourist trust” of politicians and business people—understood and argued for what the *Judicious Advertising* essayist later cited: that “scenery is a valuable asset” and “suggestive reproductions of American scenery” should be distributed across the country to promote appreciation.²⁹¹

Interest in the “See America First” idea began to wane around the time of World War I, but the 1915 Pan-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco attempted to reclaim it. Celebrating the construction and transportation feats of the Panama Canal and the city’s recovery from the 1906 earthquake, the Panama-Pacific Exposition seized upon the phrase as an unofficial motto, boosted by the corporate affiliations of the Fair itself. The expo equally established a standardized coterie of locations to be visited and consumed,

²⁹⁰ King, “Normal Advertising the Result of Normal Business,” *Judicious Advertising*, 45.

²⁹¹ As quoted in Shaffer, *See America First*, 27. Fisher Sanford Harris, secretary of the Salt Lake City Commercial Club and secretary of the See America First League, initiated the campaign and conference. Later, A.L. Sommers of Tacoma, WA attempted to co-opt the phrase and idea in his activities and via a publication, a magazine titled “See America First,” 31.

while at the same time it also promoted visual models and corporate cues, methods that Kodak would later adopt in its “Picture Ahead” sign campaign. Whereas the 1915 Exposition was akin to earlier fairs, it was successful to an even greater degree due to shared initiatives and philosophies on the part of governmental and corporate entities and officials. As Shaffer observes, the resulting aesthetic displays and products at the Fair were mutually reinforcing:

In popularizing See America First, the Panama-Pacific Exposition helped to establish both a canon of American attractions that should be seen and the context in which they were to be understood. Guidebooks, in combination with the scenic reproductions... as well as displays of lantern slides, moving pictures, photographs, and paintings, celebrated emerging tourist sites across the West.²⁹²

In other arenas around the same time, American industrialist Stephen Mather warmly embraced the “See America First” campaign and also advocated for the establishment of a unified National Parks agency, which occurred in 1916.²⁹³ As the first director of the newly-created National Park Service, Mather encouraged partnerships between the National Parks movement and railroads, which had already been instrumental in the creation of Yellowstone and Mount Rainier National Parks.

The Great Northern Railroad had already started promoting a tripartite Western, national, and natural focus circa 1910, in tandem with an emphasis on visual and geographical training, not unlike Kodak’s later sign campaign. The railroad’s advertising

²⁹² Shaffer, *See America First*, 34. Shaffer discusses the efforts of the fair on pages 33-36.

²⁹³ PBS/WGBH, educational website for Ken Burns film, “The National Parks: America’s Best Idea,” Episode Three: 1915-1919, The Empire of Grandeur, accessed February 10, 2016, <http://www.pbs.org/nationalparks/history/ep3/3/>.

endeavor had a grand goal, as its president explained: “Americans spend millions of dollars in Europe each year to see sights which are already equaled in this country. They need to be educated to realize this, and Glacier National Park should go far to help the ‘See America First’ movement.”²⁹⁴

In addition to the railroad, Mather also supported the “National Park-to-Park Highway” campaign and association. The rise in interest in driving, car culture, and road development, combined with boosterism, helped to spur yet another campaign formed in 1916, the same year as the National Park Service.²⁹⁵ A few years later, a Western newspaper described the serial, destination-dotted road, which was echoed visually in its seal: “Twelve major federal playgrounds in the West have been lassoed by a scenic running noose, in the master motor road of the Country, known as the National Park-to-Park Highway.”²⁹⁶ Like the National Parks’ unique private-corporate-government relationship with the railroads, the National Park-to-Park Highway connections paralleled relationships between Kodak, the landscape, and specific locales, including local landowners and later scenic and amusement parks.²⁹⁷ In 1920, the National Park Service and the American Automobile Association sponsored a publicity tour to commemorate

²⁹⁴ Louis W. Hill, as quoted in Shaffer, *See America First*, 41.

²⁹⁵ Lee and Jane Whitely, *The Playground Trail, The National Park-to-Park Highway: To and Through the National Parks of the West in 1920* (Bolder, CO: Johnson Printing Company, 2003). See also the author’s website, , <http://theplaygroundtrail.com>.

²⁹⁶ *The Fort Collins Courier*, August 28, 1920, as quoted in Lee and Jane Whitely, “The Playground Trail,” accessed December 3, 2018, http://theplaygroundtrail.com/Playground/The_Playground_Trail.html.

²⁹⁷ Shaffer, *See America First*, 41. The website for “The National Parks: America’s Best Idea” notes that while the Northern Pacific Railroad barons worked behind the scenes to influence Congress for the aforementioned parks, “The Southern Pacific had worked behind the scenes on behalf of Yosemite, General Grant (now part of Kings Canyon), Sequoia and Crater Lake national parks.”

For a good case study of this integration and overlap in one state, see David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington’s National Park* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2006).

this new “Master Scenic Highway of America.”²⁹⁸ The group’s logo and a map from circa 1924 showed the serial and patchwork nature of the loop (figure 2.2, a and b), including roads with a variety of surfaces, further underscoring the movement’s edict by asking “You sing America — why not SEE it?”²⁹⁹ Individual parks gave out stickers, dubbed “pasters,” along with a paid fee to place on your windshield. The time period of the windshield stickers (1919-1941), along with the opportunity to “collect them all,” paralleled Kodak’s later picture-taking signs and marketing efforts.³⁰⁰ By “selling” the scenery and marketing specific sites, the railroad and the road thus sold more of its services—which in turn, via various stories and photographs brought home by tourists with the backing of Kodak—then re-sold it yet again.

A comparison of two advertisements endorsing excursions, one by train and one by car, speaks to mutually beneficial and reinforcing relationships between travel-related companies and organizations as well as government offices and programs, all entities interested in the creation, and veneration, of place and imagery. As seen on the cover of a Great Northern Railroad timetable for Glacier National Park (figure 2.3), two women and a young child lounge gracefully within the train compartment, while a male figure stands outside, presumably on the platform. The arched windows encase a stunning vista akin to an ornately framed painting or photograph. A later Kodak print advertisement

²⁹⁸ Lee and Jane Whitely, “The Playground Trail,” accessed December 3, 2018, http://theplaygroundtrail.com/Playground/The_Playground_Trail.html. AAA was founded in 1902 by a number of motor clubs who desired to improve road conditions and accessibility for cars.

²⁹⁹ Lee and Jane Whitely, “Map of Park-to-Park,” accessed December 3, 2018, http://theplaygroundtrail.com/Playground/Map_of_Park-to-Park.html.

³⁰⁰ Lee and Jane Whitely, “Fee-Paid Stickers,” accessed December 5, 2018, http://theplaygroundtrail.com/Playground/Visit_the_National_Parks.html.

seems to take these lessons learned from the pairing of the railroads and the parks (figure 2.4): a woman reclines and gazes tranquilly out the window at a picturesque vista, perfectly stilled and framed by the window.³⁰¹ While these tourists depicted are not static per se, the prints still emphasize their bodily stasis and passive consumerism within a compartment in motion. Viewers of these promotions thus witness, by extension, visual consumption as well as a visual product, pre-determined and pre-framed.

By means of a blend of Veblen's and Bourdieu's conspicuous consumption, as discussed in the Introduction, the "See America First" idea allowed Americans "to have the best of both worlds: the virtues of nature combined with the benefits of commerce."³⁰² Following in its footsteps, Kodak packaged and passed this concept on to tourists, in a safe, easy, and powerful manner, as an already composed image and picture-taking opportunity. Shaffer commented on this fascinating vernacular-meets-corporate alignment and exchange:

Diaries and scrapbooks reveal that tourists characterized and understood their experience as accumulation of visual images to be surveyed, collected, and consumed. In conceptualizing the tourist experience in visual terms, tourists actively participated in the transformation of American nature and culture into a commodified landscape of scenic goods.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Another advertisement from 1916 depicts two women on a train and uses the device of the landscape framed by a window as well as the same phrase associated with the "Picture Ahead" signs, "Kodak as you go." See the example from the *Lady's Home Journal* depicted here: http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/ea_K0249/. Image credit: Advertising Ephemera Collection - Database #K0401, Emergence of Advertising On-Line Project, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

³⁰² Shaffer, *See America First*, 39.

³⁰³ Shaffer, *See America First*, 272.

Even Kodak's phrase, "Picture Ahead, Kodak as you go," encouraged and emboldened one to, in effect, "see pictures first." One could even argue that the tagline implored a consumer to "Kodak America First" using their branded camera, from a personalized perspective, and by means of another brand new machine, the automobile.

In his influential study *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America*, art historian Terry Smith begins with the first Ford Motor Company plant in 1910 and concludes with the New York World's Fair of 1939-40, the time period paralleling the first part of this chapter.³⁰⁴ While scholars and the public generally define the Machine Age as anywhere between 1880 and 1950, it is in the first several decades of the twentieth century that it reached its peak—Weaver's aforementioned, bemoaned, and repeated "Machinery!" from his poem.³⁰⁵ From the 1920s onward, Ford sought to move away from his original centralized plans for his manufacturing plants to those dispersed in the countryside, closer to farmers and families.³⁰⁶ This return to an earlier pastoral ideal for the automobile industry, ironically and probably intentionally, required a car. Smith's comments on Ford's new vision and goals of "social engineering on a grand scale" neatly pair with the prospect of amateurs clicking away at thousands of Kodak picture-taking signs: "It is a dream of modernity as a seamless merging of industry and

³⁰⁴ Terry Smith, *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 2.

³⁰⁵ A traveling exhibition from 1987-1988, *The Machine Age in America: 1918-1941*, places the Machine Age squarely within the years of its title, noting that "Ironically, there was a clearer understanding of the connection between the machine and culture during the 1920s and 1930s than there has been for the past forty years," Richard Guy Wilson, Dianne H. Pilgrim, and Dickran Tashjian, *The Machine Age in America: 1918-1941* (1986; repr., New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001), 16-17. See also Kim Sichel, ed., with essays by Judith Arlene Bookbinder, John Stomberg, Mary Drach McInnes, *From Icon to Irony: German and American Industrial Photography* (Seattle: University of Washington Press and Boston University Art Gallery, 1995).

³⁰⁶ Smith, *Making the Modern*, 139.

farming, a pastoral which plants machines in the garden as benign presences, powering away quietly, industrially, harmoniously, as if they had always been there.”³⁰⁷ In his 1923 book, *Henry Ford: The Man and His Motives*, William Stidger sang the “machine electric,” to borrow a phrase from Walt Whitman, and evoked the Sublime, a term usually reserved for landscape, transferring it from the natural to the technological world. In his description of Ford’s immense River Rouge Plant, for instance, he compared piles of raw materials to mountains and steel mill boilers to Niagara Falls, exclaiming in a positive note of exultation: “Romance! Romance of Power!”³⁰⁸

Kodak advertisements from this early period continued Ford’s line of thinking, tempering and mediating their mechanical message with bucolic and feminine overtones. As West observes in her book on Kodak advertising, the company’s print materials began to feature automobiles around 1907. An ad from the same year emphasizes stories told “from your point of view” and depicts a classically-Beautiful scene as perceived by a well-dressed woman (figure 2.5). Neither the photographer nor the man-turned-mechanic appears worried and the broken-down car blends seamlessly with the well-composed and tranquil countryside. The red bellows on the woman’s folding Kodak camera and the red plush interior of the Studebaker further unite the two machines visually. West notes the

³⁰⁷ Smith, *Making the Modern*, 140. For another study that deals with these themes, see Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

³⁰⁸ As quoted in David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 131. The art and architecture style of Art Deco similarly blended Machine Age imagery and materials with the natural overtones and organicism of the Arts and Crafts style. The term was a shortened version of “Arts Décoratifs,” from the 1925 themed exposition held in Paris, France in 1925, the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes.

conflation of the two machines: “Cars and cameras, the ad suggests, return customers to simplicity rather than intensifying the pressures of modern life.”³⁰⁹

Two advertisements from closer to the inaugural year of the “Picture Ahead” signs serve to accentuate these associations and segue to the campaign itself. In a 1920 print ad, which ran in the *Lady’s Home Journal*, a woman steps into the driver’s seat with a forested backdrop behind (figure 2.6). Suggesting the nature of consumption and the machines’ interconnection, she holds the camera under her arm like a purse, while simultaneously touching the car; the promotion prominently foregrounds the license plate, with a notably high number.³¹⁰ In another Kodak print ad from just a year later, a young lady in a blue-pin-striped dress walks along a gently sloping hill (figure 2.7), a scene that certainly recalls the poem that opened this chapter. The “Machinery” is tempered here: the Kodak camera is casually slung over her back and, while she has presumably reached this verdant field by means of a modern mode of travel, there is no road or car in sight. Both advertisements use the tagline “Kodak as you go” and relate to two of Kodak ad executive’s L. B. Jones’s campaigns: the “Picture Ahead” signs and the “Kodak Girl,” the latter of which will be discussed in more detail below. Like the photographs one would take when encountering the signs, these ads emphasized the democratic and bountiful nature of Kodak products and photographs.

³⁰⁹ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 69.

³¹⁰ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 70.

II: From the Highway Act to the “Picture Ahead” Campaign Launch, 1916-1925

The main period of Kodak’s picture-taking roadside sign campaign (1920-1939) sat at a rich and productive cultural, chronological, and developmental intersection—paralleling the “See America First” (1910s-1940s) and Good Roads movements (1880s-1920s), promoting domestic tourism via the newly formed National Park Service (1916), while simultaneously supporting corporate and national interests—all by way of photographic behaviors.³¹¹ That is to say, the Kodak “Picture Ahead” signs entered onto an American scene that was already primed for their direction, but also succeeded in readying consumers eager for new images, experiences, and environments, whether they were photographic or not. Kathy Connor, Curator of the Eastman Legacy Collection, puts it another way: Kodak “advertised both their name and the practice of photography by marking interesting and beautiful scenery.”³¹² This next section explores the origins of the “Picture Ahead” sign campaign, and related references in materials from sermons to poems, and considers contexts applicable to its initial success.

In the wake of “See America First” boosterism, Congress passed the Highway Act of 1916. That same year, Mather’s aforementioned goal became a reality and President

³¹¹ The Good Roads movement advocated for improved and paved roads, via education and governmental efforts, and was primarily led by bicyclists. For more on this movement, see the book Carlton Reid, *Roads Were Not Built for Cars* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2015) and “Roads Were Not Built for Cars” website, accessed October 1, 2018, www.roadswerenotbuiltforcars.com.

For more on the history of the National Park Service, see an excellent and extensive bibliography prepared by the NPS, “Useful Books,” National Park Service, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/hisnps/NPSbooks.htm>. It includes books and sources on the history of National Parks and the National Park Service, including biographical and first-person accounts.

³¹² Kathy Connor, Curator of the Eastman Legacy Collection, notes that “the initial campaign ended in 1939,” as quoted in an internet Q&A, copied in full on this blog: Advertising Lab, “In Memoriam: Kodak Scenic Spots.”

Woodrow Wilson signed the bill into law, thus establishing the National Park Service. The concomitant Federal Aid Road Act, as it was also known, was the first federal highway funding legislation; it set the stage for the later 1921 Act, which directly paved the way for a national highway system. Before 1916, and even well into the twentieth century, roads were still rough and nascent. *Public Roads*, the magazine of the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA), explained: “They were often little more than trails that were muddy in the rain and dusty the rest of the time. Any long trip by automobile required not only time, patience, and ingenuity, but tire-patching equipment, tools, spare parts, and emergency food and fuel.”³¹³ Also in 1916, Henry Ford lowered the price of his Model T to \$345, well within reach of a growing middle class, with the ultimate aim of supplanting and eventually eliminating other transportation options.³¹⁴ Another important 1916 occurrence was the beginning of the Lincoln Highway, the country’s first cross-country highway, which was completed in the early 1920s, close to the debut of Kodak’s signs.³¹⁵ As with other corporate cross-promotions, this new thoroughfare was appropriately promoted by the Packard Motor Company. Codifying another corporate-government connection, Packard touted their newest automobile as the “official Lincoln

³¹³ Richard F. Weingroff, “Federal Aid Road Act of 1916: Building the Foundation,” *Public Roads* 60, no. 1 (Summer 1996), accessed February 10, 2016, <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/publications/publicroads/96summer/p96su2.cfm>.

³¹⁴ Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth 1820-2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 159.

³¹⁵ The aptly named “Ideal Section” of the Lincoln Highway was completed in 1922 and 1923 and “hailed as a vision of the future.” This section served as a model and stood “as an early attempt to envision the type of highway that would evolve into today’s Interstate superhighways.” Richard F. Weingroff, “The Lincoln Highway,” Federal Highway Administration, accessed October 5, 2018, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/lincoln.cfm>.

Highway touring car,” which offered the self-sufficiency of a mobile home and could be converted to a tent for roadside camping.³¹⁶

The history of roadside signs is intimately interwoven with the history of roads and consumerism within the United States.³¹⁷ According to Jakle and Sculle, “the 1920s became a watershed in roadside sign development”; furthermore, primarily because of highway expansion, outdoor advertising spending increased 40 times in the period between 1917 and 1927.³¹⁸ Closely related to the growth of automobiles, streets, and signs, of course, are gasoline stations. Gas stations evolved from “mom & pop” outposts (often paired with other businesses, markets, or products) at rural intersections and later became the first buildings on commercial strips.³¹⁹ Increasingly, car and oil-related businesses pushed towards standardization within their product lines and across the country. Later, by way of products and tips in their national dealer magazine, Kodak would follow suit via the promotion of advertising packages, sample store displays, and familiar yellow boxes of film. As Jakle and Sculle state in another study, *Remembering Roadside America*, “by the mid-1920s oil corporations were well advanced in creating trade territories symbolized by chains of look-alike gas stations carefully styled architecturally, attractively color-coded, and fully signed for ready customer

³¹⁶ Christian Zapatka, ed. by Mirko Zardini, *The American Landscape* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995), 104-107. This is a good general overview of parks, parkways, and highways from the nineteenth century to today and contains extensive illustrations, photographs, and maps.

³¹⁷ In addition to Jakle and Sculle’s numerous canonical books in this genre, for more histories of these intertwined topics, see also Catherine Gudis’s dissertation and book: Catherine Gudis, “The Road to Consumption: Outdoor Advertising and the American Cultural Landscape, 1917-1965” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1999) and Catherine Gudis, *Buyways: Billboards, Automobiles, and the American Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 2004). See also Clay Grady, *Close-Up: How to Read the American City* (1973; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), especially the essays on “Strips” and “Beats.”

³¹⁸ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America’s Auto Age*, 40.

³¹⁹ Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 160.

recognition—what came to be called place-product packaging.”³²⁰ By 1940, the gasoline enterprise’s ubiquity, profits, and physical presence paralleled that of Kodak’s prowess and influence. For instance, a Standard Oil company magazine estimated that a motorist would pass a pump every 100 feet and noted that 12% of all retail purchases, of any kind, were transacted at gas stations.³²¹

Fittingly, filling stations were potential stopping and resting points, much as “Picture Ahead” signs were destinations where other activities occurred. Kodak fruitfully capitalized on this growing culture by comparing its services to that of a gas station and gasoline in the dealer and internal magazines.³²² Two auto-related Kodak promotional pieces—a store window and a photofinishing envelope—help to explicate and underscore these place-product connections and make for a perfect prologue to L. B. Jones’s “Picture Ahead” campaign. These examples bookend two periods in the picture-taking roadside campaign: the initial phase circa 1920 (figure 2.8) and the later altered wording of the slogan in the mid-1920s, which will be discussed below. The store window aimed to entice and sell film, while the latter envelope was meant to send back “finished” photographs. *The Kodak Magazine*, a journal for employees, explained this important new visual outlet and promotional space: “the greatest advertising asset possessed by any store is its display windows.”³²³ Furthermore, store windows not only mirrored the

³²⁰ Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, 43.

³²¹ As quoted and referenced in Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, 42.

³²² It is not known at this point if Kodak negotiated any cross-promotions or deals with gasoline stations or automobile chains. Nevertheless, the shared goals and novelties of their products likely were mutually reinforcing.

³²³ “Kodak, “Helping the Dealer: A Glimpse of our Studio Workshop,” *The Kodak Magazine*, 3, no. 1 (April 1923): 4 (page 5 contains another related window display). From GELC at GEM.

framing effect of the photo-scenic signs themselves—selecting, circumscribing, and presenting a setting—but often featured signs, or representations thereof, and associated Kodak taglines within their displays.

Titled “The Kodak Filling Station,” a gas station and roadside-themed window display from a Springfield, Missouri photo supply store was the prize-winning entry for July 1921 (figure 2.8). Described by the editor of *The Kodak Salesman* magazine as “one of the most original windows I had ever seen,” the window exhibits Kodak cameras that stand in for automobiles and film cartridges for gas pumps, with a shutter release serving as the hose.³²⁴ Aimed at enterprising Kodak dealers, the particular feature noted that all of the cameras are mounted on film, thus film “feeds” the wheels and “fills” the gas tank. In the background, the very same Kodak Girl advertisement discussed earlier (figure 2.7) serves as a natural backdrop, and two signs bear the dual phrases associated with the picture-taking signs: “Pictures Ahead” (pictures being in the plural most likely to connote abundance) and “Kodak as you go.”

A photofinishing envelope from circa 1925 uses similar symbolism with regard to the earlier display window: Kodak cameras again pull up to a “Filling and Finishing Station for Kodaks” (figure 2.9). These fitting visual and verbal associations are a direct nod to the “Picture Ahead” signs, as the banner over the station bears the same design and its later, slightly altered, slogan introduced circa 1925: “There’s always a picture ahead. KODAK.” The sign to the left on the ground mimics a route sign and name,

³²⁴ Kodak, “Prize-winning window for July, Originality Counts,” *The Kodak Salesman* 7, no. 8 (August 1921): 7. The window display was created by the Hurlburt-Sheppard PhotoSupply Corp. of Springfield, MO. E. L. Hurlburt received \$25 for his entry. From GELC at GEM.

while the background hints at the road beyond, replete with picturesque rolling hills and trees. Kodak regularly featured such examples and tips in its internal dealer magazines, and several displays referred to the picture-taking signs, either via related themes or phrases. The repeated wording, iconography, and imagery surely had a powerful effect on consumers, connecting advertisements to windows to roads.

L. B. Jones, the Growth of Advertising, and the “Picture Ahead” Sign Campaign

Kodak’s signs and the advertisements initially used the same copy (“Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go”) and consumers certainly associated the two, although period references to both are few and far between. Which came first, the tagline or the sign, is a bit of a “chicken and egg” problem—and perhaps Kodak even intended to launch them together—although there is no doubt that the marketing efforts worked and bolstered one another. The first text-based signs probably stood about 5 feet tall, as estimated by who is identified as “Warren B. Haskell” on the back of a period photograph (figure 2.10).³²⁵ Presumably, this is the same Warren “Doc” Haskell of Kodak’s advertising department, indentified in a series of stories in *The Kodak Magazine*, installing an early sign along a roadside, next to a grassy field.³²⁶ As seen in the only extant example of a “Picture Ahead” sign known (figure 2.11), the main part of the sign is made of stamped metal and

³²⁵ A collector Charlie Kamerman acquired this photograph and an actual metal sign, cited above and below, from Ebay.

³²⁶ Kodak, “Mt. Shasta at Sunrise,” *The Kodak Magazine* 1, no. 11 (April 1921): 8. From GELC at GEM.

was presumably attached to a wooden stake, as seen in the snapshot, with two rivets.³²⁷

While age has likely faded the coloring, the interior text-part of the sign appears to be yellowish beige, ringed by a thin white, protruding or separate, border. Crafted in an elegant and authoritative serif font, the first line—Picture Ahead!—is slightly larger and bolder, ending with an exclamation point, connoting excitement and surprise. The second line—*Kodak as you go*—is smaller and italicized, ending with a more tempered and matter-of-fact period.

The first mention of Kodak’s Haskell together with the picture-taking signs occurs within a 1921 page-long essay about an “amusing experience (to us anyhow)”—the article summarized his open road escapades, so numerous that they could fill a book or a vaudeville act they claimed—from Kodak’s employee-oriented publication *The Kodak Magazine*.³²⁸ According to the author, Haskell was tasked with “the actual work of placing the signs” and was accompanied by a gentleman named Hodgson (a different assistant, Sercu, is named in a later 1924 escapade). After placing two signs into the landscape, Haskell and his cohort came upon a young couple’s car stuck in the mud. The title of the article “Mt. Shasta at Sunrise” somewhat belies what happened. After attempting to ameliorate the situation unsuccessfully, they camped out next to the family’s car—worried about “tramps on the road in this section, who would strip a car of

³²⁷ Charlie Kamerman’s example the only physical sign (to be discussed in more detail below) that I have ever come across. Unless Kodak removed all 5-6,000 signs, which may very well have been the case similar to Burma Shave signs (discussed later in this chapter), there could be more markers tucked away in barns or still to be found along the side of the road. Charlie Kamerman, personal email communication with the author, April 16, 20, 2015 and May 21, 2015. The collector was in the process of moving to Mexico from Oregon when I emailed and was not able to locate the sign among his tens of thousands of items to describe its size, makeup, and materials more fully.

³²⁸ “Mt. Shasta at Sunrise,” *The Kodak Magazine*. The rest of this paragraph is drawn from the same page.

spare tires or anything they could pry loose”—as the couple and their young baby went back to stay the night at a friendly rancher’s property. Haskell’s and his associate’s trip and travails spoke to the road conditions at the time, despite many improvements, as well as the locales and circumstances encountered placing the signs.

Most likely the creation of Lewis Bunnell (or L.B.) Jones, the roadside sign campaign mirrored a slogan “Picture Ahead: Kodak as you go” and the shorter and simpler “Kodak as you go,” as mentioned previously, which started appearing in advertisements in the mid 1910s.³²⁹ As a former newspaper man, Jones certainly knew copy and was known for his “flair for light verse.”³³⁰ Prior to Jones’s hiring in 1892, and the same year as the official name change to the Eastman Kodak Company, Kodak founder George Eastman was the sole advertising executive from the beginning of the corporation in 1888. Although Jones started as advertising manager, Kodak promoted him to Vice President in charge of sales and advertising in 1921. Jones’s tenure at Kodak was long and his shadow great, lasting until his death in 1934. There is a decided lack of scholarship concerning Jones, yet he is consistently credited with major and wide-ranging campaigns from the very beginnings of advertising as a practice and discipline.³³¹

³²⁹ Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 205. The “Picture Ahead” sign may not have been the only sign that Jones created, according one source, and certainly the vast majority of those listed in Kodak’s internal dealer publications were either created by him or under his purview. In 1908, for example, West noted that Jones invented a neon sign dubbed the “Kodak Electric Winkler,” which read “Take a Kodak with You,” and explains that stores could rent these signs for a fee. West does not provide a citation for this, but its possibility is intriguing indeed. No patent record is recorded, nor have I come across this in Kodak dealer magazines to date. See West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 25.

³³⁰ As quoted in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 24, taken from “Lewis B. Jones.”

³³¹ There is no significant study on Jones. While doing research at the George Eastman Museum Legacy Collection, I was able to meet a relative of L.B. Jones, Peter Thomas, a former Kodak employee who was doing volunteer work. He asked his father if he knew where Jones’s company papers went and to his knowledge, they are either still at Kodak and inaccessible or destroyed. Per the generosity of Jesse Peers in

Experts cite the development of the camera-toting “Kodak Girl,” for example, as a joint effort between Eastman and Jones, describing as a core, “central advertising image for the company.”³³² Unfortunately, no quotations from Jones exist regarding the “Picture Ahead” signs specifically and his papers appear to be no longer extant.³³³ Nevertheless, Jones’s 42-year tenure at Eastman Kodak—as well as his influence and impact on the company’s directives, goals, and successes—cannot be underestimated.

According to Elizabeth Brayer, George Eastman’s biographer, Jones wrote most of Kodak’s early slogans and copy himself, eventually not requiring Mr. Eastman’s approval. A popular story recounts how Jones, not following the usual protocol, sent some designs directly to Frank Seaman, Kodak’s magazine broker from 1892-1928, when Eastman was away.³³⁴ When Eastman returned from his business trip, he phoned Jones to express his surprise at the ingenuity of the recent advertisements, asking “These ads

the archive and Thomas, I was able to peruse some papers that family lent on a temporary basis to the Center. Most letters and papers were not relevant to this topic.

Even beyond L.B. Jones, the Joneses and Thomases were families were quite involved with the Kodak company: Horus Thomas, went by Tommy, worked at Kodak in the 1920s-60s, also at Riverwood, in sales and advertising; his son, Horus Thomas, Jr., went by Scott, was in charge of Kodak company cars; a former Kodak engineer working in creative imaging and Research & Development, Peter Thomas currently runs Editions Printing (<http://editionsprinting.com/>) in Rochester, NY. Personal email communication with Peter Thomas, referencing Gordon P. Brown, December 3, 2013.

³³² The Kodak Girl early on recalled another publication driven type, the Gibson Girl. In her pinned-striped dress with bouffant brunette hair, she was melded later with the cultural categories of the New Woman and a flapper figure. Featured in advertisements almost as long as the Kodak Picture Spot campaign itself, from the 1890s to the 1980s, the Kodak Girl wandered the world—the camera her passport to go anywhere. See Brayer, *George Eastman*, 135, as well as John P. Jacob, ed., with Alison Nordstrom, and Nancy Martha West, *Kodak Girl: From the Martha Cooper Collection* (New York: Steidl, 2012).

Credit often vacillated, and continues to vacillate, between Eastman and Jones on the early campaigns. Brayer, for example, describes Jones as helping to “formulate and refine” the Kodak Girl image, 135. Jones is also credited with naming the Brownie, developing the famous Yellow Box packaging, among others. See West 24-25.

³³³ As noted above, given the focus on Eastman, Jones and other executive papers were likely destroyed or never transferred from Kodak to the Eastman Museum or other archives.

³³⁴ As quoted in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 24, from John Brummett, “A History of Kodak,” manuscript, November 1959, Eastman Kodak Co. archives, Rochester, NY, 13. The conversation quoted in this paragraph is taken from Brayer’s summary.

are better than anything you've done before. What changed?" Jones replied, "The other ads I did for you. These I did for the public."³³⁵ Thereafter, Jones never had to seek approval from Eastman and he continued to craft Kodak's commanding brand messages and develop his own marketing acumen. More assured of his voice and philosophy, Jones later put it perfectly, and bluntly, in the 1921 issue of *Advertising and Selling*: "Kodak inventions created photography for the world. Kodak advertising strove to create a world for photography."³³⁶ Jones's goals were lofty, but simply stated and aimed at a general populace. To underscore his discipline's impact and import in a 1918 article that included portions of one of his speeches, "Advertising Men as the 'Cheer Leaders' of the Nation," Jones repeated the following phrase twice for effect: "Advertising has changed the habits of a nation."³³⁷

Driven by these goals, Jones was known for the following: his pithy sayings; his desire to focus on picturing the main product (the camera) almost always in use, rather than a static depiction devoid of human interaction; and his full-page, almost full-bleed, striking print ads. In a period profile, Jones explained his goal of reaching an ever-expanding market: "We must reach, not the person who is interested in pictures per se, but the person who is interested in something else, and wants pictures of that. It may be a

³³⁵ L.B. Jones, as quoted in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 24. This anecdote is related in John Brommett, "A History of Kodak," manuscript, November 1959, Eastman Kodak Company archives, Rochester, NY, as cited in West, 226 (At present, I do not know where this history might be today, although it was very likely transferred to the George Eastman Museum).

³³⁶ L. B. Jones, as quoted in, George French, "Advertise the Idea to Sell the Product: How the Eastman Kodak Company Talks 'Photography' so That the Public Hears 'Kodaks,'" *Advertising and Selling: The National Weekly of Modern Merchandizing* 29 (January 8, 1921): 6.

³³⁷ L. B. Jones, "Advertising Men as the 'Cheer Leaders' of the Nation," *Printer's Ink* 52, no. 6 (February 7, 1918): 62-65, 62.

yacht, or a summer cottage, or the sport of mountaineering, or an automobile.”³³⁸ Not surprisingly, the article also credits Jones’s love of out-of-doors to his pastoral family farm, located just outside of Rochester, while citing Jones’s grasp of the public and his “nose for news.”³³⁹ Thanks to his background in journalism, Jones’s slogans almost always were short, usually numbering between four and five words, combined with the impact of a single image of photographic behavior in action. Showcasing a “Kodak as you go” print ad, with its typical single photograph of people photographing above, a 1921 article in *Advertising and Selling* magazine described it this way:

Who would be so unwise as to try to “guild the lily” by dressing these wonderful pictures up with copy? Not L.B. Jones, Kodak’s advertising manager, who uses full-pages to impress the world with the pleasures of picture-making and then ties in his selling proposition with the deft use of a familiar slogan.³⁴⁰

While Kodak would not add comparative images to their signs until the late 1950s, the sight of a picture-taking marker seen in the landscape with a familiar phrase almost certainly conjured up a ready-made image in the motorist’s mind: one of Kodak’s corollary ads, and images, as seen previously in a print magazine.

Almost immediately, after the thousands of signs were “planted” across the country, various publications and people, from car magazines to ministers, made mention of “Picture Ahead” roadside signs. Likely predicted by Jones, such a broad reaction and

³³⁸ Bruce Bliven, “Teaching the Nation to Kodak,” *Printer’s Ink* 52, no. 6 (February 7, 1918): 111. This profile is in the same issue as Jones’s speech excerpts noted above.

³³⁹ After using line drawings in earlier Eastman ads until technical printing issues improved, the very first photograph reproduced in print was a model “shooting up scenery” in 1901. Bliven, “Teaching the Nation to Kodak,” 106.

³⁴⁰ French, “Advertise the Idea to Sell the Product,” 6.

reach certainly multiplied the effectiveness of the picture-taking signs in the cultural sphere. Indeed, Jones described his approach as “the gospel of brevity,” so it comes as no surprise that his slogan inspired several sermons on both coasts. In 1921, Kodak described the “Picture Ahead” phrase as applying to “a happier life but for a holier one as well”—seizing upon the motto’s focus on hope and the future—and noted these two sign mentions as a specific source of pride.³⁴¹ In addition to a Seattle, Washington sermon, *The Kodak Salesman* related that a pastor in Sidney, New York chose “Picture Ahead, Kodak as you go” as his text: “The theme of his discourse was that many of the impressions one receives exert a lasting influence and that for these permanent pictures subjects should be selected that are worthy of perpetuation.”³⁴² The expression “Picture Ahead” clearly served as a wayfinding sign and saying for many audiences, resonating physically and even spiritually with some.

Another early reference to and picture of a “Picture Ahead” sign came, appropriately, in the form of a poem with an accompanying photograph reproduced in the Kodak employee magazine, *The Kodakery*, from 1921 (figure 2.12, see a detail in figure 2.1). Clearly stopped by the potential of a prospect ahead, a cluster of people in an automobile appear to gesture collectively “Westward,” or rather “Eastward ho!” as the male driver stands to point like a dog and a woman rises from the backseat with her camera ready. Perhaps an early Picturesque parkway, the road seems to be of an

³⁴¹ Kodak, *The Kodak Salesman*, 7, no. 10 (October 1921), 12. From GELC at GEM.

³⁴² *The Kodak Salesman* (October 1921), 12. The magazine also noted that Dr. F. T. Rouse of Worcester, Massachusetts also preached on the same slogan at the Plymouth Congregational Church in Seattle, Washington. In his sermon, he stated: “We should always be looking for a picture ahead. Too many of us go through life looking for trouble, or scandal or gossip, or the horrible. We find that for which we look. The expectant attitude for something beautiful will never be disappointed.” From GELC at GEM.

upgraded quality and the trees are verdant and mature. The sign's height appears slightly raised for the photo opportunity itself, while another smaller sign on one of the trunks mimes its shape and form.³⁴³ The diagonal thrust of the composition accentuates the group's trajectory and yearning, hinting at bounty of pictures just up ahead:

PICTURE AHEAD!
No matter how far you have traveled,
Or the scenes you have snapped by the way,
There is always the lure of the picture
That is still to be taken—some day;
And the zest of the chase never lessens
Though miles upon miles you have sped,
There is always some new view awaiting—
There is always—a picture ahead.³⁴⁴

An alternate reading of this projected photographic profusion could be a more modern version of *horror vacui*, the fear of empty space, which raises interesting issues when applied to a photographable landscape.³⁴⁵

Kodak signs first appeared along roadways and paths in the Rochester, New York area, presumably as they were easily tested nearby. Subsequently, the signs fanned out geographically from the company town. Since records regarding the Kodak sign campaign are unlocated, the only way to chart and address them, if at all, is from sporadic mentions in internal company magazines and popular journals. Furthermore, a map of

³⁴³ In other better reproductions of this image, the sign on the tree appears to be a “private property” sign, which would speak to the liminal nature of the early roads.

³⁴⁴ William Ludlum, “PICTURE AHEAD!” Kodak, *Kodakery: A Magazine for Amateur Photographers*, 8, no. 10 (June 1921): 13. From GELC at GEM. The image and poem have no introduction or associated essay, thus it is assumed that the Kodak employees were already familiar with the sign campaign and phrase.

³⁴⁵ *Horror vacui* is more closely associated with the Victorian Age, both domestic spaces and artworks, but also applies to the Middle Ages and other eras.

the distribution of the “Picture Ahead” signs is not accessible or extant and any references found are not specific. A few period articles mention more general Kodak picture-taking sign locations, either nearby parkways, roads, or locales, including the Columbia Highway above Portland, Oregon; highways throughout the South and West; as well as the Berkshire Hills in Massachusetts and Mount Shasta in California. Taken all together, the coast-to-coast geographical dispersion of the picture-taking signs speaks to an earnest and substantial marketing effort on the part of Kodak.

In the previous article about placing the signs from 1921, Kodak reminded local readers of the in-progress and local origin of the campaign: “Those of you who have traveled the picturesque roads leading in and out of Rochester, must have noticed the signs, ‘Picture Ahead! Kodak as You Go’ located at strategic points.”³⁴⁶ Notice, at this juncture, that the company described the locations as “strategic,” not “aesthetic.” The earliest Kodak picture-taking sign locations in all probability physically paralleled the aforementioned “Beauty Spots” in the Rochester area (figure 1.1 in Chapter One).³⁴⁷ Given that the company’s ultimate goal was to sell photography as well as film inducing people to take more pictures, Kodak presumably attempted to seek out settings in and along the city’s regional parkways and Rochester’s Olmsted-designed parks whenever possible.³⁴⁸ The *Rochester Herald Sunday Magazine* showcased two locations, for

³⁴⁶ *The Kodak Magazine*, “Mt. Shasta at Sunrise.”

³⁴⁷ Kodak, “Kodak City Beauty Spots,” *The Kodak Magazine*, 2-4.

³⁴⁸ Olmsted designed several parks and areas in Rochester. He was hired by the city’s Parks Commission in 1888 and designed four parks — Genesee Valley Park, Highland Park, Seneca Park, and Maplewood Park — as well as Rochester’s own version of Boston’s Emerald Necklace, interconnected parks, gardens, and greenways from the Erie Canal to Lake Ontario, and smaller neighborhood squares. For more, see City of Rochester, “Olmsted’s Parks,” accessed October 5, 2018, <http://www.cityofrochester.gov/olmsted>.

example, describing them as “some of the lovely scenes near Rochester” marked by the signs (figure 2.13).³⁴⁹ Although the ensuing photographs taken at these “Picture Ahead” signs are too poorly reproduced to identify specifically in this spread, both images generally demonstrate Picturesque principles and accepted compositional practices. Above all, these generically beautiful landscape pictures certainly would please an average Kodak customer.

Later the same 1920 article, “Mt. Shasta at Sunshine,” makes clear that Kodak’s Haskell and company intended to traverse the U.S., from coast to coast, planting the “Picture Ahead” signs along the burgeoning highway system: “The advertising department plans to have the country pretty well covered with signs in course of time.”³⁵⁰ The *Rochester Herald* later revealed that by 1925, 25,000 miles in total were traversed to “plant” 5,000 signs.³⁵¹ The exact locales almost certainly had to be negotiated with landowners, either private or public, thus the signs might not always have been in the most photogenic settings or feasible situations. At present, it is unclear how many of the original signs Kodak successfully installed or if the company paid landowners a fee. Nevertheless, the huge number of planned Kodak signs and possible modest payments are in concert with other business-based, do-it-yourself advertising campaigns of the era,

³⁴⁹ “From Off a Hundred Roads Comes Famous Sign That Was Too Much for Average Mind,” *The Rochester Herald Sunday Magazine* (May 24, 1925): 5, as contained in clipping scrapbook, GELC at GEM. This is one of a series of articles that discusses the changing wording of the signs circa 1924-25, which will be discussed below in more detail. Most of these articles cite, summarize, and quote from the same, presumably first, discussion of the circa 1925 wording change in the signs, *The Outdoors Pictorial* spread.

³⁵⁰ “Mt. Shasta at Sunrise,” *The Kodak Magazine*. Haskell likely accessed Mt. Shasta, as tourists did at the time, via the Pacific-Highway (1913-26).

³⁵¹ “From Off a Hundred Roads Comes Famous Sign That Was Too Much for Average Mind.” This article is in reference to the replacement signs, but it is assumed that the 25,000 miles and 5,000 signs were what needed to be re-traced from the original campaign.

including Mail Pouch Tobacco Barns and Burma Shave signs to name a few, which will be discussed more in depth below.³⁵²

Because of a range of issues that sign installers faced concerning proprietors and navigating still-new roads, as stated above, not all early “Picture Ahead” signs were in the most logical or functional locales. As seen in a photograph of a roadside marker *in situ* (figure 2.14), a Kodak sign is located right in front of a fence. Clearly, unless one was the only motorist on the road, a driver could not pull over here. This specific sign likely instilled anticipation for a prospect to come and functioned more metaphorically, spurring the act of photography as Jones described above. A period article in *The Outdoor Pictorial* explained Kodak’s thinking along with the logistics that Haskell and the company employed when placing actual picture-taking signs. This is the clearest description we have of Kodak’s “Picture Ahead” *modus operandi*:

To point to actual picture spots along thousands of miles of highway is not always possible or practical, nor was it intended. Sign locations have some times to be chosen for other reasons than aesthetic. Private property, for instance, has to provide soil for a foothold and property owners a supervising eye for their protection. To that end property owners must be consulted and importuned and a “by your leave” obtained. The consenting farmer, alas, does not always neighbor a kodak subject, especially in these

³⁵² At their campaign peaks, there were approximately 20,000 barns painted with a slogan for Mail Pouch Tobacco across more than 20 states and 7,000 Burma Shave signs in over 40 states. The Mail Pouch Tobacco founders began their painted barn campaign in 1891; they hired painters and paid farmers about \$40 per year. Their slogan was short and action-oriented, not unlike Kodak’s, and on four lines: “CHEW / MAIL POUCH / TOBACCO / TREAT YOURSELF TO THE BEST. See Greg Chaffins, “The History of the Mail Pouch Tobacco Barn,” *Got Mountain Life*, March 21, 2018, accessed October 5, 2018, <https://gotmountainlife.com/26538-2>. For a list of all extant barns and locations, along with historical and contemporary photographs, see Mail Pouch Barnstormers, <http://www.mailpouchbarnstormers.org>.

A similar campaign, SEE ROCK CITY, advertised the touristic attraction in Chattanooga, TN on barns across the South. The Rock City barns eventually numbered just shy of 1,000 and spanned almost 20 states. Owners were paid \$1-2 per year and received a new coat of paint, which helped to preserve their barns, too. Rock City, “Barn History,” accessed October 5, 2018, <http://www.seerockcity.com/about/barn-history>.

modern bucolic days when milking stools have gone the way of so many other aesthetic but burdensome institutions.³⁵³

What the author described here was essentially a brokered countryside—an annotated landscape that combined the vernacular and corporate, the pastoral and modern—with Kodak’s scenic signs acting as a bridge, buffer, or wedge among a growing number of overlapping, competing, and changing interests.

While invoked when describing Kodak’s early “Picture Ahead” efforts, the legendary Burma-Shave signs began to appear *after* Kodak’s intervention in the American landscape. As there is no extensive record of the planting of the first, or even second, round of Kodak signs or their exact locales, the Burma-Shave story provides a sufficient comparison. Moreover, the size of the Burma-Shave signs more closely resembled Kodak’s “Picture Ahead” signs and thus is more analogous than larger billboards, which will be discussed below in regards to a billboard backlash. The fact that Kodak’s signposts, coming circa 1920, pre-date Burma-Shave’s markers suggests that the photographic giant’s efforts may have influenced other key twentieth-century roadside advertising efforts, not the other way around. Begun in 1925 with a few signs installed along Minnesota’s Highway 65 and launching nationally in 1927, the family-run business selling brushless shaving cream eventually placed over 7,000 signs—compared to Kodak’s cited approximately 5,000—in 43 states. The Burma-Shave campaign officially ended in 1963, while Kodak’s overseen roadside iterations endured until at least the

³⁵³ John E. Webber, “The Sign that Back-Fired and Got ’Fired,” *The Outdoors Pictorial* (May 1925): 8. Clipping scrapbook, GELC at GEM. As mentioned above, this is the main source that spawned several articles in the wake of the changing of the signs and their wording circa 1924-25, to be discussed below.

1980s.³⁵⁴ When driving America's roads, motorists encountered Burma-Shave's sequential red signs—typically in sets of six, ending always with the product's name—emblazoned with memorable rhymes and sayings as seen in a modern recreation (figure 2.15). Unlike this installation, period signs would have been posted at equal heights and at longer, and more regular, intervals, approximately 100 paces apart. A Burma-Shave sign aficionado has estimated that driving “at 35 miles per hour it took almost three seconds to march through the whole series.”³⁵⁵

Akin to the phrase “Picture Ahead,” the Burma-Shave sequences encouraged tourists to anticipate, placing the viewer into a mindset by constantly priming them to look for whatever was around the bend, be it a potential picture or the subsequent sign. The cadence of experiencing these two sets of multiplying corporate signs within the landscape likely augmented each other, functioning in a manner similar to what Rowsome saw as a “hidden advantage” in “spaced-out signs,” explaining “they established a controlled reading (and seeing) pace, and even added an element of suspense.”³⁵⁶ Even slower speeds did not diminish an automobilist's pleasure, but possibly increased his overall landscape and signage consumption along with photo opportunities, as an author noted describing the experience of a typical weekender in a 1924 article, “The Automobile and Recreation”:

³⁵⁴ Frank Rowsome, Jr., with drawings by Carl Rose, *The Verse by the Side of the Road: The Story of the Burma-Shave Signs and Jingles* (1965; repr., New York: The Stephen Greene Press/Pelham Books, a division of Penguin Books, 1990), dust jacket and 13-14, the latter of which details the earliest efforts. Allan Odell is credited with the idea for his family business's campaign. Another book deals more specifically with the company's arrangements with property owners and how they kept track of contracts and signs. See Bill Vossler, *Burma-Shave: The Rhymes, the Signs, the Times* (North Star Press of St. Cloud, Inc., 1997).

³⁵⁵ Rowsome, *The Verse by the Side of the Road*, 19.

³⁵⁶ Rowsome, *The Verse by the Side of the Road*, 18.

More powerful cars than his may pass him upon the highways, but they cannot surpass the enjoyment of him and his family. There may be more luxurious equipages along the road, but the scenic splendors are common property. There is always “a picture ahead” and they “kodak as they go.”³⁵⁷

In a similar way to this dual consumer of both car and Kodak culture, the beginning of a certain set of Burma-Shave signs speaks to the plausible shared audiences for both creative campaigns, beckoning travelers and calling out new customers: “SALESMEN, TOURISTS / CAMPER-OUTERS...”³⁵⁸

Not unlike Kodak’s and Jones’s goal regarding photographic behaviors, Burma-Shave aimed to alter customs with their advertising campaign, as Rowsome points out: “the selling of brushless shaving cream required the changing of settled habits.”³⁵⁹ While Burma-Shave’s jingles get stuck in one’s head, Kodak’s signs and their taglines are their optical corollaries, affecting one’s perception and picture-taking. One Burma-Shave set underscored the locative and treasure-hunting nature of encountering such markers: “SPEED / WAS HIGH / WEATHER WAS NOT / TIRES WERE THIN / X MARKS THE SPOT.”³⁶⁰ In a similar manner, a short piece in *Business* magazine from 1922 described one’s temperament after seeing a “Picture Ahead” sign, “You round the curve

³⁵⁷ M. H. James, “The Automobile and Recreation,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 116 (November 1924): 33.

³⁵⁸ Rowsome, 86. The full sign set from 1937 reads: “SALESMEN, TOURISTS / CAMPRER-OUTERS / ALL YOU OTHER / WHISKER-SPROUTERS / DON’T FORGET YOUR / BURMA-SHAVE.”

³⁵⁹ Rowsome, *The Verse by the Side of the Road*, 21. He goes on to point out that Burma-Shave underscored “convenience, modernity, speed, improved results, and the elimination of a need,” which could just as easily apply to Kodak cameras and film. Not unlike Kodak’s other campaigns, Burma Shave also launched contests for potential advertising slogans, 24. Beginning in 1939, the Burma-Shave jingles took a public-service turn in the face of rising accidents, see 31-32; perhaps not coincidentally, this is the same year cited as the end of what might be called “Phase 1” of Kodak’s “Picture Ahead” signs.

³⁶⁰ Rowsome, 103, ending of course with BURMA-SHAVE.

and there, surely enough, is a picture!... You gulp and just look.”³⁶¹ For this author, the signs prepared “the tenderfoot traveler for glimpses of gorgeous western scenery; it insures him against missing any sight worthwhile; he comes to appreciate that sign, to look for it and welcome it.”³⁶² In a sense, a surfeit of “useful” picture-taking signs served as a form of visual insurance and aesthetic altruism, placed not by the government, but by a company acting benevolently. Among employees, as mentioned earlier, Kodak was nicknamed the Great Yellow Father for related reasons.

III: The Changing of the Signs and Roadside Beautification Efforts, 1925-1939

After an auspicious start circa 1920, Jones’s initially successful and welcomed Kodak “Picture Ahead” sign campaign received a push-back, which paralleled a general, growing unease about roadside signage. Around 1925, Kodak signs apparently started to perplex motorists as to where the pictures actually were within the landscape, according to period magazines. While the sign’s phrasing was sufficiently vague as to connote that the potential photograph was an undetermined distance ahead, the sentinel-like placement of the markers suggested to some that the snapshot should be taken at the exact location of the sign. Photographs of the newly installed signs do not show many pull-overs, so motorists very likely just veered to the edge of the road. To alleviate this confusion, Kodak reportedly replaced all or most of the approximately 5,000 Kodak markers and changed the text: moving from the prophetic turn of phrase, “Picture Ahead, Kodak as

³⁶¹ No author noted, “Picture Ahead!” *Business* 4, no. 1 (October 1922): 49.

³⁶² “Picture Ahead!” *Business*, 49.

you go,” to a more pleasing all-purpose allegation, “There’s Always a Picture Ahead, Kodak.” It is not clear, at this time, if the entire collection of Kodak signs was replaced or simply the more easily accessible examples. Nevertheless, with this modification, the new phrase lost some of its punch and power. While still likely leading to similar passenger puzzlement, the revised command is softened by “Picture Ahead” being embedded within a short, future-forward sentence. What Kodak gained via the wording change was an implication to photograph even more—a plethora of pictures lie in wait—and a reminder to take your camera along on every trip.

The George Eastman Museum situates the end of what I am calling the second roadside phase (the first being circa 1920 to 1925) of Kodak “Picture Ahead” road sign campaign at 1939.³⁶³ While there is no exact citation or reason given for this conclusion, the late 1930s makes sense logistically within the company and culture at large: L. B. Jones passed away in 1934, preceded by Eastman himself in 1932, and Kodak participated in a string of expositions, including the New York World’s Fair in 1939-40. Moreover, from the mid 1920s to the late 1930s, the roadside and automobiles changed significantly, along with their associated advertising and habits, as did amateur photography. Furthermore, in the wake of the Depression and leading up to and during the war, the American public had less money, as well as less time, for travel and photographic pleasures. Over the years, before the campaign’s initial roadside hiatus in

³⁶³ Kathy Connor, Curator of the Eastman Legacy Collection, notes that “the initial campaign ended in 1939,” as quoted in an internet Q&A, reprinted “In Memoriam: Kodak Scenic Spots.”

the 1940s, Kodak tried many things, including a wording change on the signs, to combat changing attitudes towards the Picture Spots.

Before addressing the growing anti-billboard movement, it is helpful to chart briefly the history of billboards. The first billboards grew out of wooden structures made out of boards, later becoming signboards upon which paper poster panels were pasted to create various sizes.³⁶⁴ Scholars generally agree that 1867 was the year that the first billboard spaces were leased; this sales model would quickly become the norm and continues to this day.³⁶⁵ Soon thereafter, various state- and regionally-based bill posting associations were formed in the 1870s and the Bill Posters' Association of the US and Canada (later renamed the Outdoor Advertising Association of America) was founded in 1891.³⁶⁶ By 1900, standardization across the industry led to a billboard boom across the country, with large national companies launching campaigns.³⁶⁷ Furthermore, the development of mass-produced automobiles in the 1910s and improved roads contributed to increased signage. The 1920s marked another watershed moment in the history of outdoor marketing: the genre became further professionalized and, thanks to the growth of entrepreneurs and big businesses, more widely used and seen, while at the same time

³⁶⁴ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 11.

³⁶⁵ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 8-13.

³⁶⁶ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 10 and 12. The Outdoor Advertising Association of America (OAAA) has an excellent timeline on their website, "History of OOH" (this term, "Out of Home" advertising, appears to be the preferred epithet of the organization now), Outdoor Advertising Association of America, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://oaaa.org/AboutOOH/OOHBasics/HistoryofOOH.aspx>.

³⁶⁷ Duke University also houses the Outdoor Advertising Association of America (OAAA) Archives, 1885-1990s and an online database titled ROAD, the "Resource of Outdoor Advertising Descriptions," which includes a very extensive historical timeline. On the surface, these archives sounded promising but from my thorough online searches and correspondence with their archivists, they do not have much related to my specific topic. Duke University, ROAD, the "Resource of Outdoor Advertising Descriptions," accessed December 10, 2018, <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/findingdb/road>.

concerned citizens and activists founded organizations to combat the proliferation of roadside advertising.³⁶⁸

Critics of outdoor advertising expressed themselves early on and criticism reached a crescendo in the first years of 1930s. Debates raged within industrial trade magazines and newspaper columns and advocates worked within or established organizations, such as the American Park and Outdoor Art Association and the National Council for the Protection of Roadside Beauty (NCPRB), founded in 1920.³⁶⁹ A cartoon from the *Chicago Evening Post* from 1923 adequately summarizes the stakes and activist considerations (figure 2.16). In the top frame, an automobile full of spectators stops on a curved road to take in a pristine vista, one that very well could have sported a Kodak “Picture Ahead” sign. The scene and the street appear composed with picturesque principles in mind: rolling hills lead to a serpentine river, flanked by trees and outlined by a wooden fence. In the second frame, the same group returns, only to discover the same overlook completely blocked by billboards and bric-a-brac. The caption characterizes the changed scene, rather ironically: “The magnificent view you discovered on your previous trip last year — And liked so much that you drove sixty miles out of your way to show it to your friends this year.”³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ For a good, brief overview of the development of American roads and highways in this formative period, see Richard F. Weingroff, “Along the Interstates: Seeing the Roadside,” Highway History, US Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/along.cfm>.

³⁶⁹ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 136. The former organization later became the American Civic Association, now American Planning and Civic Association, and the latter published the *Roadside Bulletin*, published intermittently throughout the 1930s.

³⁷⁰ Cartoon, *Chicago Evening Post*, reprinted in *Poster 14* (December 1923), 18, as reproduced in Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 138.

Instead of obstructing the desired views, the “Picture Ahead” signposts aimed to point them out. Nevertheless, as the twentieth century progressed, Kodak’s simple markers become mired in a forest of signs. To counter what was termed “Billboardia,” journalists and advocates performed “sign counts.” Driving along U.S. 30 (the former Lincoln Highway) in 1936, for example, the publication for the NCPRB, *Roadside Bulletin*, noted over 2,000 stand-alone signs in just over a 160-mile span, not including gas stations or other outposts. The authors commented on the current status of American arteries: “Thus on your loveliest mountain road, curving around the hills and through the forests, winding along the streams, rising to the summits with their far-flung views... the traveler who seeks relief from commercial cares... will meet instead a constant relentless bombardment of advertising at the rate of 8 to 10 assaults per minute.”³⁷¹

Eastman Kodak entered the realm of roadside advertising somewhat late, comparatively, and tentatively. Nevertheless, the confluence of several factors worked in Kodak’s favor: the genre of outdoor signage was just peaking circa 1920 and the campaign could capitalize on their already recognizable print ads in well-healed publications. Kodak worked with J. Walter Thompson (JWT) advertising agency on projects as early as 1888, using them as consultants periodically over the years. Ultimately, Kodak was an official JWT client from roughly 1930 to 1997, an extremely long history and business partnership.³⁷² Founded in 1864, JWT became one of the

³⁷¹ “The Roadside of Pennsylvania,” *Roadside Bulletin* 4 (Nov. 1936), 9, as quoted in Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, 48.

³⁷² Duke University also houses most of the archives of J. Walter Thompson, but does not hold the files of anyone related to the Kodak Picture Spot initiatives from the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair or previous

largest and most innovative, international advertising agencies. JWT was known for advertising in elite magazines, an approach that Kodak followed as well. It is unclear if JWT assisted Kodak with their picture-taking sign or print campaigns, but the agency had established a billboard arm as early as the 1870s.³⁷³ As Jakle and Sculle note, in contrast to some manufacturers, Kodak pitched its “easily operated cameras mainly in genteel magazines and reported as late as the early 1920s that it seldom employed billboards and was categorically opposed to streetcar advertising, the two bill-posting methods believed most persuasive with the working classes.”³⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it appears that L. B. Jones, perhaps together with JWT advising, challenged Kodak’s more traditional approach with the “Picture Ahead” campaign when the signs debuted circa 1920. In short, Kodak had found a new canvas to complement the page, the American landscape.

According to period accounts, Eastman Kodak did successfully portray themselves as offering helpful signs set within nature, differentiating their signs from the growing visual detritus of outdoor advertising. As a commenter on amateur photography noted in 1920, Kodak’s picture-taking signs were out of the ordinary and conferred prescient insights and pleasing views:

efforts. Therefore, after an online search, as well as contacting the corporate offices of JWT directly to follow up, I decided not to make a research trip at this time. Duke does have an excellent corporate history and administrative timeline that is useful for this project as well as JWT history. See Duke University, Rubenstein Library, “J. Walter Thompson,” Part 1 & Part 2, accessed December 8, 2018, <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/collections/creators/corporations/jwt1>.

Some of the campaigns that JWT oversaw included Kodak’s well-known “corner curl” logo (1942-72) and they also launched the Instamatic (1963, “the first simultaneous global launch of a consumer product”) as well as the Disc cameras (1982).

³⁷³ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America’s Auto Age*, 7.

³⁷⁴ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America’s Auto Age*, 7.

The motoring tourist, whether a camerist or just a plain lover of nature, has more than ever reason to deplore the constantly increasing number of painted signs that disguise the most beautiful parts of the landscape. The time for their removal may yet come, Patience! But there are signs that not only give information, but do so truthfully, and do not affront the eye. I refer to the little signs near the roadside and the bearing notice, "Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go."³⁷⁵

The above author's guess came true around 1924-25 when all or most of the original 5,000 Kodak signs were ostensibly removed and likely replaced. A two-page spread in *The Outdoors Pictorial* for May 1925 appears to have "broken the story" and the news was repeated in several other periodicals.³⁷⁶ The writer began his *exposé* by noting the wider cultural reach of the Kodak adage, mentioning it as "text for pulpits" and a theme for editorial copy, and quoting the same poem with which this chapter began, Weaver's "Picture Ahead!"³⁷⁷ In his piece "The Sign that Back-Fired and Got 'Fired,'" John E. Webber observed that all motorists were not "endowed with aesthetic reflexes" and even those who "sometimes get into advertising copy," not unlike himself, became confounded when some signs did not specifically point out a suitable subject for one's camera. The reactions of experts or entrepreneurs, he noted, "were to say the least, not flattering to either the sign locator or to the industry whose sign it was."³⁷⁸

By the mid 1920s, Jones's snappy slogan had misfired, at least with some of Kodak's intended consumers. According to Webber, misunderstandings led to "naive

³⁷⁵ "Kodak-Guides for the Camera-ist," *Photo-Era: The American Journal of Photography* 45, no 5 (November 1920): 262.

³⁷⁶ Beyond John E. Webber's piece, see also "Ad Clubber Webber Signs Requiem of 'Kodak As You Go' Signs," *Bumblebee* May 21, 1925 and "'Picture Ahead,' Vanishes as Kodak Slogan, Victim of Too-Literal-Minded Public," *Democrat*, May 9, 1925, 18. Clipping scrapbook. From GELC at GEM.

³⁷⁷ Webber, "The Sign that Back-Fired and Got 'Fired,'" 8.

³⁷⁸ Webber, 8.

questions as to which side of the road the picture was on, or whether the picture indicated by a sign 5,000 miles from home was 20 yards ahead or 10 yards behind the post.”³⁷⁹ Some families even felt hoodwinked, threatening to place the signs “in class with the publicity efforts of the late lamented ‘P.T.B.’ (P.T. Barnum).”³⁸⁰ While some of this was hyperbole, it is easy to imagine this controversy as unacceptable to L.B. Jones and George Eastman, as the author wrote: “in the advertising psychology of the sign’s forebears, it would seem, anything that perplexes fails.”³⁸¹ Webber and the readers of *The Outdoors Pictorial* magazine were likely not alone in lamenting that the new Kodak picture-taking sign and wording missed “something of the inspired kick of the old, some of its epigrammatic swiftness and much of its imaginative quality,” but conceded that in its new form, “it can’t backfire.”³⁸²

A subsequent update to “Doc” Haskell’s adventures references the newer version of the Kodak signs and the illustrations address some of the pictorial and practical pitfalls regarding its potential pictures and the mobile photographer. In 1924, *The Kodak Magazine* described Haskell as a “true Knight of the Open Road,” who was tasked with “properly planting our familiar ‘There’s always a picture ahead—Kodak’ signs along our highways from coast to coast.”³⁸³ As seen in two images, fertile landscapes and manicured highways easily lent themselves to the photographic signs (figure 2.17), while

³⁷⁹ Webber, 8.

³⁸⁰ Webber, 8.

³⁸¹ Webber, 8.

³⁸² Webber, 8.

³⁸³ “‘Picture Ahead’: ‘Doc’ Haskell Has Another Adventure,” *The Kodak Magazine* 4, no. 10 (March 1924): 4-5. From GELC at GEM. The date, 1924, suggests that the wording change and sign replacement possibly began earlier than mentioned before.

other properties and situations proved more challenging and less picturesque (figure 2.18). In the former, two suitably delightful scenes are labeled as such: the maxim “A picture right here” is paired with a scene of trees and no road in sight; while the sign associated with the phrase “Good road and good weather” appears next to a fence and no discernible pull over. The latter settings are bare in this spread—a photograph of a dirt road is simply captioned “Way Down South” and “Interested,” the latter of which depicts a welcoming farmer possibly superseding a pleasant prospect.

From this small sample of Kodak “Picture Ahead” signs *in situ* as well as other photographs of known scenes or those that include the sign itself (figures 2.1, 2.12, 2.13, and 2.14), we can surmise that the picture spots were focused mainly on natural views, instead of architectural views which became the norm for World’s Fairs. For the most part, the subjects of the suggested pictures were bucolic rural scenes, wooded areas, or designed parks or greenery along parkways. Unfortunately, in these anecdotes or press clippings, Kodak employees or their assistants do not explain exactly why or how they chose their spots for signs. Road construction notwithstanding, Webber’s commentary in *The Pictorial Outdoors* speaks to another challenge when placing the signs and finding pictures: “The ephemeral nature of pictorial spots, too, adds a difficulty, though of another kind,” changing light, weather, and seasons.”³⁸⁴ The new sign did not speak to specifics, but was suitably “non-committal” and altruistic.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ Webber, “The Sign that Back-Fired and Got ‘Fired,’” 8.

³⁸⁵ Webber, “The Sign that Back-Fired and Got ‘Fired,’” 9.

Ironically, certain signs were sometimes used to combat other signs, both on cars and along the roadside. One example pairs well with Kodak's efforts, suggesting that motorists perhaps saw the photographic variants as good signs, as one such sign variant read: "S.O.S.: Signboards Obstruct Scenery."³⁸⁶ Two cartoons featuring "Picture Ahead" speak to what foibles might await if one followed the didactic nature of the signs too literally, within a still transitional roadside environment. In a 1921 cartoon from *New Era* (figure 2.19), for example, a motorist speeds along while the commentary, and by proxy Kodak, commands him to follow its orders, despite placing the photographer close to the side of a cliff or on a perilous curve: "You've nothing to fear / Following the instructions / No matter how queer. The pictures you'll get / Will all be grand / You mustn't worry about / Where you might land."³⁸⁷ A later 1926 cartoon from the *New York Graphic* takes a more gothic tone in its title and tenor: "Tragedies Along the Road" (figure 2.20).³⁸⁸ Here, at the implied insistence of the sign, a photographer gets out of the relative safety of the car to take a portrait of the driver in profile within the country setting. Exclaiming "I'll take this one first, then I'll get one from behind," the driver, but not the artist, sees the raging bull getting ready to charge as his shutter clicks.³⁸⁹ The latter humorous portrayal speaks to the battle for attention within the new roadside environs, however bucolic they might first appear.

³⁸⁶ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 137, as quoted from "Billboards Destroy Motoring Joy," *Roadside Journal* 2, no. 5 (January 1934), 3.

³⁸⁷ Cartoon from the *New Era*, "Take it from the Advertisements," as reproduced in *The Kodak Salesman* 7, no. 4 (April 1923): 8-9. From GELC at GEM.

³⁸⁸ It is not known if anyone was hurt while stopping at Kodak's picture-taking signs, but theoretically one could sue the company for being injured taking one of "their photographs." I thank Keith Morgan for raising this question and observation.

³⁸⁹ Cartoon by Kessler, "Tragedies Along the Road," from the *New York Graphic*, 1926, as reproduced in *The Kodak Salesman* 12, no. 10 (October 1926): 11. From GELC at GEM.

Paralleling the Kodak roadside campaign's demise, a later cartoon from the *Roadside Bulletin* reveals a distinct change in tone, which suggests the rise in accidents that accompanied the rise in automobiles and attendant signs to an even greater degree than the light-hearted Kodak cartoons (figure 2.21).³⁹⁰ Published later in the early 1930s, we witness three different kinds of vehicles, a motorcycle, a truck, and car, as they advance towards a seemingly inevitable head-on crash, distracted by the various road signs that compete for their attention. Given the altered Kodak sign+slogan, with its more general proclamation "There's always a picture ahead," which implied and commanded less concentration overall, motorists may have avoided such fates in the late 1920s and 1930s. Nevertheless, as time passed, these picture-taking signposts certainly existed in an increasingly busy, and increasingly dangerous, visual and commercial roadside setting.

Within this rapidly changing environment of the early 20th century, Kodak's picture spot markers received a noteworthy nod by the muckraking author Upton Sinclair in his satire of the oil industry, the novel *Oil!* (1927). Sinclair's Kodak sign reference occurs in his book's first section, "The Ride," when the father figure and his son nicknamed Bunny drive through southern California on their way to a meeting with oil-related property owners. Remarking on the passing "wonderful, endlessly wonderful" scenes, they observed:

³⁹⁰ Cartoon, *Roadside Bulletin* 2, no 4 (circa 1933), 5, as reproduced in Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 139. For this more sinister side of the Machine Age, there is a host of literature dealing with the cultural and historical contexts for auto accidents. See David Blanke, *Hell on Wheels: The Promise and Peril of America's Car Culture: 1900-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007) and John Burnham, *Accident Prone: A History of Technology, Psychology, and Misfits of the Machine Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Also there was no end of advertising signs, especially contrived to lend variety to travel. “Picture ahead; Kodak as you go,” was a frequent legend, but you looked for the picture, but never could be sure where it was. A tire manufacturer had set up big wooden figures of a boy waving a flag; Dad said the boy looked like Bunny, and Bunny said he looked like a picture of Jack London he had seen in a magazine.³⁹¹

Whereas *Oil* was published just after Kodak’s purported change in the sign’s wording (from “Picture Ahead: Kodak as you go” to “There’s always a Picture Ahead, Kodak”), this reference more likely bemoans the generality of the company’s assertion combined with the ever-increasing number of competing signposts.

The crux of the confusion could have led some consumers to view the signs as simply advertising alone for Kodak, instead of concurrent instructions for viewing the landscape. However, the number and consistency of the complaints show that on some level, Jones’s and Kodak’s campaign worked and made many people more aware of their surroundings and potential pictures. Bunny’s latter comparison also speaks to how a roadside scene might immediately recall a print advertisement and image in a magazine, thus directly referencing companion print advertising campaigns. Subsequently, Kodak would later correct the confusion regarding the whereabouts of recommended snapshots by including sample photographs and descriptive text on the signs themselves in the late

³⁹¹ Upton Sinclair, *Oil: A Novel* (1927; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 2007), 16. The previous paragraph contains a snapshot description of the variety of roadside signs, including those that defined locales, demarcated lessons, and bookmarked city limits, in the late 1920s:

“Wonderful, endlessly wonderful, were these scenes; new faces, new kinds of life revealed. There came towns and villages — extraordinary towns and villages, full of people and houses and cars and horses and signs. There were signs along the road; guideposts at every crossing, giving you a geography lesson — a list of the places to which the roads led, and the distances; you could figure your schedule, and that was a lesson in arithmetic! There were traffic signs, warning you of danger — curves, grades, slippery places, intersections, railroad crossings. There were big banners across the highway, or signs with letters made of electric lights: ‘Loma Vista: Welcome to Our City.’ Then, a little farther on: ‘Loma Vista, City Limits: Good-bye: Come Again.’”

1950s and early to mid 1960s. Nevertheless, that particular design option was mostly beyond what could be fashioned easily and cheaply at this time by Kodak, and would have required yet another replacement effort.

Akin to other companies, Eastman Kodak readily capitalized on the power of repeated recognition in different media. As Martin Treu explains in his interdisciplinary study *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts: A History of Architecture and Graphics along America's Commercial Corridors*, “chains sometimes incorporated their signs as dominant graphic elements in newspaper and magazine advertisements.”³⁹² Jakle and Sculle extend this cross-over and coordination to the display window, observing “Signs in display windows, just as with storefront identification signs, increasingly coordinated with advertising in newspapers, magazines, and other media.”³⁹³ An example of this integration can be seen in a 1923 window display based upon a print ad, an “advanced proof” from a forthcoming Kodak advertisement (figure 2.22).

In their dealer newsletter, Kodak explained that this advertisement was a “nucleus”—featuring an automobile at the seaside and the slogan “Kodak as you go” at center—and it would appear in “21 magazines as well as 33 rotogravure newspapers — total circulation more than seventeen millions [sic].”³⁹⁴ Encouraging their dealers to coordinate their windows at the beginning of touring season, Kodak described in detail

³⁹² Martin Treu, *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts: A History of Architecture and Graphics along America's Commercial Corridors* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 110.

³⁹³ Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 25.

³⁹⁴ “You get an advanced proof,” *The Kodak Salesman* 9, no. 4 (April 1923): 8. The same window display image also ran in Kodak's employee magazine, “Helping the Dealer,” *The Kodak Magazine* 3, no. 4 (April 1923), 4-5, 5. From GELC at GEM.

how to re-create the display, placing framed, familiar local scenes in the background along with a notice that recalled the “Picture Ahead” metal signs: “Every road takes you to pictures.”³⁹⁵ A center pole sprouts three directional signs, above a white parkway-like fence, each repeating, almost hypnotically, the same maxim: “To picture, to pictures, to pictures.”³⁹⁶ Cameras sit atop posts, becoming sentinels themselves. Not only would such a presentation connect to Kodak’s upcoming advertisements, but the sheer repetition and linkage to other slogans and campaigns were multiplied. This marketing schema thus created a consumer-oriented tour-de-force: customers encountered this roadside picture-taking campaign within the store, embedded within the landscape, and later, once again, at home in their resulting photographs.

Another instance of mutually reinforcing ideas across media comes in the form of a diagram directly connected to the earlier photograph of a “Picture Ahead” sign (figure 2.23). Kodak lays out the following in a pointed graphic from 1921 directed to dealers titled, “‘Picture Ahead’—And ‘Sales Ahead,’ too.” Flowing outward from a photograph of a familiar group of day-trippers pictured in an earlier ad (figure 2.12), a bracket graphically encompasses accessories necessary for a successful outing, including a screw-like stabilizing device for your camera meant to attach to any surface, almost becoming an extension or part of the car itself. The dealer magazine describes the scenario and the available items almost as a circular flowchart:

³⁹⁵ Photograph of window display, as reproduced in the piece “Every road takes you to pictures,” from “You get an advanced proof,” *The Kodak Salesman* 9, no. 4 (April 1923): 8. From GELC at GEM.

³⁹⁶ Kodak, “You get an advanced proof,” *The Kodak Salesman*, 8.

When your customer is a motorist he ought to have a Kodak Self-Timer so that all the party may be in the group. He'll want an Optipod as well to clamp the Kodak to the windshield of his car—or any straight edge. He'll need a carrying case to protect his camera from the dust of travel—and of course he'll want an Autographic Kodak—and plenty of film.³⁹⁷

To their dealers, Kodak proposes that the group of tourists or day-trippers, readied by a sight of the photo-scenic sign together with a prospect up ahead, are immediately connected to products and their successful acquisition would, in turn, sell even more gear. While the “Autographic Kodak” referred to the ability of the camera to allow the customer to write notations on the film itself, the term itself connects nicely to the automobile as well. In this Machine Age map, people are viewed as extensions of mechanical paraphernalia and vice versa.

These specific corporate linkages—of sign to image to product—began to change in the age of increased automobile use and speeds, with pre- and post-visualization becoming more and more mediated either through a viewfinder, window, or framing elements within the landscape or road.³⁹⁸ Further underscoring this equation forged with other modes of transportation and communication, David Company writes in *The Open Road: Photography and the American Road Trip*:

With its novel speeds and fresh encounters, travel itself began to heighten experience and sharpen the senses, often in ways that would permit the world to strike the beholder *as images*. Advertisers understood this very

³⁹⁷ “‘Picture Ahead’—And ‘Sales Ahead,’ too,” *The Kodak Salesman* 7, no. 5 (May 1921): 5. From GELC at GEM.

³⁹⁸ A camera’s viewfinder is, of course, also glass. The first use of symbols to denote close-up and distance focusing—the now familiar a flower and a mountain—on the camera’s focusing came mid-century. Based upon the counsel of the curator of technology at the George Eastman Museum, one of the first uses was in the Zeiss Symbolica camera, circa 1950-60s. Personal conversation with Todd Gustavson, September 24, 2013.

early, and photography could be marketed as natural component of travel. The camera would both record the road trip experience and help to define it.³⁹⁹

Architectural historian Sandy Isenstadt connects this drive towards landscape views with mobility, but with speed paradoxically reverting back to a sense of stasis as the twentieth century progressed: “the American landscape became modern not through any particular formal motifs but by being seen through glass.”⁴⁰⁰

Speaking to this change in the visualized landscape, for instance, an advertisement for glass plate windows from 1937 harkens to earlier Kodak ads (figures 2.4 and 2.6). Yet unlike the earlier subjects, this woman is in the passenger’s seat, with another person behind her; her figure and the view thus become even more frontally oriented and static (figure 2.24). Here, a smartly-dressed woman peers out a car’s window towards a mountainous scene framed and encased; the hyper-reality suggests the rugged landscape is at a safe distance, and the passivity of her pose implies a slight boredom with the prospect presented, perhaps to be replaced quickly with a new view. Isenstadt underscores the car’s contribution to the visual culture of the time:

Cars consolidated themes that had long been present in landscape design: the abrogation of topographical limits, leisurely movement through a landscape, fascination with changing points of view, and a pleasurable paradox between movement and stasis. From the moment one first sat in the car, the body was still but mobility was maximized to an extent

³⁹⁹ Company, *The Open Road*, 8. Emphasis in original.

⁴⁰⁰ Sandy Isenstadt, “Four Views, Three of Them through Glass,” in Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 213-240. Connecting earlier Picturesque principles to postwar American ideals, Isenstadt writes regarding the framing of the landscape via hearths, televisions, picture windows, and automobile windshields. I will return to Isenstadt’s provocative analysis later in the chapters that deal with the midcentury.

choreographers of landscape strolled could only hardly have dreamed of. Even the unaccustomed speed of the car brought with it rapid juxtapositions, providing variety and surprise prescribed in the picturesque system of visual variation than on the specific merits of any one scene.⁴⁰¹

Read against such a backdrop, Kodak roadside signs, and their potential pictures, competed at an ever-increasing pace with speed, passenger experience, and imagery.

While this ad came at the end of the “Picture Ahead” campaign’s roadside heyday (1920-39), one can hardly imagine the woman being capable or willing to stop or exit the car and “Kodak as you go.” The tightness of the composition suggests a confinement, far from the more open automobile compartments of the 1920s, and a trip that affords no leisurely stopping. Yet, at the same time, the window itself became a viewfinder or viewing screen, with then new thicker safety glass offering the possibility of visibility and magnification.⁴⁰² With such views in our metaphorical rearview mirror, the remainder of this chapter will deal with this shift, another potential reason for the demise of the first main phase of the roadside Kodak Picture Spot signs.

Framing the Landscape, Presenting the View: From the Parkway to Passé

Another form of framing in dialogue with the Kodak picture-taking signs, which perhaps overtook its compositional and didactic function at mid century, was the design of the roadside architecture itself, including curving roadways, stone fences, and tunnels. Modeled after earlier pre-car byways, the first automotive parkway was the Bronx River

⁴⁰¹ Sandy Isenstadt, “Four Views,” 235-36.

⁴⁰² I thank the Boston University Humanities Center seminar for this insight; I participated in this seminar as a part of a BUCH fellowship in Spring 2015 and am grateful for the group’s observations and edits.

parkway, completed in 1923, with an additional 80 miles of other Greater New York parkways finished by 1933 and park commissioner Robert Moses's efforts thereafter.⁴⁰³ As seen in an image by Gilmore D. Clarke (who would also work on the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, along with Moses as master planner), landscape architects designed parkways in a curvilinear fashion, with trees, fences, and bridges acting as screens to present new and changing views (figure 2.25). Billboards and signs were likely prohibited on these first parkways, but later parkway designs did include pull-overs, which functioned similar to and perhaps better than Kodak "Picture Ahead" signs as there was no question as to where the photograph was when looking at such a constructed space. Unfortunately, there is scant scholarship on development or design of scenic overlooks or observation points along parkways or regular roads; when there is a rare mention, it is only in regards to a specific roadway.⁴⁰⁴ Nevertheless, overlooks seem to have become more common in the 1930s and beyond, as technology advanced and the need to stop increased. By 1936, for example, the National Park Service promoted the parkway movement via a "Discussion of Federal Parkways," which buttressed and led to such "scenic parkways" as the Blue Ridge Parkway.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ *The Machine Age*, 96-97. Robert Moses also organized the 1964-65 New York World's Fair. His contributions will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

⁴⁰⁴ Most of the scholarship on parkways and scenic byways focus on the road and its environment, not on any physical stopping points along the way. Researching multiple parkways for scenic overlook references is not feasible at this point, thus the use of the Blue Ridge Parkway as one example. Another challenge when researching scenic overlooks are the vast number of names for them: scenic overlook, observation or viewing point, and lookout. For an expensive history of the Blue Ridge Parkway, see Anne Mitchell Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Highway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁴⁰⁵ Zapatka, *The American Landscape*, 127-28.

Not only did such latter-day parkways intend to present the motorist with an endless succession of views, not unlike the “Picture Ahead” markers themselves, the aesthetic isolation and sheer succession of imagery might overwhelm and disrupt a heavily manicured experience. Parkway visual experiences, down to their rustic signage and panoramic views, were to be experienced in total, but also spread out and singly. In fact, the Blue Ridge Parkway is “longest road planned as a single unit in the United States” and a “museum of the managed American countryside,” according to its first employee, resident landscape architect Stanley W. Abbott.⁴⁰⁶ Nevertheless, as the development of scenic highways and the attention to roadside aesthetics grew over the course of the 1930s, Kodak picture-taking signs likely found more resonance in the environment itself and thus became mutually reinforcing. For example, the Blue Ridge Parkway has over 200 scenic overlooks with a variety of amenities such as picnic tables, educational panels, signs, or trails.⁴⁰⁷ Constructed midway through the first Kodak sign campaign, the Blue Ridge Parkway certainly would have welcomed “Picture Ahead” signs given their shared aims, but it is not known if they were installed there. Even so, a town named Kodak in the Blue Ridge and Smoky Mountain area of Tennessee invites tantalizing possibilities for cross-promotion.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ National Park Service, “Blue Ridge Parkway,” accessed February 18, 2016, <http://www.nps.gov/blri/learn/historyculture/index.htm>.

⁴⁰⁷ Virtual Blue Ridge, “Overlooks,” accessed September 4, 2018, <http://www.virtualblueridge.com/parkway-places/overlooks/>. This terrific website include a list of all Blue Ridge Parkway overlooks, their mile marker locations, and 360 degree photographs from each viewpoint.

⁴⁰⁸ Hey Smokies, “Feeling Great in Kodak,” accessed September 4, 2018, <http://www.heysmokies.com/kodak/>. The town was named by its postmaster, Harvey Underwood, after seeing Kodak packaging. He wrote directly to George Eastman for permission, which he granted.

Undergirding landscape planning and philosophy of most of the 1920s and 30s, including the majority of the National Park Service's efforts and parkway planners, was the textbook *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design*, authored by Harvard landscape architect Henry Hubbard and librarian Theodora Kimball.⁴⁰⁹ As a part of their style, Hubbard and Kimball advocated for "vista" development, which included a "single central focal point... enframed by trees or other masses that screened all other objects" and created a "window that could be manipulated by the designer who could arrange one scene after another in a sequence."⁴¹⁰ Likewise, in the nearby Southeast, the Tennessee Valley Authority saw the valley itself as a "scenic resource," the project to be presented to out-of-state visitors as an *image* along a TVA-created freeway. Architectural historians Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson accordingly assert, "As the reconstructed nature rolls by, an American Arcadia is presented like a picture, the farmers at work and the historic sites of the first frontier marked out by helpful roadside signs."⁴¹¹ Paralleling this focus on framing and prospects, Kodak "Picture Ahead" signs likewise projected photographic and aesthetic plenty, while still underscoring the necessity of a stilled, singular view that came with a photographic keepsake.

The seeds of such pre-packaged "picturing" not only date back to the Picturesque, as discussed in Chapter One, but also extend into the late nineteenth century as exemplified in the work of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted and architect

⁴⁰⁹ Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Highway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History*, 16.

⁴¹⁰ Henry Hubbard and Theodora Kimball, *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* (1917), as quoted in Anne Mitchell Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Highway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History*, 16.

⁴¹¹ Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 199 and 200. Here, Macy and Bonnemaïson are discussing the creation of the Norris Dam and Norris Freeway.

Calvert Vaux and associated physical trappings such as walls, fences, and pathways.⁴¹²

By the 1930s, many of these structural elements were installed and overseen by the Civilian Conservation Corps (1933-42), which also constructed the Blue Ridge Parkway, as a part of the New Deal infrastructure and natural improvements. Olmsted also oversaw or contributed to various parks and natural areas that provide key precedents and comparisons for this project, including Prospect Park, Yosemite, and especially Niagara Falls, among others.⁴¹³

Shifting to the West, an example of these various elements coalescing together, along with parks and parkways, is the so-called “Gallery” on the Zion-Mount Carmel Highway and Tunnel (figure 2.26). Located within Zion’s National Park, the conduit

⁴¹² Anne Whiston Spirn discusses Frederick Law Olmsted’s and his partner Calvert Vaux’s focus on framing views in their efforts in a plan for land surrounding Niagara Falls, among other projects, in her essay “Constructing Nature: The Legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted,” in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1996), 91-113. Olmsted was hired as consultant to the New York state Niagara survey. The survey initially recommended that “the landscape around Niagara be designed as a frame within which the falls could be experienced in diverse ways,” 95. For Niagara, according to Spirn, Olmsted and Vaux eventually proposed carving the shoreline, lowering stone walls and adding a variety of paths and overlooks with rails to provide prospects and assure safety, 96-99. For more on their work for Niagara Falls, which extended from Olmsted’s report in 1879 to Vaux and Olmsted’s redesign of the reservation in 1886-87, see the companion website for the PBS special *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing America*, Ethan Carr, “Olmsted and Scenic Preservation,” accessed December 6, 2018, <http://www.pbs.org/wned/frederick-law-olmsted/learn-more/olmsted-and-scenic-preservation>.

For a very brief overview of their projects and partnership, see “Vaux and Olmsted, Sr.,” National Association for Olmsted Parks, accessed December 6, 2018, <http://www.olmsted.org/the-olmsted-legacy/calvert-vaux-and-olmsted-sr>.

