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## War Bonnets and Eagle Feathers in the Dust: The Technicolor Western

Heather M. Heckman

University of South Carolina - Columbia, heckmanh@mailbox.sc.edu

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## War Bonnets and Eagle Feathers in the Dust: The Technicolor Western

Although the brand name “Technicolor” might not initially conjure iconic images of cowhands and cavalrymen—for many viewers, it is more closely associated with elaborate musical numbers and swashbuckling action sequences—the Western emerged as an important color genre in postwar Hollywood. Aesthetically, the genre became a vital reservoir for a restrained mode of style, characterized by neutral palettes and tight color harmonies. The restrained mode set an appropriate mood or tone for the Western milieu, but this was not its only function. It also created opportunities for powerful color motif structures and, in some cases, foregrounded the craft of skilled color cinematographers.

### Production Rates

The Western asserted its dominance as a color genre after World War II.<sup>1</sup> In the silent era, most films were released with some form of applied color—tinting, toning, or, less frequently, hand painting or stenciling. Documentation on these practices is unfortunately sparse, but it is unlikely that Westerns constituted a systematic exception to the widespread practice of tinting and toning. Norms began to change industry wide in the mid 1920s, as more films began to be released without applied color in standard black-and-white. The Western, interestingly, may have conserved applied color practices that were cast aside in other genres. Sepia toning persisted in Western production well into the sound era, with Westerns accounting for perhaps as many as half of sepia features released in the 1940s and 1950s.

In the sound era, color Westerns underwent dramatic production shifts. Together, Westerns and Dramas account for nearly half of all color productions released between 1935 and 1960. The AFI Catalog counts roughly 23% color Westerns and 24% color Dramas over this period. In contrast, Musical and Adventure films, the next most frequently produced genres over this period saw only 13% and 9% of all color films. Yet, rates of Western color production were far from uniform over these years. In the first ten years of Technicolor production, color Western output was relatively anemic, with only 16 titles documented by AFI. Color Western production took off in the late 1940s, with more than 100 produced between 1946 and 1950 alone. 315 more were made in the 1950s, with production rates reaching more than 40 color Westerns per year mid-decade. The Western and the Drama were prolific genres, and one might be tempted to conclude that they boasted high rates of color production only because they boasted high rates of production in general. Between 1935 and 1960, more than 4,500 Dramas and more than 2,250 Westerns were released, but of these, only 10% of Dramas and only 18% of Westerns were in color. In contrast, although fewer total Musicals and Adventures were released, a greater proportion of them were in color: 40% and 44%, respectively. Musicals and Adventures, we might surmise, earn their reputation as *color* genres because of relative, rather than absolute, production rates.

Interestingly, though, as production rates for the Western genre as a whole began to fall, *color* Western production rates rose. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Hollywood turned out roughly 100 Westerns a year, but in the 1950s, Western production dropped

precipitously as black-and-white, low-budget “oater” production—once a staple of Poverty Row output—migrated to TV.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the decade, in 1960, only 21 Western features were released in the US. But as total Western productions fell dramatically, relative rates of color Western production had grown steadily, from only about 1% in the late 1930s and early 1940s (below the base rate of Hollywood color production), to more than 20% in the late 1940s (surpassing the base rate), and then more than 50% in the late 1950s. Of the 21 Westerns released in 1960, more than 60% were color films, well above the base rate of 45%. Although its start was slow, the Western was an undisputable color genre by the late 1940s, in both relative and absolute terms.