⁴¹³ Spirn briefly addresses several of these locations, including Yosemite, Niagara Falls, Biltmore, and Boston’s Fens as well as the Riverway in “Constructing Nature: The Legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted.” Olmsted wrote a report on Yosemite in 1865 and his analysis formed the basis for his public-oriented approach to designing federal and state parks. Olmsted’s involvement with Yosemite lasted for decades, occurring in fits and starts, and was essentially completed by his son. See Carr, “Olmsted and Scenic Preservation,” for a short narrative overview of Olmsted and Yosemite. For a broader overview, including his son’s involvement, see also Rolf Diamant, excerpt, “The Olmsteds and the Development of the National Park System,” National Association for Olmsted Parks, accessed December 6, 2018, <http://www.olmsted.org/the-olmsted-legacy/the-olmsted-firm/the-olmsteds-and-the-development-of-the-national-park-system>.

went where no road had gone, up a canyon and through a cliff, puncturing galleries or windows into rock. Building upon earlier efforts by the state and the railroad to create a “Grand Loop,” and park-to-park transport, this 25-mile road was a joint effort between National Park Service, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the State of Utah.⁴¹⁴ Completed in 1930, “the once imagined ‘Grand Circle Tour’ of Zion, Bryce, and Grand Canyon National Parks was now a reality,” according to the NPS.⁴¹⁵ Jakle and Sculle point out that this created a novel experience and entity: “a park that visitors can access by car, experience visually by car, and leave by car, never having gotten out of a car. Literally ‘framed’ for motorists on the highway were spectacular scenic views.”⁴¹⁶ The Gallery itself also offered the ultimate realization of the parkway’s desire for image creation and experience within the landscape: man and machine crafted a physical opening that did not exist before to frame the land—a prospect, in essence, produced by proxy, by and for technology. When another machine is brought into the picture, a camera, this unique feature was primed for photographing.

From the mid 1920s to late 1930s, the physical design of the road, its contiguous features, and Kodak’s picture-taking signs raise multiple issues related to the frame, simultaneously a selection and surround, and its relationship to devices and the rapidly changing modern landscape. The passing of Kodak’s “Picture Ahead” markers (1920-

⁴¹⁴ For more about roads related to the National Parks, see the scholarship of Timothy Davis, a historian with the National Park Service. See, for example, Timothy Davis, *National Park Roads: A Legacy in the American Landscape* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016) and Timothy Davis, Todd A. Croteau, and Christopher H. Marston, *America’s National Park Roads and Parkways: Drawings from the Historic American Engineering Record* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

⁴¹⁵ National Park Service, “Zion: Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway and Tunnel,” accessed February 2, 2016. <https://www.nps.gov/zion/learn/historyculture/zmchighway.htm>.

⁴¹⁶ Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, 226.

1939) was not only the result of shifting cultural, historical, and economic factors, discussed above and below, but also I suggest the changing association of the frame. In the introduction to their anthology *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, landscape architectural historians Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles pose several relevant questions for this topic: “Does the frame belong to the represented object (the view), or to its exterior (the outside that defines an inside), or to the viewer (shaping our ability to see)?”⁴¹⁷ With subsequent picture-taking sign efforts by Kodak installed in even more controlled environments—such as World’s Fairs and Disney parks as will be discussed in the following chapters—the intended subject, what lies beyond the frame, as well as the role of the photographer would become clearer, but also coded.

Bringing this place-based chapter to a close, what follows is a brief overview of the seachange that occurred in American car and consumer culture in the 1930s. With the switch from the parkway to the freeway mid century, speed and attention altered. No longer was it as feasible or safe to stop on the side of the road and take a picture, and conspicuous photography, in a sense, was no longer conspicuous in this new environment. Lucy Lippard put it succinctly in *On the Beaten Track: Tourism, Art, and Place*: “Scenic overlooks made less and less sense as speeds increased” and parkways became more and more managed, which could just as easily apply to Kodak’s “Picture Ahead” signs.⁴¹⁸ It would take Kodak’s later institutionalization of its Picture Spots

⁴¹⁷ Harris and Ruggles, “Landscape and Vision,” in Harris and Ruggles, eds., *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, 13-14.

⁴¹⁸ Lucy R. Lippard, *On the Beaten Track: Tourism, Art, and Place* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 140.

within the spaces of Disneyland and Worlds Fairs, for the signs to re-enter the roadside, and to be re-imagined, once again.

By the 1930s, American automobile ownership jumped to 26.7 million, or one car for every 4 1/2 persons, and references to the “Picture Ahead” signs thin out considerably.⁴¹⁹ In the wake of the Great Depression, the motoring scene and larger cultural milieu had transformed considerably, both in terms of roads, spending habits, and leisure time, while at the same time governmental and Works Progress Administration projects poured resources into infrastructure. By 1936, the Bureau of Public Roads, as noted in *The Machine Age*, “had spent approximately \$2 billion on the improvement and construction of over 300,000 miles of federal highways,” to which the WPA added an additional \$1 billion in funds.⁴²⁰ As cultural geographers Jakle and Sculle remind us, “Roadside America...has proven to be ever so changeful, with continuous and rapid metamorphosis.”⁴²¹ While they identify the beginning of “Roadside America” as a new type of landscape in the mid 1930s, I would situate it slightly earlier in the 1920s with the development of serial signage and other cultural markers, and claim the 1930s as its apogee. By 1930, Kodak, likewise, garnered 75% of the international market and 90% of photographic profits.⁴²² Both the idea of the American Roadside and Kodak could be said to be eventual victims of their own excesses and successes.

⁴¹⁹ Company, *The Open Road*, 8. Company does not write about the Kodak signs specifically.

⁴²⁰ *The Machine Age*, 94.

⁴²¹ Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, 3.

⁴²² David Aaker, *Building Strong Brands* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 3. Aaker proposes Kodak as one of the strongest brands and discusses “The Kodak Story,” 2-7.

Jakle and Sculle argue that this new type of place entered the American consciousness with an article written anonymously by James Agee in the September 1934 issues of *Fortune* magazine, “The Great American Roadside.”⁴²³ As seen in the header image for the essay, illustrated by John Steward Curry, signs played a prominent role in its definition and visual vocabulary (figure 2.27).⁴²⁴ Curry crammed as many signposts as he could into a rectangular form, which evokes a rear view mirror in shape. Even the story’s lede announces its presence in a manner akin to a sign: “Introducing an American Institution which is also a \$3,000,000 industry, and which is founded upon a solid rock: the restlessness of the American people.”⁴²⁵ Whether the new idea of the American Roadside emerged earlier or later, Jakle and Sculle’s observation, however, is well taken; something had indeed changed. Kodak and other corporations raced to capture Americans’ attention, and now dealt with their lack thereof.

Towards the end of the next decade, as the U.S. entered World War II, car and camera manufacturers were hit hard. Despite increased military purchasing, automobile production and sales of new vehicles almost ceased and within the general populace regular car-related consumption dropped overall. For instance, as automobile manufacturers shifted production to war equipment, the drop was precipitous: “In 1941, more than three million cars were manufactured in the United States. Only 139 more

⁴²³ Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, 2, from James Agee (ghostwritten), “Great American Roadside” *Fortune* 10, no. 3 (September 1934): 53-63.

⁴²⁴ Jakle and Sculle misidentify the year of this in their caption: it is from 1934, not 1930.

⁴²⁵ A recipe consisting of several factors, Agee distilled it to the following: “THE CHARACTERS IN OUR STORY are five: this American continent; this American people; the automobile; the Great American Road, and — the Great American Roadside.”

Parenthetically, a lede is the thesis of a journalistic piece and is a word used often in the newspaper realm; usually, but not always, it is close to the beginning of the story.

were made during the entire war.”⁴²⁶ Not only was it unlikely that Kodak could keep up with its picture-taking signs’ maintenance, placement, and property-owners as the decades progressed, but the photos and views pointed to conceivably changed or evaporated shortly thereafter, due to circumstances beyond their control.

The (Temporary) Departure of the Signs

By the late 1930s and early 1940s, references to picture-taking roadside signs disappeared from the American roadside and Kodak introduced a distinctly nostalgic tone to their ad copy. This shift and recalibration occurred even before the company revived, re-installed, and re-imagined the popular markers in the late 1950s and mid 1960s within the quintessential safety of different kinds of paved paradises, Disney parks and World’s Fair grounds. The world changed around these venues and sites as well: modern limited-access highways and other transport options from the 1930s onward became much more focused on rapidity and destinations, than the experiences and journeys themselves.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, car culture radically changed within American society by mid century. People could no longer stop and linger on these motorways and thus, by design and/or necessity, roadside picture taking was curtailed.

In the introductory 1946 issue of an amateur-focused magazine *Kodak PHOTO*, for instance, Kodak titled their very first article “Picture Ahead” and reminisced about

⁴²⁶ *The War. At Home*, 2007, Public Broadcasting Service, television series directed by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick, accessed December 10, 2018, https://www.pbs.org/thewar/at_home_war_production.htm.

⁴²⁷ I am grateful to Dr. William Moore for helping me develop the line of reasoning in the latter half of this paragraph. Moore, comment on dissertation draft to author as well as in defense, November 16, 2018.

the roadside signs, which by then, they submitted, had faded into the sunset. Discussion of this fascinating mention and moment serves as a fitting coda to Chapter Two, “The Road,” and segue to the next iteration of the Kodak Picture Spot sign in the late 1950s within the lands of the Disney empire. By way of this new publication, issued just after World War II ended, Kodak’s stated aim was to provide a “re-introduction to the whole field of personal photography,” a lofty goal indeed.⁴²⁸

Presumably, in this lead feature, the company mused, consumers had become unaccustomed to leisure photography during the War years and need to be refamiliarized with the practice. The very first article in this new journal directly invoked the earliest picture-taking signs in its title—”PICTURE AHEAD: Those who use their Kodaks as they go know that there’s always a picture ahead”— and underscored new beginnings for out-of-practice amateurs as well as lessons learned (figure 2.28). The illustration depicts a woman holding the hands of two young children; the trio appears on their way back from an outdoor hike (again, not unlike the protagonist in Weaver’s early poem that opened this chapter) ready to begin anew. Nonetheless, times had changed over 20 plus-years, as Kodak remarked in the opening paragraphs:

Back in the ’Twenties, roving crews from Kodak put up thousands of signs along the nation’s highways. Each sign informed the passing motorist that just ahead there was scenery worth picturing. Naturally, those crews picked out obvious “scenery,” the sort of thing that practically knocked you down. Otherwise, they would have run out of signs the first

⁴²⁸ Kodak, “Picture Ahead!” *Kodak PHOTO magazine* 1, no. 1 (Summer? 1946), 3. The magazine *Kodak PHOTO* focused color photography on helping consumers “in getting the best from your camera”; Kodak sent the magazine, unrequested yet free of charge, to anyone who sent “35mm or Bantam Kodachrome film to any of the regular Kodak Company stations for processing,” 3.

day out. Because there's a PICTURE AHEAD wherever you look.⁴²⁹

The article went on to invoke the idea associated with the phrase “none so blind as...will not see” in reference to the signs of yore. The author continued waxing poetic about Kodak's goals by encouraging photographers to develop “the habit of really looking at things” and becoming “strangers” so as to see with new eyes.⁴³⁰ With materials and resources going to the war-time efforts, this gap affected Kodak's film and camera production, likely also slowing or halting the making of signs and automobiles as well as the taking of trips and vacations. After an intermission in the Kodak roadside campaign from roughly the 1940s to the late 1950s, this form of scenic sign was later reinvigorated within dealer settings and then placed within and alongside new parks and parkways beginning in the late 1960s. With lessons learned from the road, Kodak transported and transformed the signs, refocusing efforts within the new, increasingly corporatized, environments of expositions and amusement parks.

A parting remark on later roadside iterations: While the Kodak picture-taking signs did re-enter the American roadside beginning in the late 1960s, this later phase of the campaign was less centrally managed and initiated at an entirely different cultural moment, occurring both post-war and after the markers' institutionalization within the 1964-65 New York World's Fair (Chapter Three) and Disney (Chapter Four). Therefore, I save the later picture-taking paradigms and the signs' roadside reimagination for the Conclusion, analyzing these examples as extensions of Kodak's exposition and

⁴²⁹ *Kodak PHOTO*, 4.

⁴³⁰ *Kodak PHOTO*, 4.

amusement efforts. From midcentury on, Kodak signs were re-named (moving from “Picture Ahead” to “Kodak Picture Spot” and other variations), re-located, re-purposed, and re-focused on parks, stores, and controlled environments.⁴³¹ Moreover, the next Kodak roadside markers were mimetic, benefitting from consumers’ prior familiarity with signposts in other saturated and institutionalized locations, namely international expositions and Disney parks. Once the familiar signs became fully ensconced within these tightly-maintained environs, Kodak abandoned the roadside as a locale sometime in the late 1980s or early 1990s, as will be discussed in the Conclusion.⁴³² Kodak no longer maintains the Picture Spots that dot the greater American landscape today, although wayward travelers can still find examples *in situ* at roadside tourist attractions. Therefore, any remaining Kodak Picture Spot signs will exist as nostalgic sentinels for the foreseeable future.⁴³³

⁴³¹ In addition to these company-based efforts and park collaborative programs—beginning in 1967 and discontinued in 1972—Kodak offered their dealers individual, generic signs for purchase at \$5 each, encouraging stores and venues to set up their own roadside attractions. Kodak announced the new generic Picture Spot sign to dealers *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* 53, no. 2 (March 1967), 19 and discontinued in 1972, see *Kodak Trade Circular* 73, no. 1 (January 1972), 8. The sign is product number A6-56. This will be discussed in more detail in the Conclusion.

⁴³² This appears to coincide with employee cuts as many programs began to fall under the Kodak ambassador program, a set of Kodak retirees who acted as educational aids in the 1990s.

⁴³³ The Conclusion charts the later developments as the signs are reduced their numbers and retrenched in their territory.

CHAPTER THREE

The World's Fair: Kodak Picture Spots on and as Exhibits in Expositions

In a promotional poster for the 1937 World's Fair in Paris, France—*L'Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne*—a young woman stands atop a mound of Kodak film, her posture mirroring a ship's figurehead or depictions of Liberty (figure 3.1).⁴³⁴ Identified as a “Kodak Girl” by her blue pin-striped dress, the company's New Woman-turned-corporate-mascot holds aloft a camera, while boxes of film rain down from her other hand. The architectural arc of the Palais de Chaillot on the Trocadéro curves around her like a keyhole as the well-dressed crowds issue forth into the space of the fair. The poster creates a visual resonance between the yellow boxes of the then-new Verichrome film and the yellow of the foliage behind, washing the whole scene in the trademark color of the “Great Yellow Father.”⁴³⁵ Eastman Kodak Company's presence at World's Fairs—be it via their exhibition booths, stand-alone pavilions, or later picture-taking signs—functioned as a kind of a benevolent version of the “photographic pied piper.”

In her study of Kodak advertising and nostalgia, historian Nancy Martha West observes that expositions paired well with the company's goals within a burgeoning

⁴³⁴ The 1937 exposition was important model for the 1939-40 New York World's Fair for its globalist and technological foci, however, and U.S. officials visited and were possibly inspired by its layout.

⁴³⁵ Verichrome film was introduced in 1931. Given Kodak's trademark yellow color on its products and its beneficent nature, the “Great Yellow Father” was a moniker often used by Kodak employees throughout the twentieth century to refer to the Eastman Kodak corporation, my family included. Kodak, “History of Kodak, Milestones: 1930-1959,” accessed March 24, 2016, http://www.kodak.com/country/US/en/corp/kodakHistory/1930_1959.shtml.

commodity culture: “By striving to present every imaginable spectacle and site of interest, fairs conditioned visitors to see the act of viewing as a form of consumption, and thus to identify leisure with an abundance of visual sensations, distractions, and mobility in an era characterized by a never-ending stream of mass-produced goods and amusements.”⁴³⁶ While this particular fair did not include picture-taking signs,⁴³⁷ the illustration’s messages of photographic abundance paired with corporate charity and attendant consumer obedience are apt themes to set the stage for the following chapter on Kodak and World’s Fairs.

The first Kodak picture-taking sign within an exposition environment was not for taking pictures but was included as a part of a display in a regional affair: the 1922 Rochester Industrial Exposition.⁴³⁸ Kodak presented their wares, from cameras to albums to enlargements, in a self-described “rustic booth,” overseen by the advertising, service, and shipping departments (figure 3.2).⁴³⁹ The design of the booth recalled a roadside stand, with foliage-wrapped wooden fences and two rustic-styled benches flanking the sides, but this fair, like the others, was an urban experience. On the right post, the

⁴³⁶ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* : 61.

⁴³⁷ The view from the Trocadéro was an ultimate “viewshed,” encompassing the German and Soviet pavilions with the Eiffel Tower in the center. It was this view that Hitler experienced when he stood to look over Paris after it fell during World War II. I thank Kim Sichel for this observation and suggestion. For more on the 1937 Exposition in general, see James D. Herbert, *Paris 1937: Worlds on Exhibition* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1998).

⁴³⁸ For a short history of the Rochester Exposition, see Jeff Ludwig, “Edgerton Park,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, no date, accessed April 13, 2016, <http://media.democratandchronicle.com/retrofitting-rochester/edgerton-park>. When the Rochester Mayor Hiram Edgerton died in 1922, Exposition Park was renamed Edgerton Park. This history notes that George Eastman and Rush Rhees, president of the University of Rochester, helped to raise funds for a plaque and gate, suggesting not only their connection to the mayor, but the exposition grounds and park as well.

⁴³⁹ Kodak, “Rustic Booth Shows Kodak Exhibit,” *The Kodak Magazine* 3, no. 5 (October 1922), 4. From GELC at GEM.

exhibitors hung a first generation, pre-wording change, “Picture Ahead, Kodak as you go” sign, as seen on the right of the exhibit.⁴⁴⁰ While this regional exhibition was not of the size or caliber of larger fairs, the presence of this “Picture Ahead” sign early on speaks to the company’s connection of the space of the roadside with that of the fair. Furthermore, the article notes that the staff, while perhaps initially intended to “play chaperone,” as they put it, “were kept busy from morning until night demonstrating cameras and helping interested amateurs with their particular problems.”⁴⁴¹ In short, this small booth essentially contained all of the elements that would later become key features of Kodak’s World’s Fair strategy: a display space dedicated to the company and its wares; opportunities to educate aesthetically and technically, either via text, illustration, or personnel; signs or spaces indicating picture-taking opportunities or connected to a larger campaign; and finally the presence of idealized sample images, in the form of the framed photographs displayed at the back.

While the Picture Spot signs did not enter into the space of the World’s Fair officially until the mid 1960s, Eastman Kodak Company set up specific locations for photographing and key models for directed behaviors in earlier expositions, specifically via their participation in and particular presence at the 1893 World’s Colombian Exposition in Chicago and later with the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair.⁴⁴² Beginning with the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair, Kodak used the dual model of Disney and

⁴⁴⁰ Another marker may have been included on the other left fence, facing outwards.

⁴⁴¹ Kodak, “Rustic Booth Shows Kodak Exhibit,” 4.

⁴⁴² Kodak participated in the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris, France, only a year after the company was founded. See below and Ariane Poulet, “The Cavalcade of Color: Kodak and the 1939 World’s Fair,” trans. James Gussen, *études photographiques* no. 30 (2012), accessed March 10, 2016, <http://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/3486>.

their earlier roadside markers to re-imagine picture-taking signs within these new environments and expand upon the idea of guided photographic vision. With their entry into the well-manicured and highly-designed setting of the World's Fair in 1964, the signs kept their new moniker, first acquired during their debut in Disneyland circa 1959: "Kodak Picture Spot." Thereafter, Kodak placed generic picture-taking signs, patterned after the World's Fair and Disney exemplars, sporadically at smaller fairs and festival-like events, which will be discussed in the Conclusion. This chapter charts the development of this Kodak's new iteration and promotion of photographic behaviors, culminating in their picture-taking signs, within the space of four main American World's Fairs—1893, 1933-34, 1939-40, and 1964-65.⁴⁴³ A comment made by Director of the Kodak Exhibit in the first season of the last New York World's Fair reveal the maxim that undergirded Kodak's approach to and involvement with expositions: "Every time a shutter clicks at the Fair the photographic business gets another boost."⁴⁴⁴

This dissertation's themes of conspicuous photography, the social sphere, and Kodak snapshot culture continue in this chapter, but it is important to note that they transform along with the arena and era. Moving from the beginnings of the Kodak picture-taking signs in the 1920s into the 1930s, and then to the later 1950s to 1960s, Americans encountered a radically altered cultural and consumer landscape. Accessed by

⁴⁴³ In this chapter, I follow the 1939-40 and 1964-65 New York World's Fair corporations' custom of referring to the Fair using a capital letter when referring to a Fair specifically; this is used throughout their correspondence and marketing. When more broadly references fairs or fair culture, I will use its lower case form.

⁴⁴⁴ Linc Burrows, as quoted in "Special to the New York Herald Tribune," September 10, 1964, Kodak News, Public Relations Department, summary of news in the form of a press release?, Box EDV "Sales and Marketing," World's Fair Press Kit 1964 folder, Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester.

the rapidly growing superhighways, these festival environments—the same examples upon which Disney based his parks—contain a transformed, and contained, version of the world and the U.S. landscape. Beckoning to Fair visitors via structured signage and offering up visual opportunities along each path and at every intersection, it is as if the road itself was transferred into as well as tamed within the World’s Fair environment. At the same time, audiences for these environs grew—over 50 million people attended the 1964-65 Fair. Thus, Kodak’s potential to showcase and drive photographic manners and *morés* dramatically increased along with the crowds. Not only were the surroundings of the Kodak Picture Spot signs more highly planned within a World’s Fair site, but the total aesthetic experience was consolidated, distilled, and controlled. The entry of Kodak into the space of the fair paralleled a shift away from the openness of the roadside itself. In short, after the signs’ near disappearance from the American roadside in the 1940s-1950s, it was strategically wise for a visually-based company to re-envision and re-introduce them within exposition-style environments. With these shifts and transformations, Kodak Picture Spots would become even more successful.

As with the earlier placed-based chapters, Chapter Three begins with theoretical and historical precedents for the Kodak picture-taking signs. First, I propose a few models for instances of controlled viewing and discuss a series of disciplines that coalesced in and contributed to a fair atmosphere. Next, Kodak’s earliest efforts in the fair environment, namely the 1893 Columbian Exposition, reveal patterns and preferences that the company would later develop and expand. While the signs were not featured in the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair, the design of Kodak’s pavilion set up

vital visual resonances and photographic performances in the public sphere in ways that the company capitalized on in the next major fair on the exact same grounds: Flushing Meadows in Queens, NY. Following this, I trace the negotiations regarding Kodak's sign proposals and unpack the design and placement of approximately 40-50 Kodak Picture Spots in the 1964-65 New York World's Fair. This period of the mid 1960s represented the height of corporatization, thus another running theme throughout this chapter is the nature and volume of memos, letters, staff, and procedures that the Fair and featured companies produced in efforts to circumscribe their authority and legitimacy. The drawn-out and, at times, contentious process associated with the Kodak picture-taking signs' acceptance and entry into this mid-century exposition speaks to a culture of administration, bureaucracy, and institutionalization at its zenith and undergirds the themes of corporate controlled viewing throughout this study.

I. Setting the Theoretical Groundwork for the Fairs

Before engaging historical precedents as they pertain to Kodak's and other orchestrated spaces within World's Fairs, this section will outline applicable theoretical and disciplinary aspects. From the essential establishment of World Fairs with the 1851 "Crystal Palace" Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in London, England, international expositions aimed to create and convey power via the display of the world and its wares. The kaleidoscopic qualities of these fairs and institutions as well as Kodak's photographic sites, accoutrements, and behaviors contain aspects of theorist

Michel Foucault's notions of the panopticon and the heterotopia. First, in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault brings space together with power in his reading of institutions, discourses, and the panopticon; the latter of which he describes as a "mechanism" to control viewing and conduct.⁴⁴⁵ By means of their ubiquitous presence at the fairs—from the signs to their exhibits to the actual picture-takers themselves—Eastman Kodak Company commanded control beyond their designated building or purpose-built pavilion. Dotted the fairgrounds, the Picture Spot signs functioned as visual and behavioral commands to tourists, inviting them to do Kodak's bidding, at every turn, and thus keep promoting the fair and their own products.

In his later article "Of Other Spaces," as mentioned previously, Foucault presents heterotopias as "counter-sites," which also contain or reference other sites.⁴⁴⁶ Aptly for this topic and chapter, many of the types of heterotopias that Foucault names are institutions specifically related to tourism and expositions: "vacation villages," museums, and gardens are all semi-permeable and regulated. Like Foucault's examples, these highly-crafted locales, visual prompts, and idealized images could also be said to be simultaneously real and unreal, both part of the spaces and apart from them.⁴⁴⁷ World's Fairs, festivals, imitated places, and attractions exist in separated spaces and function in a similar manner to Kodak picture-taking signs and sites. Not only did the markers exist in areas distinct from regular life, but they point to and picture other locales, serving to

⁴⁴⁵ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (1975; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 202 and 209.

⁴⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 22-27.

⁴⁴⁷ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 24. See also Edward W. Soja's "spatial thirding" and "real-and-imagined" places, Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1996).

connect disparate pavilions, countries, and sights. At the same time, these characteristics assist in remaking and consolidating the whole fair as Kodak's ultimate offering. As photohistorian Ariane Poulet has observed, "From a propaganda tool, the fair was transformed into a photographic subject and an object of consumption."⁴⁴⁸

Related to the creation of these alternative touristic and exhibition sites and situations, of course, are their companies and creators. World's Fairs, advertising, and industrial design all came of age in the early twentieth century in America, setting up a potent hybridity centered on aesthetics and selling. The fairgrounds of the 1930s and 1960s, akin to their predecessors, became the ultimate space to manufacture desire, demonstrate products, and parade conspicuous consumption. According to architectural historian Richard Guy Wilson, "Advertising was fundamental to machine age America" and "the line between industrial design and advertising was frequently very thin."⁴⁴⁹ After a period of development, early-twentieth-century products, and those that plied them, were intricately interwoven with and supported by the growth and development of new frontiers: corporate, technological, and economic. As maintained by advertising executive and politician Bruce Barton, "Advertising is the spark plug on the cylinder of mass production."⁴⁵⁰ Machine Age advertising used an arsenal of new tactics, including

⁴⁴⁸ Ariane Poulet, "The Cavalcade of Color: Kodak and the 1939 World's Fair."

⁴⁴⁹ Richard Guy Wilson, "Selling the Machine Age," in Wilson, Pilgrim, and Tashjian, *The Machine Age in America: 1918-1941*, 75.

⁴⁵⁰ Bruce Barton, as quoted in "The Advertising Business," Smithsonian Museum of American History, online exhibition, no date, accessed March 21, 2016, <http://americanhistory.si.edu/advertising-business/industry-and-cultural-force>.

highways turned “buyways” as well as a growing “ephemera of a commercial culture.”⁴⁵¹ If we take Barton’s assertion together with these new mouthpieces, then the World’s Fair was the logical endgame for a new age: direct-to-consumer public display rooms located at the end of newly-constructed highways.

Eastman Kodak, a company that traded in visual imagery, simultaneously advertised their own products along with others’ settings and situations. What better places to sell, demonstrate, and enact photographic habits than American marketplaces and landscape in miniature? Nevertheless, the picture-taking signs sat at a curious nexus of developing disciplines, which sometimes led to confusion as to their ultimate purpose and under whose auspices they fell. Beginning circa 1930-31, after L. B. Jones’s promotion but before his death 1934, Kodak officially engaged the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency in New York City to aid in various aspects of their press and advertising strategies, although the split between what was kept in-house and outsourced is not entirely clear.⁴⁵² In 1960, as will be discussed later, Eastman Kodak Company and

⁴⁵¹ “The Advertising Business,” Smithsonian Museum of American History and Wilson, “Selling the Machine Age,” 75. According to the former, this included direct mail, catalogs and magazines, outdoor advertising, and spokespeople as well as “radio, magazines, comic books, billboards, buildings, newspapers”; according to the latter, this also included “insurance brochures, sales catalogues, magazine advertisements, and packages.”

⁴⁵² Most of the JWT company archives are housed at Duke University’s David M. Rubenstein Library, although material related to the Kodak Picture Spots does not seem to be present. As a part of their The Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke also houses the “Collection of Kodakiana,” collected by Wayne P. Ellis, which consists mainly of Kodak advertisements and other stray references, but greatly overlaps with that of the George Eastman Museum Legacy Collection.

For more on the Duke collections and Kodak, see Lisa McCarty, “An Everyday Affair: Selling the Kodak Image to America, 1888-1989,” exhibition guide, Center for Documentary Studies at Duke University, April 10-September 13, 2014, Porch & University Galleries, accessed March 20, 2016, <http://documentarystudies.duke.edu/exhibits/past-exhibits/an-everyday-affair-selling-the-kodak-image-to-america-1888-1989-4-10-14-9-13-14>, 6. For more on the Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University, Rubenstein Library, see their online collection home, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/hartman/>.

J. Walter Thompson pitched the Picture Spot signs to executives of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, on behalf of Kodak, although Fair officials did not consent to their placement until late 1963. Furthermore, some of aspects of the Picture Spot signs, specifically shooting the sample photographs, fell under the auspices of Kodak's Consumer Sales & Services and Photographic Illustration departments.⁴⁵³

Engaging many different departments within and outside of Kodak, the Picture Spots are the mark of changing aspects within corporate culture and were likely considered "special projects," thus falling under such a more general designation administratively. It is patent that the picture-taking signs were a form of advertising, for Kodak and for expositions; however, there was a marked delay in the 1964-65 Fair's understanding and agreement. Because they also involved the burgeoning fields of industrial design and landscape architecture, the Picture Spot's purview crossed and related to efforts on the part of pioneers Walter Dorwin Teague, industrial designer, and Gilmore D. Clarke, landscape architect, who were involved in both of New York's World's Fairs (1939-40 and 1964-65) and Kodak's efforts.⁴⁵⁴ While rich in

⁴⁵³ While we know that the "Picture Ahead" sign and "Kodak as you go" print campaigns were most likely overseen by Kodak advertising executive Lewis Bunnell Jones, it is not entirely clear under which auspices the campaigns fell in the 1930s or which entity oversaw the 1939-40 New York World's Fair efforts (more research at the NYPL is needed on the part of the latter as well as with regards to JWT). Clearly, the Kodak signs engaged both employees and dealers, as they were featured in their internal magazines devoted to both of these constituencies. On the latter point of under which department the Kodak Picture Spot signs fell later in the 1960s and beyond, see Paul Yarrows, interview with the author and Gordon P. Brown, June 30, 2015, addressed below.

⁴⁵⁴ Walter Dorwin Teague began with a background in advertising and later designed spaces, cameras, and products for Kodak from 1927 on consistently, beginning with a commission for cameras. For the overlap between set design advertising and the growth of this new arena, including Teague, Norman Bel Geddes, and others, see Robert W. Rydell, "Introduction: Making America (More) Modern: America's Depression Era-World's Fairs," in Rydell and Schiavo, eds., *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, 8-9 as well as *The Machine Age in America: 1918-1941*, cited earlier, and Jeffrey L. Meikle,

interdisciplinary possibilities and connections, the boundary crossings of practitioners and issues related to Kodak Picture Spots, within still growing professions and genres, not only makes it a challenge for period research on the picture-taking signs, but for assessing their legacy today.⁴⁵⁵

In a special preview of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair in a trade journal for dealers, Kodak touted its long-standing relationship with expositions (figure 3.3), an association that it continues to this day.⁴⁵⁶ Beginning with the 1893 Columbian Exposition and continuing through the 1915 Pan-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, the 1933-34 Century of Progress fair in Chicago, and the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, Kodak crafted and underscored a progression of increasing participation in fairs along with professionalization. In this multi-page feature, Kodak connected together their exposition-based efforts: they began by noting that some of the 1893 guidebooks did not

Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925-1939 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

Trained as a civil engineer and landscape architect, Gilmore D. Clarke worked for the New York parks system, under Robert Moses, who eventually oversaw the 1964-65 Fair as president. Clarke designed the overall layout, including radiating avenues and focal points, of the 1939-40 New York's World's Fair, and which the later Fair followed; he also designed the symbol of the 1964-65 Fair, the Unisphere. Clarke joined Michael Rapuano and helped to create the firm of Clarke & Rapuano, Inc., in 1935, contracting with the 1964-65 Fair, and worked there until he retired in 1972. For more basic information on Clarke and an overview of his involvement with the Fair, see the document for designating the Unisphere and its surrounding pools and fountains as a Landmark Site, Donald Pesa, Research Department, New York City Landmarks Preservation Division, "Unisphere Report," May 16, 1995, accessed April 28, 2016, <http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/reports/unisphere.pdf>.

⁴⁵⁵ The extensive New York World's Fair collections at the NYPL are organized by corporation, office, or entity under which various projects fell. While the extensive card index does cross reference some projects and letters, one needs to determine the main subject header and sponsor of the Fair project to find the associated materials. According to the Fair's administrators, as will be discussed later, the Kodak Picture Spots did not always fall mainly under Kodak, but were also associated with a separate and late-breaking project, the Pan American Highway Gardens, which was considered one of the few projects under the umbrella of the Fair itself. This is just one example of the challenges associated with researching the Kodak signs.

⁴⁵⁶ Kodak, "Kodak Photo Caravan Ranges U.S. for World's Fair Pictures," *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* 48 no. 2 (February/March 1963), 9. From GELC at GEM.

even list Kodak as an exhibitor and ended with a photograph from their 1939 stand-alone pavilion featuring a sea of faces, including everyone from their information staff to their Director of Amateur Sales to their Vice President. Here, Kodak's message and alliance was clear. The photographic company was a growing, well-staffed institution, with associated personnel, administration, and impact.⁴⁵⁷ Fairs meant film and Kodak knew it, concluding the article by stressing to their stores and salesmen that "at the most recent Seattle Fair (Century 21 Exposition in 1962), an estimated 50% of the visitors carried cameras" and "millions upon millions of snapshots were taken."⁴⁵⁸

On the occasion of the 1962 groundbreaking for their new pavilion for the 1964-65 Fair, Kodak President William S. Vaughn responded to a question asking if this was Kodak's first World's Fair: "No indeed... [it] carries on a long history of participation in World's Fairs because photography and Fairs seem to go so naturally together."⁴⁵⁹ In his prepared remarks, Vaughn rattled off the major international expositions in which Kodak had participated to date, collating a connection and underscoring their corporate goodwill: 1893 (Chicago), 1933 (Chicago), 1939 (New York), and 1958 (Brussels).⁴⁶⁰

Further emphasizing this lineage of fairs to photographs, Kodak used George Eastman's

⁴⁵⁷ Kodak, "Kodak Photo Caravan Ranges U.S. for World's Fair Pictures."

⁴⁵⁸ Kodak, "Kodak Photo Caravan Ranges U.S. for World's Fair Pictures."

⁴⁵⁹ This Q&A event seems to have taken place earlier or later than the general speeches. William S. Vaughn, Kodak President, as quoted in 3-page, no author, n. d., transcription of groundbreaking of Kodak pavilion at the New York Fair, August 21, 1962, "Questions for Tape Interviews at Kodak Ground Breaking, New York World's Fair, respondents including Will Burtin (designer), William S. Vaughn, and Robert Moses, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, 1964-65 New York World's Fair Collection, Box #351, P4.0, Eastman Kodak groundbreaking 8/20/62 folder, Special Events, Participation, 3 pages, 1. Hereafter, the box, folder, and Fair's organization will be listed first and the latter will shortened to "NYWF at NYPL."

⁴⁶⁰ William S. Vaughn, "Remarks at the Groundbreaking for the World's Fair Exhibit," August 21, 1962, Speeches Folder 10:25, five pages, 3, Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester.

first camera, the Kodak Camera Number 1 from 1888, to photograph officials at the 1962 groundbreaking ceremony.⁴⁶¹ For his part of the speeches, President of the Fair Corporation Robert Moses similarly pointed out the fact that those who visited and photographed the 1893 Chicago Exposition were only a couple generations removed from their own.⁴⁶² Whether they attended fairs here or abroad, Moses noted that they took images and “kept them in albums and dragged them out on every possible occasion and looked them over. They get as much fun out of that as their parents and grandparents did out of seeing the show itself.”⁴⁶³ In their hyperbolic statements, both Kodak and Moses avowed that photographs were powerful tools in the making and marketing of expositions and exhibitors.

II. Institutionalizing Photography at the Fair: Kodak and The White City

The companies of Kodak and Disney drew inspiration from as well as contributed to world’s fairs and expositions. The Chicago World’s Fair of 1893, also known as the Colombian Exposition or the “White City,” sold over 27 million tickets and was one of

⁴⁶¹ Meredith S. Conley of J. Walter Thompson, press release, “George Eastman’s First Camera Used to Photograph Officials at New York Ceremonies,” scheduled for release after noon August 21, 1962, Box #351, P4.0, Eastman Kodak groundbreaking - 8/20/64 folder, Special Events, Participation, NYWF at NYPL. They noted that it was loaded with color film and Vaughn used it to photograph Robert Moses.

⁴⁶² Robert Moses was the “master builder” of mid-century New York City and its surrounding areas. His influence ranged from city planning to parks and from roads to public works, which will be discussed below, all of which come to play in overseeing a World’s Fair in a major metropolitan area.

⁴⁶³ Robert Moses, as quoted in Kodak, Public Relations Department, 4-page pamphlet on Kodak’s groundbreaking, August 21, 1962, “Sales & Marketing” box, “World’s Fair Press Kit - 1964” folder, Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester.

several international exhibitions held on U.S. soil in the 19th century.⁴⁶⁴ Originally, all photography, save that made by the official photographers and mainly Charles Dudley Arnold, was prohibited within the grounds by fair organizers. The Columbian Exposition's goal was to "curtail the use of amateur photography," as West has explained, "in order to ensure that visitors would purchase their photographs instead."⁴⁶⁵ For instance, the Fair's board instituted a \$2 per day photographic permit charge, which was four times the admission price, and initially prohibited cameras that used anything larger than 4x5" negatives, stereo cameras, tripods, and the selling of film.⁴⁶⁶ In addition, the Fair's police, known as the Columbian Guard, escorted camera holders to the Department of Photography, which was obscurely placed behind the Horticulture Building, to obtain their permit and then guided them back to the main gate to get their tickets.⁴⁶⁷ As independent scholar Julie K. Brown concludes, "Nothing was transparent or neutral about photography at the World's Columbian Exposition; it was scripted and orchestrated."⁴⁶⁸ With this almost Foucauldian action and level of control, the Fair aimed

⁴⁶⁴ Two efforts preceded Chicago: the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, which despite its name was primarily focused on the United States, and the 1853 Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, which included the New York City Crystal Palace. The overall population of the United States in 1893 was about 63 million, thus 27 million tickets was an impressive draw for Chicago Fair. See Annie Schentag, "Photography at the World's Fairs: Constructing 'Official' Images," arch * tourism, online exhibition, n.p., Cornell University, accessed March 13, 2016, <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/Architourism/exhibition/Constructing%20Official%20Images%20Photography%20at%20the%20Worlds%20Fairs/index.html>. This online essay is a useful, short overview of the White City and its intersection with photography and souvenirs with an excellent bibliography.

⁴⁶⁵ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 63.

⁴⁶⁶ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 63. Photographic permit charges were not new, they occurred in the Paris Universelle Exposition in 1889, but other earlier fairs did not generally select a singular photographic firm or limit camera size. Furthermore, there was an additional charge of \$1 to enter the Street in Cairo, a recreated Egyptian street. See Schentag, "Photography at the World's Fairs."

⁴⁶⁷ Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 35 and Peter Bacon Hales, *Silver Cities: Photographic American Urbanization, 1839-1939* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 255.

⁴⁶⁸ Julie K. Brown, *Contesting Images: Photography and the World's Columbian Exposition* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1994), 115. Brown also writes about how high and prohibitive this fee was as

to divest the public's imagination of divergent images, yet ironically they could have coerced amateur photographers to achieve similar results, as Kodak would later do to further advertize the Fair.⁴⁶⁹

Never one to take no for an answer, George Eastman, together with his advertising manager L. B. Jones—who had, as explained earlier, just started his Kodak tenure the year before in 1892—demanded that their company be included in the Fair. In order to do so, they began their photographic battle against the Columbian Exposition officials first with advertising. Kodak positioned themselves as the democratic alternative to the professional practitioner, namely the Fair's official photographer Charles Dudley Arnold who will be discussed in depth below, which the Fair's larger format-based camera ban connoted and targeted. A Kodak advertisement took their case directly to the public:

The Kodak is the World's Fair camera. As neither glass plates nor films will be sold on the Exposition grounds, the photographer must carry his ammunition with him. This the Kodaker can easily do. His roll of film capable of taking 100 pictures weighs but a few ounces. His out-fit is self-contained—no bulky glass plates and holders with a liability of breakage. Kodaks are compact, strong, simple.⁴⁷⁰

The implication here is twofold: without photographic documentation, one's experience and memory of the fair would be diminished and the fairgoer could “combat” the sanctioned reading via extensive snapshots taken, theoretically, from their own point of

well as the belabored process in *Contesting Images*, 95. This is an extensive overview of photography and the White City.

⁴⁶⁹ Brown, *Contesting Images*, 95.

⁴⁷⁰ Kodak, as quoted in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 64. West does not include a footnote for this quote, but cites it as coming from a series of advertisements that George Eastman and L.B. Jones co-authored to promote the 1893 Fair.

view, however guided that was. What the amateur did not realize was that with such authoritative practices and results—the official images and their own—came close to being one and the same. In another print advertisement from 1893 (figure 3.4), Kodak utilized a phrase that would continue into their travel campaigns of the 1920s, emphasizing the Kodak camera’s ease of use and practicality as well as aesthetic and authorial ethics: “The moral is obvious—Take a Kodak With you.”

For over a year, George Eastman petitioned the fair and eventually the fair’s board acquiesced in mid May, weeks after the White City had opened.⁴⁷¹ Together with the Gustav Cramer Dry Plate Company, Kodak set up shop next to the official Department of Photography in June 1893, with the former providing glass plates and the latter cameras and film as well as darkrooms for changing. A month later, the advertisements took on a different tone: “Having seen the superior work done on our new Kodak films, the World’s Fair authorities have decided to sell no other film on the grounds.”⁴⁷² Early “Kodak Girls” figured prominently in promotional materials, perhaps to remind authorities that the amateur photographer was not a fearful figure (figure 3.5). In one such print, two well-dressed women appear alone and bend over, with the Fine Arts Building behind them across a body of water. These genteel figures were in direct contrast to a common depiction of “camera fiends,” clogging sidewalks and blocking the best views, the very same concerns that the 1964-65 World’s Fair officials would level in their initial negotiations over Kodak’s picture-taking signs over almost 70 years later.

⁴⁷¹ Brayer notes that George Eastman visited the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair at least three times, Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 133. The Columbian Exposition ran from May 1, 1893 to October 20, 1893.

⁴⁷² Kodak, as quoted in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 64.

Nevertheless, the fairgoers themselves seemed to self-regulate whatever overcrowding and adapt to any viewing trepidation, with the help of vocal advocates.⁴⁷³ Additionally, mirroring a practice that they would enact in every World's Fair thereafter, Kodak also provided copious "competent attendants" to assist amateurs with their cameras and answer any questions.⁴⁷⁴

However illogical the initial photographic approach, the planning of the 1893 Chicago Fair and its features were approached in a highly ordered and impressive fashion. Fair Director Daniel H. Burnham brought together numerous architects and Frederick Law Olmsted oversaw the grounds. Nicknamed the White City due to the overwhelming color of the buildings with a stucco wash, the gleaming and pristine feel of the buildings was in direct contrast to the industrialized cities of the Manufacturing Belt. George Eastman had in fact attended Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and Kodak had a presence at the 1889 Paris Exposition—the only photographic manufacturer to do so. Thus, Kodak clearly understood their potential when planning for the first major American fair after his company's founding, initially proposing a concession operation as well as a building at the White City.⁴⁷⁵ Period politician and historian Henry Adams accurately pinpointed the focus of the Columbian Exposition as an effort that

⁴⁷³ Alfred Stieglitz assumed the co-editorship of *The American Amateur Photographer* in the spring of 1893 and was a staunch advocate of the learned amateur, defined according to him as the harbinger of fine art photography. For Hales on Stieglitz and his views of and arguments with the Fair, see Hales, *Silver Cities*, 257-258.

⁴⁷⁴ Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 134.

⁴⁷⁵ Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 133 and Julie K. Brown, "Seeing and Remembering: George Eastman and the World's Columbian Exposition," in *Image* 39, no. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 1996), 3-27, 5-6. Brown also discusses the photographic competition exhibition that Eastman brought the Fair as well as two government sponsored displays, 8.

endorsed “industrial, speculative growth.”⁴⁷⁶ Eastman had such goals in mind, and more, given his evocation of a key American and Westward expansion metaphor, when writing to his business partner Henry Strong:

The manifest destiny of the Eastman Kodak Company is to be the largest manufacturer of photographic materials in the world, or else go to pot. As long as we can pay for all of our improvements and also some dividends I think we can keep on the upper road. We have never yet started a new department that we have not made it pay for itself very quickly.⁴⁷⁷

Eastman’s citation of “manifest destiny” is apt here as it was at the Columbian Exposition that Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his famous “Frontier Thesis,” a theory that American democracy had been shaped by the push West, thereby expanding territories, minds, and possibilities.⁴⁷⁸ That same year, a financial panic occurred, bankrupting thousands of companies, making investments riskier than normal.⁴⁷⁹ Despite a tighter budget, and perhaps with the above inevitability in mind, Kodak pressed forward on their plan to convince the organizers to allow amateur photographers, and thus conspicuous

⁴⁷⁶ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (1907; repr., Cambridge: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1918), 340.

⁴⁷⁷ George Eastman to Henry Strong, as quoted in Collins, *The Story of Kodak*, 81.

⁴⁷⁸ Historian Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his paper, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” before a special meeting of the American Historical Association at the Chicago Fair in 1893. Turner also warned that the frontier was ending, raising concerns for the fate of American ideals and progress. See also the introduction to Patricia Neslon Limerick, “Closing the Frontier and Opening Western History,” *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 17-32.

For a discussion of this “geographical determinism” vis-à-vis other thinkers and photography, see Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 204-205 and to a more general extent, Martha A. Sandweiss, “Indecisive Moments: The Narrative Tradition in Western Photography,” in Martha Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and Fort Worth: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. and Amon Carter Museum, 1991), 98-129. For more on Turner and the 1893 expo, see Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 14-16.

⁴⁷⁹ Collins, *The Story of Kodak*, 77.

amateur photography and the Kodak company, into the Fair. Final attendance and sales figures suggested that their efforts were prescient: by the time the White City closed, millions had passed through its gates and the Fair cleared a profit.⁴⁸⁰

The White City's 600-plus-acre site with its more than 200 classical revival temporary buildings was a chief impetus for the "City Beautiful" movement, which privileged beauty, order, and grandeur and updated elements of the Picturesque era in its overall plans (figure 3.6, a).⁴⁸¹ At the fair, Olmsted brought together aspects of his previous parks, such as a larger lagoon, canal, and water features, and scenic views (figure 3.6, b), together with the broad boulevards that the Fair organizers wanted. Olmsted emphasized that it was not the water alone that contributed to the design for which he was known, but the shores, foliage, terraces, and the reflections, taken altogether, that "contribute to the desired general scenic effect of the Exposition as a whole."⁴⁸² Each of these elements was used extensively in earlier Picturesque touristic viewing practices as well as well-crafted photographic compositions.

While one of his major features, the Wooded Isle, became less wooded in reality (the interior was given over to floral displays by the Horticulture Department), Olmsted promoted key objectives on the island that parallel Picturesque-era principles. With its framing foliage, the Wooded Isle also had an overall aesthetic that would render well in

⁴⁸⁰ Cathy Jean Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens: Shaping American Landscapes* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 11.

⁴⁸¹ Eastman biographer Brayer credits Rochesterian city planner Charles Mulford Robinson with the name "City Beautiful"; see Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 132.

⁴⁸² Frederick Law Olmsted to D. H. Burnham, December 28, 1891, LOC: FLO, as quoted in Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens*, 63. For background on the City Beautiful movement, see William A. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

photographs: a low ground grade to contrast with the rest of the exposition; natural scenery to distinguish the area from the rest of the buildings and crowds; and a “mysterious poetic effect.”⁴⁸³ Expanding upon Macy and Bonnemaïson’s assertion that “scenic wilderness for Olmsted was a landscape that could be read as a painting,” his edges, peripheries, and contrasts as well as distinct fore, middle, and backgrounds were all elements regularly featured in compositions of numerous professional and amateur photographers alike.⁴⁸⁴

Adding another aesthetic layer, the White City was “designed with the conceptual framework of photography,” according to media scholar Eric Gordon, not only in its planning but also its visual packaging and marketability.⁴⁸⁵ Gordon’s notion of “possessive spectatorship” as well as his citation of American Studies scholar Peter Bacon Hales’s ideas on the photographic depiction and theorizing of urban spaces help to understand how the Fair’s and Kodak’s contributions to mediated visual experiences worked in concert with such constructed spaces.⁴⁸⁶ In particular, Hales underscored the notion that photography shaped the understanding and experience of the Chicago Fair—its representation, consumption, and recollection—all aspects that Kodak tried to control

⁴⁸³ Frederick Law Olmsted, “Memorandum as to what is to be aimed in the planting of the lagoon district of the Chicago Exposition, as proposed March, 1891,” LOC: FLO, as quoted in Maloney, *World’s Fair Gardens*, 63.

⁴⁸⁴ Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape*, 26. They echo Maloney’s point about aesthetic and compositional variation, which certainly connects to Picturesque principles and translates well to camera-sight, too: “Perspective, masses of vegetation and subtle variety in the patterns of light, shade and shadow, were all necessary ingredients for creating a discourse that spoke of beauty and intrinsic value of wilderness,” 26.

⁴⁸⁵ Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 23.

⁴⁸⁶ Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 3-4. Gordon draws largely from and provides a summary of Hales’s argument from his chapter “At its Peak: Grand-Style Photography and the World’s Columbian Exposition, 1892-1893” in Peter Bacon Hales, *Silver Cities: Photographic American Urbanization, 1839-1939*, 213-269.

via various behavioral strategies: “the result of [the] densely layered combination of photographic depiction, exhibition, and dissemination was a city as real in photographs as it was in its physical form (perhaps more real, in fact), as permanent (or, again, more so) as that which it proposed to represent.”⁴⁸⁷ While Hales does not invoke heterotopias here, his mention of the reality and hyper-reality of the White City’s spaces and their representation engages Foucault’s multi-faceted concept.⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, the Fair itself was purposefully ephemeral, evoking the temporary nature of heterotopias. Most of the buildings were essentially facades, covered with stucco, a mixture of plaster, cement, and fiber, painted white. The Chicago Fair’s fragile and cultivated constitution was contrasted with a nearby railroad and city streets bordering the entire west side, becoming a self-contained, interim entity in a rapidly modernizing city. Put another way, as Macy and Bonnemaïson maintain, “Once again, the ‘garden’ is in the ‘machine.’”⁴⁸⁹

Such photographic behaviors within the Columbian Exposition helped to establish pictorial precedents and presaged protocols for Kodak and Disney as well as later Picture Spot signs. Just as Disney would later do with television, the official photographs by Charles Dudley Arnold told the story of the fair as it was being built. Photographed by Arnold and his assistant, H. D. Higinbotham, the images that the Fair promoted were published in *Official Views of the World’s Columbian Exposition* in 1893, among other

⁴⁸⁷ Peter Bacon Hales, *Silver Cities*, 214.

⁴⁸⁸ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 24.

⁴⁸⁹ See Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape*, 19. Macy and Bonnemaïson address the White City, nature, and conservation within their excellent first chapter, “Exhibiting Wilderness at the Columbian Exposition,” 13-69, by focusing their discussion around three topics: “the redwood tree, the islands in the lagoon, and the hunter’s camp,” 18.

outlets.⁴⁹⁰ By way of placement of his “carefully plotted vistas” in a variety of media outlets, the 1893 Fair pre-sold the experience in the press beginning in 1891, according to Gordon, thus giving “people a sense of having already seen the White City, long before it was even possible to do so.”⁴⁹¹ At its peak in August 1893, the Department of Photography had 108 workers printing and distributing the official images in everything from platinum to photogravure to halftone, but did not offer all of the typical or more popular tourist formats.⁴⁹² Proving the success of such institutionalized aesthetic education, the White City quickly became the most photographed (by amateurs) and seen (by those consuming the professional images) “city” in the world.⁴⁹³

Official and amateur photographs of the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair contributed to this amazing achievement as well as the release of picture postcards; in fact, the very first commercially produced souvenir postcards bearing images were of the Columbian

⁴⁹⁰ 1893 Columbian Exposition, Department of Photography, C. D. Arnold and H. D. Higinbotham, *Official Views of the World’s Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Chicago Photo Gravure Company, 1893). For a digitized version of this publication, see <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011209217>, accessed March 26, 2016. Other souvenir photographic books were produced, both in book and portfolio form.

Hales provides an extensive overview of the construction of the Fair, *Silver Cities*, 215-239. Higinbotham was the son of the president of the Exposition board and while they held the position jointly, Arnold was clearly the leader. Brown mentions that Arnold and Higinbotham were not the only photographers to photograph the Fair, although they were the official ones and the ones that did so the most extensively. Others included William Henry Jackson, to be discussed below, and Frances Benjamin Johnston, see Brown *Contesting Images*, 68.

⁴⁹¹ Eric Gordon, *The Urban Spectator: American Concept-Cities from Kodak to Google* (Lebanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2010), 33. In “Photography at the World’s Fairs,” Schentag quotes James Gilbert’s observation that “It was difficult, if not impossible..to avoid encountering an image of the fair before visiting,” from James Gilbert, “Fixing the Image: Photography at the World’s Columbian Exposition,” ed. by Neil Harris, in *Grand Illusions: Chicago’s World’s Fair of 1893* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993), 103.

⁴⁹² Brown, *Contesting Images*, 71, and 68-73. The Department produced and sold prints, lantern slides, and reproductions for press, but decided not to offer stereoviews. The latter was sold as outsourced as a concession to B. W. Kilburn Company, see Brown *Contesting Images*, 76-77.

⁴⁹³ Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 23.

Exposition.⁴⁹⁴ Not unlike photographs, both official and unofficial postcards were offered of the Fair. As if to prolong the authoritative gesture and build anticipation, postcard agent Charles W. Goldsmith and printer American Lithographic Company released both “pre-official,” without the seal and signatures, and “official” sets of postcards (figure 3.7).⁴⁹⁵ Reinforcing another approach and contributing to a visual memento of the entire fair in book form, Rand, McNally & Company also worked together with the Department of Photography.⁴⁹⁶ The publishers of various ephemera had high expectations for their pictorial renditions of the White City, not unlike Mr. Eastman, as the Rand McNally guide stated:

This volume is published with two objects in view: First, to provide a fitting memento of the World’s Fair for those who made themselves familiar with its wonder and desire to keep its memories green; secondly, to supply the sixty odd million people in the United State, who have not seen the Fair, with a series of pictures that will convey, to the fullest extent made possible by art, a true and vivid idea of the sublimity of the great Exposition, and, as far as can be, minimize the loss they sustained through absence.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁴ George Eastman was quick to realize the potential of postcards, remarking to a businessman “It looks as if there might be a big future in postal cards,” as quoted in Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography*, 202. Dorothy B. Ryan phrases it this way: “Picture postcards in the United States begin with the souvenir issues sold at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. These are not the earliest postcards in the United States, but they are the earliest commercially produced picture postcards.” See Dorothy B. Ryan, *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918*, updated edition (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1982), 1. Ryan discusses expositions in Chapter 3, 33-70. For other histories of postcards see David Proshaska and Jordana Mendelson, *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010) and Lynda Klich and Benjamin Weiss, *The Postcard Age: Selections from the Leonard A. Lauder Collection* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2012).

⁴⁹⁵ Ryan, *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918*, 35-38. Picture postcards were produced for earlier expositions, printed on governmental postcards and intended as advertisements, but not as souvenirs; the 1893 Chicago Fair was the first example of this then-new application. See George Miller and Dorothy Miller, *Picture Postcards in the United States: 1893-1918* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1976). 34.

⁴⁹⁶ Speaking to Andrew McNally’s importance to the Chicago Fair, McNally was given the honor of opening the gates of the “White City.” The McNally guidebooks included line drawings reproduced as prints, not photographs. For a short history on McNally and Rand, see Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 24-28.

⁴⁹⁷ Rand, McNally & Company guide as quoted in Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 23.

According to Hales, over four millions guidebooks, books of views, and other souvenir volumes were published and sold, satiating even those who could not attend and suitably recapitulating the Fair using Arnold's official images.⁴⁹⁸

With every permit for a camera at the White City, Kodak and its employees distributed guidebooks, encouraging an early pattern of rephotography via a manual or map, a perfect prelude to the Picture Spots. These manuals essentially included, as Gordon aptly points out, the "best vantage points from which to photograph (in service of reproducing Arnold's images)."⁴⁹⁹ As seen in an image of the Fisheries Building (figure 3.8), Arnold crafted a view that balances the grandeur of the building with the picturesque framing provided by Olmsted's Wooded Isle and surrounding flora. Even Arnold himself seemed to be mindful of this, capturing two amateurs in the process of recreating one of his views (figure 3.9), while another tourist looks back mindfully at the professional's large camera.⁵⁰⁰ Arnold's choice to depict the specific position of these men with their hand-held cameras, most likely Kodaks, sets up a perfect point of view and precedent for others to follow. In addition to Kodak's own Fair publication, which served as a portable version of their later picture-taking signs, some photographers desired so much for directed experiences to specific locales that they provided them for

⁴⁹⁸ Hales, *Silver Cities*, 219. Hales relates that at some point, midsummer of 1893, Arnold lost control of his mass media output and/or press relations, in part due to the massive criticism that befell the Fair, and him, as well as a falling out between the two entities. See Hales, *Silver Cities*, 256 and 258. The Fair commissioned a final portfolio not from Arnold, but William Henry Jackson. By the end of January 1894, Jackson submitted a portfolio of 100 prints to the architect Daniel Burnham, which were also licensed to souvenir books. See Hales, *Silver Cities*, 258-259.

⁴⁹⁹ Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 36-38.

⁵⁰⁰ Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 36-38. Quite interestingly, this latter populated image was the one included in *Official Views Of The World's Columbian Exposition*.

others to follow. Thereafter, a plethora of photographic walking tours of the 1893 Fair appeared in popular publications using similar language, thus strengthening both corporate and amateur approaches. With this approach, Kodak was becoming a trusted teacher, promoting vision and guidance.

Applicable to or perhaps in competition with Kodak's manual, an article by F. Dundas Todd in *The American Amateur Photographer* serves as a good paradigm for the later signs as he outlined more than a dozen points from which to photograph the 1893 Exposition.⁵⁰¹ Todd's one-day tour began at 8am and was divided into morning and afternoon in order to catch the best light for the appropriate building or subject. Akin to later picture-taking signs, Todd described how and where to position one's self ("a point about forty yards north of the bridge... standing on the edge of the lagoon") and gave exposure information ("about four times the ordinary)."⁵⁰² The amateur author tallied the first few images, "View one" through four, some of which deserve "at least two plates."⁵⁰³ Of note, Todd's description of the approach to the Fisheries building may constitute a "how-to" retake Arnold's official images (figure 3.8). Later, around 3'o'clock, he advised the amateur to cross to a "wooded island" and explore the water's

⁵⁰¹ F. Dundas Todd, "Hand-Camera Guide to the World's Fair," *The American Amateur Photographer* 4 (April 1893): 166-67. The article originally ran a month prior in *The Photo Beacon*: F. Dundas Todd, "Hand-Camera Guide to the World's Fair," *The Photo Beacon* 5, no. 51 (March 1893): 84-86.

See also Gordon's summary of Todd's article, *The Urban Spectator*, 36. Brown claims, somewhat contradictorily, that "these walking-tour picture points were different from the professionals' structured viewpoints designed to create an image of the Exposition, with its carefully laid out vistas, which were often shared by more than one photographer," *Contesting Images*, 99. By contrast, while commenting on Todd's other publication *World's Fair through a Camera: Snapshots by an Artist* (1893), Schentag states that "The photographs produced by amateurs, however, are strikingly similar in style, subject matter, and composition to the official photographer's images," from "Photography at the World's Fairs: Constructing 'Official' Images."

⁵⁰² F. Dundas Todd, "Hand-Camera Guide to the World's Fair," 166.

⁵⁰³ F. Dundas Todd, "Hand-Camera Guide to the World's Fair," 166.

edges; “At the north end of the island that happy people, the Japanese, have erected a picturesque building, and few will pass it without exposing a plate. Right here is the best view of the Fisheries, which makes, with a suitable foreground one of the finest compositions in the park.”⁵⁰⁴ The writer’s recommendation for framing parallels Arnold’s inclusion of compositional elements such as shrubbery and part of the lagoon’s bank. Presaging the later message of photographic abundance, this advanced amateur (Kodak’s target audience) also advocated for venturing away from the spot itself. Todd explained, “It is to be supposed that any one following the route I have given will keep his eyes open to possibilities, and will not lose sight of the wood on account of the trees. Scattered all over the grounds are many charming bits, and that in the most unexpected situations.”⁵⁰⁵ A fascinating tension existed within this temporary city and its more durable documentation, as Hales affirmed: “It was also a city best understood by the agency of sight and best seen—or at least, *most* seen, in sheer numbers and in repeated viewings—in photographs.”⁵⁰⁶

Contributing further to this visual abundance promoted at the Columbian Exposition, Kodak rebranded and sold a special “Kolumbus Kamera,” replete with 250 exposures instead of the normal 100, and encouraged visitors to “bring home the fair on just one roll.”⁵⁰⁷ This special camera and film prompted multiplicity and (quite literally) hundreds of views. “Snap now, remember later” might be the mantra as Kodak began to

⁵⁰⁴ F. Dundas Todd, “Hand-Camera Guide to the World’s Fair,” 167.

⁵⁰⁵ F. Dundas Todd, “Hand-Camera Guide to the World’s Fair,” 167.

⁵⁰⁶ Hales, *Silver Cities*, 251. Hales underscores the fact that this city was temporary and quite fragile. Facades often needed fixing after rainstorms.

⁵⁰⁷ Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 64-65. At the time, Kodak listed 19 types of cameras in its catalog; see Collins, *The Story of Kodak*, 78.

focus on in their Fair approach, along with quantity and mobility. It was fitting then that at the Columbian Exposition, fairgoers saw an exhibit of the first automobiles, items that not only would feature prominently in subsequent American fairs, but also work in concert with the roadside picture-taking signs to come.⁵⁰⁸

While Eastman Kodak did have a presence in the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, California, it appears that the company's efforts in this fair were minor, comprising more technical and smaller displays as well as a print advertisement.⁵⁰⁹ As photohistorian Poulet has observed, "A shift was about to occur, from a culture of exhibition, or 'fair culture,' to a 'corporate culture' in which amateur photography would become a privileged medium of communication."⁵¹⁰ From the White City to the subsequent major international fairs on American soil, technology tipped and these two machines, cars and cameras, became more closely aligned within exposition culture as well as the larger landscape.

III. Setting the Standard: Kodak's Participation in other Fairs, 1933 and 1939

While Kodak does not appear to have installed Picture Spots until the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, they did set up expectations and promoted similar behaviors beforehand. This section will focus on two expos that set up key precedents: the 1933-

⁵⁰⁸ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* 65.

⁵⁰⁹ Kodak is mentioned only three times in the official Fair catalog, including showing microscopic laboratory supplies in the Department of Mines and Metallurgy and in the Department of Liberal Arts under Architecture, presumably a structure of some sort, and Photography. See the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, *Official Catalogs of Exhibitors: Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: Walgreen Company, 1915), 13, 17, 26. A Fair-themed ad included a Kodak Girl and read: "Take a Kodak with you to the Pan-American Exposition. The Folding Pocket Kodaks."

⁵¹⁰ See Poulet, "The Cavalcade of Color: Kodak and the 1939 World's Fair."

34 Chicago World's Fair and the 1939-40 New York World's Fair.⁵¹¹ The second major fair to be held in Chicago after the "White City," A Century of Progress International Exposition serves as another point of reference, representing some site-based strategies that the company developed thereafter. The 1939-40 New York Fair, with the theme of "Building the World of Tomorrow," laid the groundwork, quite literally, for the 1964-65 Fair as it used the exact same Queens location and also had ties to the planner-turned-fair-executive Moses. In the first fair, Kodak did not have a stand-alone pavilion, but was set up in the Hall of Science; by contrast, in the second, the company built a free-standing modern structure that mimed facets of signage itself.

Presaging Precedents: Chicago's A Century of Progress Exposition, 1933-34

Celebrating the centennial of the city of Chicago and coming in the wake of the Great Depression, "A Century of Progress" was focused on the intersection of industrial and scientific development, with corporate and governmental backing as a path towards boosting consumerism. The planning of this next Chicago Fair began in 1928 with the appointment of Rufus C. Dawes, a businessman, and oil tycoon, as the chairman of the board. Nearly two dozen corporations, almost double the previous fair, constructed their own stand-alone pavilions. While hundreds of other companies presented displays in the General Exhibits Building, Kodak showcased their wares in a display in the Hall of

⁵¹¹ As explained below, the Chicago fair was originally intended to run only one season, but was renewed at the insistence of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to promote spending and by fair officials to help alleviate debt. It ran May 27, 1933–November 12, 1933 and May 26, 1934–October 31, 1934.

Science.⁵¹² Fair historian Robert W. Rydell explained the goals of the 1933 Chicago exposition, which was originally supposed to last only one season: “President Franklin D. Roosevelt was so taken with the power of the fair to stimulate spending on consumer durable goods, and thereby complement the federal government’s efforts to jump-start the economy, that he urged Dawes to reopen the fair in 1934, which the exposition corporation agreed to do.”⁵¹³

Not surprisingly, given its place in the industrialized Midwest, automobile companies had prominent and popular roles in the Chicago exposition. After initially not participating in the Fair in 1933, for example, Henry Ford changed his tune after seeing the success of General Motors’s model of an assembly line and ended up adding Ford’s own attraction for the 1934 season. As Ford had claimed only a few years earlier, “Machinery is accomplishing in the world what man has failed to do by preaching, propaganda, or the written word.”⁵¹⁴ When machines paired with marketing, which both cars and cameras were, the combination could be even more powerful. The slogan of the 1933-34 Chicago exposition was, in fact, a series of commands perfectly suited for the new technology-driven consumer climate as well as Kodak’s endorsement of specific

⁵¹² Robert W. Rydell, for the Chicago Historical Society, “Century of Progress Exposition,” *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/225.html> and Lisa D. Schrenk, “‘Industry Applies’: Corporate Marketing at A Century of Progress,” in Rydell and Schiavo, eds., *Designing Tomorrow: America’s World’s Fairs of the 1930s*, 26.

⁵¹³ Franklin D. Roosevelt quoted in Robert W. Rydell, “Century of Progress Exposition.” The general details of this and the following paragraph are drawn from this concise overview of the fair by Rydell, noted fair historian.

⁵¹⁴ Henry Ford, from “Machinery, The New Messiah,” *The Forum* 79 (March 1929), 363, as quoted in Wilson, Pilgrim, and Tashjian, *The Machine Age in America, 1918-1941*, 40.

photographic behaviors, specifically the last dictum: “Science Finds—Industry Applies—Man Conforms.”⁵¹⁵

Paired with the company issuing yet another fair commemorative camera, Kodak’s ephemera for “A Century of Progress” practiced and perfected their didactic pitch, which the company would eventually feature on their new Picture Spot signs in Disneyland circa 1959 and the 1964-65 fair.⁵¹⁶ The tenor of the Kodak text mirrored that of many businessmen and companies of the time, adopting a “personal, paternal tone,” according to architectural and exposition historian, Lisa D. Schrenk, much like that of a “caring friend offering guidance in the purchasing of the ‘right’ products.”⁵¹⁷ On the cover of a multi-page booklet Kodak produced for the 1933 fair, “Keep a Kodak Story of the Fair,” for example, a woman and a man lean forward as if they are private eyes; the subtitle is the most telling and closest to the philosophy and urging of the earlier picture-taking signs: “What to take, How to take it.”⁵¹⁸ After a page of practical tips with the slogan “Take home the wonders of the fair in snapshots you make yourself” (figure 3.10), the pamphlet unfolded to highlight specific buildings, which essentially served the same

⁵¹⁵ As quoted in Lisa D. Schrenk, “‘Industry Applies’: Corporate Marketing at A Century of Press,” in *Designing Tomorrow: America’s World’s Fairs of the 1930s*, 25.

⁵¹⁶ This camera was a special edition of an already produced camera, the Brownie Special No. 2, with a front metal panel showcasing a skyscraper and art deco-styled graphics and fonts. In all capital letters, the front read: “1833-1933 Century of Progress” at top, and “World’s Fair Souvenir,” below. Notably, 1833 was when Chicago was founded. See Todd Gustavson, *Camera: A History of Photography from Daguerreotype to Digital* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2009), 152.

⁵¹⁷ Schrenk, “‘Industry Applies’: Corporate Marketing at A Century of Press,” in *Designing Tomorrow: America’s World’s Fairs of the 1930s*, 26.

⁵¹⁸ Kodak, “Keep a Kodak story of the Fair” pamphlet, interior spread, as digitized and available on “Guide to the Century of Progress International Exposition Publications 1933-1934,” box 1, folder 8, Century of Progress International Exposition Publications, Crerar Ms 226, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, accessed March 15, 2016, <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/src/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.CRMS226>. The rest of the quotes in this section are taken from this Kodak brochure.

place-marking function of the “Picture Ahead” signs. The header touted a curious phrase that Kodak may have tested before settling on Picture Spot: “HIGH SPOT PICTURE SUBJECTS FOR YOUR KODAK AT THE FAIR.” Right below the banner, in a manner akin to the previous amateur photographic tour of the 1893 Fair as well as their later signs, the Kodak brochure reminded the consumer: “Be sure to snap these subjects...there are hundreds more.”⁵¹⁹

In this convenient guide, Kodak singled out about ten pavilions and several general areas to photograph. Paired with each black-and-white image are brief narratives, some with instructions to re-take the picture reproduced as well as other possible images from the same site. Using positional words and commands, Kodak promoted specific locales—“make horizontal picture from opposite side of road”—from very explicit stances—“get in peak from position in front of the entrance to the theatre”—using picturesque principles—“include trees on either side” (figure 3.10, first column). In addition, Kodak recommended times of day (“morning light” or “late afternoon”) and particular films. A testing grounds for many ideas, including Kodak’s developing corporate vision and Picture Spots beyond the road, the 1933-34 Chicago Fair serves as a suitable segue to the next major American Fair, one in which corporations, and specifically Eastman Kodak, would take on even larger roles.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹ Kodak , “Keep a Kodak story of the Fair” pamphlet.

⁵²⁰ The 1939-40 New York World’s Fair was one of the largest to date at 1216.5 acres, eclipsed only slightly by the 1904 St. Louis Fair. See Richard Wurts et al., *The New York World’s Fair 1939/40 in 155 Photographs* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977), xiii-xiv.

Staging the Scene: 1939-40 New York World's Fair

The 1939-40 World's Fair in Queens, New York was a heavily consumerist, image-laden, and technology-focused exposition and, not surprisingly, the fair's most successful items and offerings blended these features. The Fair was open for two seasons, April through October, which happened to coincide with significant worldwide events. The theme of the 1939 Fair, opening right before World War II began in September, was "Building the World of Tomorrow," placing emphasis on production and progress. Theme of the 1940 season was "For Peace and Freedom," originally reflecting a historical occasion and later acting as a cultural antidote to enemy advances and rising tensions in the war.⁵²¹ Among other products and attractions, this Fair saw the introduction of the View-Master (with Kodak's then-new Kodachrome film), Electro (the Westinghouse Electric Corporation's celebrity robot), and displays of car culture and city planning. Overall, 45 million people attended and the world watched. With this Fair, Kodak had a finger in every corporate pot: they designed the projectors for General Motor's Futurama pavilion, one of the most popular fair attractions, and Dupont exhibited plastics at the Kodak pavilion.⁵²² A member of the Theme Committee, Board of Design, and one of the designers of the Kodak pavilion, Walter Dorwin Teague

⁵²¹ The 1939 theme was also a more generalized delayed response to the Depression and the 1940 theme also initially referenced the 150th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration as president. For an approach and overview from the point of view of technology and the sublime see David Nye's *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994). The whole book is indispensable on the whole, but the chapter on this particular Fair, "Synthesis: The New York World's Fair of 1939," is less useful for this specific topic. Nevertheless, Nye does emphasize that this Fair did not try to compete in terms of size, but instead: "emphasized miniaturized landscapes of the future and the creativity of corporate research laboratories," 199.

⁵²² Poulet, "The Cavalcade of Color: Kodak and the 1939 World's Fair."

summarized the holistic aesthetic approach to the Fair as such: “We are not building big and little gadgets—we are building an environment.”⁵²³

The automobile and rapidly-growing highways featured prominently in two utopian-bent exhibitions at the Fair, designed by Henry Dreyfuss and Norman Bel Geddes respectively—Democracity (a model of an ideal community located centrally in the Fair’s iconic Perisphere) and Futurama (General Motor’s envisioned highway system of 1960)—which in turn were supported by Moses’s previous vision of Greater New York’s road system.⁵²⁴ Twice the size of the 1893 Columbian Exposition, the New York Fair boasted the equivalent of 60 miles of paved two-lane highways in its radiating walkways and avenues.⁵²⁵ Familiar names that would reoccur in the 1964-65 effort had different roles in the 1930-40 iteration included Moses, as the city’s representative to the 1939-40 Fair, and landscape architect Gilmore D. Clarke, a member of the Fair’s board of

⁵²³ Walter Dorwin Teague as quoted in Wilson, Pilgrim, and Tashjian, *The Machine Age in America*, 40. An example of such oversight was color coordination within the Fair: moving away from the pure white of the Tylon and Perisphere, the main axis moved to a series of deepening reds and the others radiating avenues did the same in shades of yellow and blue and one thoroughfare, rainbow Avenue, was conceived accordingly. See Wurts et al., *The New York World’s Fair 1939/40*, xiii.

⁵²⁴ Designed by these major industrial designers, both displays had city planning and superhighways at their core. Bel Geddes’s Futurama included hundreds of dioramas to depict 1960s America as realized primarily through “wondrous changes and improvements...in our national highways,” as quoted in Robert Bennett, “Pop Goes the Future: Cultural Representation of the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair,” in *Designing Tomorrow: America’s World’s Fairs of the 1930s*, 180. Democracity and Futurama are discussed and pictured on pages 180-183.

For additional readings and information on these two major exhibits and the Fair, see Robert Bennett, “Pop Goes the Future: Cultural Representations of the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair,” in Rydell and Schiavo, eds., *Designing Tomorrow: America’s World’s Fairs of the 1930s*, 177-191.

⁵²⁵ Cars were not allowed on the fairgrounds, unless official Fair vehicles. See Larry Zim, Mel Lerner, and Herbert Rolfes, *The World of Tomorrow: The 1939 New York World’s Fair* (New York: Harper & Row, A Main Street Press book, 1988), 31. This is a very good, general overview of the 1939-40 Fair, with facts, figures, maps, memorabilia, and photographs.

design and the person who came up with its overall preliminary layout.⁵²⁶ Of note, Moses and Clarke had a previous relationship: in the 1920s, as discussed in Chapter Two, Clarke served as the landscape architect of the country's first limited-access highway, the Bronx River Parkway, which was proposed and overseen by Moses. As a consequence, all roads really did lead to the Fair and vice versa, as Queens Museum curator Marc Miller astutely asserted: "Moses's roads, bridges, and large-scale recreation areas reconfigured modern life along the lines made possible by the automobile... [and the Fair's Democracy and Futurama exhibits, in turn] illustrated a world that closely resembled the one actually being built by Moses."⁵²⁷

The 1933-34 Eastman Kodak pavilion was a suitably modern architectural offering that combined Machine-Age streamlining with a parade of imagery, both outside and inside (figure 3.11, a). The pavilion was designed by architect Eugene Gerbereux, with interiors by Stowe Meyers and Teague—the latter of whom would go on to design hundreds of items and cameras for Kodak. The Kodak pavilion was centrally located in the Production and Distribution Zone, along a main artery, the World's Fair Boulevard, and, perhaps appropriately, across the way from the Amusement Zone, and a large

⁵²⁶ Marc H. Miller, "Something for Everyone: Robert Moses and the Fair," in Robert Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future: The New York World's Fair from 1939 to 1964* (New York: Queens Museum and Rizzoli, 1989), 48. The other members of the Board of Design were Gilmore D. Clarke, Walter Dorwin Teague (industrial designer and the designer of Kodak's interiors and other pavilions at the Fair), engineer R. H. Reeve, and architect Stephen Voorhees; Teague and architect Robert Kohn comprised the Theme Committee. See Joseph P. Cusker, "The World of Tomorrow: Science, Culture, and Community at the New York World's Fair," in Helen A. Harrison et al., *Dawn of a New Day: The New York World's Fair, 1939/40* (New York: Queens Museum and New York University Press, 1980), 3-15, 4-5.

⁵²⁷ Miller, in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 54.

restaurant.⁵²⁸ From their previous efforts and results, Kodak now recognized that a variety of photographs primed the pump and helped to prepare consumers to see the fair and their pavilion, even before they ever visited. Writing in *The Kodak Salesman*, they offered many suggestions in the aptly titled feature, “Link Your Store with Kodak and Picture Taking at the Fair.” Promoting a partnership between store and company, Kodak offered advertising and promotional displays, but also noted the role of outside efforts: “Magazines and newspapers teeming with World’s Fair publicity and picture samples of the attractions whet the appetites of prospective visitors to make their own snapshot stories of the exciting sights and scenes.”⁵²⁹ As we have seen, this technique of “pre-visualization” was in the photographic ether at the time and, above all, was a strategy that Disney would later use and develop in their parks.

Considering what roles visual packaging and branding began to play, Teague’s intertwined contributions to the 1939-40 Fair, Eastman Kodak, and related automobile related companies are especially of note. Considering spaces as well as products and how they worked together, Teague was a pioneer of “industrial design,” a term he coined, and corporate identity, which began with his involvement with Kodak and saw fruition in his design of a suite of items for Texaco: service stations, pumps, and, applicably, signs.⁵³⁰ Teague’s long-standing relationship with Kodak was wide-ranging and holistic,

⁵²⁸ Zim, Lerner, and Rolfes, *The World of Tomorrow: The 1939 New York World’s Fair*, 75. Gerbereux, seemingly a “one hit wonder,” and Meyers are less well known today than the eminent and industrious Teague.

⁵²⁹ Kodak, “Link Your Store with Kodak and Picture Taking at the Fair,” *The Kodak Salesman* 25, no. 3 (March 1939), 2. From GELC at GEM.

⁵³⁰ For an overview of Teague, see Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925-1939*.

including cameras, retail, office, and display spaces.⁵³¹ Notably, Kodak issued two 1939-40 Fair commemorative cameras, adapted from the Baby Brownie and the Bullet camera with the latter designed by Teague.⁵³² Originally issued in 1936 (figure 3.11, b), the Eastman Bullet was repackaged for the Fair and included Teague's trademark art deco ribbing along with a new faceplate, including the Fair's prominent iconic features the Trylon and Perisphere.⁵³³ Teague's participation in the Fair—ranging from designing an exhibit to a camera—as well as Kodak's pavilion and presence speaks to the totality of corporate emersion.

Teague's other industrial design projects at the 1939-40 World's Fair, and their mutually-enforcing symbolism, support the above readings. In addition to Kodak's interiors and his involvement with eight other corporate displays, Teague also created the popular National Cash Register Building at the Fair and the cash register itself.⁵³⁴ An early example of what Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour would later call a "duck" in their architectural treatise *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972), the seven-story-tall building was simultaneously an exhibit, the largest working cash register, and a building acting as

⁵³¹ Teague was involved with Kodak from 1928 until his death in 1960. Other Teague designed cameras include the Gift Kodak (1930), the faceplate of the Kodak Coquette (1930), the latter coming in blue and including a matching lipstick and compact, the Baby Brownie (1934), Bantam Special (circa 1936), Super Kodak Six-20, the first automatic exposure camera, in addition to the 1939-40 World's Fair camera. See Gustavson, *Camera*, 182, 152, 177, and 234.

⁵³² The Eastman Kodak Company Trade Circular introduced the two cameras in their April 1939 issue 40, no. 4 (April 1939), 1, insert in *The Kodak Salesman* 25, no. 4 (April 1939), n.p. From GELC at GEM. They retailed for \$1.25 and \$2.25 respectively.

⁵³³ Gustavson, *Camera*, 243. It is listed here as retailing for \$2.00.

⁵³⁴ After his involvement in the Ford pavilion in A Century of Progress in 1934, along with architect Albert Kahn, Teague was also involved in the Ford and US Steel offerings as well in the 1939-40 Fair. For more on the cash register, which Teague set to calculate the attendance at the fair, see Rydell and Schiavo, *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, plate 19, 100.

a sign itself.⁵³⁵ The exterior and interiors of the Eastman Kodak building at the 1939-40 Fair not only reinforced one another aesthetically, but contained stylistic and structural overtones of other types of signage as seen in amateur and official documentation.

A snapshot of the 1939 Kodak pavilion taken slightly farther back than most makes this synergy between road signs, flags, and the design of the building patently apparent (figure 3.12). The large ladder-like structure soared above the modernist building, its formal and functional qualities echoing the other signage and poles to the right (the later 1964-65 Picture Spot signs would, in fact, use a modified flag pole design). Specifically, the over 60-foot-high tower was a flagpole-*qua*-sign, adorned with around 20 photographs. Further equating sign with snapshot, a Kodak brochure described this sentinel-like feature as a “tower of giant sized snapshots (eight by eleven feet).”⁵³⁶ Inside, the building held a series of educational displays related to different types of photographic applications and employees, large murals, a historical display, and a narrative color-slide show of enlarged Kodachromes projected on a semi-circular screen. A Kodak promotional picture reveals that the Teague-designed interiors showcased a similar sensibility as the exterior (figure 3.13, a and b): a row of vertical poles display a series of stacked and mounted photographs that can be seen through a

⁵³⁵ Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, 13. Their example of a “duck,” pictured on page 17, is the following: “Sometimes the building is the sign: The duck store in the shape of a duck, called ‘The Long Island Duckling,’ as opposed to the ‘decorated shed.’”

⁵³⁶ Kodak, “Your Kodak at the New York World’s Fair — What to Take and How to Take It,” eight-page, fold-out brochure for the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair, collection of the Queens Museum (accession number 2006.15.65wf39), PDF provided by the museum.

large glass-plate windows, creating an interplay between inside and outside and formally echoing the photographic finial atop the Kodak pavilion (figure 3.11a and 3.12).

Accompanying the 1939-40 exposition was host of ephemera, from guidebooks, to maps, flyers, and pamphlets, issued by the Fair itself as well as companies, states, and other entities. Seen in a display provided “automatically” to dealers over the summer of 1939 (figure 3.14, a and b), Kodak also provided window materials that mirrored and reinforced their buildings and brochures, featuring a woman atop a photograph of the Kodak pavilion, striding across the building itself, surrounded by a cascade of cameras and film boxes.⁵³⁷ Moving from the phrase “Take a Kodak to the New York Fair,” used in the window display, to “Your Kodak at the New York Fair,” on the cover of the brochure, the company’s goal was to make *their* camera, *your* camera. Recommending that their provided display “go on duty” as soon as possible, Kodak alerted their dealers that the two coastal fairs were “reaching new markets, creating new buyers” and “prompting thousands of visitors to equip themselves to make their own personal picture records of their visits.”⁵³⁸ While directing them before, during, and after their visits, Kodak emphasized to their customers that public photography could be personal, too. In addition to the prompts experienced at the Fair itself, Kodak’s sheer volume of printed

⁵³⁷ Kodak, “June Brings Special Opportunities for New Kodak and Brownie Sales,” *The Kodak Salesman* 25, no. 6 (June 1939), 2. From GELC at GEM.

⁵³⁸ The other fair was the 1939-40 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco, California, which was more focused on domestic and regional affairs and goods from countries that bordered the Pacific Ocean.

materials, both in the public domain and internally, added a sense of authority and didacticism to their efforts.⁵³⁹

One particular eight-page offering from Kodak both built upon the precedents laid out in the “A Century of Progress” exposition (figure 3.10), but also further codified Kodak’s approach and terminology for picture-taking (figure 3.15), which would later culminate in the Picture Spot signs. Contributing to this standardization, the copy editors of the aptly and perfunctorily-titled “Your Kodak at the New York World’s Fair — What to Take and How to Take It” employed the same phrase describing the pre-selected locales as the 1933 Fair booklet —”HIGH SPOT PICTURE SUBJECTS” (i.e., highlights of the fair)—as well as similar language to describe various pictures and points of view. Encouraging readers to see their experience as a string of images, Kodak proposed multiple shots at each location to tell “your picture story of the Fair.”⁵⁴⁰ Again, the company afforded exposure settings and position suggestions in the pamphlet, but this time added specific filter and more directional descriptions (use a colored filter to deepen the sky and “add pictorial value,” “point the camera up,” seek out “long shots” and “closer studies,” and “avoid people shoot from the railing”). After photographing the “hundreds more [scenes] awaiting your Kodak,” the corporate brochure directed visitors to their own pavilion to rest, almost as a reward, as well as witness their overall and

⁵³⁹ In a summer 1939 issue, for example, *The Kodak Salesman* recommended that their dealers make sure anyone going to either World’s Fair on both coasts in 1939 and 1940 have the brochure, “Your Kodak at the Fair—What to Take and How to Take It,” as well as be sure to have eight other publications and display on hand for Fair customers, including “How to Take Good Pictures” and “Fundamentals of Photography.” See Kodak, *The Kodak Salesman* 25, no. 7 (July 1939), 2-3, 3. From GELC at GEM.

⁵⁴⁰ Kodak, “Your Kodak at the New York World’s Fair — What to Take and How to Take It,” Queens Museum. The following text from this and the next paragraph are taken from this same brochure.

multimedia experience, what Kodak called “the greatest photographic show on earth,” and their “Eastman Garden” in particular.

Kodak’s Photographic Garden resonated with the similar concerns as the later Picture Spot signs, affording other locations for witnessing photographic behaviors in action. Located outside the company pavilion, the landscaped patio was essentially a giant, guided photo opportunity. Kodak’s patio featured flat painted backdrops; miniature three-dimensional constructed versions of some of the fair’s attractions upon which people could pose; and “humorous settings for trick snapshots,” including fun house mirrors. An official Kodak photograph shows one of these photographic opportunities and backdrops: a mother and two children posing at a miniature version of the Kodak pavilion (figure 3.16) as well as the father in the act of photographing. Other vernacular snapshots reveal additional scenic options found in the garden (figure 3.17, a and b): the Trylon and Perisphere, the dual icons of the Fair, the Parachute Jump (sponsored by Life Savers candy company), and the facade of the Salvador Dalí-designed pavilion, “Dream of Venus.”⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴¹ The Dalí pavilion was built by built by architect Ian Woodner. For home movie footage of people posing with the Kodak backdrops, see Getty, Caption: “1939 New York World’s Fair - People posing for photos in front of World’s Fair souvenir backdrop with replicas of Perisphere, Trylon icons / Man stands atop Perisphere, man pacing on stage with Kodak display.” 1939 World’s Fair on January 1, 1939 in New York, New York (Footage by Getty Images), accessed March 22, 2016, <http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/video/new-york-worlds-fair-people-posing-for-photos-in-front-of-news-footage/169283784>. For more on Dalí’s World’s Fair pavilion, see the online exhibition from the Salvador Dalí Foundation, “Salvador Dalí, Dream of Venus,” accessed March 20, 2016, <https://www.salvador-dali.org/museus/teatre-museu-dali/exhibitions/3/salvador-dali-dream-of-venus>.

There also appeared to have been another more general backdrop, without any three-dimensional additions, of a general fair scene, perhaps used more for a waiting area. An example of this can be seen in a snapshot of a woman sitting in one of three chairs by Elton H. L. Wade, “Sarah (Jane) on Bench in Kodak Picture Garden,” 10/24/1939, in the collection of the Franklin Township Library, New York World’s Fair

In reality, Kodak's Photographic Garden was less lush and landscaped than the name implied, a common fate of many World's Fairs, yet the scenic backdrops still functioned in a manner similar to historical garden elements.⁵⁴² A comparison of an official picture by Kodak reproduced in a brochure with another image from the same session inserted into a promotional piece showcases the prominence of the sparse patio, dotted with the backdrops (figure 3.18, a and b).⁵⁴³ Poulet has compared Kodak's displays from the 1939-40 Fair to *jardins à fabrique* or follies. Found primarily in eighteenth-century gardens or those inspired by them, follies are decorative or fanciful constructions meant to serve an aesthetic or accent function within a landscape garden or view. Of the Photographic Garden, Poulet has argued that the area promoted respite and remembrance: "Offered as a place to relax, the garden was a privileged environment in which to spend quiet time with one's family, taking photographs. The relationship to time was central; everything possible was done to make the moment memorable; nostalgia was on sale here, and photography provided the most adequate tool for recollection."⁵⁴⁴ Similar to follies, Kodak's staged settings shared aspects of fakery and fun—with no physical function, save to sell film—but above all served to draw spectators

(1939-1940), along with other amateur examples, accessed April 5, 2016, http://www.franklintwp.org/elton_wade/vex3/toc.htm.

⁵⁴² Although plant availability and transplantation services and technology increased by the time of the 1939 Fair, Maloney notes that trees and larger foliage were some of the most difficult challenges for expositions: "Trees, critical landscape elements needed to bring a sense of maturity to the grounds, posed some of the most vexing problems for world's fair landscape designers." See Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens*, 8.

⁵⁴³ Note that the photograph is cropped, likely to de-emphasize the sparseness; the electrical wire and pole were retouched out of the image; and clouds added. This is from a Kodak spiral bound promotional booklet on the Kodak Pavilion, 1939-40 New York World's Fair, EDV 11 folder, Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester.

⁵⁴⁴ Ariane Poulet, "The Cavalcade of Color: Kodak and the 1939 World's Fair."

towards them. Likewise, the photographic backdrops provided sights and sites for self-conscious visual production and the consumption of photography.

Kodak continued their visual and branding consistency throughout the pavilion. As stated in their 1939 brochure, Kodak provided instructional signage that complemented the Photographic Garden backdrops, providing technical not aesthetic advice: “See the giant Kodaguides that tell you just how to set your camera for Fair pictures.”⁵⁴⁵ Most likely larger blown up versions of their pocket-sized, cardboard “Snapshot Dials” (figure 3.19), Kodaguides were essentially paper-versions of exposure meters that one could dial in their film type and lighting conditions, and get aperture and shutter speeds.⁵⁴⁶ Furthermore, as seen in the snapshots (figures 3.16 and 3.17), each scenic backdrop was emblazoned with the name KODAK, not unlike the logo that would accompany their printed photos or slides received when back at home. The similarity of the resulting photographs speaks to the uniform qualities and traits, enacted over and over. Emphasizing ideas of place and memento-making, *The Kodak Salesman* pointed out that personnel were on hand as well to assist with the photographic experience: “The beautifully landscaped Photographic Garden at the rear of the Kodak Exhibit affords an ideal spot for film fans who want to take souvenir pictures of their friends and relatives in interesting and attractive settings. Here instructors will be present for consultation on questions of posing and grouping subjects, lighting and following technique.”⁵⁴⁷ In a

⁵⁴⁵ Kodaguide is a play on their film product, Kodacolor.

⁵⁴⁶ I cannot locate an image featuring the Fair Kodaguides, but presume they existed.

⁵⁴⁷ Kodak, “There are Plenty of Picture Opportunities at Both of the Year’s Famous Pair of Pageants,” *Cine- The Kodak Salesman* 25, no. 4 (April 1939), 3, 7. From GELC at GEM. In addition to the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair, this article also addressed the 1939-1940 Golden Gate International Exposition in

twist on Kodak's first slogan, one could argue that the photographic giant increasingly triggered audiences to do the corporation's bidding: "We show you how and where to press the button" and then "We make you press the button, and we do the rest."

After the 1939-40 Fair, Kodak would bring together the legacy of the "Picture Ahead" markers with the pavilion's backdrops and instructional texts and brochures to create the Picture Spot signs. In essence, as we will see in the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, the company mapped their constructed stage sets onto the scenery of the Fair, but instead of providing a flat backdrop at only one location, the company created numerous, equally branded, scenes and settings within the landscape itself. Given the term's overtones, Kodak's periodic use of the term "photo-scenic" to describe the signs and picture-taking opportunities is perceptive and powerful.

Kodak Picture Spot Signs Enter the Expo: The 1964-65 New York World's Fair

While both New York Fairs occurred on the same Flushing Meadows-Corona Park grounds in Queens, much had happened between the two expositions, historically and technologically. The main theme of the 1964-65 Fair is usually recalled as "Peace through Understanding," but several other options were cited in its literature, including "A Millennium of Progress" and "Man's Achievements in an Expanding Universe."⁵⁴⁸

San Francisco, and encouraged those with means to travel to both. Illustrating their point with a road sign pointing to each coastal Fair, and a couple filming the sign itself, Kodak wrote: "Less than a road day apart by plane, only a week by car, means that many movie makers will be visiting both the New York and the California 1939 Fairs," 3.

⁵⁴⁸ Sheldon J. Reaven, "New Frontiers: Science and the Technology at the Fair," in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 75-103, 76.

Many of the same corporations participated, such as Ford and General Motors, and new entities with new media appeared, such as RCA's color television and IBM's computers. While attendance roughly equaled that of the 1939-40 Fair, coming in at just over 51 million, the 1964-65 New York World's Fair's greatest impact was on the popular imagination blended with conspicuous consumption, areas in which both Kodak and Disney excelled.⁵⁴⁹ A claim by master planner and President Robert Moses perhaps speaks to the fair's jumble of high and low culture and encyclopedic goal: "The stars of my show are Michelangelo and Walt Disney."⁵⁵⁰ Eastman Kodak not only installed 25 Kodak Picture Spot signs around the fairgrounds during the first season of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, with more added the second, but its corporate pavilion became a site for photographic capture, display, and performance as well.

The following section charts Kodak's development of picture-taking signs within the Fair as well as implementation and impact of the markers and its marketing campaign. Before outlining the somewhat complicated history of the signs' late entry to the 1964-65 Fair, it is first necessary to review briefly the role of Moses, highways, and the representation and re-representation of the exposition via photographs, souvenirs, and ephemera. In contrast to the 1939-40 offering, the later fair's associated mass- and corporate-produced souvenirs and promotional materials had less use-value and were

⁵⁴⁹ Walt Disney and his company designed or were involved with four attractions at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, as will be discussed later.

⁵⁵⁰ Disney, as noted above, was involved in this Fair and Michelangelo's Pietà sculpture was shipped to New York and on display on the grounds in the Vatican's pavilion. Robert Moses, as quoted in Ileen Sheppard, "Icons and Images: The Cultural Legacy of the 1964/65 World's Fair," in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 170.

more icon- and image-based.⁵⁵¹ In addition to imagery, ideas of place were also paramount. Globes and maps, in particular, stood out among the Fair's officially produced and promoted items, including the symbol of the Fair itself—U.S. Steel's 120-foot diameter Unisphere—and the over 9-000 square-foot Panorama of the City of New York. The former was built in the same central location as the 1939-40's Trylon and Perisphere and the latter was housed in the former New York State Pavilion, which is still extant and now the Queens Museum.

Just as Kodak emphasized their company's professionalization, the Fair was a corporation with concomitant business-like structure, staff, procedures, and paperwork. Likewise, the quantity and titles of Fair officials and teams, including the "Conformity Committee," helped to accentuate command and clout.⁵⁵² In particular, Moses's strength, as urban historian Owen Gutfreund has observed, was that his expertise was outside of several disciplines, yet tangentially combined them. Above all, Moses was a master of coordination, bureaucracy, advertising, and rules and regulations: "Neither an architect

⁵⁵¹ Sheppard in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 182-186. For an overview of the presentation of fine art at both New York World's Fairs, see Helen A. Harrison, "Art for the Millions, or Art for the Makers," in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 137-165.

⁵⁵² The New York Public Library holds the corporate records of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair within their Archives & Manuscripts division. The collection is labeled as MssCol 2234, contains 1,272 linear running feet with 1523 boxes. An online summary and 107-page collection guide is available here: <http://archives.nypl.org/mss/2234>.

The sheer number of people and their roles is difficult to follow, so I provide a brief overview here, in roughly the order of office and citation. FAIR — In addition to Robert Moses (President), Fair officers quoted often herein include General William E. Potter (Executive Vice-President); Stuart Constable (Vice-President for Operations); J. Anthony Panuch (Vice-President for Industrial, Federal, State and Special Exhibits); William A. Berns (Vice-President for Communications and Public Relations), Martin Stone (Director of Industrial Section); General William Whipple, Jr. (Chief Engineer), William Douglas, Jr. (Construction Patent Officer); John R. Reiss (Marketing Director), Gilmore D. Clarke (of the Fair's contract landscape architects, Clarke & Rapuano), Phyllis Adams (Assistant Director Exhibitor Relations), among others. KODAK— William S. Vaughn (President); Linc V. Burrows (Director of Planning for Kodak Exhibit); D. M. or Don Lewis (Assistant Director of Sales Promotion), among others.

nor an engineer—all of his projects were actually planned and designed by others—Moses built his reputation upon his remarkable effectiveness as an administrator, his opportunistic appropriation of others' visions, and his artful public relations efforts, including a consistent outpouring of press releases, illustrated brochures, and guided tours for reports.⁵⁵³ Resembling the path and history of the Kodak picture-taking signs and their own liminal and didactic nature, Moses perfectly parlayed his vision from the American roadside to the environment of the exposition.

From the Road to Fair: Layout and Location

The 1964-65 New York World's Fair used the same general layout of the previous fairgrounds and included five main thematic zones (figure 3.20): from top to bottom, Industrial (pink), International (green), Federal and State (orange), Transportation (blue), and Lake (yellow), also known as the Amusement section. Speaking to the ever-present display of products and consumerism, a critic referred to the Fair's architecture as "Corporate Style."⁵⁵⁴ Business interests were ubiquitous at the Fair and, given companies were present in both the Industrial and Transportation areas, the corporate presence far exceeded geographical or political designations in square footage and effect. Appropriately, the former zone included no international businesses, only American and the latter included the largest and most well attended exhibits of the entire

⁵⁵³ Owen D. Gutfreund, "Rebuilding New York in the Auto Age: Robert Moses and his Highways," in *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York*, Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson, eds. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 86-93, 93. This is an excellent overview of Moses's projects and process.

⁵⁵⁴ Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "The 'Laissez-Fair,' Good Taste, and Money Trees: Architecture at the Fair," in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 106.

Fair: the General Motors and Ford pavilions.⁵⁵⁵ While the Industrial and Transportation sections could have been combined, their separation and connection—with a highway between them and accessed via the longest avenue—are noteworthy and speak to Moses's role in the Fair as well as the growth of city projects, parks, and roads, prior to and after the exposition. Acting as New York's proverbial master planner, builder, and parks commissioner from 1934 to 1960 (at one point, he held 12 different appointed positions at once), Moses helped to initiate and create, according to one history, "more than 700 city parks, seven major bridges, virtually all of the city's expressways and parkways, dozens of housing projects, and city landmarks."⁵⁵⁶

Having served as New York City's representative to the 1939-40 World's Fair, Moses was already familiar with the site. Using existing infrastructure helped to keep costs down, but perhaps more importantly Moses was involved in the development of the roads that led there (figure 3.21) as well as the creation and fate of Flushing Meadows park, formerly Corona Dump, before and after both expositions. The Fair was bordered on all sides by two major expressways, a parkway, and a railroad to the west (figure 3.20). Visually, visitors could perceive the presence of thoroughfares from almost the entire fairgrounds as seen in a passing photograph (figure 3.22, a). Highways were thus represented, physically and symbolically, within several of the corporate pavilions: Ford, Chrysler, General Motors, U.S. Royal Tires, and the Pan American Highway Gardens,

⁵⁵⁵ Bill Cotter and Bill Yung, *The 1964-65 New York World's Fair* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2013), 9, 39, and 13.

⁵⁵⁶ See Lauren Wasler, "A Tale of Two Planners: Jane Jacobs vs. Robert Moses," National Trust for Historic Preservation, April 14, 2016, accessed April 15, 2016, <https://savingplaces.org/stories/a-tale-of-two-planners-jane-jacobs-and-robert-moses#.VxGMIHo1M2U> and Miller in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 45-73, 45.

which encircled the Kodak Pavilion and later became a miniature car ride sponsored by Avis, as will be discussed below. As an aerial photograph of the main parking lot (figure 3.22, b) demonstrates, the 1964-65 Fair was in part a shrine to the automobile as well as the freeways that led them there.⁵⁵⁷ In short, the road, the original location of Kodak's directorial "Picture Ahead" signs, was symbolically and physically embedded in the experience of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair.

Eastman Kodak designed their pavilion as a temple to photography and their own brand. Kodak's building was one of the premier locations, besides the two observation decks at the New York State Pavilion, for photographing the Fair from an elevated position (figure 3.23).⁵⁵⁸ The Kodak structure was designed by Will Burtin, Inc., and overseen by architects Kahn & Jacobs, who were also responsible for the 1939-40 Fair and the Travelers Insurance, Greyhound, and Rheingold buildings at the 1964-65 Fair.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ These parking lots were located to the east of the Amusement Area and next to Echo Lake and held up to 20,000 cars. There was another smaller parking lot to the north. All of the parking lots were bordered or on the other side of a major expressway, and the Transportation Area was on the other side of the multi-laned Grand Central Highway. The Transportation pavilions and area were accessed via pedestrian walkways over the highway, the multi-car step-on, step-off Glide-a-Ride vehicles, private "Escorters," and a regular rapid-transit bus and a special bus route, the "Grand Sight Seeing Tour," all of which were Greyhound branded. For more on the transportation options within the Fair see the following sections within nywf64.com, Bill Young, New York World's Fair 1964/65, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://nywf64.com/greyhound01.shtml>, <http://nywf64.com/greyhound07.shtml>, <http://nywf64.com/greyhound08.shtml>, and <http://nywf64.com/greyhound09.shtml>.

⁵⁵⁸ See the following for a few pictures taken from atop the New York State Pavilion, see NYC Parks, "1964 World's Fair in Photos," accessed April 14, 2016, <http://www.nycgovparks.org/highlights/fmcp-worlds-fairs/1964-photos>.

⁵⁵⁹ Harrison in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 134 and Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, Robert Rosenblum, "Introduction: Remembrance of Fairs Past," 11-19, 17. Kahn & Jacobs, Ely Jacques Kahn and Robert Allan Jacobs, existed as a partnership from 1940 until 1973, the year after Kahn's death. German born Will Burtin had also designed a major exhibit in the U.S. Pavilion at the 1939-40 New York World's Fair for the United States Federal Works Agency, see Rochester Institute of Technology, "The Will Burtin Archive at RIT," accessed April 15, 2016, <http://library.rit.edu/depts/archives/willburtin/bio.html>.

The remainder of firms involved in the Kodak pavilion were the following: construction by George A. Fuller Company, structural engineer Lev Zetlin, consulting engineers Jaros, Baum, & Bolles,

With a trademark undulating concrete “Moon Deck,” the Kodak pavilion housed over 20 exhibits, ranging from photohistory to product spotlights as well as the world’s largest color prints on top of their “Picture Tower.”⁵⁶⁰ Inside Kodak’s pavilion, among other displays, visitors could watch a 22-minute film produced by Hollywood’s Saul Bass, “The Searching Eye,” which presented an exploration of the world from a child’s perspective in 35mm (and showed what he did and did not see in 70mm), while Emmett Kelly, Jr., dressed as the silent, sad clown “Weary Willie,” was on hand for pictures every day for the full run of the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair.⁵⁶¹

The height of the Kodak pavilion, combined with its futuristic architecture and Picture Tower, made it a beacon amid the visual cacophony of the Fair. A Fair-themed Flintstones souvenir comic demonstrates this as Fred loses the kids in the Industrial area (figure 3.24), and dashes frenetically about the area, finally landing in front the Kodak pavilion to which Barney fittingly replies: “Do that again, I’d like to get a picture.” As collector Sally Edelstein observes of the layout, “Each structure flamboyantly beckoned and competed for the attention of the fairgoers,” and the photographic company certainly

information derived from Kodak’s 16-page advertisement/insert on the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair in *The New York Times*, April 26, 1964, Section, II, Box EDV #64, Folder 1, “Sales & Advertising,” page 4, Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester.

⁵⁶⁰ For an overview of the various exhibits and photographs of the interior of the Kodak pavilion, see Bill Cotter, “Eastman Kodak,” *The 1964-65 New York World’s Fair*, accessed April 29, 2016, <http://www.worldsfairphotos.com/nywf64/kodak.htm>.

⁵⁶¹ Emmet Kelly, Sr. was a circus performer and created the “Weary Willie” character based upon Depression-era hobos. His son, Emmet Kelly Jr., began portraying the same clown after his father retired in 1960. After appearing at the New York’s World’s Fair for two seasons at the Kodak pavilion, Kodak signed Kelly to be a traveling “Goodwill Ambassador” for the photographic company. The mutually-beneficial relationship between Kelly and Kodak lasted for over four years and, as his biography maintains, “It was during this six year period that Emmett, Jr. became America’s most photographed and recognized clown.” Emmett Kelly, Jr., *Emmett Kelly, Jr.: The World’s Most Famous Clown*, “Emmett’s Bio,” accessed December 8, 2018, <http://www.emmettkellyjr.com/emmettsbio.html>.

knew how to achieve this goal.⁵⁶² A special 16-page preview advertising insert into *The New York Times* ran the week the fair opened in April 1964, thus inspiring potential or future Fairgoers to make the trip so they could utter the phrase, “Meet me at the Kodak Picture Tower.”⁵⁶³ Indeed, searching, orienting, and snapping were the order of the day at and around the Kodak pavilion.

The Kodak Picture Tower itself boasted five 30x36-foot illuminated color photographs, with one of the brightest outdoor lighting systems to date, making the photographic mecca in effect a gigantic sign easily spotted from anywhere in the Fair, day or night.⁵⁶⁴ The company swapped out images atop the Picture Tower every 3-4 weeks, making it an ever-changing slideshow or photo album, writ large. Kodak gathered images for the Picture Tower atop their pavilion via an astute PR stunt, which again related to the road. The Kodak Photo Caravan U.S.A. was a team of Kodak professional photographers that toured the country in a quintessentially American corporate combination: an Airstream trailer branded with the Kodak logo pulled by a

⁵⁶² Sally Edelstein, “The Flintstones at the NY World’s Fair,” *Envisioning The American Dream*, April 29, 2014, accessed April 18, 2016, <https://envisioningtheamericandream.com/2014/04/29/the-flintstones-at-the-ny-worlds-fair/>. An official Fair souvenir, the Flintstones Fair comic was produced by Hanna-Barbera in concert with the Fair Corporation. Later while at the Fair, Fred runs into some money problems and looks to get a job at one of the various pavilions, Kodak included. Fred’s humorous ill-fated attempt at being a Kodak information specialist, with Barney in tow, can be seen in two cartoon frames here: <https://envisioningtheamericandream.com/2014/05/01/the-flintstones-at-the-worlds-fair-pt-ii/>.

⁵⁶³ Kodak’s 16-page advertisement/insert on the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair in *The New York Times*, 2. This particular section included hand-drawn, very 1960s, illustrations of the pavilion and Moon Deck, not photographs.

⁵⁶⁴ For more on the lighting system and the print, see Bill Young, “Picture Tower,” *New York World’s Fair 1964/65*, accessed March 31, 2016, <http://nywf64.com/easkod09.shtml>. Including photographs and text from brochures and press releases, this website provides a good overview for all of the Fair pavilions and offerings.

Ford station wagon.⁵⁶⁵ Beginning in early 1963, photographers criss-crossed America, Canada, and Mexico in this set-up, stopping at National Parks and other attractions, logging 36,000 miles while other artists traveled the world. According to Airstream, the trailer provided living accommodations for three sets of photographers and their focus was trained on “Americana,” what another press release described as “the pictorial attraction of America.”⁵⁶⁶

After leaving Rochester, NY, the photographic motorcade arrived in Washington, D.C. in January 1963 and took their first picture of the Capitol dome. At a press event staged in the nation’s capitol for what they described as “one of the most ambitious picture-taking projects ever attempted,” Kodak brought together various Fair and political luminaries.⁵⁶⁷ Kodak’s Director of World’s Fair planning Lincoln Burrows outlined their ambitious aesthetic goals: “Our objective is to project the true America in the universally understood language of photography... Our Photo Caravan will stop almost anywhere that has a story that can be told through pictures, this includes life in cities, villages and farms

⁵⁶⁵ Thousands of images were collected and the featured photographs were selected from this pool. Images were also used for the Colorama display in New York Grand Central Station as well as presented in exhibitions by the United States Travel Service. See Kodak’s 16-page advertisement/insert in *The New York Times*, 3. For a short and superlative history of the Colorama, see Peggy Roalf, ed., with contributions by Alison Nordstrom, *Colorama: The World’s Largest Photographs from Kodak and George Eastman House Collection* (New York: Aperture, 2004). The Colorama’s 18x 60 feet panoramas often showcased photographers photographing within their sumptuous scenes providing another example of conspicuous photography within natural, touristic, and transportation-related environs.

⁵⁶⁶ Press release linked to on Airstream, “Airstream and the Kodak Caravan,” December 3, 2015, press release written by Frank Quattrocchi, of Guerin, Johnstone, Gage Inc. Advertising, circa 1963, accessed April 22, 2016, <https://www.airstream.com/airstream-kodak-caravan/>, and “Kodak Photo Caravan,” memo attached to memorandum on NYWF letterhead to Executive Committee, no author (possibly Robert Moses?), December 28, 1962, Box #351, P4.0, Eastman Kodak Caravan 1/10/63 folder, Special Events, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ Kodak press release, “Photo Caravan - USA Leaves on Year-Long Trip,” dated 1/10/63 in pencil, scheduled for release Weds., January 16, at 3:30pm, Box #351, P.40, Eastman Kodak Company folder, Special Events, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 1.

as well as our scenic wonders of nature.”⁵⁶⁸ According to another press release, Kodak selected the scenic sites and situations based upon the recommendations of state tourist commissions, thus these pre-selected vetted locations already bore the stamp of both governmental and commercial approval, not unlike the picture-taking signs and their eventual photographs.⁵⁶⁹

Not only did the Photo Caravan bring attention to Kodak’s exposition efforts, but the corporate-meets-vernacular campaign directly connected picture-taking to the roadside and essentially delivered the world to the World’s Fair. At the same time, the Photo Caravan U.S.A. brought the legacy of the “Picture Ahead” signs—in essence, a moving touristic advertisement—to the Fair, which in turn encouraged American audiences to return to the open road and seek out recordable scenery. Reifying the American vacation in places and pictures, Kodak’s Photo Caravan thus captured “photo spots” and re-inserted them into the planned environment. With a different corporate inflection underlying each depiction, a photograph from the Kodak dealer magazine featuring the businessmen behind the project from Kodak and Airstream, respectively (figure 3.25, a and b) stands in contrast to an eventual advertisement (figure 3.26). While likely not from the same photoshoot, two promotional images of Kodak officials, including the Advertising Manager and several photographers, pose in planning mode for

⁵⁶⁸ Kodak press release, “Photo Caravan - USA Leaves on Year-Long Trip,” 2. Along with Kodak executives, dignitaries present at the event included Senators Kenneth B. Keating and Jacob Javits; William E. Potter, Executive Vice President of the Fair; Voit Gilmore, Director US Travel Service; and Norman K. Winston, US Commissioner of the New York World’s Fair. While based on recommendations, they noted that the itinerary was kept somewhat flexible to keep in mind weather, availability of subjects, and other situations.

⁵⁶⁹ Kodak press release, “Photo Caravan USA,” 2.

the camera, pretending to point out the route on a map. By contrast, the panorama in the print ad showcases the car, iconic trailer, and a cowboy-hat wearing figure situated heroically and dramatically against a Western background.

Moreover, if a sample photograph was chosen to be featured on the Picture Tower and an amateur photographer also captured a snapshot from a Picture Spot sign nearby, the resulting photographic print would provide a corporate-meets-vernacular *mise-en-abyme*, or picture within a picture, of pre-approved locales.⁵⁷⁰ That is to say, tourists dutifully snapped their own images, mimicking Kodak's samples on the Picture Spot signs, which in the background featured photographs of the Fair displayed on the Kodak pavilion. Post-modern critic Rosaline Krauss explained the concept of *mise-en-abyme* as such: "the placement within one representation of another representation that reduplicates the first."⁵⁷¹ The Picture Spot—carrying numerous corporate-approved photographs on its panel while simultaneously acting as a vantage point for the amateur to take yet another photograph—complicates this concept. What is curious about a photograph taken at a Picture Spot is that the model picture is usually required and virtually embedded in or overlaid on the camera's viewfinder as well as the later photograph. Instead of an image with things happening in the "real" space of the room and the "virtual" space of the mirror, as in Krauss's example, Picture Spot photographs include

⁵⁷⁰ This term used heavily in post-modern literature, but examples of this phenomenon can be found in the Middle Ages and throughout the history of art.

⁵⁷¹ Rosalind Krauss, "Nightwalkers," *Art Journal* 41, no. 1 (1981): 37. For more on *mise-en-abyme*, Krauss recommends Craig Owens, "Photography *en abyme*," *October* 5 (Summer 1978): 73-88.

actions and items both set in “real” space.⁵⁷² In this situation, Krauss’s “virtual” space might instead be the imagined and detached hyperreal setting itself, either that of the World’s Fair or Disney parks. If the sign itself is incorporated into the composition, the resulting *mise-en-abyme* subsumes and consumes the professional samples seen on the panel within a tourist’s snapshot and re-presents them back to the photographer in a domestic setting.

Pavilion, Pamphlets, and Camera

Given its construction and design, the Kodak pavilion at the 1964-65 Fair itself became another “photo spot,” allowing for numerous picture opportunities inside and atop the Moon Deck. When asked what the architectural theme of the Kodak building was designer Burtin replied, “Magic Carpet of Photography... carried out by the undulating form of the building.”⁵⁷³ Indeed, the rolling walkways and elevated vantage point of the Kodak pavilion made for a dramatic location from which to picture the Fair, as seen in a graphic snapshot (figure 3.27). In a preview advertisement from *New York Times*, the illustrations emphasized a transformative experience, while the accompanying text repeatedly underscored the photogenic nature of the building as backdrop:

Anywhere you point a camera on the Moondeck, your viewfinder frames some of the most striking, photogenic free-form shapes this side of the moon itself. ... [The pavilion is a] Picture-takers paradise—[courtesy of]

⁵⁷² Krauss, “Nightwalkers,” 37. Krauss uses two Brassai photographs that include mirrors to illustrate her point.

⁵⁷³ Will Burtin, as quoted in “Questions for Tape Interviews at Kodak Ground Breaking, New York World’s Fair,” NYWF at NYPL, 1.

the Moondeck spires. They are specially designed to provide a unique backdrop, from any angle, for your snapshots, slides or movies. ... Down under the Moondeck, in the exhibit area are arresting picture-taking spots, too. Keep your World's Fair memories vivid—take pictures on dependable Kodak film.⁵⁷⁴

As mentioned previously, the store semi-attached to the Kodak pavilion was overseen by Medo Photo Supply, who had managed film and supply concessions at the previous 1939-40 New York World's Fair and had a flagship store in midtown.⁵⁷⁵ As seen in an aerial image (figure 3.28)—Medo (the hexagonal building in the lower left), the Kodak pavilion, and Brass Rail concessions (the balloon-like structure in the foreground) were quite visible from the numerous highways that bordered the Fair, connecting the viewfinder to the car window. From counter to customer service, the Kodak experience was indeed full-service.⁵⁷⁶ Within the first month of the Fair, the Kodak Pavilion was “rated third in attendance,” according to Kodak executive Linc Burrows, and certainly the number of photographs was analogous.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁴ The clarifying text added in brackets is mine. Kodak did encourage the photography of their own building, but they did so more so as a backdrop or framing or compositional element, not the pavilion *in toto* but as sections and details. Kodak's 16-page advertisement/insert on the 1964-65 New York World's Fair in *The New York Times*, 4.

⁵⁷⁵ The vice president of Medo noted that they were very successful running this type of operation, including “the entire photographic film and supply concession at the 1940 New York World's Fair as well as currently exclusively operating [the] photographic concession at Freedomland, NYC. We also have just completed a very successful operation at the International Flower Show at the New York Coliseum.” Freedomland was an amusement park in the Bronx and will be discussed in the conclusion. See Alan S. Goodfield, Vice President, of Medo, letter to Stuart Constable, Vice President of NYWF, on Medo letterhead, June 1, 1961, Box #303, P1.43, Bids-Photographic Supply Stores folder, Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL.

⁵⁷⁶ The two Kodak employees who worked at the Kodak pavilion who I interviewed noted that they fell under a broad “Sales & Services” rubric and that Medo performed minor repairs in days as well as offered film processing turnaround of one week. Robert Fordice and Helene Shields, former Kodak pavilion employees at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, interview with the author, October 8, 2014.

⁵⁷⁷ Linc Burrows, of Kodak, letter to Martin Stone, Director of the Industrial Section of the Fair Corporation, May 27, 1964, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder,

Most likely meant to be used in conjunction with the Picture Spot signs, a Kodak brochure for the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, "Picture Taking at the Fair," made reference to and encouraged the use of other signs for pavilions, attractions, and companies to build a narrative.⁵⁷⁸ For example, Kodak recommended taking "slides of building signs for identification" and shooting a variety of signs themselves to incorporate into albums and home movies, remarking that "many of the signs marking Fair attractions make good titles."⁵⁷⁹

Kodak in fact provided such a "title slide" opportunity on the pavilion and also offered a variety of "photo platforms" from which to take views on their Moon Deck. As seen in two images that depict the former instance, Kodak went so far as to include a small sign to instruct visitors as to how to use the larger sign (figure 3.29, a and b). From a close-up, the sign states "Shoot a title for your World's Fair snapshots, slides, or movies." In regards to the latter type, Kodak installed several small platforms to place one's camera or a combination of an instructional sign with one or two diagonal metal bars (figure 3.30, with close-up).⁵⁸⁰ Although this snapshot is taken slightly farther back, the image yielded from the platform was probably quite similar, especially in capturing part of the Kodak pavilion, umbrellas, and the Disney designed "It's a Small World"

Photography, Participation, NYWF at NYPL. As this is an oft-cited folder, hereafter this will be shortened to "P1.43, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL" when possible.

⁵⁷⁸ Kodak, "Picture Taking at the Fair," brochure, Queens Museum, from a PDF provided by the museum. "Picture Taking at the Fair" was only one of several Kodak brochures; see figure 3.45 for more examples.

⁵⁷⁹ Kodak, "Picture Taking at the Fair," brochure.

⁵⁸⁰ These platforms are possibly referenced in this Kodak dealer magazine article: "Here [on top of the Kodak pavilion] the visitors get an excellent panoramic view of the Fair itself and countless picture taking opportunities. Platforms are located strategically to provide the best angles for photography and fair-gazing extraordinary." See Kodak, "World's Fair 1964," *Kodakery* 22, no. 17 (April 23, 1964), clipping, n.p., in Box EDV "World's Fairs 1964" folder, 11:3, Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester.

attraction just beyond. In Kodak's world, signs mark and point to other signs, just as photographs lead to other, and more, photographs.

To complete the photographic circle from film to camera, Eastman Kodak released another World's Fair commemorative camera for the 1964-65 New York exposition (figure 3.31). The camera's angular and sleek surfaces recalled the modern forms of the Fair and the box mirrored the shape and imagery of the Kodak pavilion's Picture Tower. While Kodak's easy-to-load Instamatic camera had just come out to great success in 1963, the company adapted an earlier camera, as they had for previous fairs. Instead, Kodak modified their Hawkeye Flash-Fun Camera, which took 127mm film, adding official Fair logos and graphic elements.⁵⁸¹

If the signs' commands were dutifully followed, as seen in professionally produced image with the Kodak pavilion in the background (figure 3.32), the Fair's number of Picture Spot signs represented between four to over 14 rolls of film depending on the type and how many times one clicked the shutter.⁵⁸² Given that Kodak's profit margin on film was so high, it makes perfect sense that Kodak pavilion personnel were

⁵⁸¹ The 1964-65 World's Fair, the adapted Hawkeye Flash-fun Camera, took Type 127 film, which yielded square format pictures and around 12 exposures per roll of film. For more on the camera and other special cameras, see Eaton S. Lathrop, "Time Exposure: It's the 92nd anniversary of the first commemorative camera; will someone please make a camera to commemorate it?," *Popular Photography*, 24, 95, page 96. This article also discusses the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, 1933 A Century of Progress, and the 1893 Columbia Exposition cameras and earlier commemorative cameras. Curator of Technology Todd Gustavson at the George Eastman Museum likewise wondered why Kodak did not make a commemorative version of the Instamatic camera instead, given that it had just debuted and was so incredibly successful. Gustavson, conversation with author, September 24, 2013.

⁵⁸² While 35mm cameras would have had 24 or 36 exposure on one roll of film, it was an unlikely camera for a tourist or amateur. If one used the official Fair camera at the Fair, it yielded about 12 exposures per roll; Instamatics had 12 or 20 per cartridge of film.

told to encourage tourists to “burn film.”⁵⁸³ While at the Fair, Kodak’s cross-branding and corporate saturation was all-encompassing. As seen in this promotional reenactment of a happy, good-looking, and well-appointed couple fully absorbed in seeking out new vistas with the help of a friendly, Kodak-colored sign. Using a Kodak camera, in which one placed roll after roll of their film purchased on-site, one can imagine the couple touring the Kodak pavilion and then stopping at Kodak’s numerous Picture Spot signs—consequently re-making already-provided images and enacting the picture-taking experience for others to see and subsequently emulate.

Pitch, Prerequisite, and Process: Picture-Taking Signs and the Pan-American Highway Gardens

In the fall or winter of 1960, J. Walter Thompson made a pitch with a 14-page booklet, on behalf of Eastman Kodak, to the Fair’s Vice President J. Anthony Panuch regarding “Picture Taking Locations” and the possibility of associated signs.⁵⁸⁴

Seemingly tabled at the time, no correspondence exists, at least on file, regarding Kodak’s proposal from late 1960 until 1962. The signs were only agreed to in 1963, with much back and forth, delaying their installation until spring 1964, close to the time the Fair opened to the public in late April. Nevertheless, given that 44 million families

⁵⁸³ Robert Fordice and Helene Shields, official Kodak pavilion employees, interview with the author, October 8, 2014. Perhaps this is the reason that Kodak did not create a Fair version of their recently-released Instamatic; the film for the other, somewhat older camera was likely more expensive and the Instamatic, in a way, sold itself.

⁵⁸⁴ J. Walter Thompson (JWT) Company and Eastman Kodak Company, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World’s Fair 1964-65,” pitchbook, spiral bound 14-page booklet, Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL, unpaginated. All subsequent quotes in the next several pages are from this proposal.

owned cameras at the time, they reasoned in their persuasive text, the combination of marching orders in the form of physical place-markers and assurance of more pleasing compositions, made photographers more likely to take pride in their pictures and subsequently share their personal, yet public, memories. On the very first page, Kodak and J. Walter Thompson presented another equation—essentially photographs = promotion by proxy—later encapsulated by a travel consultant as “The best advertising that money can’t buy!”⁵⁸⁵ Presenting their idea as almost an industry secret or a logic problem, Kodak summarized their proposal:

PICTURES taken by individuals and families visiting great events are one of the most potent and persuasive means of convincing others to go and see for themselves. PICTURES, therefore, if stimulated in the proper volume, could be a strong tool in building attendance at the Fair. RECOMMENDATION: We suggest that you consider a program that will create the most favorable conditions for picture-taking and will stimulate the camera owner to take pictures that will be the best salesmen for the Fair.⁵⁸⁶

In the booklet, Kodak and their ad agency looked to Disney to confirm their claims regarding picture-taking signs (only one year earlier, Kodak had implemented this program in Disneyland circa 1959),⁵⁸⁷ but perhaps even more interestingly, they also turned to roadside and scenic, do-it-yourself, regional attractions. The first external example presented was a roadside sign from Virginia (figure 3.33), “encouraging visitors to linger and take pictures,” and they noted that similar endeavors were implemented in

⁵⁸⁵ JWT and Kodak, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS,” pitchbook.

⁵⁸⁶ JWT and Kodak, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS.”

⁵⁸⁷ While the Disney Picture Spots pre-date the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair’s signs, I discuss the latter before the former as Kodak’s involvement with Disney parks is vastly more extensive, both as a partner and a site, and it extends long after its exposition efforts. Most importantly, Kodak’s later fate as a company could be said to be partly sealed by Disney. Ending this dissertation with Disney, conceptually, is thus key for the overall timeline and for my overall argument.

Maryland, Illinois, and New Hampshire.⁵⁸⁸ Cypress Gardens, a frequently illustrated locale in Kodak's dealer magazines, seemed to offer the most promotion and prudence regarding the potential of such signs and conspicuous photography. In addition to signs on the grounds a "Photographic Pier" was constructed with bleachers, perfectly positioned for their watershows, along with exposure signs for B&W and color film (figure 3.34), much like Kodaguides (figure 3.19). According to park president Dick Pope, these factors increased attendance every year, which he credited directly to their promotion of photographic behaviors: "Show your guests what to photograph, and they'll take lots of pictures... The more you help them photograph, the better they like it... We love picture-takers; they're doing our promotional work for us!"⁵⁸⁹ In this 1960 pitchbook, Kodak and J. Walter Thompson in effect tried to sell the 1964-65 New York World's Fair on selling film, which would in turn sell the Fair.⁵⁹⁰ Furthermore, Kodak leaned on other amusement parks and regional attractions, somewhat obscuring their corporate contributions and presence, while forefronting the Fair itself. These close cousins of the "Picture Ahead" signs point towards things that you will *pass*, or will pass *you*, soon. Touting picture-taking signs as "a valuable service" to fairgoers, Kodak offered to help provide such a program to the Fair and underscored that with simple encouragement, photographs could be increased and made better, but more importantly, would provide free publicity and promote return visits.

⁵⁸⁸ Given that Disneyland's Picture Spot signs only predated the original pitch (1960) of the Fair's by one, maybe two, years, the research on these roadside and tourist attraction photographic signs suggest that they may have provided inspiration for Disney's markers (circa 1959), along with Kodak's own "Picture Ahead" signs. This will be discussed more in the next chapter.

⁵⁸⁹ JWT and Kodak, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS," pitchbook.

⁵⁹⁰ I thank Dr. William Moore for this concise and clarifying observation (i.e., selling on selling). Moore, comment on dissertation draft and defense, November 16, 2018.

Kodak, in concert with J. Walter Thompson, had clearly done their homework and took notice of these vernacular-hybrid-corporate efforts promoting photographic behaviors across the country. To wit, they illustrated and summarized the following “photoscenic” promotional ventures in their pitchbook (figure 3.35, a, b, and c): 1) Luray Caverns in Virginia credited a 15% gain in gross business to their picture focus, including signs with exposure information and lights; 2) the owner of Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina created photographic signs and tours with an eye towards publicity; and 3) Santa Claus Village in New Hampshire installed signs with specific directions, such as “Photographer, Here’s a Good Start,” resulting in lines on busy weekends. The pitch ends with two Picture Spot signs in Disneyland, illustrating both the sign itself and one of the resultant, better, photographs: “Many thousands of attractive, inviting pictures, inspired and aided by photographic signs will be personal salesmen for the World’s Fair.”⁵⁹¹ On the very last page of the report, almost as an afterthought, they put forward an especially modern picture-taking platform (figure 3.36), perhaps meant to complement the futuristic look of the Fair and their pavilion. Installed at “certain key locations,” Kodak’s suggested signs were replete with stairs and railings, including a circular sign and arrow pointing out “ideal vantage points for picture-taking.”⁵⁹² Unfortunately, the bulky, striking nature of the proposed picture-taking sign design was quite possibly what sank Kodak’s preliminary chances with the Fair.

⁵⁹¹ JWT and Kodak, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS,” pitchbook.

⁵⁹² JWT and Kodak, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS.”

While Kodak's and J. Walter Thompson's initial "suggested design" for the Fair's picture-taking platforms was indeed ill-founded, the proposition itself was well-reasoned, with the focus heavier on function than form. Consequently, it is not entirely clear why Moses and the Fair did not agree to a modified version of Kodak's picture-taking signs as early as 1960, or at least to a style closer to Disney's iterations, which were used as examples throughout. Perhaps it was Moses's hard hand on the Fair specifics and optics, confidence that he could draw in the requisite numbers without ancillary promotion, or possibly his desire to have Kodak provide something more substantial in exchange (Moses, for example, convinced U.S. Steel to foot the \$2 million bill for the construction of Clarke's designed Unisphere).⁵⁹³ To say that Moses was obsessed with signage is an understatement, thus making his initial disapproval of Kodak's sign-heavy pitch and ideas, even in an edited form, somewhat surprising. For example, in preparation for a Board of Directors meeting in the winter of 1963, Moses demanded that every pavilion, despite or because of being under construction, be labeled with large signs (as seen in Kodak's pavilion, figure 3.37), even going so far as to suggest that the directors and members approach the Fair coming in from the Long Island Expressway "so that they can see what is going on - on the borders and inside the Fair."⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹³ Miller in Rosenblum et. al., *Remembering the Future*, 66.

⁵⁹⁴ Assistant Director of Exhibitor Relations Phyllis Adams wrote to every business and exhibitor with the following request: "Mr. Moses is eager to have construction signs erected on sites visible to the expressway before the Board of Directors meeting scheduled for January 24th," see Phyllis Adams, of NYWF, to Mr. D. Mitchell Cox, Pepsi-Cola Company, January 3, 1964, Box #44, A1.00, Board of Directors Mtg. 1/24/63 folder, NYWF at NYPL. Apparently, Kodak lagged in erecting theirs, or their delay coincided with the other sign negotiations, so the Fair stated that they would put up a temporary sign for them. See William H. Offley to Stuart Constable, January 11, 1963, Box #44, A1.00, Board of Directors Mtg. 1/24/63 folder, NYWF at NYPL. Besides being visual beacons meant to impress the board and passers-by, these signs give notice of the designer, architects, construction businesses, and more.

The 1964-65 New York World's Fair ostensibly only conceded to the picture-taking signs when Kodak agreed to print and mount large illustrations for the Pan-American Highway Gardens that encircled the Kodak Pavilion. Celebrating the recently constructed Pan-American Highway that connected seven countries, which opened in April of 1963, this attraction was not sponsored by any particular corporation—described by the Fair as “neither a commercial nor industrial exhibit nor a concession”—but more generally fell under the Fair and did not charge a separate admission, as some areas did.⁵⁹⁵ Compared to a “tropical garden rest area,” not unlike one that a motorist might encounter on the highway itself, a Fair administrator maintained: “the gardens are, in effect, just another part of the parks that dot the Fairgrounds.”⁵⁹⁶ Perhaps because the Pan American Highway Gardens celebrated a highway, something with which Moses was intimately involved in his previous positions, he was therefore more open to possibilities. Bound together as they were, this particular exhibit and the picture-taking signs became a “carrot and stick” situation to the Fair and for Kodak.

After such a late start, the Pan-American Highway project was riddled with delays and challenges. Because the fate of the signs was tied up in the Pan-American Highway Gardens, and they physically surrounded the Kodak pavilion, it is worth providing a short summary of this specific site, both at the Fair and in reality. While automobiles and freeways were celebrated in other pavilions and exhibits at the Fair, the Pan American

⁵⁹⁵ Richard B. Whitney, NYWF Assistant Director of Administration, letter to J. C. Murray, Acting Deputy City Collector, January 30, 1964, Box #387, P5, Pan American Highway Gardens (1964), Special Projects, Jan-April, Participation, NYWF at NYPL. This appears to be a description of the Gardens to tax or permitting officials.

⁵⁹⁶ Whitney letter to Murray, regarding Pan American Highway Gardens.

Highway display further tied the open road, the site of the original “Picture Ahead” signs, to the Fair and to Kodak. The feature itself was a fairly unique addition to the Fair, causing the movement of a Brass Rail concession stand and its transformation with Latin American themed decor. Representing approximately 175,000-187,000 square feet in the shadow of the Kodak pavilion, Clarke and Rapuano designed the garden plot plan (figure 3.38).⁵⁹⁷ Fair officials sought a variety of sponsorships, although it is not clear how many signed on, and even hoped to coordinate foreign dignitaries from the Pan American Highway Congress to stop at the Fair, on their cavalcade from the Mexican border, across the United States.⁵⁹⁸

While the area of the highway that had just opened spanned from Mexico to Panama, the Pan-American Highway’s ultimate purpose was to connect the entirety of North and South America (figure 3.39). A particularly successful and picturesque photograph (figure 3.40), likely taken from the Picture Spot sign at the far end of the Gardens, showcases the Picture Tower of the Kodak pavilion, with boughs from the verdant of tropical plantings framing the view. The background showcases one of the 12

⁵⁹⁷ Martin Stone, of NYWF, memorandum to Robert Moses, August 14, 1963, Box #387, Pan American High Garden (1962-63) folder, Special Projects, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 1. Stone noted that they were seeking sponsorship from Organization of American States, the State Department, and the US Inter-American Council and that for \$150,000-200,000 Clarke and Rapuano can landscape the gardens in “Pan American style.”

⁵⁹⁸ Bertram D. Tallamy, former first Federal Highway Administrator and then Consulting Engineer in D.C., was heavily involved in the diplomatic side of the project and counted Robert Moses as a mentor. Tallamy called the project the “Inter-American Exhibit” early on, suggesting it be a “governmental or a (emphasis added) privately developed” project. For more on Tallamy, see Richard Weingroff, “Bertram D. Tallamy,” U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, accessed April 28, 2016, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/50tallamy.cfm>

Kodak produced murals, likely the starting point as it is a map of the Pan American Highway, as well as a variety of native stone objects.⁵⁹⁹

Kodak seemed keen on offering other picture-taking opportunities within the Pan American Highway Gardens. In late April, after the Fair had opened, Kodak executives attempted to improve the Pan American Highway Garden situation, seemingly using the model of their already installed Picture Spot signs and their earlier murals from the 1939-40 New York World's Fair. Advocating a variety of indicia and signage, Kodak made suggestions ranging from painting a yellow spot 12-feet away, indicating the "proper place to stand," as well as sample prints of posed people in front of the backdrops, along with exposure data mounted in frames next to the backgrounds.⁶⁰⁰ While it is unclear if any of these measures were put into place, as late as June 1964, Kodak encouraged using the panels as backdrops in descriptive copy for associated, seemingly separate panels and other "picture-taking possibilities."⁶⁰¹ Two vernacular snapshots, perhaps even following the company's model, show two women posing in front of a painted Costa Rican cart and a Costa Rican sphere (figure 3.41, a and b), with two different Kodak-produced signs in

⁵⁹⁹ The seven countries were represented by one or two signs each, as well as a map and possibly a few more general scenes: Costa Rica, El Salvador (2), Guatemala, Honduras (2), Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama. See Don Lewis, of Kodak, letter to John R. Reiss, of NYWF, June 3, 1964, Box #387, Folder P5 Pan American Highway Gardens, May-Nov., Special Projects, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, page 2.

⁶⁰⁰ L. V. Burrows, of Kodak, letter on Eastman Kodak Company letterhead to D. M. Lewis, of Kodak, April 29, 1964, Box #387, Folder P5 Pan American Highway Gardens, May-Nov., Special Projects, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 3 and 5.

⁶⁰¹ John R. Reiss, of NYWF, letter to Don Lewis, of Kodak, June 3, 1964, Box #387, Folder P5 Pan American Highway Gardens, May-Nov., Special Projects, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 2. Earlier in the summer of 1963, Fair officials mentioned Kodak designers meeting to go over Clarke and Rapuano's plot plan and draw up plans, including size and shape of the 10-12 murals as well as benches and frames nearby, so it is unclear where and when the miscommunication lay. See Richard B. Whitney, NYWF memo to Martin Stone, August 15, 1963, Box #387, P5 Pan American Highway Gardens (1962-63), Special Projects, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 1.

the background.⁶⁰² In the end, despite what appear to be decent end results, Moses was deeply disappointed in the lack of use of the garden and its landscaping, the difficulty in obtaining Latin American objects in a timely and thorough manner, as well as the final result of the panels. Moses, in fact, blamed Kodak for what he saw as inferior, curiously non-photographic, murals.⁶⁰³ The fate of the gardens surrounding Kodak, although regrettable, was still apt given the original roadside location of the picture-taking signs. During the 1965 season of the Fair, the gardens and the area around the Kodak pavilion were transformed into the Avis Pan American Highway Rides, in which visitors drove miniature cars along a recreated multi-lane highway.⁶⁰⁴

Predating the later Highway Gardens breakdown, Moses gave his approval for Kodak to place 25 picture-taking spots around the Fair in early December 1963, with the final agreement and details finalized in early April 1964, only a few weeks before the Fair opened on April 22nd.⁶⁰⁵ Noting that Kodak would “assume all costs” and

⁶⁰² For more about the Latin American objects and other aspects of the Pan American Highway Gardens, see “Mystery Ball, Industrial Area,” *The World’s Fair Community*, January 1, 2008, accessed April 30, 2016, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/7435-mystery-ball/>.

⁶⁰³ By late June, it appeared that the Pan American Highway Gardens were deemed a failure by Fair officials, leading Moses to jot off a curt memo: “The Pan American Garden (sic) has no attraction whatever. Fix or remove.” In early July, another memo noted that that it was not “Gil Clarke’s fault,” and Moses handwritten on the memo to Gilmore Clarke, “I don’t understand how this went so very wrong. - R.M.” See respectively: Robert Moses memorandum to Martin Stone, both of NYWF, June 26, 1964 and Martin Stone memorandum to Robert Moses, July 3, 1964, both in Box #387, Folder P5 Pan American Highway Gardens, May-Nov., Special Projects, Participation, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁰⁴ For more about the Pan American Highway Gardens, see “Pan American Highway Gardens, Industrial Area,” *The World’s Fair Community*, May 4, 2004, accessed April 30, 2016, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/2914-pan-american-highway-gardens/?page=1>. Avis also operated the Avis Antique Car Ride in the Transportation area, with miniature cars, as well as a rental service for cars and power boats at the Marina Landing. For more, see Bill Young, “Avis Antique Car Ride,” *New York World’s Fair 1964/65*, accessed May 2, 2016, <http://www.nywf64.com/avis01.shtml>.

⁶⁰⁵ Linc Burrows, Director of Planning Kodak Exhibit, New York World’s Fair, signed agreement letter to New York World’s Fair 1964-65 Corporation, April 3, 1964, Box #13, A0.3, Eastman Kodak Company folder, Pan American Highway Gardens, NYWF at NYPL, including reply with “executed copy” by Robert

“underwrite the expense of maintenance,” Moses summarized the basic tenets of the agreement: “There will be no reference to Kodak and they can be designed as you wish, much on the order of what has been done at Disneyland.”⁶⁰⁶ After the 1960 proposal by J. Walter Thompson, even later more modest proposals were unacceptable to the Moses and the Fair’s “Conformity Committee.” Kodak and the committee likewise clashed repeatedly on several other designs and aspects of the signs, including height as well the dynamics of the display itself. Fair directors were adamant that the Kodak picture-taking signs not tower over other attractions and initially also objected to the panel jutting out from the pole, which some members saw as two signs.

Officials disagreed amongst themselves as well: Gilmore Clarke of Clarke and Rapuano, for example, suggested that they be no taller than 5 feet, capable of being moved, and offered to help select the locations, while the Fair’s Chief Engineer, William Wipple, Jr., proposed that the sign include an actual arrow to help guide visitors.⁶⁰⁷ Attuned to the space as a landscape architect, Clarke in particular voiced apprehension over the glut of other high poles already within the fair and to add others would be

Moses to C. (sic) V. Burrows, of Kodak, April 6, 1964, with the following caveat: “Any Kodak identification which may be planned to appear on the photoscenic background installation or at the picture spot signs will, of course, have to be mutually agreeable to Kodak and the Fair. If you are planning such identification, I suggest you talk to Mr. Stone and Gilmore Clark (sic).”

⁶⁰⁶ Robert Moses to Stuart Constable, internal memo, subject: “KODAK PICTURE TAKING SPOTS,” December 6, 1963, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁰⁷ See overview of Clarke and Rapuano’s main preferences (movable pedestal-type sign and approximately 5 feet tall) in Jack Potter to General Whipple, NYWF memorandum, January 16, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL. The latter suggestion of an arrow is found in William Wipple, Jr., Chief Engineer, letter to Gilmore D. Clarke, of Clarke and Rapuano, on Fair letterhead, January 20, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

“confusing and, in my opinion, exceedingly offensive to good taste.”⁶⁰⁸ Crowd control was another concern, yet Clarke acknowledged “if there is a crowd, then no sign to make a picture spot will be of any use because no one will be able to take a photograph.”⁶⁰⁹ A transitional, and traditional, plan proposed by Clarke, with drawings made by William S. Boice in mid January 1964, was simpler, lacking the board and only one-sided (figure 3.42), yet was rejected by Kodak, perhaps as too staid and nostalgic.⁶¹⁰

Construction and Function of The Kodak Picture Spot Signs

In the end, the model of the Kodak Picture Spot sign for the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair was remarkably similar to those they installed in Disneyland (figure 3.43, a and b), held up as an exemplar in the original pitchbook. While it is not clear who or what entity—Clarke, the Fair, or Kodak officials—designed and created the successful mock-up for the picture-taking signs, the plans and specifications, as presented in a missing drawing, were assigned an official Fair Permit Number. The final Fair picture-taking design stood around 5’ 8’ to 6’ feet tall, after coming up from 5 and down from 8-

⁶⁰⁸ Gilmore D. Clarke letter to Stuart Contestable, on of Clarke & Rapuano letterhead, January 22, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁰⁹ Clarke seemed to be the most vocal critic of the signs, almost leading to a disillusion of the deal, according to Richard B. Whitney who recounted Clarke and Rapuano’s Dave Carruth’s argument: “He (Carruth) defended Mr. Clarke’s decision and said in his opinion the sign would look ugly and would mar the view not only of the Fair visitors but even that of picture-takers. In other words, I feel sure that we have reached a complete impasse between the desires of Kodak and those of Mr. Clarke,” Richard B. Whitney, NYWF memorandum to Martin Stone, January 22, 1964, P1.43, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶¹⁰ The plans were included along with a letter, Gilmore D. Clarke to Stuart Constable, Clark and Rapuano letterhead, two pages with attachments, January 15, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

10 feet, featuring a panel and utilizing a standard flag pole.⁶¹¹ The Kodak Picture Spot sign consisted of two main parts set along a white metal pole and had an overall minimalist aesthetic (figure 3.44): 1) the top part recalled an outstretched flag, bordered by a white metal “frame” and 2) a placard at a 45 degree angle from a white metal bracket on which 4-5 sample photographs were inserted, with a chart of exposure and film information for still and movie cameras (this was the only location that Kodak’s name appeared on the signs).⁶¹² Likely following the Fair’s approved list of locations and his own knowledge of tourist and photographic aesthetics, former Kodak photographer Paul Yarrows, Program Specialist within Sales & Services, took the sample photographs for the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair.⁶¹³

By 1960 or soon thereafter, it appears that Kodak Picture Spots fell under Yarrows’s department as well as the related division of Photo Illustrations, which were both under the broader aegis of Kodak’s Consumer Markets Division. More than likely,

⁶¹¹ The “design, plans and specifications” are noted as being approved by the Fair by Dr. Douglas, Permit Officer, and the drawing is notated as “Kodak Drawing K.0.10610,” in a two-page letter, which appears to serve as an addendum to the agreement between the Fair and Kodak. See L. V. Burrows to New York World’s Fair 1964-65 Corporation, April 3, 1964, Box 13, Folder A0.3, Eastman Kodak Corporation, Pan-American Highway folder, NYWF at NYPL.

I have spoken to the NYPL archivists and they do not hold any other plans related to the Kodak Picture Spot signs. Because their holdings reflect those received by the Fair, the plans could be at Clarke and Rapuano, Kodak, or whatever designer or firm ended up designing and/or contracting the signs. In order to track down the manufacturers of the Picture Spot signs, I looked to the construction signs Moses initially wanted to install in front of each pavilion at the Fair. Nevertheless, due to their more complex nature, the final sign company he chose may have included some other firm not named here, or combination thereof: “Walter [or Walters] Sign Co... Amelia Sign Co., Flushing Sign Co., Mastercraft, Hartford.” See William H. Otley, memorandum to Stuart Constable, of NYWF, Subject: Construction Signs: Final Report, January 21, 1963, Box #44, General Files-Admin, A1.00, Board of Directors, Meeting 1/14/63 folder, page 1.

⁶¹² From Figure 44, the top left icon is the Fair’s insignia, not a snapshot, and the heading reads: “Camera Settings for Correct Exposures” and at the bottom, it reads: “Kodak Film, Available at all Medo Camera Shops and all Brass Rail Refreshments Centers.”

⁶¹³ Paul Yarrows, interview with the author and Gordon P. Brown, June 30, 2015. Yarrows also photographed the images for the Disney Picture Spot signs, some National Parks maps, and Letchworth State Park, which will be discussed in Chapter Four and Conclusion.

no one person oversaw the program or its budget or, if they did, it was not for very long.⁶¹⁴ Nevertheless, Kodak began to see the Picture Spots as a part of their broader strategy and developed a multivalent approach.⁶¹⁵ Regarding the views Yarrows sought within Disney and the Fair, while still following a script, Yarrows put it succinctly: “So the camera club became the Picture Spot signs.”⁶¹⁶ The sample snapshots on each panel were actual prints; consequently, Kodak printed thousands and swapped them out as they faded over the course of the Fair. Much like the picture-taking signs at Disney, the top was consistent graphically and the lower panel varied, in image and text, depending on the location and situation. Seeing a real photograph affixed under the clear film of the panel, in addition to camera and film facts, likely motivated Fairgoers that they too could capture the pleasing scene presented.

As can be seen in what was likely a promotional picture produced by the company and a previous snapshot (figure 3.32 and 3.43), the top part of the sign did not include the company’s name, per their agreement, but utilized the photographic giant’s signature

⁶¹⁴ Gordon Brown noted, at a somewhat later date, the Picture Spots, became almost free-floating special projects: “Actually, nobody oversaw the Kodak Photo signs, but some in Photo Illustrations people remembered them, but had other responsibilities, if they were even there, so it came down to choosing whomever you could convince to do you a favor, assuming that they had the time and money to do things for you.” Gordon P. Brown, email to author, December 10, 2018.

⁶¹⁵ Yarrows, for example, created and gave numerous lectures to amateur audiences, including the aptly-named “Photo Scenic America” program. Paul Yarrows, interview with the author, June 30, 2015. As Brown recalled, the their approach was multivalent: “I remember meeting, and envying, the photographers in the Kodak Photo Illustrations Department who were in charge of training customers in photography, and who were also responsible choosing and supporting the Kodak Photo Spots at various location throughout the U. S. Kodak supported Photo Spots in many ways: first by helping different venues to choose the spots, second, by sending our photographers to lecture at the different venues about photography and the spots, and third, by designing and printing brochures that directed venue guests to specific spots to take their pictures. Kodak would print the brochures for the locations, and make multiple photographic prints of the spot views, if they chose to post the resultant photos on the Picture Spot signs.” Gordon P. Brown, email to author, February 21, 2016.

⁶¹⁶ Paul Yarrows, interview with the author, June 30, 2015.

yellow color with the epithet PICTURE SPOT in contrasting red letters. The pole itself was white and the casings surrounding the pinnacle and panel were unpainted or silver.⁶¹⁷ The title portion of the sign also included Kodak's trademark "paper curl," as did Disney's, at the bottom corner, subtly reminding amateurs to get their film processed and emphasizing the materiality of the eventually-printed images. Although just cut off in the original photo, the large letters atop the Kodak pavilion were also yellow (figure 3.32), further uniting the architectural and corporate elements. The black camera icon, next to the phrase PICTURE SPOT, did not reflect Kodak's Fair-issued offering, or their new Instamatic camera. Quite interestingly, the graphic chosen for the Fair signs was a bellows-type camera closer to those available during the Columbia Exposition. Instead of reflecting the future-forward theme of the fair or the streamlined look of the sign, Kodak chose, or the Fair insisted, to emphasize photographic history on the Picture Spot sign. As West has argued, Kodak used nostalgia extensively in their marketing, teaching "us how to see and photographs as sites of longing."⁶¹⁸ The site—and sight—of a Kodak picture-taking sign at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair likely not only conjured up memories of earlier cameras and roadside signs, but it underscored Kodak's legacy with international expositions.

The second, and perhaps even more key, part of the Kodak Picture Spot was the didactic placard. Essentially a crash course in photography and composition, the panel

⁶¹⁷ Kodak wanted the signs to be more colorful, which the Fair seemingly declined: "They want the signs red and yellow and black, Kodak colors, and two-faced....I think...that the supports and other metal work [should] be aluminum and unpainted." Stuart Constable, of NYWF, letter to Gilmore D. Clarke on NYWF letterhead, January 21, 1964, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak Company (A-D) (1961-64) folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶¹⁸ West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 5.

included a guide for both still and movie film—the text reading “Camera Settings for Correct Exposure”—as well as possible views that could be taken from the sign. At the same time they displayed their mechanical prowess within their pavilion, Kodak aimed to minimize and simplify the technical and aesthetic aspects of photography “out in the field.” Regarding the picture-taking sign near the Simmons pavilion in the 1964-65 New World's Fair, for example, Kodak presented four, distinctly different images captured in the vicinity of this location (figure 3.44). Just as it did along the roadside, presenting a photographic bounty made sense for Kodak. Put another way, if snaphooters captured every single suggested photograph, at every single Picture Spot sign at the World’s Fair, the total was between 160-200 individual images.⁶¹⁹ With this effort and object, the company’s guidance helped to educate a new generation of amateur photographers. Signaling authority in optics and tone, Kodak’s sign likewise recalled a museum panel or brochure with its format, facts, and figures.

Bolstering these edifying modes, Kodak produced several brochures to accompany the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair (figure 3.45). One in particular focused solely on photographing at and around the exposition. Titled “Pictoretaking at the Fair,” the tri-fold pamphlet followed in the footsteps of earlier editions in its didactic tone and included a generalized map—touting “an endless number of pictures throughout the day”

⁶¹⁹ I estimate, and believe, that Kodak did not ultimately install their desired total of 50 signs, but likely added an additional 5-15 the second season of the Fair for a total of 35-40 signs. An annotated map, currently beyond the scope of this project but possible in the future given my research, will help to narrow down this number.

and at night, “a whole new set of pictures is unveiled.”⁶²⁰ The brochure did not include any actual photographs, just illustrations, perhaps to coordinate with their stylized graphics produced for the Pan American Highway Garden murals and 1960s era ads. In the brochure’s pages, which probably reinforced the text on the signs themselves, Kodak recommended compositions that could equally apply to a painting or the Picturesque era: “Framing the subject (with the branch of a tree, for instance) adds dimension to the scene”; “Shoot building fronts from a three-quarter angle for better perspective”; and “Vistas, pavilions, and fountains are good backgrounds.”⁶²¹ The brochure also included a detailed exposure guide for “Movies & Stills” as well as flash photography, with a physical slider that could be adjusted up and down to correspond to and dial up requisite films, aperture, and shutter speeds (figure 3.46). In addition to this instructive feature, the brochure included reference to the Kodak Picture Spots, reproducing a small, stylized sign (to the left) and the following text, reading in part:

Watch for these signs you as you tour the Fair. From such spots — or nearby — you will find scenes worth photographing. Each sign gives camera settings for snapshots and movies, KODACOLOR prints show nearby pictures you can take... Naturally, not all can be marked.⁶²²

Perhaps, in the wake of the “Picture Ahead” roadside sign misunderstandings and earlier efforts at other fairs, the company finally realized that it had to teach fairgoers how to

⁶²⁰ Kodak, “Pictoretaking at the Fair,” double-sided, tri-folded brochure, notated Kodak Sales Service Pamphlet (#C-22, 4-64, L-CH-AXX), collection of and digital copy/PDF provided by the Queens Museum. There are two variations of this pamphlet, with the same cover and same locative and interior information (the slide and exposure information changes): one for “Miniature and Other Advanced Cameras” and the other “Snapshots at the Fair: With Fixed Focus and Other Simple Cameras.” The rest of the quotations in this paragraph are taken from the first pamphlet.

⁶²¹ Kodak, “Pictoretaking at the Fair.”

⁶²² Kodak, “Pictoretaking at the Fair.”

“operate” the signs by way of copious copy, extra imagery, and roving aids. With the hope that one would extrapolate, “exposure settings for one scene will also apply to nearby scenes,” and the company’s previous plugs of photographic profusion above and beyond what was marked, Kodak again offered the added guidance of the Information Center at their pavilion.

In addition to their staff and samples, Kodak promoted the Picture Spot signs as surrogate stand-ins and offered supplementary guidance to their salespeople and at their stores. In a multi-page spread in their dealer magazine in midsummer 1964, Kodak touted “The Fair IS Clicking With Your Customers,” providing an overview and product tie-ins. Two staged photographs, courtesy of the designer of the Swedish pavilion and featuring a typical couple, place the Picture Spot signs as friendly, personal presences within the crowds (figure 3.47, a and b). Over the winter hiatus, in a fittingly titled article “So What’s Kodak Done for Me Lately,” the dealer magazine reminded readers of the 25 Picture Spot signs (figure 3.48) and recommended that stores “promote the delights of the Fair before the April re-opening by showing the free AV slide-tape show ‘Focus on the Fair’ or slides taken by you or your customers.”⁶²³ Aptly in the accompanying image, a man leans on a Picture Spot sign, studying its content and pictures intently, not its prospects. What was left unsaid here and elsewhere was that via

⁶²³ Kodak, “So What’s Kodak Done for Me Lately,” *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* (January/February 1965), 1-5,

4. In addition to official postcards, set slides were offered by a variety of manufacturers and were available for purchase. World’s Fair collector Bill Cotter has identified at least nine different manufacturers, including the popular Pana-Vue as well as the official vendor “Photo Lab Slides,” with collated lists of available slides within each offering. See Bill Cotter, “Commercial Slides,” *World’s Fair Photos*, accessed April 23, 2016, <http://www.worldsfairphotos.com/nywf64/commercial-slides.htm>.

the slideshow and album viewing that occurred back at home after the first season—including views duly taken from and at Picture Spot signs—Kodak continued to advertise the Fair, and by extension itself and its wares, as a result of the copious picturing and sharing by laypeople, by proxy.

Photographs at and Placement of Picture Spot Signs

The photographs produced at the prodding of the Picture Spot signs are fundamentally well composed copies of those selected and framed, approved and produced by Kodak. As mentioned, unless all sample photographs are available or the sign is included in the image itself, it is difficult to ascertain if a snapshot was made at a particular sign. World's Fair enthusiasts are of great benefit in this detective work by way of their access to a volume of vernacular photographs and their detailed knowledge of the Fair's layout. In an online bulletin board thread on this exact topic, several aficionados helped to identify, collect, and map 22 of the initial 25 locations at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair. Noting a pleasant snapshot made within Sinclair Oil Corporation's "Dinoland" exhibit, for example, a member of World's Fair community shared an image (figure 3.49) and posed the following question:

Ever wonder how so many Fair visitors were able to align this identical perfect photo - with the two dinosaurs, the waterfall, and the Sinclair sign? (assuming they waited to snap the picture as the rotating sign swung into view). ... It's because this vantage point was one of the designated Kodak Photo opportunity locations (the yellow metal flag sign and white

explanation sign explained it to visitors).⁶²⁴

In between his two lines of text, the author shared another image (figure 3.50), possibly a screen capture from a home movie shot from a nearby building, showing the vantage point from which the aforementioned image was taken (marked in green): the attraction's assigned Kodak Picture Spot sign, across the walkway. While blurry, it appears that the picture-taking marker offered the typical 4-5 photographic samples on its didactic panel, of which this was one of the recommended vistas.

Spatially, the pre-approved point of view of the Sinclair Dinoland Kodak sign was perfect: any more to the left and the sign would have been blocked, any more to the right and the dinosaurs may have crossed; any farther back and balanced shapes and leading lines would be lost. Within this amateur snapshot, the composition is indeed well balanced: the dinosaur is centered pleasantly within the frame, while the stone wall and brontosaurus's head and the Brass Rail's balloons flank the sides; the waterfall aids visual interest, while the Sinclair sign contributes identification. The poster's observation, the "top yellow metal flag sign," is of note and the contextual image speaks to how its sentinel-like quality helped Kodak to stand out among the Fair's countless other signs. The comparison to a flag was also apt, as the white pole was inserted into a larger sleeve or drive socket placed into the ground, a technique the Fair used for flag pole installation, both more permanent and temporary.⁶²⁵ While theoretically, the Picture

⁶²⁴ Randy Treadway, "A Kodak Moment," The World's Fair Community, accessed March 20, 2016, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.

⁶²⁵ Stuart Constable of the Fair describes this "drive socket" method in a memo to Gilmore Clarke, along with a new design (presumably close to the final, save being eight feet above grade, which the Fair knocked

Spots could be easily moved, it appears that they were only removed or moved for construction or safekeeping over the winter. The immovable banner of the Kodak sign beckoned, gathered, and condensed potential photographic activity.

Occasionally, Kodak's recommended scenes were not the most ideal and amateurs, by accident or design, captured better compositions. In a particularly insightful pairing of snapshots by the same photographer (figure 3.51, a and b), the picture that includes the Picture Spot marker, as well as the sign associated with the attraction, in some ways works better than the recommended, more intimate, vista. Located in the Transportation zone, across from Sinclair's equally landscaped area, Löwenbräu Gardens was an open-air restaurant set amidst a recreated Bavarian village. In the first photograph, the amateur stepped back to include an establishing shot, including the full billboard identifying the attraction and the paved walkway. To the left-side of the snapshot, a Kodak Picture Spot sign stands at the edge of a manicured island. In the resultant instructed picture, the composition focuses on the quaint chalets and plantings, with the only indication of the Fair's presence coming from the picnic tables and blue pole of the sign. Nevertheless, given that Löwenbräu was a Bavarian brewery, the official Kodak photographer's choice of zooming in to exclude extraneous details, via his amateur stand-in's suitable example, emphasizes European quaintness, over the Fair's

down to five), 25 proposed locations, and more details. See Stuart Constable, of NYWF, letter to Gilmore D. Clarke on NYWF letterhead, January 21, 1964, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak Company (A-D) (1961-64) folder, NYWF at NYPL.

A letter preparing for the seasonal closure of the Fair between the 1964 and 1965 season discusses the construction of the signs in regards to their proposal to install pipe standards to prevent any damage due to trucks and snow plows to the "sleeves that will remain in the ground when the Pictoretaking Spot signs are removed from their present locations for winter storage." Paul M. Alk, Staff Assistant of Kodak Exhibit, to John R. Reiss of the NYWF Corporation, on Eastman Kodak Company letterhead, October 20, 1963, Box 474, Engineering Files, Eastman Kodak Exhibit folder, NYWF at NYPL.

other distractions, possibly transporting the viewer to a place they never visited. In another more graphic snapshot (figure 3.52), a fairgoer-photographer focuses on the pleasing placement of both of the signs, lining them up and suggesting their shared functions.

Another Fair snapshot featuring a Kodak Picture Spot sign speaks to the disjunctive nature of diverse places and cultures clashing at the Fair (figure 3.53). Located at the African pavilion, across from the Unisphere and Greece and Morocco, this picture-taking sign recommended five possible snapshots within its vicinity.⁶²⁶ While it is difficult to see on the panel, this particular scene was not likely one of the recommended pictures, but it gives insight into how the sign worked within its environs. Here, what appears to be one of the featured African dancers leans casually on the Kodak sign, while a man dressed in safari attire beckons like a carnival barker to passersby. The long shadow of the Kodak picture-taking sign looms large, extending well into the picture plane and reinforcing the divide between the area of “the Other” and the white suburban fairgoers on the other side of the curb. While this might be a chance metaphor for Kodak’s visual dominance and the exhibitionism of the Fair itself, the meeting of site, sight, and spectacle is powerful. At the Kodak Picture Spots, the amateur photographers do as they are bid: while attempting to ensnare a pre-determined scene, they put themselves on display in an act of conspicuous photography.

⁶²⁶ The African pavilion consisted of a series of huts representing 24 nations of sub-Saharan Africa and included a restaurant, movie theatre, animals, and an area for tribal dancing. For more information, see Bill Young, “Africa” New York World’s Fair 1964/65, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://nywf64.com/africa01.shtml>

The locations of many of the Kodak Picture Spot signs at the 1964-65 New York Fair were along the periphery of the fairgrounds, physically and metaphorically. The picture-taking sites and signs were both a part of the landscape and hardscape as well as means to garner attention and also to re-direct it. Again, akin to Foucault's heterotopias, the signs were both of the space and apart from it, most often placed on the edges of walkway medians, against fences, or alongside walls. As can be seen in an edited map from a World's Fair online bulletin board, the Kodak Picture Spot signs almost bound the periphery of the area including the Kodak pavilion and the Pan American Highway Gardens (figure 3.54). At each marker, one can imagine some of the potential prospects, including the attention paid by Kodak to balancing elements in the foreground and background of the snapshots. When the area was converted to Avis's Pan American Highway Rides the second season, the Picture Spot in the upper right of the map near the Solar Fountain was quite literally fenced in (figure 3.55).

A trio of amateur snapshots taken at the 1964-65 Fair showcases the Picture Spot signs' various liminal settings. Given its dynamic and colorful composition, the first example (figure 3.56) might have been a suggested photograph, as selected by Kodak, or simply taken by a better photographer; the latter two images (figure 3.57, a and b) appear to capture the signs' surroundings by chance, yet are still useful to this project in unpacking for their placement and situations. In the initial instance (figure 3.56), the New York State pavilion's towers, lines of the suspended "Tent of Tomorrow," color block lights, and repeating poles blend with the Kodak Picture Spot, in the right

foreground, into the background.⁶²⁷ In a photograph of the Festival of Gas pavilion (figure 3.57, a), sponsored by the United States gas industry and designed by Walter Dorwin Teague Associates, for instance, a Kodak Picture Spot is plainly seen to the right.⁶²⁸ This snapshot may also be a recommended image given the way it highlights the building's angled roof, but it also captures the Picture Spot's relationship to other functional items: a lighting pole, adorned with street signs, and traffic sign. Everything, from the signs to its corner placement in the paved walkway, says "stop here." In another snapshot of the area outside the entrance to the Hall of Free Enterprise near the Belgian Village (figure 3.57, b), the picture-taking sign stands in a median, next to a long bench and a tree. In essence, while placed in a staid space within the larger hustle and bustle of the Fair, the marker functioned akin to the ladies in the foreground: if used, it oriented and pointed to other places.

While most of the popular pavilions were singled out by the sample photographs on the Kodak signs, some features appear to be left unmarked, perhaps as they were both obvious and to help with traffic flow. While the sign that was closest to the Unisphere and African pavilion does not feature a grand view of the globe in their sample snapshots, for example (as seen in the panel displayed of figure 3.53), there appears to be a curious dearth of "long shots" of this specific and special feature, the symbol of the Fair itself.

As can be seen in a snapshot with the Unisphere and its surrounding fountains seen at top

⁶²⁷ Although not seen in this photograph, the New York State Pavilion had a map of the state, in tezzano tiles, made by Texaco Oil Company on the floor. One of the two observation towers, the highest points at the Fair, can be seen to the left. More for on this pavilion, see Bill Young, "New York State," New York World's Fair 1964/65, accessed April 17, 2016, <http://www.nywf64.com/newyor01.shtml>.

⁶²⁸ For more on the Festival of Gas pavilion, see Bill Young, "Festival of Gas," New York World's Fair 1964/65, accessed April 18, 2016, <http://www.nywf64.com/fesgas01.shtml>.

(figure 3.58), Kodak may have chosen to highlight the iconic sphere with a marker placed in the median of the Avenue of African Nations (notated with the green arrow), or a previous example featuring what looks to be the sphere (see center sample, figure 3.48), but no other signs appear to have been placed along the line of fountains to the north or near the states to the South, as seen in the notated map (figure 3.59).⁶²⁹ A possible reason for Kodak's lack of major marked panoramas, quite interestingly, may come from one of the Fair's contracted landscape architects, Gilmore D. Clarke, and paralleled his earlier approach to parkways.

During some of the negotiations after Moses had agreed to Kodak's signs, Clarke voiced a concern as to taller signs as well as marking locales that were too picturesque and too picture-ready, perhaps to keep crowds moving or because he felt that these vistas were better seen and experienced uninstructed or even unmediated. Sharing his ongoing skepticism of the Kodak Picture Spots, Clarke wrote, "I am of the opinion that the majority of the locations shown will be acceptable with some adjustments to keep signs out of the line of obvious spots from which dramatic pictures may be taken."⁶³⁰ The ironic result, similar to what happened with the roadside signs, is that the best views sometimes went unmarked, including possibly the Unisphere. Perhaps Clarke thought of the Fair's avenues akin to parkways and freeways, both of which gradually edged out

⁶²⁹ The online bulletin board, The World's Fair Community, created this map by crowd-sourcing their own vernacular snapshots and knowledge of the layout and history of the Fair. They did not locate all of the 25 Kodak Picture Spot signs from the first season, only 22; their map also appears to include some added during the second season. Map, created by Kevin aka Yada Yada/Blueprint Geek, user can be found on the third page of discussion, "A Kodak Moment," The World's Fair Community, July 7, 2011, accessed April 28, 2016, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=3>.

⁶³⁰ Gilmore D. Clarke to Stuart Constable, letter on Clarke & Rapuano letterhead, January 22, 1964, P1.43, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

recreational stopping as well as Kodak's "Picture Ahead" signs.⁶³¹ Aligning himself with one of the founders of urban planning, zoning, and credited with coining the terms freeway and parkway, Edward M. Bassett, Clarke remarked that the freeway was a "strip of public land dedicated to movement"; the parkway was dedicated to "recreation," but "the abutting owners have no right of light, air, or access."⁶³² To this list, Clarke might have added the Fair's exhibiting companies, as well as their abutting pavilions and signs, should be barred from having spatial or aesthetic rights as well.

With 25 markers officially placed the first season of the Fair in 1964, the locations of the Kodak Picture Spot signs covered the New York Fair grounds fairly evenly, allowing for Eastman Kodak to have a corporate presence well beyond other companies. As can be seen in an annotated Esso map of the Fair, the dispersion of the Kodak signs was wide-ranging (figure 3.59), denoted by the initial PS in small yellow boxes. Notably, the Kodak Picture Spots occurred in all of the five thematic areas of the Fair. Kodak film was for sale at the Medo store next to the Kodak pavilion (Kodak was not allowed to sell their products directly) as well as at the circa 25-30 Brass Rail concession and souvenir stands across the grounds. If one takes that aforementioned into consideration—in addition to the examples, instructions, and photographers found at each of the appropriately 40 final Kodak picture-taking signs by the 1965 season—fairgoers

⁶³¹ As mentioned before, Clarke was involved with the "first automotive parkway," the Bronx River Parkway, and the Taconic State Parkway, among others. See Wilson, "The Machine in the Landscape," in *The Machine Age in America, 1918-1941*, 94-95.

⁶³² Clarke, citing Edward M. Bassett, as quoted in Gilmore D. Clarke, "Modern Motor Ways," *Architectural Record* 74 (December 1933), 431. Also, as referenced in Wilson, "The Machine in the Landscape," in *The Machine Age in America, 1918-1941*, 95, for more on Clarke and highways, parkways, and freeways, see 93-101. For more on Bassett, see Richard F. Weingroff, "Edward M. Bassett: The Man Who Gave Us the Freeway," Federal Highway Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation, accessed April 19, 2016, <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/freeway.cfm>.

encountered the Kodak brand and conspicuous photography virtually everywhere.⁶³³ The design and height of the Brass Rail stands in particular, with their tell-tale balloon-tops, made them easily spotted from anywhere on the grounds (figure 3.60) and, by extension, Kodak film was always within reach. Quite interestingly, the losing bidder for the store attached to Kodak, Grayson-Robinson had originally proposed a large two-acre photographic themed area, “Camera City,” which would have included several smaller retail chains and camera manufacturers.⁶³⁴ In addition, Ansco and Argus also both proposed their own attractions—respectively, the “Country Beautiful Exhibit” in the Transportation zone’s Transportation & Travel Pavilion, a possible reference to the earlier City Beautiful movement and the White City, and “Argus Photo Funland” in the Industrial zone—with their own photographic opportunities, displays, and sales.⁶³⁵

⁶³³ In addition to the others, four Brass Rail stands were in close proximity to the Kodak pavilion. According to a document prepared by G.E. Sales Coordination Council, in addition to the Brass Rail restaurants, 29 “refreshment stands” were proposed. I count 24 stands on the Esso map, in addition to six restaurants, which may be because the actual number changed in the final plans. See General Electric Sales Coordination Council Report, February 20, 1963, LaGuardia and Wagner Archives, LaGuardia Community College, notated as Box #32, Folder #629, accessed March 20, 2016, http://www.laguardiawagnerarchive.lagcc.cuny.edu/FILES_DOC/Microfilms/05/002/0004/00032/05.002.004.00032.629.pdf, 19, item 133.

⁶³⁴ In addition to being a bidder for photographic concessions associated with Kodak, Grayson-Robinson seems to be the entity that spearheaded an ill-fated “Camera City.” A large color Camera City folded brochure was produced circa 1961, along with blueprints and inserts, and is located in Box #303, P1.43, n.d. With a proposed admission of \$2, Camera City was touted as “The World’s Largest City (population 70 million),” the expected attendance of the Fair. By July 1961, the Fair agreed that Medo’s proposal (including a percent paid to the exposition) “is the best for the Fair,” and further, “I want to call the attention of the Executive Committee to the fact that Medo’s proposal excludes Camera City, that is, if we accept the Medo proposal it will be impossible for Grayson-Robinson to put together Camera City deal.” By August, Medo was ready to sign with Kodak and, according to Moses, “This will insure a Kodak exhibit and distribution. They do not want a big International Camera City and made it a condition that there shall be none.” See Robert Moses, of NYWF, memorandum to Executive Committee, August 18, 1961, Box #303, P.143, Eastman Kodak folder (Eb-Z) (1961-64) folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶³⁵ Ansco’s “Country Beautiful Exhibit” was proposed for the Transportation & Travel Pavilion, situated within the Transportation Zone, and film would have been sold as well. Fair officials expressed concern over how this would affect Argus’s proposal and concern that some businesses were seeking “refuge” in the Transportation & Travel Pavilion, instead of the Industrial section. See John V. Thornton memorandum to Mr. Stone, of NYWF, April 15, 1963 and Martin Stone, of NYWF, memorandum to J. V.

Likely due to their clout with the Fair corporation and business acumen in general, Kodak, and with them Medo, won out and, consequently, all of the other photographic areas, including Camera City and related exhibits, never happened.

Both on a macro and micro level—via their pavilion, Medo store, Brass Rail concessions, and Picture Spot signs—Kodak succeeded in commanding visual and photographic attention by means of the sheer square area, physically and symbolically, covered by their company. In fact, the 6,000-square-foot Medo store at the far end of pavilion was originally supposed to fall under the purview of Kodak, but they conceded the plot to help “the Fair to solve its concession problem” and wished to have any competitors farther from them, spatially.⁶³⁶ Nevertheless, what Kodak gave up spatially, they garnered back in spades and, accordingly, they sought to maximize it in other ways. In addition to selling camera, supplies, and services at the store, Medo provided the same,

Thornton, April 22, 1963, respectively, both Box #303, P1.43, Argus Folder, Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL. Argus Photo Funland was to be quite extensive and certainly would have been a challenge to Kodak. Argus officials described the following offerings: 11 amusement park photo-themed rides, photographic-style and flash lighting, and displays of products and photohistory. Furthermore, Argus added, “It is the general intension of our company to provide one of the most fascinating and scenic picture-taking areas ever devised.” Herbert R. Leopold, of Argus, letter to Martin Stone, January 22, 1963, Box #303, P1.43, Argus Folder, Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 1 and 2.