*Technicolor* Western production rates, however, were substantially lower. Fewer than half of color Westerns were filmed with Kalmus’s technology during the three-strip era; in contrast, three-quarters of color Dramas were shot using the Technicolor system. Two-color systems, to an even greater extent than sepia toning, were conserved in the Western. In the 1920s and early 1930s, a handful of Westerns were produced in full or in part with one Technicolor’s two-color systems (e.g., 1924’s *THE HERITAGE OF THE DESERT* and *WANDERER OF THE WASTELAND*, 1928’s *THE WATER HOLE*, 1929’s *REDSKIN*, 1930’s *SONG OF THE WEST* and *UNDER A TEXAS MOON*, and 1931’s *WOMAN HUNGRY*), but Technicolor ceased working with the two-color format after it debuted its three-strip technology in 1932. Competing two-color systems like Cinecolor, Multicolor and TruColor remained available, however, and saw success in the 1940s when access to Technicolor three-strip cameras was limited. Two-color systems were less expensive, which would have constituted a strong draw for a low-budget genre like the Western. They may also have proven a good aesthetic match for the Western, with stories that unfolded in the rich red landscapes of the American West. The introduction of Eastman Color in the early 1950s effectively put an end to two-color production, though only after low-budget Western production was already on the decline. During the three-strip era, we can reasonably assume that Technicolor Westerns had bigger budgets and higher production values than other productions in the same genre. Arguably to an even greater extent than for other genres, Technicolor Westerns were “special” productions.

### Color Design and Lighting Trends in the Western

What did these special productions look like on the screen? Technicolor Westerns borrowed a stylistic strategy from early outdoor melodramas like *TRAIL OF THE LONESOME PINE* (Henry Hathaway, US, 1936), drawing upon a “restrained mode” of color design that favored neutral palettes, subtle lighting schemes, and color motifs that were delicately modulated in tandem with the narrative. Bold color was not necessarily absent from films in the restrained mode, but it was not the default option. Instead, bright, saturated color was used as a kind of punctuation: films in the restrained mode “tended to concentrate color display in transitions and in other scenes that seemed open to stylization.”<sup>3</sup>

In a prototypical design scheme for a Technicolor Western, neutrals might dominate the frame, with natural, dusty landscapes in the background, and muted art design choices for costumes and set decorations in the foreground. This is not to say that Westerns were without color interest, or that breathtaking location shooting alone

accounted for the visual appeal of the genre. Set decorators and costume designers might inject smaller areas of more saturated color, adding a bold kerchief around a cowboy's neck, or a bright ceramic to a love interest's sitting room. Scenes with Native Americans were excuses to greatly broaden the palette, part of a broader Hollywood tradition of associating more saturated color with marginalized racial and ethnic groups (a canonical example of this trend is *LA CUCARACHA*, the 1934 short, directed by Lloyd Corrigan, that first demonstrated three-color technology to US audiences). Indians might sport tops and jewelry in reds and oranges, purples and blues, creating design schemes that evoked the more assertive modes of color design found in Adventure, Fantasy, and Sword-and-Sandal pictures.

*JESSE JAMES* (Henry King, US, 1939) maintains a restrained palette for the male stars. Jesse (Tyrone Power) dons a red kerchief for the first robbery scene, but even this accent is subsequently removed in favor of neutral hues for the gang. The palette opens for domestic scenes. Gentle pastels grace the James homestead and the townswomen, while Zee, Jesse's love interest, is associated with the primary triad of red, yellow and blue, and, later in the film, green. In one particularly lovely set-up, she wears a pale yellow dress with tiny accents of light blue. A deep blue cup and bright yellow flame in the corner of the frame harmonize with her costuming. In this Fox production, the outlaws are heroes wronged by powerful train interests. More saturated hues are reserved for sequences related to train travel. The arrival of the iron horse in St. Louis is celebrated with bright red, vibrant blue, and white paper decorations. The palette opens to include secondary and even tertiary colors for the costumes of the St. Louis crowd, as well as for the passengers on the trains the James gang robs, creating an association between garish color and the kind of civilization that, the film alleges, drove the James brothers to become outlaws.