⁶³⁶ It appears that a never-built Camera City, a cluster of photographic companies and stores, was still on the table as late as October 1961, despite being seemingly taken off earlier in the summer. Kodak’s later concessions were likely an attempt to deter or dampen efforts on the part of other entities: “They [Kodak] are willing to give up the 6,000 foot store plot to the concessionaire. They do not want to have Camera City too close to them, however, and they want a provision that no film exhibitor will be located within 350 feet of the perimeter of their plot. Kodak wishes to make clear that these arrangements they are offering are for the purposes of helping the Fair to solve its concession problem, and are not being made because of the demands of Grayson-Robinson.” See John V. Thornton to Mr. Constable, of the NYWF, October 10, 1961, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak Company Folder (Eb-Z) (1961-64), Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL.

purchased wholesale, to the numerous Brass Rail souvenir concession stands.⁶³⁷

Furthermore, Kodak requested a space variance to occupy more of their 69,000 square-foot plot, beyond the Fair's 60% maximum for each tenant's parcel, presumably as their roof had a substantial overhang.⁶³⁸ As seen in a photograph of the pavilion, with a Kodak Picture Spot sign at right, the edge of the undulating "concrete carpet" extended almost to the edge of the sidewalk (figure 3.61, see also 3.23 and 3.28). In the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, all walkways, roads, and signs pointed to Kodak, thereby maximizing their aesthetic area and reach.

Statistics, Staff, and the Second Season

Whereas Kodak did initially ask for a full 50 picture-taking spots, their request was initially denied and 25 signs were later agreed upon for the first season, with a renewal request granted of up to 25 for the second.⁶³⁹ At one point, Kodak asked for 60-

⁶³⁷ See a summary of the Medo terms in Robert Moses memorandum to the Executive Committee of the NYWF, June 7, 1961, Box #303, P1.43, Bids-Photographic Supply Stores folder, Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶³⁸ J.V. Thornton memorandum to HV, February 14, 1962, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak Company Folder (Eb-Z) (1961-64), Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL. The 69,000 square-foot measurement is cited in a newspaper clipping, including the pavilion's length: 363 feet long on its main axis. See Ralph Chapman, "For Camera Bugs at the Fair - \$7 Million Kodak Allure," New York Herald Tribune, August 22, 1962, Box #351, Eastman Kodak Groundbreaking 8/20/62 folder, Special Events, Participation, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶³⁹ In a memo from early November 1963, Richard B. Whitney noted that the Conformity Committee refused Kodak's initial request for 50 picture-taking spots at the Fair. Concerned that this could affect Kodak's tentative agreement to produce the murals, and that this was not taken into account when they voted it down. Whitney stated: "I have not been in touch with them (Kodak) on this matter as I did not wish to disturb the situation as it applies to Pan American Highway Gardens." He went on to suggest a meeting of Fair officials to seek the committee's reconsideration, which it appears it did do as Robert Moses agreed to 25 signs about a month later. See Richard B. Whitney, NYWF memorandum to Martin Stone, November 4, 1963, Box #387, P5, Pan American Highway Gardens/Special Projects (1962-63) folder, Participation, NYWF at NYPL.

70 Picture Spot locations and signs, which were vehemently voted down by Fair officials. Writing with the minutes of a meeting in November 1963, General W. E. Potter wrote to Moses: “The Conformity Committee feels that this is blatant advertising and recommends its complete disapproval.”⁶⁴⁰ As demonstrated by their space and location negotiations, which at one point the Director of the Industrial Section called “the difficult Kodak sign problem,” both the Fair and Kodak were sensitive to sight lines and crowd flow.⁶⁴¹ Even the original 25 locations for the Kodak signs were not accepted *in toto*—the Fair approved 15 and disapproved 10 spots. Among their reasons, the Conformity Committee felt that they “would ruin the aesthetics that the Fair Corporation is trying to develop in their pools and fountains.”⁶⁴² Generally speaking, the Fair opposed sign placements that were in major medians or traffic axis areas. An example of an accepted locale in the second pass is, in fact, the one next to the Kodak pavilion (figure 3.61), initially not featured in the first proposal for the 1964 season: “21. Corner of the Burroughs. Subjects: Kodak, Pepsi-Cola, First National City Bank.”⁶⁴³ Soon thereafter, Kodak

⁶⁴⁰ General W. E. Potter, of NYWF, memorandum to Robert Moses, Subject: Minutes of Conformity Committee, Eastman Kodak Company, November 1, 1963, Box #122, Eastman Kodak - #C-496 folder, Industrial, Construction, NYWF at NYPL. Moses, presumably, wrote in pen across this memo, “Disapproved,” with initials.

⁶⁴¹ William Douglas, Jr., memorandum to Martin Stone, February 11, 1964, Box #122, C1.012, Eastman Kodak folder, Industrial, Construction, NYWF at NYPL. The review of the sign locations and approval of 15 and disapproval of 10 locales comes in a memo: William Douglas, Jr., of NYWF, memorandum to D. M. Lewis, of Kodak, March 10, 1964, Box #122, C1.012, Eastman Kodak #C-605 folder, Industrial, Construction, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁴² General W. E. Potter, of NYWF, memorandum to Robert Moses, Subject: Minutes of the Conformity Committee Meeting Eastman Kodak Picture Spots, March 4, 1964, Box #122, C1.012, Eastman Kodak #C-605 folder, Industrial, Construction, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁴³ Attachment, two pages, to D.M. Lewis letter to William Douglas, Jr., on Eastman Kodak Company letterhead, March 19, 1964, Box #122, C1.012, Eastman Kodak folder, Industrial, Construction, NYWF at NYPL. In a handwritten note by presumably Gilmore Clarke (initial G, illegible) on a memorandum from William Douglas, Jr. to Gilmore D. Clarke, sharing the list and map with ten alternates notated by “red crosses” reads as follows: “Dear Bill - The + locations are ok — in so far as I am concerned. The standard — with 2 signs is ugly and inexcusably in bad taste that one can’t subject much else considering the origin

proposed 15 new locations and the Fair approved, with only a slight modification to one setting.⁶⁴⁴ In the end, between 1964 and 1965, Kodak installed around 40 Picture Spot signs over the course of the two seasons of the Fair.⁶⁴⁵ Despite the Fair's initial aversion to what they deemed palpable promotion and the negotiation over design and locations, Kodak came out on top. When one takes into consideration all of the photographic opportunities at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair that Kodak successfully put into place—the signs, roof, store, and stands—the photographic company succeeded in extending its purview even further.

It is unlikely that Kodak installed the full slate of requested signs the second season, on top of their original 25, but there is record of at least three additional entities making requests in June of 1964: the state pavilion of Florida, New York Airways, and

of it, probably Madison Ave," from March 23, 1964, Box #122, C1.012, Eastman Kodak folder, Industrial, Construction, NYWF at NYPL.

Despite Clarke's derision of the design, William Douglas, Jr., wrote back to D.M. Lewis the very next day letting Kodak know that they approved of them "as submitted," with one minor adjustment as it was in the middle of a walkway suggesting that they get approval of Better Living or the Russian pavilion to place on their land. See William Douglas, Jr., of NYWF, memorandum to D.M. Lewis, of Kodak, March 24, 1964, Box #122, C1.012, Eastman Kodak folder, Industrial, Construction, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁴⁴ A map including Picture Spot locations, notated as ●=approved and ○, with a + in the middle=proposed is included with a memorandum from William Douglas, Jr., to ~~Mr. Stuart Constable~~ (crossed out in original), March 24, 1964, Box #185, C3:81, Signs-Exhibitors folder, Signs, Construction, NYWF at NYPL. On this memo are handwritten written two comments, in different handwriting: "Gen. Meyers - Are you satisfied with these locations?" and "No way of telling until we start operating. We should retain right to have them moved."

⁶⁴⁵ In the future, I intend to design and make a new map of Kodak Picture Spot signs in the 1964-65 New York World's Fair. It will include all of the known signs, extant as well as proposed, approved and disapproved subjects, for both seasons. While there is a map of the permitted and rejected locations it is hard to read and I suspect it is not the final copy; nevertheless, several lists of the 10 approved and 15 new suggestions exist in the NYPL archives, along with those proposed for the second season. As the descriptions of the views are quite general, the locations also need to be crossed checked with this extant map as well as the map produced by the World's Fair enthusiasts. These lists, combined with assessments made via period letters and snapshots, provide the best way to track these, but the complexity of this undertaking makes it beyond the scope of this current project.

Simmons, who seemingly sought an additional sign for their “Land of Enchantment.”⁶⁴⁶

A general letter sent by J. Walter Thompson on behalf of Kodak to Ford Motor Company, for example, shows the company’s approach and process regarding the “second wave” of Picture Spots and also gives some insight into the original placement and negotiations as well. Noting the notable number of requests received from other exhibitors, the JWT representative wrote in February 1965 (the Fair opened April 21, 1965 for its second season):

Kodak is offering to erect additional picture-taking spot signs this year. These signs proved very popular among camera-carrying Fair visitors last year... Kodak would be happy to erect such a sign at the Ford Pavilion providing you are interested. If you are, I will arrange to have a Kodak technician visit with you or your representative to discuss the most appropriate spot for such a sign. Naturally, the spot must meet with your approval and be appropriate. There would be no cost involved and Kodak would maintain the sign.⁶⁴⁷

It is hard to imagine why a company might reject such an offer, especially if it featured their pavilion as well as their own logo, as it almost guaranteed snapshots would be taken, shared, and discussed, back at home with an even wider audience. Nevertheless,

⁶⁴⁶ It is not clear if Simmons’s request in June 1964 was in response to thinking that they did not receive one in May. In his letter to the Fair, D. M. Lewis of Kodak noted that they had in hand “letters of approval” from Florida and New York Airways, but not received the letter from Simmons. D. M. Lewis, Assistant Director Sales Promotion for Kodak, to John R. Reiss, Assistant Director - Sales of the Fair, on Eastman Kodak Company letterhead, June 22, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁴⁷ Lawrence H. Johnson to John Sattler of Ford Motor Company, on J. Walter Thompson letterhead, February 24, 2916, along with reply from William H. Hersey, Operations Manager, to Lawrence H. Johnson, March 5, 1965, both letter and reply posted by Kevin, username Yada Yada, to The World’s Fair Community, July 7, 2011, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=3>. It is not clear from where and/or what archive, if any, these letters come. The reply states that they have referred the matter to Robert Millar in their Dearborn office and they would contact JWT/Kodak if they were interested, noting “We have noted your signs around the Fairgrounds and some of us have tried our luck.” It is unclear from the annotated map if there was a sign at the Ford pavilion during the 1964 season, but the tone of these letters suggests there was not.

while it appears Ford may have declined, other companies and entities enthusiastically welcomed Kodak's Picture Spots. With only two months into the 1964 season, Kodak used the interest on the part of Simmons, New York Airways, and Florida as leverage for their cause—pointing out that that they could “buy better” in quantity—and after providing the Fair the request letters, the Fair granted them the allowance.⁶⁴⁸ As the Assistant Director of Sales for the Fair put it, “Because I'm sure you'll get requests from other exhibits to erect picture-spot signs on their property, I would recommend that you go ahead and order the additional 25 or so signs.”⁶⁴⁹

While it is not entirely clear how many of the additional signs Kodak actually erected, Florida and New York Airways accounted for at least four of the proposed new Picture Spots for the 1965 season. The New York Airways sign was most likely nearby and under the auspices of the Port Authority's Heliport. Dubbed the “Aerial Gateway to the Fair,” from which sight-seeing helicopters took off and featured a display on the history of transportation in New York; as such, it was certainly a focal point of the Fair and also sat along the main axis of the fairgrounds.⁶⁵⁰ In the 1964-65 Fair, perhaps due to their touristic nature and proximity to water, three states were housed in Amusement area close to Meadow Lake, and not the Federal and State zone: Florida, Texas, and Hawaii. For their part, the executives of Florida requested three Picture Spot signs in response to Kodak's push for the second season: 1) “1 at or nearby the Alligator Pool” 2) “1 at or

⁶⁴⁸ D. M. Lewis to John R. Reiss, June 22, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁴⁹ John R. Reiss, Assistant Director - Sales of the Fair, to Don Lewis, of Kodak, June 29, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁵⁰ For an overview of the Port Authority Heliport, see Bill Young's synopsis, “Port Authority Heliport,” *New York World's Fair 1964/65*, accessed April 18, 2016, <http://www.nywf64.com/poraut01.shtml>.

nearby the Flamingo enclosure” and 3) “1 on the grassy area in front of the Porpoise pool stadium, at the entrance into the area.”⁶⁵¹ The Florida locales are fascinating, not only for what they chose to highlight, but also for their focus on animals tied to water features and their specificity.⁶⁵² An amateur snapshot captured the Flamingo sign in the background by chance (figure 3.62), although the actual recommended view was opposite this result. A contemporary World’s Fair collector remarked that the presence of this Kodak sign and, by extension, their picture-taking stamp of approval did indeed correlate to a higher concentration of photographs: “This explains the abundance of flamingo pictures (other than flamingos being pretty exotic to New Yorkers).”⁶⁵³ Furthermore, if indeed Kodak did install the full three signs at the Florida pavilion, not only would that represent the highest number at any one Fair building, but the Picture Spots’ presence combined with Disney’s role at the Fair, presaged their later entry to Disney’s East Coast effort in the same state, Disney World, addressed in the following chapter.

While a suggestion of using “movable standards” for the signs did come up before the Fair—for maximum flexibility and if the spots needed “to be changed from time to time as deemed desirable and necessary”—a sleeve solution was presented.⁶⁵⁴ Writing to J. Anthony Panuch, Vice President of the Fair, in December 1960, right after the

⁶⁵¹ W. L. Stensgaard, Executive Vice President of Florida’s World’s Fair Authority, Inc., to D. M. Lewis of Eastman Kodak Company, June 15, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁵² These were not the only attractions at the “Fabulous Florida” state exhibition, but likely attracted the most attention. Other features included model homes, a “Bridge to the Keys” boardwalk, and floating buildings, certainly also picturesque. For an overview of the Florida offering, see Bill Young, “Florida,” *New York World’s Fair 1964/65*, accessed April 17, 2016, <http://www.nywf64.com/florida01.shtml>.

⁶⁵³ Randy Treadway, “A Kodak Moment,” *The World’s Fair Community*, June 4, 2011, as quoted on <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=2>

⁶⁵⁴ Gilmore D. Clarke to Stuart Constable, Clarke and Rapuano letterhead, 2 pages with attachments, January 15, 1964, 2 pages with attachments, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

pitchbook was presented, Edward Royal of J. Walter Thompson acknowledged Kodak's early interest "keeping the picture-taking spots sufficiently fluid as to their locations to allow the Fair to ameliorate the feelings of those exhibitors who might object to being excluded from a chosen picture spot,"⁶⁵⁵ and could be abandoned if needed, if congestion concerns still arose. Indeed, the Fair was quite changeable in the first season and occasionally a volley of letters went back and forth between the Fair and Kodak regarding signs being removed or moved during additions or changes to the Fair landscape.⁶⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the theoretical flexibility of the signs' locations as well as their increase in numbers the second season underscore the fact that the Picture Spots became less and less about the spots, despite the Fair's insistence that the Kodak name be downplayed, and more and more about opportunities for photographic (sales) experiences under the guise of corporate altruism.

While the Kodak Picture Spot signs acted as gracious guides in concert with didactic pamphlets, maps, other signs, or even their own company representatives, misunderstandings did occur—on the part of visitors and/or the attractions, sometimes even before the signs were placed. Of the proposed design and placement, for example, General William Whipple, Jr., Chief Engineer of the Fair, wrote in 1964: "I don't think you want to place the signs directly at the point intended to be photographed, and it

⁶⁵⁵ Edward F. Royal to Anthony Panuch, letter on J. Walter Thompson stationary, December 8, 1960, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁵⁶ Don Lewis, Kodak's Assistant Director of Sales Promotion, wrote to the Fair concerning two Kodak Picture Spot signs that "disappeared" from the grounds after a contractor installed "cement tiles in some of the traffic islands"; he does not state where they were or if they were replaced. D. M. Lewis to John R. Reiss of the NYWF Corporation, on Eastman Kodak Company letterhead, July 6, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

would be more clear if you would place it to one side and have the arrow indicate on which side the visitor was expected to take the picture.”⁶⁵⁷ Whipple’s concern is the same that dogged the “Picture Ahead” roadside signs in the 1920s, leading to their rewording circa 1925. In actuality, the placement and plan for the Picture Spots approximated Whipple’s suggestion: the 4-5 photographs provided on the display were usually taken within a twenty-foot radius of the sign itself. Notably, two of the personnel stationed at the Kodak pavilion—of the total 56 men and 25 women, or “girls,” from a variety of departments and with a variety of backgrounds—remarked that the Picture Spots were something of an internal joke with some of the employees as they felt they did not work well.⁶⁵⁸ While that might be the case, as it was on occasion with the roadside signs as well, the Kodak staff did not leave the pavilion, save when they were done with their shifts. The Picture Spot signs in essence were silent and friendly stand-ins for these Kodak staffers, projecting the “Kodak image” to the public, stationed effectively across the entire World’s Fair site.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁷ William Whipple, Jr., Chief Engineer of the Fair, to Gilmore D. Clarke, of Clarke and Rapuano, January 20, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁵⁸ Robert Fordice and Helene Shields, interview with the author. They recalled the number of Kodak employees to be closer to 100 (approximately 75/25 men/women) and that they had to be nominated. For the source of the lower numbers as well as a list of everyone, including originating departments, see Kodak, “Eastman Kodak World’s Fair Staff Named,” *Kodakery*, January 23, 1964, clipping in Box EDV #11, Folder 3, Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester. Kodak aimed to have people from different backgrounds (from Accounting to the Suggestion office, from Market Research to Film Production) with a variety of experience; everyone participated in training and lived in nearby apartments. In order to become “picture-taking specialists,” Kodak provided “photographic and sales training sessions conducted by the Technical Training Department and Sales Training Center staffs,” including training on 18 different still and movie cameras, provided by the so-called Kalbfus Kodak College by Howard Kalbfus.

⁶⁵⁹ Their Kodak company uniforms also functioned akin to the Picture Spot signs: gray suits with the women in yellow the first season, and yellow suits and the same the second season. Robert Fordice and Helene Shields, interview with the author.

One particular incident, on the part of a business, showcases how the signs worked, and did not work, for companies and consumers. A Simmons representative wrote on behalf of the Simmons Beautyrest Pavilion, also known as the “Land of Enchantment,” to the Fair inquiring as to where their two assigned Kodak Picture Spot signs were and remarked that Simmons had spent extra funds for their exterior display.⁶⁶⁰ According to the representative, who was described by the Fair as “unknown to Simmons but retained by their PR firm,” Simmons wished to have the Picture Spot located by a series of whimsical mushrooms.⁶⁶¹ Kodak even went so far as to take photographs to demonstrate that the sign was in place (figure 3.63, a, b, c, d) with its recommended sample snapshots on its didactic panel, yielding “quite good” “pictorial results” as can be seen in a final photograph.⁶⁶² Nevertheless, the representative’s preferred scenic snapshot estimated by Kodak (figure 3.63, d), while pleasant, would not have featured or promoted, the Simmons pavilion, name, sign, or product. In addition to providing a satisfying picture, Kodak’s other aim was to help advertize the Fair itself and other companies, with their own brand and film sales underlying it all.

As the exposition prepared for its second season in the winter of 1965, many plans were afoot on the part of the Fair itself and individual pavilions, such as Kodak.

⁶⁶⁰ Marica Perskie, of Simmons Pavilion, letter to Stuart Constable, Vice President of Operations for the NYWF Corporation, May 5, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL. For more on the Simmons Pavilion, which included alcoves for naps and exhibits related to sleep, see Bill Young, “Simmons,” *New York World’s Fair 1964/65*, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.nywf64.com/simmon01.shtml>.

⁶⁶¹ Phyllis Adams, NYWF memo to Stuart Constable, May 19, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

⁶⁶² Linc Burrows, Kodak, letter on Eastman Kodak Company letterhead to Phyllis Adams, Assistant Director of Exhibitor Relations NYWF, May 15, 1964, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder, NYWF at NYPL.

Kodak planned several changes and improvements, including new images for their Photo Tower, and a new version of their film. Exhibits were cleaned and modified, and Emmett Kelly, Jr. returned to the Kodak pavilion.⁶⁶³ Kodak's own surroundings and view changed: the Pan American Highway Gardens became the Pan American Highway Rides, sponsored by Avis. As can be seen in a vernacular image taken from the Kodak pavilion roof (figure 3.64), tiny cars and a raceway replaced the serpentine walkways and murals of the ill-fated exhibit. The fenced in Picture Spot sign is roughly opposite viewers (figure 3.55), with the miniaturized road in between, while two actual highways, the Van Wyck and Long Island Expressways, are to their backs. Therefore, contained in this one experience are the picture-taking sign's heritage and fate: from the roadside to the even more highly-controlled landscape of the World's Fair.

The Fair's changes from 1964 to 1965 were many, but one specifically is worth imparting as it relates to Kodak and because this particular Fair ended up being one of the last major international expositions of the twentieth century. In preparation for a press push over the winter, a representative from J. Walter Thompson asked Moses to approve a passage, similar to what he said at the Fairground's groundbreaking, to be released to 12,000 travel editors and agents on behalf of Eastman Kodak.⁶⁶⁴ The President's amended, corrected quote follows in full since it appears to reflect lessons learned from

⁶⁶³ Linc Burrows (?), Director of Planning Kodak Exhibit, letter to Austin Francis, President, WIH-Francis Associates, Inc., November 17, 1964, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak folder, Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 1-2.

⁶⁶⁴ Janet, memorandum to Mr. Davis, January 12, 1965, regarding a quote provided by Larry Johnson of J. Walter Thompson, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak folder, Photo, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, 1 and 2.

Kodak, on the part of Moses, as well as the Picture Spot signs themselves, given their role in the promotion of the World's Fair:

~~They~~ Chinese say a picture is worth a ^{ten} thousand words. Thanks to the millions of last year's camera-carrying visitors who ^[carried back (?)] took countless pictures of the Fair's spectacular attractions ⁽⁻⁾ ~~back home with them, a lot of~~ neighbors, friends, and relatives and business associates, from all ^{over} ~~corners of~~ the country ^{and the four corners} of the world, have been sold on coming to the fair this year to see for themselves things they will ~~probably~~ never again see the equal of in their lifetime.⁶⁶⁵

Moses's quotation hints at a shifted mindset: an acknowledgment of the power of encouraging photographic behaviors in public space could be as effective as the Fair president's beloved signs and more official forms, planned and passive, of advertising. In total, Kodak invested \$10 million dollars in the 1964-65 New York World's Fair. Given that this exposition was very likely one of the most photographed places and events in America to date, Kodak's pavilion, along with efforts such as the Picture Spots, paid for themselves in sales and awareness.

Closure and Customs

With the conclusion of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, most of the pavilions and features, were destroyed. Acting as a witness, a Kodak Picture Sign nearby the Pepsi-sponsored UNICEF's "It's a Small World" pavilion, across from Kodak, remained, at least for a short time, during initial demolition (figure 3.65). Some aspects of the Fair

⁶⁶⁵ Robert Moses, with hand written corrections, Janet, memorandum to Mr. Davis, 2. The added Chinese reference here is fitting given the Asian focus on borrowed scenery, later known as a "viewshed."

would live on: “It’s a Small World” moved to Disneyland’s Fantasyland, new Kodak Picture Spot signs would eventually enter into Disney World, and the Unisphere and part of the New York Pavilion remained along with the lake, skating rink, and fountains from the 1939-40 Fair. The 1964-65 Fair ultimately ran a \$10 million deficit and thus Moses was not able to complete Flushing Meadows-Corona Park in the manner he wished. Nevertheless, Moses he did contribute new additions to the park, such as a sports stadium, concert area, science museum, botanical garden, zoo, and sculptures.⁶⁶⁶ Despite the civic contributions, while wandering the expansive park today, one is struck by the quiet expanse, amid contemporary ruins of Flushing Meadows, and left to imagine the grandeur and chaos of what once was.⁶⁶⁷

True to form, Moses aimed to preserve the park’s pedestrian roads within the fairgrounds, but also desired to leave a legacy in the form of permanent signs as well as other repurposed items after the Fair, both in Queens and elsewhere. After some back and forth as to their design, Moses eventually installed 43-45 granite markers (the exact number is not known at this time), denoting the original main avenues and arteries of the 1964-65 Fair layout.⁶⁶⁸ Quite interestingly, the number and distribution of markers roughly equals and mirrors the final quantity and locations of Kodak Picture Spots. Even

⁶⁶⁶ Today, part of the site is also re-used, and perhaps most well-known, for the U.S. Open Tennis Tournament.

⁶⁶⁷ With the recent 50 year anniversary of the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair in 2014, many newspapers and journals ran special articles and galleries, including Liz Robbins, “Recalling a Vision of the Future: Fairgoers share memories of family outings and moments of inspiration at the 1964 New York World’s Fair,” *The New York Times*, April 18, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/04/20/nyregion/worlds-fair-1964-memories.html?_r=0, interactive gallery and related article.

⁶⁶⁸ Map dated May 10, 1966, Box #253, M3.23, Signs & Markers folder, Permanent Arch Embellishments, Maintenance, NYWF at NYPL. There are additional items in this folder related to the stone markers.

so, as can be seen in a photograph by the author (figure 3.66), the stone marker is a subtle sign and a memory marker. Such *in situ* subjects are a reminder of the photographic and festival environment as well as Moses's and Kodak's grand focus on signs and selling, sights and site. Perhaps even more fitting, the stones and their overall effect embedded within the landscape feels funerary, almost like a lawn cemetery.

While Kodak's World Fair's midcentury version of Picture Spots used Disneyland's signs as models, the original idea in California predated the expositions by one or two years. In a reversal of sorts, Disney's contributions to four 1964-65 World's Fair pavilions had a legacy of their own after the exposition.⁶⁶⁹ Indeed, as we will learn, Disney was "testing" the water for an East Coast amusement coast park via this particular World's Fair and four popular attractions, in whole or parts, made their way into Disneyland and eventually Disney World after the latter opened in 1971; moreover, some still remain there today. The next chapter investigates the Disney iteration of Kodak's Picture Spot sign—from the design and development of Disneyland's picture-taking signs to their placement within every major U.S. Disney park—along with the rise of Disney and the departure of Kodak.

⁶⁶⁹ Showcasing his then new "audio-animatronics," Walt Disney's creative design efforts within the 1964-65 New York World's Fair included It's a Small World for UNICEF and Pepsi-Cola, Ford's Magic Skyway for the Ford Motor Company pavilion, the Carousel of Progress within General Electric's Progressland, and Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln for the Illinois state pavilion. John M. Findlay also has an excellent overview of the history of Disney in his chapter "Disneyland: The Happiest Place on Earth," in *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992): 52-116, 109.

CHAPTER FOUR

Disney Parks: Kodak and Disney, From an Imaging and Branding Partnership to a Corporate Takeover

For over 50 years, Disney and Eastman Kodak, two companies that specialized in directing consumers in touristic and visual experiences, were a perfect match. Together, these corporate entities operated with a shared goal that culminated in amplified authorship and an expanded empire for one, and eventually a diminished voice and bankruptcy for the other. Kodak introduced Picture Spot signs into Disneyland circa 1959 and their presence, at least under the guise of Kodak, lasted until the photographic giant ceased its sponsorship of Disney parks in 2012.⁶⁷⁰ Today, Disney has taken command of its photographic image by hiring its own photographers and the camera manufacturer Nikon now sponsors the picture-taking signs, maintaining some of the original locations, but reducing numbers overall. While the Picture Spots in the 1964-65 World's Fair (first proposed in 1960), engaged aesthetic education—with commerce and growing globalization undergirding them—the signs located in Disney parks highlight a turn inward. That is to say, Disney's signs serve primarily to promote the park and their brand instead of another entity and set up separate issues related to pre-visualization and conspicuous photography. This chapter serves as the decisive discussion of corporate-controlled viewing and picture-taking efforts prior to Kodak essentially franchising their

⁶⁷⁰ As will be discussed later, while Kodak ceased sponsorship of Disney in 2012, the signs were not removed immediately, lasting in some parks until 2013. Nikon announced it would sponsor the signs in 2013, but its name did not appear in the parks immediately. Initially Nikon seemingly placed stickers with their name over Kodak's until they could replace the signs. By 2014, most signs had been replaced with Nikon designed signs (or removed), which generally followed the Kodak style.

Picture Spot signs. Thereafter, Kodak began to effectively repeat themselves in the late 1960s through the 1990s, while Disney charted new territory in attractions and creative environments as well as devised their own photographic strategies. Thereafter, Kodak, like many large-scale and imaging companies, hit troubled times and had a reduced presence in the landscape, physically and photographically.

Chapter Three follows the development of the Kodak Picture Spot sign within Disney parks and again takes as its model a guided tour itself. From the earliest iterations in Disneyland to later expansion into Disney World, EPCOT, and Walt Disney's other themed parks, the Picture Spots proliferated and expanded in the Disney empire.⁶⁷¹ The first part of this chapter will detail the entry of Kodak into the properties of this pioneering entertainment company as well as the Picture Spot signs' earliest designs and locations. The second half of the chapter will trace the picture-taking signs and the changes in advocated behaviors, primarily post EPCOT and in Disney's other U.S. parks. The Conclusion then brings Picture Spots up to the present day, following Kodak's and other companies' efforts farther afield as well as the new terrain of social media. As seen in the paradigm of Kodak's picture-taking signs, over time, the corporate panoptic view became distilled and marked with increased control. Eventually, Disney's Picture Spots moved from a larger numbers of signs with multiple sample images to fewer markers with single pre-visualized prototypes and packaged memories. Whereas Walt Disney began with the more modernist World's Fair model in mind, focusing on the future,

⁶⁷¹ Whenever possible in this dissertation, I try to differentiate between Disney the man, Disney the amusement attractions, and Disney the company by using the following terms: Walt Disney, Disney parks, and The Walt Disney company. Regarding the last, I will also use Disney alone in the text to refer to the idea of "Disney," and all that it represents, more broadly.

progress, and technology as in their co-produced General Electric's Carousel Theater of Progress or Ford's Magic Skyway,⁶⁷² the company's eventual amusement-based buildings and settings sit more firmly within post-modernism's simulacra and decorated sheds. Nevertheless, even this reading is complicated by reality, as well as by the Disney archetype. As discussed in the Introduction, and returned to in the Conclusion, Kodak Picture Spots are no longer installed or maintained today. Instead, the legacy of these iconic signs and picture-making opportunities exist mainly in the highly-regulated and controlled "lands" of the Disney empire, rebranded and retooled. Nikon now benefits from Kodak's decades-long training of millions of American consumers on how and where to take photographs.

Over the years a few imaging companies have garnered the status of "photographic benefactor" in regard to Disney properties (figure 4.1, a-c). Kodak sponsored the signs in Disneyland in Anaheim, California beginning circa 1959, four years after the park opened in 1955, but others have also held this mantle, albeit more briefly, as will be discussed in depth. When Disney World in Lake Buena Vista, Florida first opened in 1971, GAF (General Aniline & Film)⁶⁷³ supplanted Kodak as the official

⁶⁷² Disney and its creative engineers were involved in creating four attractions for the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, along with and sponsored by corporate, governmental, and other partners. Two are named here and the rest will be discussed more in depth later in this chapter. The Walt Disney Company, "The 1964 New York World's Fair," Disney Parks blog, April 21, 2011, accessed October 6, 2018, <https://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2011/04/the-1964-new-york-worlds-fair-a-new-disney-technology-is-born/>.

⁶⁷³ This corporation had its start after General Aniline Works merged with Agfa-Ansco, a camera and photographic firm that was previously created by the merger of a German (Agfa) and American (Ansco) company in 1928; it changed its name to General Aniline & Film in 1939. It was renamed GAF in 1967 and made View-Masters from around 1966-77. Eventually, GAF became Anitec in the 1980s, which in turn was taken over by Kodak. See the histories of "Agfa-Ansco" and "Ansco," Science Museum (UK),

sponsor for both parks and created their own Photo Trail a year later, replete with GAF picture-taking branded signs.⁶⁷⁴ Taking over after GAF, and with no overlap presumably intended or in actuality, Polaroid issued Disneyland and Disney World maps beginning circa 1977. While Polaroid oversaw a camera borrowing program, it does not appear that they installed any picture-taking signs.⁶⁷⁵ With the opening of EPCOT in Florida in 1982 and Kodak's sponsorship of the Journey into Imagination pavilion and 13 "Kodak photo locations," the photographic company's presence at Disney returned.⁶⁷⁶ Then, in 1984, after a gap of over ten years, Kodak restored as the official Disney sponsor, for both Disneyland and Disney World, and their logo has emblazoned Disney maps in America ever since; that is, until Kodak filed for bankruptcy and ceased its corporate sponsorship at the end of 2012.⁶⁷⁷

While Nikon carries the photographic mantle now within Disney, it is my contention that Picture Spots found their natural habitat—and inevitable extinction—within the Disney landscape. Echoing the approach and sentiment of the Disney enterprise, then Kodak CEO Daniel A. Carp explained the mutually-beneficial aims of

accessed October 10, 2018. <http://collection.sciencemuseum.org.uk/people/cp120908/agfa-ansco> and <http://collection.sciencemuseum.org.uk/people/cp98589/ansco>.

⁶⁷⁴ George Taylor, "The GAF Picture Trail," *Imaginerding* blog, August 5, 2008, accessed April 20, 2011, <http://www.imaginerding.com/2008/08/gaf-picture-trail.html>.

⁶⁷⁵ Matt Teigs, "Theme Park Paper: A History of the Disney Theme Parks," accessed April 22, 2011, <http://www.mattlori.ca/themepark/index.htm>. I am basing my timeline on this as well as other ephemera collections.

⁶⁷⁶ Based upon maps from this first year of EPCOT, it is not entirely clear if the physical signs were present in 1982, given the notation as "locations" with no other explanation, or actually appeared in 1984, after Kodak's official sponsorship.

⁶⁷⁷ Until 2012, Kodak printed a full-page advertisement on the back of every map. Each map emphasized a different emotion or experience—capable of being captured—to go along with the respective parks: the Magic Kingdom (Capture the Magic!); Epcot (Capture the Wonder!); Hollywood Studios (Capture the Show!); Animal Kingdom (Capture the Adventure!). Collection of the author.

the companies in 2002: “Over the years, our companies have forged a powerful brand partnership, with Disney continually creating new, magical experiences and Kodak inventing innovative ways for Disney guests to capture and share those treasured moments for generations.”⁶⁷⁸ These two powerful corporations shared a similar focus: directed visuals and narrative-based events. Later, with lessons learned from Kodak, Disney essentially trumped the photographic giant via the creation their own program, PhotoPass, and an emphasis on experiences, while Nikon’s picture-taking markers today essentially recapitulate and repeat the originals. Suffice it to say, Eastman Kodak succeeded in their efforts for corporate control ultimately to their own detriment: Kodak first taught the masses how to photograph idealized images and then subsequently taught other companies how to teach photographic behaviors.

Replicating the Castle: Related Theory and a Park Overview

Before turning to history and unpacking the unique nature of the Disney versions of Kodak Picture Spots, it is necessary to outline briefly key theoretical tenets and issues. The goal of this portion is not to repeat the story of Walt Disney, the Disney parks, or retread well-trodden territory, but rather to tease out relevant theoretical threads for the Picture Spot signs. The opening of Disneyland and Disney World coincides chronologically with the beginning of postmodernist style and thinking. The march of the Disney idea towards simulacra is both well documented and well debated, yielding

⁶⁷⁸ Kodak, “Kodak and The Walt Disney Company extend multi-year corporate alliance agreement,” 2002, accessed May 1, 2011, <http://www.kodak.com/US/en/corp/infoImaging/disney.shtml>.

many theorists to dismiss or diminish the parks. As art historian and Disney scholar Cher Knight notes, Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, and Umberto Eco appear to be the most accepting of how many characterize Disney's version of simulacra, a copy without an original, allowing for a more productive model and participation of visitors.⁶⁷⁹ As this chapter will demonstrate, there is a progressive acknowledgement, knowing acceptance, and reflective longing for the Kodak Picture Spot's education, location, and acts. This first section begins with Jean Baudrillard and Umberto Eco as its initial philosophical guides, with acknowledgement to Guy Debord as well as Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, but also makes the case that Disney parks and Kodak signs challenge and criss-cross many concepts. Knight's recent Disney insights combined with Michel Foucault's heterotopias offer the most productive paths for a consideration of picture-taking signs, their function, and photographs.

In *Simulacra and Simulation* (1981), published just a year before EPCOT opened, Baudrillard presents a "precession of simulacra" in which he defines several different relationships between copies and signs, eventually proposing a copy with no original and a hyperreality of pure simulation.⁶⁸⁰ According to Baudrillard, these varying types occur over and within sequential historical periods; each of these categories has their own changing commodity culture that gradually whittled away at the concept of original. As we have seen in this dissertation following changing technology, the idealized image was first seen reflected in the Claude Glass, then viewed through the viewfinder and later on

⁶⁷⁹ Cher Krause Knight makes this point, mostly regarding Disney World, in her recent book *Power and Paradise in Walt's Disney World* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), 21.

⁶⁸⁰ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser, 1981 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 6.

the camera's back, and, finally, appears directly on a camera phone's screen. Not only do these pre-visualized "perfect pictures" share commonalities, but they also traverse all of Baudrillard's eras: from the pre-modern to the post-modern. Products of a media age, the Kodak picture-taking signs and their images are the eventual realization of this imaging process, but also simultaneously conflate and confuse such concepts.

Baudrillard, in fact, commented extensively on Disneyland itself in the beginning of his tome, holding it and the state of California up as models that contain all orders of simulation and as different apexes of his proposed progressions. In particular, he uses Disneyland as a necessary foil to the "real" reality and his other tenets: "Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation."⁶⁸¹ Notably, this is not quite the distillation or direness of Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967), which collapses distinctions between real and the spectacle and exists entirely in, of, and for itself.⁶⁸² Certainly, Debord's notion of the spectacle and its tangle of reality and fantasy find parallels with Disneyland, as they do for Baudrillard. Nevertheless, in the end, Debord does not allow for anything other than obedience, thus Picture Spots both follow and elide this via the public's push-back, and within Disney spaces in particular, as we will see at the end of the chapter. Furthermore, the fact that picture-taking signs and their attendant photographs have persisted despite differing technologies, from analog to digital, and even changing

⁶⁸¹ Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 12.

⁶⁸² Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Fredy Perlman (1967; repr., Black and Red, 1977). Debord followed up the aforementioned volume with *Comments on The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Malcolm Imrie, 1988 (Brooklyn: Verso: 1988).

sponsors within Disney, from Kodak to GAF to Nikon, puts them in a different category altogether. Lastly, the Picture Spot signs' longevity and associated set of behaviors challenge Debord's notions of the never-ending newness of products.

Apropos a range of Kodak Picture Spots within Disney's many parks, the result in reality is a complicated visual *ouroboros*: not only is Disney copying other places and spaces, but it also copies itself; not only are photographers at Disney taking pictures of these already replicated things, but they themselves are making copies of images presented at the Picture Spot signs. Moreover, the pre-visualized picture precedes the sample photograph, if any, that is presented physically on the sign itself. Suffice it to say, this image-copy relationship and the physicality of the actual Disney parks are complicated by and with picture-taking signs. Furthermore, the corporate concepts and their related personalized acts are, as I argue, anything but meaningless or purely rote. With Kodak Picture Spots, and especially so those installed at Disney, there is a growing sense of acceptance on the part of tourists that they are: 1) creating personalized copies and their own attendant experiences or photographs 2) seeking out the signs or their former locations as nostalgic tourist sites and 3) and consciousness of and drawing attention to the signs and the act of photographing themselves.

As Umberto Eco has pointed out, Disney World is one hundred and fifty times the size of Disneyland, presenting itself "not as a toy city but as an urban agglomerate of the future."⁶⁸³ This expansion and equivalence recalls Baudrillard's reference to "On

⁶⁸³ Umberto Eco, "Travels in Hyperreality" (1973), in *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays*, trans. William Weaver (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 26 and 47.

Exactitude in Science” by Jorge Luis Borges, a parable in which an Empire created a map so comprehensive, that it became the size of the realm itself. While ultimately acknowledging that the fable is unstable, Baudrillard admits that the “allegory of the Empire, perhaps, remains.”⁶⁸⁴ As we will see in this chapter, maps and the idea of empire are particularly germane to Disney and its spaces. After Disneyland, each subsequent Disney park has served as a diagram for the next, with no end in sight as to the company’s global ambition. Pushing these analogies even further, and in keeping with utopian strains present in the World’s Fairs, it is key to note that Disney World was supposed to be Disneyland the way it ought to have been built, originally known as Project X, and also include his experiment in urban planning, the Experimental Prototypical Community of Tomorrow (EPCOT).⁶⁸⁵ Disney died in 1966 and his utopia later became the EPCOT theme park, celebrating culture and technology, instead of the real city he imagined.⁶⁸⁶ Significantly, until 2012, Kodak sponsored and printed all Disney park maps within the U.S.; the corporate mapping of simulacra along with their own advertising thus became big business.⁶⁸⁷ This additional layer of “place sponsorship” by Kodak, on top of the Picture Spot signs, lasted since the 1980s for the Florida parks (excluding the previously mentioned hiatus from 1971-82/84) and since 1955 for Disneyland.

⁶⁸⁴ Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 1.

⁶⁸⁵ EPCOT is written both in all capital letters and as Epcot.

⁶⁸⁶ The planned Disney community of Celebration, Florida is perhaps the closest realization of his concept.

⁶⁸⁷ The important of Kodak printing Disney’s maps, beyond its branding, is the sheer number of people reached via their distribution. Along with mapping all of Disney’s worlds and sites, Kodak marked the locations of their Picture Spot signs on all of their maps.

It is not as easy to characterize Disney parks as pure simulacra or their control as being completely one-directional. Acknowledging post-modern contributors but siding with theoreticians that permit audience response, the aforementioned scholar Knight allows that readers, or visitors, can offer their own interpretations and likewise realize the “game.” Knight proposes that “our reactions to Disney World can be guided but never completely prescribed” and “in fact, most of the pleasure to be had at Disney World comes from recognizing and negotiating its simulations.”⁶⁸⁸ These salient points parallel previous observations regarding the roadside or at World’s Fairs in which tourists misunderstood, disobeyed, or cheekily followed the picture-taking signs’ orders. Citing her personal experience, Knight writes:

Kodak PictureSpots (sic) found throughout Disney World underscore notions of corporate control but are potential sites of resistance... But, of course, Guests take pictures constantly, not usually at the PictureSpots but when the impulse strikes. Often visitors ignore the PictureSpots altogether, relying on their own judgment instead of Disney’s or Kodak’s.⁶⁸⁹

It is this more recent push-back in addition to re-authoring, on the part of Disney park goers, that complicates notions of pure control and rote obedience in regard to the Kodak Picture Spot signs.

Likewise, Kodak Picture Spots complicate other well-known categories of the “decorated shed” and the “duck,” as outlined by Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour’s in

⁶⁸⁸ Knight, *Power and Paradise in Walt’s Disney World*, 221 and 22.

⁶⁸⁹ Knight, *Power and Paradise in Walt’s Disney World*, 159-160.

their influential book *Learning from Las Vegas*.⁶⁹⁰ Two terms, according to the authors, contain the vast majority of buildings and items along commercial strips: a “duck,” a building that is also a sign (such as a poultry and egg store literally constructed in the shape of a duck) or a “decorated shed,” an edifice with a false front or a generic structure identified only by its signage or applied symbols. In their telling, and later interpretation, this connoted a contrasting spectrum that changed over time: the decorated sheds (representing postmodernism) took over the ducks (modernism). While scholars have typically seen Disneyland as a decorated shed, it retains some elements of ducks in part as its architecture and attractions represent themselves as well as the world of Walt Disney and the Disney Company. Likewise, Kodak picture-taking signs complicate these categories by allowing the staging and representation of one’s self in an ersatz, yet still exceedingly accessible, consumer-tourist site, which when taken as a whole and as separate “lands” still has one foot within the domain of ducks. Signs are crucial for the authors: they create place are more important than architecture. The Picture Spot is equally a sign, pointing to other buildings and referencing other signs, and a location to be visited itself. Furthermore, the origin of Kodak’s picture-taking sign, and its later incarnations, was along the roadside, the arena that Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour study in their focus on the commercial strip and urban sprawl, but now situated within a contained and controlled amusement park.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁹⁰ Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*.

⁶⁹¹ One scholar that has proposed that these two categories should be seen as less dichotomous is art historian Aron Vinegar. In his rethinking of Venturi, Brown, and Izenour’s book, for example, he writes: “It would appear that the Duck and the Decorated Shed operate as highly mobile, supple, and

Continuing this theme of complication and noncompliance, I assert that Foucault's concept of the "heterotopia" applies not only to gardens and the unique pictorial spaces of a picturesque view, as discussed in earlier chapters, but also Disney parks. In fact, Disney designed spaces may just be the epitome of this fertile concept. As Foucault asserts, the heterotopia is "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."⁶⁹² Taking this further than discussed previously, Foucault discusses the last trait in relation to "all the space that remains" and points out that this function "unfolds between two extreme poles": the space of illusion, which "exposes every real space," and an "other space," one that is "perfect" and "meticulous."⁶⁹³ With companys' and creators' emulation and gathering of a vast variety of types of buildings, places, and items situated in their precisely planned, yet pastiche-like, pristine environment, Disney parks seem to exist within and at both ends of Foucault's equation, simultaneously. As will be shown, the landscape design of Disney parks offer control via single access point, suggested visual routes, and specific design elements, not unlike how Foucault characterizes various heterotopias. Furthermore, tourists willingly acknowledge that Disney space—and their direct and photographic experience thereof—is both illusory, and patently real.

charismatically entwined terms—and at crucial times, each incorporates the other in order to survive." See Aron Vinegar, *I am A Monument: On Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), 54.

⁶⁹² Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 25.

⁶⁹³ Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 27.

Fairs, Trains, Berms, and Heterotopias: Inspirations and Introductions in Disney

Walt Disney's efforts to expand his business and entertainment empire began soon after Disneyland opened in 1955. Disney "tested" the water for an East coast Disneyland via the 1964-65 New York World's Fair and had a hand in four major pavilions or parts thereof: Pepsi-Cola's and UNICEF's It's a Small World, Ford Motor Company's Magic Skyway, General Electric's Carousel of Progress, and the State of Illinois's Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln.⁶⁹⁴ At the close of the last New York Fair, Walt Disney had hoped to establish a theme park on the site of the fair, but Fair president Robert Moses wished for it to become a park instead.⁶⁹⁵ With the encouragement of Moses, Walt Disney instead purchased land in Florida roughly twice the size of Manhattan and several of his fair attractions found their way into Disneyland park and later Disney World when it opened in 1971.⁶⁹⁶ While Disneyland was the only park fully

⁶⁹⁴ John Hench, Disney's main Imagineer (their term for creative art director), had a hand in all four of these attractions.

⁶⁹⁵ Rosenblum, 177.

⁶⁹⁶ As John M. Findlay explains, "First, the Disney organization was hired to build four major attractions for the fair... Each of these creations ranked among the most popular attractions at the fair, and each was eventually integrated into the theme parks." Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940*, 109 and 148. As a reminder and to elaborate, the four attractions included: 1) "It's a Small World" (sponsored by UNICEF and located at their pavilion); 2) "Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln" (State of Illinois); 3) "The Carousel Theater of Progress" (General Electric); 4) Magic Skyway (Ford). Specifically, "It's a Small World" was first moved to California and was eventually duplicated in all Disney parks. The carousel first was moved to Disneyland, where it was from 1967-1973, and later Disney World in 1975. The Magic Skyway inspired the PeopleMover in Tomorrowland in Disneyland park from 1967-1995. Most of these efforts incorporated Walt Disney's new form of three-dimensional *animation* "Audio-Animatronics," a term and technology Disney invented to make figurines talk. See The Walt Disney Company, "The 1964 New York World's Fair," Disney Parks blog, April 21, 2011, <https://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2011/04/the-1964-new-york-worlds-fair-a-new-disney-technology-is-born/>.

planned under Walt Disney's direction during his lifetime, other parks took kernels of its original plans and ideas and expanded upon them, physically and philosophically.

It was not a coincidence that Walt Disney first set down his "territories" in California and Florida, what Eco referred to as "twin-state"(s) in their shared focus on artificiality, urban sprawl, and entertainment.⁶⁹⁷ The Disney corporation later added additional attractions that are parks unto themselves: Animal Kingdom (Florida, 1988), Universal Studios Florida (1989), and California Adventure Park (2001). Following the global push of international exhibitions, Disney expanded worldwide after California (1955) and Florida (1971)—establishing versions of Disneyland from Tokyo (1983) to Paris (1992) to Hong Kong (2005) and Shanghai (2016).⁶⁹⁸ Picture Spots appear to be installed at all of the international Disney parks—except the newest and perhaps most proscribed park in Shanghai, China—but with different corporate sponsors and slightly distinct designs.⁶⁹⁹ The international iterations and ramifications of Picture Spots, both photographically branded or self-created by other organizations or places, as well as their attendant dispersion of corporate control and conspicuous photography around the globe will be addressed briefly later and also saved for future study.

In addition to expanding upon the Disney brand of cartoons and films, Disneyland combined several main factors: Walt Disney's fascination with fairs, trains, and miniatures as well as his practical desire to create a place for his children to play while he

⁶⁹⁷ Umberto Eco, "Travels in Hyperreality," 26.

⁶⁹⁸ The newest Disneyland in China, Shanghai Disney Resort, opened June 16, 2016.

⁶⁹⁹ While Fujifilm never had a presence at Disney properties in the U.S., it does in Tokyo Disneyland and their signs echo Kodak's, much like Nikon's now do in American amusement parks.

was at work.⁷⁰⁰ The eclectic amalgam that is Disneyland was affected by Walt Disney's interests and personal history, including the fact that his father worked as a carpenter at the 1893 Columbian Exposition.⁷⁰¹ Likely inspired by the media extravaganza surrounding the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, he also attended other expositions, including the 1939-40 Golden Gate International Exposition as well as the Chicago Railroad Fair in 1948.⁷⁰² By the early 1950s, Walt Disney had already crafted his 51-acre studio site and built a model railroad in the backyard of his house (figure 4.2). The nearby Knott's Berry Farm, in Buena Park, California, served as another probable model and fittingly combined elements of and history related to the locales of the Kodak Picture Spot signs: it was founded in 1920 as a roadside stand and later added a restaurant; it expanded with the addition of a replica ghost town in 1940; and by the 1950s the family had added enough individual attractions to create what essentially was a summer-long county fair.⁷⁰³ In addition to Knott's Berry Farm amusement center, all of these efforts

⁷⁰⁰ See Neil Harris, "Expository Expositions: Preparing for the Theme Parks," 19-27, and Karal Ann Marling, "Imagineering the Disney Theme Parks," 29-176, in Marling, ed., *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance* and for an addition discussion of this history, see Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 225-228. Believing it to be more of the overall fair experience itself, Neil Harris puts the desire to seek only one inspiration the following way: "Many believe it all began with a fair. It might have been a World's fair, perhaps an industrial or commercial fair. But some kind of exposition inspired the founder to do his work. There is, to be sure, no universal agreement. Other authorities posit a more mundane experience occurring in 1930s Los Angeles, perhaps a frustrated day-long quest for wholesome entertainment by Walt and his family," 19. Findlay also has an excellent overview of the history of Disney in his chapter "Disneyland: The Happiest Place on Earth," in *Magic Lands*, 52-116. The majority of the Disney history is drawn from these three sources.

⁷⁰¹ Knight, *Power and Paradise in Walt's Disney World*, 103.

⁷⁰² Marling, "Imagineering the Disney Theme Parks," 36 and 43. He attended the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition as well as the Chicago Railroad Fair in 1948.

⁷⁰³ Company Histories, "Knott's Berry Farm," accessed October 6, 2018, <http://www.company-histories.com/Knotts-Berry-Farm-Company-History.html>. Few scholars have been written about Knott's Berry Farm. If it is addressed it is within American Studies. See, for example, David Kamper, "American Studies, Ethnography, and Knowledge Production: The Case of American Indian Performers at Knott's Berry Farm," *American Studies* 46, no. 3/4 (Fall 2005/Spring 2006): 339-61.

would serve as the well of inspiration for Disney's many theme parks. Sociologist Sharon Zukin affirms this aggregate quality, explaining "Disneyland offered a multi-dimensional collage of the American Landscape."⁷⁰⁴

Two of Walt Disney's Imagineers—design professionals who represented the blending of creative imagination with technical know-how—Marvin Davis and Bill Martin have been dubbed "the place makers" and were responsible for major parts of the general design and site planning for both Disneyland and Disney World.⁷⁰⁵ Trained in art and architecture, many of Disney's Imagineers came from the neighboring Hollywood film and television studios and thus the languages of film, photography, and thus the simulacrum entered the lexicon of Disney design early on. Mainly responsible for translating Walt Disney's visions into reality, Davis created the overall layout of Disneyland (figure 4.3). In order to do so, he scouted several California locations for their efforts, including flying over and photographing the Anaheim site.⁷⁰⁶ By contrast, Martin oversaw many individual rides, including the Monorail, Submarine Voyage, and Autotopias, which opened in 1959; notably, this redesign of this area coincided with the installation of the very first Disneyland Kodak Picture Spots.⁷⁰⁷ Not all of Martin's conceptual plans came to fruition and one in particular speaks to Disney's interest in promoting prospects and panoptic power. Martin explained his proposition:

⁷⁰⁴ Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, 223.

⁷⁰⁵ Walt Disney, as quoted in the introduction to Jeff Kurti, *Walt Disney's Imagineering Legends and the Genesis of the Disney Theme Park* (New York: Disney Editions, 2008), by Martin A. Sklar, Executive Vice President, Imagineering Ambassador, Walt Disney Imagineering, v.

⁷⁰⁶ Kurti, *Walt Disney's Imagineering Legends and the Genesis of the Disney Theme Park*, 34.

⁷⁰⁷ Kurti, *Walt Disney's Imagineering Legends and the Genesis of the Disney Theme Park*, 42. Martin said the following: "In 1958, I did all the plans that routed the Submarine, Monorail, and the Tomorrowland and Fantasyland Autotopias, all in one complex area. We were running out of room and had to pile things on top of each other."

I wanted to put a camera obscura in the highest tower of the Castle, so that people could see the whole park from that vantage point. We got Eustace Lycett, the head of the Studio Camera Department, to go down to Santa Monica Park to see the camera obscura they had down there. He came back and said we couldn't do it because there wasn't enough life for the forty-foot throw, so the tower became just a tower.⁷⁰⁸

While the Castle and its tower had other important visual functions within the park, which will be turned to later, these photographic overtones become even more apt when one considers Disney properties as framed experiences, physically and socially. Indeed, differing in size and only some details, all of Disney's designed landscapes share several characteristics, as art historian Karal Ann Marling observes:

They all have a live steam railroad line, a pedestrian Main Street modeled after a turn-of-a-century streetscape of a little American city, a tall castle to orient visitors in space, and a variety of "lands" based scenes in Disney movies and Walt's personal version of history. They all have a peripheral berm, a barrier separating the enclosed precincts of the park from the outside world. And they all have similar footprints: a heart-shaped plan, with a single entry point, centered around a hub affording both visual and physical access to every segment of the park.⁷⁰⁹

The berm, a raised bank surrounded by a fence (figure 4.4), served as an editing tool and it would be repeated in every park after its use in Disney's original 160-acre oasis. As Walt Disney wrote on the occasion of Disneyland's opening in July 1955, "I don't want the public to see the world they live in while they're in the park. I want them to feel they are in another world" (practically speaking, of course, he also did not want people to see

⁷⁰⁸ Martin, as quoted in Kurtti, *Walt Disney's Imagineering Legends and the Genesis of the Disney Theme Park*, 42.

⁷⁰⁹ Karal Ann Marling in Marling, ed., *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance*, 30-31.

the inside without paying).⁷¹⁰ Davis offered the following insight into Walt's focus on control of the public: "The overall shape of the park, with its single entrance, was Walt's... And that was the key to the whole thing. Walt was very circulation conscious, and he wanted a single entrance, so that they could control the number of people that came in, and know the number that went out."⁷¹¹ Beyond simply counting visitors, this visual telescoping and public funneling mirrors another aspect of Foucault's counter-site: "the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place... To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures."⁷¹² By traveling to, paying for, and entering "The Happiest Place on Earth," via a very precise entrance and experience, tourists enter into an agreement, economically, emotionally, and aesthetically.

By way of this single entrance, berm border, and other landscape elements, Disney's visual control parallels that of Kodak's Picture Spots. That is to say, each of these "devices" serves to direct visitors what gestures to make, where to look and, by extension, structuring their viewing and experiences within a defined environment. While it is not entirely clear how many Picture Spot signs existed "outside" of Disneyland gates proper in 1959, it appears that at least two did by 1963 (figure 4.5). While analyzed more in detail later, it is worth considering this specific liminal space as we begin our journey into the park itself. One sign was located in front of the ticket booths and another diagonally to its left, next to a landscaped island (figure 4.6). A snapshot taken from a nearby Kodak sign showcases a family posing in front of a series

⁷¹⁰ Walt Disney, as quoted in Opie, *Virtual America: Sleepwalking through Paradise*, 100.

⁷¹¹ Marvin Davis, as quoted in Kurtti, *Walt Disney's Imagineering Legends and the Genesis of the Disney Theme Park*, 34.

⁷¹² Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 26.

of borders: a chain link fence, ticket booths with turnstiles, a stone railroad trestle, and a metal ornamental railing. Each new threshold grants access to an increasingly heterotopic, controlled, and mediated space. Once through the gates, as seen in the background, a series of placards greeted visitors. A color slide shows eye-catching signs, lining yet another fence, which echo the language of travel posters (figure 4.7). Advertising—for Disney itself—thus greets Disneyland tourists at its very doorstep. Both corporate appeals are not unlike Kodak Picture Spots, promoting a place where they already are and encouraging them to visit other multiple, subordinate places within.

Television and Automobiles: Pre-Visualizing and Approaching Disneyland

Much like the visual education that occurred by way of the fairs, and the pre-visualization with the Kodak signs, America witnessed Disneyland as it was being built. The general public had the opportunity to previsualize Disney's park in their own living rooms via a series of television specials, another form of controlled vision. Beginning in 1954 and until the park opened in 1955, the television program "Disneyland," broadcast and co-sponsored by the ABC network, showcased animated clips, shorts, and updates, which helped to raise funds and awareness as well as equate Disney with its landscape.⁷¹³ Following his scripted prologue and when the park was set to open, the announcer of a Disneyland special proclaimed, live from the press room, that instead of announcing the opening of Disneyland the show, he was proud to trumpet "the opening of Disneyland the

⁷¹³ Bill Cotter, "The Wonderful World of Disney Television," accessed April 20, 2011, <http://www.billcotter.com/tvbook/>.

place.”⁷¹⁴ This transference of Disney as *idea* to Disney as *place* follows the similar paths and purposes of the Kodak Picture Spot signs: from the pre-visualized, idealized image to a physical, personalized printed photograph of a shared experience. Akin to the windshield of a car, which Kodak first referenced with their roadside signs and advertisements, a midcentury television screen likewise allowed for framed viewing, similar to a camera’s viewfinder.

Disneyland itself opened with a press and VIP preview on Sunday, July 17, 1955, along with a televised special that aired on ABC (figure 4.8), and then the park opened to the public the next day.⁷¹⁵ As the lore goes, opening day was a disorganized debacle, although it did not appear as such on TV: some rides were unfinished while others broke and there was a seven-mile backup on the Santa Ana Freeway.⁷¹⁶ Further, this quotidian story speaks to the transformation of tourism at midcentury, as the locales visited morphed from “real” landscapes into recreated ones. The traffic and logistical kinks were eventually worked out and within seven weeks, attendance at Disneyland surpassed one million. By its one-year anniversary in 1956, Disneyland had opened ten new exhibitions and 5 additional rides, with more planned for the upcoming year.⁷¹⁷ This changing nature of Disney’s landscape probably proved a challenge to Picture Spot placement and

⁷¹⁴ The Walt Disney Company, “1955 Disneyland’s Opening Day” Part 1 of several videos posted on youtube, posted by freedogshampoo, accessed April 20, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/user/freedogshampoo#p/u/101/2rHjoimz5XI>.

⁷¹⁵ “Dateline: Disney” aired on July 17, 1955, with Art Linkletter and Walt Disney as the hosts, along with Ronald Reagan as a guest celebrity. The full hour and half special can be watched online here: The Walter Disney Company, “1955 Disneyland Opening Day” [Complete ABC broadcast], posted by Marcio Disney, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JuzrZET-3Ew>

⁷¹⁶ Christopher Klein, “Disneyland’s Disastrous Opening Day,” The History Channel, July 15, 2015, <http://www.history.com/news/disneylands-disastrous-opening-day-60-years-ago>.

⁷¹⁷ Disney, press release “Disneyland One Year Old,” July 18, 1965, as quoted from Werner Weiss, “Disneyland One Year Old,” Yesterland, accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.yesterland.com/oneyear.html>.

perhaps was one of the reasons, besides whatever negotiations went on between the two companies, that the signs did not enter into its landscape until circa 1959 when another round of major attractions were added.

Much like both of the New York Fairs, Disneyland's footprint was bounded by modes of transportation on all sides—a train, the monorail, and roads—and a huge parking lot (figure 4.9). Attesting to the supremacy of the automobile at the time, the 100-acre parking lot was bigger than the 60-acre park itself and had spaces for over 15,000 cars.⁷¹⁸ If you drove your car and stayed at the Disneyland Hotel on the property, taking the provided tram, even before the monorail extension, the Disneyland experience was self-contained.⁷¹⁹ Nevertheless, those staying elsewhere or daytrippers who might have initially stopped at the earlier roadside Kodak “Picture Ahead” signs on their way to their destination, by the late 1950s very well could have been stuck in traffic on the way to experience Picture Spots in a contained fantasy world. As hinted at earlier, the first Kodak sign located inside the actual park (figure 4.10) offered an introduction: layered levels of transportation advertized the experience upon which the visitors were about to embark. As can be seen in a close up of this more general and somewhat strange view (figure 4.11, a-c), Kodak recommended two photographs at this Picture Spot: a horizontal view of the travel posters similar to a previous picture (figure 4.7), but more slightly

⁷¹⁸ Weiss, “Parking Lot,” Yesterland, accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.yesterland.com/parkinglot.html>.

⁷¹⁹ Opened in October 1955, the Disneyland Hotel included restaurants, pool, playground, putting green, lounge, and have your car serviced at the Richfield service station. For more history see Don Ballard, *Disneyland Hotel 1954-1959: The Little Motel in the Middle of the Orange Grove* (Magalia, CA: Books of Paradise, 2011) and his following webpages, “Yesterland Hotel Tram” and “The End of the Disneyland Hotel,” Yesterland, both accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.yesterland.com/dlhotel-tram.html> and <http://www.yesterland.com/dlhotel-the-end.html>.

more angled and farther back with more of the building showing, and a vertical centered image of Main Street Station.

As seen in another unique snapshot from this Kodak Picture Spot (figure 4.12), which includes the same Kodak sign to the left, a family stands in front of the fence and the same railroad station. This resourceful amateur photographer took Kodak's advice and chose the same location and balanced composition (as seen in the right comparative sample on the sign), yet decided to use a horizontal format and also stood farther back, presumably to get their family *and* the sign in the picture. This particular example speaks to how photographers might follow Kodak's instructions and generally emulate their provided image, yet not quite understand the guidelines, instead depart from them, or inject their own creativity. In front of this depot, three people pose stiffly in front of a series of barriers, both physical and philosophical, while other tourists pass briskly by. The Santa Fe & Disneyland Railroad ran along this track, as seen by the yellow handcar, and a poster for Disney's car-related attraction, Autotopia, can be seen at the lower right.⁷²⁰ The spatial progression of the image is curious due to the photographer's composition, either by accident or inspired, as well as his or her use of depth of field, recalling the stacked perspective of a stereoscopic view.

Both this particular Picture Spot photograph and the experience of the Disney Railroad that encircled the park (as seen in figure 4.6) recapitulated the progression of the

⁷²⁰ Originally named the Santa Fe & Disneyland Railroad from 1955 until 1974, the Santa Fe RR sponsored the ride until it ceased soon after it stopped offering passenger service. For more on the railroad, see "Passenger Train," Yesterland, accessed September 2, 2016, <http://www.yesterland.com/passengertrain.html>. The track in front of the Main Street Station today is disconnected and only displays a stationary handcar.

picture-taking signs' touristic history and the legacy of the directed view. Tourists riding the train would first re-experience the Disney park from the railcar, then a landscape diorama through which it rode, and, finally, of the Disney parking lot where they parked their car as they entered the depot. Visitors would see all of these scenes from this elevated vantage point, as they rode along the edge of the berm. The Disney Railroad opened along with Disneyland in 1955, with a charge on top of the fee for the general park. Later in 1958, the diorama debuted with an opening ceremony that included a marching band, Native Americans, and, notably, rail-meets-roadside signs (figure 4.13).⁷²¹ Developments to the railroad circa 1958 included the addition of a new station in Tomorrowland (appropriately next to the car-themed Autotopia ride) and the aforementioned diorama, both of which notably occurred only about a year before Kodak's picture-taking signs entered the park circa 1959.

For part of the ride, a Disneyland "Excursion" railcar passed through a Disney-designed diorama, a 300-plus-foot-long painted panoramic backdrop.⁷²² Originally meant to depict all of the National Parks, Walt Disney insisted that the diorama scenery depict only the Grand Canyon and guests approach in a certain direction.⁷²³ Framed

⁷²¹ The railroad fare was 50 cents in 1995, on top of the dollar adult admission charge to enter the park. Weiss, "Passenger Train" and "Tomorrowland Railroad Station," Yesterland. Pictured in this promotional photograph is Little White Cloud, who portrayed the Santa Fe Railroad's "mascot," Chico; on the opening day, Chief Nevangnewa, a 96-year-old Hopi Indian chief, blessed the trains. See David DeCaro, "Debut of Grand Canyon Diorama," Daveland blog, March 18, 2013, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://davelandblog.blogspot.com/2013/03/debut-of-grand-canyon-diorama.html>.

⁷²² DeCaro, "Debut of Grand Canyon Diorama," Daveland blog.

⁷²³ The diorama was designed and direct by Claude Coats and painted by Delmer J. Yoakum on a single piece of canvas. According to David DeCaro, the subject, direction of the train itself, and thus the experience of the passengers was of great importance and focused on directed views and viewing: "Imagineer Marvin Davis had suggested a diorama featuring all the National Parks; Walt was adamant that it should be just the Grand Canyon. Walt was also firm that a grand finale was needed before the return to

alternatively by the train windows and elements of the scenery itself, the views from the train likewise certainly underscored Disney's and Kodak's shared interest in creating and pointing out prospects. As seen in a photograph from a railcar while inside the diorama (figure 4.14), the snapshot is representative of a typically picturesque scene, framed by a rocky outcrop and what appears to be a Native American edifice. Alluding to the vantage point of an automobile within a tunnel, but suggesting that the viewer is embedded within the structure itself, the point of view is a privileged one and the vista opens up to the grandeur of the canyon and the river beyond. Later operating alongside portions of the Disneyland Railroad was a short-lived futuristic and faster miniature, narrow-gauge train attraction, dubbed Disneyland's "Viewliner." Lasting only from 1957-58, nevertheless, the timing and provocative name suggest that Disney was already thinking in corporate controlled "viewing" terms when Kodak likely pitched their Picture Spot signs to the park.⁷²⁴ Appropriately, the Viewliner was replaced physically with the Matterhorn, Submarine Voyage, and Monorail System—the opening of which seems to correspond with the launch of Kodak's picture-taking signs circa 1959.

Before turning to Kodak Picture Spots' actual physical entry into the world of Disney, it is worth noting that Disneyland itself emerged onto the scene during a halt in World's Fair activity. As Neil Harris explains, Disneyland "appeared during this pause"

the Main Street Train Station, despite the fact that some Imagineers said it made no sense to have a train leave Tomorrowland and then go into the Grand Canyon," from "Debut of Grand Canyon Diorama," Daveland blog. The diorama also included audio animatronics and other models, and a later addition of dinosaurs. The latter were added in 1966: coming from the Ford Magic Skyway Pavilion from the 1964-65 New York World's Fair and partially inspired by the Disney film "Fantasia" (1940). See "Primeval World Diorama," Daveland website, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://davelandweb.com/dlrr/pw.html>.

⁷²⁴ For more on one of the shortest-lived attractions in Disneyland history, designed by Bob Gurr, see David DeCaro, "Viewliner," Daveland website, accessed September 10, 2016, <http://davelandweb.com/viewliner/>.

in the mid 1950s: “despite their popular success in the 1930s, international fairs went into eclipse in the United States, experiencing a twenty-year hiatus until revived in Seattle in 1962.”⁷²⁵ As such, Disneyland both served as an exposition substitute—exploiting nostalgia for the fairs of yesteryear during the nadir—and fed a new appetite for fantasy and “participant directed” amusement without the “heavy didacticism” of the fairs.⁷²⁶ Another form of nostalgia blended with futurism awaited Disney goers inside the park: the pre-freeway experience of the soon-to-bypassed Main Street. With the rapidly changing American landscape, the Disney experience also offered a respite for tourists, just like the Picture Spots did for amateur photographers within the visual cacophony of the park. While the Kodak picture-taking signs began their life on the side of the road, they succumbed initially to the high-speed highway and saw a pause in their popularity and prevalence, reminiscent of Word’s Fairs and Main Street. The next major World’s Fair in 1964, along with Disneyland park opening only five years earlier, gave Kodak’s picture-taking signs two second chances at life.

Picture Spots enter Disneyland: Design and Function from 1959 to early 1960s

In their 1960 pitch to the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair, Eastman Kodak, together with their advertising agency J. Walter Thompson, used Disneyland’s then new

⁷²⁵ Harris, “Expository Expositions,” in *Designing Disney*, 27. Citing the Depression and World War II as other reasons for this hiatus in national fairs and adjustment in attractions, Harris also saw the rise of the drive-in theater as something that affected the popularity and accessibility of both along with the changing city: “The collapse of mass transit, the demographic shifts transforming metropolitan landscapes, the suburbanizing trends, threatened the popularity of established amusement parks.”

⁷²⁶ Harris, “Expository Expositions,” in *Designing Disney*, 27.

Picture Spots signs as proof that their presence encouraged picture-taking, and in turn promoted the venue and repeat visits. Not yet present when Disneyland opened on July 17, 1955, as mentioned previously, Kodak Picture Spot signs were most likely installed between 1958 and 1959 during a flurry of new construction. It is my belief that the Kodak picture-taking signs within Disney were launched in conjunction with the Grand Opening of the Monorail, Matterhorn, and Submarine Voyage on June 14, 1959, or slightly before as preparation. The Picture Spots were featured in the “live” television special, sponsored by Kodak, on June 15th and vernacular snapshots by September 1959. Furthermore, the World’s Fair pitchbook cited a 1958 survey, which in all likelihood helped to spur the conception and/or bolster the construction of the Picture Spot signs in Disneyland park: “A 1958 survey at Disneyland showed that nine out of ten families visiting Disneyland owned cameras, but 25 percent of these either did not use them, or did not bring them. After picture-taking signs were installed, use of cameras increased appreciably.”⁷²⁷ By 1960, the pitchbook as well as aforementioned Picture Spot photographer noted that the signs were already installed and present in Disneyland, thus establishing their installation to this time period. Beginning in 1960, Kodak employee Paul Yarrows provided replacement color photographs for the didactic panels and Disney would physically swap them out as the prints deteriorated due to weather conditions and sun exposure.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁷ WJT and Kodak, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS,” pitchbook.

⁷²⁸ Paul Yarrows, interview with the author and Gordon P. Brown, June 30, 2015.

Aired on June 15th, the Disneyland '59 television special was hosted by Art Linkletter and included appearances by Ozzie and Harriet; Clint Eastwood; and Vice President Richard Nixon and his family, besides the ever-present Walt Disney himself.⁷²⁹ The episode prominently featured numerous Kodak advertisements as well as Kodak Picture Spots. The broadcast dramatically began with a stylized, possibly hand-drawn sign similar to top of the Picture Spot signs, superimposed in front of a shot of the Cinderella Castle (figure 4.15).⁷³⁰ Later on in one of the early segments, Linkletter began the first Kodak promotional narrative standing inside of the official Kodak store, directly in front of a picture-taking sign and then moving to their retail counter under a map of the whole park (figure 4.16, a and b).⁷³¹ Because the millions of Disney visitors took pictures, he reasoned, they enjoyed themselves more; because they used the new Kodak automatic cameras, every picture came out just right. While pointing to the Picture Spot

⁷²⁹ Art Linkletter was a radio and television personality, known for hosting long-running programs such as “People are Funny” and “House Party.” Linkletter was exceedingly famous, with his own brand recognition, something that certainly bolstered Disneyland’s chances. As D23, Disney’s official fan club, noted in a post this famous figure: “Art is the only person in TV history to have five shows run concurrently on network TV.” Linkletter was initially skeptical of Disneyland’s chances and, after park overruns, Walt Disney could only pay him at the union rate. Nevertheless, in lieu of a fee, Linkletter smartly “asked for (and received) the exclusive rights to the camera and film concessions at Disneyland for the next 10 years.” Given Kodak’s dominance, and later presence in Disneyland from 1959 to 1971, Linkletter’s negotiations certainly paid off. During the hosting, Linkletter was convinced that Disney’s new park would be a huge success. D23: The Official Disney Fan Club, “Art Linkletter,” Walt Disney Archives, no date, accessed December 8, 2018, <https://d23.com/walt-disney-legend/art-linkletter/>.

⁷³⁰ Art Linkletter and Walt Disney, “Kodak Presents Disneyland '59,” accessed April 15, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/user/freedogshampoo#p/u/82/2XH5y7hj6bE>. In the other Kodak ads, Ed Sullivan and Ozzie and Harriet in character demonstrated Kodak’s new movie camera and the introduction of Kodak polyester fiber. See the five selected advertisements from “Kodak Presents Disneyland '59,” accessed April 15, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/user/freedogshampoo#p/u/75/drFBwFTzLJE>.

⁷³¹ Art Linkletter, in Kodak television advertisement from “Kodak Presents Disneyland '59,” accessed April 15, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/user/freedogshampoo#p/u/71/eMS2iC402ao>. See also the clip which features the Cups and Saucers, a Kodak Picture Spot can be seen next to the ride: <http://www.youtube.com/user/freedogshampoo#p/u/70/mmYRIz05vkQ>.

sign set up in the store, Linkletter heartily and unequivocally proclaimed, “Pictures and Disneyland just naturally go together.”⁷³²

Continuing, the camera zoomed out and Linkletter next gestured to the map (figure 4.16b), avowing “You can go all over Disneyland, or all over the world, and be sure of getting beautifully exposed pictures time after time.”⁷³³ A clearer, possibly promotional, photograph of the inside of the Kodak store replete with its map and slogan (figure 4.17)—demonstrates just how both Kodak and Disney corporations equated their brand with the place itself and maps. Fittingly, Kodak sales occurred below, within, and around Disney’s borders. On the map, a banner reads “A Kodak Guide to Good Pictures,” while ribbons connect the six major lands and areas to framed photographers. The connection could not be more direct: a sort of an aesthetic umbilical cord ties the place to the photograph. A later map from 1963 (figure 4.18)—to which I will return to and analyze more fully—translates this store map to a flat surface, showcasing the distribution of 30 Kodak Picture Spots and connecting them to sample photographs.⁷³⁴ Marked by small red dots on the handout’s interior map, the picture-taking signs are numbered, beginning with #1 outside of the main gate and ending with #30 inside Fantasyland. A cartoon version of the sign, accented with Kodak’s recognizable yellow and red, appears at the top right of the map’s interior, with text ending with a key reminder: “If you should need further assistance, or help in operating your camera, please

⁷³² Linkletter, “Kodak Presents Disneyland ’59.”

⁷³³ Linkletter, “Kodak Presents Disneyland ’59.”

⁷³⁴ Kodak, “A Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland” brochure, from “Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland - 1963,” Vintage Disneyland Tickets blog, May 24, 2008, accessed September 3, 2016, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1963.html>.

visit the Kodak exhibit on Main Street.”⁷³⁵ With this note, Kodak effectively claims a different center point for the park and new beginning for the tourist, not Disney but the photographic company itself.

The early Disneyland Picture Spot signs make explicit what Kodak wanted, but did not fully get, in their 1964-65 World’s Fair photographic campaign. As seen in page from the 1960 Kodak-J. Walter Thompson agency proposal, the Disney sign had the same basic overall form: a title panel and a didactic panel that veered off at a 90 degree angle from a central metal pole (figure 4.19). Instead of the somewhat sleeker and more modern look of the World’s Fair signs, the Disney design featured a gray pole, instead of white, and had old-fashioned filigree-curved metal brackets and a finial top. While the exposition signs could not bear the company’s name due to the Fair’s restrictions, both types featured its trademark papercurl, which suggested both the back of a photograph (developed and printed by Kodak) and the turn of a page. By contrast, the Disney notice declared its intent and underwriting in bold capital letters: PICTURE SPOT SELECTED BY KODAK. The silhouette of a male photographer with a camera up to his face perches atop the sign, his posture bent into a triangle or an arrow shape, right above the word “Picture.” The caricature is humorous in its angular, lanky body and flat top haircut, and possessed a graphic quality that undoubtedly recalled Disney’s animated

⁷³⁵ Kodak, “A Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland” brochure.

films.⁷³⁶ The suggestion of the sign is simple: Kodak is a friendly guide to Disney's landscape and new creations, active and ready to aid.

Two snapshots from the late 1950s and 1960s showcase the didactic panel in a clearer manner.⁷³⁷ In the first photograph (figure 4.20), a woman dressed in a space costume stands at attention next to a Kodak Picture Spot sign, her rigid stance and silver suit echoing the gray rigidity of the pole. As can be seen in a close-up, the white-panel or board bore a stylized red Disneyland graphic, sample color pictures, and two exposure charts for film, presumably two different types, at the very bottom.⁷³⁸ In the second snapshot (figure 4.21), a young girl sits on a rock wall with the Cinderella Castle behind her and appropriately points back at the cameraperson. Notably, this picture-taking sign's sample images are three different sizes and aspect ratios—vertical, horizontal, and square—representing the gamut of camera and aesthetic options at the time for Kodak's consumer *qua* newly-turned promoter. Both of these picture-taking signs were located in

⁷³⁶ It is not known who designed this lanky figure, but it was most likely someone at Kodak's illustration department. Nevertheless, this depiction certainly resonated with Disney's filmic efforts and overall aesthetic of the parks.

⁷³⁷ Very few people have taken photographs of just the panel on the Picture Spot signs. I have found no details in official Kodak materials or other archives, save one, so have to rely primarily on vernacular snapshots that accidentally or purposefully included the signs. The only close-up of a Kodak Picture Spot sign panel that I have come across is from the 1964-65 New York World's Fair and can be seen in figure 3.63b, along with photographs based upon the same pictures on the signs. These photographs were requested by the Simmons Company as they requested a Picture Spot be installed near their pavilion and were not happy with the results, as discussed in Chapter Three. In future research, I hope to find more documentation of the panels as well as their identifiable sample photographs.

⁷³⁸ While Kodak was increasingly making cameras easier to use, which necessarily limited film choice such as the Instamatic (1963), they tended to not promote their latest cameras at the best times (i.e., they did not make a World's Fair edition of the then new Instamatic for the 1964-65 New York World's Fair). Other cameras were available that did take a variety of films, including Kodachrome, slide film, and movie film. In addition, the signs and brochures also recommended exposure and gave lighting tips, both for daylight and nighttime.

designed, transitory spaces: just beyond a curb cut, next to a hedge in a landscaped island, and on the other side of a stone wall.

Specific principle differences from the World's Fair design and additions to the early Disney Kodak signs (figure 4.22, a and b) consisted of the 1) addition of the aforementioned silhouette of a man, sitting atop the title, with a point-and-shoot camera held up to his eyes and 2) a yellow-and-white banner set atop the standard, most likely added at a later date as they are not present in the 1960 pitchbook image (figure 4.19).⁷³⁹ Both signs are placed at the edge of a landscaped or cordoned off area, both depict several model photographs. The featured photographer's equipment in the Disney sign (more clearly seen in 4.19) is more recent, and not the older bellows camera of the World's Fair sign, suggesting photography's more modern technical developments. That is to say, the cartoon-like Kodaker perched on top of the sign seems forever focused and eternally ready to click the shutter, his graphic presence a reminder of the recommended charge to photograph as well as the kindly guide of the "Great Yellow Father." The yellow-and-white graphic addition (as seen in 4.22a) further equated the banner-like signs with flags. Probably added sometime in the early 1960s, this pennant appeared to replace the old-fashioned finial and likely further aided visitors in locating the signs within a cacophonous visual environment.

⁷³⁹ According to the active Disney blogger "Matterhorn 1959," this sign is in the following location: "This image is of the Kodak Picture Spot in Fantasyland with Story Book Canal boats in the background." See Matterhorn 1959, "Some Signs at Disneyland," January 12, 2009, accessed October 10, 2016, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2009/01/some-signs-at-disneyland.html>.

In addition to highlighting roadside precursors to the exposition executives, the 1960 Kodak-J. Walter Thompson presentation to the World's Fair committee included an example of how the signs specifically functioned within the Disney context. As Kodak was generally quiet on the "operation" of the signs, the pitchbook's explanation and depiction are perhaps the most extensive, extant verbal and visual description of the company's intent. The book specifically showcased how the Kodak Picture Spot signs were supposed to work by explaining and illustrating the marker, and a resultant photograph, near the ride Rocket to the Moon, originally sponsored by Trans World Airlines. This particular sign was located at the end of a long, lushly planted island (figure 4.23), which almost functions as an arrow itself. While it appears that at least two to three pre-selected images were shown on the panel, the silhouetted snaphooter perched at top clearly points to the preferred prospect. The perfunctory copy, presumably written by J. Walter Thompson staff for Kodak reads:

Here's How Photographic Signs Work:

These on-the-spot photos of Disneyland show picture-taking signs in use. Visitor, looking for the best place to get a picture of Tomorrowland, finds the spot indicated by the photo marker. Shooting according to suggestions given on the board, he gets this picture to show back home..... (sic)A scene that tells, much better than he can describe in words, the fun and interest of Disneyland.⁷⁴⁰

The resulting photograph (figure 4.24) is well-balanced and pleasing, with the foliage, metal sculptures, and buildings framing and pointing to the Rocket, while even the clouds appear to cooperate.

⁷⁴⁰ WJT and Kodak, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS," pitchbook, n.p.

While a man had not yet stepped on the moon by 1959, the promise of such a vision was still firmly planted within the American psyche and thus Disney and Kodak capitalized on this truly idealized “view.” Indeed, upon the dedication almost a week after Disneyland itself opened, Walt Disney compared the Rocket to the Moon ride to an otherworldly outlook: “A vista into a world of wondrous places, signifying man’s achievements... a step into the future, with predictions of constructive things to come.”⁷⁴¹ As seen in another vernacular image likely taken from a slightly closer vantage point, but nearby the very same Picture Spot (figure 4.25), a maroon-colored car from Tomorrowland’s Autopia ride sits in front of the rocket, in the right foreground.⁷⁴² This surreal scene blends the American roadside with a space-based simulation.

One of at least half a dozen auto-based rides in the park at the time, Disneyland’s main “Autotopia Freeway” was initially sponsored by Richfield Oil from 1955-1970, and later by Chevron and Honda.⁷⁴³ This sponsorship of certain attractions by related companies follows the Fair model and would be something with which many visitors would be familiar. As seen in a period postcard (figure 4.26), various modes of transportation are literally layered on top of each other within the Disney landscape. By

⁷⁴¹ Walt Disney, as quoted in George Savvas, Public Relations Director, Disneyland Resort, The Walt Disney Company, “Building the Dream: The Making of Disneyland Park – Rocket to the Moon and the Moonliner,” Disney Parks Blog, July 22, 2015, accessed May 20, 2016, <https://disneylands.com/blog/2015/07/building-the-dream-the-making-of-disneyland-park-rocket-to-the-moon-and-the-moonliner/>. Rocket to the Moon debuted on July 22, 1955.

⁷⁴² At one point, there were up to three Autopias: Midget Autotopia, Junior Autotopia, and Tomorrowland Autotopia. Junior Autotopia closed in 1958 and reopened as a part of Fantasyland Autotopia; Fantasyland and Tomorrowland’s rides combined in 1999. This is in addition to Mr. Toad’s Wild Ride, Horseless Carriages, Omnibus, and more added later. For this particular photograph, I have reserved it from left to right; I flipped the image because it was likely accidentally scanned backwards from a slide (see curved corners) and to better coincide with the samples in the pitchbook, WJT and Kodak, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS, pitchbook.” See also <http://www.yesterland.com/midgetautopia.html>.

⁷⁴³ Chevron’s Autotopia opened in 2000. <http://www.yesterland.com/chevrontopia.html>.

way of this and the other rides, car-based fantasies appear to replicate endlessly, while Kodak's corporate vision is gradually superseded by Disney's mantle. Clustered just around Disneyland's Autotopia, Kodak's several picture-taking signs are returned to their original location, the road, but in a new way.⁷⁴⁴ Nevertheless, these Picture Spot signs are reduced and removed from whence and where they began: the re-imagined American roadside was now presented within an American amusement park.

Mapping the Mouse: Kodak Picture-Taking Brochures for Disney, 1950s & 1960s

Akin to the company's earlier activities at World's Fairs in 1933-34 and 1939-40, as discussed in the previous chapter, Kodak issued brochures that both predated and eventually worked in concert with Kodak Picture Spot signs. In an analogous manner, a pamphlet produced by Kodak in 1956 appeared to prefigure the later installation of Disneyland signs circa 1959 (figure 4.27). Titled "Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland" and featuring a cartoon front, the tri-fold brochure discussed lighting in the themed areas of the park, including suggested shutter and aperture settings; overall, it reproduced 25 sample photographs, five in each of the five sections of the park and the pamphlet, the same number as the 1964-65 New York Fair.⁷⁴⁵ Below each and every photograph was a

⁷⁴⁴ As seen in the 1963 map, figure 16, there appear to be 3 Picture Spot signs in this area, numbered #23-26, circling around the Autotopia attraction: close-by the Matterhorn (which included bobsled runs, as seen in the background of this postcard), the Submarine Voyage, the Monorail, and the Rocket to the Moon rides.

⁷⁴⁵ The pamphlet is numbered Kodak Pamphlet No. C-38 and 7-56-GL. Three additional examples, (Rocket to the Moon, Main Street, and the Castle) were pictured in the night photography panel. Kodak seemed to issue other "Kodak Camera Tours" of National Parks as well, including Yosemite and one for "Bryce Zion Grand Canyons," circa 1955. See ebay.com, accessed May 25, 2016, item numbers 350593189688 and 310921733153.

suggested shutter speed and aperture setting. Didactic paragraphs next to Disney description's narrated the pictures and included exposure charts for three types of film: Kodachrome, Kodacolor Ektachrome, and home movie film.⁷⁴⁶

While Main Street and Adventureland offered more typical street scenes and landscapes, respectively (figure 4.28), the majority of the photographs in the Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland depicted rides or buildings in Frontierland, Tomorrowland, and Fantasyland (figure 4.29). The daytime shot of the Rocket to the Moon ride in the center middle column resembles the eventual sample Picture Spot photograph from 1960 discussed above (figures 4.24 and 4.25), although vertical instead of horizontal. Cinderella's Castle, the main focal point of Disneyland, here is referred to simply as "The Castle." The 1956 brochure elaborated on this viewpoint and remarked that the palace itself was a "favorite picture point," a telling phrase remarkably close to what Kodak used earlier for the 1933-34 and 1939-40 Fairs (High Spot Picture Subjects) and the final epithet for Disneyland and the 1964-65 Fair (Picture Spot).

By 1963, and after the signs were firmly in place within Disneyland, Kodak introduced a new didactic map using the same title as the 1956 brochure, "Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland." Akin to the piece of ephemera from the previous fair, the cover featured a fanciful hand-drawn cartoon (figure 4.30), yet this time Kodak Picture Spots had already been installed. While the interior of both brochures contained scattered drawings and graphic elements, photographs represented the majority of the imagery (figure 4.31). That is to say that Kodak reserved the more "realistic" depiction for the

⁷⁴⁶ It is worth noting that all of these listed films are direct positive films, i.e., slides and not prints.

interior, with the exterior signaling a “transportation of place” to a world of Disney’s making, not unlike their cartoons and movies. Indeed, the descriptions of Tomorrowland and Fantasyland, two of Disney’s most “fantastic” themed areas, underscored visitors’ relocation, respectively: “Here is a new world to capture in movies and snapshots—scenes from on land, under the water, and in the air” and “The castle and the child’s world reached through its portal—this is one of the most camera-happy spots in Disneyland.”⁷⁴⁷ Within Disney and its lands, it is implied that this transformative travel is accomplished via walking, rides, and imagination and directly associated with photography. Even when genuine transportation is shown, it is seen through the lens of the Disney Corporation—easily accessible, and located within its boundaries. The now familiar Rocket to the Moon spot is #24 on the map, for example, and is enhanced by an additional image reminding the reader of the nearby presence of the Matterhorn and Monorail train.

The 1963 Kodak Disney brochure stresses another aspect emphasized in the previously discussed 1964-65 New York World’s Fair: photographic abundance (figure 4.32, a detail of figure 4.18). Instead of the 25 Picture Spots of the first season of the Fair or a handful of locations recommended in the earlier Kodak pamphlet, the 1963 Disneyland map clearly and specifically marked out 30 picture-taking signs. Exceeding the typical number of frames per film of 12, 20, or 24 at that time, this effort on the part of Kodak most likely encouraged tourists to shoot even more, as the quantities did not

⁷⁴⁷ Kodak, Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland brochure, cover and interior (map seen above in figure 4.18 and below 4.32), 1963, posted May 14, 2018, accessed December 5, 2018, “Vintage Disneyland Tickets blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1963.html>.

coincide easily with the amount available on rolls of film. Given that the Picture Spot signs generally suggested one to four snapshots at each location, either via their mere presence of sample photographs on the attached panel, the total number of potential pictures that Kodak demarcated at Disneyland early on was therefore between 60 and 90. This desire to promote a multitude of images pairs well with Disney's collage-like layout and design. Akin to the brochures and wording used previously, and much like at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, Kodak promoted bounty and photographic seeing, at every corner and at every chance.

Generally speaking, in the 1963 brochure, the majority of Kodak Picture Spot signs have shifted to the more fanciful and utopian leaning themed areas, including the border between Adventureland and Frontierland, Fantasyland, and Tomorrowland (figure 4.32). While no clearly defined close-ups of period Picture Spots exist to ascertain the exact example photographs on the panels, a few examples featured in the 1960 pitchbook and later identified by enthusiasts do exist. Furthermore, no correspondence seemingly remains between the two companies regarding the placement of the Kodak signs or if Disney pushed back, akin to the 1964-65 Fair planners. Coupling the extant images with readings of the picture-taking signs from available maps, one can make some preliminary conclusions about the distribution of the signs throughout Disney's layout and speak generally to their cultural work as well as the promoted places. Specifically, Disneyland Picture Spot photographs and locations highlight several issues unique to Disney's particular brand of picture-taking markers: establishing shots that move from realistic to

fantastic; liminal and transitory sites; framing and forced perspective; and the beginning of the gradual prioritization of the Disney brand over Kodak.

In the 1963 brochure (figure 4.32), for instance, no Picture Spot signs occur in the corridor of Main Street at all, while four are positioned at the entrance to the park, with two placed outside of Disneyland's main gates. By way of the placement of signs #1-4, along with those clustered around the castle and center fountain, Kodak almost certainly aimed for these to be "establishing shots," to begin or frame familial narratives via a photographic album or slideshow assembled back at home. Found and identified with the help of a Disney enthusiast, one of these introductory images is the aforementioned Main Street Station with the topiary containing Mickey's visage beyond, likely marked as #3 on the map. This is the quintessential "I was here" vernacular photograph (figure 4.33), less complicated than the previously discussed snapshot that included the sign itself (figure 4.12). This more staid and common amateur photographer appears to have more fully followed Kodak's marching orders: two women stiffly pose against a fence, with a building blocking what they are about to behold inside (or what they have already experienced), the space almost engulfing them. Notably, a clock and two additional signs appear in the background: Disneyland (replete with population and elevation), further establishing time and place. Their rigid posture speaks to the control prompted by the Kodak Picture Spot sign working in concert with other factors, including their companion or a kind stranger who snapped the shutter.

As seen in the 1963 map again (figure 4.32), a majority of spots are clustered along the two main bodies of water suggesting “long shots” across their expanses, viewsheds borrowing from scenery beyond.⁷⁴⁸ If not on an isthmus between two lands (as seen on the left of the map) or looking towards a waterfall and Autotopia (on the upper right), then the picture-taking locations fall within walkways, between or along routes to other “lands.” Meant to encourage visitors towards making new decisions as well as shuttling them in certain directions, these pedestrian roundabouts functioned similarly to those in the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair. Whereas Fair executives wanted Kodak to avoid placing their Picture Spots in these locations, chances are Disney capitalized on them. These liminal spaces, of course, exist within the larger Disney parks, echoing Foucault’s claim for “heterotopias” “system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable.”⁷⁴⁹

Located in many lands, and the zones between, most Kodak Picture Spots either compose “weenies,” a somewhat odd term that Walt Disney and his Imagineers borrowed from silent era films to describe elevated visual markers that exist near or within areas of crowd circulation.⁷⁵⁰ The Cinderella castle is the premier focal point for all Disney parks, a weenie or eye-catcher *par excellence*. The Castle is centrally situated within every

⁷⁴⁸ The term and idea of viewsheds relate to the topic at hand as well as Picture Spots. Much like a watershed, a viewshed is defined as a specific visual corridor or view from or also to a certain point. Most importantly, a view can also include other elements or other property. I wrote a paper on viewsheds for Keith Morgan’s Institutional Architecture seminar in Spring 2010 and have presented several talks on it. See Leslie K. Brown, “Institutionalizing the View: The Viewsheds of Frederic Edwin Church, Winslow Homer, and Edward Hopper,” unpublished paper, 2010.

⁷⁴⁹ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 26.

⁷⁵⁰ Marling, “Imagineering the Disney Theme Parks,” 66.

Disney landscape and designed to guide visitors (figure 4.34).⁷⁵¹ These icons are visual magnets that lure the eyes and function like long shots in films, according to one of the head Imagineers often cited as on par with Disney himself, John Hench.⁷⁵² Within Disney parks, pedestrians will walk as far as they can in a normal walk (what modernist architect Victor Gruen called a “pedshed,” akin to a watershed and the later related term “viewshed”), but if an aesthetic treat lay ahead, they might persevere farther.⁷⁵³ Hench explained another key feature to direct Disney traffic: “Hubs—open, essentially circular spaces that afford views in many directions—facilitate decision making. From a hub, guests can see and point to many of the choices they might make.”⁷⁵⁴ According to a Disney representative, today’s Picture Spot signs appear to mirror Disney’s foci: “locations were chosen based on park icons (castle, spaceship earth, etc.) and key landscape areas (around the lake at Epcot) – best spot to get icon in the pix.”⁷⁵⁵ Working in concert with the parks’ prospects and pedsheds, Picture Spots help to propel tourists forward, not only assisting with a potential photograph, but proffering a chance to pre-visualize the next sign and a multitude of other opportunities.

⁷⁵¹ Marling, “Imagineering the Disney Theme Parks,” 66 and John Hench, *Designing Disney: Imagineering and the Art of Show* (New York: Disney Editions, 2003), 50.

⁷⁵² Hench, *Designing Disney*, 50.

⁷⁵³ Sam Gennaway, “Walt Disney’s EPCOT and the Heart of our Cities,” in Chad Denver Emerson, *Project Future: The Inside Story Behind the Creation of Disney World* (Charleston, SC: Ayefour Publishing, 2010), 109.

⁷⁵⁴ Hench, *Designing Disney*, 37.

⁷⁵⁵ Email text by Disney representative forwarded to author from Therese A. Corrigan-Bastuk, Worldwide Marketing Director, Film Capture, Paper & Output Systems, Kodak, March 28, 2011.

From 2D to 3D and Back Again: More Map Metaphors and Visual Tricks

Disney parks are perfectly designed to be photographed. Given Walt Disney's penchant for miniatures and stage-like settings, not unlike World's Fairs, Disney's design of the built environment employs visual strategies that also allow for perfect pictures, such as focusing on flatness and backdrops, forced perspective, and colors balanced for photographic film. The primary work of the Disney Imagineers—translating the two-dimensional worlds of cartoons and fantasy into three dimensions and then back again—yield promising results for both tourists' aesthetic consumption and the camera's viewfinder. Kodak's Picture Spot signs themselves—given their upright nature and flattened planes as well as the literal highlighting of sample images—emulate and underscore Disney's well-designed stimuli and surrounding environs. The subsequent photographs snapped at these picture-taking signs, and then taken home and re-presented in albums or slideshows, reify and reiterate Disney's topography.

The similarity of photographs taken at the exact same Kodak Picture Spot is a good place to begin this discussion as they underscore the methodology and reciprocity of result and replication. As discussed, the Disney castle is a focal point within Disney's environment; its height and verticality serve as an orienting device in addition to a visual constant within the park. The only variations in two pictures taken at the Cinderella castle posted online (figure 4.35, a and b) stem from a slight tilt and a longer lens, the latter likely the result of a different camera or lens. Overall, the captured scenes are remarkably similar and speak to both the standardization on the part of the companies as

well as the part of the practitioners. The amateur photographer that posted one of these “classic shots” (figure 4.35a) in 2016 remarked of the unchanging nature of the scene and, thus, photograph: “A Kodak picture spot. I have a postcard from 35 years ago that looks just like this.”⁷⁵⁶ Like the signs, Kodak stores are situated within the fabric of the Disney experience, graphically and physically, often occurring near the castle at the center of the park or on Main Street, or “Scene One” as Disney himself often called it.⁷⁵⁷ Such repeated graphic representations, together with its location, help to equate places, pictures, and prices.

Another visual trick used extensively throughout Disneyland capitalized on this play between three dimensions and two dimensions, as well as viewing or photographing from a single point, is the concept of “forced perspective.” Disney employee Bill Martin dismissed the oft-repeated tale that Main Street was built to 5/8 scale, akin to model trains: “That’s where the thing started, and somehow it got related to everything, all the buildings and everything, but in reality, it wasn’t....The ground floors were scaled pretty full size, but there were no [full-scale] second floors on Main Street in Disneyland.”⁷⁵⁸ In addition to its use in model trains and miniatures, forced perspective within Disney also likely stemmed from the background of many Imagineers in set design. Disney’s buildings were scaled on an individual basis to create the desired visual effect, something that easily translates into being photographed.

⁷⁵⁶ Diana (username CheshireCat51), “Cinderella Castle, Classic View,” October 31, 2007, accessed September 20, 2016, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/31190471@N08/2916417965/>.

⁷⁵⁷ Marling, “Imagineering the Disney Theme Parks,” 61.

⁷⁵⁸ Bracketed words are added by the author to clarify the quote. Bill Martin, as quoted in, Kurtti, *Walt Disney’s Imagineering Legends and the Genesis of the Disney Theme Park*, 40.

A Kodak Picture Spot located at the Snow White Grotto and Wishing Well (figure 4.36), in the area immediately surrounding the Cinderella Castle, relies on forced perspective, while underscoring the crafted nature of both Disney's view and Kodak's photographs and nodding to Picturesque-era precedents. In a 1960s era snapshot from a Disney collector, a woman and a man stand staring at the scene before them, recalling *rückenfigur*s used by German Romanticist painters.⁷⁵⁹ A visual strategy to place the viewer of an artwork into the piece by proxy, the *rückenfigur* is a person seen from behind, who is often lost in repose contemplating the vista. Here, this couple stands entranced at the edge of a fence as they gaze at this bucolic feature combining water, rock, and sculptural figures. Disney's grotto also references an important feature within garden history, given its design, scale, function, and fanciful decoration.⁷⁶⁰ Here, the Kodak picture-taking sign is set physically within this symbolic space, presumably right next to or behind the photographer, but this specific scene must be viewed, and photographically captured, from this particular point of view in order for the overall scene to "work."

The official Disney Park blog tells the tale of the genesis of this grotto: Disney received an anonymous gift (later, this was found to be commissioned) of white marble figurines and wished to incorporate them into the park, but the problem was that Snow

⁷⁵⁹ The device of the *rückenfigur* was commonly deployed by the German painter Casper David Friedrich. A discussion that explores such aesthetic approaches and how they crossed the ocean can be found in the following chapter: Sabine Wilke, "How German is the American West: The Legacy of Casper David Friedrich's Visual Poetics in American Landscape," in *Observation Points: The Visual Poetics of National Parks*, ed. Thomas Patin (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2012), 100-118.

⁷⁶⁰ Grottos differ than follies, which more closely resemble "weenies" or focal points to draw the eye. Disneyland's grotto has a long pre-history. See, for example, Naomi Miller's *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (New York: George Braziller, 1982).

White was the same size as the Seven Dwarves.⁷⁶¹ Disney engaged the services of Hench, Head Imagineer of WED Enterprises (now Walt Disney Imagineering), to solve the visual problem. Hench's solution was to place Snow White higher than the dwarves, as well as adding in smaller animals, so as to make her appear to be larger and further away, hence smaller. The attraction opened in 1961 and, according to Disney, "Hench did such a magical job creating the scene that three other Disney Parks have since incorporated the montage – disproportion and all – in their Castle forecourts."⁷⁶² Thus, the scene itself is visually rectified, and made possible, by the viewers' position and mind. Hench noted his admiration of a fountain seen in Brie, France, further connecting this feature to other garden feature designed to entice the eye.⁷⁶³

Crafted at the specified Kodak picture-taking spot, the photographer's point of view and camera angle capture and make permanent this scale slight-of-hand and visual trick via its resulting photograph. As in the case of the Disney castle and grotto snapshots (figures 4.35 and 4.36), both selected scenes are at edges of enclosures, providing an additional method of direction and one that is embedded in the landscape design itself. Remarking on the sense of isolation and flatness of the resulting pictures taken at Kodak signs, art historian David Doris has more recently written: "The illusion of near-perfect solitude exhibited in many of the photos taken at the Picture Spots is

⁷⁶¹ Michele Himmelberg, Public Relations Director of Disneyland Resort, "How One Problem Turned into Millions of Wishes at Disneyland Park," *Disney Park Blog*, April 8, 2011, accessed May 20, 2017, <https://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2011/04/how-one-problem-turned-into-millions-of-wishes-at-disneyland-park/>. The Official Disney Fan Club, D23, suggests that Disney had them made by an Italian sculptor Leonida Parma, according to producer/editor and Disney historian Les Perkins. See Greg Erhbar, "Did You Know: Seven Enchanting Facts about the Snow White Grotto," March 24, 2016, *D23*, accessed May 20, 2016, <https://d23.com/did-you-know-7-enchanting-facts-about-snow-white-grotto/>.

⁷⁶² Himmelberg, "How One Problem..."

⁷⁶³ Erhbar, "Did You Know."

bizarre, disconcerting. This visual sleight-of-hand is often accomplished, as it is in the case of the Castle, by the strategic placement of the Picture Spot markers against a barrier or fence.”⁷⁶⁴ With the help of Kodak signs, visitors to Disney thus generally omit a large part of what was actually there, more so than those along the road or in the World’s Fair, in order for the photograph, and thus the fantasy, to succeed fully. Certainly, Disney’s design assisted this phenomenon as well: save tall and orienting eye-catchers like the Castle, each land was meant to be seen and experienced by itself alone, with each area being a discrete solipsistic world.⁷⁶⁵ As a result, with the help of the Disney-designed Picture Spots in particular, the amateur photographer brings an even more tamed, composed, and controlled version of the scene itself back to show their friends and, by doing so, thus reinscribes his or her memories.

Framing Themselves: Disney and the Nostalgic Turn

Instead of highlighting countless corporations as with the case of the World’s Fair, the Disney Picture Spot signs turned their attention primarily towards Disney itself—and its various rides and fabricated creations—and especially so at Disneyland and Disney World. Even if a particular ride was sponsored by a company, Disney increasingly became the “*ur*” institution, trumping even Kodak itself. Disney’s various

⁷⁶⁴ Doris, “It’s the truth, it’s actual...,” 332.

⁷⁶⁵ Former Kodak employee Gordon P. Brown describes how easy it was to select picture-taking signs within the parks and work with the Disney company: “Disney was VERY supportive in helping us locate scenic places for Picture Spot signs as there were landscape architects that designed each section of the park to be mutually exclusive of any other particular venue. You could not see any other part of the park from any specific venue. For example, you could not see Tomorrow Land from Frontier Land, and this circumstance made it very useful to get a good clean photograph of a specific scene.” Gordon P. Brown, email to author, February 21, 2016.

programs and effort led the way for the company's eventual taking over of its own imaging via their own photographers and the PhotoPass System, which this discussion will return to in its Conclusion. While known for pioneering what Walt termed "Audio-Animatronics,"⁷⁶⁶ Disney's regular rides are perhaps what the general public most remembers. Disney's creation, of course, was an updated version of the theme park, but it was one that was steeped in a deep longing for an early-twentieth-century landscape and small town America. Zukin explained Walt Disney's nostalgic accomplishment in terms of control and consumption from a sociological standpoint:

His real genius was to transform an old form of collective entertainment—the amusement park—into a landscape of power. All his life Disney wanted to create his own amusement park. But to construct this playground, he wanted no mere thrill rides or country fair: he wanted to project the vernacular of the American small town as an image of social harmony... Furthermore, the social production of Disneyland related a major corporate presence—the Disney Company—to entertainment "creation," real estate development and construction, and product franchising.⁷⁶⁷

Given such grand cultural and visual goals, it thus made sense that the Picture Spot signs began to focus increasingly on the Disney offerings themselves and trade more and more in memory. Essentially, both Disney and Kodak wanted to repackage and sell America, reinvented and sanitized, back to itself.

As recently as 2008, about half of the approximately 37 Picture Spot signs in U.S.

Disney parks framed rides, including interactive features or the entrance to an attraction.

⁷⁶⁶ Audio-Animatronics are figures or puppets that speak along with a certain soundtrack as well as gesture and move, not unlike a three-dimensional version of Disney's animation. The most well known examples are the American leaders in the Hall of Presidents.

⁷⁶⁷ Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, 221-222 and 224.

While this may at first seem impressive, at this time, there were only seven Picture Spots in Disneyland and eight in Disney World, featuring only one image per sign. As with the World's Fairs, it is difficult to ascertain which earlier Kodak picture-taking signs and panels advocated specific rides in particular, especially without regular detailed documentation of the markers themselves, close-up photographs of the panels, or extensive maps. The earlier 1963 Kodak Camera Tour, despite listing and locating all of the signs on its map, leaves the onus of the comparative images to the markers themselves. The brochure relies more on drawings and descriptions, illustrating only five (of eight) photographs taken at or "near" Picture Spots overall (figure 4.31). Although it precedes the installation of the picture-taking signs, the best record that we have of the resulting photographs themselves is the 1956 Kodak Camera Tour (figure 4.28). Of the dozens of photographs reproduced in this earlier brochure, roughly 1/3 depict or focus upon rides, including ones that would eventually become official Picture Spots circa 1959: the Mark Twain paddle boat, Rocket to the Moon, and Autotopia.

Above and beyond rides, Kodak Picture Spots also framed and presented a variety of Disney's architectural and landscape features such as buildings or areas. Akin to aforementioned eye-catchers and grottos, these Disney elements were functional or aesthetic, and occasionally both at the same time. Two snapshots taken at the same Picture Spot from the late 1950s and 1960s serve to showcase the tendency of Disney parks to frame themselves. Opened a little over a month after Disneyland began in 1955, the Pirate Ship (figure 4.37) was actually a restaurant, known as "Chicken of the Sea," a slogan applied to tuna fish which became a vernacular term. The ship served as a perfect

visual backdrop, one that a photographer could easily isolate. In a well balanced black-and-white photograph, the amateur posed a young boy front and center, with the boat filling most of the frame, and included a Kodak Picture Spot to the left. The marker includes three sample images, of which this composition is one possibility and the other two are too indistinct to identify. The inclusion of the sign anchors the picture, its verticality echoing both the boy and the masts beyond, equally serving as a reminder to the viewer, whether intentional or not, that Disney itself is simultaneously the reason for the picture itself, subject, and background.

Added in 1960 to the same area as the Pirate Ship, Skull Rock Cove was a faux rock formation that referenced the anamorphic location from Disney's adapted animated film *Peter Pan*.⁷⁶⁸ More folly than functional, Skull Rock presented a perfect opportunity for a Picture Spot and presumably the sample images were amended when the feature premiered after the signs were originally installed. As seen in a color slide from the late 1960s (figure 4.38), its author included parts of the ship, the skull, and the top part of sign, all in the same unique, angled, and dynamic composition that privileges and activates the surround and the sky. Visually detached from the rest of the pole and panel by the photographer's framing, the silhouetted photographer poised atop the sign leads the viewer into the image while also miming the action of the person taking the picture. Whether miming the actual sample on the sign or exhibiting smart compositional choices by an advanced amateur, the imagemaker crops the phrasing of the Picture Spot:

⁷⁶⁸ In Disneyland Paris, Skull Rock is located in an area of Adventureland called Adventure Isle and includes caves, a suspension bridge, and a pirate lookout. In a playful reversal of the directed gaze, visitors can enter the back of the skull and look out through its eyes. See "Skull Rock," Yesterland, accessed September 30, 2016, <http://www.yesterland.com/skullrock.html>.

accordingly, the silhouette as surrogate is seated, quite appropriately, above the words “picture” and “selected.”

Another example of a specific positioning of Kodak Picture Spot to achieve not only the perfect placement, but also the perfect timing and framing of a moving Disney landscape and attraction is the sign closest to the Mark Twain paddleboat in Frontierland. The 1960 J. Walter Thompson/Kodak pitchbook for the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair uses this Disney sign as another exemplar (figure 4.39), explaining, “The sign tells the visitor where to stand and how to shoot to get the best picture of the Mississippi steamboat coming ’round the bend...”⁷⁶⁹ As seen in the photograph of the setting, which showcases the sign and the site, this particular Picture Spot appears to suggest three potential images and is itself situated against a fence. Locating the sign as such allows amateurs to omit the barrier visually, borrowing from the scenery beyond and plunging themselves fully into the fantasy. As seen in the ensuing picture at bottom (figure 4.40), taken at the suggestion of the sign, the composition is both well timed and well balanced, with the wooded island and the waterfall of Cascade Peak frame either side.

The Mississippi riverboat not only gives a tour of other sites within the Disney landscape, but it would later be replicated in Disney World in Florida in the 1970s and later international parks in Tokyo and Paris in the 1980s and 1990s. A pair of snapshots taken in 1968 and 1960 (figure 4.41, a and b) taken at this same Picture Spot, both show the setting and sign in context and are commendable efforts to include the marker—and its corresponding comparative image—in the composition. In the example on the left, the

⁷⁶⁹ JWT and Kodak, “Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS,” pitchbook.

amateur focuses more on his silhouetted surrogate, doubly emphasizing “I was here,” while the other picture showcases more of the totality of the sign, including the sample photographs, using the marker more as a compositional element. The result of this type of successful snapshot married with the Picture Spot itself is a mimetic version of *mise-en-abyme*, a picture within a picture as discussed in the previous chapter, thus maximizing Disney’s effect and reach. Furthermore, the riverboat ride’s replication in other parks around the world further recapitulates Baudrillard’s “precession of simulacra.”⁷⁷⁰ Presumably, a later photographer could encounter this same scene, along with its corresponding Picture Spot sign, and take the exact same photograph at as many as four different Disney parks.

Taken to its ultimate conclusion, this replication can inspire tourists to return to previously visited Disney attractions and photographic locations. In a twist on the Kodak Picture Spot as a nostalgic place-holder, contemporary enthusiasts have attempted to locate their old photographs within the parks with the help of Google maps (figure 4.42, a and b) as well as visit the same sign near the Cinderella Castle.⁷⁷¹ An avid Disney park-goer, for example, related their annual photographic pilgrimage to the Cinderella castle: “I take a picture of the girls every year at this exact spot. I keep all the pictures together in a book at home. It’s a way of watching the girls grow.”⁷⁷² A vernacular form of repeated and re-envisioned rephotography thus emerges: the Kodak Picture Spot as a

⁷⁷⁰ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 6.

⁷⁷¹ Various authors, “Please help me identify this picture location!,” portrait and query first posted by “staxia,” original photograph from Disney World, DIS boards, September 7, 2010, accessed October 1, 2016, <http://www.disboards.com/threads/please-help-me-identify-this-picture-location.2550897/>.

⁷⁷² Anonymous woman, quoted in Doris, “It’s the truth, it’s actual...,” 333.

destination to be located, visited, and photographed over and over again. Unlike the environments that surround us in the outside world—the main aspects of Disney’s well-known landscape (generally) never change—giving constancy to the setting, but not the subject. Through the repeated re-authoring of corporate controlled photographic vistas, these vernacular photographers push back in a way that challenges traditional notions of photographic views.

The Passing of the Guard: GAF and Polaroid Sponsorship

It is worth taking a step back, before moving on to Kodak Picture Spot developments of the 1980s and beyond, to consider other photographic benefactors of Disney’s amusement parks and signs. The alternate actions and approaches on the part of these new companies imitate and interrogate Kodak’s established picture-taking standard in interesting ways that relate to methodology and memory. Clearly referencing both the locations and language of Kodak, GAF (General Aniline & Film) and Polaroid Corporation capitalized on the recognition of and nostalgia for the former photographic sponsor in their efforts. The absence of Eastman Kodak within the Disney landscape, after the company’s initial introduction in 1959 via their Picture Spots, spanned the openings of Disney World (1972) and EPCOT (1982) in Florida and also represented a generational and corporate gap during formative photographic periods. These two rising companies, however, did not act as sponsors at the same time (GAF: 1971-1976 and

Polaroid: 1977-1982) within Disney parks, but did borrow from Kodak's picture-taking prototypes as well as each other's promotional approaches.⁷⁷³

While Polaroid seemingly did not present any picture-taking signs within Disney parks, GAF did just after Disney World opened and alluded to Kodak's phrasing and design within their markers, mentioning on their maps "watch for the blue picture spot signs."⁷⁷⁴ Akin to Kodak, both companies also issued maps, branded with their logos (figure 4.43, a and b).⁷⁷⁵ Also like Kodak, GAF and Polaroid also positioned their stores and service centers centrally on Main Street (figure 4.44, a and b), replete with experts and equipment on hand. It is unknown, but assumed, that if GAF and Polaroid took down their promotional notices and signs immediately when their sponsorship ceased. The photographic patrons within Disney parks thus transferred hands three times within about a dozen years and were somewhat sequential, presumably requiring each company to re-educate their consumers. Nevertheless, it was Eastman Kodak Company that provided the foundation and base for picture-taking campaigns and signs.

Known for a wide variety of consumer products (figure 4.45 and 4.46), perhaps even more so than Kodak at the time, GAF could and did coordinate other products to

⁷⁷³ Despite this 10 year period, there is relatively scant archival material and/or visitor information from the GAF and Polaroid Disney sponsorships. This is probably due to the fact that these brands had more limited reach, less recognition, and their picture spot efforts were less successful overall.

⁷⁷⁴ GAF, Guide to Walt Disney World, inset map within brochure, 1971, "Magic Kingdom Maps Galore," posted February 8, 2016, "Imaginerding" blog, accessed December 6, 2018, <http://www.imaginerding.com/2016/02/08/magic-kingdom-maps-galore>.

⁷⁷⁵ A scanned copy of the 1972 GAF map can be seen and downloaded via Disney Parks Archive: <http://disneyparksearchive.com/MKMap/magic-kingdom-1972/>. A scanned copy of one of the Polaroid maps, from Spring 1979, can be seen at Vintage Disneyland Tickets, posted on March 22, 2010, accessed June 20, 2016, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2010/03/disneyland-passport-march-22-1979.html>.

reinforce visual thinking and training promoted by themselves within Disney. As the manufacturer of viewing devices and the creator of sets that went along with them—including Pana-Vue slide projectors and slides as well as ViewMaster viewer and reels—GAF promoted a saturated, visual environment as well as their touted pedigree as the “Great American Film.”⁷⁷⁶ Indeed, a GAF cartoon in the periodical “Walt Disney World Vacationland” (figure 4.46) featured just that: after a young boy bemoaned missing his friends at Disney, his father explained: “That’s all right Billy, you can take them home with you on your ViewMaster™ reels!”⁷⁷⁷ The son then remembers the snapshots taken with his new GAF camera, presumably along the GAF Photo Trail, and that he can easily share a crop of corporate goods. The very last frame of the cartoon showcases everyone holding a different GAF-branded visual accoutrement—camera, slides, and reels—as a friend peers through the 20th-century updated stereoviewer.

In 1972, GAF issued a Photo Trail map (figure 4.47) and created and installed 24 signs, coinciding with the number of frames on a standard roll of film at the time, for the newly-opened Disney World in Orlando, Florida.⁷⁷⁸ Most likely inspired by Kodak’s hyperbolic wording from their 1964-65 New York World’s Fair signs and earlier Disney

⁷⁷⁶ GAF acquired ViewMaster from the originator of the device, Saywer’s Photographic Services based in Oregon, in 1966 and sold it in 1981. For a timeline and a short history see, “View-Master History,” 20th Century Stereo Viewers, accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.viewmaster.co.uk/htm/history.asp>.

⁷⁷⁷ As quoted from GAF cartoon, posted to “Take your New Disney Friends Home,” *Passport to Dreams: Old and New*, June 14, 2010, accessed June 21, 2016, <http://passport2dreams.blogspot.com/2010/06/take-your-new-disney-friends-home.html>.

⁷⁷⁸ “GAF Photo Trail,” map and graphic as posted by Ryan P. Wilson on *Main Street Gazette* blog, September 30, 2009, accessed April 20, 2011, <http://www.mainstgazette.com/2009/09/gaf-photo-trail.html>. This blogger decided to re-visit and re-photograph all of the GAF Photo Spots from 1972 in 2009; the results are picturing on his blog. More research would be needed to ascertain if and how the GAF photo spots overlapped with the Kodak Picture Spots.

brochures, GAF's description emphasized expert visual vetting of "outstanding scenic pictures":

The picture spots on the map have been carefully researched and selected as the best locations for taking memorable pictures. Each spot has been marked by a Photo Trail sign providing useful information for colorful and exciting movies and still pictures.⁷⁷⁹

Touting a photographic "paradise," GAF duly reminded tourists to take their vacation "back home with you" in photographic form. Like Kodak, GAF promoted an aesthetic cornucopia of potential pictures at Disney properties, but went further in their emphasis on an ordered "Photo Trail"—rather than simply marks on a map or individual signs in the environment encountered sometimes by chance. Furthermore, a photographic trail implies that one must proceed along it and attempt to locate, and photograph, all of the signs. If a visitor did not record their Disney trip, and seek out all of the pre-selected locations, GAF's insinuation was that it was a vacation not lived fully or your family lacked memorable moments.

Despite physical changes in the Disney parks and a reduction in the number of signs when GAF took over from Kodak (from 30 to 24), it appears that the GAF Picture Spots in Disney World generally coincided with the location of Kodak's signs in Disneyland. While different parks, it is still worth comparing the 1963 Disneyland map with Kodak Picture Spots (figure 4.32) to the 1971 GAF Guide to Disney World (figure 4.47), as they share the same basic layout. With Kodak signs marked in red and GAF

⁷⁷⁹ GAF, "GAF Photo Trail" map.

Photo Spots denoted in blue, there is some overlap in the location of picture-taking signs, but with some important modifications and movements. Number-wise, with the photographic sponsorship move from Kodak to GAF, Frontierland, Adventureland, and Tomorrowland appear to be the most pruned picture-wise, while the entrance and the area around the fountain largely maintain their photographic locations. Nevertheless, where the picture-taking signs do increase in GAF's version of Disney World is quite notable. As a more wide-ranging company, GAF focused more on American history, mythmaking, and nostalgia, with clusters of blue dots line Main Street and Liberty Square.⁷⁸⁰ Expanding their reach, GAF took it one step further, noting in the copy at the top of their map that in addition to the signs in the Magic Kingdom, "Photo Trail Spots have been located at the hotels and other scenic areas around Walt Disney World."⁷⁸¹ It is not known at present exactly how many additional signs this represented or where they were placed specifically, but the bold gesture on the part of General Aniline and Film speaks to the company's desire to envelop Disney tourists, both inside and outside the park, with pictures.

Physically, the GAF Photo Trail signs echoed Kodak's design and this form and format would be something that generic photo spots imitate. As seen in a snapshot from 1973 (figure 4.48), the GAF picture-taking sign boasted a didactic panel, set along a green or brown colored metal pole, with its epithet and company logo. The GAF sign

⁷⁸⁰ It is not known if it was Disney or Kodak that suggested these changes, but if was anyone it was likely Disney park officials who did to complement their changing attractions and foci. The latter was an area added and unique to Disney World, focusing on a distilled version of American history replete with replicas of the Liberty Bell and Liberty Tree.

⁷⁸¹ GAF, "GAF Photo Trail" map.

design appears to meld an old-fashioned feel, given its curly-cued finial and depiction of an older camera, with a modern edge. With its verticality and its hooded inset board, the GAF Photo Trail sign recalls a telephone booth. Reminiscent of Kodak's signs set within the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, the camera icon set atop the sign resembles a turn-of-the-century model, not a type that would be used by 1970s tourists. The GAF panel appears to have copious text and, as seen in another vernacular example and close-up (figure 4.49, a and b), the sign presented a sample photograph as well as exposure charts, just as Kodak did, but somewhat shielded from the sun. This particular picture-taking sign and its attendant picture are in the same location, Skull Rock cove, as an earlier Kodak marker, described previously (figure 4.38). As noted before, the term itself, "PHOTO TRAIL," announces that it is not singular, akin to the Kodak Picture Spot, but a part of a larger assembly of photographic opportunities. The number of each GAF picture-taking marker was emblazoned on the bellowed cameras (#24 and #21, respectfully). Emphasizing enumeration, this practice by GAF reinforced the fact that there are more locales and events to photograph along the Photo Trail, both before and after visiting Disney, consequently enticing tourists to "collect them all" using their cameras and framing visitors' overall aesthetic experience.

GAF ceased their sponsorship circa 1976 for reasons unknown and, following a gap year, Polaroid issued Disney maps for about 5 years from 1977 to 1982. Polaroid provided a free camera-borrowing program, but apparently did not produce picture-taking signs. In addition, similar to the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, Polaroid offered backdrops against which guests could pose in vintage-inspired costumes in several

locations.⁷⁸² The 1979 Polaroid map did include three generic sample photographs inside, but the rest of the brochure included stylized drawings and Disney characters.⁷⁸³ Polaroid offered a camera borrowing program at Disney parks, featuring its newest still camera and movie Polavision camera.⁷⁸⁴ The brochure touted that it was “like no loan you’ve ever seen...and you’ll see your exciting Disneyland pictures instantly,” adding “The use of the camera is free. You pay only for the film.”⁷⁸⁵ Just as with other manufacturers, the money was to be made selling film, but this program above all helped to promote and sell proprietary Polaroid’s cameras, which used much more expensive film. Given the instantaneity of Polaroid systems and their extra profit margins, the company conceivably felt comfortable forgoing picture-taking signs. Furthermore, the particularly conspicuous nature of this particular brand of instant photography certainly attracted attention within the Disney landscape.

Stylization, Expansion, and EPCOT: Kodak Picture Spot signs of 1980s and 1990s

Kodak returned as the photographic sponsor of Disney amusement parks with the opening of the EPCOT theme park in 1982. The Kodak Picture Spot signs of the late 1980s through the early 1990s emphasized graphics, minimalism, and storytelling. In

⁷⁸² Walt Dated World, “Main Street Camera Center,” accessed June 20, 2016, <http://waltdatedworld.bravepages.com/id138.htm>. According to Main Street, Caribbean Plaza, and the Walt Disney World Village.

⁷⁸³ See scanned map mentioned in note, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2010/03/disneyland-passport-march-22-1979.html>.

⁷⁸⁴ Polaroid’s popular SX-70 camera was also relatively new at this time; it was produced from 1972 - 1981.

⁷⁸⁵ Polaroid map, “Your Guide to Disneyland Spring 1979, presented by Polaroid,” 1979, posted on March 22, 2010, “Vintage Disneyland Tickets” blog, accessed on December 1, 2018, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2010/03/disneyland-passport-march-22-1979.html>.

addition, photographers and tourists increasingly began to pose with the signs themselves in a more self-conscious manner. After the initial launches of the Kodak signs in Disneyland and EPCOT, it is difficult to ascertain a specific design timeline as the signs are not reproduced on the maps and very few vernacular images of this time period are dated. Nevertheless, several conclusions can be made from publically-shared images on contemporary social media sites. While photographs exist that deliberately include the Disney signs pre-1971, as we have seen, they mostly feature the Picture Spots in an accidental manner or with a more general focus on the rides, landscape, or structures. As the Kodak Picture Spots moved away from multiple-presented pictures to individual images or graphics alone, behaviors at the signs changed; people and experiences became the primary focus of Kodak's model pictures. The following section charts the changing look and related interaction of the signs after Kodak's re-introduction, post GAF and Polaroid. It also bears repeating that this period, the early 1980s and 1990s, coincides with the rise of post-modernism and larger cultural trends.

A few vernacular snapshots that include the same sign design of the Kodak Picture Spot are remarkable for their simultaneous inclusion of signs and people, but also for their self-awareness and documentation of posing and public photography in the social sphere. In two snapshots from EPCOT (figure 4.50 and 4.51, for example, it appears that this particular signpost design, likely from the early 1980s, lacked a didactic panel, and thus did not present comparative images. Bracketed by two metal parts and topped by a finial, the two-sided sign is divided roughly in half, and words and symbols are given equal weight. Instead of the wording of "Picture Spot, Selected by Kodak" of

the earlier Disney signs, the K-shaped logo brands the Picture Spot phrase below specifically with the word Kodak. The cartoon silhouette of man perched atop the first markers (more clearly seen in figure 4.19 and 4.38) is transformed here into a gender-neutral figure. This visual shorthand is not only more abstract than the earlier Disney signs, but the new design has other photographic overtones: the figure sits within a square box with rounded corners, possibly alluding to the shape of a viewfinder, and another rectangle with notched corners recalls a snapshot inserted into the pre-cut page of an album. The directional character of the bar and the figurine combine to serve as an arrow, pointing towards the preferred prospect.

Playing off of this command—calling attention to it as well as pushing back—the photographers of these 1980s snapshots clearly intended to compose their images with the Kodak signs included. In the first photograph (figure 4.50), a group of young boys pose in front of an imposing rock wall, creating a flattening effect. In the stacked, almost surreal scene, the Castle looks like a backdrop and the Picture Spot points diagonally into the picture plane. The later snapshot (figure 4.51), in particular, is remarkable for its candor and composition. Here, two men stand to the right, one peers with his hands blocking the glaring light, the other raises a simple point-and-shoot camera to his visage, mirroring the Kodak graphic above, while a third stands stoically, ignoring whatever scene or happening is occurring to his left, our right, and stares back at the photographer.⁷⁸⁶ This defiant fellow, with his crossed arms, sunglasses, and no camera,

⁷⁸⁶ This issue with Disney sometimes privileging a good location over a good photograph continued into the 2000s. In 2004, when training roving photographers at Universal Studios, Kodak trainer Gordon P. Brown noted the following: “At Universal, there were some signs, but many of them, if they existed at all, were

defies almost all of the Kodak sign's instructions, save one—standing at the designated location. Despite any contrariness or humor, this snapshot is noteworthy in another key way: we witness here what other tourists saw happening at Kodak Picture Spot signs and locations: photographic and viewing behaviors on display as well as film being consumed and used *en masse*. The photographers captured in this photograph of a Picture Spot and the unseen photographer behind the lens, witness and represent conspicuous photography, equally to the masses milling about in the same area as well as the people at home, furthering Kodak's command while advertising Disney's desire.

Another later Kodak Picture Spot design within Disney's domain reflects a renewed focus on narrative and likely comes a little later, the late 1980s or early 1990s (figure 4.52, a and b). Again, resembling the previous examples, this Picture Spot privileged words and stylization and lacked comparative images. As can be seen in the example of the sign in context at EPCOT on the right (4.52b), the actual physical stature of the sign is shorter and set within a metal silver frame itself; both are angled, possibly encouraging the photographer to use its leverage upon which to lean. With continued simplification, the photographer icon now becomes more of a logo, essentially stamping and approving the scene. Focusing further on setting and plot, the statement on the sign matter-of-factly cedes seeing to another's eyes: "This location recommended by top

very generic. They had some areas and times that were set aside for photographing the scenes and the characters, but these areas were not very specific, and were assigned at the wrong times of the day. I remember the Shrek Site setup was only good at one specific time of the day, and the scheduled times had the sun shining in his, and the guests, face. Also, photos of their iconic globe had to be made a specific locations and times of the day to get the whole image in, and no photographers had selected the times or the locations. I did make suggestions, but because of turnover, I wonder if they ever lasted long." Gordon P. Brown, email to author, December 20, 2018.

photographers to help you tell the story of your visit in pictures.” Instead of a spot “selected by Kodak” with multiple imaging possibilities provided, this sign tells passersby that this picturesque locale is endorsed by an unnamed bevy of professional photographers, along with perhaps even Disney itself. While lacking samples or even a clear suggested physical direction to shoot, this particular kind of Kodak sign functions more as a sentry, issuing its all-knowing command, “photograph here.” This type of Picture Spot urges photographers to be ready with their camera at all times and, while less specific, its generality might make it and its authorial voice even more powerful. Nevertheless, by posing as such and pointing self-consciously to the sign, these two animated subjects become agents, “one upping” the sign’s directions, and in doing so re-make and re-author their own story.

Ironically or aptly, Walt Disney meant for his EPCOT theme park (Experimental Prototypical Community of Tomorrow) to be an actual city, rather than what essentially is a permanent World’s Fair. Touted as the symbolic beginning of the 21st century, EPCOT opened in 1982 (figure 4.53a), the first major park after the twin efforts of Disneyland and Disney World. Akin to expositions, EPCOT allows visitors the ability to travel without leaving American soil via a series of international pavilions, corporate-sponsored exhibitions, and hotels that ring a large man-made pond. Split into the World Showcase and Future World, the layout recalls both of the New York World’s Fairs, with their division between state sectors and corporate pavilions, replete with an updated version of the Unisphere, “Spaceship Earth.” Not surprisingly, when EPCOT opened, and even more recently as well, it boasted the most Kodak Picture Spots of any American

park. Given these factors and the fact that EPCOT represents a unique paradigm in terms of picture-taking signs—in terms of number of signs and as a latter-day cousin of the World’s Fairs, among other issues—it is worth treating separately and more deeply than the latter-day Disney additions.

Eastman Kodak Company entered late onto the scene as a corporate sponsor of EPCOT. As art and cultural historian Marling has explained, “Only at the last minute, just before EPCOT was scheduled to open, did design aspects of the one-time ecology pavilion resurface to symbolize imagination and creativity under the aegis of Eastman Kodak.”⁷⁸⁷ Perhaps suggesting this heritage, the Kodak building itself recalls a greenhouse or a biosphere (figure 4.53b), with its large glass, multi-pyramidal structure. Over the years, the Kodak complex added several imagery-themed areas to the complex, all emphasizing ideas related to creativity, vision, and aesthetics, including an Imagination! Pavilion; a 3D theater; and ImageWorks, later the What-If? laboratories.⁷⁸⁸ Kodak’s presence also ran throughout EPCOT’s World Showcase, which includes eight countries plus “The American Adventure.” The geographical focus of EPCOT’s parade of nations is primarily Western, consisting mainly of Europe and North and Central America with China and Japan being the only non-Western representatives. The Kodak Picture Spot signs, designed and installed specifically for EPCOT, likewise emphasize the park’s dual focus on utopia and otherness.

⁷⁸⁷ Marling, “Imagineering the Disney Theme Parks,” 166.

⁷⁸⁸ Lost Epcot, “Imagination,” Lost Epcot blog, accessed May 3, 2011, <http://www.lostepcot.com/imagination.html>.

As a map from the 1982 opening demonstrates EPCOT's compartmentalization and aesthetics, which Kodak capitalized upon in their corporate design and control. Separated into two spaces, the map reflects this distinction via line and color (figure 4.54). Within the overall layout, EPCOT's architecture—both in graphic and physical form—further underscores this divide and its treatment. This approach would be mirrored in the Picture Spot signs: the various buildings of the World Showcase are in an “old world” aesthetic, while the structures of Future World have angular and modernist lines. A total of 13 Kodak Picture Spots, notably dubbed “Photo Locations” instead, are denoted by white circles within squares, with seven distributed amongst the nine countries, five amid the five pavilions and central plaza region, and another just outside the monorail station—essentially covering the expanse of the park. This inaugural map was included within a foldable, interactive square-format guide to EPCOT and its various offerings and amenities, provided “compliments of Kodak.” Of note, the Kodak EPCOT guide had two “dial-able” elements with movable tabs: the first showcased the pavilions and the second highlighted Kodak cameras and their features.⁷⁸⁹ The heavily didactic nature of this tactic parallels the function of the Kodak picture-taking panels, and previous World's Fair exposure dials and signs, offering in-depth technical information. In the 1980s, Kodak thus shifted the task of educating the amateur to their brochures, leaving the picture-taking signs to function more as visual markers within the landscape.

⁷⁸⁹ A full scanned example of a similar Kodak EPCOT brochure from 1983, including all pages and sides, can be found here: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/124651729@N04/albums/72157687037577571>

EPCOT's architecture, both within the World Showcase and Future World, emphasized symbolism and fantasy. The Kodak signs installed at each of the different countries in the World Showcase, in particular, featured designs that reflected Disney's interpretation of that specific culture and their architecture, whether correct or not. The Chinese pavilion Picture Spot, for example, mirrors the bright colors and variegated edges of the building beyond (figure 4.56). Framing EPCOT's central focal point, Kodak's picture-taking sign at Spaceship Earth echoes the utopian style of Spaceship Earth in its sleek, modern metal and angular forms (figure 4.57). Again, as this dissertation argues, these Disney subjects—framed by Kodak—occupy and complicate spaces between the real and hyperreal, the duck and decorated shed, and other categories and constructs. The fiction presented at the signs and in the photographs becomes an experience in which one exchanges one place (i.e., France) for another (France within and by EPCOT). Disney and Kodak, together, thus encouraged trips and tours not actually taken, yet each country and pavilion becomes a unique destination and world unto itself. Much like the Kodak picture-taking signs, Disney tourists often try to visit all of EPCOT's countries, moving through compressed space and time, and then accomplish the same with their souvenir photographs.

The emphasis EPCOT placed on aesthetics extended to its buildings as well as the landscaping and planning as well. An online Disney history site explained a specific directive and design choice, likely often overlooked by tourists: "The pavement at Epcot was engineered by Disney and Kodak photography to be painted a specific custom color of pink that makes the grass look greener and pictures look brighter. In addition, the

colored sidewalks give an overall cleaner look to the park.”⁷⁹⁰ This color choice, on the part of both companies, showcases an extra level of corporate control. Such aesthetic selections not only enhanced the park’s visual experience for visitors, but also translated to color pictures that really popped. As demonstrated by the two previous EPCOT examples (figure 4.56 and 4.57), the engineered color of the walkways are not only the complementary color of the foliage, but when captured with a film or digital camera the ground would contain no green exposure.⁷⁹¹ As asserted previously, and evidenced explicitly here, Disney parks are designed to be readily photographable and translated into the best possible photographs.

It is noteworthy that of the two places tourists could purchase or rent Kodak products, the main Camera Center was centrally located within Disney’s Spaceship Earth itself (figure 4.57). This geodesic dome serves as the philosophical and aesthetic center of EPCOT, much like the Trylon and Perisphere of the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair and the Unisphere of the 1964-65 Fair, with a closer cousin coming in the form of Buckminster Fuller’s geodesic dome for the American pavilion of the Montreal Expo ’67.⁷⁹² Additionally contained within EPCOT’s sphere was a ride that fittingly explored the history of communication (today, it covers technological advances). Departing from

⁷⁹⁰ Sebastien Barthe, “History of EXPCOT Center,” The Original EPCOT: Walt Disney’s Original Vision of the Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow website, accessed June 4, 2016, <https://sites.google.com/site/theoriginalepcot/1982-epcot-center>.

⁷⁹¹ The capture would be the same in film and digital as well as chemical processing and printing (the presence of blue and red and the absence of green), while if the photographs are printed digitally, the sidewalks would be rendered in pure or light magenta ink (still the absence of green).

⁷⁹² For a brief overview of Buckminster Fuller’s design for the ’67 Expo, see David Langdon, “AD Classics: Montreal Biosphere: Buckminster Fuller,” ArchDaily, October 7, 2018, accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.archdaily.com/572135/ad-classics-montreal-biosphere-buckminster-fuller>. For more on the development see, Buckminster Full Institute, “Geodesic Domes,” accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.bfi.org/about-fuller/big-ideas/geodesic-domes>.

earlier Kodak and Disney brochures, there is no description of how the signs actually “worked” in early EPCOT pamphlets. By then, Kodak presumably left the onus to the photographer and the map, assuming that 13 years after they were introduced on Disney soil consumers could regurgitate the actions. By tying the symbolic beginning of the twenty-first century to the opening of EPCOT, Disney, and by proxy Kodak, sought to expand greatly their entertainment and photographic empires.

Consolidation, Emulation, Interaction: Disney Kodak Picture Spots, 1990s-2000s

Around the time of the opening of two new Disney theme parks in Florida in the late 1980s and 1990s, Kodak picture-taking signs within Disney environs were transformed once again.⁷⁹³ During these noteworthy decades, Kodak recalibrated their Picture Spot signs in design, distribution, and demeanor. Coinciding with the shift away from film photography and Disney’s expansion of their “empire” in the form of several new specialty parks, this period of Picture Spots represents a turn towards a more concentrated visual experience and increased imaging as well as a heightened emphasis on imagination and interaction. Just as it reduced the number of its picture-taking signs and images overall, beginning in the early 1990s, Kodak started to shrink its workforce due to economic and businesses challenges.⁷⁹⁴ The reasons for these changes in picture-

⁷⁹³ Disney World added Disney-MGM Studios (now Disney’s Hollywood Studios) in 1989 and Disney’s Animal Kingdom in 1998, along with two waterparks, while Disneyland added of Disney California Adventure Park in 2001.

⁷⁹⁴ Gordon P. Brown has explained how Kodak’s buyouts and layoffs likely affected the Picture Spots, as well as consumer programs in general, when he took early retirement in 1994: “Many of the original people retired either by their own volition or by Kodak’s RIF (Reduction In Force) program which I was a part of. As you can imagine the Picture Spot decisions were very low on people’s priority lists when they had 30

taking sign approach, number, and aesthetics, both on the part of Kodak and Disney companies, will be discussed in this chapter, while the full impact of digital photography and social media will be saved for the Conclusion.

By the mid to late 2010s, there were 37 Picture Spots across the six American Disney attractions and 26 contained within the main three parks: Disneyland (7), Disney World (8), EPCOT (11), Disney's Hollywood Studios (4), Disney's Animal Kingdom (95), and Disney's California Adventure (2) (figure 4.58-4.60). Generally speaking, for several decades during the 1970s through the 2000s, as the overall number of Disney parks expanded, the number of Picture Spots was reduced within individual parks. For example, in 1982 EPCOT contained 13 Kodak Picture Spots, whereas by 2009 there were only 11 signs in its environs.⁷⁹⁵ Furthermore, after being absent in the 1980s, Kodak's sample photographs returned to the signs sometime in the 1990s or 2000s, but were reduced to one per sign. For the first time, rather than depicting a throw-back camera design, the photographic icon on Picture Spots represented a point-and-shoot camera actually available to consumers at the time (at top, figure 4.56 and 4.57). Differing from the 1960s and 1980s iterations, the appearance of Kodak picture-taking signs in the later-

days to settle their affairs and leave, and most of the decisions were spread among several people to further complicate matters. Also, ALL of this stuff required budget money and charge numbers, and the money went away with the people, and there was nobody left to pickup the pieces assuming that there was any interest now that the "champions" were gone." Gordon P. Brown, email to author, December 10, 2018. This trend unfortunately accelerated and continues to this day. In 1962, for example, Brown noted that Kodak had 120,000 employees worldwide; by 2016, that number was down to 6,000. Gordon P. Brown, email to author, February 21, 2016.

⁷⁹⁵ It is not known at this point, whether this reduction came at the request or hand of Disney or Kodak, although it was mostly likely due to the former's expansion and more diversified interests. For the number, location, and photographs of every Kodak Picture Spot sign in EPCOT, see Cedric Ching, "DISNEY: EPCOT's Kodak Picture Spots," *soneevda* blog, January 4, 2008, accessed October 22, 2018, <http://soneevda.blogspot.com/2008/01/disney-epcots-kodak-picture-spots.html>.

twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries moved from standardization to extreme individualization. While the first Picture Spots, and those that followed GAF and Polaroid sponsorships, had a unified overall look, almost every part of Kodak's ensuing signs varied depending on the park or even specific attraction that they framed. The posts, encasements, and fonts of 1990s and 2000s Kodak picture-taking signs mirrored their respective environments and demonstrated diversity, ranging from old-fashioned metal and wood to futuristic plastic and other substrates. While this aesthetic synergy at first seems apropos, Kodak's deference to Disney appears to signal a breakdown and collapse of corporate identification and recognition.⁷⁹⁶ The result likely increasingly confused their brand as well as their customers.

Another manner of Picture Spot progression occurs within Disneyland and Disney World, more so than the other thematic park offerings. Beginning with Kodak picture-taking signs near the entrance and proceeding to more outlying areas—echoing the progression in the various “lands” themselves—the aesthetics of the picture-taking signs move from nostalgic to fanciful (figures 4.58 and 4.59). The markers placed near the entry points, centralized gardens, and traditional modes of transport, such as the paddleboat in Rivers of America, are metal with similar filigree accents and old-fashioned aesthetics. By contrast, the markers at rides, such as Big Thunder Mountain Railroad and Toontown, complement their respective aesthetics: a simulated nailed poster on a rustic wood standard (figure 4.61) or cartoon-inspired carnivalesque yellow yield

⁷⁹⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Moore for his assistance in distilling this concept. Moore, comment on draft dissertation and defense, November 16, 2018.

sign (figure 4.62a). The latter Kodak Picture Spot appropriately twist and turns, much like the road for the kid's miniature cars beyond, an interesting 21st-century complement to and transformation of the original roadside sign. Indeed, this sample photograph might be the original 1920s "Picture Ahead" sign pulled "through the looking glass" into the ever-repeating spectacle of Disney. In the accompanying sample snapshot (figure 4.62b), a family dressed in hats and wigs goofily gesticulates before yet another sign. Their position, in front of where they actually are, also advertised Disney's new attraction and the animated fantasy world of Mickey Mouse to those back home.

From the mid 2000s onward, humorous interaction with the Kodak Picture Spots and acknowledgment of the camera increases. Even before the "selfie" era of the 2010s, the ease of digital photography, along with the rise of cellular phones with cameras, likely encouraged more spontaneous interaction with picture-taking signs. These types of photographs, by their very nature, do not follow the instructions, but abide by their underlying guidelines. That is to say, by posing with or pointing to the sign itself, the suggested snapshot cannot physically be taken, as the actual view is not at but within a certain radius of the marker. Nevertheless, at the same time, the photographer implicitly acknowledges the direction by doing what they are told—taking a picture, at the exact spot. Such comical posturing, perhaps ironically or unintentionally, as seen in two samples uploaded to Flickr, calls more attention to photographic behaviors than standard posing. In one example, two people stand next to an EPCOT sign and comedically gesture with thumbs-up signs (figure 4.63). Upon closer inspection, these individuals, and their photographer, have disobeyed the picture-taking sign: they chose a brightly

colored background rather than depict what it actually portrays, the geodesic dome. In another case (figure 4.64), three people gather around a Disneyland sign as if it was another friend and engage the photographer/viewer directly, with the subject in the sample directly behind them. A few Kodak Picture Spots invite even more direct interaction and immersion, taking conspicuous photography and corporate control to another level. Less signposts or backdrops than props, these types of Kodak picture-taking signs and situations—such as seen in Disney World’s eponymous The Sword and the Stone (figure 4.65) and a hanging net (figure 4.66) at California Adventure’s Pacific Wharf—tend to emphasize adventure and interaction. Both settings emulate classic tourist traps, such as the “barrel going over Niagara Falls” photographic set-up, and become attractions themselves; regarding the latter, one visitor remarked that on crowded days people actually have to wait in line to take a photograph.⁷⁹⁷

In most instances, by way of sociable posing and guided interactions, the groups depicted in the photographs on the Disney Picture Spot signs form a default American family. All of the Picture Spots, across all of the Disney parks in the U.S., circa 2008 featured multiple people, posing formally or informally in front of a Disney background. Gone were the days from 1959 to the 1960s when only landscape or a particular ride was the only element highlighted; the shift to picture people likely came after the more abstracted, graphic and text-only signs of the 1980s. In 2008, one enthusiast attempted to document all of Disney’s Kodak Picture Spots: the signs, the comparative images, and

⁷⁹⁷ Jessica, “California Adventure: Fish Net,” Duchess of Disneyland Blog, June 4, 2015, accessed October 10, 2018, <http://duchessofdisneyland.com/california-adventure/fish-net/>.

the surrounding views.⁷⁹⁸ Of all of the picture-taking markers he was able to locate, all their corresponding sample snapshots included two or more people and one third featured four people. These specific numbers and their arrangements evoke traditional couples and nuclear families, Kodak's core audience as well. Diversity was also showcased in the model groupings, including African-American and Hispanic families, Asian children, and people with disabilities.⁷⁹⁹ Like Disney, Picture Spot signs attempted to represent and re-present the same American audience to which they marketed.

Before Kodak pulled their sponsorship of Disney as a whole in 2012, there were about three dozen Kodak Picture Spots installed across the six main Disney parks in the U.S., with EPCOT featuring the most at 11 and California Adventure the fewest with 2.⁸⁰⁰ In 1963, as stated before and by contrast, there were 30 Kodak picture-taking signs in Disneyland; in 1982, there were 13 photo locations in EPCOT alone. If one considers that earlier Kodak signs contained at least three comparative images each, that makes over 90 possible recommended views in one park versus only a handful today.⁸⁰¹ While the number of signs within the Disney parks no longer corresponds to or closely follows

⁷⁹⁸ Cedric Ching, "Disney...Kodak Picture Spots...", *soneevda* blog, January 4, 2008, <http://soneevda.blogspot.com/2008/01/disney-magic-kingdoms-kodak-picture.html> (links to all of the parks, and their Picture Spot signs and sample photographs, are located at the bottom of this post).

⁷⁹⁹ See all signs and sample photographs as reproduced in Ching, "Disney...Kodak Picture Spots...", *soneevda* blog, 2008.

⁸⁰⁰ Magic Kingdom has eight, Animal Kingdom has five, and Disneyland's California Adventure has two. See the following blog posts by Kodak for maps and photographs of all Kodak Picture Spots at US Disney parks. Thomas Hoehn, Director, Interactive and Web Marketing, Kodak. "Kodak Picture Spots." April 2009, <http://1000words.kodak.com/thousandwords/post/?id=2360195> (Magic Kingdom); <http://1000words.kodak.com/thousandwords/post/?id=2360196> (Epcot); <http://1000words.kodak.com/thousandwords/post/?id=2360198> (Animal Kingdom); <http://1000words.kodak.com/thousandwords/post/?id=2360199> (Hollywood). See also Ching, "Disney...Kodak Picture Spots...", *soneevda* blog.

⁸⁰¹ As will be discussed more extensively in the Conclusion, Nikon continued to reduce the number of Picture Spots when they took over photographic sponsorship in 2013: only 25 picture-taking signs total are spread out over Disney's six U.S. parks.

the number of frames on a roll of film, there were efforts on the part of Kodak to encourage tourists to repeatedly “press the button” even beyond individual signs. Disney’s Animal Kingdom, for example, included a Kodak Picture Trail sign (figure 4.67) within a garden that winds around its central icon, the “Tree of Life.”⁸⁰² After the Kodak marked trail entrance, one encountered different Disney signs along with a photographic store mid-way through touting a plethora of “photo opps” and warning against a dangerous dwindling supply of film or memory cards.⁸⁰³

What accounts for this dramatic difference in spots and potential photographs? As we have seen with the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair, projecting a photographic bounty made sense mid century: the more pictures taken, the more film sold, the more rolls processed. As recently at 1995, then Kodak CEO Charles Fisher claimed that “about five percent of all photographs taken in the United States are shot on Disney Soil.”⁸⁰⁴ Today, that number has likely increased exponentially. Given the digital revolution, the photographic services offered at Disney parks have shifted to kiosks for printing, posting, or downloading, thus encouraging even more pictures.⁸⁰⁵ Today, the Disney company has re-focused on a different form of imaging experience, bypassing Kodak. While Kodak’s steadfastness lent credence to the signs as a steady symbolic substrate, the changeability of the company, as well as their lateness to the digital

⁸⁰² For an overview of the Picture Trail, Disney signs, animals, and sights, see Jack Spence, “Discovery Island Trails at Disney’s Animal Kingdom,” AllEars.net, May 28, 2012, accessed October 12, 2018, <http://allears.net/2012/05/28/discovery-island-trails-at-disneys-animal-kingdom/>.

⁸⁰³ Of the five Kodak Picture Spots in the Animal Kingdom, the vast majority do not feature any comparative images at all, implying instead a multitude of images surrounding the signs.

⁸⁰⁴ Doris, “It’s the truth, it’s actual...,” 323.

⁸⁰⁵ See Disney, “Camera Services.”

revolution, ultimately upended Kodak's message and deferred to Disney. More recently, Disney has embraced social media, encouraging and aggregating consumer photographs under their corporate mantle.

Disney Takes Over: PhotoPass and the Diminishment of Kodak

It is likely no coincidence that the height of the Disney corporation's push to take control over amateur photography within its gates coincided with the nadir of Kodak's business and eventual bankruptcy in 2012. Disney took the full range of imaging into its own hands through a system called PhotoPass (figure 4.68), removing control from the consumer, not unlike Kodak initially did with their early efforts.⁸⁰⁶ Launched in 2004 and still in operation today, the program grants all visitors a free PhotoPass card and/or number.⁸⁰⁷ When encountering a uniformed PhotoPass photographer (figure 4.69), a visitor can hand their assigned card to the employee and your number is scanned.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁶ Former Kodak employee Gordon P. Brown was hired to help what he has called "Roving Photographers," as part of a Kodak retiree program established in the early to mid 1990s called "Kodak Ambassadors." In 2004, he trained Rovers at Universal Studios and was also hired by Kodak Event Imaging Solutions, a subsidiary of Kodak, which at the time oversaw photographic solutions at Disneyland, Universal Studios, and the San Diego Zoo. It is unclear if the Rovers preceded the PhotoPass System or vice versa; most likely, Disney borrowed from Disney's photographic education once again, using what they had set up and trained photographers to develop their new model.

Nevertheless, many Kodak picture-taking programs appeared to have ended or decreased dramatically by the mid to late 2000s. As Brown described it, the waning of the Kodak Ambassador Program, the rise of digital, Disney's taking over of their own photography, and the neglect of the Picture Spots overlapped and affected each other: "The budget money dried up, there were no longer any requests for lectures, or new Photo Spots. Some of the signs were simply left out there, or removed. Venues discovered that they could name Photo Spots on their own, and other camera manufactures jumped into the void!" Gordon P. Brown, email to author, February 21, 2016.

⁸⁰⁷ Much of the below anecdotal information is drawn from the following conversations: Tessa Crocker, personal communication with author, April 11, 2011 and Cher and Brooke Knight, personal communication with author, March 29, 2011.

⁸⁰⁸ For a PhotoPass job description, see Disney Parks, December 2010, <http://www.jobsbump.com/2010/12/photopass-photographer-jobs-walt-disney-world-resort-orlando->

Visitors roam the park, going from photographer to photographer as they take a variety of pictures, which are all saved to the same pass. Occasionally, PhotoPass photographers will allow others to take pictures next to them, thus capturing a similar image on your own camera.⁸⁰⁹ PhotoPass locations are notated on special maps: “In general, you’ll find our photographers near the park entrances, main icons and at the majority of Disney character meet and greet locations.”⁸¹⁰ One passage is worth repeating from the Disney World map: “Did you know we have over 8 different vantage points of the picturesque Cinderella Castle? Start with a classic on Main Street and let our photographer point out other perfect spots.”⁸¹¹ In essence, these roving Disney photographers have become the Kodak Picture Spot signs; their very presence signals a good picture. Furthermore, the PhotoPass becomes “the film” and it now resides within Disney itself. With this new incarnation, Disney also took over the photofinishing, printing, framing, and even sharing, of the final images, becoming a full service photographic store.

Getting your picture taken by a PhotoPass photographer is free; however, downloads, prints, or other printed items cost customers and thus make the Disney

florida/. One advanced amateur remarked that when he was lingering around and taking a picture of one Kodak Picture Spot sign that he was mistaken for a Disney photographer: “I stood in this spot just long enough for some people to ask me to take their picture. And they had their Photopass card ready. [wink emoji].” Scott Smith, “Kodak Picture Spot: Big Thunder Mountain Railroad,” July 24, 2011, accessed October 23, 2018, “<https://www.flickr.com/photos/scottrsmith/7553020820>. Note that another photographer, dutifully following directions, is seen to the right of the picture-taking sign.

⁸⁰⁹ Knights’ conversation with author.

⁸¹⁰ Disney, “About Disney’s PhotoPass: Photo Tips & Maps,” accessed May 4, 2011, http://www.disneyphotopass.com/aboutdpp_map_mk.aspx. A printable pdf is available for download that includes all of the parks. Disney has also rebooted their celebrity portraits with photographer Annie Liebovitz. See Disney, “Disney Parks Unveils New Annie Liebovitz Disney Dream Portraits,” March 3, 2011, accessed May 8, 2011, <http://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2011/03/disney-parks-unveils-new-annie-leibovitz-disney-dream-portraits/>.

⁸¹¹ Disney, “About Disney’s PhotoPass: Photo Tips & Maps.”

company more money.⁸¹² Special borders and effects are also available, including staged scenes into which Disney characters are added in post-production (figure 4.70a). Disney also regularly includes generic “stock” images of popular locations and characters along with your personal images (figure 4.70b). This recapitulates an earlier custom of official Disney slide sets or movie reel, a common practice in the 1950s and 1960s. A commenter on a Disney fan blog recounted this earlier practice: “I have my Dad’s home movies, and he bought those professional reels while at Disneyland and spliced them in with our movies. Really made ours seem amazing!”⁸¹³ From 2011 to 2014, Disney operated a companion website, “Let the Memories Begin,” as a part of a larger thematic push, and encouraged people to upload and share images and stories.⁸¹⁴ One of a series of marketing campaigns from the early 2000s to 2010s, this and other ventures marked a turn towards the “professional” and, by extension, Disney itself. Contemporary Disney photographs exhibit another form of standardization in their subjects and compositions. Emphasis has shifted away from highlighting specific locales, towards characters, spontaneous interaction, and pure fantasy.⁸¹⁵

Around the time of Kodak’s bankruptcy, Disney presented “Magic, Memories, and You!” (2011-12), a kaleidoscopic multi-media program of images, videos, and

⁸¹² Stitch Kingdom, “The Definitive Guide: Disney PhotoPass,” *Stitch Kingdom* blog, May 2011, accessed April 30, 2011, <http://www.stitchkingdom.com/disneysphotopass/>. Around the time that Kodak went bankrupt, interested parties could purchase PhotoPass prints for around \$15 per sheet or pre-order the Memory Maker package ahead of time, which includes all images, for \$149 at Disney World and variously \$69 or \$39 at Disneyland.

⁸¹³ Vaughn, April 8, 2011 (11:26am), comment on “Souvenir Friday- Disneyland Movies and Slide Catalog from Camera Shop,” Matterhorn1959 Stuff from the Park blog, April 8, 2011, accessed April 20, 2011. <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2011/04/souvenir-friday-disneyland-movies-and.html>.

⁸¹⁴ Disney, “Let the Memories Begin,” accessed May 4, 2011, <http://memories.disneyarks.disney.go.com>.

⁸¹⁵ Hench, *Designing Disney*, 95 and Crocker conversation with author.

animation projected onto the Castle at Disney World and onto “It’s a Small World” at Disneyland.⁸¹⁶ Instead of a staid sign or a simple photograph (figure 4.71) presented by Kodak, or now Nikon, ephemeral visuals overwhelmed the viewer and the Disney citadel itself. Perhaps most importantly, woven among 5,000 images, the show featured 500 Photopass family pictures taken that day (figure 4.72). During its inaugural presentation in January 2011, the voiceover seemed to channel, and by extension take over for, Eastman Kodak Company: “These special moments will live forever in every picture that was taken.”⁸¹⁷ Then President of Walt Disney World Resort celebrated the backdrop: “What better canvas for those memories than Cinderella Castle, one of the most photographed icons in the world.”⁸¹⁸

Disney’s preliminary slideshow was replaced in short order by “Celebrate the Magic” and recently “Happily Ever After,” featuring animation, music, and fireworks. Using the latest in mapping projection technology, the shows are projected onto the main edifice in each Disney park, worldwide. No longer incorporating photographs of families, this multimedia extravaganza now uses only Disney imagery and is meant to

⁸¹⁶ This was as another facet of Disney park’s “Let the Memories Begin” marketing campaign. MSN, “See your photos projected onto Cinderella Castle!,” *MSN Lifestyles* blog, accessed April 30, 2011, <http://disneydestinations.msn.com/articles/5/28394178>.

⁸¹⁷ Ricky Brigante, “Video: ‘Magic, Memories, and You!’ show premieres projected onto Cinderella Castle at Walt Disney World’s Magic Kingdom,” *Inside the Magic*, January 19, 2011, accessed May 2, 2011, <http://www.insidethemagic.net/2011/01/video-magic-memories-and-you-show-premieres-projected-onto-cinderella-castle-at-walt-disney-worlds-magic-kingdom/>. This blog includes a video of the inaugural presentation.

⁸¹⁸ Meg Crofton as quoted in D23, “Celebrate ‘The Magic, The Memories, and You!’ at Walt Disney World,” *D23: The Official Disney Fan Club* blog, accessed April 30, 2011, http://d23.disney.go.com/expo/020211_EE_D23Picks_MagicMemoriesWDW.html.

“flood the palette,” according to the director.⁸¹⁹ The art director likewise underscored the novelty of this new substrate, which now might be dubbed a temporary decorated duck: “It’s not paper, it’s not a cell. The physical structure of this castle as our starting point is a really powerful medium to be using.”⁸²⁰ With these spectacular displays, Disney binds together and complicates many categories: photographs and memories, fantasy and reality, among others. Instead of Kodak, or even Nikon now, controlling how and where one takes pictures via Picture Spot signs, Disney has thus bent views and viewing as well as representation and re-presentation to their own will. Now, the Disney Corporation itself functions as the photographer and photographic company, director and cinematographer, and campaign and advertising manager—ultimately projecting imagery back onto the original subjects of the picture-taking signs themselves.

⁸¹⁹ Jennifer Fickley-Baker, Editorial Content manager, Walt Disney World Resort, “‘Happily Ever After’ To Feature Most Advanced Projection Mapping Yet,” Disney Parks Blog, April 14, 2017, accessed October 24, 2018, <https://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2017/04/happily-ever-after-to-feature-the-most-advanced-projection-mapping-tech-yet/>.

⁸²⁰ Fickley-Baker, “‘Happily Ever After’ To Feature Most Advanced Projection Mapping Yet.”

CONCLUSION

Changing Terrain: Spots, Sponsors, Selfies, and Social Media

Kodak Picture Spot signs successfully taught an American populace how to photograph and behave as tourists—so much so, as this dissertation has argued, that this photographic company succeeded in partly transferring their branding to other companies and agency back to viewers themselves. In the wake of social media, picture-taking locations and actions have taken on a new life amid recent developments in technology and new iterations of corporate control. Everyone can now easily photograph using their personal camera phones and then seamlessly upload, share, and append a #hashtag to index the image. Furthermore, smartphones instantly ascribe their brand and the location to the image in its metadata, while companies such as Google encourage additional aesthetic and locative aggregation. Within the physical realm, portable selfie sticks and other on-site photographic accoutrements, meant to nexus with social media, reify and display different versions of “conspicuous photography.”

During and after their primary introduction into World’s Fairs and Disney parks in the mid 20th century, Picture Spots expanded beyond the road, fair, and theme park to broader subjects and locations. This Conclusion will briefly outline some latter day Picture Spot developments in several short sections: selling the sign itself, smaller attractions, zoos, state parks, museums, selfies, and social media. As it did with Disney, Kodak gradually loosened the reins it once had on the Picture Spot sign, experience, and product. The corporate vision of the Picture Spot likewise has moved further from direct

experience and closer to the simulacrum, as we saw at the end of the last chapter.

Nevertheless, photographers today still reclaim actions and accoutrements in an image-laden and selfie steeped world, similar to how Kodak picture-taking vacillated between the corporate and the personal over the years.

In the late 1960s through the 1980s, Kodak's picture-taking signs returned, albeit transformed, to the road and the broader landscape. Kodak offered signs for retail sale to camera and film dealers and forged partnerships with local roadside attractions and smaller amusement parks. In the wake of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, Kodak further dispersed their photographic markers across the United States via smaller, more regional fairs including HemisFair '68 in San Antonio, TX and other opportunities. In addition, Kodak launched similar efforts at the Los Angeles Zoo and several National and State Parks, replete with official maps akin to their ambitious onsite marketing in Disney parks. Kodak no longer maintains Picture Spot signs across the U.S., winding down the program sometime after the 1980s, but a few signs likely remain at tourist sites and thus they have indelibly become part of the broader landscape.⁸²¹ Resembling the transfer of meaning from brands to generic references (i.e., Kleenex to refer to any tissue or Xerox to mean copy), Kodak became a victim of its ubiquity and success.⁸²² By extension,

⁸²¹ As explained before, without gathering materials from across the country or examining thousands of vernacular photographs, it is difficult to determine all of the locales with Kodak Picture Spot signs; Kodak, likewise, likely does not have a list. It is equally challenging to ascertain what kind of agreement and level of involvement existed between the two parties without an archival trail (corporate and business archives are rare, often unorganized, and incomplete) and without interviewing company workers (many of whom have passed or are aged).

⁸²² Ironically, by the 1990s and 2000s, Kodak Picture Spots seemed to have remained in various landscapes by sheer inertia and inattention. As no one was seemingly in charge of the program and Kodak had already effectively delineated so many locations and photographs, the signs might have contributed to their own simultaneous ossification and perpetuation. Indeed, former Kodak staffer Brown observed that "few

Kodak picture-taking signs likewise got lost in a sea of copycats. To borrow another later marketing phrase, “Kodak Moments” now belong to everyone and the most obvious corollary of this is the camera phone selfie.⁸²³

Selling the Sign Itself

Beginning in the late 1960s, Kodak started to market a generic, adaptable version of their Picture Spot sign. Vendors at camera and photo-finishing stores and entrepreneurs at smaller tourist attractions were the main market for Kodak’s bulk manufactured picture-taking signs. With these new clients, paradoxically, Kodak began the gradual watering down of their corporate control of the Picture Spot markers, ceding it to regional salesmen, advertising specialists, and local and park purveyors. From circa 1967 to 1972, in their internal dealer magazines and trade circulars, Kodak offered an embossed steel Picture Spot sign in red, yellow, and black with hanging brackets for \$5 (figure 5.1).⁸²⁴ In its first advertisement for the new standardized sign to Kodak camera dealers and photo-finishing stores, Kodak equated place with action and marker with

people asked us to find new spots as most of them were already extant.” Gordon P. Brown, email to author, February 16, 2016.

⁸²³ While Kodak was initially used as a verb by the company, George Eastman was very concerned about the loss of copyright (going so far as to invent a word that doesn’t mean anything); officials later ended the practice in the mid to late 1920s. Quite interestingly, the first signs also used Kodak as a verb: “Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go!” and later embedded the action in their epithets: Kodak Picture-Taking Signs or Kodak Picture (or Photo) Spots.

⁸²⁴ As mentioned in Chapter Two, Kodak announced the new generic Picture Spot sign to dealers in 1967, *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* 53, no. 2 (March 1967), 19, and discontinued it in 1972, see *Kodak Trade Circular* 73, no. 1 (January 1972), 8. The sign is product number A6-56. From GELC at GEM.

memory: “Wherever there’s a scenic view worth recording for posterity, there ought to be a Kodak Picture Spot Sign.”⁸²⁵

In a 1969 Merchandizing Packet, filled with orderable materials such as “Displays, Streamers Signs, Fixtures, and, Other Promotional Aids,” Kodak trumpeted an improved picture-taking marker not unlike a robust street sign (figure 5.2): “silkscreened with weather-resistant enamel in red, yellow, and black and simulated walnut on heavy duty metal.”⁸²⁶ These Picture Spots did not bear the company’s name; their recognizable Kodak yellow color, with red lettering, was enough of a label. Kodak left the specific placement up to the dealers and their markets: “An attention-getting sign, ideal for stimulating picture-taking in scenic and resort areas in your locality.”⁸²⁷ In effect, Kodak proposed that businesses, which stocked and used their products, enter the “franchising of place,” with the goal to draw tourists from the road and ply them with pictures.

Smaller Amusement Parks

The tourist attractions of the 1960s through the 1980s that showcased Kodak’s pre-made signs share more commonalities with the settings of Kodak’s early roadside “Picture Ahead!” signs than Disney parks. These venues were usually developed by

⁸²⁵ Kodak, “And Don’t Forget...,” *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* 53, no. 2 (March 1967): 19. From GELC at GEM. Due to the Paul Bunyon statue, the location can be identified as the Enchanted Forest in Old Forge, NY.

⁸²⁶ Kodak, *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* “Merchandising Packet,” no date, circa 1969. From GELC at GEM. Within this yellow fold out, which resembles Trade Circulars included in each newsletter, one display is noted as Spring 1969. The pink-colored packet was included in the bound periodicals and included after the April 1969 newsletter.

⁸²⁷ Kodak, “Merchandising Packet.”

families with a do-it-yourself aesthetic and approach to marketing and set within an area already known for tourism.⁸²⁸ Furthermore, these smaller parks generally chose their own locations to spotlight with Kodak Picture Spots and did not work with Kodak directly or extensively. To encourage more pictures, and by extension promote the

⁸²⁸ Attractions that featured these Kodak pre-made signs included Enchanted Forest in Old Forge, NY and Fentier Village in Salamanca, NY. Kodak also reported on efforts in another park, Freedomland U.S.A. in the Bronx (1960-64); Kodak photographer Paul Yarrows seems to confirm that he worked on Freedomland Picture Spots the four years the park was open, off and on, yet no subsequent mention is made in Kodak literature or Freedomland map and no signs appear in a cursory review of snapshots.

Designed by a former Disney employee close to Mr. Disney who had a falling out, C.V. Wood, and nicknamed the “Disneyland of the East,” Freedomland U.S.A. encompassed 205 acres, dwarfing the actual Disneyland, in the Bronx and not far from the 1939-40 New York World’s Fair site. Freedomland was laid out in the shape of a map of America and divided into seven sections. Reminiscent of Disney, it had a Main Street and a town of the future, among other thematic areas, as well as a passenger train and showboat. Still relatively novel for other amusement parks of the time, Freedomland had corporate sponsors on their grounds, including Kodak, American Express, Amoco, Hallmark, Macy’s, and Sante Fe Railroad.

Despite the uncertainty of the sign program in the present day, Kodak wrote in an addendum to its May 1960 dealer newsletter, Kodak noted a plan was certainly afoot: “Kodak will have a permanent photographic center for advising picture takers and picture spot signs similar to those in Disneyland will be installed.” - Kodak, “Freedomland opens June 19th... Kodak to Exhibit,” in “Last Minute News” section, *Kodak Dealer News* 46, no. 4 (May 1960): 17. From GELC at GEM. Yarrows noted in an email, “As far as I know I’m the only one involved with the Kodak Picture signs and locations at the various locations starting with Freedomland in the Bronx - 1960.” Paul Yarrows, email to Gordon Brown, May 10, 2015 and Yarrows and Brown phone conversation, notes provided by Brown, May 14, 2015.

As discussed above, 1960 was a key year for Kodak Picture Spot signs in outlets inspired by or sharing kinship with Disney parks. As the signs made their debut in Disneyland circa 1959, it made sense that Kodak might want to capitalize on the markers’ new recognition. Nevertheless, it seems that some efforts never came to fruition and perhaps Kodak’s push was tempered by Mr. Disney himself. The 1960s through the early 1980s saw a decline in regional amusement parks, as Kat Long has noted, “Sadly, Freedomland was not alone: failed amusements parks were endemic in the 1960s and 1970s.” While initially very successful, Freedomland was plagued with issues, both in and out of their control and its demise is attributed to a variety of factors: massive housing and land developments in the area and, quite fittingly, by the building of the 1964-65 World’s Fair at Flushing Meadows Park in Queens. After the closure of Freedomland, U.S.A., Wood went on to work on other regional amusement parks, but as Long observes, “None of these similarly short-lived parks have garnered the level of obsessive nostalgia that Freedomland has.” This aesthetic longing is perhaps what Kodak might have more fully focused on when they spread their picture-taking signs in various venues across the country.

Most history above was drawn from Kat Long, “The Rise and Suspiciously Rapid Fall of Freedomland,” *Atlas Obscura*, July 8, 2015, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-rise-and-suspiciously-rapid-fall-of-freedomland-u-s-a>, and Freedomland U.S.A., “Fifty of the Most Frequently Asked Freedomland Questions,” n.d., from Matterhorn1959, “Souvenir Friday - Freedomland Press Kit Continued,” last modified February 17, 2012, http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2012/02/souvenir-friday-freedomland-press-kit_17.html. See also a series of essays on Freedomland by a chronicler and collector of Freedomland and other New York history, PR and marketing consultant Michael R. Virgintino. See a series of essays on Virgintino’s LinkedIn page, 2016-2017, <https://www.linkedin.com/today/author/mrvirgintino?trk=pprof-feed>. All accessed June 25, 2018.

attraction and Kodak film, the company encouraged sites to create their own picture-taking trails, with multiple stops and many markers.⁸²⁹ Purchasers could adapt the bracketed sign by placing it on any pole and planting it anywhere.⁸³⁰ Picture Spot signs, therefore, begot more signs.

One example of these smaller parks, the Enchanted Forest, opened in 1956 in the Adirondacks in New York state.⁸³¹ Its founder had a background befitting a family-oriented park in a tourist setting: A. Richard Cohen was “a hardware store owner and commissioner for the Adirondack Authority in charge of the development of ski centres

⁸²⁹ Fentier Village followed this advice to the letter, installing a camera service and a photo trail. Located in Western New York state and founded by businessman Ned Fenton Jr., Fentier Village opened in 1966 and was family operated only for four short summer seasons, drawing visitors primarily from the region.