*DODGE CITY* (Michael Curtiz, US, 1939) and *WESTERN UNION* (Fritz Lang, US, 1941) embrace more saturated hues and more open palettes. Nevertheless, they each adhere to the same loose rubric that associates a more restrained mode of color design with the masculine frontier, and a less restrained mode of color design with female civilizing influence and with Native American culture. *DODGE CITY*, for example, permits saturated neckerchiefs on hero Wade Hatton's associates in many scenes, but hews to a more conservative design approach for Hatton himself. Errol Flynn's Hatton wears darker, less saturated reds, greens, tans and navy blues. The most spectacular color in the film is reserved for the scenes within Dodge City. In the city streets, Native American and women extras introduce brief flashes of color as they pass through frame. And in the musical and bar fight scenes in the saloon, pastels and deeply saturated hues are mixed with abandon in a veritable riot of red, blue, purple, yellow and orange.

*WESTERN UNION* uses color design to contrast the two heroes, Randolph Scott's Vance Shaw and Robert Young's Richard Blake. Vance Shaw is one-time outlaw and unquestionable frontiersman; Richard Blake is a dandy from the East (though one with considerable horseback riding and shooting skill). Scott's costumes are neutral, brightened only by the accent of a turquoise and red-orange beaded armband, presumably of Native American design. Young, in contrast, initially appears in a bright yellow jacket over a glowing red lumberjack shirt and a purple tie. His character is dubbed a "tenderfoot," and picks up more colorful adornment when is tested by his peers on a bucking bronco that bolts through the saloon. Even in town, where the color design is

relatively assertive, Blake's clothes look garish. When the team moves out of town, to lay down telegraph wire in the plains, he positively glows as saturated color on other characters is scaled back to accents alone. Over the course of the film, though, as Blake proves himself a valuable member of the frontier community, Young's costuming is toned down, until at the end of the film he wears a desaturated version of his original flaming red checked shirt.

The early 1950s saw experimentation at the other end of the spectrum, with greater restraint. *THE NAKED SPUR* (Anthony Mann, US, 1953) is extraordinary for its lack of color. The characters wear neutrals and have no costume changes. As a cavalryman, Roy Anderson (Ralph Meeker) is permitted a realistically-motivated yellow stripe down his pants, the outlaw Ben Vandergoat (Robert Ryan) wears a red kerchief, and the romantic interest Lina Patch (Janet Leigh) wears a dull pink one—but dark reds, browns and navy blues are the dominant hues in frame. As in other films, Native American characters justify a broadening of the palette, but even they are permitted only small accents of red, orange and purple. The natural landscape, too, is restrained. Cinematographer William C. Mellor carefully limits the amount of sky in frame, to withhold vibrant blue for as long as possible. The payoff for all of this color austerity comes at the end of the film, when Lina begs hero Howard Kemp (James Stewart) not to profit from Vandergoat's death. Kemp reluctantly acquiesces, abandoning all hope of purchasing the land he lost back home, and Mellor captures her reaction shot in a low angle close-up that lets the bright blue sky swallow the frame. This moment marks the romantic climax, and Leigh's yellow hair, pale pink kerchief, and a subtle hint of lipstick (also withheld throughout the film) create a powerful primary triad precisely because the production team had been so careful to check color throughout the film.

Approaches to lighting the Technicolor Western were similarly flexible. A flat daylight scheme was, of course, the path of least resistance for on-location work, and its merits should not be underestimated. This strategy was efficient, and resulted in intelligible images that displayed the natural wonder of the American West. This is not to say that outdoor shooting was straightforward. Changing light quality on exteriors sometimes made color matching difficult, as the moving sun altered the way the sky, the landscape, and even the costumes registered on the film stock. Outdoor color matching errors were not uncommon in the Technicolor era, and can be glimpsed, for example, in *DODGE CITY*. One advantage of the often maligned Technicolor service was that its cinematographers developed a great deal of experience controlling for color quality, a variable that was unfamiliar to directors of photography accustomed to black-and-white shooting.