Unlike the signs in Enchanted Forest, Fentier Village adapted their Kodak dealer signs, adding appliqué numbers on them, implying a route, an order, and a total to acquire. In the March-April 1970 *Kodak Dealer News*, a spread highlighted various ideas from store owners and Kodak marketers as a result of a conference at the company headquarters in Rochester, NY. The Kodak representative for the Eastern Region espoused, “A winning combination in my book has always been the camera rental program and picture-spot trail for amusement and recreation areas.” Reproduced alongside his advice was a photograph of Western dressed cast member and a local color lab rep with Fentier’s Picture Spot. The Kodak official concluded his piece, aptly titled “Telling them Where to Go,” with the following observation about their success: “It not only boosted picture-taking activities, but also helped control traffic and gave visitors an added incentive to see all the attractions.” See Dick Down, Eastern Region, “Telling Them Where to Go,” in *Kodak*, “Specialists Choice,” *Kodak Dealer News* (March-April 1970): 16. From GELC at GEM.

For more on Fentier Village, see Major Pepperidge, “Fentier Village, Salamanca, NY - November 1966,” from Gorillas Don’t Blog, June 5, 2012, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2012/06/fentier-village-salamanca-ny-november.html>, and The Salamanca Press, “40-years after closing Western-style amusement park, staff from Fentier Village reunite,” August 27, 2009, http://www.salamancapress.com/news/years-after-closing-western-style-amusement-park-staff-from-fentier/article_e2db82a4-a322-5bc8-8afc-272aead450d3.html. Both accessed June 26, 2018.

⁸³⁰ Because these signs were cheaper and likely less durable than their World’s Fair and Disney counterparts and many of these smaller attractions have not survived to the present day, it is hard to ascertain exactly how widespread the dealer Kodak Picture Spot signs actually were. Mentions made in internal Kodak marketing magazines for dealers are scattered at best, but noted in the footnotes to this conclusion. Most examples in Kodak newsletters were set in New York State, possibly because the locales were not as far for a writer, or photographer, to travel from Western NY to feature them in the company’s magazine.

⁸³¹ Today, the park is named Enchanted Forest Water Safari and includes a large water park, added in the 1980s.

on Whiteface and Gore mountains.”⁸³² Initially, this modest amusement park featured a series of sculpted houses based upon fairy tales and children’s stories. In a pullout graphic in a May 1967 newsletter, Kodak proclaimed that the installation of the dealer Kodak Picture Spot signs (figure 5.3) in the Enchanted Forest was done to commemorate its “10th anniversary of wooing Adirondacks travelers.”⁸³³

Touted in their brochures as being along two major touristic and state routes, the Enchanted Forest was primarily a wooded roadside attraction.⁸³⁴ When the park first opened, the main attraction was Story Book Lane—a winding trail that featured a series of about 20 constructed houses and dioramas of fairytale and legendary figures—along with a circus tent, a boat, and a train. American artist Russell Patterson, who appropriately worked in commercial illustration, cartoons, and scenic design, created conceptual watercolor paintings for the park.⁸³⁵ Set next to almost all of the creations were signs of some sort; these markers set the scene and reminded tourists of specific stories and characters. As seen in a postcard view of the Paul Bunyon statue at the park entrance (figure 5.4), a book-shaped marker describing Bunyon’s story is on the left, with another in the background, and a red arrow behind. When photographing these statues or

⁸³² Cohen sold the park to another family, the Noonans, in 1977. See Joe Geronimo, “History Past: Enchanted Forest of the Adirondacks,” posted on his blog, Joe Geronimo: Family, Running, Paddling, Life, May 13, 2016, accessed June 26, 2018, <https://adirondackjoe.com/2016/05/13/history-past-enchanted-forest-of-the-adirondacks/>.

⁸³³ Kodak, “A Decade of Tourism,” *Kodak Dealer Finisher News* (May 1967): 8. From GELC at GEM. Also on hand for the festivities in Old Forge was the clown Emmett Kelly, Jr., who Kodak stationed at their pavilion for the run of the 1964-65 New York’s World’s Fair; this certainly inspiring connections and memories for New Yorkers driving to this “popular haven for camera-carrying tripsters.”

⁸³⁴ Enchanted Forest Water Safari: Where the Fun Never Stops, “Boy, We’re Getting Old!” Company blog, June 1, 2011, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://watersafari.wordpress.com/2011/06/01/boy-were-getting-old/>. The State routes are Routes 28 and 365 in New York.

⁸³⁵ Joe Geronimo, “History Past: Enchanted Forest of the Adirondacks.”

abodes as directed by their Picture Spots, the amateur snaphooter often captured the Enchanted Forest's narrative signage (see figure 5.1), while gesturing to the other (Kodak sign) that made it possible. As can be seen in the background of Kodak's promotional photographs for the then new signs, Story Book Lane's creations are essentially garden follies in the woods. Not unlike backgrounds that Kodak provided at some World's Fairs, these scenes—both flattened and three-dimensional—are the perfect performative stages for conspicuous photography.

Smaller World's and Regional Fairs

Several World's Fairs from the late 1960s though the early 1980s featured Kodak picture-taking signs. While still drawing millions of tourists, the offerings after the 1964-65 New York World's Fair saw a decline in interest, at least in the U.S., and their overall focus was more regional than international. Of the American expositions, the following fairs installed Kodak Picture Spot signs: HemisFair '68 in San Antonio, Texas; 1982 in Knoxville, Tennessee; and 1984 in New Orleans, Louisiana—the last international exposition to be held on American soil.⁸³⁶ HemisFair '68 serves as a model for this kind

⁸³⁶ This is what is known at present based upon a review of Kodak magazines and online World's Fair resources; there may very well have been more. Nevertheless, it appears that some fairs featured a specialized map denoting picture-taking locations, in lieu of signs.

The "Kodak Pocket Guide to Picture-Taking at Expo '74," which accompanied the Spokane, Washington fair, brochure included model printed images within its pages, although it is not known at this time if this fair included actual signs. Inside, the guide featured a map listing 13 "Picture-Taking Spots" with numbers and subject references. This shorthand phrase is an interesting combination of Kodak's other monikers: Kodak Picture Spots and Kodak Picture-Taking signs. Kodak, "Kodak Pocket Guide to Picture-Taking at Expo '74," Spokane, Washington, "Expo 74 Kodak Pocket Guide," posted to The World's Fair Community, posted by molassesonassis, August 15, 2008, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/8488-expo-74-kodak-pocket-guide/>.

of latter-day fair that featured Kodak signs for several reasons: it was in an urban setting near major interstates and routes, it featured a regionally-based historical theme, and Kodak coordinated a multi-pronged marketing effort.⁸³⁷ Historically, HemisFair '68 commemorated the 250th anniversary of the founding of the city of San Antonio and featured the theme “Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas,” with signage and brochures printed in both English and Spanish. Akin to previous fairs, the Kodak pavilion at HemisFair '68 had a photo garden, which underscored the “planted” Picture Spot signs.⁸³⁸

The Picture Spots installed at HemisFair '68 mirrored the curved, minimalist signs spread throughout the whole exposition (figure 5.5 and 5.6). On signposts that

Much like the HemisFair before it, Kodak projected a proliferation of “exciting picture opportunities” onto the water-themed exposition. Perhaps because of the grandiosity and beauty of the Pacific Northwest, Kodak seemed to suggest that the fair itself was inadequate compared to nature and some compositions might be outside of an amateur’s reach. While the map itself suggests sites from which to photograph the fair, Kodak ultimately encouraged Expo '74 tourists to go beyond the fair’s gates and into the wider landscape.

Beyond the U.S., the 1970 Osaka, Japan, Expo '70, seemingly did feature Kodak Picture Spots signs, according to a slideshow from the time: Kodak, transcript of 15-page speech and slideshow script, given by Robert McClelland, “A Day at Expo '70,” A Training Department Special Presentation, September 22 and 23, 1970, Kodak Park, Box 102: World’s Fair, 1851-1970, Folder 1. Exhibitions, 1851-1970 D319 Kodak Historical Collection #003, D.319, Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation, River Campus Libraries, University of Rochester.

⁸³⁷ Further connecting the fair with the surrounding landscape, HemisFair '68 was situated within downtown San Antonio and not far from a confluence of highways: Interstate 35/US Routes 81/87/281. Visitors to the San Antonio fair likely also were reminded of the Pan American Highway, the theme of the ill-fated joint 1964-65 New York World’s Fair and Kodak’s Pan American Highway Gardens, celebrating the designation of the intercontinental road by the U.S. Federal Highway Administration.

⁸³⁸ Kodak, “Kodak Opens HemisFair '68 Pavilion,” *Kodak Finisher Newsletter* (June 1968): 1. From GELC at GEM. Kodak noted that “Transparencies [would] hang from trees, sprout up from gardens, and swim in pools around the pavilion.” Conflating photographs with composed nature, Kodak planned to include transparencies along with “print trees” in their 1000-square-foot indoor-outdoor landscaped patio: “double-sided photographic prints will shade visitors from the sun while providing a unique viewing experience.”

For a preview and summary of Kodak’s efforts in this fair, see also Kodak, “Warm Texas Welcome Awaits Shutterbugs,” *Kodak Dealer News* (January 1968): 4 and Kodak “Hi-Ho, Come to the Fair,” *Kodak Finisher News* (inside of *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News*) (September 1968): 5a-6a. All from GELC at GEM.

recalled street signs design-wise, Kodak included two protrusions, with circles echoing the spherical lamp above: one side stated PICTURE SPOT and SITIO TARA FOTOS, on a white background with a stylized arrow pointing down, and the other was blank and yellow with a slightly larger red dot. Protruding from the side was a didactic panel similar to those used in New York and at Disneyland.⁸³⁹ The color scheme and simplicity of these picture-taking signs made them one of the more easily spotted versions of the markers, which possibly translated to more pictures. Under a reproduction of a man standing sentinel next to a Picture Spot, with his camera dutifully plastered to his face (figure 5.6), Kodak explained how it swapped out faded photographs on the panels at the San Antonio fair: “Picture-taking signs were used often, but the hot sun on the plastic face covering pictures made changing display pictures difficult.”⁸⁴⁰ Similar to previous efforts, due to weather and wear, sample photographs on the signs were occasionally swapped out with new prints, and possibly new prospects, almost certainly inspiring repeat visitors to see HemisFair ’68 anew.⁸⁴¹

Kodak also produced a “Picture Taking Guide” for HemisFair ’68 and included sample pictures (figure 5.7).⁸⁴² The text of the brochure promoted narrative, encouraging visitors to tell “Your Hemisfair Picture Story!”⁸⁴³ Amid the visual cacophony of the fair

⁸³⁹ Although not pictured here, given this is likely an earlier, staged promotional shot, the panel can also be easily seen in figure 6 and other vernacular images of the fair.

⁸⁴⁰ Kodak, *Kodak Finisher News* (September 1968): 6a-5a-6a.

⁸⁴¹ Akin to the 1964-65 New York World’s Fair, no reproduction shows the panels on the HemisFair ’68 signs close enough to determine exactly what Kodak’s sample photographs were of or what they look liked.

⁸⁴² The reproduction found online only includes a scan of this one page, thus it is unknown at this time if the brochure included a map similar to other Kodak fair efforts.

⁸⁴³ Kodak, HemisFair ’68 “Picture Taking Guide,” as reproduced on Chris Medina, “HemisFair ’68 Online,” found under Pavilions, Corporate, Eastman Kodak, accessed September 15, 2018, <http://www.worldsfair68.info>. In the brochure, a silhouette of a man with a Mexican hat points to a cartoon

and its “festival of picture subjects,” Kodak recommended keeping a “sharp lookout” and using the signs, distributed “throughout the fair,” as a respite.⁸⁴⁴ The burst of imagery on the supplementary panels also emphasized photographic profusion and aesthetic contemplation: “With each sign are photographs of some of the best views for picture-taking in that area.”⁸⁴⁵ Above all, Kodak seized on and promoted visual plenty. This goal was similar to what Eastman Kodak had done with other fairs, an apt focus for their chosen pavilion theme, “Photography’s Role in Our Lives.”⁸⁴⁶

After HemisFair ’68’s run, the early 1980s World’s Fairs marked a turn toward more specialized fairs with fewer attendees and larger deficits. For both the Knoxville and New Orleans expositions, Kodak took a different tact in the style of their picture-taking signs and the 1982 effort represented a valiant, almost last gasp, effort on the part of the photographic giant. Moreover, one could even argue that Disney helped to bring to an end America’s contributions to the World’s Fair and shift efforts overseas. Not coincidentally, the 1982 World’s Fair opened only one month after EPCOT, Disney’s permanent World’s Fair.⁸⁴⁷ Fundamentally, the year 1984 marked a turning point for

of a Kodak Picture Spot which did not resemble the modern, minimalist signage that graced the *HemisFair ’68 grounds*. The reason for this discrepancy is not known: either Kodak went to press with their brochure before the design of the signs was finalized, the stylized drawing was meant to recall the recently introduced dealer signs (1967), or they wished to underscore the theme of the West and the border.

⁸⁴⁴ Kodak, HemisFair ’68 “Picture Taking Guide.”

⁸⁴⁵ Kodak, HemisFair ’68 “Picture Taking Guide.”

⁸⁴⁶ The author of the website noted above observed: “Kodak Pavilion is one of the few HemisFair built structures which was not demolished and still stands today, however, to my knowledge the venue has seen little to no use since the Fair and has fallen into a state of disrepair.” For more on the theme and plans of the pavilion, see Kodak, “Kodak Opens HemisFair ’68 Pavilion,” 1.

⁸⁴⁷ With the theme “Energy Turns the World,” the 1982 World’s Fair drew 11 million visitors to Knoxville, TN. Kodak was selected as the supplier of the fair’s “official film” and also established full-service photographic shop, four photo kiosks and, Kodak added, “If that isn’t enough, photographers from Kodak’s Photographic Illustrations Division have designated scenic spots throughout the grounds as picture-taking vantage points, and these are marked with Photo Spot signs.” Kodak, “All’s Fair at Kodak,” *Kodak Dealer*

both World's Fairs and Kodak: it was the last World's Fair on American soil and Kodak redirected its efforts to larger amusement parks thereafter.⁸⁴⁸

Zoological Parks

After smaller amusement parks and regional expositions, a logical new venue for and extension of Kodak's Picture Spot signs was the zoological garden or park. In 1960, Kodak sent experts, including representatives from Sales Promotion and Photo Illustrations departments, to assist zoo administrators in choosing 25 Picture Spot

Newsletter, no. 2 (November 1982): 8. From GELC at GEM. More information on this fair can be found on the online source, The Expo Museum, "1982 World's Fair," <http://www.expomuseum.com/1982/>.

An event brochure for the fair produced by Kodak shows 10 signs scattered across on a map with helpful basic tips for amateur photographers. Interestingly, the phrases Kodak uses to refer to the signs and locales are different and both generalized — "PHOTO SITE" on the signs and "Photo Sign Locations" on the maps — but their description was fairly boilerplate. Nevertheless, Kodak significantly redesigned the 1982 World's Fair picture-taking signs: the double-footed, waist-height panel style sign most likely referenced the new EPCOT signs and recalled historical or museum markers in their combination of narrative text, a black and white photograph, and logos (Kodak and a stylized figure with a camera).

For a photograph of the 1982 Kodak Photo Site sign, see the collection of Bill Cotter, "Kodak at the 1982 World's Fair," *World's Fair Photos*, posted November 10, 2009, From <http://worldsfairphotos.blogspot.com/2009/11/kodak-at-1982-worlds-fair.html>. For a scan of the brochure for the 1982 World's Fair, Knoxville, see "Kodak Schedule of Events" and map, Compliments of Eastman Kodak Company, From the collection of Mark aka thriller1, bulletin board post including many brochures from the 1982 fair (and other fairs), "Mark's Postcard Paradise," posted February 12, 2012, <http://www.themeparkreview.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=1148736#p1148736>.

⁸⁴⁸ The Kodak Picture Spot signs for the 1984 World's Fair in New Orleans showcased even less information. (For a photographs of this sign, see 1984 World's Fair, Louisiana World Exposition, Kodak Picture Spot, From the collection of Bill Cotter, CD #5, Set 11, 003, <https://picclick.com/1984-New-Orleans-Worlds-Fair-Photos-on-202239730546.html>). The simple square sign showed the pelican mascot of the Louisiana World Exposition, aptly named "Seemore D. Fair," and its only text, "PICTURE SPOT," was set on a white background, while the company's name appears in red on yellow. An additional tagline on the sign marked a return to narrative on the part of Kodak, but this time the emphasis was on the company, not the photographer, "America's Storyteller" (a sentiment also used in EPCOT markers). Above all, the 1984 Kodak sign was modest and adaptable: an unadorned panel on a blackened wooden background with no extraneous information—missing are comparative images, scene descriptions, film, camera, or otherwise—sat atop a movable stand. The theme of the Louisiana World Exposition was water-based with a tagline of "The World of Rivers - Fresh Water as a Source of Life." See "The 1984 World Louisiana Exposition," for more information: <http://www.expomuseum.com/1984/>.

locations for the Los Angeles Zoo.⁸⁴⁹ As with many parks and fairs, the picture-taking signs at the zoo were meant to accompany equipment sales and rentals and the two organizations worked together to select vistas. Overall, this was a mutually beneficial relationship on several levels: the zoo administrator mentioned that “a well-planned photography program is being counted on to help provide funds needed for future capital improvements,” while Kodak admitted that “camera sales and film processing are highly profitable items.”⁸⁵⁰ These sales, and photographs, benefited both parties: “the pictures that people carry away from the zoo to show their friends and relatives are one of our best forms of advertising.”⁸⁵¹ Whether it was a park, fair, or a zoo, Picture Spots led to more marketing, for both Kodak and the venue, being injected directly into people’s homes via albums and slideshows.

In a behind-the-scenes photograph of the L.A. Zoo (figure 5.8), the Kodak sales representative holds what looks remarkably like the top of a dealer Picture Spot sign near a railing to assess its compositional possibilities. The vista spreads out before them as they attempt to frame an already composed, rolling park-like landscape. In another image from this same spread (figure 5.9 and detail), the Kodak photographer stands atop a terrace, not unlike a roadside overlook, overtly displaying “conspicuous photography” from an elevated point of view. As the newsletter explained, the photographer, “in foreground, prepares to demonstrate the virtue of [a] terrace Picture spot for snapping

⁸⁴⁹ Kodak, “Go Ahead... Shoot the Animals!” *Kodak Finisher News* (May 1967): 19. From GELC at GEM. Quotes in this paragraph are drawn from the same piece.

⁸⁵⁰ Kodak, “Go Ahead... Shoot the Animals!”

⁸⁵¹ Kodak, “Go Ahead... Shoot the Animals!”

human subjects in the act of taking animal pictures.”⁸⁵² The refurbished L.A. Zoo opened in 1966, although it was not the last zoo to consider photography in their landscape or visitor experience.⁸⁵³ Kodak’s investment in and partnership with the Los Angeles Zoo paralleled their previous tailored efforts in World’s Fairs and Disney, although at a smaller and more regional scale. Nevertheless, as with all venues, it is important to note that not all proposed Kodak Picture Spot programs came to pass, or in their original form, either due to logistics or possible oversaturation.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵² Kodak, “Go Ahead... Shoot the Animals!”

⁸⁵³ Although likely later, at the very least San Diego Zoo also added Kodak Picture Spots. See, for example, an amateur photographer’s image from the San Diego Zoo, circa 1980s, Robert Buffington, “My favorite Kodak Picture Spot: The Mound of Dirt, San Diego Zoo, “Quite a while ago,” Phlog on BuffPost, <https://buffpost.com/about/>.

Disney’s Animal Kingdom, opened in 1998, also included Kodak Picture Spot signs. As recently as 2008, Animal Kingdom included five Kodak signs of varying designs, but with no sample photographs, one of which was titled “Kodak Picture Trail,” thus implying even more images. See the following blog for pictures of all of the Kodak Animal Kingdom signs: Cedric Ching, “Disney Animal Kingdom’s Kodak Picture Spots,” Soneevda blog, posted January 14, 2008, <http://soneevda.blogspot.com/2008/01/disney-animal-kingdoms-kodak-picture.html>. Today, there is only one Nikon Picture Spot in the Animal Kingdom. Disney, “Nikon Picture Spot,” accessed June 24, 2018, <https://disneyworld.disney.go.com/guest-services/nikon-picture-spots/>.

⁸⁵⁴ At the present time, I can find no examples of installed Kodak Picture signs at the LA Zoo, although it is very likely that this program did come to fruition. Nevertheless, Kodak mentioned at least two locations that were to debut a picture-taking sign program, but no subsequent mention is made in Kodak newsletters and an review of amusement park websites comes up blank: Freedomland, U.S.A., a park opened by a Disney alum in the Bronx, NY in 1960 (as discussed in a previous footnote), and the 1960 Winter Olympics in Squaw Valley, CA. Both represented a type of locale or event in which Kodak was already involved in other ways (regional parks and the Olympic games), although there are scant references to Kodak installing, or wanting to install, Picture Spot signs at other Olympics; more research is needed.

Essentially World’s Fairs for athletes and audiences, Olympic Games bring together representatives, and corporate sponsors, from around the world. Akin to international expositions, the Olympics are temporary, transform the landscape, focus on pageantry, and draw large crowds. The 1960 Winter Olympics held in Squaw Valley, California was significant for several reasons, many of which dealt with imaging and the media: it was the first in the US in many years and almost entirely built from the ground up; it was the first to allow amateur photographs rather than only official; it was the first to be nationally televised; and Walt Disney was named Pageantry Director for the opening and closing ceremonies.

Sensing huge opportunities, on many fronts, Kodak jumped at the chance to be involved with the Squaw Valley Olympics. In a double-page spread in the January-February 1960 *Kodak Dealer News* titled “Picture Spot Signs to Aid Olympic Visitors,” cited below, the company encouraged Western dealers to push film sales hard and remind their customers to “Bring Your Camera” using their new marketing materials. Kodak explained that a large number of picture-taking signs, specifically similar to “ones now

National and State Parks

While the Picture Spot reached its apogee in the Disney empire, some of Kodak's greatest and most potent successes engage and recall the roadside, the location where the signs began. This development paralleled the directed viewing and conspicuous activity discussed previously, but in this case, the partnering "corporations" were the U.S. and state governments, much like in the early 20th century. While it is not clear exactly when Kodak Picture Spots entered into National and State Parks in an official capacity, Kodak launched more specific picture-taking campaigns related to parks in two phases: the mid 1950s and later in the late 60s.⁸⁵⁵ Kodak's efforts in national and natural parks seemed to

being used in Disneyland," were being installed: "To aid visitors in taking pictures, about 150 "Picture Taking Spot" signs are being erected at vantage points." With planning seemingly already underway by the time of publication, the dealer newsletter also noted that the Olympics public relations point person recently surveyed possible areas for the signs together with two Kodak representatives. Given that the Kodak signs at Disneyland were only about a year old (installed circa 1959), Kodak probably sought to combine recognition in California with Mr. Disney's high-profile involvement. Unfortunately, this article is the only reference made to the Olympic Kodak Picture Spots and it is not clear if the signs were indeed installed and/or why the plan might have been abandoned, if it was at all. Furthermore, no references to Kodak or any picture are made in the Olympics' official final report. Nevertheless, the sheer number of proposed Picture Spots speaks to Kodak's ambition.

Paul Yarrows, the Kodak photographer who was involved in most Picture Spot projects including the 1964-65 New York World's Fair and Disney parks, recalled he chose photo locales at Vail Ski Resort in Colorado in 1979, but they were just steel posts with no photos on them. Later he also worked at Mt. Vernon, the 1980 Olympics at Lake Placid, NY, but it is unknown at this time if that work involved picture-taking signs. Paul Yarrows and Gordon Brown phone conversation, notes provided by Brown, May 14, 2015.

The information above was drawn from the following: See Kodak, "Picture Spot Signs To Aid Olympic Visitors," *Kodak Dealer News* 46, no. 1 (January-February 1960): 24, 24-25, from GELC at GEM, and this excellent overview: Bill Goswell, "The Miracle of Squaw Valley: Walt Disney and the VIII Olympic Games," Laughing Place blog, February 13 2018, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.laughingplace.com/w/articles/2018/02/13/miracle-squaw-valley-walt-disney-viii-olympic-winter-games/>. For a copy of the full final 1960 Olympic report, see Robert Rubin and the organizing committee, *VIII Olympic Winter Games, 1960, Final Report* (California: California Olympic Committee, 1960), <http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1960/1960w.pdf>.

⁸⁵⁵ In 1972, Kodak crafted a significant marketing push leading up to the centennial of the founding of the first National Park, Yellowstone (established in 1872), which preceded the creation of the National Park Service. A store could run or customize a Kodak provided graphic in their local newspaper, for example, touting: "Visiting a National Park? A Kodak Camera Will Bring it Back!" In the same year, together with

vary greatly, resulting more often in guided photo excursions characterized by marked maps than actual physical signs.⁸⁵⁶ Underscoring the role of photographic company as a generous public benefactor, the back of Kodak's picture-taking national park brochures has the same notice: "prepared as a public service for Yosemite National Park by Eastman Kodak Company."⁸⁵⁷

At least one state park that included actual Picture Spot signs was in Eastman Kodak's backyard: Letchworth State Park (figure 5.10), about an hour south of Rochester, NY. The photographs for this brochure from 1967, along with most of other National Parks and natural areas, were taken by Kodak photographer Paul Yarrows.⁸⁵⁸ As he explained in an interview, Yarrows remarked that these signs and pictures, overall, were meant to be a "condensation of experience" and project "universality."⁸⁵⁹ The

a campaign within stores, Kodak put together a special Parks Centennial Kit, which included an Instamatic camera, film, a case, and guides to the parks and Colonial America.

⁸⁵⁶ Similar to Kodak's early "Camera Tours" of Disneyland (circa 1955), which pre-dated Picture Spots, a "Camera Tour of Yellowstone" brochure from the mid 1950s exploded with color, graphics, and information, but no actual signs. Packed with information, this 1956 pamphlet included example color images for each of the eight designated sites, along with suggested aperture settings for four different kinds of still and movie film.

Likewise, a 1967 Yosemite "Picture Taking Spots" black-and-white brochure presented two routes, a few small sample photographs, 19 spots, including 11 viewing directions denoted by arrows, yet no physical markers indicated. Many picture-taking brochures, such as Yosemite (1967) and Yellowstone and Grand Tetons (1971 and 1985), also lack any mention of actual signs, but focus instead on denoting locations, sometimes even specific viewing directions, and reproducing sample photographs. Later pamphlets from the 1970s and 80s greatly increase the number of "picture-taking spots" and professional photographs. From brochures in author's collection, see the following: Kodak, "Kodak Camera Tour of Yellowstone" (code # C-23), based on the other number listed, this brochure is likely from 1954; Kodak, "Yosemite National Park: Picture Taking Spots" (code # AC-23), based on the other numbers listed this is likely a 1967 update to a 1966 original pamphlet; Kodak, "Picture Taking: Spots - Tips - Fun in Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks" (code #AC-55), based on the other numbers and a note this is likely from 1971; and Kodak, "Picture-Taking Spots and Tips: Yosemite and Kings Canyon / Sequoia National Parks" (no code #), 1985.

⁸⁵⁷ See brochures in author's collection. This notice was usually on the last page or page at the bottom.

⁸⁵⁸ Paul Yarrows, interview with author, June 30, 2015.

⁸⁵⁹ Ironically, Kodak's teaching, across all their formats, resulted in photographs that looked the same. In a different form of photographic education, Yarrows was also involved with a slideshow program that he

brochure featured several of Yarrow's photographs and the following description: "To help you enjoy and photograph Letchworth, we've selected 20 of the best picture-taking spots and marked them on the map. When you arrive at one of these spots, you'll find a picture-spot sign."⁸⁶⁰ As with the other parks, Kodak's Letchworth effort provided a map with tips for the best pictures, such as make "'title' pictures by photographing signs and include people looking or pointing at the 'title' signs."⁸⁶¹ This directive to frame other signs, while standing at or near a Picture Spot sign, creates an interesting twist on text and image relations from a corporate perspective.

Turning to an example *in situ*, a vintage snapshot showcases a rugged Letchworth sign at a landscaped rocky overlook (figure 5.11).⁸⁶² Atop a simple brown post, the phrase "PICTURE SPOT" is painted in white on a black background and the sign strewn with graffiti. This is Picture Spot #13, which according to the map is "Inspiration Point," one of the most known vistas in Letchworth Park, with a view of several waterfalls. Even beyond the 20 well-marked and described Picture Spots, Kodak recommended: "You'll want to shoot several pictures at many of these spots. In addition to photographing the areas we've marked, make other picture stops whenever a view appeals and when you

often gave to camera clubbers and advanced beginners, "PhotoScenic America" among other themed programs. Yarrows, interview with author.

⁸⁶⁰ Kodak, "Picture-Taking in Letchworth State Park" (code # AC-43), based on the other numbers this is likely from 1967 (8-67-CH-BXX). Scan made possible via Letchworth State Park collections.

⁸⁶¹ Kodak, "Picture-Taking in Letchworth State Park."

⁸⁶² Letchworth State Park was established by the state of New York in 1907 and made possible by a gift of land by William Pryor Letchworth the prior year. The bulk of the stonework, seen here, road and trail systems, picnic areas, and cabins were done by the Civilian Conservation Corps. From 1933 and 1941, an estimated 3,000 enrollees served in at least four CCC Letchworth camps. See Tom Breslin and Tom Cook, "A Short History of Letchworth State Park" and "Civilian Conservation Corps" from the website Exploring Letchworth Park History," <http://www.letchworthparkhistory.com/history.html> and <http://www.letchworthparkhistory.com/glimpse3.html>. Breslin and Cook have authored three photograph-laden books on Letchworth (Acadia Publishing).

can park safely off the highway.”⁸⁶³ As with other Kodak signs and signals, photographic bounty is assumed, projected, and instructed.

The Legacy of the Picture Spot in the Late 20th and 21st Centuries

Both before and after Kodak’s bankruptcy in 2012,⁸⁶⁴ Kodak was not the only company to subsidize photographic maps, markers, or experiences within the larger landscape or Disney parks. As charted in the previous chapter, Polaroid and General Ainline & Film sponsored Disney parks for short periods of time in the early 1970s and 1980s; Nikon took over in 2013; and Fujifilm is, and has been, the sponsor of Tokyo Disneyland.⁸⁶⁵ Within the expanding Disney empire, even as the signs shed the Kodak

⁸⁶³ Kodak, “Picture-Taking in Letchworth State Park.”

⁸⁶⁴ As a part of its bankruptcy proceedings, Kodak split into two companies. Kodak sold its personalized imaging and document imaging businesses in part settle a dispute with their British pension fund; this became Kodak Alaris. Kodak retained its commercial product divisions, such as high-speed digital printing technology and printing consumer goods packaging, and entertainment imaging (i.e., movie film); this remained Kodak proper. In essence, Kodak Alaris focused on consumer products, with Kodak focused on business and professional products. Nick Brown and Tanya Argawal, “Kodak emerges from bankruptcy with focus on commercial printing,” Reuters, September 3, 2013, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-eastmankodak-emergence/kodak-emerges-from-bankruptcy-with-focus-on-commercial-printing-idUSBRE9821322013090>.

After Fujifilm shut down their film stock production in 2013, Kodak is now the only major producer of this movie medium. Kodak’s production of motion picture film essentially allows for consumer film to continue to be made; once Kodak ceases to produce celluloid film and/or the movie industry declines to request and use it, all film will likely become a niche market. In the last 10 years, for example, Kodak’s sales of motion picture film declined 96%. Kodak received a much needed boost in 2015 as all of the major studios agreed to continue to shoot on film and the company agreed to continue to provide it. The prior summer, in 2014, a cadre of directors, J.J. Abrams, and Judd Apatow, Christopher Nolan, and Quentin Tarantino, pushed their studios and Hollywood companies to agree to support film for their and others’ future projects. The agreement between Kodak and the studios was finalized officially in 2015. Jeff Clarke, Kodak’s chief executive officer said the following in a statement at the time: “Film has long been – and will remain – a vital part of our culture.” See Saba Hamedy, “Kodak reaches agreement with studios to help keep making movie film,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 2015, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/cotown/la-et-ct-kodak-studios-deal-celluloid-film-20150204-story.html>.

⁸⁶⁵ Fujifilm Corporation is the sponsor of both Tokyo Disneyland and Tokyo DisneySea. As Disney explains on the website, “Signs with the “Photo Spot” mark are set up around the Park. Photos taken from

name and took on Nikon's, Kodak's broader "brand" carried with it. While Kodak ceased their sponsorship of Disney in 2012, the signs were not removed right away, lasting in some parks well into the next year. Nikon officially announced it would sponsor the photographic signs in 2013, but its company name did not materialize across the parks immediately. Initially, Nikon placed stickers with their name over Kodak's logo until they could exchange the signs themselves (figure 5.12). By 2014, most signs had been replaced with Nikon designed signs, which generally followed the Kodak pre-determined Picture Spot style, or were removed entirely.

Nikon patterned most of their signs on Kodak's markers, changing them only minimally, and keeping an overall old-time aesthetic in certain locales (figure 5.13, a and b). By doing so, in essence, Nikon comes close to becoming a generic sign, analogous to those illustrated below, pointing to their previous photographic sponsor, in both aesthetics and in location. During this changeover, which could be compared to a corporate takeover, the number of Picture Spot signs was drastically reduced from 37 to 25 across Disney's six U.S. parks. The new Nikon Picture Spots groupings are geographically unbalanced and unevenly allocated, with only 15 present in Disney's four, much larger, Florida parks (EPCOT boasts the most of all at eight signs) and ten contained with Disney's two smaller California parks.⁸⁶⁶ From the numerous comments on photographs posted online during this transitional period, and even since, tourists very much miss the Kodak Picture Spot signs. In a more selfie-styled snapshot taken at a

these locations are sure to be even more memorable." The Walt Disney Company, Tokyo Disneyland, "Photo Spots," accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.tokyodisneyresort.jp/en/tdl/guide/photospot.html>.⁸⁶⁶ It is not known at this time if this decrease, or their subsequent dispersal, was at Nikon's or Disney Corporation's request.

Nikon sign in Disney's California Adventure (figure 5.14), for example, the photographer noted nostalgically, "Sad to [see] a legacy change but glad to see Nikon carrying on the tradition."⁸⁶⁷

Beyond these various photographic companies, actual "generic" spots are another, more localized and general, category of corporate control and reveal just how omnipresent and engrained Kodak's visual training has become. Sometimes, intrepid park owners, site overseers, or entrepreneurs capitalized on the idea of the Picture Spot themselves, not unlike how Kodak dealers suggested in the late 1960s. Such signs have varying designs, imagery, and phrases: "old timey" "Picture Perfect Spots" were placed around an outdoor Pennsylvania shopping mall and a cartoon orchid points out a "Photo Spot" for a botanical garden (figure 5.15, a and b). In the case of a creative bicycle company, MASH encouraged cyclists to mark spaces with their Photo Spot stickers, printed in Kodak yellow and red (figure 5.16).⁸⁶⁸ Extrapolating this line of thinking

⁸⁶⁷ It is also worth noting that this picture, uploaded to Flickr, was taken using the Instagram application. See John J. Giaconia, "#disney Kodak Picture Spot... Now presented by Nikon," March 8, 2014, accessed October 23, 2018, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dongiaconia/13016838935/>.

⁸⁶⁸ The Radavist, "MASH SF, Photo Spot Stickers," August 25, 2010, <http://theradavist.com/2010/08/mash-sf-photo-spot-stickers/>. This site quotes MASH explaining the stickers and their inspiration: "The intended purpose is for it's [sic] user to offer up a suggested location for others to create a scenic image of their own. A play on Kodak's original Photo Spot campaign found in theme parks, and national parks around the world. We look forward to this being an ongoing icon for others to share their own favorite locations from rides around the world. Send us your photo, and we will be adding them to a photo series at mashesf.com."

This effort was not unlike the artistic project, Yellow Arrow. Launched in 2004 and suspended in 2006, Yellow Arrow combined sticker culture and locative, wireless media with text messages. Users could obtain stickers with yellow arrows and a unique code printed on them and place into the environment. By sending a short message to the number, a text became "attached" to the site. Brian House with Christopher Allen and Jesse Shapins, "Yellow Arrow," 2004-2006, accessed June 25, 2018, https://brianhouse.net/works/yellow_arrow/.

For more on Yellow Arrow and other locative, artistic efforts, see Leslie K. Brown, online component to the April 8-May 5, 2005 exhibition *Land/Mark: Locative Media and Photography* at the

further, even Nikon's Picture Spots became generic markers, pointing to their previous sponsor via analogous aesthetics and locations.

With the development of image-based social media sites, such as Flickr (2004), Facebook (2004), and Instagram (2010), corporate directed viewing entered a new phase.⁸⁶⁹ Now, however, the businesses exerting control are internet companies or mobile telephone companies, not camera and film corporations.⁸⁷⁰ These companies act as both omnipresent and inconspicuous umbrellas, allowing their platforms to confer legitimacy and their users to believe in authentic authorship. A contemporary online version of the Kodak Picture Spot sign, pre-selected locations—variously called “Instagram Hotspots” or simply “Instagram Spot”—can be associated with uploaded photographs via keyword tagging and hashtags (figure 5.17).⁸⁷¹ By adding these tags or enabling location on a cell phone device, the image becomes linked to its original view

Photographic Resource Center, “Yellow Arrow,” accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.prcboston.org/archived/landmark/yellowarrow.htm>.

⁸⁶⁹ Flickr was originally launched in 2004 and Yahoo acquired it in 2005, and Verizon acquired both in 2017. Recently, the image sharing and hosting online platform SmugMug acquired Flickr from Verizon in April 2018. Facebook was also founded in 2004 and Instagram in 2010; Facebook acquired Instagram in 2012.

⁸⁷⁰ Recently, several media companies and service providers have received or applied for mergers, including ATT&T and Time Warner as well as Sprint and T-Mobile. This could result in even larger companies and monopolies.

⁸⁷¹ Hashtags were first used on Twitter in 2007 and, interestingly, their use was in part user led: “On Twitter, the pound sign (or what is known as a “hash”) turns any word or group of words that directly follow it into a searchable link. This allows you to organize content and track discussion topics based on those keywords. The hashtag’s widespread use began with Twitter but has extended to other social media platforms. In 2007, developer Chris Messina proposed, in a tweet, that Twitter begin grouping topics using the hash symbol. Twitter initially rejected the idea. But in October 2007, citizen journalists began using the hashtag #SanDiegoFire, at Messina’s suggestion, to tweet updates on a series of forest fires in San Diego.” As quoted in Rebecca Hiscott, “The Beginner’s Guide to the Hashtag,” October 8, 2013, <https://mashable.com/2013/10/08/what-is-hashtag/#C5Z5uu3sjPqN>.

and by searching online, one can find other images taken at the same spot.⁸⁷² While the digital revolution has contributed to the transformation of photographic behaviors and viewing experiences, similar factors still apply.

Within social media, the heavily instructed swath of space marked by a Picture Spot sign, or a close cousin, is transferred to cyberspace, but the image itself regularly retains an attachment to the ground via locative technology (i.e., one has to move around physically for these features to work). For example, Google has a feature on Samsung phones that automatically aggregates photographs taken at the same coordinates and encourages users to associate their images with others. This “Photo Spot” feature pops up on a Google enabled smartphone when one is in a particularly photographically saturated location and alerts a user to other images and attractions nearby (figure 5.18). While the sharing of spaces and places now often occurs in the ether and via screens, touristic photographs are still connected to actual sites and items within the landscape. Seen in a positive light, this “tethering” of the photograph to reality still persists in the digital age and may offer viewers and users some consolation within an ever-increasing sea of imagery. Seen in a negative light, this yoking of the digital photograph to a precise location via GPS coordinates or tagging, through a smartphone, camera, or social media

⁸⁷² This campaign was undertaken by Ocean City, Maryland to promote tourism and market the beachside town. It won a Webby Award in 2014. See Ocean City, Maryland, Convention and Visitor’s Bureau and Department of Tourism, “Photo & Video Gallery,” <https://ocean.com/explore-oc/photos-and-videos/> and Ocean City, Maryland Instagram Hotspots,” The Webby Awards, <https://www.webbyawards.com/winners/ocean-city-maryland-instagram-hotspots/>, both accessed June 25, 2018.

service, can lead to popular landscape features and vantage points “being loved to death,” and thus overcrowded, harmed, or even closed to the public.⁸⁷³

The selfie is a ubiquitous genre, as well as skill, in the social media world.⁸⁷⁴ The act of taking selfies mirrors the bodily contortions of a Picturesque tourist using a Claude Glass, and the cameraphone also becomes a technical tool for viewing. A person can hold up their phone at arm’s length, or use the “selfie setting” to flip the camera to the front of the phone, to capture a photograph. In other parallels to optical devices, the smartphone screen is dark and reflective when not in use. Not unlike the Claude Glass, most phones are relatively small and portable, like early Kodak cameras. Underscoring this connection across centuries, the Claude Glass has even been nicknamed the “18th

⁸⁷³ Recently, a bevy of articles have addressed this phenomenon of digital space affecting physical space in regards to popularly-photographed locales within social media communities. See, for example, an essay on how Instagram has harmed a handful of sites in Australia: Andy Hutchinson, “The Instagram Generation is Really bad for Beauty Spots,” *PetaPixel*, posted on July 6, 2018, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://petapixel.com/2018/07/06/the-instagram-generation-is-really-bad-news-for-beauty-spots>. Another article focused on popular locations for taking pictures along Minnesota’s trails and what some outdoor and government groups are doing to combat the over-use and promote good social media and photographic practices: Cody Nelson, “Social Media are Causing Scenic Spots to be ‘Loved to Death,’” *MPR News*, July 6, 2018, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://www.mprnews.org/story/2018/07/06/social-media-are-causing-scenic-spots-to-be-loved-to-death>.

This has led to the foundation of new groups, not unlike a 21st-century version of anti-billboard or good road groups from the early 20th century. As the latter piece which discusses U.S.-based ramifications, the author describes one such advocacy group: “Leave No Trace, a Colorado-based nonprofit, is asking outdoor adventurers to “tag thoughtfully” and refrain from giving away GPS coordinates or detailed information on where a scenic place is located. The idea is that one person’s trek to photograph a scenic place begets another, and the cycle continues until a place becomes viral. It’s logical to ask, ‘Would this place be as impacted as it is now had it not been for Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat or Pinterest?’” Leave No Trace’s guidelines say. “Social media, like any tool or technology, can be a force for good or it can have the opposite effect.” Nelson, *MPR News*, “Social Media are Causing Scenic Spots to be ‘Loved to Death.’”

⁸⁷⁴ The subject of selfies in academic literature is an every growing genre and crosses many disciplines. Some recent articles applicable to this topic and this study include Lauren Cornell, “Self-Portraiture in the First-Person Age,” *Aperture* no. 221 Performance (Winter 2015): 34-41; John Pearce and Gianna Moscardo, “Social representations of tourist selfies: New challenges for sustainable tourism,” Conference Proceedings of BEST EN Think Tank XV, 17-21, June 2015, Skukuza, Mpumalanga, South Africa, includes a literature overview; and Anja Dinhopf and Ulrike Gretzel, “Selfie Taking as Touristic Looking,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 57 (March 2016): 126-139.

Century Version of Instagram and vice versa.”⁸⁷⁵ Indeed, underlying both cultural moments—the Picturesque era and the early 21st century—are similar thematic foci, yet today they are draped in different terms: connoisseurship (influencers), commodification (“thirst” and “thirst traps”), and class (social media savvy millennials or citizens with disposable income).⁸⁷⁶

When used together with selfie sticks or other accessories, the smartphone extends mechanically assisted and corporate controlled viewing (figure 5.19). The view generated is generally not expansive or general, but of the self or surrounding landscape and narrowly tailored. When the resulting snapshot is uploaded, one then looks at and interacts with it via the same screen. Ironically, while it is being shared with the whole world, the selfie is simultaneously a solipsistic microcosm, with its own set of rules and codes, as well as a commodity.⁸⁷⁷ Connecting the Picture Spot to the self, “Selfie Spots”

⁸⁷⁵ D.L. Cade, “Claude Glass: The 18th Century Version of Instagram,” PetaPixel, April 29, 2012, <https://petapixel.com/2012/04/29/claude-glass-the-18th-century-version-of-instagram/>. In discussing artist Alex McCay and art historian C.S. Matheson — who have placed a webcam opposite their large, newly-created mirror pointed at the Picturesque icon Tintern Abbey — this author appropriately observes that Instagram filters function similar to the black and toned glass of the earlier optical device.

Sociologist, social media theorist, editor, photographer, and writer Nathan Jurgenson has written extensively on this “faux-vintage” look in contemporary photography and social media. See, for example, a three-part essay, “The Faux-Vintage Photo: Full Essay (Parts I, II, and III),” *arcuterie* blog, August 10, 2011, accessed September 20, 2018, <https://arcuterie.wordpress.com/2011/10/08/the-faux-vintage-photo-full-essay-parts-i-ii-and-iii>.

⁸⁷⁶ Influencers are the tastemakers of today and “thirst” connotes a desire for belonging bound together with a tempered control of consumption and presentation. See Daniel Penny’s excellent comparative essay, “The Instagrammable Charm of the Bourgeoisie,” *Boston Review*, November 17, 2017, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://bostonreview.net/literature-culture/daniel-penny-instagrammable-charm-bourgeoisie>. Paralleling the assertions in Chapter One, Penny explains his pairing as such: “The Instagrammable and picturesque aesthetics are linked by shared bourgeois preoccupations with commodification and class identity. ... There is no point in putting anything on Instagram that is not, in some sense, for sale—even if what is for sale is an abstract possibility unlocked through class belonging.”

⁸⁷⁷ The height of this selfie and self as commodity might be the Kim Kardashian selfie book. Kardashian has 118 million followers on Instagram, about half as many on Facebook, and this book includes over 400 selfies taken over 9 years. See Kim Kardashian West, *Selfish* (New York: Rizzoli, 2015) and Kim Kardashian West, “Selfish,” accessed October 2, 2018, <https://www.rizzoliusa.com/book/9780789329202/>

and “Selfie Stations” are signs or floor decals installed by companies, localities, or pop-up street artists.⁸⁷⁸

The Nostalgic Return: From Artists in the Landscape to Gardens in the Museum

Bringing this discussion and dissertation full circle, companies as well as artists and museums have reclaimed, reconsidered, and rebranded the idea of the dictated view as well as the Picture Spot sign. Given that paintings and prints served as inspiration for Picturesque views of cultivated landscapes, and vice versa, as well as the fact that devices such as Claude Glasses were named after well-known painters, it seems apt to return to artists and related artistic accoutrements and efforts at the end of this dissertation. For instance, co-published by the artists Melinda Stone and Igor Vamos, a Western studies center, and the Center for Land Use Interpretation (or CLUI), the book *Suggested Photo Spots* is one example of contemporary artists’ use of directed photographic viewing.⁸⁷⁹ Countless museums have recently launched picture-taking sign and social media campaigns. After this artistic book, this penultimate section will briefly consider three: a

⁸⁷⁸ These efforts are usually found at even smaller or temporary attractions, such as golf courses, hotels, shopping districts, and even conferences, and connected to digital marketing. A related physical accoutrement installed into the landscape itself is the smartphone stand. The majority of these seem to be in Japan, created by Sunpole Corporation, and are marketed under the name, the Sunpole Camera Stand. With the ability to swivel 360 degrees, the stand is installed at an average height and distance for taking a group picture; it also level for regular digital cameras and has slots to hold smartphones while the self timer is used. Some of the articles on this device include DL (sic) Cade, “Fixed Camera Stands Help Tourists Snap Photos of Themselves,” *PetaPixel*, July 25, 2013, <https://petapixel.com/2013/07/25/fixed-camera-stands-help-tourists-snap-photos-of-themselves/> and Sarah Cascone, “Japan Installs Selfie Stands at Popular Photo Op Sites,” *Artnet*, August 4, 2014, <https://news.artnet.com/exhibitions/japan-installs-selfie-stands-at-popular-photo-op-sites-7264>.

⁸⁷⁹ See the following article, which also discusses CLUI more broadly in conjunction with photography: Sarah Kanouse, “Touring the Archive, Archiving the Tour: Image, Text, and Experience with the Center for Land Use Interpretation,” *Art Journal* 64, No. 2 (Summer 2005), 83.

museum that invited contemporary visitors to share their experiences of an exhibition of mostly vintage landscape and tourist photography online and two other institutions intent on framing already curated and established views—one with a garden inside and another set within a larger landscape—to be re-represented on social media.

Initiated in 1998 as a “site extrapolation project,” *Suggested Photo Spots* is a panoramic, spiral bound book by Stone and Vamos (figure 5.20).⁸⁸⁰ Via 20 collaged maps and 20 images, which double as postcards, readers are treated to what are anti-Kodak Picture Spots, including a border crossing fence and even Kodak’s own waste water treatment plant.⁸⁸¹ Stone and Vamos, by way of CLUI, blend kitschy, and overly didactic, tourist postcards with a critique of corporations and institutions.⁸⁸² As Stone explained, “In most cases, you have to be there to fully get it, the pictures we take of the Photo Spots represent just one aspect of the site, but the project is really about the

⁸⁸⁰ Melinda Stone and Igor Vamos, *Suggested Photo Spots: A Site Extrapolation Project of The Center for Land Use Interpretation* (Boise, ID: Hemingway Western Studies Center at Boise State University, 1998), n.p. For more on Vamos and Stone, see “Borders” post on *Critical Spatial Practice*, June 26, 2006, under the headings at the bottom of the page, Nicholas Senn, “Igor Vamos,” “Melinda Stone,” and “Suggested Photo Spot Project,” *Critical Spatial Practice*, June 26, 2006, http://criticalspatialpractice.blogspot.com/2006_06_01_archive.html, and Vincent Bonin, “Igor Vamos,” *La Fondation Langlois*, 2002, <http://www.fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=37>, both accessed December 14, 2014. For additional information on the project as a whole, see also Analisa Coats Bacall, *Suggested Thinking Spots: On Suggested Photo Spots and the Center for Land Use Interpretation*. Thesis (M.A.), Dept. of Art and Art History, University of Utah, 2008.

⁸⁸¹ CLUI has referenced Stone and Vamos placing 50 and even 100 Photo Spots across the country. For more on the latter, see CLUI, “The Suggested Photo Spot Project,” accessed December 10, 2014, <http://www.clui.org/section/suggested-photo-spots>.

⁸⁸² Not unlike Kodak’s multi-media marketing and consumer-based approach, Stone also created a 10-minute video, which was offered for sale, and CLUI produced and sold t-shirts, encouraging people to “Become a Walking Photo Spot,” and offered miniature slide viewers, which featured 14 of CLUI’s Photo Spot images in situ. See The CLUI, *The Lay of the Land Newsletter XIII* (Spring 1998), CLUI Shop, page 7, http://www.clui.org/sites/default/files/clui/newsletter/pdf/13_spring1998.pdf.

interaction of viewers with each location.”⁸⁸³ For this artist duo, Kodak is a conflicted benevolent “Great Yellow Father”: it is both the business known for its industrial waste as well as the company responsible for inventing an object to point to lesser-seen, but equally important, landscape subjects and issues.

Being institutions themselves, museums are generally less critical than artists when referencing Picture Spot signs or similar practices. The use of and approach to locative technologies, signage, and picture taking by museums parallels corporate approaches, blended with an educational emphasis. The George Eastman Museum, located in Kodak’s hometown and named after its founder, recently presented an exhibition *Photography and America’s National Parks* (2016) on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the National Park Service.⁸⁸⁴ The survey included both historical and contemporary works and, notably, picture-taking opportunities within, and just outside of, the gallery space itself. The museum set up various backdrops, showcasing landscape views, and encouraged selfies (figure 5.21). In the main gallery, a graphic arrow with the phrase PHOTO OP and the hashtag #GEMparks greeted visitors, while a sign, not unlike rugged National Park or Picture Spot signs, was set up outside its entrance (figure 5.22). In a show exhibiting a variety of photographic views, museum-goers were shown where and how to capture and share scenes of the outdoors, indoors, which they obediently followed.

⁸⁸³ Melinda Stone, as quoted in the above, Senn, *Critical Spatial Practice*, under the heading “Suggested Photo Spot Project,” http://criticalspatialpractice.blogspot.com/2006_06_01_archive.html.

⁸⁸⁴ George Eastman Museum produced a book in conjunction with this exhibition. Co-published with Aperture, the volume was meant to supplement and expand upon the show. Jamie M. Allen, *Picturing America’s National Parks* (New York: Aperture, 2016). I presented a talk on Picture Spots in August 2016 as part of the museum’s educational programs.

Until recently, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, Massachusetts had a very strict “no photos” policy. In 2016, they began to allow photography in their special exhibitions and the first floor in the original Gardner building.⁸⁸⁵ Around the same time, the Gardner Museum also utilized signs to encourage photography, especially of Fenway Court and its courtyard garden (figure 5.23).⁸⁸⁶ In addition to camera icons and a locative hashtag #ISGM, the text on the marker recalled the wording of Kodak: “Picture yourself here. *It’s incredible place to take a photo!*” Just outside of Boston, the DeCordova Sculpture Park and Museum installed several wooden signs on their grounds in 2016 to encourage picture taking.⁸⁸⁷ One of the most popular signs is located on the DeCordova’s roof terrace, with views of the park, pond, and surrounding area (figure

⁸⁸⁵ Anulfo Baez, “Broken Record: On Museum Photos, the Gardner Museum and their New Photo Policy,” *Evolving Critic*, March 4, 2016, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://evolvingcritic.net/2016/03/04/broken-record-on-museum-photos-the-gardner-museum-and-their-new-photo-policy/>.

⁸⁸⁶ The Gardner Museum’s website explains the importance of these elements: “Gardner chose to site her Museum on the edge of the newly built Back Bay Fens, a part of Frederick Law Olmsted’s Emerald Necklace, because she saw the potential for this new landscape to enable, inform, and enhance the city of Boston. Today the Museum continues to recognize the importance of landscape architecture through its landscape department, landscape lectures, and landscape exhibitions. Gardens, both interior and exterior, are an integral part of the Gardner Museum experience today. When Isabella built the Museum, she created an experience that was as much about flowers and plants, artfully arranged, as it was about masterpieces of art. The culmination of that vision is the Courtyard but botanical images can be found throughout the Museum.” From Gardner Museum, “Landscape and Gardens: Landscape, Horticulture, Gardens, and the Museum’s Courtyard Garden,” accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/gardens-landscape>.

⁸⁸⁷ This is not unlike a campaign undertaken by the Boston Public Gardens: beginning in 2014, they created their own spin on the Picture Spot, installing actual frames in their well manicured landscape. The frames swivel 360 degrees and have placards, similar to Picture Spot signs, state: “Take a photo and share your masterpiece with the world.” The non-profit Friends of the Public Garden worked with the advertising agency Hill Holliday, further underscoring its marketing function, to create this campaign as well as a downloadable iPhone app. See Zeninor Enwemeka, “Boston’s Public Garden Just Got A Little More Picture Perfect,” *The ARTery*, WBUR, October 10, 2014, <http://www.wbur.org/artery/2014/10/10/boston-public-garden-picture-frames>, and Yiqing Shao, “Frame Your Photos at the Public Garden with #FOPG,” *Boston Magazine*, October 9, 2014, <https://www.bostonmagazine.com/arts-entertainment/2014/10/09/friends-of-public-garden-frames-fopg-photos/#gallery-2-1>; both accessed June 30, 2018. As regards to how the app works, when the user ventures near to a certain location, which the phone determines by using its GPS, it sends a “push notification” with more information.

5.24).⁸⁸⁸ Interestingly enough, the sign does not include text designating it as a Picture Spot or other generic photographic epithet; the only elements on the frame are a stylized Instagram logo and the hashtag #DeCGrows. One Instagrammer seemed to suggest that this instructed action, inspired initially by Kodak, was internalized by now: “I felt coerced into taking this picture by this sign.”⁸⁸⁹

Conclusions: The Transformation of the View and Viewing

The cultural work of mapping, naming, seeing, and consuming views is an act of possession, as American Studies scholar Alan Trachtenberg reminds us.⁸⁹⁰ Similarly, historian Peter Bacon Hales has distinguished the “photographic view” as a new and distinct multivalent cultural object, drawing from and combining aspects of art, aerial, maps, plans, and governmental reports that “unified science, art, and capitalism,” and ultimately “disintegrated, in some ways a victim of its own success.”⁸⁹¹ Hales’s remarks regarding changes circa 1900 easily map onto the fate of the Eastman Kodak Company, both before and after the advent of the Picture Spot signs themselves almost a century later: “The view was a potent American tradition, deeply intertwined in the larger

⁸⁸⁸ From summer 2016 to today, 250 #DeCGrow tagged photos appear on Instagram and 14 on Twitter. There may very well be more pictures of these signs on both, just posted without associated tags. See a search for #DeCGrows, accessed June 25, 2018, <https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/decgrows/?hl=en> and <https://twitter.com/hashtag/decgrows?f=tweets&vertical=default>.

⁸⁸⁹ @Sef_Ish, “I felt coerced into taking this picture by this sign,” Instagram photo, August 12, 2017, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BXtyk-JjorS/>.

⁸⁹⁰ Alan Trachtenberg, “Naming the View,” In *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, by Alan Trachtenberg (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 125.

⁸⁹¹ Peter Bacon Hales, “American Views and the Romance of Modernization,” Martha A. Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and Fort Worth: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. and Amon Carter Museum, 1991), 205.

processes by which American civilization reached into new spaces, organizing, colonizing, exploiting, and transforming them” and, not surprisingly, the tradition itself was in turn “colonized, exploited, and transformed.”⁸⁹² With the proliferation of photographic views for purchase and picture postcards en masse, Hales submitted, the scenes became caricatures of their earlier selves and thus the “photographer’s presence was of lesser importance in the transaction the view offered.”⁸⁹³ It is my belief that this complex, *ouroboros*-like, cultural and historical process that Trachtenberg and Hales have identified as operating *vis-à-vis* landscape views in the nineteenth century accelerated, and even collapsed in the mid to late twentieth century.

Indeed, photographs taken at Kodak Picture Spots functioned similarly to personal postcards and larger photographic companies behaved as a default distributor of mass produced views. Poised at picture-taking signs, photographers—dutifully directed by Kodak—performed as they were taught, capturing the exact same scene. By initially removing the choice of location, and even film and camera settings, with their picture-taking sign campaign, Kodak to a large extent returned to their initial and most famous marketing slogan: “You press the button, we do the rest.” As such, Kodak was also a victim of its own success and returned the selection of the view, in many respects, to enterprising entrepreneurs and artists—not unlike those who originally sold optical devices and created guided tourist maps in the Picturesque era. Over 150 years after this

⁸⁹² Hales, “American Views and the Romance of Modernization,” in Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, 206.

⁸⁹³ Sandweiss, ed., *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, 241.

period, Kodak also ceded control to other companies, such as Nikon, as well as social media and technology corporations.

As this dissertation has shown, the commodification of the landscape and the view moved from mechanically assisted visions of the real world (Picturesque tourists outfitted with Claude Glasses and Picture Ahead signs seen from automobiles) to pre-selected corporate constructions of the world in microcosm (World's Fairs) to the framing of heterotopias and re-presentation of spectacle (Disney parks). Whether along an actual road or on the "information superhighway," Picture Spot signs, grounded as they are to actual locations, continue to speak to the various attempts by Kodak, Disney, and other companies and entities to assess and assure the "picture perfect" view. Ironically, a few isolated Kodak picture-taking signs, forgotten and not removed from tourist locales, may continue to instruct viewers how to see and photograph the American landscape for some time to come.⁸⁹⁴

When tourists document the view or pose with picture-taking signs, as I have argued, they display and distribute the act of photographing. Kodak Picture Spots thus represent and disseminate conspicuous photography, in the public sphere, for others to emulate, resulting in increased photographic behaviors at the locale as well as photographs brought back home. Ultimately, in the twenty-first century, social media

⁸⁹⁴ As stated before, since Kodak does not have a "master list" of all of its Picture Spot venues or locations, it is highly likely that several signs remain scattered across the country, especially at even smaller, lesser-known, or less corporatized venues. I have found vintage signs occasionally listed on eBay, but these are usually limited to only Disney examples from the 1980s, or more recently, and are few and far between. The latest example of a still-installed Kodak Picture Spot sign, post bankruptcy, that I can find is 2015 from Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, CA. See a post and an image on the following blog, Ben Rothfield, "Mobile Marketing Trick from the Twentieth Century," Plannerben / Anecdata, September 22 2015, <http://www.plannerben.com/?p=1401>.

and technology companies have taken on the mantle of Kodak and now sell contemporary, highly curated versions of “being-thereness” and the self—which users simultaneously claim, brand, and sell back to the masses. Moreover, Instagram selfies and other social media imagery have adapted a uniform “look” that seems to echo, and recreate en masse, the corporate control of the Kodak Picture Spot.⁸⁹⁵ Because of the convenience of camera phones today and the omnipresence of photographic and presentation opportunities, further aggregated on the internet by enthusiasts or hashtags, actual physical Picture Spot signs have developed into nostalgic objects and tourist destinations unto themselves.

⁸⁹⁵ Recent popular analysis has remarked upon how many Instagram and other images shared to social media have begun to look the same. Indeed, an “Instagram aesthetic” has easily identifiable features: centered subjects, vignetting, applied filters, saturated colors, figures placed in the foreground, among other aesthetic characteristics.

An interesting corollary to the artist “thought experiment” Camera Restricta project that began this dissertation is an Instagram account titled, “Insta_Repeat” by an anonymous artist. Launched this summer @insta_repeat likely uses a script or code to cull similar images across Instagram and then post them as grids of 12 images, each of which are tagged with the original accounts. The woman behind the account—which can be seen here https://www.instagram.com/insta_repeat—described its intentions to Photoshelter: “There is a lot of mimicry everywhere in media, not just on Instagram. A purpose of Insta_Repeat is to critique originality in media creation through the lens (pun intended) of this one ‘genre’ of Instagram photography accounts.” Artist as quoted in Michael Zhang, “This Instagram Account Shows How Instagram Photos Look the Same,” *PetaPixel*, July 26, 2018, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://petapixel.com/2018/07/26/this-instagram-account-shows-how-instagram-photos-look-the-same/>.



Figure i.1: The Road - Detail of Kodak promotional photograph and advertisement featuring “Picture Ahead” sign, William Shewell Ellis, circa 1921 (detail), Collection of George Eastman Legacy Collection at George Eastman Museum (GELC at GEM), gift of the 3M Foundation, ex-collection Louis Walton Siple. Reproduced in full in *Judicious Advertising*, Caption: “SOMETHING DIFFERENT IN SIGNS,” in A. Rowden King, “Normal Advertising the Result of Normal Business,” *Judicious Advertising* 18, no. 8 (September 1920): 43-46, 44.



Figure i.2: World Fairs - Kodak promotional picture, Picture Spot Sign, with the Kodak Pavilion in the background, at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, Flushing Meadow, Queens, NY, color photograph, circa 1964. From The World's Fair Community, image posted by Randy Treadway, source unknown, June 28, 2011, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.



Figure i.3: Disney - Kodak Picture Spot sign in Disneyland, 1960 (installed circa 1959), photographer unknown, as reproduced in a pitchbook to the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," spiral bound 14-page booklet, 1960. Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation, Collection of the 1964-65 New York World's Fair at the New York Public Library (NYWF at NYPL), n.p.



Kodak, as you go

Wherever the purr of your motor lures you, wherever the call of the road leads you, there you will find pictures, untaken pictures that invite your Kodak—intimate pictures of people and places that you and your friends can enjoy again and again as you thumb the leaves of your Kodak album.

And you can take them.

Ask any Kodak dealer.

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY, ROCHESTER, N. Y., *The Kodak City.*

THE SCHWENKER PRESS

Figure i.4: Kodak, “Kodak, as you go” print advertisement, possibly part of “Picture Ahead, Kodak as you go” campaign, circa 1920. Reprinted in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, page 68.



Figure i.5: Kodak Picture Spot in the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, Lowenbrau Gardens (sponsored by Lowenbrau, makers of a Bavarian beer), anonymous, color photograph, circa 1964-65. Posted by Randy Treadway, from <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>, From the collection of Bill Cotter, Set 67, Picture 027, as noted.



Figure i.6: Kodak Picture Spot in Disneyland, anonymous, color photograph, circa 1959. From Matterhorn, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2015/04/more-silhouette-signs.html>.



Figure i.7: 1980s Kodak Picture Spot, Raymond Depardon, *Los Angeles, California, USA*, gelatin silver print, 1982. From Magnum Photos, <http://www.magnumphotos.com/Catalogue/Raymond-Depardon/1982/USA-California-Los-Angeles-NN145438.html>



Figure i.8: “Photo Spot,” presented by Kodak, Pier 39, Fisherman’s Warf, “Photo Spot #10,” James Adam (user name lazeratom), digital photograph, 2006. From the following Flickr pool, includes all 10 spots: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/lazyatom/261232308/in/pool-photospot/#/photos/lazyatom/261232308/in/pool-1236944@N21>.



Figure i.9: A man takes a picture at a Kodak Picture Spot near the monorail, Disneyland, Patrick Delvin, April 23, 1960, color photograph, Gorillas Don't Blog, "Special Guest Photos - The Delvin Family - Part 04," February 11, 2016. From http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2016/02/special-guest-photos-devlin-family-part_11.html.



Figure i.10: A woman poses at the Disneyland Kodak Picture Spot near the Monorail, September 1959, color photograph. From "Daveland," the collection of Dave DeCaro, <http://www.davelandweb.com/kodak/>.



Figure i.11, a, b, and c: Examples of different kinds of photographs taken at Kodak Picture Spot signs near the Cinderella Castle, in various Disney parks, color and digital photographs, dates and photographers noted below.

- From left to right: a.) Katie Harbath, “HDR of Cinderella’s Castle,” high-dynamic-range digital photograph, 2010, Flickr. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/katieharbath/4708452225/>.
 b.) Aaron Armstrong Skomra (user name skomra), “Disney Kodak Picture Spot,” circa 1980s, Flickr. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/skomra/2414430647/> (screen capture).
 c.) Patrick Harris (user name infodump), “Kodak Picture Spot,” digital photograph, 2005, Flickr. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/infodump/37680711/>.

Note: this last image is of from a different Kodak sign related to the castle.

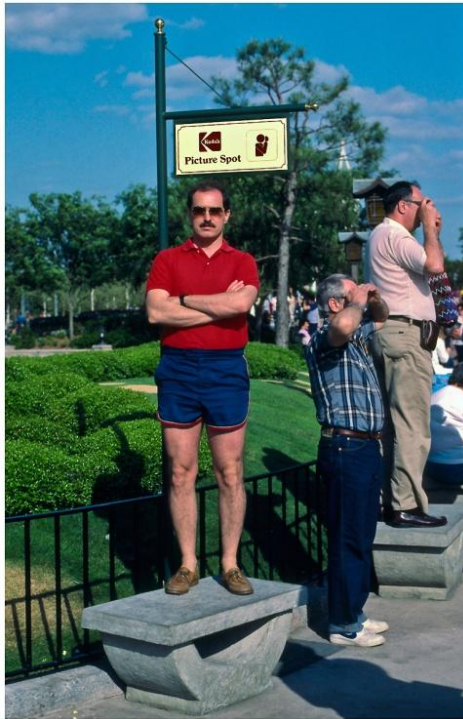


Figure i.12: An example of a Picture Spot Sign interactions - George Thomas, “Disneyworld Kodak Picture Spot,” 1984, posted 2010, color photograph.
From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hz536n/4396807607>.



Figure i.13: Picture Spot signs as friendly presences and transportation of place - Animal Kingdom, Asia, Vern Wakeman, posted 2008, color photograph.
From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/vern1108/2628596437>.



Figure i.14: Different Picture Spot designs in EPCOT - “Kodak Picture Spots,” Aero-Pix (user name), digital photograph, 2008, Flickr. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28495936@N03/5998078812/>.

**Colorful, new, packaged promotion—
a sure traffic-builder!**



Figure i.15: Photo Fun USA Map, contest, and kit, Eastman Kodak Company, Item numbered A10-17, *Kodak Trade Circular: Picture-Taking Equipment & Supplies*, (June 1981): 9. From Collection of George Eastman Legacy Collection at George Eastman Museum (hereafter referred to as GELC at GEM) and all photograph hereafter by the author.

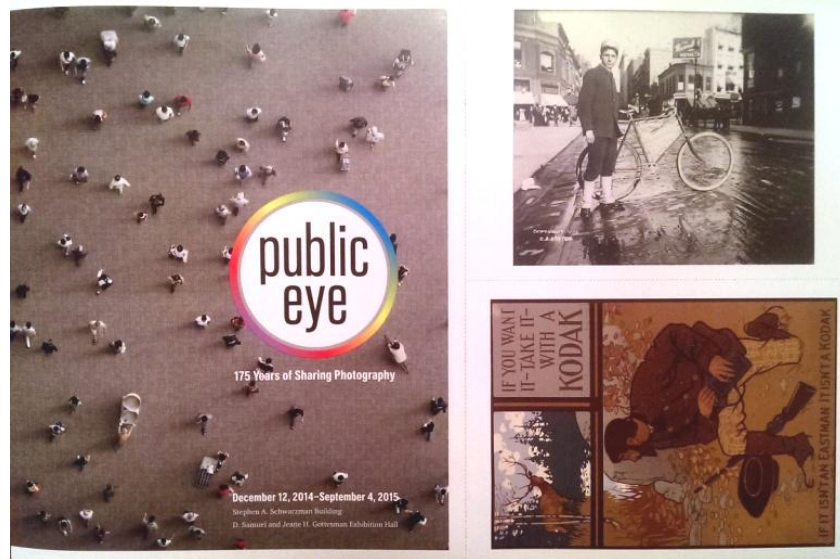


Figure i.16: Cover and sample sharable postcards (including Kodak, pictured, 2 of 4 punch out postcards), exhibition brochure for *Public Eye: 175 Years of Sharing Photography*, New York Public Library, curated by Elizabeth Cronin and Stephen Pinson, December 12, 2014 - September 30, 2015.



Figure i.17: Kodak advertisement, first issue of *The Photographic Herald and Amateur Sportsman*, November 1889. From wikimedia and The Henry Ford museum, <http://www.thehenryford.org/exhibits/pic/1999/99.aug.html>.



Figure i.18: Photographs Taken at the same Kodak Picture Spot of the Cinderella Castle,
a) Diana, “Cinderella Castle - Classic View,” digital photograph, 2007.
From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/31190471@N08/2916417965>.
b) User name blm07, “Magic Kingdom - Cinderella Castel,” digital photograph, 2007.
From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/blm07/456024147/>.



Figure i.19: Kodak Picture Spot at Disney’s Cinderella Castle near a wall and a water feature,
George Taylor, color photograph, 2008, posted April 23, 2008. From “Spot,” Imaginerding blog,
<http://www.imaginerding.com/2008/04/spot.html>.



Figure i.20: Screenshot from video about the Camera Restricta, Text reads “Brandenburg Gate, Berlin, 889 photos geotagged nearby, along with the GPS coordinates,” project and prototype by Philipp Schmitt. From <http://philippschmitt.com/projects/camera-restricta>.

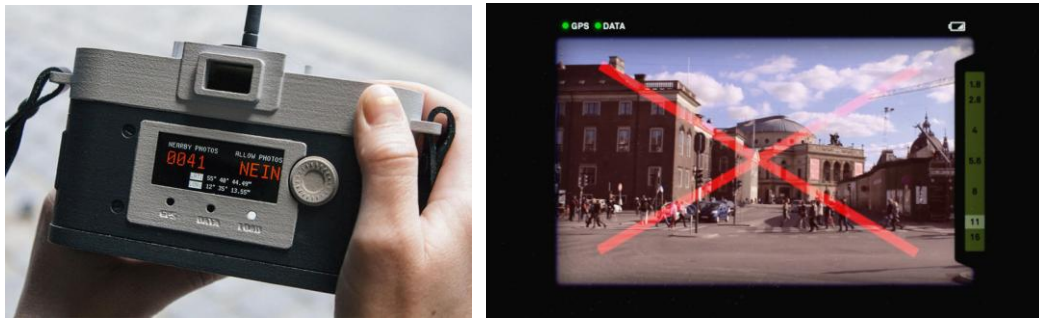


Figure i.21: a) Back of Camera Restricta, showing display when taking a picture is disallowed, project and prototype by Philipp Schmitt. From <http://philippschmitt.com/projects/camera-restricta>.

b) Inside of viewfinder display of Camera Restricta, showing an X when pictures are not allowed due to more than 35 images taken in the same area, project and prototype by Philipp Schmitt..

From John Brownlee, “When You Point it at a Cliche, This Camera Censors Itself,” *Fast Co. Design*, September 14, 2015, <http://www.fastcodesign.com/3051023/when-you-point-it-at-a-cliche-this-camera-censors-itself>.

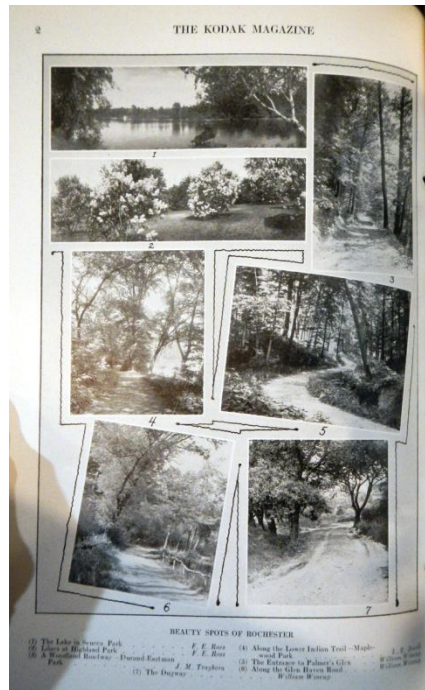


Figure 1.1: “Beauty Spots of Rochester,” photographs taken around the city, Kodak, “Kodak City Beauty Spots,” *The Kodak Magazine*, 3, no. 2 (July 1922): 2. From GELC at GEM.



Figure 1.2: Claude Lorrain, *Pastoral Landscape*, 1644–1645, Oil on canvas, 38 1/2 x 52 1/2 in. (97.8 x 133.4 cm), BF78
 From the collection of the Barnes Foundation, <http://www.barnesfoundation.org/collections/art-collection/object/6628/pastoral-landscape>.

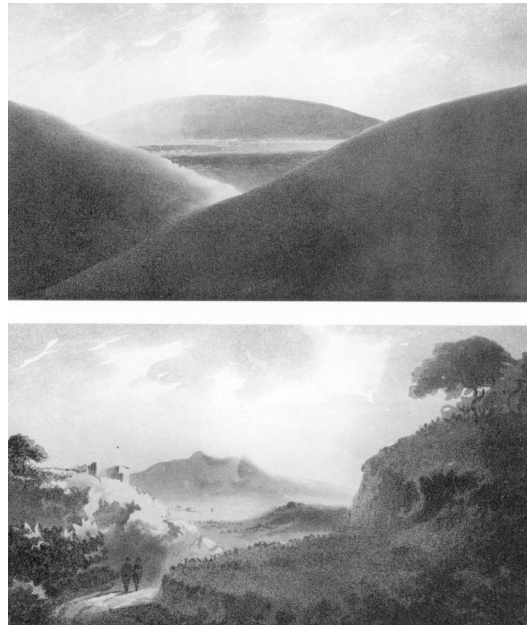


Figure 1.3: William Gilpin, “Non-Picturesque and Picturesque Mountain Landscapes,” *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty, On Picturesque Travel; and, on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a Poem, on Landscape Painting* (1792). From Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 32.

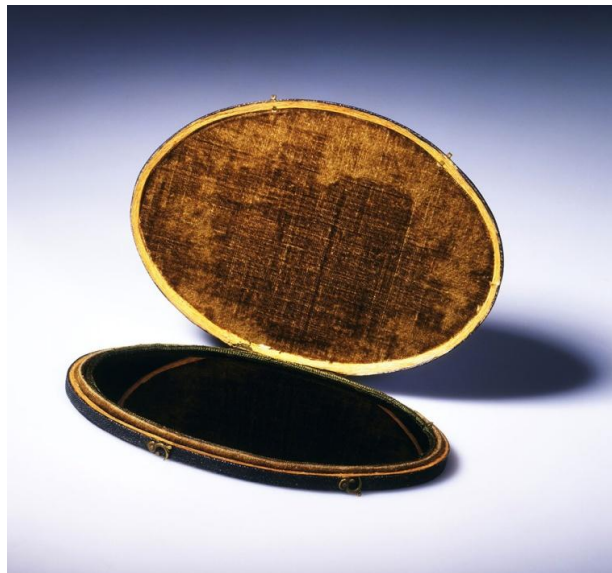


Figure 1.4: Claude glass, unknown maker, blackened mirror glass, 1775 - 1780, from the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London,. Museum no. P.18-1972. From <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/d/drawing-techniques/> and <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78676/claude-glass-unknown/>.



Figure 1.5: Claude Lorrain Glasses or Filters, mid 19th century, British.
From <http://www.vanleestantiques.com/product/claude-lorrain-filters-mid-19th-century>.

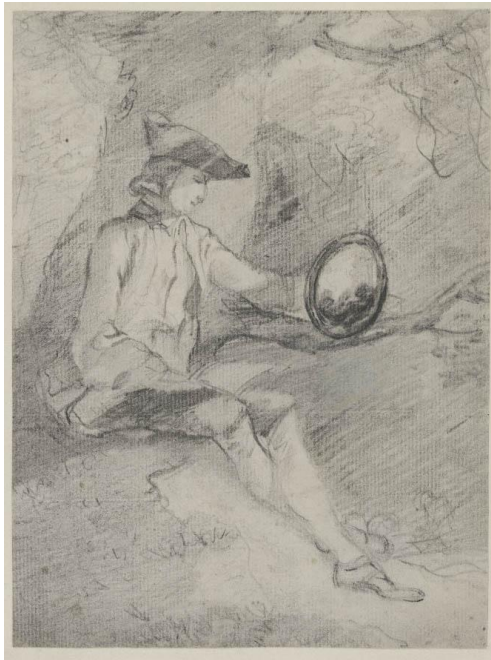


Figure 1.6: Thomas Gainsborough, *Artist with a Claude Glass (Self-Portrait?)*, pencil on cream laid paper, c. 1750, British Museum, London., 184 x 138 mm., Catalog number Oo.2-27.
From Maillet, *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art*, 23 and Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*, 176.



Figure 1.7: Demonstrating Claude Glass from George Eastman House collection by Grant Romer. Photograph taken by Gordon Brown.



Figure 1.8: William Gilpin, sample of various aquatints, from *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786). From Sulis Fine Art, <https://www.pinterest.com/sulisfineart/etchings>.

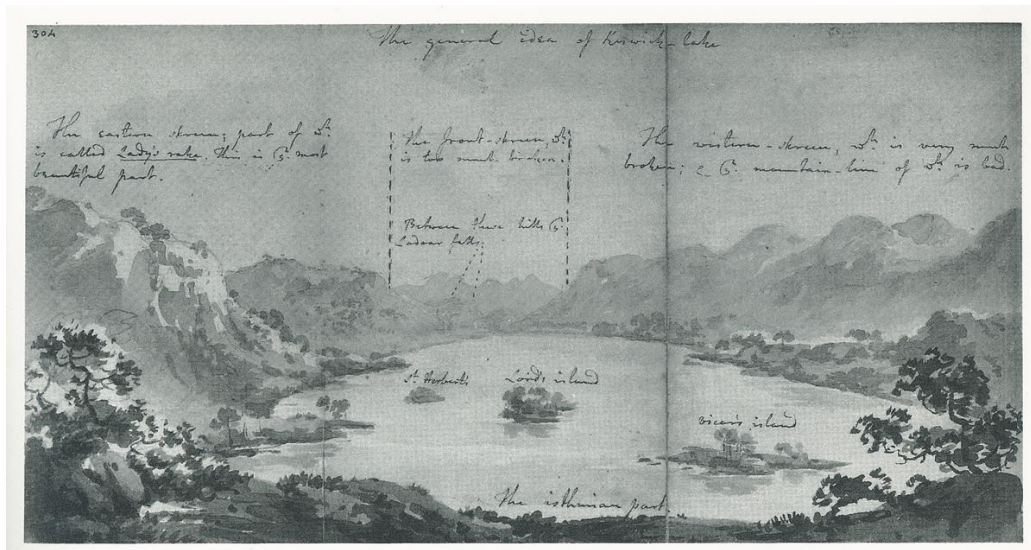


Figure 1.9: William Gilpin, “The general idea of Keswick-lake,” (including his own notations) from his MS Lakes tour notebook (1772), Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.
 From Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 189.

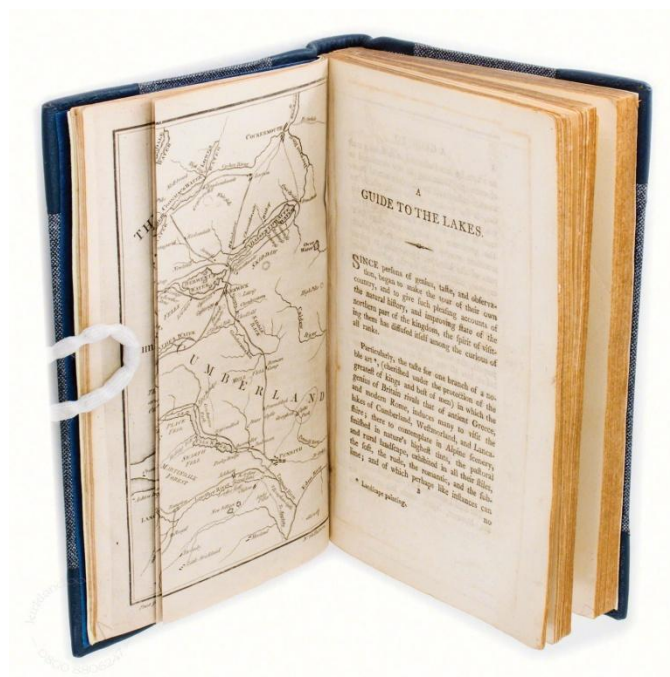


Figure 1.10: Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire*, 7th edition. London: W. Richardson, J. Robson, And W. Clarke. W. Pennington, 1799.
 From <http://www.kirklandbooks.co.uk/product/a-guide-to-the-lakes-in-cumberland-westmoreland-and-lanc-by-thomas-west-et-al-b0011878>.



Figure 1.11: Stourhead Garden, designed by Henry Hoare, 1741-80, photography by Andrew Turner. From http://www.gardenvisit.com/garden/stourhead_garden, via Turner's Flickr, From www.flickr.com/photos/acturneruk.



Figure 1.12: Study map of Stourhead, made in 1779 by Frederik Magnus Piper showing important sight lines at eye-level (marked with dashes and dots), Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm. From <https://howdoyoulandscape.wordpress.com/2013/12/20/principles-of-landscape-architecture>.



Figure 1.13: Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos*, 1672, oil on canvas, 99.6 x 134.3 cm, from the collection of the National Gallery London, England.
From <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/claude-landscape-with-aeneas-at-delos>.



Figure 1.14: Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos*, from *Liber Veritatis*, 1635-1682, Pen and brown ink and brown wash, with grey-brown wash, collection of the British Museum.
From

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=722742&partId=1&people=104071&peoA=104071-1-9&page=1

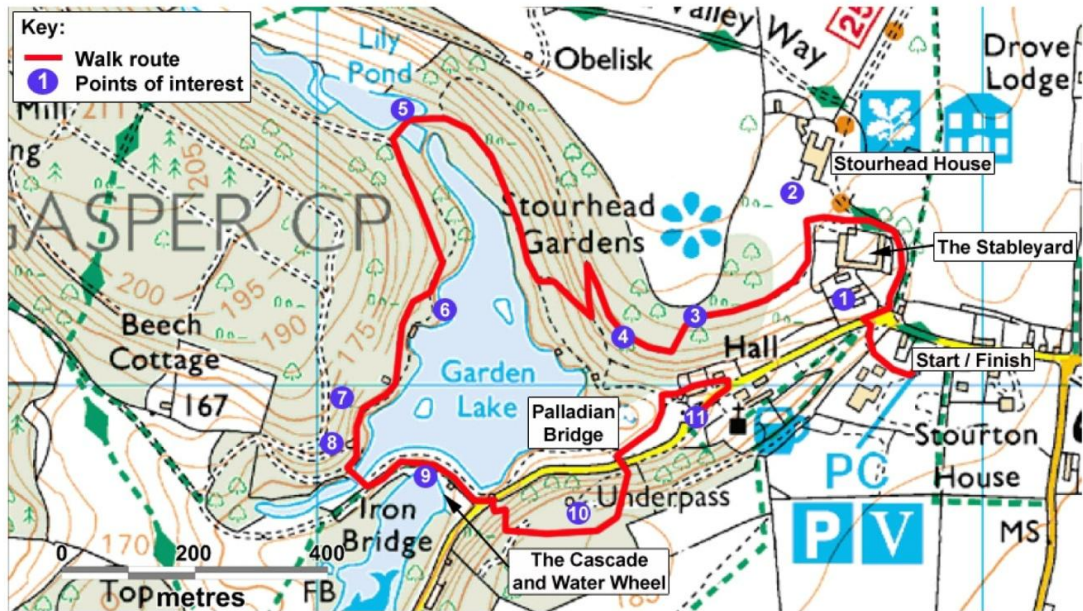


Figure 1.15: Stourhead Garden Walk, a step-by-step guide map with 11 points of interest indicated, National Trust, England. From <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/stourhead/things-to-see-and-do/view-page/item652474>.



Plate 27. Views from the original viewing station (left) and the possible artists stand (right)?

Figure 1.16: One of Thomas West's Windermere Stations - Station 1b, two photographs. From Caroline Hardie and Caron Newman, "A Review of West's 18th Century Picturesque Viewing Stations in the Lake District," prepared for the Lake District National Park Authority, April 2009, 65.