But if flat daylight was a common lighting approach for the Western, cinematographers also looked to more expressive techniques, pushing against the limitations of three-strip technology when they could. Directors of photography could take advantage of natural lighting effects, like sunsets (e.g., the final graveyard scene in *WESTERN UNION*), or beams of light filtering through clouds (e.g., *SHANE*). Directors of photography could also enhance those effects with filtration or specialized printing techniques. For *DUEL IN THE SUN* (Henry Hathaway, US, 1947), for example, cinematographer Ray Rennahan reportedly designed a new set of filters to create the warm sunset look that producer David O. Selznick desired.<sup>4</sup>

Alternatively, directors of photography could play with aerial diffusion—perhaps blocking could be adjusted to reveal mesas in the distant blue haze, or dust in the foreground could be used to suppress and then spectacularly reveal color. Darkened apertures could frame the image, further accentuating small areas of saturated color in costumes and set decorations (and highlighting the almost innately pictorial quality of a well-exposed three-strip negative when coupled with a well-printed dye imbibition print). *SHANE* (George Stevens, US, 1953) features both subtle and spectacular examples of these techniques. The dust kicked up by the Ryker cow herd, for instance, mutes what is already a highly restrained palette. But of course, it is cinematographer Loyal Griggs's on-location work that lingers in the memory. His stunning extreme long shots of the homestead allow the viewer to soak up the beauty of Wyoming's Teton Range. Clouds hang suspended over the peaks while characters and farm animals—tiny in the frame—pass from left to right or from the background to the foreground.

Low-key lighting schemes constituted opportunities to explore colored lighting schemes. *JESSE JAMES* makes ample use of day-for-night set-ups, but also experiments with low-key scenes. In an effects shot for one of the train robbery sequences, for example, the James gang walks in darkness along the top of the train in darkness, while light streams through the windows between the unsuspecting passengers. *DODGE CITY* and to an even greater extent *WESTERN UNION* harness the warm light associated with large fires to add color interest to the lighting set-ups.

*DUEL IN THE SUN* was particularly aggressive in its use of this technique, transplanting producer David O'Selznick's experiments with low-key colored lighting designs from the American South in *GONE WITH THE WIND* (Victor Fleming, US, 1939) to the American West. Cinematographers Lee Garmes, Ray Rennahan and Harold Rosson throw warm jewel tones of magenta and red onto the set for the dance scene in a quite spectacular example of experimentation with low key, colored light set-ups. But while color is undoubtedly foregrounded in this sequence, the production team is careful to work within the accepted norms of Technicolor design. As in *DODGE CITY*'s saloon scenes, the musical nature of this sequence seems to justify a more assertive lighting design, with generic motivation operating at the micro- rather than macro- scale. Even so, while the colored light is quite bold, the *mise-en-scène* is relatively restrained. Jennifer Jones's Pearl wears stark white, Gregory Peck's Lewt wears black, and the extras wear pastels. More saturated accent colors pass through the frame only fleetingly. Balanced white light on skin tones was a very powerful norm in the three-strip era, and blocking and lighting placement ensure that the stars' skin tones are not long distorted in the sequence. As Pearl and Lewt step to the beat of the music, they never linger in the pools of warm light. Once they begin to argue about their engagement and cease dancing—the most narratively salient segment—the key light becomes balanced and remains balanced for the rest of the sequence. Cool colors on skin tones were still largely taboo in 1946, and it is notable that the dance scene includes only one green gel. It is briefly thrown on the Senator (John Barrymore), but he is quickly rolled through to a pool of balanced light, leaving his poor assistant in sickly green. The romantic leads, for their part, never pass through the green light at all.<sup>5</sup>

SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON

John Ford's *SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON* is an excellent case study to consider how these approaches could be implemented. *SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON* was made during the post-war boom in color Western production, at a delay of only a few months behind *3 GODFATHERS* (John Ford, US, 1949), Ford's first color Western and only his second Technicolor film. Shot by Technicolor veteran Winton Hoch and ranked 44 on an *American Cinematographer* list of all-time best-shot films,<sup>6</sup> *SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON* is a truly stunning example of the restrained mode, a reminder of the pictorial opportunities provided by even a relatively tight color palette.

Arguably, the film's most salient design quality is its emphasis on small areas of bright color against a natural background. The decision to embrace this particular aesthetic was, apparently, made relatively early in the pre-production process. In a letter to screenwriter James Warner Bellah pitching the *SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON* project, Ford sketched out a rough guide to color:

Here is what I see ... vaguely of course and on the screen in color [...] I think we can make a Remington canvas ... broad shoulders ... wide hats ... narrow hips ... yellow stripes down the pants leg ... war bonnets and eagle feathers in the dust ... the brassy sound of the bugles in the morning ... the long reaches of the prairie ... the buttes and mesas in the distance with the buffalo [...] Monument Valley [...] has never been photographed in color and [...] should be breathtaking.<sup>7</sup>

Such a design scheme was hardly unique to *SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON*—nor, indeed, was it unique to the *film* Western genre. As Ford's letter signals, painters like Frederic Remington employed similar schemes on their canvases (though, notably, Remington allowed his cavalymen fewer pieces of “flare,” sticking more faithfully to the pops of color that were part of the official uniform). The success of the scheme, though, ought to be understood as evidence of its visual appeal. In Ford's film, the red, yellow and blue of the cavalry uniforms form a saturated triad that contrasts with the duller reddish browns or yellowish tans of the desert. Call this the “yellow stripes down the pant leg” approach to color design. Contrast of saturation is particularly strong with the bright stripes on the uniforms, and with the handkerchiefs sported by the soldiers. The dark navy blue of the uniforms, on the other hand, is considerably farther from saturation. Thus, the smallest areas of color in frame are the most saturated—a design choice in keeping with the considerable weight and emphasis of a saturated hue in a frame dominated by less assertive neutrals.

The film's palette expands to include secondaries and even tertiaries for the Indians, the settlers, and the cavalry at informal moments. In this way, color design instantiates several of the binaries for which the Hollywood Western has become famous. The Cheyenne and Arapho, for example, sport a much bolder array of red, yellow, blue, orange, green and purple on their attire. Pony That Walks wears a red-orange and tan scarf around his neck, a magenta ribbon in his hair, and a red-orange, pale blue-green, navy blue and cream belt. Similarly, one of his associates tucks a bright purple handkerchief into a traditional vest. The chief villain of the film is named “Red Shirt,” a decision that gives additional dramatic emphasis to the color red. But if anything, it is orange that emerges as the dominant shirt color for Native American characters, a hue that is de-emphasized among the frontiersmen.

If orange is the favored secondary for the Cheyenne and Arapho, green is the favored secondary for the fort. Green accents dot the interiors of Brittles's and Mac Alshard's offices. Similarly, green costumes grace Dr. O'Laughlin, the girl rescued from Sudros Wells, and female extras. In an example of the work color can do motivationally in the restrained mode, green becomes central to Olivia (Joanne Dru)'s costuming. The more "Army" Olivia becomes, the less green appears around her. We first glimpse Dru next to a Celadon green chair, then see her in a plaid dress of bright red, green, white and black. But once she leaves the fort, she trades green for a light blue that separates her from the troops via contrast of value alone. And at the end of the film, she is dressed in red, yellow and blue to harmonize with the cavalymen around her, with whom she has found a permanent home.

Finally, a wider range of hues is introduced for informal moments with the cavalry, and here the open palette is most frequently associated with Quincannon. During his review of the troops, men at attention wear not just yellow, red and neutral scarves, but also green and orange ones. The palette expands even further when Quincannon celebrates his impending retirement (i.e., his future as a civilian) at the bar: accents in virtually every hue on the color wheel adorn the wall behind Francis Ford's barman. Relaxing the restrained palette in this way emphasizes the thematic contrast between the military at work and at play.