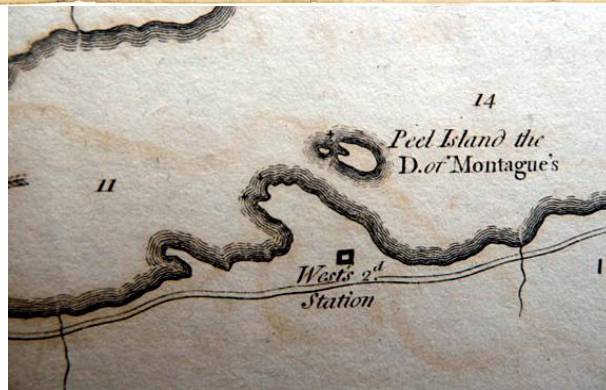
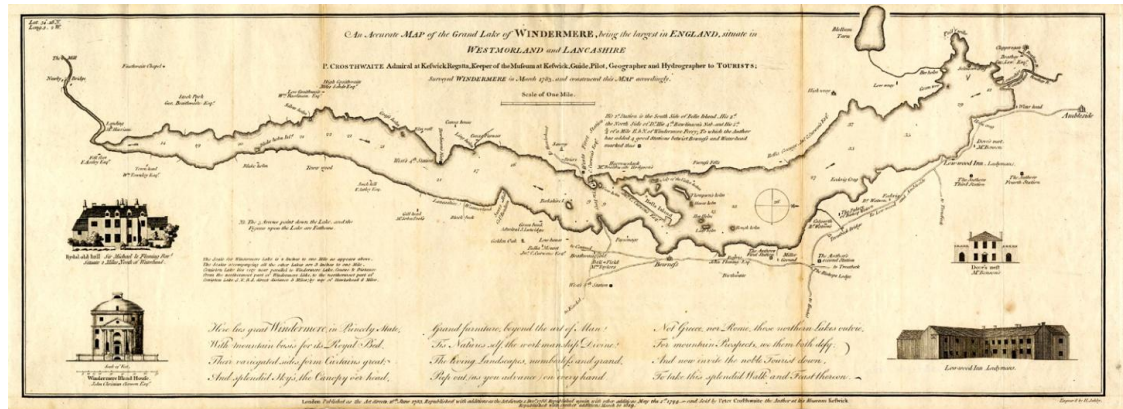


Figure 1.17: Peter Crosthwaite, *Map of Windermere* (1783), showing West's five Stations (with detail), Dove Cottage, Grasmere, England.
 From <http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/thelakes/html/crosth/ct9fram.htm> and Andrews and *The Search for the Picturesque*, 162-63.



Figure 1.18: John Downman, *Claife Station*, 1812, pen and ink, collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 165.



Figure 1.19: One of Thomas West’s Windermere Stations - Station 1a, Claife Station, Lake District National Park, “Viewing Stations.”

From

<http://www.lakedistrict.gov.uk/learning/archaeologyhistory/archaeologydiscoveryzone/archaeologyindepth/archaeologyviewing-stations-2>.



Figure 1.20: A stereo camera (twentieth-century version), stereoviews, and a stereoscope, circa 1890s - 1920s, photograph of various devices. From The Preservation Lab Blog, <http://blog.thepreservationlab.org/2013/12/the-stereoscope>.



Figure 1.21: Holmes Stereoscope, showing velvet-lined hood and eyepieces.
From <https://www.consortiumlibrary.org/blogs/archives/2010/11/08/photos-in-the-archives-sterescopes>.

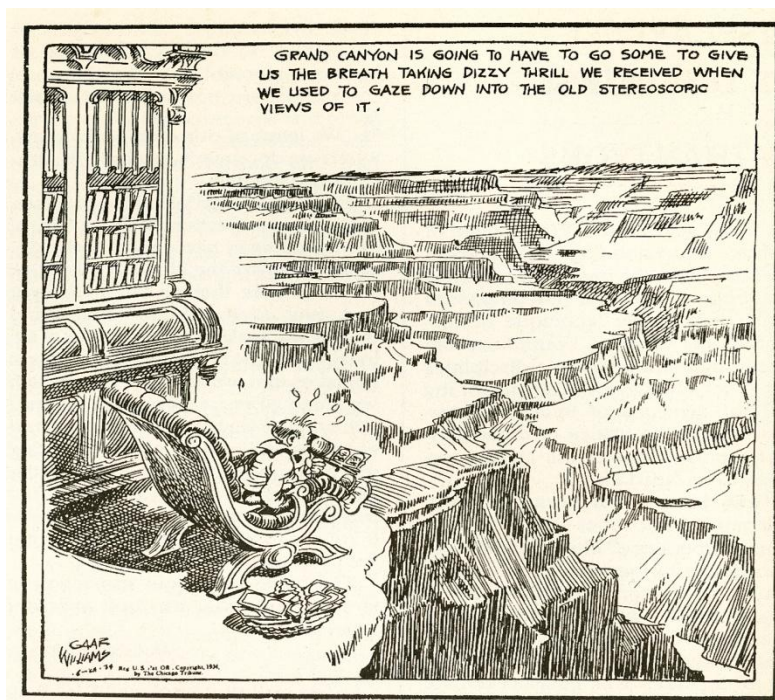


Figure 1.22: Gaar Williams, stereoscope cartoon, notated at bottom: 6-28-34, Chicago Tribune, 1934.
From Earle, *Stereograph in America: Pictorial Antecedents and Cultural Perspectives*, in *Points of View*, 8.



Figure 1.23: Front of stereoview, “Beautiful Mirror Lake, Yosemite Valley, Calif., U.S.A.” (9466), two photographs mounted on board, Keystone Viewing Company. From author’s personal collection.



Figure 1.24, a and b: LEFT - Text on the back of Keystone View Company’s stereoview of “Grand Canyon of the Colorado” (13520), two photographs mounted on board. RIGHT - Text from the back of Underwood & Underwood’s “Love’s Wondrous Arms amidst Nature’s Charming Wonders - ‘The Pools,’ Watkin’s Glen, N.Y., U.S.A.,” 1900. From author’s personal collection.

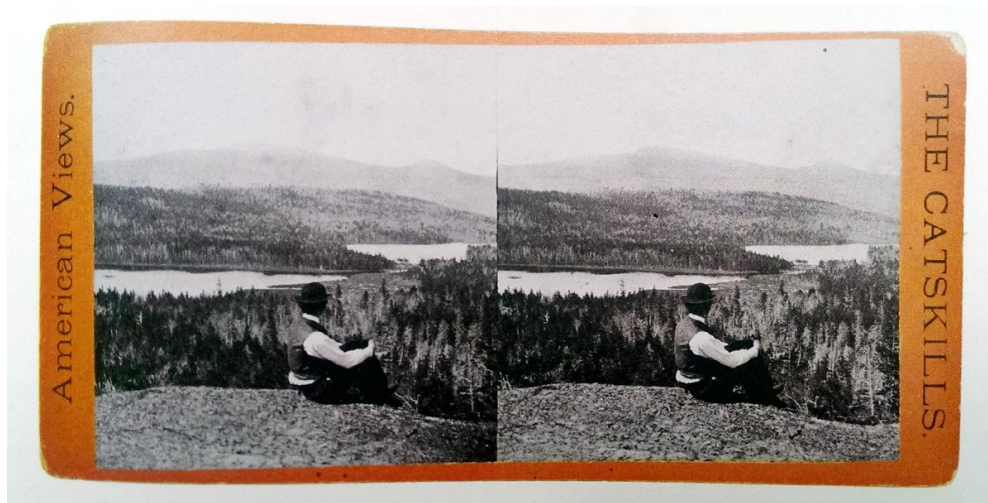


Figure 1.25: E. & H. T. Anthony & Co., “Valley of the Lake from North Mountain,” American Views, The Catskills, two photographs mounted on board, Collection of Visual Studies Workshop. From Earle, “Stereograph in America: Pictorial Antecedents and Cultural Perspectives,” in *Points of View*, 39.



Figure 1.26: Underwood & Underwood, *Traveling by the Underwood Travel System: Stereographs, Guide-Books; Patent Map System*, Stereoscopic interpositive, silver gelatin on glass, 5 x 8 inches, Underwood & Underwood Glass Stereograph Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Active No. 10061.

From <http://siris-archives.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?uri=full=3100001~!161584!0>.

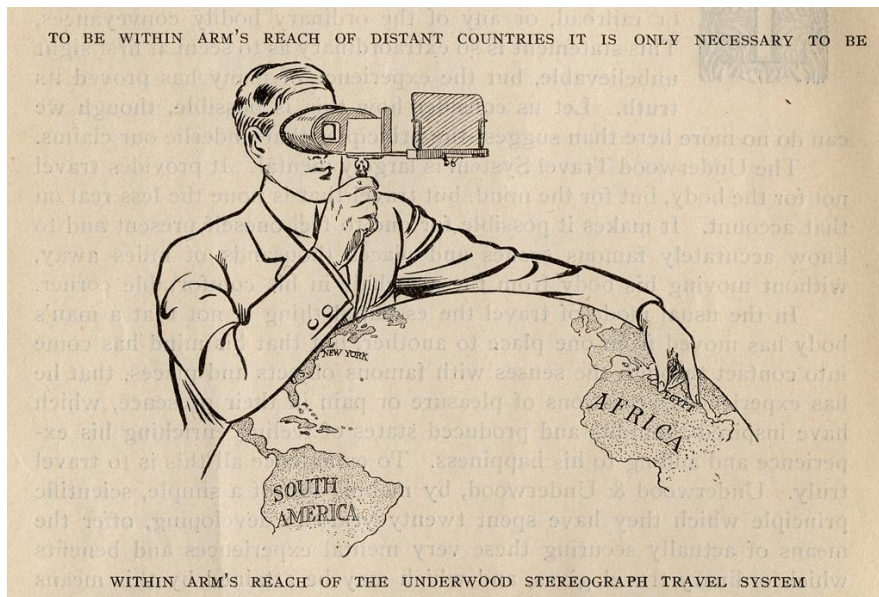


Figure 1.27: The Underwood Travel System, Catalog No. 28 [p. 4 illustration: Man holding stereoscope, pointing to Egypt on a large globe: line drawing, ca. 1907.], Underwood & Underwood Glass Stereograph Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Local No. 87-2132 (OPPS Neg. No.). From <http://bit.ly/1e6DTUm>.



Figure 1.28: Unknown Artist, American School, Amateur Snapshot Album, 1890–92, 286 cyanotypes and gelatin silver prints; 11 1/8 x 14 1/2 x 1 1/8 in. (28.3 x 36.8 x 2.8 cm), Funds from various donors, 1997 (1997.54), collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art. From <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1997.54>.

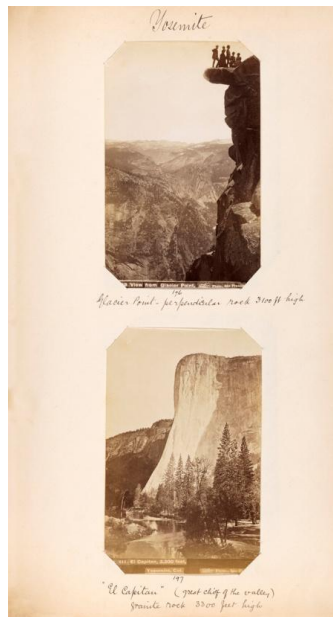


Figure 1.29: Album page featuring two views of Yosemite, photographs inserted into an album page, collection of University College London, England.
 From <https://ucl100hours.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/travel-album-art.jpg>



Figure 1.30: Page from Tupper Scrapbook Album, photograph by unknown, Ruins of Fountains Abbey, from Volume 13: Chester. Stratford on Avon. Warwick. York. Kenilworth. Blenheim. Fountains Abbey, William Vaughn Tupper Scrapbook Collection, Boston Public Library, BPLDC no.: 08_04_000108, Call no.: 4098B.104 v13 (p. 53).
 From https://www.flickr.com/photos/boston_public_library/3542471059/in/album-72157618330755069.



Figure 1.31: Page from Tupper Scrapbook Album, albumen print by Giorgio Sommer, Lauterbrunn Valley, from Album: Volume 43: Switzerland/Lake Country, William Vaughn Tupper Scrapbook Collection, Boston Public Library, BPLDC no.: 08_04_000132, Call no.: 4098B.104 v43 (p. 21). From https://www.flickr.com/photos/boston_public_library/3738392369/in/album-72157621613114311.

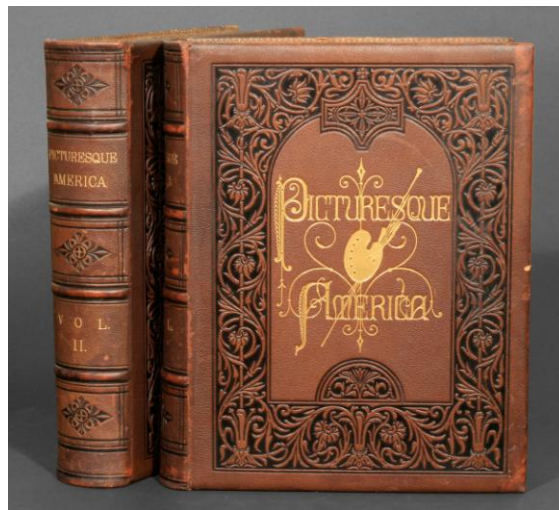


Figure 1.32: *Picturesque America*, two volume set, original publisher's deluxe full blind-tooled morocco gilt, New York: D. Appleton, 1872-74, including 900 wood engravings and fifty steel engravings. From http://www.manhattanrarebooks-history.net/picturesque_america.htm.

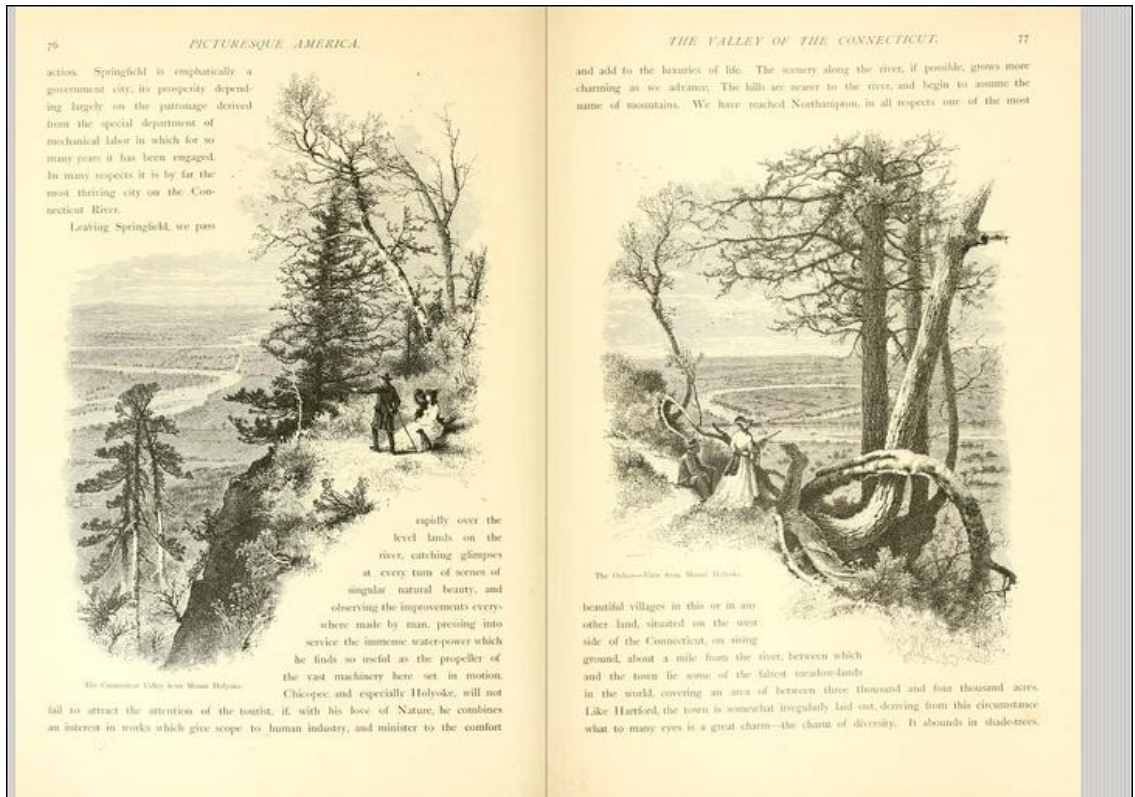


Figure 1.33: Page spread from *Picturesque America* (1872-74), *The Valley of the Connecticut*, with engravings by J. Douglas Woodward, Pages 76-77, in William Cullen Bryant, ed., *Picturesque America or, The Land We Live In of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests, Water-falls, Shores, Canyons, Valleys, Cities, and Other Picturesque Features of Our Country* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874). From internet archive.org.



Figure 2.1: Kodak, “Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go,” original Kodak Picture Spot sign and car, photograph, circa 1920s. From Douglas Collins, *The Story of Kodak* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 156.



Figure 2.2, a and b: LEFT - National Park-to-Park Highway Map and RIGHT - NPPH & AAA logo, circa 1924. From Lee and Jane Whitely, http://theplaygroundtrail.com/Playground/The_Playground_Trail.html and http://theplaygroundtrail.com/Playground/Map_of_Park-to-Park.html.



Figure 2.3: Great Northern Railroad timetable for Glacier National Park, circa 1910s, pictured in PBS/WGBH’s educational website for Ken Burns film, “The National Parks: America’s Best Idea,” Episode Three: 1915-1919, The Empire of Grandeur, source credited as John A. Chase. From <http://www.pbs.org/nationalparks/history/ep3/3/>.

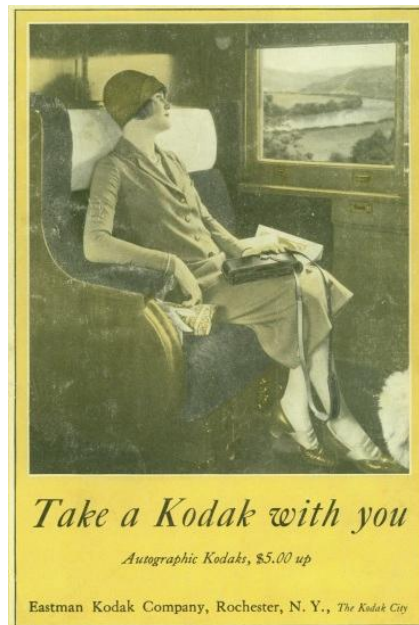


Figure 2.4: Kodak print ad, Back cover of *National Geographic*, 1925. From <http://www.mcnygenealogy.com/pics/picture.php?/2185/categories>.



Figure 2.5: Kodak print ad, with illustration by Blendon Campbell, *Country Life*, 1907. From Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), Plate 7.

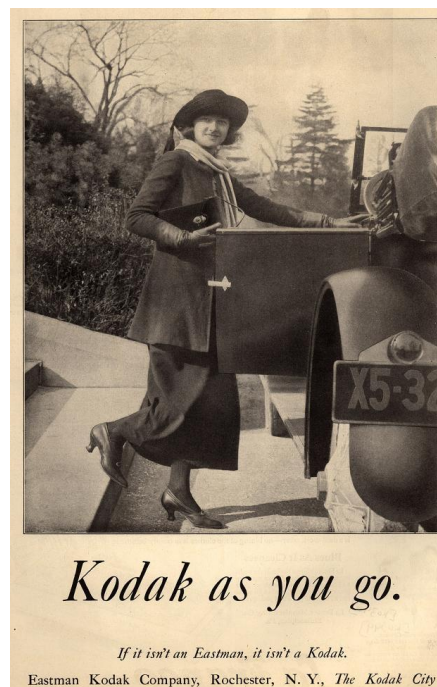


Figure 2.6: Kodak print ad, “Kodak as you go,” publication unknown, 1920. Image credit: Advertising Ephemera Collection - Database #K0342, Emergence of Advertising On-Line Project, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library. From http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/ea_K0342.



Figure 2.7: Kodak, Kodak Girl featured in “Kodak as you go,” circa 1921, publication unknown, but also cover art same year for annual Kodak catalogue. Image credit: Advertising Ephemera Collection - Database #K0401, Emergence of Advertising On-Line Project, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library. From http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/ea_K0401.



Figure 2.8: Window Display, “The Kodak Filling Station” created by the Hurlburt-Sheppard PhotoSupply Corp. of Springfield, MO, 1921, photograph.
From Kodak, “Prize-winning window for July, Originality Counts,” *The Kodak Salesman* 7, no. 8 (August 1921): 7. From GELC at GEM.

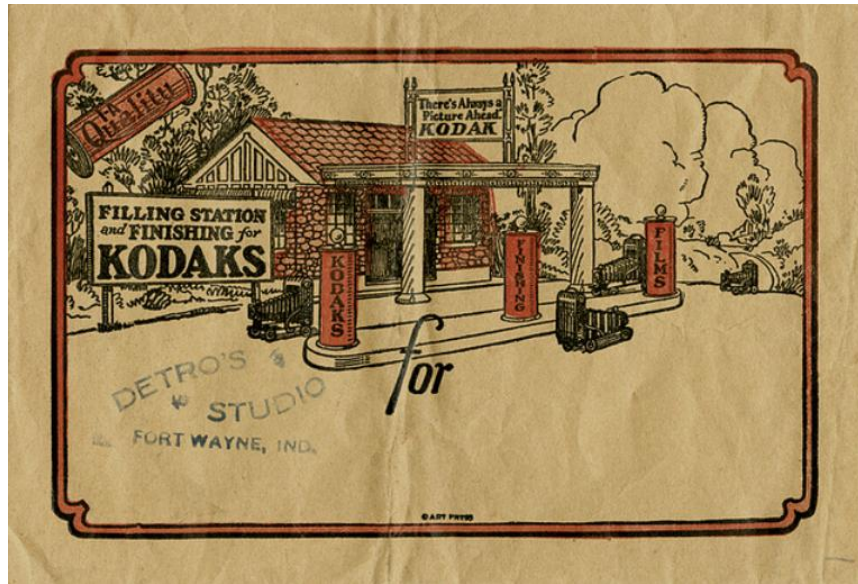


Figure 2.9: “Kodak Filling Station” - Photofinishing Envelope, Detro’s Studio in Fort Wayne, Indiana, From the collection/Flickr of Photo_History - Here but not Happy aka “Beverly,” date noted as 1922, but likely circa 1925 due to wording “There’s always a Picture Ahead, Kodak.” From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/20939975@N04/8363431178>.



Figure 2.10: Unknown snapshot, Kodak “Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go” sign being installed, back of print reads in pencil: “Warren B. Haskell, 1915, with Eastman Kodak,” date is mistaken and more likely circa 1920, “Metal Signs” Flickr album, Collection of Charlie Kamerman (aka kodakcollector on Flickr). From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kodakcollector/7992347835> and see here for the back annotation: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kodakcollector/7992348165/in/album-72157631264293230/>.

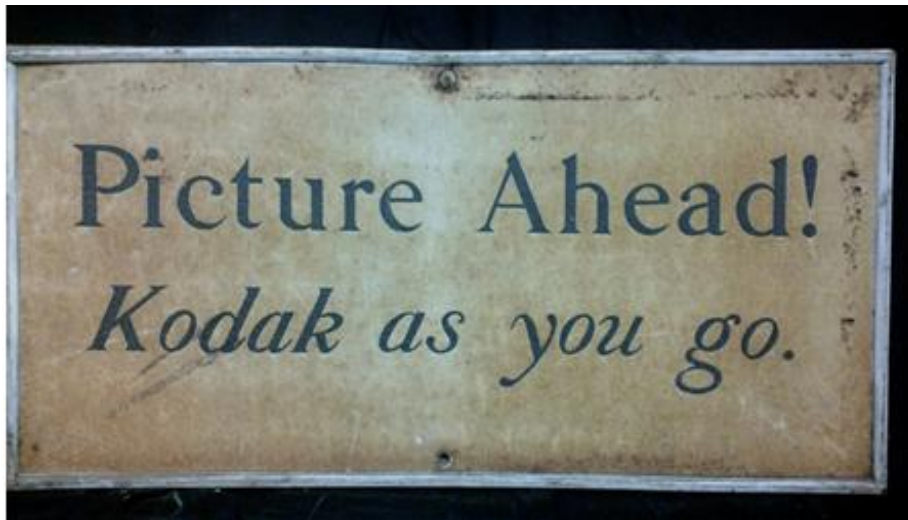


Figure 2.11: Kodak metal sign, “Picture Ahead! Kodak as you go,” circa 1920, from “Metal Signs” Flickr album, Collection of Charlie Kamerman (aka kodakcollector on Flickr).
From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kodakcollector/7990653215>.

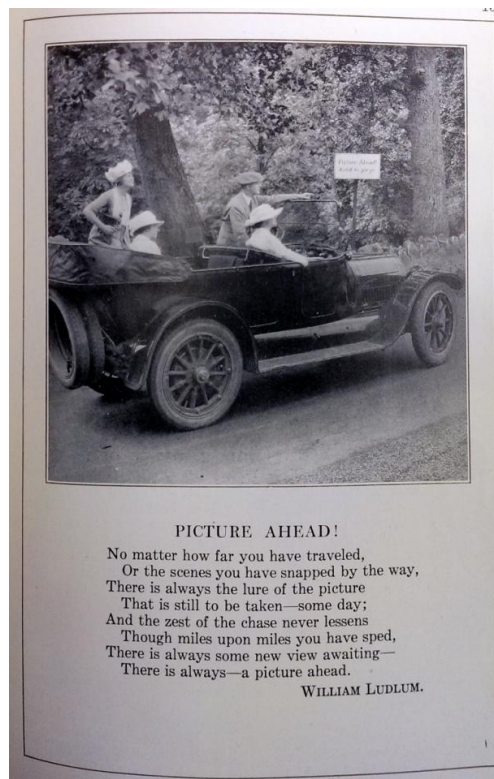


Figure 2.12: Kodak “PICTURE AHEAD!” sign and poem, *Kodakery* 8, no. 10 (June 1921): 13.
From GELC at GEM.

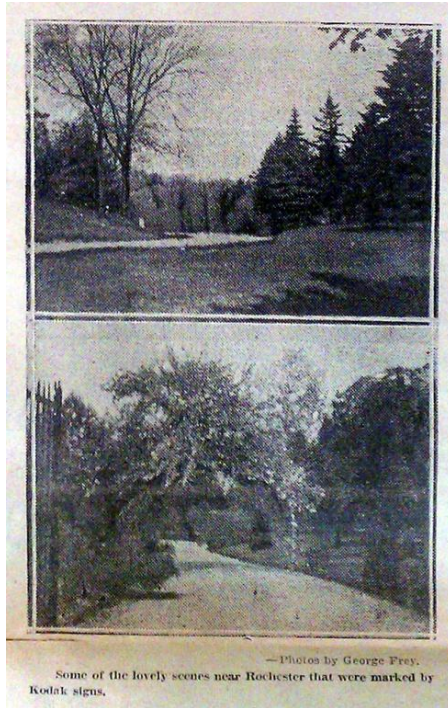


Figure 2.13: Photos credited to George Frey, “From Off a Hundred Roads Comes Famous Sign That Was Too Much for Average Mind,” *The Rochester Herald Sunday Magazine* (May 24, 1925): 5. From clipping scrapbook, GELC at GEM.

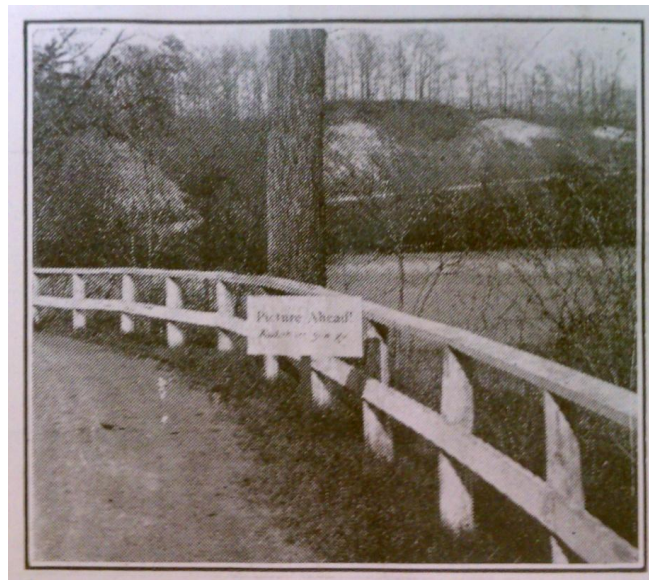


Figure 2.14: Picture Ahead sign in situ on the roadside, Kodak, “The Passing of the Familiar Sign,” *The Automoblier* (June 1925): 145. From clipping scrapbook, GELC at GEM.



Figure 2.15: Burma Shave signs along Route 66, photo by Ken Koehler, signs are located at the back of Hackberry General Store, Hackberry, Arizona, uploaded 2006, From Wikimedia Commons (public domain) and America's Byways. From <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/byways/photos/62366>. **NOTE:** the signs would not have been at different heights or this close together in the 20th century.

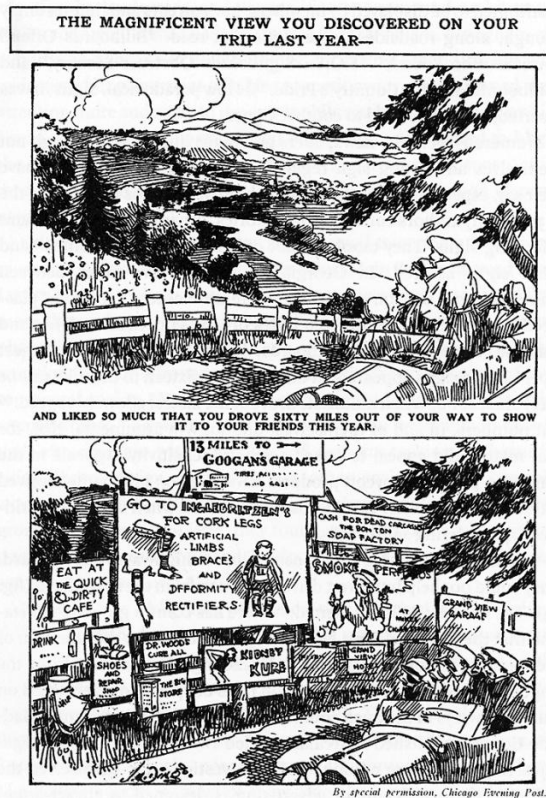


Figure 2.16: Cartoon, *Chicago Evening Post*, reprinted in *Poster 14* (December 1923): 18. From Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 138.



Figure 2.17: Signs installed in aesthetically-pleasing agreeable roadside environments, “Picture Ahead”: ‘Doc’ Haskell Has Another Adventure,” *The Kodak Magazine* 4, no. 10 (March 1924): 5.
From GELC at GEM.

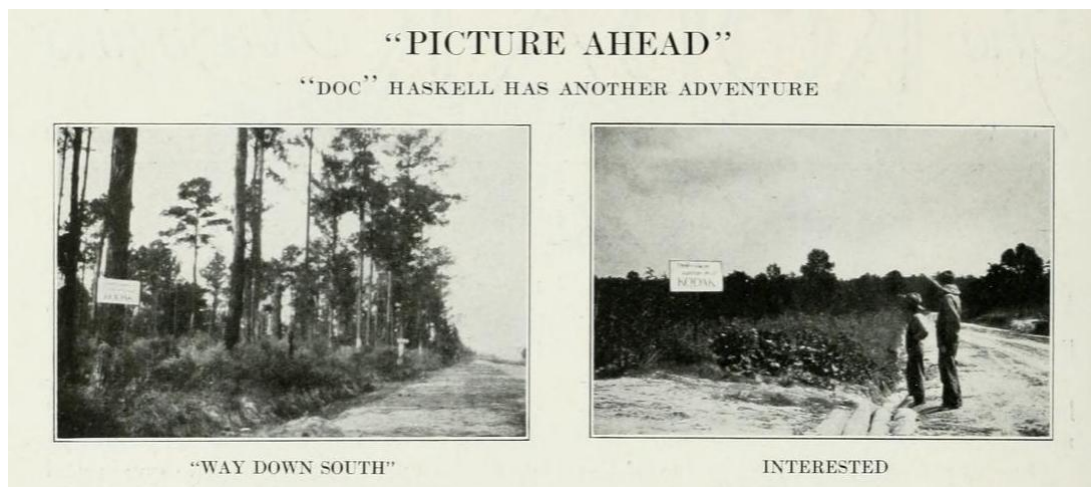


Figure 2.18: Signs installed in less than ideal locations, “Picture Ahead”: ‘Doc’ Haskell Has Another Adventure,” *The Kodak Magazine* 4, no. 10 (March 1924): 4.
From GELC at GEM.

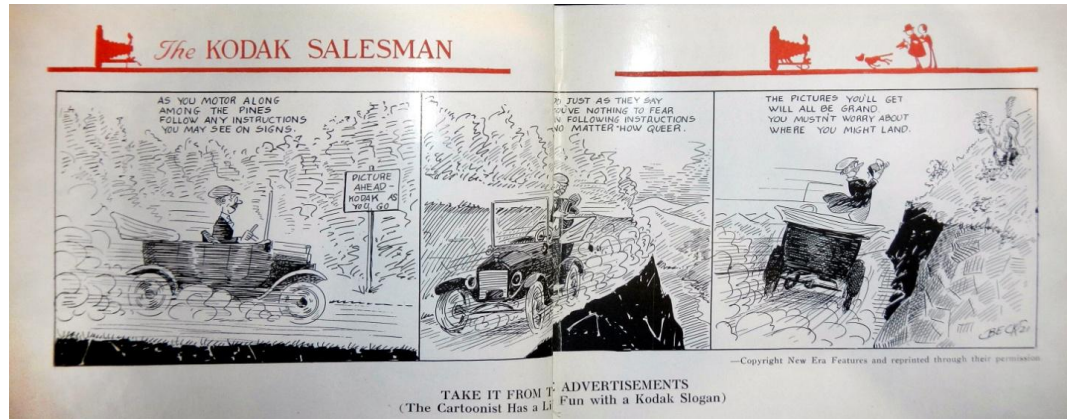


Figure 2.19: Cartoon featuring “Picture Ahead” sign, from the *New Era*, “Take it from the Advertisements,” reproduced in *The Kodak Salesman* 7, no. 4 (April 1923): 8-9. From GELC at GEM.



Figure 2.20: Cartoon featuring “Picture Ahead” sign, by Kessler, “Tragedies Along the Road,” from the *New York Graphic*, 1926, reproduced in *The Kodak Salesman* 12, no. 10 (October 1926): 11. From GELC at GEM.

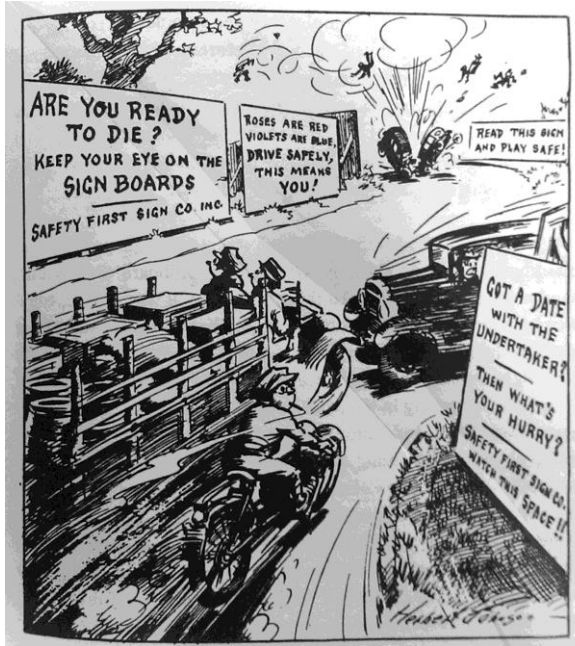


Figure 2.21: Cartoon lampooning dangerous roadside signs, *Roadside Bulletin* 2, no 4 (circa 1933): 5. From Jakle and Sculle, *Signs in America's Auto Age*, 139.

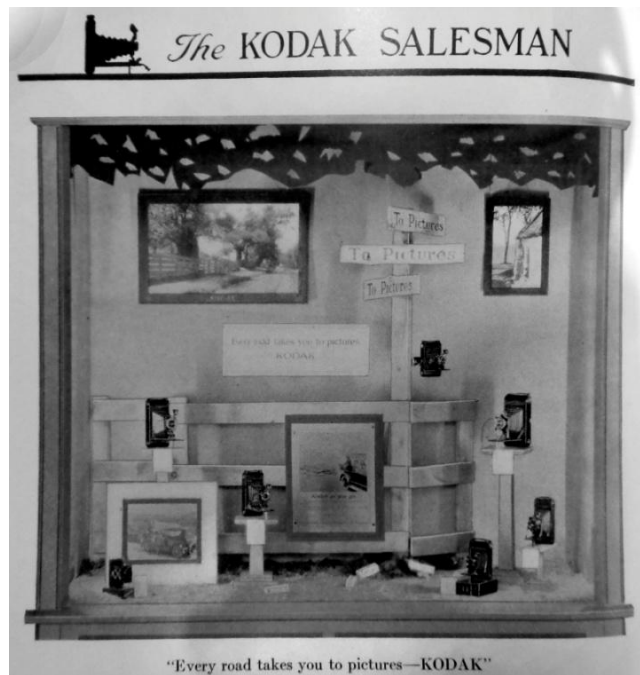


Figure 2.22: Window Display, “Every road takes you to pictures,” from “You get an advanced proof,” *The Kodak Salesman* 9, no. 4 (April 1923): 8. From GELC at GEM.

"PICTURE AHEAD"—AND "SALES AHEAD," TOO

When your customer is a motorist he ought to have a Kodak Self-Timer so that all the party may be in the group. He'll want an Optipod as well to clamp the Kodak to the windshield of his car—or any straight edge. He'll need a carrying case to protect his camera from the dust of travel—and of course he'll want an AUTOGRAPHIC Kodak—and plenty of film.

Figure 2.23: Kodak diagram for dealers, “‘Picture Ahead’—And ‘Sales Ahead,’ too,” *The Kodak Salesman* 7, no. 5 (May 1921): 5. From GELC at GEM.

SAFETY PLATE GLASS WINDOWS IN YOUR CAR

... beauty at your side

Because of the added comfort and enjoyment it brings to motoring, and the touch of distinction it lends to today's smart motor car designs, many manufacturers now completely equip their cars with Safety Glass made of the finest polished PLATE Glass.

This fine glass, which is first carefully ground, then painstakingly polished to a mirror-like brilliance, eliminates the waviness and accompanying distortions characteristic of ordinary window glass. Consequently Safety PLATE Glass minimizes eye-strain and fatigue, and makes every window in the car a glowing

frame for the unfolding panorama of the open country and the swiftly changing scenes of city life. Furthermore, the recognized higher quality of this ground and polished glass gives you the very personal satisfaction of knowing that your car is correct to the last detail.

Since so many manufacturers now install Safety PLATE Glass in their cars at an extra cost, look for the Hallmark of Higher Quality on every window when considering the purchase of a new car.

PLATE GLASS MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA, PITTSBURGH, PA.

FOR GREATER MOTORING COMFORT FROM YOUR NEW CAR AND A MORE LASTING SATISFACTION IN ITS APPEARANCE, LOOK FOR THIS MARK OF HIGHER QUALITY IN ALL ITS WINDOWS.

Figure 2.24: Advertisement, Plate Glass Manufacturers of America, “Beauty at Your Side,” circa 1937, Advertising scrapbook in Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company Records, MSS-066, Ward Canaday Center for Special Collections, University of Toledo. From Isenstadt, “Four Views, Three of Them through Glass,” in Harris and Ruggles, *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, 238.



Figure 2.25: Gilmore D. Clarke, Bronx River Parkway, 1922, section near Woodlawn, NY, photograph, Newton Collection, Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, From *The Machine Age*, 95.

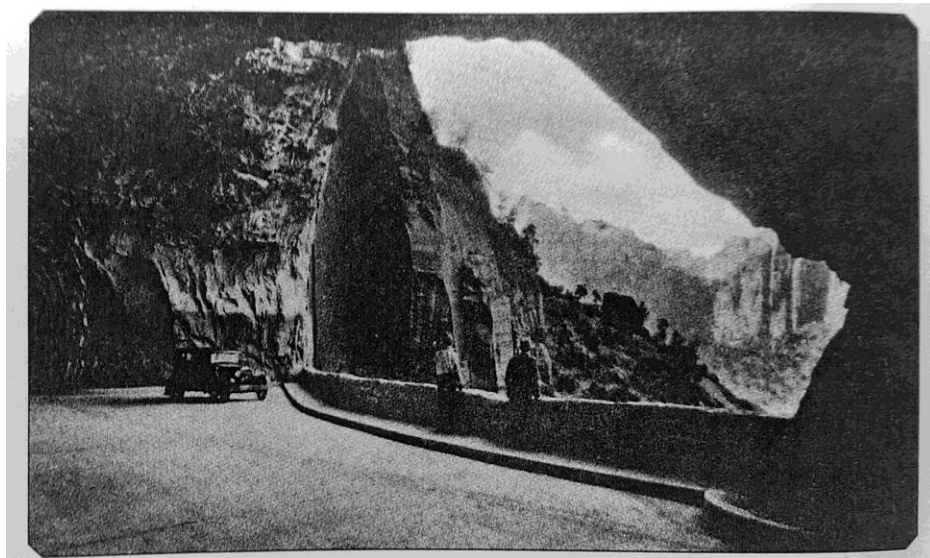


Figure 2.26: “Gallery” on the Zion-Mt. Carmel Highway in today’s Zion Park, photograph. From Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America: Preserving the Recent Past as Landscape and Place*, 226.

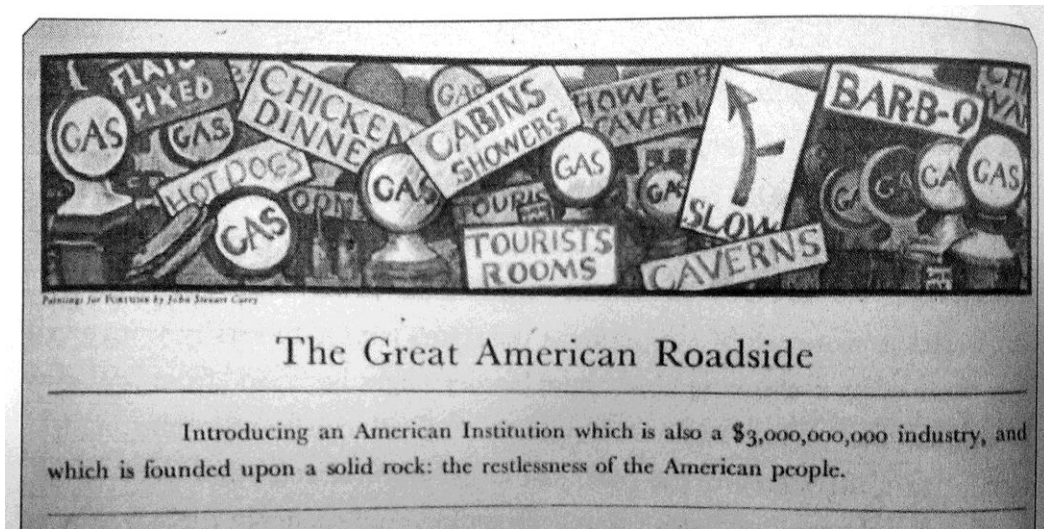


Figure 2.27: Illustration Header featuring a myriad of signs by John Stewart Curry for “Great American Roadside,” James Agee (ghostwritten), *Fortune* 10, no. 3 (September 1934): 53. From John A. Jakle and Keith Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America: Preserving the Recent Past as Landscape and Place* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2011): 2.



Figure 2.28: Kodak, article “Picture Ahead!” article and spread, *Kodak PHOTO* magazine, Introductory issue, 1, no. 1, (Summer? 1946): screenshot of top of page 4.



Figure 3.1: Poster of Kodak Girl at World's Fair, 1937 Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, Paris, France. From Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, dated as 1934 in book, color plate number 6.



THE KODAK EXHIBIT AT THE ROCHESTER EXPOSITION

Figure 3.2: Kodak "Picture Ahead" sign (right) in the company booth at the 1922 Rochester Industrial Exposition. Kodak, "Rustic Booth Shows Kodak Exhibit," *The Kodak Magazine* 3, no. 5 (October 1922), 4. From GELC at GEM.



Figure 3.3: Spread of Kodak participation, displays and employees, in American World's Fairs, "Kodak Photo Caravan Ranges U.S. for World's Fair Pictures," *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* 48 no. 2 (February/March 1963), 9. From GELC at GEM.

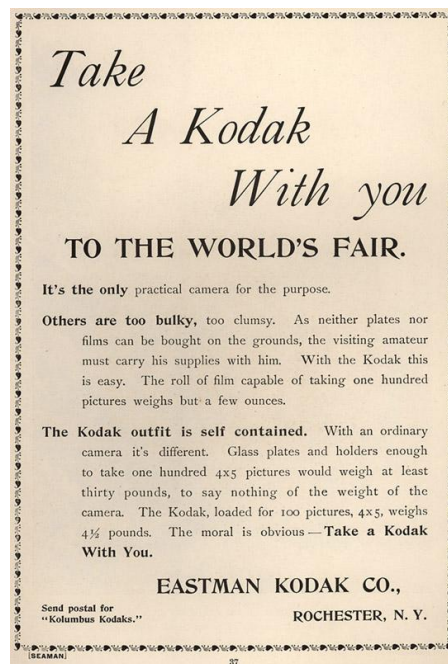


Figure 3.4: Kodak print ad, "Take a Kodak With you, To the World's Fair," 1893, Image credit: Advertising Ephemera Collection - Database # K0529, Emergence of Advertising On-Line Project, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library. From http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/ea_K0529.

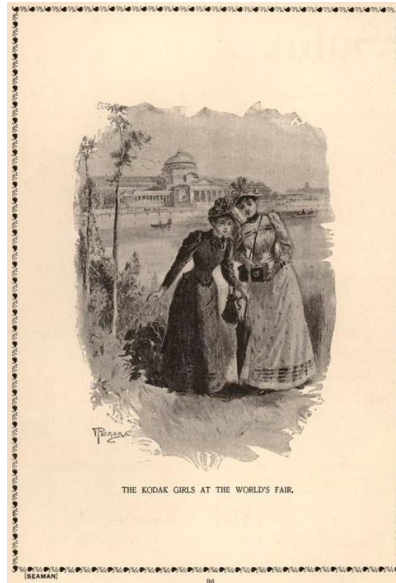


Figure 3.5: Kodak, advertisement featuring "Kodak Girls at the World's Fair," 1893, illustrated by Perara?, Image credit: Advertising Ephemera Collection - Database # K0529, Emergence of Advertising On-Line Project, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library. From http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/ea_K0529/ and also reproduced in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 57.

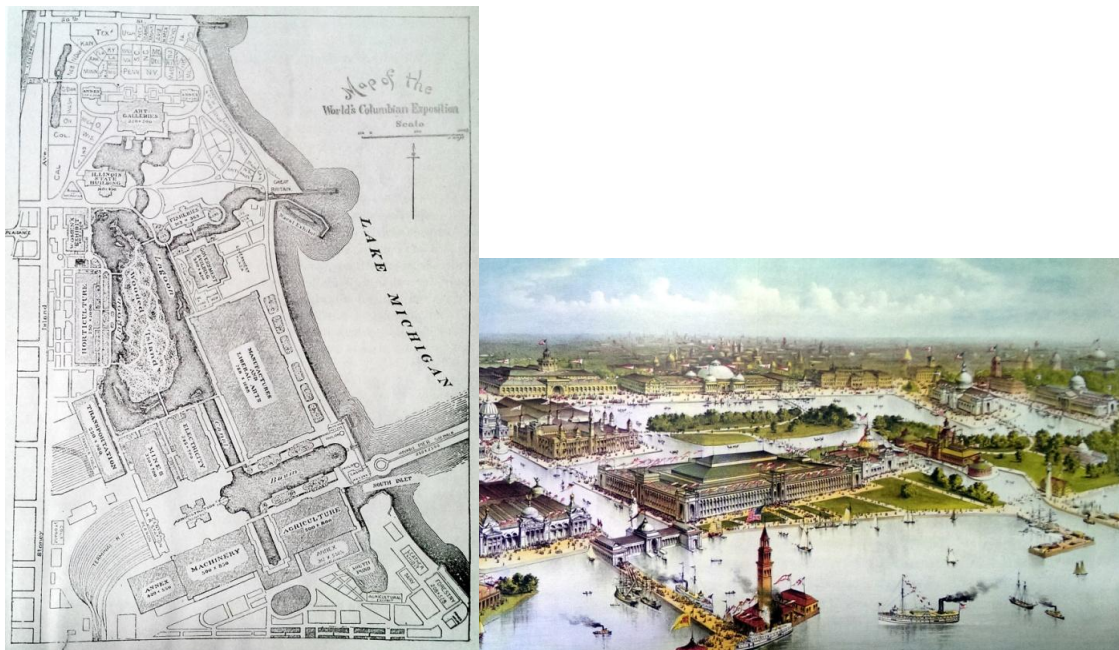


Figure 3.6, a and b: LEFT - Map of the 1893 World Columbian Exposition, collection of the author, and RIGHT - Bird's-eye view of the White City, with Olmsted's "Wooded Isle" at center. From *World's Fair Gardens*, Maloney, 61 and 57.

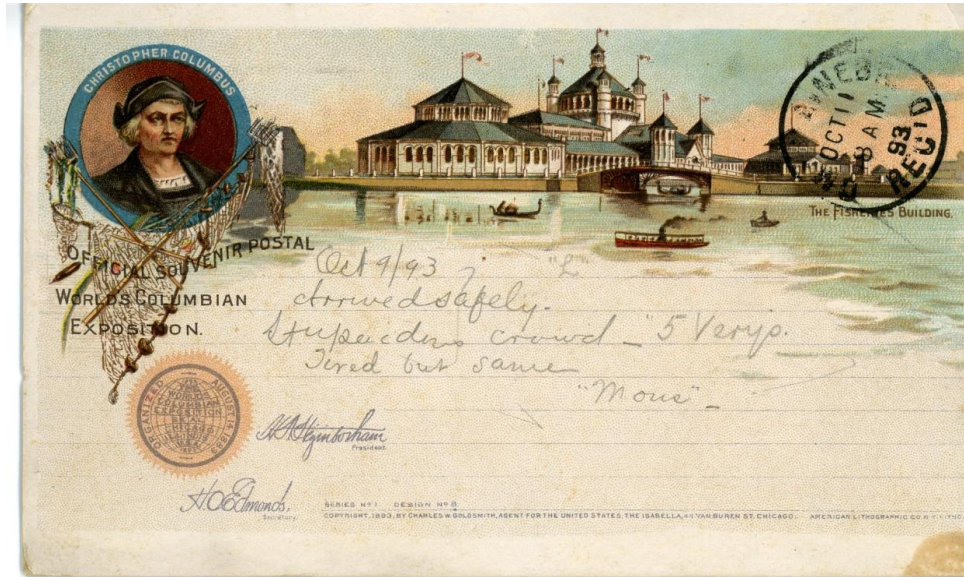


Figure 3.7: Official Souvenir Postal (postcard), World's Columbian Exposition: The Fisheries Building, Charles W. Goldsmith, American Lithographic Co., University of Maryland Digital Collections, National Trust Library Postcard Collection. From <http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/3954>.



Figure 3.8: Charles Dudley Arnold, "Fisheries Building from Wooded Isle," official photograph, circa 1893. From Peter B. Hales, *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), Chicago Historical Collection (ICHi-17117), 155.

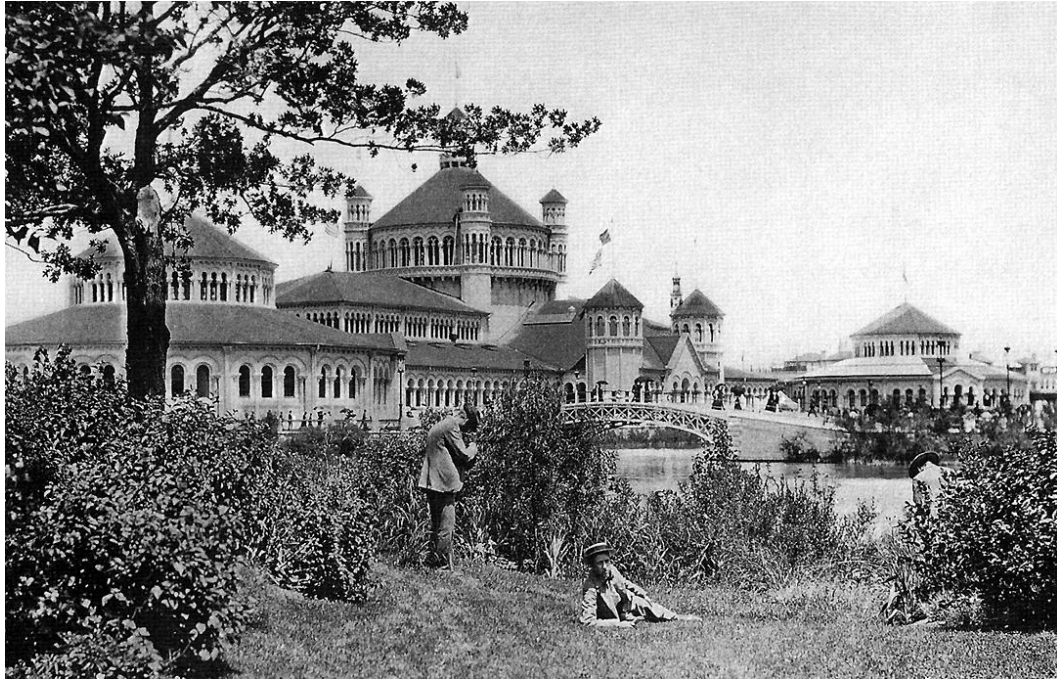


Figure 3.9: C. D. Arnold and H. D. Higinbotham, Photograph of Fisheries Building with photographers recreating Arnold's view, official photograph, circa 1893, *Official Views of the World's Columbian Exposition Issued by the Department of Photography*. From Gordon, *The Urban Spectator*, 38.

HIGH SPOT PICTURE SUBJECTS FOR YOUR KODAK AT THE FAIR

BE SURE TO SNAP THESE SUBJECTS . . . THERE ARE HUNDREDS MORE

<p>HALL OF SCIENCE North tower with blue tower in background as shown. Make horizontal view. Take picture from position to include trees on either side. <i>The Eastern Kodak Company Kodak is in this building.</i></p>	<p>THERMOMETER TOWER Take this from its front on the Walgreen Store on opposite side of road. For an odd angle shot, stand near tower and point camera up to include top.</p>	<p>FORT DEARBORN Horizontal view from road. The cabin is inside the Lincoln Exhibit, morning light or late afternoon best time.</p>	<p>TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT BUILDINGS Make horizontal picture from opposite side of road—near General Motors Building. A vertical of middle section from tower will show interesting detail. Morning or late afternoon best time.</p>		
<p>AVENUE OF FLAGS Good view—horizontal—from short way up approach to Hall of Science. "Click" it when people are not close to your camera.</p>	<p>FEDERAL AND STATES GROUP Take horizontal view from bridge.</p>	<p>PICTURES AT NIGHT Two night "shots" in this folder were taken on both Verichrome and Kodak Super Sensitive Panchromatic Film. Stop it was used in each instance. The picture above was exposed 3 minutes on Verichrome Film. The camera was placed on rail at gondola landing near Court of Honor. Below, left, and also one at right, each exposed 1 minute. Camera placed on gondola, landing rail, north of bridge, for former; and on railing at top of staircase, Court of Honor, for latter. Center—the fountain, exposure 1 minute. Kodak placed on chair and tripod up. All three made on "Pan" film. To record fireworks, merely point camera toward display—open shutter and, after burst, close shutter. With stationary pieces, place camera on solid support.</p>	<p>MAYA TEMPLE A fairly close up, vertical shot of a bit of ornamental detail will be interesting. Full front view, horizontal, may be taken from roadway of Indian Village.</p>	<p>INDIAN VILLAGES Include tripod and Indian in shot—can get a horizontal view, take up-close shot of groups and above house.</p>	<p>ENCHANTED ISLAND Castle Mount and Indian in shot—can get a horizontal view, take up-close shot of groups and above house. For large image of grotesque statue of boy in cart, snap from near entrance in Marble House. Point camera up. Best view of entire island from boat in lagoon or from south bridge.</p>
<p>GOLDEN TEMPLE OF JERU Nice "shot" of this from center of Hall of Science, about halfway out from building. Another and closer view from ground level on Sixteenth Street. One shown made from latter viewpoint.</p>	<p>PREHISTORIC ANIMAL FIGURES Good light any time of day. Take several from low viewpoints to heighten dramatic effect.</p>	<p>BYRD'S POLAR SHIP AND THE HURDIS Take a horizontal view of ship from roadway—just back of bridge, better view, vertical, down by water in front of the ship. The hulk is in their caps.</p>	<p>MICROSCOPIC BUILDINGS Take from north horizontal of Chrysler, vertical of General Motors.</p>	<p>BEIJING This "shot" taken from a position in front of Old Heidelberg. From other side of road.</p>	<p>MAKE CINE-KODAK MOVIES OF THE FAIR Texas are just as many subjects for your movie camera as for your snapshot camera. There are especially fine shots to be recorded in full color on Kodachrome Film. In addition to the daytime movies, striking night pictures may be made on Cine-Kodak Super-sensitive "Pan" film using picture productions to be 1/25 lens aperture and the half-speed device on Cine-Kodak and other cameras so equipped.</p>
<p>TOWER—HALL OF SCIENCE Many excellent positions for this, take one, vertical, from court and a more general view, horizontal, from bridge.</p>	<p>SKY RIDE Snap the tower across lagoon from position near boat landing in court of Hall of Science. A boat in background will add to composition and interest.</p>	<p>FOREIGN SCENES Old World sights can be enjoyed from Midway. Take Belgium Group, Milner and Oriental Village, Cairo, Street of Paris, and Old Heidelberg live from roadway.</p>	<p>HOLLYWOOD Picture productions to be filmed daily provide excellent material for Cine-Kodak as well as for snapshot cameras.</p>		

Figure 3.10: Kodak, "Keep a Kodak story of the Fair" pamphlet, interior spread, Century of Progress International Exposition 1933-1934, Century of Progress International Exposition Publications, box 1, folder 8, Crerar Ms 226, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. From <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.CRMS226>.



Figure 3.11, a and b: TOP - Photographer unknown, Kodak pavilion, designed by architect Eugene Gerbereux, with interiors by Stowe Meyers and Walter Dorwin Teague, 1939-40 New York World's Fair, "Eastman Kodak Co., Participation - Building," New York World's Fair (1939-40), circa 1935-45, Shelf locator: MssCol 2233, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, NYPL Digital Collections. From <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e9-004f-d471-e040-e00a180654d7>.

BOTTOM - Eastman Kodak Company and Walter Dorwin Teague, New York World's Fair Bullet camera, 1939. From Gustavson, *Camera*, 243.

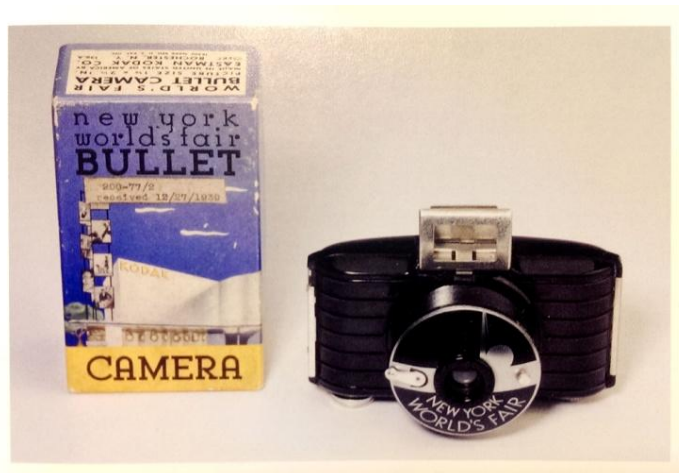




Figure 3.12: Photographer unknown, view of Kodak Pavilion, 1939-40 New York World's Fair. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kodakcollector/9743459564> ("Kodak Collector" user, incorrectly identified as 1964 fair).



Figure 3.13, a and b: LEFT and RIGHT - Photographer unknown, Views of Walter Dorwin Teague designed interiors - 1939-40 New York World's Fair, photographs, circa 1935-45. <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e9-28c0-d471-e040-e00a180654d7> and RIGHT: "Eastman Kodak Co. Participation - Exhibits - View from outside looking in," New York World's Fair (1939-40), <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e8-ff16-d471-e040-e00a180654d7>. Both from "Eastman Kodak Co., Participation - Exhibits - Photographs," shelf locator: MssCol 2233, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, NYPL Digital Collections.



Figure 3.14, a and b: LEFT - Kodak, window display for 1939-40 New York World's Fair, "June Brings Special Opportunities for New Kodak and Brownie Sales," *Kodak Salesman* 25, no. 6 (June 1939), 2 and RIGHT - cover of Kodak, "Your Kodak at the New York World's Fair — What to Take and How to Take It," eight-page, fold-out brochure for the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, collection of the Queens Museum (accession number 2006.15.65wf39). From GELC at GEM and PDF provided by the museum.



Figure 3.15: Kodak, inside spread of "Your Kodak at the New York World's Fair — What to Take and How to Take It," eight-page fold-out brochure for the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, collection of the Queens Museum (accession number 2006.15.65wf39). From PDF provided by the museum.



Figure 3.16: Kodak promotional photograph, The Kodak Pavilion backdrop in the Photographic Garden, 1939-40 New York World's Fair, promotional photograph, circa 1939-40. From <http://www.kodak.com/ek/au/en/corp/aboutus/heritage/milestones/default.htm>.



Figure 3.17, a and b: LEFT - Unknown photographers, Christie M Farriella/for New York Daily News, "Two identified women pose for a photograph at the Kodak Pavilion during the 1939-40 World's Fair," from Queens Museum exhibition "That Kodak Moment: Picturing the New York Fairs," reproduced in Lisa L. Colangelo, "New Queens Museum exhibit savors those Kodak moments from the city's two World's Fairs at Flushing Meadows Corona Park," *New York Daily News*, October 5, 2014. From <http://nydn.us/1sTNByZ>; RIGHT - Kodak's Dalí background, 1939-40 New York World's Fair, photograph, collection of Bill Cotter. From <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/14063-salvador-dali-and-the-dream-of-kodak/>.



Figure 3.18, a and b: LEFT - Kodak, "Photographic Garden," at the Kodak Pavilion, 1939-40 New York World's Fair, publication, EDV 11 folder, D319 Kodak Historical Collection #003. From University of Rochester, Rare Books & Special Collections. RIGHT - "Photographic Garden" at the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, photograph, Eastman Kodak Co., Participation - Exhibits - Outdoor," New York World's Fair (1939-40), circa 1935-45, Shelf locator: MssCol 2233, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, NYPL Digital Collections. From <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e9-287e-d471-e040-e00a180654d7>.

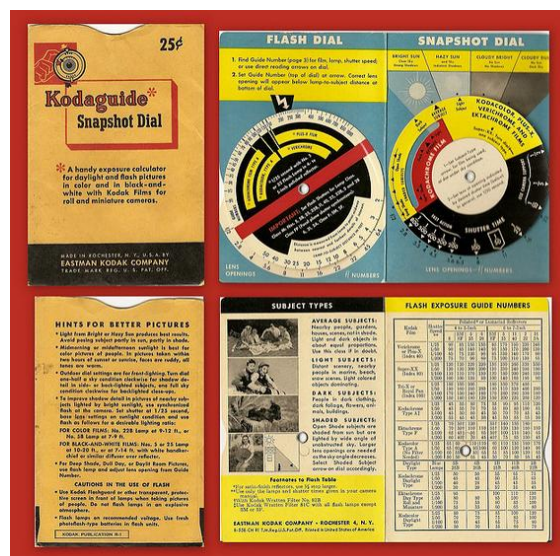


Figure 3.19: Kodak, Kodaguide, circa 1930s, collection of Sally Hunter, aka user "Ginger Maddy." From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gingermaddy/4228991259>.

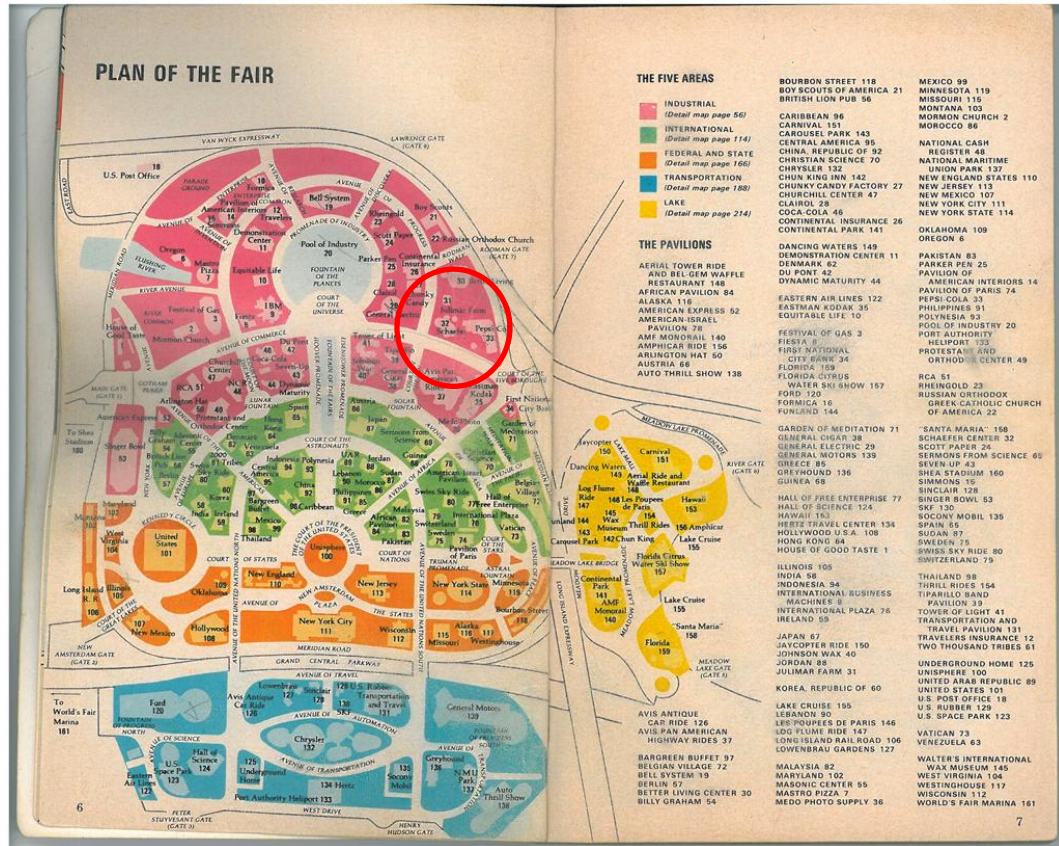


Figure 3.20: Plan and map of the Fair, from "1965 Official Guide to the New York World's Fair" pamphlet. From <https://incidentaltravellers.wordpress.com/2013/05/27/musings-4-the-19641965-new-york-worlds-fair>.

Note: The Kodak pavilion, with the redesigned Pan American Highway Gardens around it, is circled in **RED**



Figure 3.21: Map of New York City arterial highways leading to the New York World's Fair, 1937, Department of Parks Photo Archive, New York. From Miller in Rosenblum, *Remembering the Future*, 46.

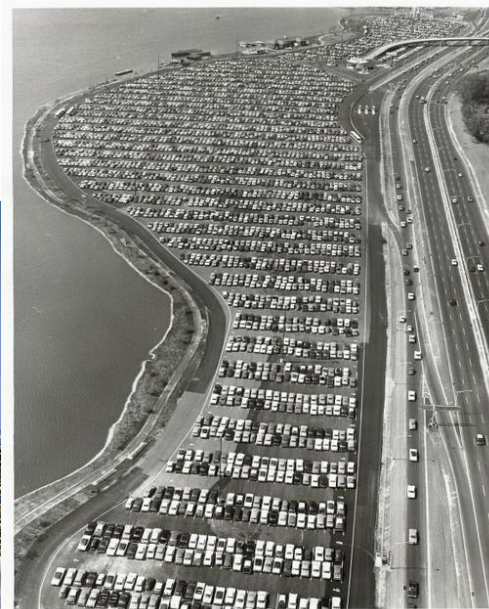


Figure 3.22a, and b: LEFT - Anonymous, View of Kodak pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, photograph, circa 1964-65. From <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2012/01/new-york-worlds-fair-assortment.html>.

RIGHT - Aerial photograph of the Main parking lot for the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, circa 1964-65, NYPL collection. From <http://untappedcities.com/2013/07/08/vintage-photos-remnants1964-new-york-worlds-fair>.

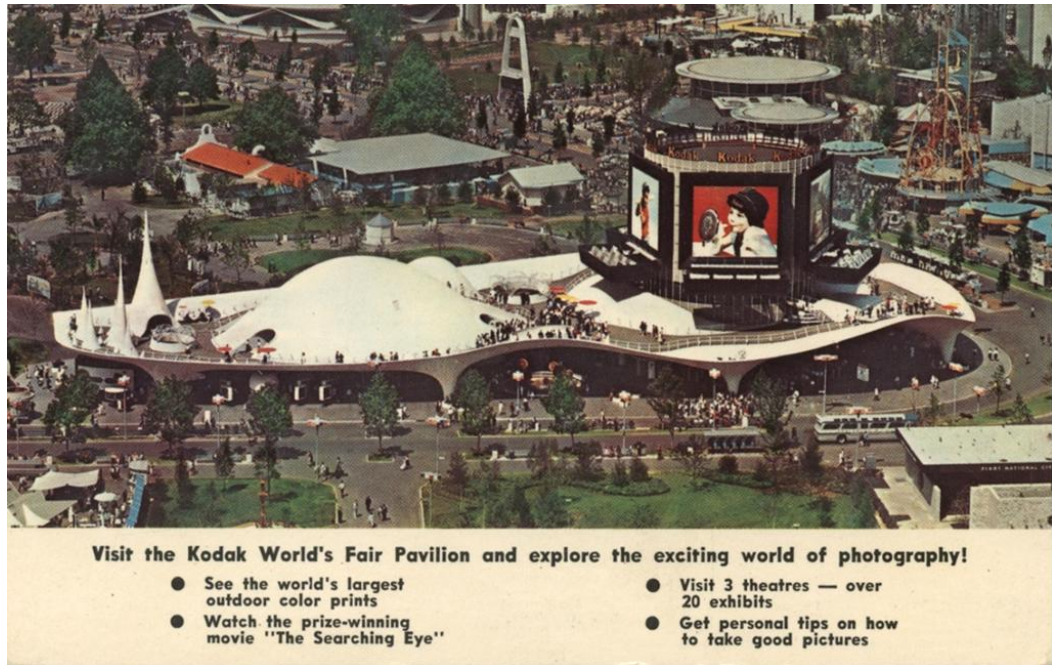


Figure 3.23: Postcard of the Kodak Pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair. From Kodak Collector, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kodakcollector/8041331530>.

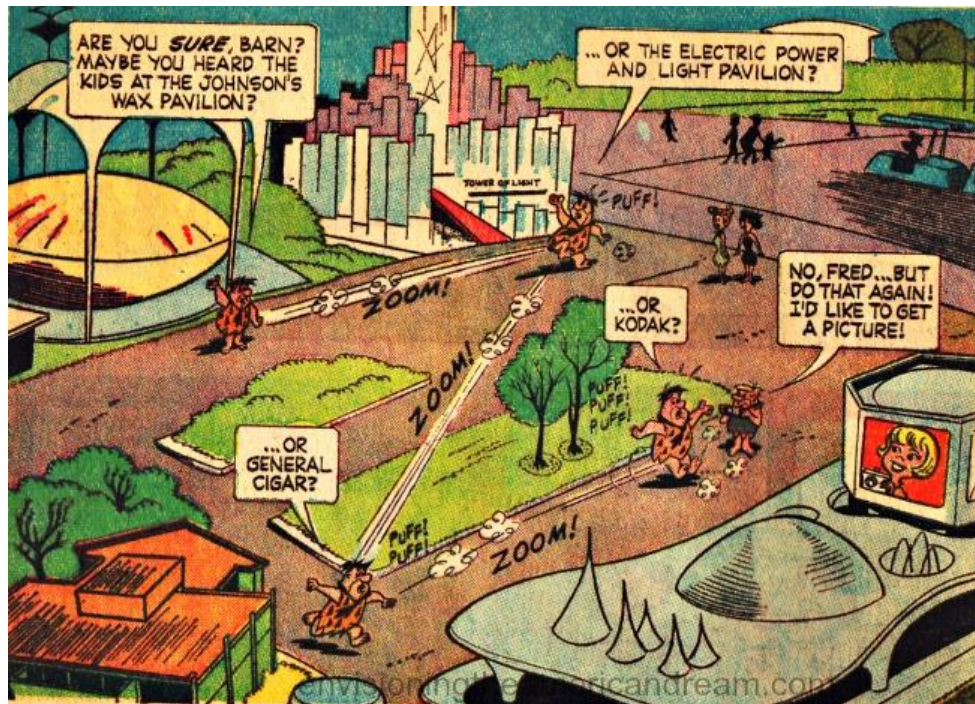


Figure 3.24: "The Flintstones at the New York World's Fair," 1965 Official Souvenir, Hanna-Barbera, 1964. From the blog "Envisioning the American Dream," <http://envisioningtheamericandream.com/2014/04/29/the-flintstones-at-the-ny-worlds-fair>.



Figure 3.25, and b: LEFT - Kodak, "Kodak Photo Caravan Ranges US for World's Fair Pictures," *Kodak Dealer Finisher News* 48, no. 2 (February/March 1963), 6-9, on page 6. From GELC at GEM. RIGHT Airstream and Kodak Photo Caravan, promotional photograph, 1964-65 New York World's Fair. From <https://www.airstream.com/airstream-kodak-caravan>.

Advertisement

The Kodak Caravan at Monument Valley

Around the World with the Kodak Picture Caravan

Where in the world do the spectacular pictures that light up the Kodak Picture Tower come from? From all over the Free World. Early in 1963, Kodak launched a unique photographic project—"Photo Caravan USA." Teams of photographers toured the country in search of outstanding pictures. Now, one year and 30,000 miles later, this largest photo-taking project in history has harvested a magnificent collection of color photographs.

While the Photo Caravan was touring the U.S., Canada, and Mexico, other Kodak photographers were travelling in many other parts of the world. In thousands of miles of travel, wherever they found a meaningful story that could be told pictorially, they captured it. From their thousands of photographs are selected the color prints you see in the Picture Tower.

These brilliant 30x36-foot pictures are visible day and night, for miles around, illuminated by a special lighting system never before used in this country. The five pictures you see in the Tower will be changed regularly during the Fair. Some of the Photo Caravan pictures will be displayed in the Colaroma in New York's Grand Central Terminal and in exhibitions by the United States Travel Service all over the globe. In the universally understood language of pictures, they project the heart and spirit of the Free World—as only pictures can.

Washington, D.C. New Mexico Greece Siamese Kittens Arizona Spain Thailand

Figure 3.26: Kodak, 16-page advertisement/insert, "Around the World with the Kodak Picture Caravan," 1964-65 New York World's Fair, *The New York Times*, April 26, 1964, Section, II, EDV Folder 1, page 3, D319 Kodak Historical Collection #003. From University of Rochester, Rare Books & Special Collections.



Figure 3.27: Photographer unknown, Moon Deck of the Kodak Pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph, circa 1964-65. From Major Pepperidge, Gorillas Don't Blog blog http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2012_01_01_archive.html.

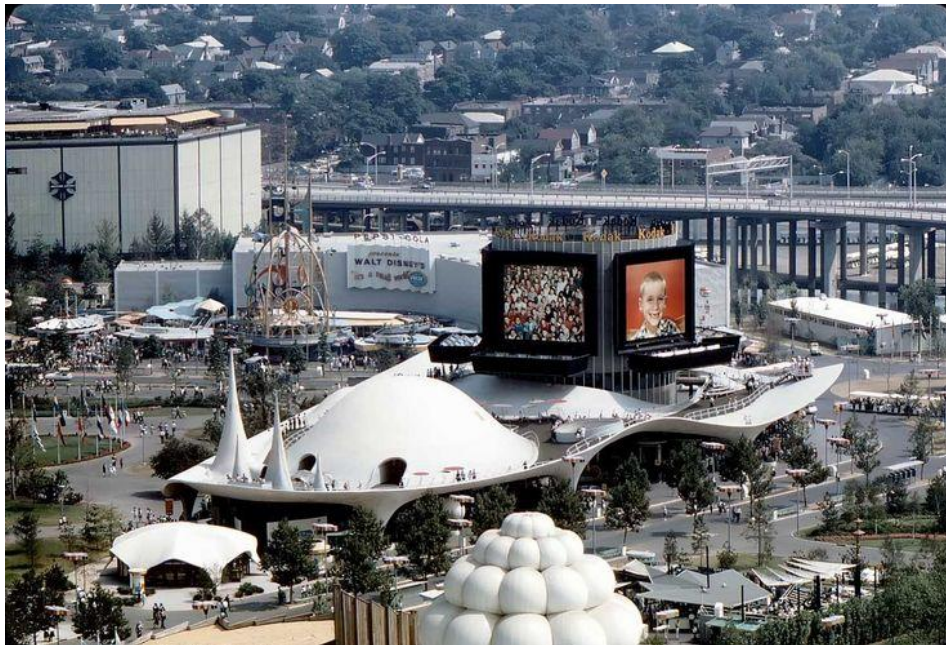


Figure 3.28: Photographer unknown, aerial view of the Kodak pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph, circa 1964-65, collection of Bill Cotter. From Bill Cotter and Bill Young, *The 1964-1965 New York World's Fair*, 46.



Figure 3.29, a and b: LEFT - Photographer unknown, close ups of title signage on top of the Kodak Pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph, circa 1964-65. From the collection of University of Central Florida and posted by Yada Yada <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.
 RIGHT - Anonymous, family with title signage on top of the Kodak Pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph, circa 1964-65. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=2>.



Figure 3.30, a and b: LEFT - Photographer unknown, platforms on top of the Kodak Pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph and RIGHT - detail, circa 1964-65, collection of Bill Cotter. From worldsfairphotos.com – NYWF CD 33, Set 172, Image 13, and posted by Yada Yada <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.



Figure 3.31: Kodak World's Fair Flash Camera, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph by Jamie Thomas, aka InspiredPhotosdotcom. From Flickr, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/inspiredphotosdotcom/6828237098>.



Figure 3.32: Kodak, promotional photograph of couple with Kodak Picture Spot sign, Pan American Highway Gardens and Kodak pavilion in the background, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph, circa 1964. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment>.



Figure 3.33: Sign for photogenic scenery, Virginia, photograph, circa 1960, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," spiral bound 14-page booklet, 1960, Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation, n.p. From NYWF at NYPL.
PLEASE NOTE: these images are taken from a PDF made by the NYPL, before they allowed personal photography, and are very low resolution.



Figure 3.34: Photographic Pier at Cypress Gardens, photograph, circa 1960, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," 1960. From NYWF at NYPL



Figure 3.35, a, b, and c: Luray Caverns in Virginia, Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina, and Santa Claus Village in New Hampshire, photographs, circa 1960, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," 1960. From NYWF at NYPL

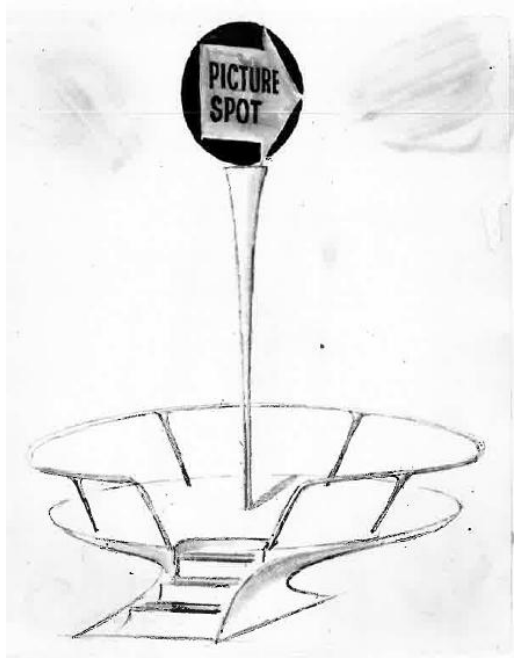


Figure 3.36: Artist unknown, Original Design Suggested Kodak Spot Sign for 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1960, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," 1960. From NYWF at NYPL

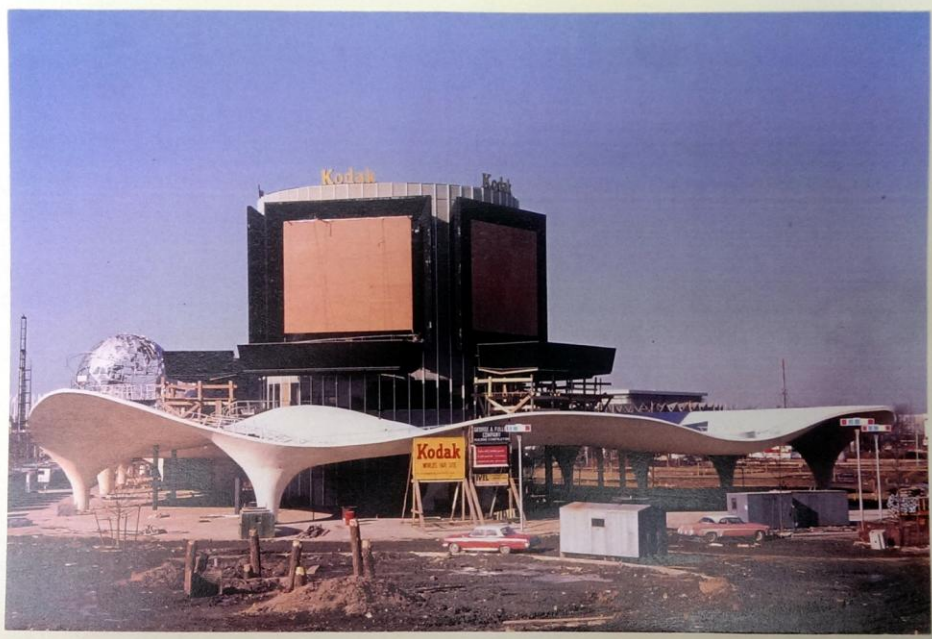


Figure 3.37: Photographer unknown, Kodak pavilion under construction with sign for the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, color photograph, circa 1963. From the collection of the Queens Museum, VI: Photos, A: Subject, 1: Industrial, 1963-64.

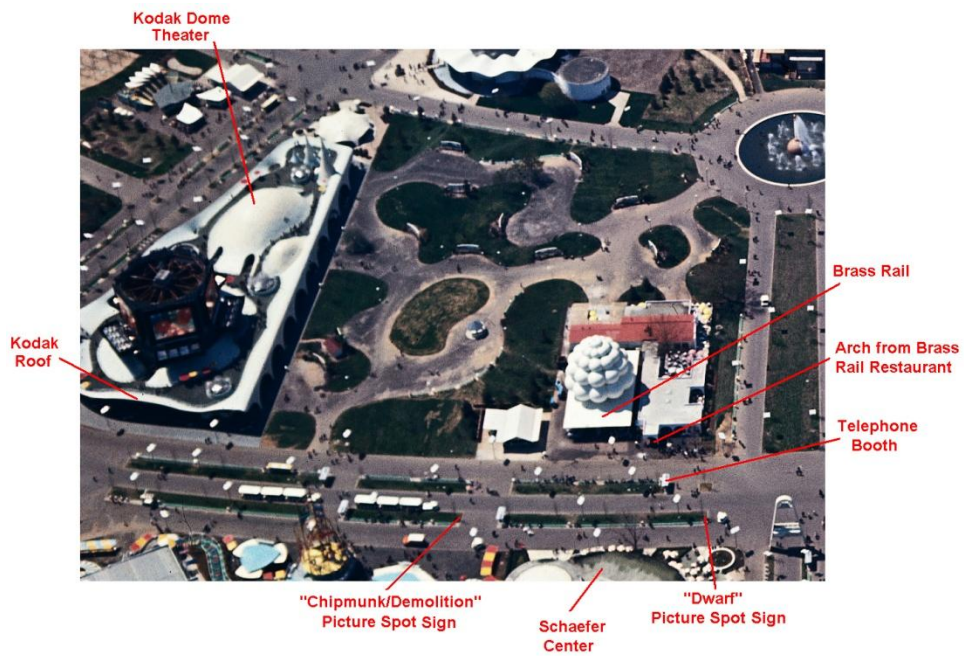


Figure 3.38: Detail of annotated aerial photograph of the Pan American Highway Gardens (middle), Kodak pavilion (left), and location of nearby Kodak Picture Spot signs, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, 1964 season, original created and posted by Kevin aka Yada Yada.

From <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=2>.

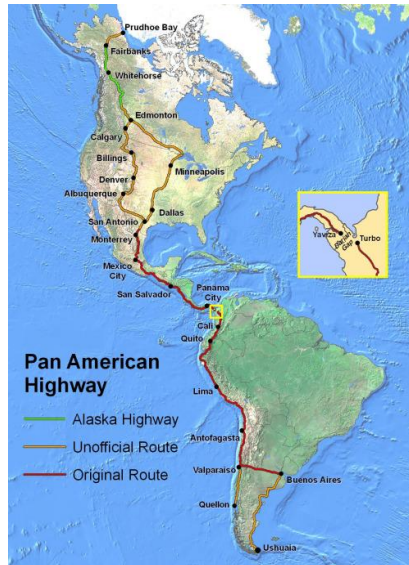


Figure 3.39: Route of the full Pan American Highway, map.
 Form Wikimedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:PanAmericanHwy.png>.



Figure 3.40: Possibly a publicity or Kodak photograph, Pan American Highway Garden looking towards Kodak pavilion, likely taken from Kodak Picture Spot sign, with one of the Kodak produced murals in the background and a Costa Rican spherical artifact, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, 1964 season.
 From the collection of Bill Cotter, Set 353, Picture 008, and posted by Randy Treadway,
<http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=2>.



Figure 3.41, a and b: LEFT - Woman and Costa Rican cart in Pan American Highway Gardens, with mural produced by Kodak, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, photograph, 1964 season. From collection of Bill Cotter, and posted on the World's Fair bulletin board, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/2914-pan-american-highway-gardens/?page=1>. RIGHT - Woman in Pan American Highway Gardens, with Costa Rican sphere, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, photograph, 1964 season. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/7435-mystery-ball>.

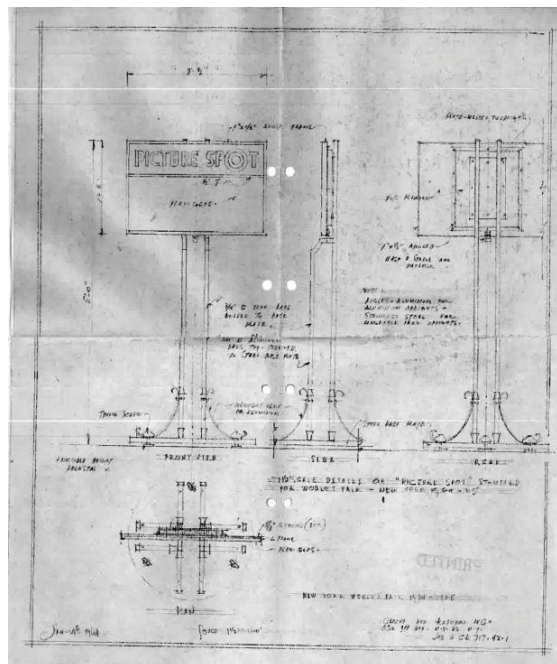


Figure 3.42: Early plans for Kodak Picture Spot (declined), designed by William S. Boice, included along with a letter, Gilmore D. Clarke to Stuart Constable, Clark and Rapuano letterhead, 2 pages with attachments, January 15, 1964, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, 1964-65 New York World's Fair Collection, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation. From NYWF at NYPL.



Figure 3.43, a and b: LEFT - Detail of unknown snapshot of Kodak Picture Spot sign and environs at African pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, 1964-65 New York World's Fair. From the collection of Major Pepperidge/gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com, and shared by Kevin, aka Yada Yada, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>. RIGHT - Photographer unknown, Disneyland Kodak Picture Spot, late 1950s or early 1960s. From <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2015/04/more-silhouette-signs.html>



Figure 3.44: Detail of panel of sign, sample Kodak photographs of the Simmons Pavilion Kodak Picture Spot, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, photograph, one of 4 images contained in World's Fair envelope, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, 1964-65 New York World's Fair Collection, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation. From , NYWF at NYPL. Note: the top left icon is the Fair's logo, not a snapshot.

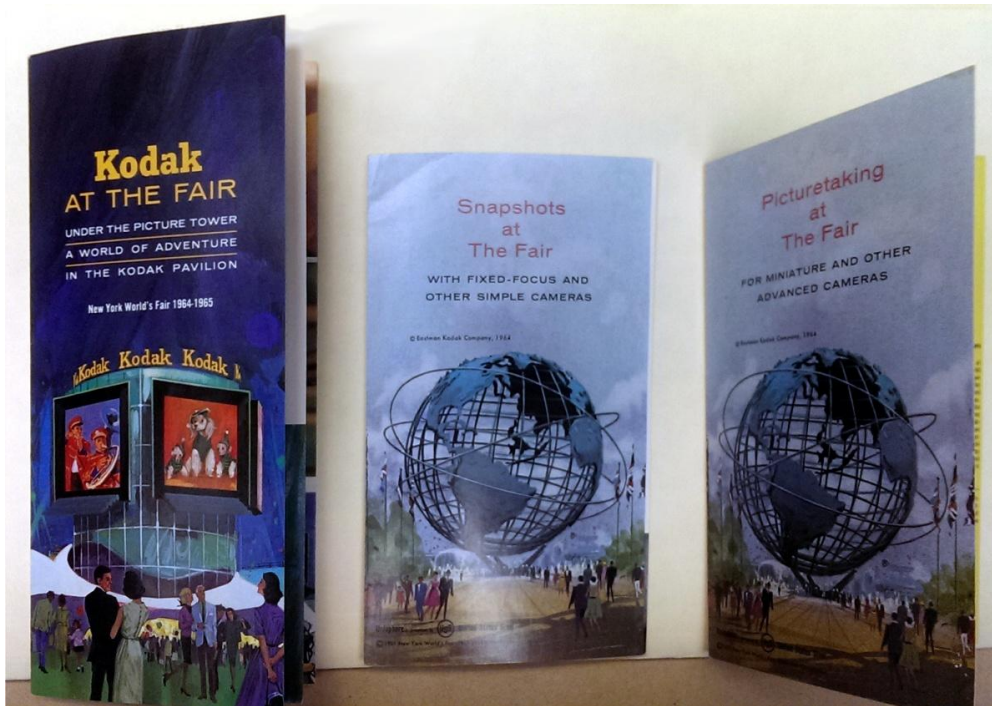


Figure 3.45: Eastman Kodak brochures, 1964-65 New York World's Fair. From the collection of the Queens Museum, Folder: 1964-65 New York World's Fair, IV: Areas & Exhibits, A: Industrial.

PAVILIONS
Shoot building fronts from a three-quarter angle for better perspective. Framing the subject (with the branch of a tree, for instance) adds dimension to the scene. Take slides of building signs for identification.

FOUNTAINS
Sidelighting or slight backlighting adds sparkle to water patterns. Shade camera lens from direct rays of sun. Lighted fountains make good subjects for time-exposure pictures at night.

TITLES
You can make your slides or movies more interesting by including simple titles. Many of the signs marking Fair attractions make good titles. Shoot as you go along. Include a "World's Fair" sign as a main title.

LENDS SETTINGS MOVIES AND STILL
Set the arrow for your film at the sky situation. Read the f-number at the desired shutter speed.

MOVIES	STILLS
KODACHROME II	f/22
KODACHROME II PAPER	1/50
KODACHROME II PAPER	1/60
KODACHROME II PAPER	f/16
KODACHROME II PAPER	1/100
KODACHROME II PAPER	1/125
KODACHROME II PAPER	f/11
KODACHROME II PAPER	1/200
KODACHROME II PAPER	1/250
KODACHROME II PAPER	f/8
KODACHROME II PAPER	1/500
KODACHROME II PAPER	f/5.6
KODACHROME II PAPER	f/4
KODACHROME II PAPER	f/2.8

WATCH FOR THESE SIGNS AS YOU TOUR THE FAIR...
Watch for these signs as you tour the fair. From such spots - or nearby - you will find scenes worth photographing. Each sign gives camera settings for snapshots and movies. KODACHROME prints show nearby pictures you can take.

THE FIVE GENERAL AREAS OF THE FAIR...
The five general areas of the fair - Industrial, International, Federal and State, Transportation, and the Lake Amusement Area - offer a vast array of exciting scenes to photograph. Naturally, however, exposure settings for any one scene will also apply to nearby scenes.

IF YOU NEED HELP IN USING YOUR CAMERA...
If you need help in using your camera, visit the information center, KODAK Pavilion.

Figure 3.46: Kodak, interior and close-up of "Picture Taking at the Fair" brochure, 1964-65 New York World's Fair. From the collection of the Queens Museum and a PDF provided by the museum.



Figure 3.47, a and b: Kodak Picture Spots at the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, Kodak, "The Fair IS Clicking With Your Customers," *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* 50, no. 4 (July/August 1964): 8. From GELC at GEM.



Figure 3.48: Close up of a Kodak Picture Spot sign and panel with sample photographs, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, "So What's Kodak Done for Me Lately," *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* (January/February 1965), 1-5, image on page 4. From GELC at GEM.
 Note: the top left icon is the Fair's logo, not a snapshot, and the center is possibly a photo of the Unisphere.



Figure 3.49: Anonymous snapshot of dinosaur in Sinclair's Dinoland, photograph taken at Kodak Picture Spot sign, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.



Figure 3.50: Location of Kodak Picture Spot sign for corresponding photograph of Sinclair's Dinosaur, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, likely a still from a home movie, circa 1964. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.

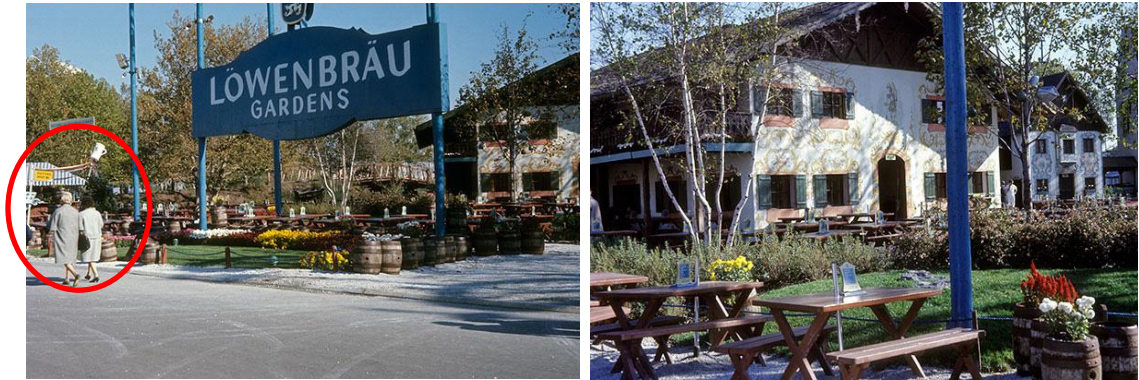


Figure 3.51, a and b: Photographs taken nearby the same Kodak Picture Spot at Löwenbräu Gardens - snapshot including the Kodak and attraction sign (LEFT) and Kodak's likely recommended view (RIGHT) from the sign's panel, including the blue pole of the Löwenbräu sign, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. Both from the collection of Bill Cotter and posted at <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=3>.



Figure 3.52: Kodak Picture Spot and Löwenbräu sign, anonymous snapshot, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. From the collection of Bill Cotter, Set 67, Picture 027, and posted on <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment>.



Figure 3.53: Snapshot of Kodak Picture Spot sign and its environs at African pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. From the collection of Major Pepperidge/gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com and shared by Kevin, aka Yada Yada, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.

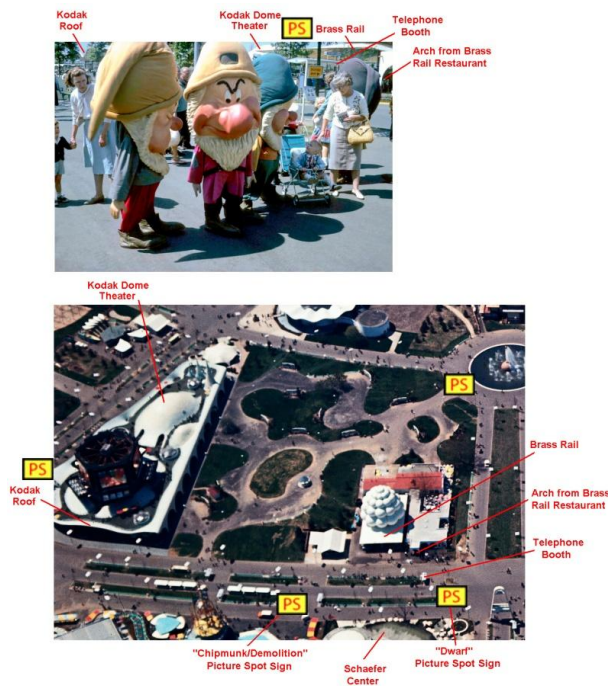


Figure 3.54: Snapshot and Map of Kodak Picture Spots surrounding the Kodak pavilion, further notated by the author to denote Picture Spot locations (yellow PS), 1964-65 New York World's Fair. From, and created and shared by Kavin aka Yada Yada, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=2>.



Figure 3.55: Anonymous snapshot featuring Kodak Picture Spot (to right, circled in red) and Solar Fountain (center), and Avis Pan American Highway Rides, located at corner of the Avenue of Asia and Court of the Sun, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, 1965 season. From, and posted by shared by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=2>.



Figure 3.56: Anonymous snapshot of New York State pavilion with Kodak Picture Spot sign (circled in red), 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.



Figure 3.57, a and b: Anonymous snapshots, Festival of Gas Pavilion and Belgian Village entrance with front facade of the Hall of Free Enterprise, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964-65. Both from, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.



Figure 3.58: Anonymous snapshot of Kodak Picture Spot in the median of the Avenue of African Nations, between the Greece and Africa pavilions, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=3>. Note: The Unisphere may be highlighted in the Picture Spot in figure 48 above, center, but it is not known at the time where that location is.



Figure 3.59: Annotated Esso map with 22 locations of Kodak Picture Spot signs marked (there are more, but this is as many as this World's Fair bulletin board could locate from their snapshots), 1964-65 New York World's Fair. Created by Kevin aka Yada Yada/Blueprint Geek, user can be found on the third page of discussion, "A Kodak Moment," The World's Fair Community, July 7, 2011. From <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=3>.

Signs are marked with yellow boxes and the red initials **PS.**



Figure 3.60: Anonymous snapshot, Brass Rail concession stand, Refreshment and Souvenir Center, where Kodak film was also sold, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, May 1965. From the Collection of Bill Cotter, and posted to, World's Fair bulletin board, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/12503-a-better-than-average-view-of-a-brass-rail>.



Figure 3.61: Anonymous snapshot of a Kodak Picture Spot at the Kodak Pavilion (in red rectangle). From the collection of Bill Cotter - [worldsfairphotos.com](http://www.worldsfairphotos.com) – Set 353, Image 11, and posted by Yada Yada, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.



Figure 3.62: Anonymous snapshot of one of probably three Kodak Picture Spot signs in the Florida pavilion (marked with green arrow) in the Lake Amusement Area, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. From, and posted by Randy Treadway, <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=2>.



Figure 3.63, a, b, c, and d: Kodak sample photographs of the Simmons pavilion, featured on Kodak Picture Spot sign and panel, pavilion, and mushrooms, 4 images contained in World's Fair envelope, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, 1964-65 New York World's Fair Collection, Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation. From NYWF at NYPL.



Figure 3.64: Anonymous photograph, View of Avis Pan American Highway Rides from Kodak pavilion's Moon Deck (seen in foreground), 1964-65 New York World's Fair, 1965 season. From, and posted by Bill Cotter, From <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/2914-pan-american-highway-gardens/?page=1>.

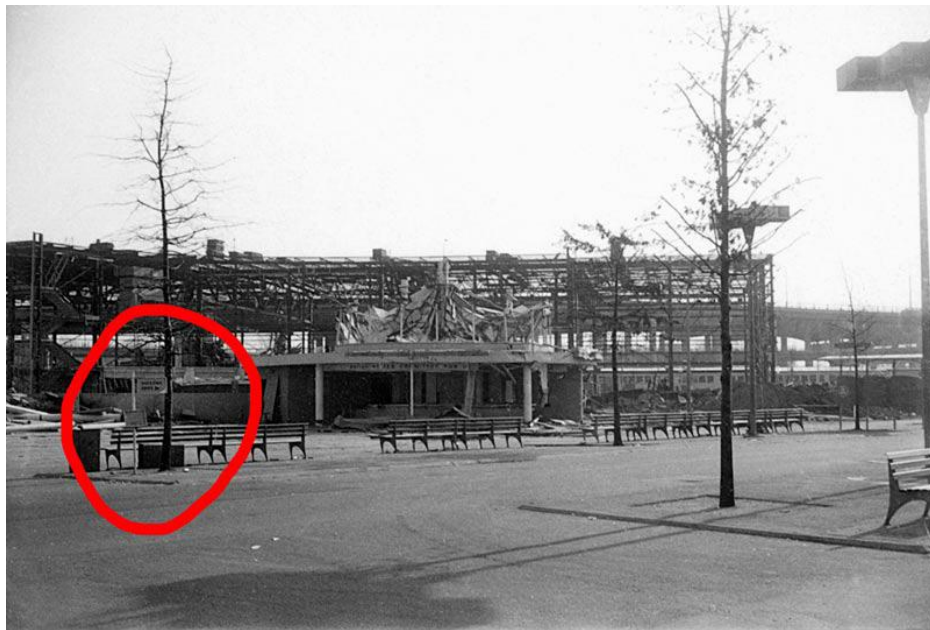


Figure 3.65: Anonymous snapshot, possibly by Fair official, of the Kodak Picture Spot sign in front of Pepsi-Cola/UNICEF's "It's a Small World" attraction being torn down, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1965-66. From the collection of Bill Cotter, From <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.



Figure 3.66: Stone marker, original site of the Avenue of Americas from the 1964-65 New York World's Fair, Flushing Meadows-Corona Park, Queens, NY, 2015, photograph taken by the author.



Figure 4.1, a-c: Various Picture Spots at Disney - Kodak, GAF, and Nikon

- a) **Early Kodak Picture Spot in Disneyland:** anonymous snapshot, late 1950s or early 1960s, posted by George Thomas and George Taylor to Imaginerding blog, April 7, 2007. From <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2007/04/some-obscure-signs.html>.
- b) **GAF Photo Trail in Disneyland:** family snapshot by Loren Javier, circa 1973, posted to All Ears, November 9, 2010. From http://land.allears.net/blogs/guestblog/2010/11/disneyland_circa_1973.html.
- c) **Nikon Picture Spot at Magic Kingdom, Disney World:** digital photo by Kathy Werling, posted to WDW Info, February 26, 2014. From <http://blog.wdwinfo.com/2014/02/26/a-february-stroll-through-the-magic-kingdom>.



Figure 4.2: Walt Disney's train at his California home with Salvador Dali riding, photograph, circa 1950s. From Marling, Karal Ann Marling in Marling, ed., *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance*, 14.

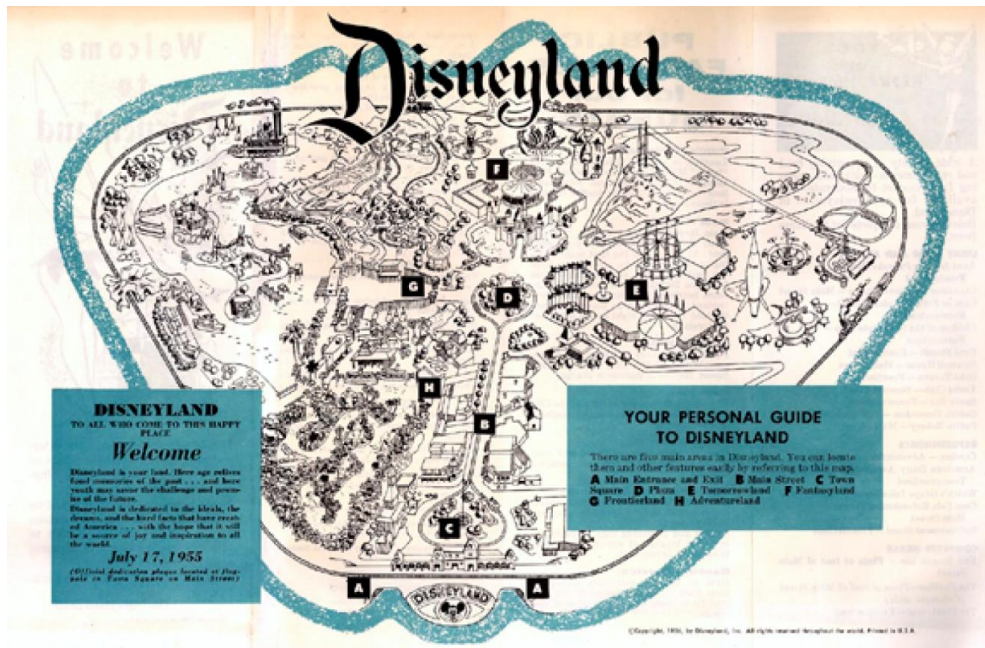


Figure 4.3: Disneyland map from 1955, "Stuff from the Park," posted February 14, 2011. From "Matternhorn 1959" blog, <http://matternhorn1959.blogspot.com/2011/02/things-from-gate-1955-map-brochure.html>.



Figure 4.4: Aerial photograph of Disneyland, circa 1963, by Robert J. Boser. (EditorASC), posted by David Wallace, April 9, 2009. From "Disney O Rama," <http://www.disneyorama.com/2009/04/blast-from-the-past-disneyland-in-1963/>.



Figure 4.5: Detail of 1963 Kodak map, "Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland," 1963. From "Vintage Disney" blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1963.html>.



Figure 4.6: Snapshot of the area outside of the Disneyland entrance, park gates and railroad, circa 1956, photo by Charles R. Lympany and courtesy of Chris Taylor. From "Yesterland" blog, <http://www.yesterland.com/entrance.html>.



Figure 4.7: Posters in front of Main Street Station, with Santa Fe and Disneyland Railroad train, circa August 1960, posted by Major Pepperidge, April 29, 2014. From "Gorillas Don't Blog" blog, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2014/04/main-street-station-august-1960.html>.



Figure 4.8: Disneyland opening day ABC special with Art Linkletter as host, "1955 Disneyland Opening Day," screenshot of television program from video posted by Macio Disney to YouTube, July 16, 2011. From <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JuzrZET-3Ew>.

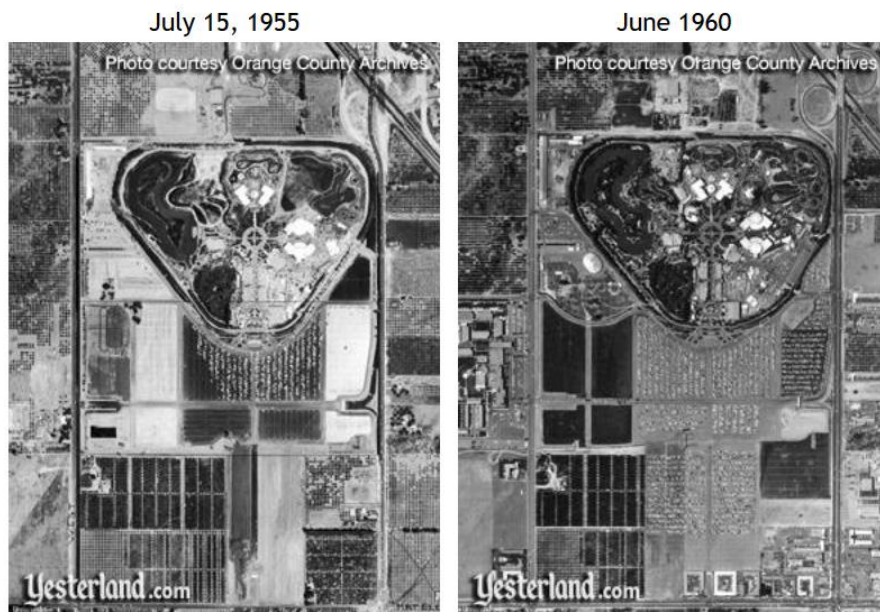


Figure 4.9: Two aerial photographs of Disneyland, with parking lots below, 1955 and 1960, courtesy of the Orange County Archives, Santa Ana, California, posted by Werner Weiss. From 'Yesterland,' <http://www.yesterland.com/aerial1955and1960.html>.



Figure 4.10: Kodak Picture Spot at the entrance to Disneyland, November 1960, "Picture Perfect: A Guide for the Amateur Photographer," posted August 26, 2013. From "Daveland blog," <https://davelandblog.blogspot.com/2013/08/picture-perfect-guide-for-amateur.html>.



Figure 4.11, a-c: Detail of Kodak Picture Spot panel at the entrance to Disneyland, November 1960, along with two actual snapshots likely taken at the instruction of the sign, circa 1960s, "Picture Perfect: A Guide for the Amateur Photographer," posted August 26, 2013. From "Daveland blog," <https://davelandblog.blogspot.com/2013/08/picture-perfect-guide-for-amateur.html>.



Figure 4.12: Anonymous snapshot, Main Street Station with Kodak Picture Spot and posed family, circa August 1960, posted by Major Pepperidge, April 29, 2014. From "Gorillas Don't Blog" blog, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2014/04/main-street-station-august-1960.html>.



Figure 4.13: Grand Opening of the Grand Canyon Diorama, part of the Santa Fe & Disneyland Railroad, with Little White Cloud playing "Chico," SFRR "mascot," photograph, March 31, 1958, also present was Walt Disney and SFRR Board Chairman Fred Gurley. From the collection of David DeCaro and posted to "Daveland Blog," <http://davelandblog.blogspot.com/2013/03/debut-of-grand-canyon-diorama.html>.



Figure 4.14: Scene from Grand Canyon Diorama, part of the Santa Fe & Disneyland Railroad, contemporary photograph by David DeCaro. From "Daveland Blog," <http://davelandblog.blogspot.com/2013/03/debut-of-grand-canyon-diorama.html>.



Figure 4.15: Top of stylized Kodak sign superimposed over opening credits and commercial, television special, "Disneyland '59 Opening / Disneyland Construction," posted by FreedogShampoo, April 19, 2007. From <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2XH5y7hj6bE>.



Figure 4.16, a and b: Art Linkletter and Kodak Picture Spot in the Kodak Store, from Eastman Kodak advertisement within the television special, "Disneyland '59 Opening / Disneyland Construction," posted by FreedogShampoo, April 19, 2007. From <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2XH5y7hj6bE>.

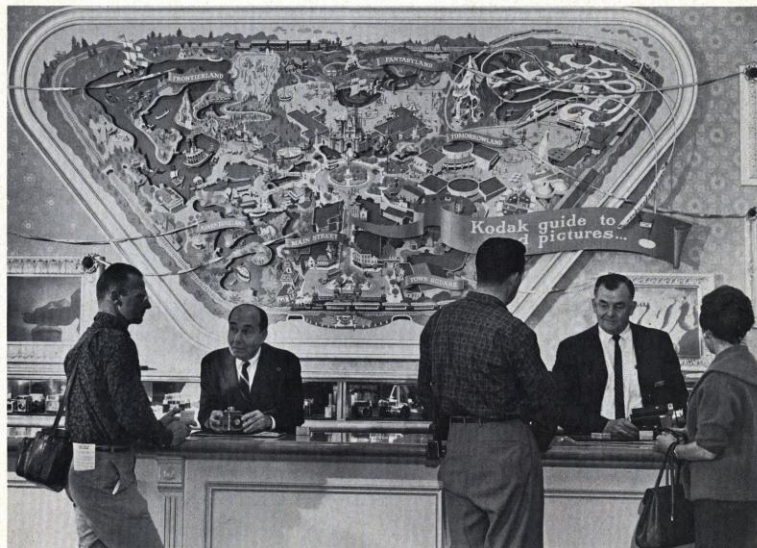


Figure 4.17: Map and costumer counter in Kodak store in Disneyland, circa 1963, "Magic Kingdom Club Membership Card 1963," posted to Vintage Disneyland Tickets, February 10, 2011. From "Vintage Disneyland Tickets" blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2011/02/magic-kingdom-club-membership-card-1963.html>.



Figure 4.18: Kodak map of Disneyland with Kodak Picture Spots (red dots, 30 total), inside of brochure, "Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland," 1963. From "Vintage Disneyland Tickets" blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1963.html>.



Figure 4.19: Kodak Picture Spot at Disneyland, promotional photograph, circa 1960, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," spiral bound 14-page booklet, 1960, Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation, n.p. From NYWF at NYPL.



Figure 4.20: Anonymous snapshot, Space Girl and Kodak Picture Spot, circa late 1950s or early 1960s, collection of Van Eaton Galleries, from Alanna Martinez, "Treasure Trove of 1000 Collectibles Head to Auction in California," *The Observer*, posted February 6, 2015. From <https://observer.com/2015/02/treasure-trove-of-over-1000-disneyland-collectibles-heads-to-auction-in-california>.



Figure 4.21: Anonymous snapshot, Kodak Picture Spot at Cinderella Castle and detail/close-up of panel with sample photographs, circa late 1950s or early 1960s, "Picture Spot," collection of and posted to "Stuff from the Park," February 25, 2009. From "Matterhorn 1959" blog, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2009/02/picture-spot.html>.



Figure 4.22, a and b: Anonymous snapshot of Kodak Picture Spot sign at Disneyland, circa late 1950s or early 1960s (RIGHT) and detail of anonymous snapshot of environs at African pavilion, 1964-65 New York World's Fair, circa 1964. From the collection of Major Pepperidge/gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com and posted by Kevin, aka Yada Yada to "World's Fair Community," <http://www.worldsfaircommunity.org/topic/11301-a-kodak-moment/?page=1>.

Here's How Photographic Signs Work

These on-the-spot photos of Disneyland show picture-taking signs in use.



Figure 4.23: Kodak Picture Spot location and demonstration of it in use at Disneyland, from J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," spiral bound 14-page booklet, 1960, Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, n.p.



.....A scene that tells, much better than he can describe in words,
the fun and interest of Disneyland.

Figure 4.24: Resultant photographs from Kodak Picture Spot at Disneyland, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," spiral bound 14-page booklet, 1960, Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, n.p. From NYWF at NYPL.



Figure 4.25: Anonymous snapshot taken nearby a Kodak Picture Spot, Rocket to the Moon, Disneyland, circa 1960, "Tomorrowland," posted by Major Pepperidge, June 21, 2008.
From "Gorillas Don't Blog" blog, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2006/06/tomorrowland.html>.



Figure 4.26: Postcard, "Scene from Autopia Freeway," Tomorrowland, Disneyland, Circa 1959.
From pinterest, https://www.pinterest.com/Carole__Wright/disneyland-flashback-tomorrowland.

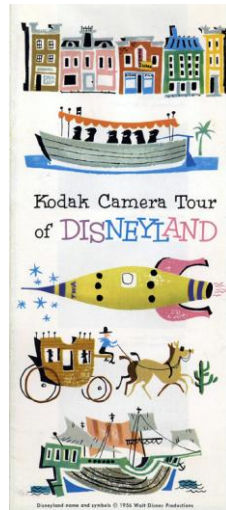


Figure 4.27: Eastman Kodak, Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland brochure, front, 1956, posted May 17, 2018. From "Vintage Disneyland Tickets" blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1956.html>.

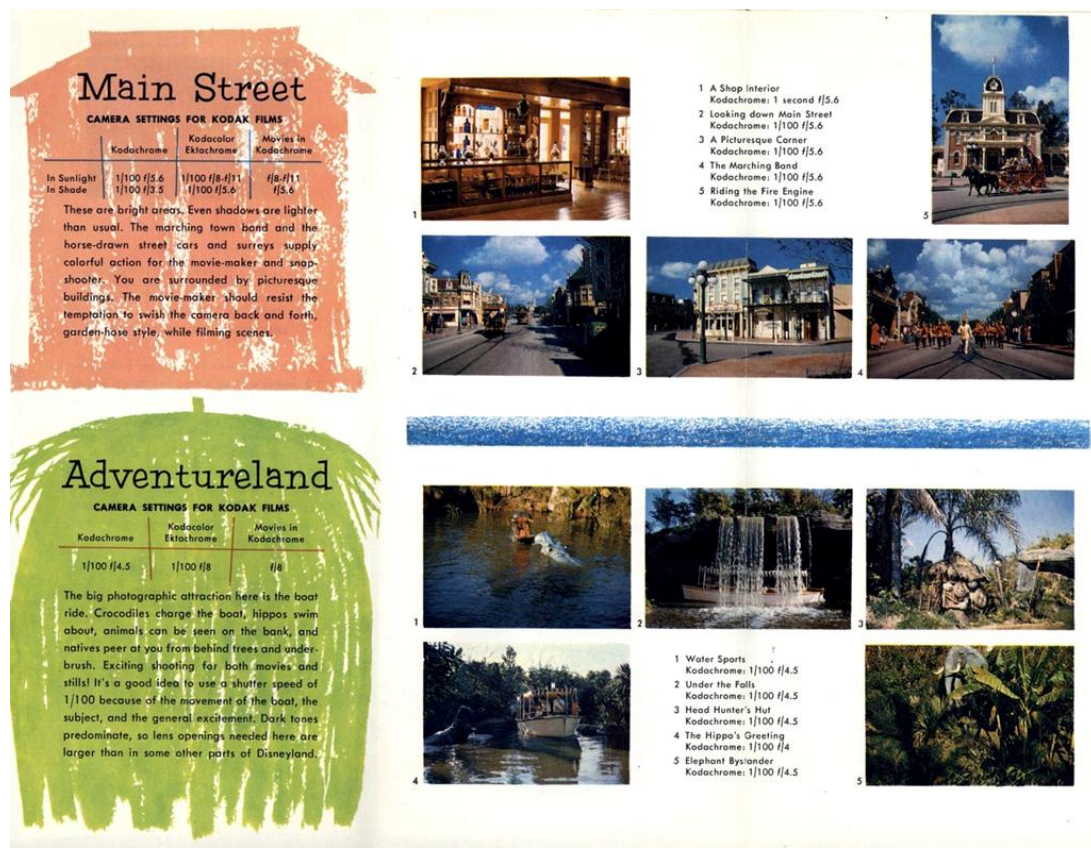


Figure 4.28: Interior ancillary panel, Eastman Kodak, Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland brochure, 1956.

Frontierland

Lots of action in this Wild West. With a handy camera you can get the drop on many colorful frontier characters. You can explore the country by stage coach, buckboard, Canastoga wagon, pack mule, or on the spectacular Mine Ride. River rides on the paddle-wheel steamer, Mark Twain, and on Mike Fink's keel boat provide good vantage points for picture taking. Go ashore on Tom Sawyer's Island for a roll full of unusual scenes.

CAMERA SETTINGS FOR KODAK FILMS


Kodachrome	Kodachrome Ektachrome	Movies in Kodachrome
1/100 f/5.6	1/100 f/8-f/11	f/8-f/11



Entering Frontierland
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/4.5




Riding the Stagecoach
Ektachrome: 1/100 f/8-f/11



Mike Fink's Keel Boat
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/5.6



Through the Desert
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/5.6



The Mark Twain
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/4.5 (hazy sun)

Tomorrowland


This is a very bright area because of the open sky and the brightness of the buildings and pavements. Speedboats, miniature cars, the Skyways, and Astro-Jet rides provide plenty of action. The buildings in this area house interesting displays which can be photographed most easily by using flashlamps. Moving crowds make time exposures troublesome. Camera settings for flash pictures can be figured from the tables on the back of Kodak flashholders, or from the flash guide numbers on the lamp carton.

CAMERA SETTINGS FOR KODAK FILMS


Kodachrome	Kodachrome Ektachrome	Movies in Kodachrome
1/100 f/5.6-f/8	1/100 f/11	f/11



The Space Port
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/5.6-f/8




At the Autopia
Ektachrome: 1/100 f/11



Time Around the World
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/5.6-f/8



Astro-Jet Ride
Ektachrome: 1/200 f/8



In the Nautilus
Kodachrome: 1/25 f/5.6 with No. 5 flashlamp

Fantasyland


The castle is a favorite picture point. The towers, moat, and draw-bridge make good pictures by themselves or as backdrops to pictures of the family. In the castle court there are picture-worthy rides on the Carousel, in the tea cups, and through the air on Dumbo. From the cars of the Casey Jr. Circus Train you can photograph miniature scenes recreated from childhood stories. Mr. Toad's Wild Ride, Snow White, and Peter Pan are dark rides; snapshots, flash exposures, or movies are not practical.

CAMERA SETTINGS FOR KODAK FILMS

Kodachrome	Kodachrome Ektachrome	Movies in Kodachrome
1/100 f/5.6	1/100 f/8-f/11	f/8-f/11




The Castle
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/5.6




On Board Dumbo
Ektachrome: 1/100 f/8 (hazy sun)



Merlin's Shop
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/4.5



Casey Jr. Chugs Along
Ektachrome: 1/100 f/8-f/11



The Pinole Ship
Kodachrome: 1/100 f/5.6

Figure 4.29: Interior main panel, Eastman Kodak, Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland brochure, 1956, posted May 17, 2018. From "Vintage Disneyland Tickets" blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1956.html>.

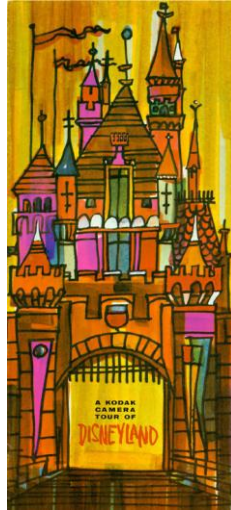


Figure 4.30: Eastman Kodak, Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland brochure, cover and interior (map seen above in figure 4.18 and below 4.32), 1963, posted May 14, 2018.
 From "Vintage Disneyland Tickets blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1963.html>.

SNAPSHOTS at shutter speed of 1/100 or 1/125		
<i>Daylight Type Film</i>	Bright or Heavy Sun (Distinct Shadows)	Cloudy Bright (No Shadows)
Kodachrome II	f/8-11	f/5.6-8
Kodachrome-X Kodachrome-X	f/11-16	f/8-11
Verichrome Pan	f/16	f/11
Plus-X Pan	f/22	f/16

Use a half-stop more exposure in scenes where dark tones predominate.

MOVIES		
<i>Daylight Type Film</i>	Bright or Heavy Sun (Distinct Shadows)	Cloudy Bright (No Shadows)
Kodachrome II	f/16 16 frames/sec	f/11 16 frames/sec
Plus-X 16mm	f/16 24 frames/sec	f/11 24 frames/sec

Entrance to Sleeping Beauty Castle. Near: Picture Spot No. 17.
 A look into Tomorrowland. Near: Picture Spot No. 22.
 Storybook Village taken from the Casey Jones Jr. Ride in Fantasyland.
 A ceremonial dance at the Indian Village.
 Tom Sawyer's Raft in the foreground and "The Columbia" at the wharf. Near: Picture Spot No. 31.
 An encounter with a hippo on the Jungle Boat Ride in Adventureland. Pictures here usually need more exposure than in the other lands.

Main Street Picturesque buildings, the marching town band, horse-drawn vehicles supply colorful action for the movie-maker and snap shooter.

Adventureland The jungle river-boat ride abounds in novel and exciting scenes for your snapshot and movie cameras.

Frontierland The many rides take you through settings which invite the click of the shutter.

Tomorrowland Here is a new world to capture in movies and snapshots—scenes from on land, under the water, and in the air.

Fantasyland The castle and the child's world reached through its portal—this is one of the most camera-happy spots in Disneyland.

KODAK PAMPHLET NO. C-38

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 DISNEYLAND NAME AND SYMBOLS © 1963 WALT DISNEY PRODUCTIONS
 R-43 L-AP

Figure 4.31: Interior, Eastman Kodak, Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland brochure, 1963.



Figure 4.32: Detail of Map of Disneyland with Kodak Picture Spots (red dots, 30 total), Inside of brochure, "Kodak Camera Tour of Disneyland," 1963. From "Vintage Disneyland Tickets" blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2008/05/kodak-camera-tour-of-disneyland-1963.html>.



Figure 4.33: Anonymous snapshot of two women taken from Kodak Picture Spot, in front of Disneyland Main Street Station, circa early 1960s. From "Matterhorn 1959" blog, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2008/11/kodak-picture-spots-at-disneyland.html>.



Figure 4.34: Example of "weenies," anonymous snapshot of Castle and Matterhorn, "Random Images, August 1968," posted March 31, 2015. From "Gorillas Don't Blog" blog, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2015/03/random-images-august-1968.html>.



Figure 4.35, a and b: Two snapshots taken at the same Kodak Picture Spot sign in Disney World, 2007: Diana (username CheshireCat51), "Cinderella Castle, Classic View," posted October 31, 2007. From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/31190471@N08/2916417965> and Username blm07, "Magic Kingdom - Cinderella Castle (March 17, 2007)," posted March 17, 2007. From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/blm07/456024147>.



Figure 4.36: Anonymous snapshot of couple taken from Kodak Picture Spot located at Snow White Grotto and Wishing Well, Disneyland. From "Matterhorn 1959" blog, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2008/11/kodak-picture-spots-at-disneyland.html>.



Figure 4.37: Anonymous snapshot of boy taken at Kodak Picture Spot, Chicken of the Sea restaurant, Disneyland, "Negatives from Disneyland, Part Two," posted May 26, 2009. From "Matterhorn 1959" blog, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2009/05/negatives-from-disneyland-part-two.html>.



Figure 4.38: Anonymous slide, Skull Rock with Kodak Picture Spot sign, Disneyland, circa 1967, posted by Major Pepperidge, "Skull Rock & Pirate Ship," February 20, 2007. From "Gorillas Don't Blog" blog, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2007/02/skull-rock-pirate-ship.html>.

The sign tells the visitor where to stand and how to shoot to get the best picture of the Mississippi steamboat coming 'round the bend...



Figure 4.39: Sample scene showcasing how Kodak Picture Spot sign at Mark Twain paddleboat functions, Disneyland, photograph, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," spiral bound 14-page booklet, 1960, Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, n.p. From NYWF at NYPL.

Result:



A picture that is much better than the one he might have taken without help.

Figure 4.40: Sample scene showcasing how Kodak Picture Spot sign at Mark Twain paddleboat functions, Disneyland, J. Walter Thompson Company and Eastman Kodak Company pitchbook, "Proposal For PICTURE TAKING LOCATIONS at New York World's Fair 1964-65," spiral bound 14-page booklet, 1960, Copy: William Berns typed on front, located in Box #303, P1.43, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking Locations folder, Photography, Participation, NYWF at NYPL, n.p. From NYWF at NYPL.



Figure 4.41, a and b: Anonymous snapshots of Mark Twain paddleboat and Kodak Picture Spot sign, Disneyland - RIGHT - Photograph circa 1968, posted by Major Pepperidge, "Random Images, 1968," posted on March 31, 2015. From "Gorillas Don't Blog" blog, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2015/03/random-images-august-1968.html> and Slide, circa 1960, posted by Major Pepperidge, "Two Pix from 1960," posted on October 28, 2007. From "Gorillas Don't Blog" blog, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/2007/10/two-pix-from-1960.html>.



Figure 4.42, a and b: Various authors seeking where Disney snapshots were taken in Disney parks, "Please help me identify this picture location!," query and portrait first posted by "staxia," original photograph from Disney World, 1979, posted to DIS boards, September 7, 2010. From <http://www.disboards.com/showthread.php?t=2550897>.

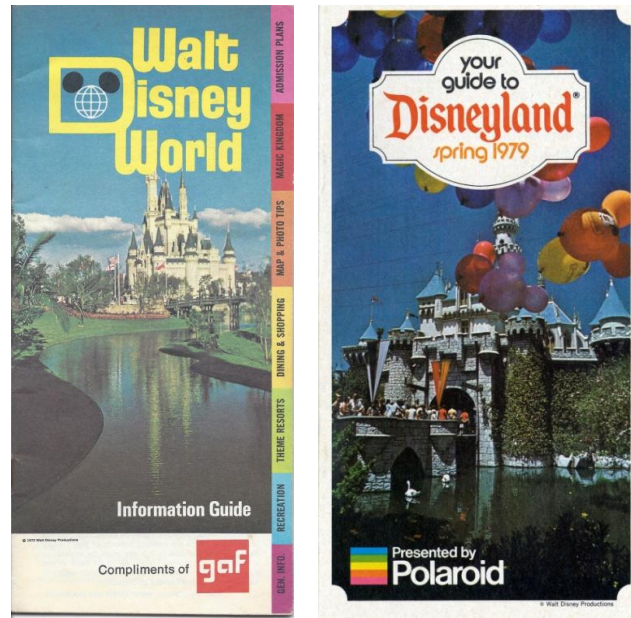


Figure 4.43, a and b: Front of GAF and Polaroid maps and brochures - GAF map 1972. From "Disney Parks Archive," <http://disneyparksearchive.com/MKMap/magic-kingdom-1972/> Polaroid map, Spring 1979, posted on March 22, 2010. From "Vintage Disneyland Tickets" blog, <http://vintagedisneylandtickets.blogspot.com/2010/03/disneyland-passport-march-22-1979.html>.

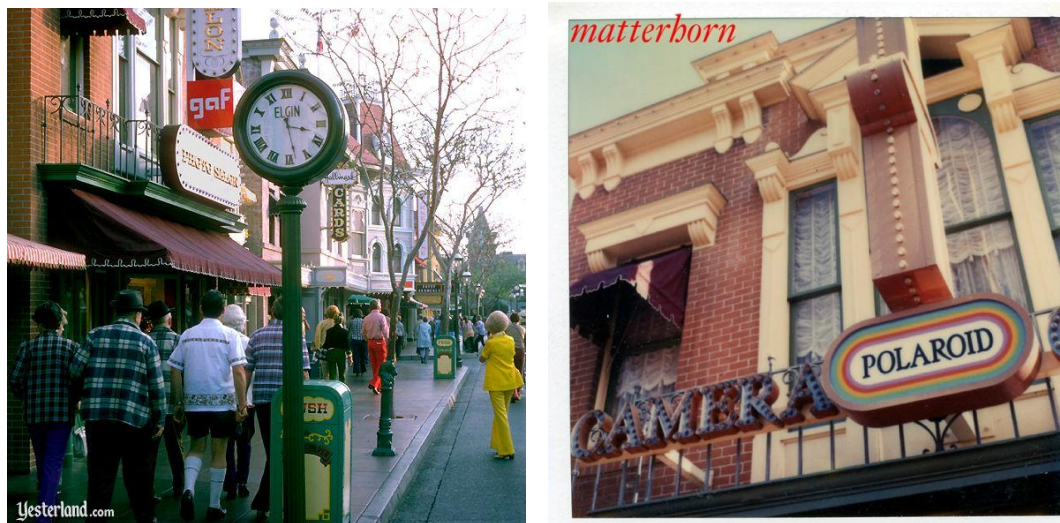


Figure 4.44, a and b: GAF and Polaroid stores on Main Street, Disneyland - LEFT, GAF store, circa 1970s-80s, posted by Werner Weiss, "GAF, Elgin, and Hallmark." From "Yesterland," <http://www.yesterland.com/photocenter.html>. RIGHT - Polaroid store, early 1980s (post states 1983), posted on November 22, 2009. From "Matterhorn 1959" blog, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/2009/11/working-at-polaroid-1983.html>.



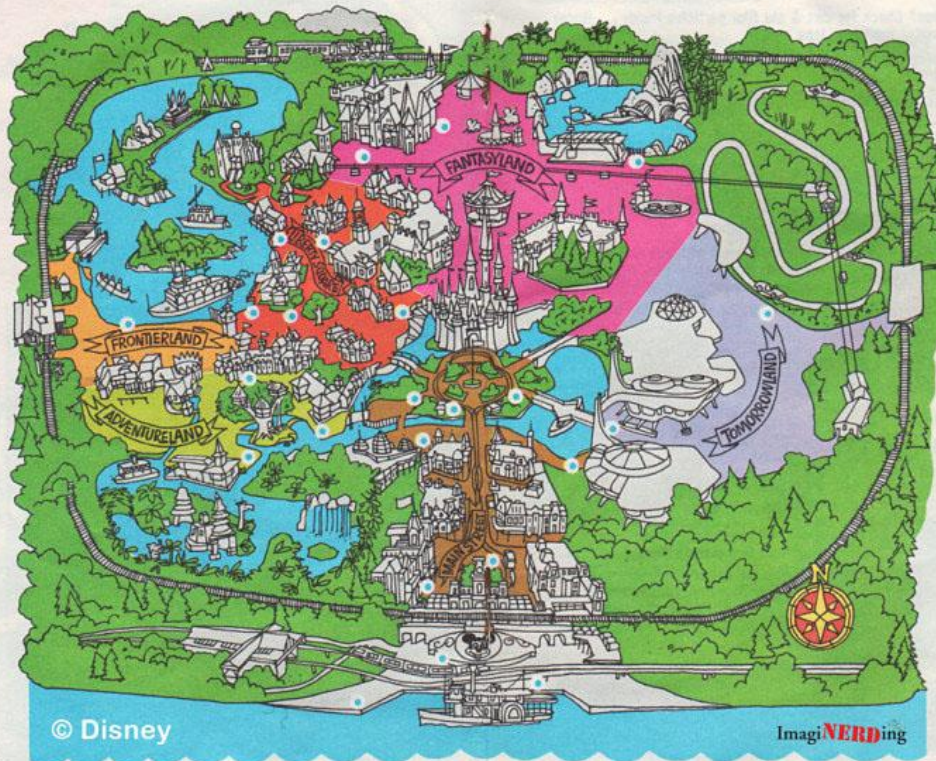
Figure 4.45: GAF map, 1974, "Take your New Disney Friends Home," posted June 14, 2010. From "Passport to Dreams: Old and New," <http://passport2dreams.blogspot.com/2010/06/take-your-new-disney-friends-home.html>.



Figure 4.46: GAF, cartoon featuring View-Master products, then made by GAF, "Take your New Disney Friends Home," posted June 14, 2010. From "Passport to Dreams: Old and New," <http://passport2dreams.blogspot.com/2010/06/take-your-new-disney-friends-home.html>.

THE MAGIC KINGDOM

Follow the GAF Photo Trail for outstanding scenic pictures in the Magic Kingdom. The picture spots on the map have been carefully researched and selected as the best locations for taking memorable pictures. Each spot ○ has been marked by a Photo Trail sign providing useful information for colorful and exciting movies and still pictures. Photo Trail spots have also been located at the hotels and other scenic areas around Walt Disney World. Watch for the blue picture spot signs.



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TAKING WALT DISNEY WORLD HOME WITH YOU IN PICTURES

You'll quickly see that Walt Disney World is a photographer's paradise... not just for the professional but anyone with a camera. The photo tips on the next few pages will assist you in bringing Walt Disney World and the rest of your vacation "back home with you" in pictures. If you need any further advice or assistance, a staff of photo experts is ready to assist you at the GAF Camera Center, Main Street, U.S.A.

Happy picture-taking from GAF — The Great American Film®

16

17

Figure 4.47: Inside map of GAF Guide to Walt Disney World, 1971, "Magic Kingdom Maps Galore," posted February 8, 2016. From "Imaginerding" blog, <http://www.imaginerding.com/2016/02/08/magic-kingdom-maps-galore/>.

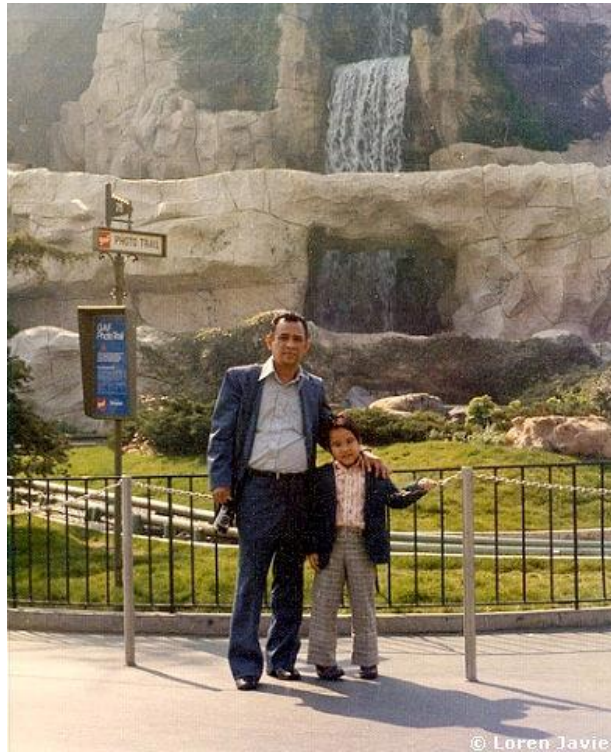


Figure 4.48: Family snapshot by Loren Javier, circa 1973, posted to All Ears, November 9, 2010. From http://land.allears.net/blogs/guestblog/2010/11/disneyland_circa_1973.html.html.



Figure 4.49, and b: LEFT - GAF Photo Trail sign and closeup, Rock Skull Cover, Disneyland, taken on January 28, 1977, Collection of Dave DeCaro, posted August 25, 2014. RIGHT - detail. From "Daveland Blog," <http://davelandblog.blogspot.com/2014/08/january-28-1977-at-disneyland-pt-2.html>.

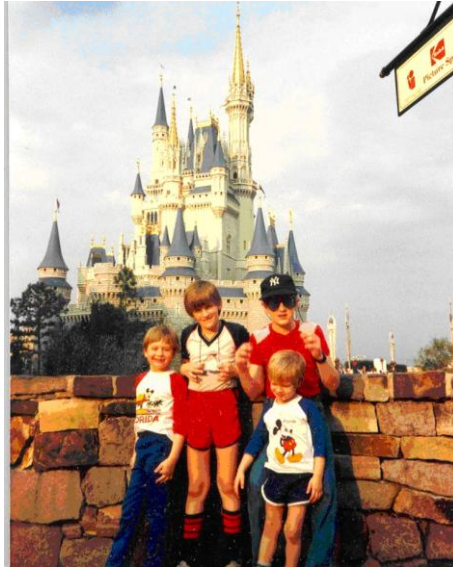


Figure 4.50: Anonymous snapshot featuring Kodak Picture Spot sign at Disney park, family portrait at Disney Castle Picture Spot, 1980s. From http://farm1.static.flickr.com/48/187886506_94c78648df_m.jpg.

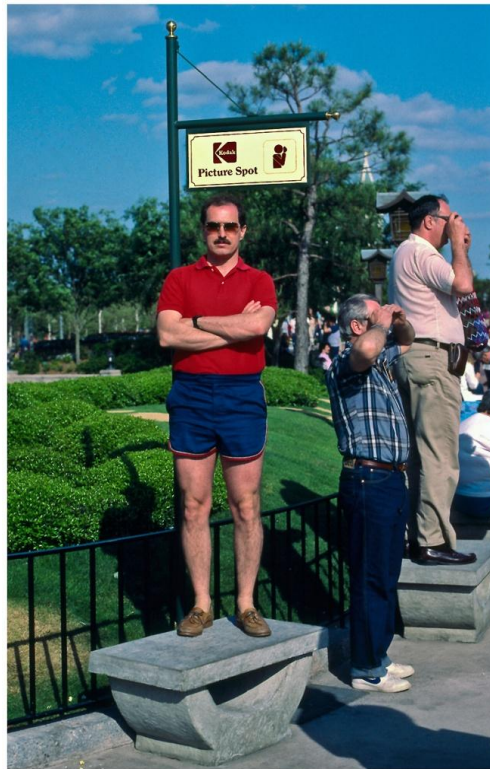


Figure 4.51: Example of visitor interaction, or lack thereof, with a Kodak Picture Spot sign at Disneyland park, scanned Ektachrome slide, 1984, posted by George Thompson, "Disneyworld Kodak Picture Spot 1984," username "hz536n," on March 1, 2010.

From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/hz536n/4396807607>.



Figure 4.52, a and b: EPCOT 1980s and 1990s Kodak Picture Spot sign with detail, snapshot by Sean Lamberger, circa 1980s, posted October 31, 2006.
From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/43225918@N00/284813716>.



Figure 4.53, a and b: EPCOT opening poster, 1982, and Imagination! Pavilion, sponsored by Kodak until 2010, posted August 26, 2010. LEFT - From "Walt Disney's Original EPCOT" website, <http://sites.google.com/site/theoriginalepcot/imagineering-epcot>. RIGHT - From Original Epcot Project, "Disney Unplugged" blog, <http://www.disunplugged.com/2010/08/26/epcot-at-walt-disney-world-rumor-did-they-lose-a-sponso>.

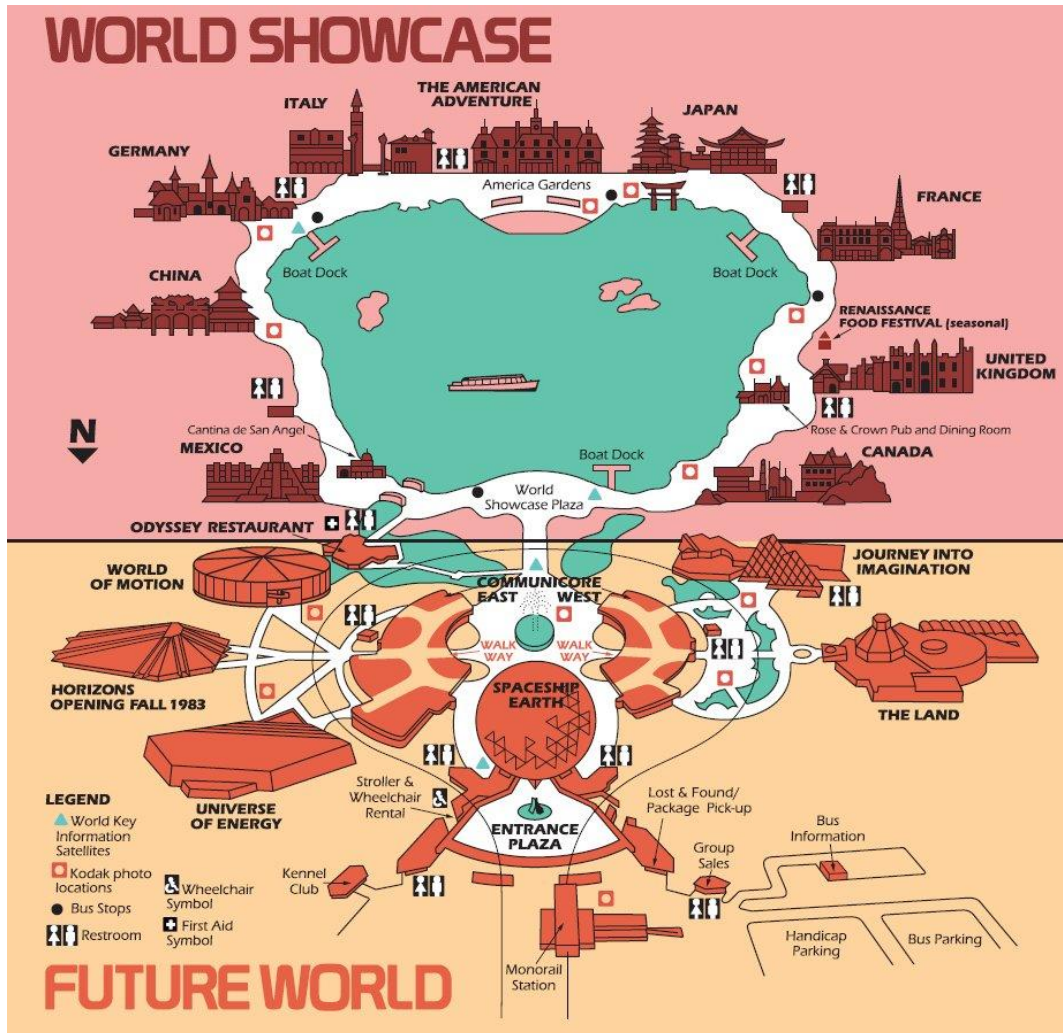


Figure 4.54: Kodak EPCOT map, contained in EPCOT Center Opening Day Guide Map, from 1982, From "Retro Disney World," <https://www.retrowdw.com/pictorial-souvenir/wdw-ephemera/walt-disney-world-guidebooks-pamphlets>.

Note: Kodak "photo locations" are denoted by small squares with circles inside.



Figure 4.56: China Kodak Picture Spot #5, located in EPCOT's World Showcase, digital photograph by Richard Schleuning and posted on January 20, 2010. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/silver2silicon/4414292890>.



Figure 4.57: Spaceship Earth Kodak Picture Spot #1, EPCOT's central motif and geodesic dome, digital photograph by Richard Schleuning and posted on January 20, 2010. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/silver2silicon/4414227772>.

Disneyland



Figure 4.58: Kodak, Kodak Picture Spots in Disneyland, 2011 Map, PDF provided by Kodak.



Figure 4.59: Kodak, Kodak Picture Spots in Disney's Magic Kingdom, 2009, map posted by Thomas Hoehn.

From Kodak's "A Thousand Words" now defunct blog, <http://1000words.kodak.com/thousandwords/post/?id=2360195>.



Figure 4.60: Kodak, Kodak Picture Spots in EPCOT, 2009, map posted by Thomas Hoehn. From Kodak's "A Thousand Words" now defunct blog, <http://1000words.kodak.com/thousandwords/post/?id=2360196>.



Figure 4.61: Big Thunder Mountain Railroad Kodak Picture Spot, Disney World, digital photograph by Scott Smith, posted on July 24, 2011. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/scottsmith/7553020820>.



Figure 4.62, a: Toontown Kodak Picture Spot, Disney World, photograph by Princess Shari, 2007. From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/sharij/2056168438>.



Figure 4.62, b: Detail of 4.62a showing sample picture and family, photograph by Cedric Ching, 2008, "DISNEY: Magic Kingdom's Kodak Picture Spots," posted on January 4, 2008. From "Soneevda blog," <http://soneevda.blogspot.com/2008/01/disney-magic-kingdoms-kodak-picture.html>.



Figure 4.63: Disobeying a Kodak Picture Spot Sign, EPCOT, digital photograph by George Thomas, "Brian and Lauren EPCOT Picture Spot," posted on October 24, 2013. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/hz536n/10649819484>.



Figure 4.64: Humorous interaction with Kodak Picture Spot sign in Disneyland, circa 2008, photography by Mike Merrill, "PICTURE SPOT!", user name kmikeym, posted in 2008. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kmikeym/2618503155>.



Figure 4.65: Interaction with attraction highlighted at a Kodak Picture Spot, the Sword and the Stone, digital photograph by Everyday Ohana Magic, Lindsay and David, posted on December 28, 2017. From Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BdPv4EinG6K>.



Figure 4.66: Interaction with attraction highlighted at a Kodak Picture Spot, California Adventure, digital photograph by Jessica, "California Adventure: Fish Net," posted on June 4, 2015. From "Duchess of Disneyland," <http://duchessofdisneyland.com/california-adventure/fish-net>.



Figure 4.67: Kodak Picture Trail, Animal Kingdom, digital photograph by Dustin West, "Top 5 Hidden Gems at Disney's Animal Kingdom," DIS, Theme Parks, n.d.
From <http://www.wdwinfo.com/top-5-hidden-gems-at-disneys-animal-kingdom.htm>.

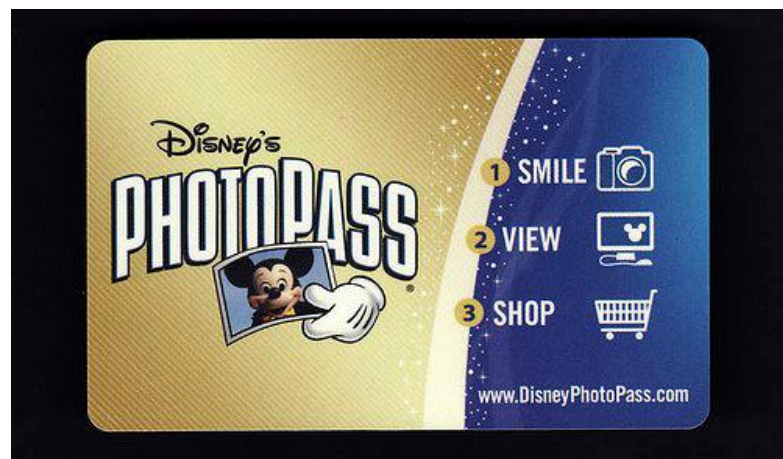


Figure 4.68: Disney's PhotoPass, 2009, posted July 2009.
From Orlando Fun Tickers, <http://www.orlandofuntickets.com/Blog/2009/07/disney-photopass-great-photos-endless.html>.



Figure 4.69: Disney's PhotoPass photographer, 2008, photography by Alan/Anime Nut, posted 2008..
From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/animenut/3109548>.



Figure 4.70, a and b: PhotoPass digital composite and and Disney "stock" photographs included in her PhotoPass purchased photographs - LEFT - photograph, posted by Pam D, January 2, 2011.
From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/82457082@N00/5398314781>.
RIGHT - photograph, 2011, posted by Pam D, January 1, 2011.
From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/82457082@N00/5398213983>.



Figure 4.71: Cinderella Castle Kodak Picture Spot, photograph by George Taylor, 2008, posted April 23, 2008. From Imaginerding blog, <http://www.imaginerding.com/2008/04/spot.html>.



Figure 4.72: Digital projection onto the Cinderella Castle, "Magic, Memories, and You!," 2011, photograph and video, posted by Ricky Brigante, January 18, 2011. From "Inside the Magic" blog, <http://www.insidethemagic.net/2011/01/video-magic-memories-and-you-show-premieres-projected-onto-cinderella-castle-at-walt-disney-worlds-magic-kingdom>.



Figure 5.1: Picture Spot sign at the Enchanted Forest, Old Forge, NY, photograph with Paul Bunyon statue from the entrance to the park, *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* 53, no. 2 (March 1967): 19. From GELC at GEM.

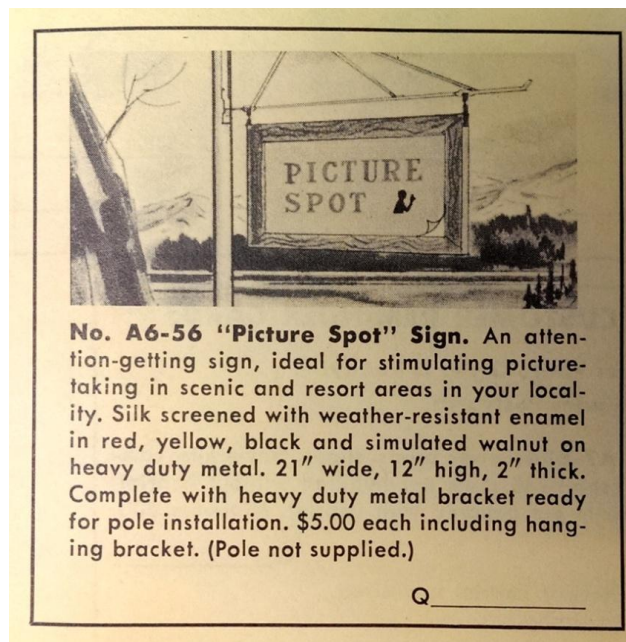


Figure 5.2: Kodak Picture Spot sign, marketed to dealers, *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* "Merchandising Packet," no date, circa 1969. From GELC at GEM.

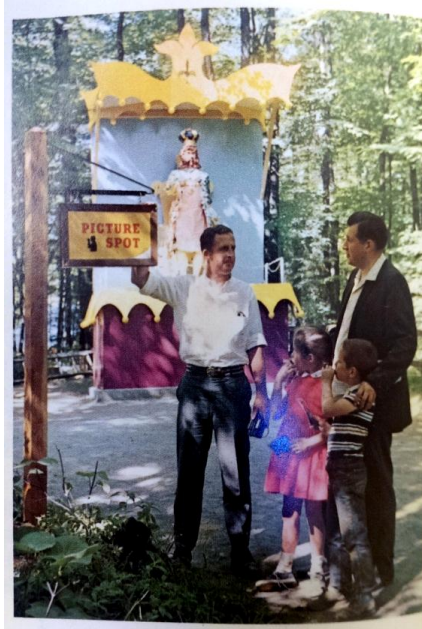


Figure 5.3: Picture Spot sign in Enchanted Forest, Old Forge, NY, Kodak photograph, "A Decade of Tourism," *Kodak Dealer Finisher News* (May 1967): 8. From GELC at GEM.



Figure 5.4: Postcard of Paul Bunyon (same image used on their maps), Enchanted Forest / Water Safari park, circa late 1960s, "Boy, We're Getting Old!" posted June 1, 2011, From Enchanted Forest / Water Safari blog, <https://watersafari.wordpress.com/2011/06/01/boy-were-getting-old>.



Figure 5.5: Kodak Picture Spot sign at HemisFair '68, Kodak photograph, "Kodak Opens HemisFair '68 Pavilion," *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* (June 1968): 1. From GELC at GEM.



Figure 5.6: Kodak Picture Spot sign at HemisFair '68, Kodak photograph, "Hi-Ho, Come to the Fair," *Kodak Dealer-Finisher News* (September 1968): 6a. From GELC at GEM.

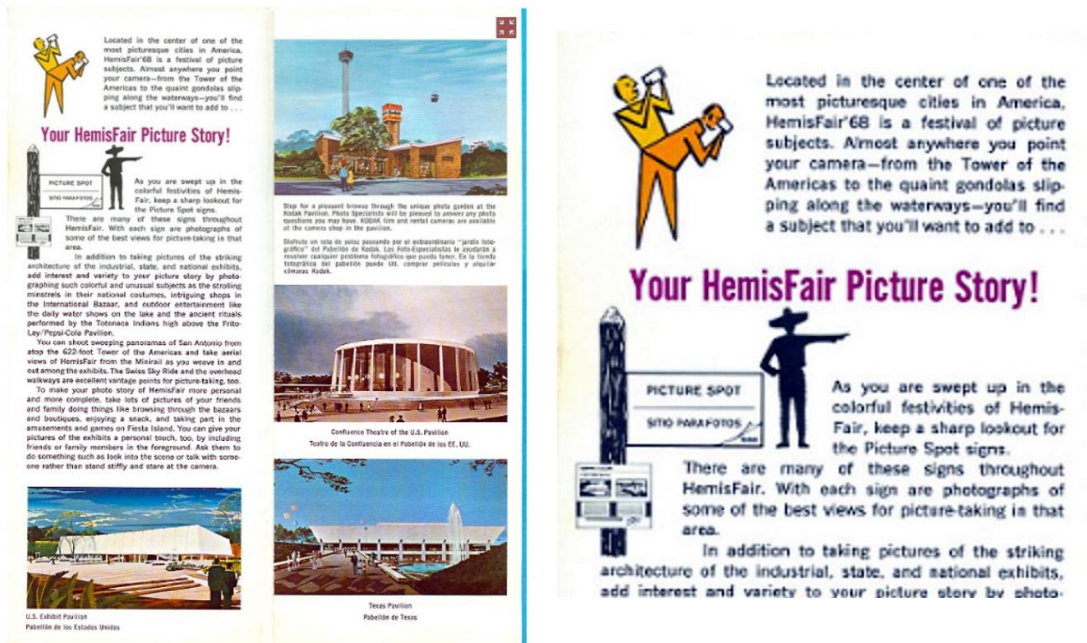


Figure 5.7: Kodak, HemisFair '68 Kodak Picture-Taking Guide, inset and detail, 1968, as reproduced on Chris Medina, "HemisFair '68 Online," found under Pavilions, Corporate, Eastman Kodak. From worldsfair68.info.



Figure 5.8: Kodak Picture Spot Sign site selection at Los Angeles Zoo, Kodak photograph, "Go Ahead... Shoot the Animals!" *Kodak Finisher News* (May 1967): 19. From GELC at GEM.



Poe considers possible picture angles from spot outside the bear den.



Photo display at refreshment stand, where cameras and film are available, pictures possibilities in the zoo. Photo sales help support zoo, pictures help advertise it.



Gales, in foreground, prepares to demonstrate virtue of terrace Picture Spot for snapping human subjects in the act of taking animal pictures.

Figure 5.9, a and b: ABOVE - Kodak Picture Spot Sign site selection and photo display at Los Angeles Zoo and BELOW - detail, Kodak, "Go Ahead... Shoot the Animals!" *Kodak Finisher News* (May 1967): 19. From GELC at GEM.



Gales, in foreground, prepares to demonstrate virtue of terrace Picture Spot for snapping human subjects in the act of taking animal pictures.

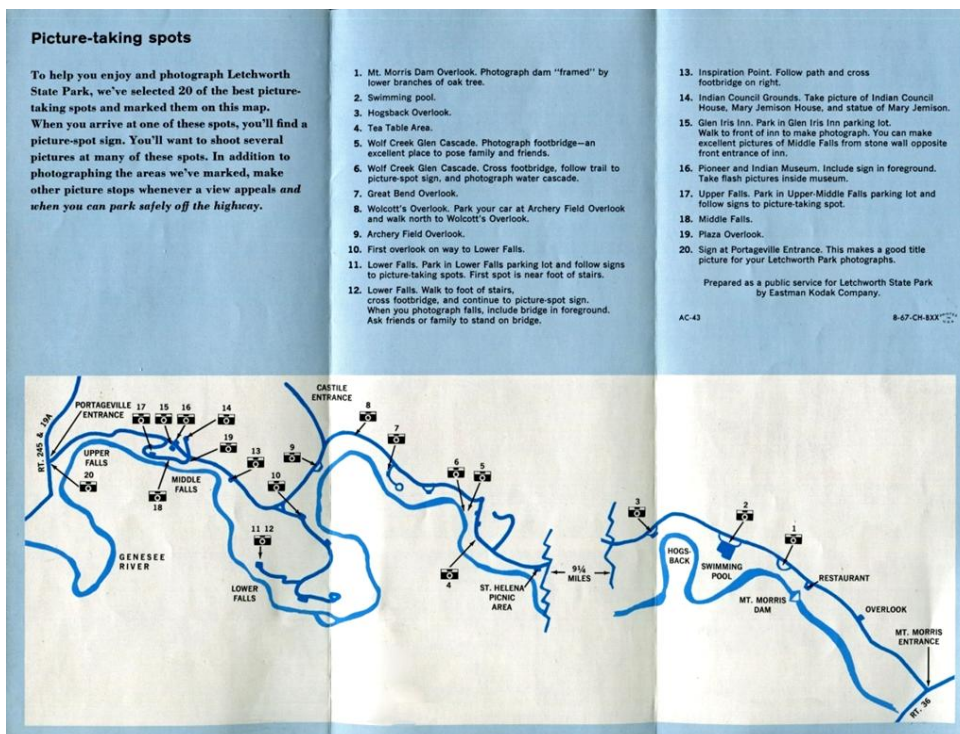
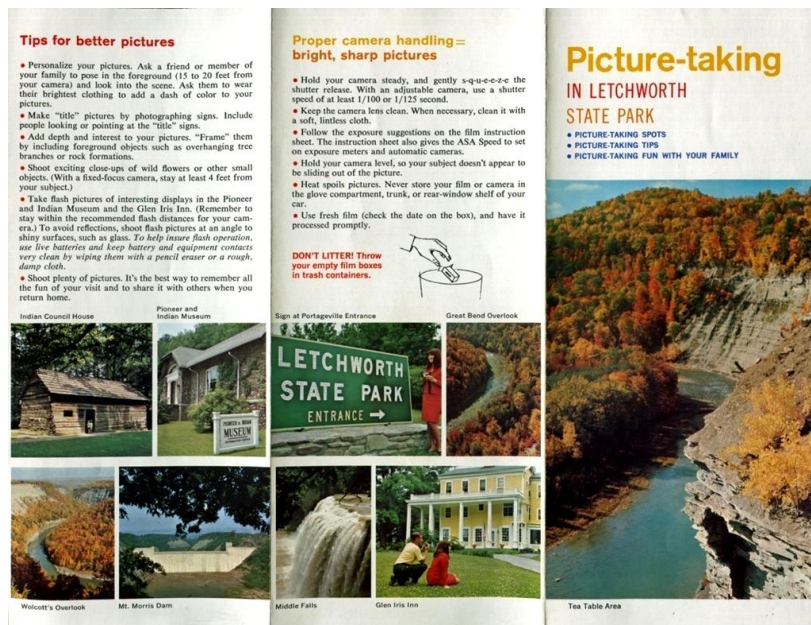


Figure 5.10: Front & back of "Picture-Taking at Letchworth State Park" Kodak brochure, 1967, Letchworth, NY – south of Rochester, with sample photos taken by and Picture Spots selected by Kodak employees Paul Yarrows. From collection of Letchworth State Park, scanned with permission.



Figure 5.11: Picture Spot sign at Letchworth State Park, circa 1970s or 80s, by Flickr user Bodilucas or bodi1, posted on February 9, 2011. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/bodi1/7417052814>.

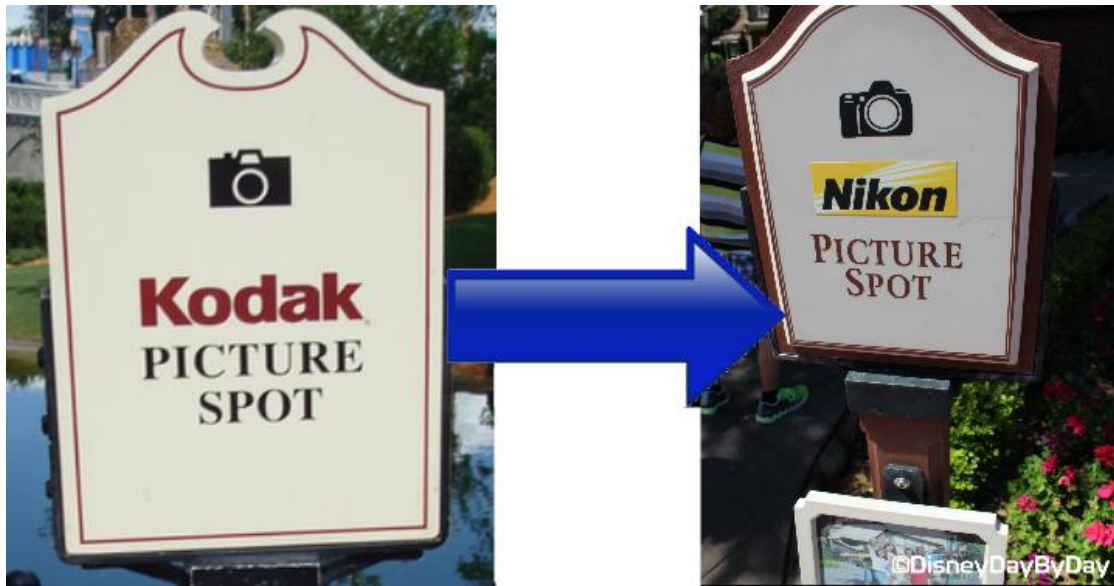


Figure 5.12: From Kodak to Nikon Picture Spots, "Disney Before Photopass," photograph and graphic by Sean, posted on July 3, 2014. From "Disney, Day by Day," <http://disneydaybyday.com/disney-photopass>.



Figure 5.13, a and b: From Kodak to Nikon, signs and installation, Picture Spot at Main Street Station and Matterhorn . LEFT - Main Street Kodak Picture Spot, reproduced in Sarah Tully and Joshua Sudock, "Kodak spots leaving Disneyland," Orange County Register, December 14, 2012, <https://www.ocregister.com/2012/12/14/kodak-spots-leaving-disneyland> and - RIGHT - Matterhorn Nikon Picture Spot, digital photograph by Norman Gidley, Disneyland Update: Nikon Photo Spot, posted on March 31, 2014. From Micechat website, <https://micechat.com/62340-disneyland-update-mother-nature>.



Figure 5.14: Nikon Picture Spot in situ, "#disney Kodak Picture Spot... Now presented by Nikon," digital photograph by John J. Giaconia, posted on March 8, 2014. From <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dongiaconia/13016838935>.



Figure 5.15: Generic and Rebranded Photo Spots - LEFT - Picture Perfect Spot at Peddler's Village, titled "Picture Taking for Dummies," Brandi Jordan, 2005, and Murtaza Husaini, "Photo Spot," 2009, posted on November 15, 2009. From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/brandijordan/4670615546/> and <http://www.flickr.com/photos/murtazahusaini/4464055377/in/pool-1236944@N21>.



Figure 5.16: Mash Photo Spot sticker, bicycling company, no date, accessed June 15, 2013. From <http://mash.myshopify.com/products/photo-spot-sticker-pack>.



Figure 5.17: Instagram Hotspot: Ocean City, Maryland, with the hashtag #OCMD, circa 2010, Instagram taken by Nate Larson and shared with the author.

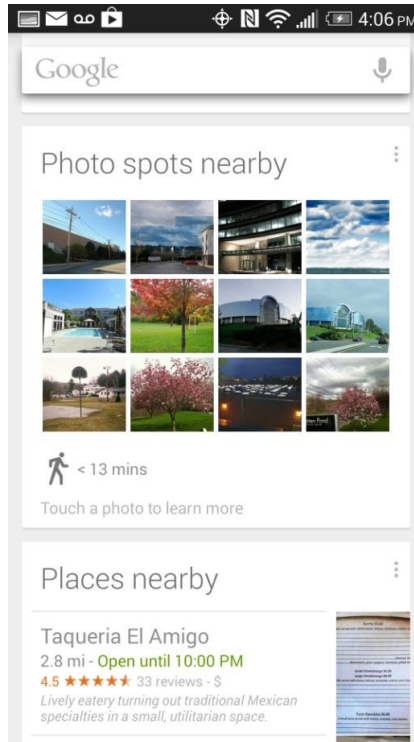


Figure 5.18: Photo Spots feature and pop up on Google phone, screenshot taken by author, 2017.



Figure 5.19: Selfie stick and the act of taking a selfie in China. Photograph by Kim Sichel and shared with the author.

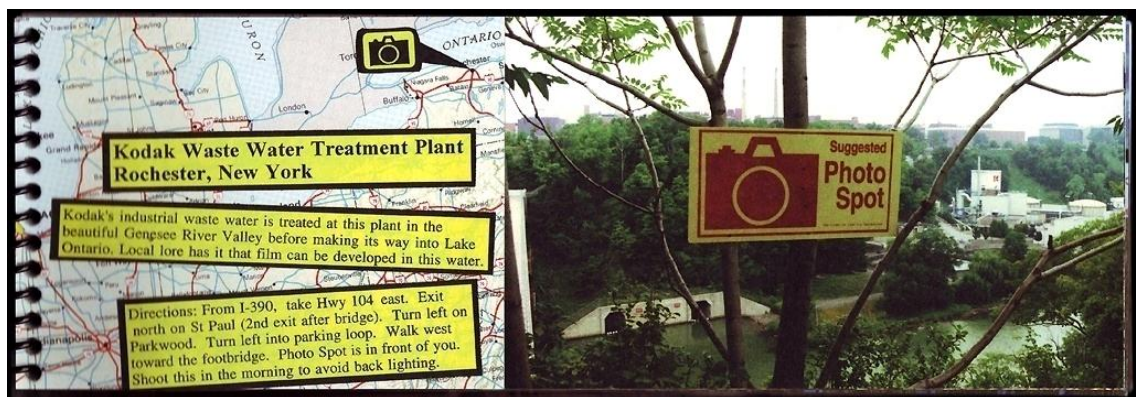


Figure 5.20: Melinda Stone and Igor Vamos, *Suggested Photo Spots*, artists' book , CLUI, 1998.



Figure 5.21: Photo opportunity signs in the George Eastman Museum as a part of their 2016 exhibition, "Photography and America's National Parks" on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the National Park Service. LEFT - digital photograph by GEM / @eastmanmuseum "Opening celebration for #GEMparks. Photo ops throughout the exhibition. Opens to the public tomorrow! #eastmanmuseum #NationalParks #FindYourPark #Rochester #VisitRoc," posted on June 3, 2016 - RIGHT - PhotoOp in the exhibition. From <https://www.instagram.com/p/BGNgwFcmOw6> and digital photograph by author.



Figure 5.22: National Park Service styled sign at George Eastman Museum, digital photograph by Joe Merola / @Dr_JFM, "Jess having too much fun at the Eastman Museum! :) @WilNevs #gemparks," to which Will Neves responded in a tweet, "it's like she's actually in the park lol," posted on July 21, 2016. From https://twitter.com/Dr_JFM/status/756207477016977408.



Figure 5.23: Gardner Museum social media oriented picture-taking sign, "Picture yourself here," digital photograph by Logen Zimmerman / @logenzrun, "#ISGM," posted on November 21, 2015. From <https://www.instagram.com/p/-XBod7FpiR>.



Figure 5.24: DeCordova social media oriented picture-taking, digital photograph by @sef_ish, "I felt coerced into taking this picture by this sign #deCgrows," posted on August 12, 2017. From <https://www.instagram.com/p/BXtyk-JjorS>.

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- Information about the New York World's Fair 1939 and 1940 Incorporated Records and finding aid: <http://archives.nypl.org/mss/2233>. MssCol 2233 contains 1203.48 linear feet (2508 boxes, 42 volumes; 12 sound recordings).
- Information about the New York World's Fair 1964 and 1965 Incorporated Records and finding aid: <http://archives.nypl.org/mss/2234>. MssCol 2234 contains 1,272 linear running feet (1523 boxes and 193 volumes).
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Key Box & Folder, which includes this pitchbook and other materials: Box #303, P1.43, Photography, Participation, Eastman Kodak - Picture Taking (shortened hereafter to JWT and EK as well as NYWF at NYPL, with fair specified; locations folder shortened to P1.43, EK - Picture Taking Locations folder).

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University of Rochester, Rochester, NY, Department of Rare Books, Special Collections, and Preservation

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Blogs and Bulletin Boards, including corporate ephemera shared thereon

The following blogs have the most discussions of Kodak Picture Spots and related vernacular photographs: Ryan Wilson's "Main Street Gazette," Major Pepperidge's "Gorillas Don't Blog," and Matterhorn1959's "Stuff from the Park." Search terms: <http://www.mainstgazette.com/search?q=Kodak+Picture+Spot>, <http://gorillasdontblog.blogspot.com/search?q=Kodak+Picture+Spot>, <http://matterhorn1959.blogspot.com/search?q=Kodak+Picture+Spot> as well as specific posts cited below.

The following bulletin board (World's Fair Community) and this specific post (on Kodak Picture Spots) are generous resources for period ephemera, vernacular photographs, and World's Fair enthusiast: Randy Treadway, "A Kodak Moment (a question about Kodak Picture Spots, KPS)." World's Fair Community," June 25, 2011. Post includes three pages of members sharing images and locating the signs, including siting on a map (Esso).
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