As its ranking in *American Cinematographer* suggests, though, it is the color cinematography rather than the color design that is truly outstanding about SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON. On-location set-ups explore the range of possibilities afforded by natural light. The most famous example, of course, is the thunderstorm, when the three-strip cameras captured actual lightning strikes. The choice has been described as a rebellion against Technicolor,<sup>8</sup> but in fact there is no reason to believe that Kalmus's firm would have been anything other than pleased with the opportunity to demonstrate the flexibility of their technology. Not only does the lightning storm constitute a scene of stunning natural photography, it also modulates color saturation, as each flash momentarily dampens and then spectacularly reveals again the hues present in frame.

Hoch plays a similar game with smoke and dust. In an embrace of Technicolor's inherently shallow depth of field, backgrounds are filled with aerial particles that create like opportunities to modulate saturation. In one striking example, silhouetted soldiers pass through backlit swirling smoke behind Brittles, Tyree and the bugler, who discuss Rynders. The background becomes a soft focus, hazy black and white composition, while the foreground retains the characteristic triadic and neutral scheme that dominates the film. Even in low-key light, the contrast of saturation is striking. The technique serves a more pragmatic end when Brittles meets with Pony That Walks. In the extreme background behind Brittles in the shot-reverse-shot series, the "young bucks" ride in a wild circle, a constant reminder of the threat of war. The bright colors of their costumes combined with their rapid movement draw the eye into the background. But the dust counteracts the saturation of their costumes, and Technicolor's shallow focus assures that the foreground remains the area of greatest detail. Gently, the composition's weight is shifted in favor of Brittles.

In the cemetery scene, cinematographer Winton Hoch opts for a more stylized aesthetic, using colored light in studio to create a thick, atmospheric (if artificial) sunset. In an interview, Hoch took credit for the rich magenta tint to the cemetery scene: "I had

the choice of using two filters for a sunset effect—one would be underplayed and one would be overplayed. I thought, ‘Why the hell not overplay it?’ If I had used the other one, it wouldn't have come across at all. I might catch hell, but so what? Ford had no comment on it.”<sup>9</sup> Hoch might overstate his case, as colored light appears not only in 3 GODFATHERS (also shot by Hoch), but also in Ford films shot by other cinematographers, from Ford's Technicolor feature, DRUMS ALONG THE MOHAWK (US, 1939), shot by Ray Rennahan and Bert Glennon, to DONOVAN's REEF (1963), shot by William H. Clothier.<sup>10</sup> But whoever is responsible for the surreal final effect, it is important to note that it was also in keeping with stylistic norms of the period. Although cinematographers were careful not to distort stars' flesh tones, colored light in low-key set-ups was common. Nevertheless, the SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON cemetery sequence is a particularly lovely example of the device, one that demonstrates a key advantage of the restrained mode: when color design choices become more assertive—as they do in this scene—they have all the more impact.

In an article on Hollywood's transition to Eastman Color, film scholar Russell Merritt identifies the Western as a “staple” genre, one that unlike the “special” categories of Musicals, Historical Romances, and Swashbucklers, “had almost always stayed in black-and-white.” He goes on to draw a comparison between the Western and the women's picture in the 1950s, arguing that while more Westerns were made in the 1950s, they were less stylistically interesting: “Although the sudden surge in westerns at the start of the decade meant that, numerically, Eastman Color westerns far outnumbered so-called women pictures in color, ... the new lords of color were the melodramatists.”<sup>11</sup> But without taking anything from the reputation of the 1950s melodramas, we might conclude that Merritt is too harsh in his evaluation of the Western. Not only was it more important statistically as a color genre than Merritt allows, it also harbored significantly more stylistic pleasure and innovation.

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<sup>1</sup> The data that follows was collected from the AFI Catalog on 1 July 2014 using Advanced Search with combinations of the following search terms, limited by release date: Other Information: “color”; Other Information: “Technicolor”; Other Information: “sepia”; Genre: “Western”; Genre: “Drama”; Genre: “Musical”; Genre: “Adventure.”

<sup>2</sup> Peter Lev, *The Fifties: Transforming the Screen, 1950-1959*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2003, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Scott Higgins, *Harnessing the Technicolor Rainbow: Color Design in the 1930s*, Austin, 2007, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Ray Rennahan, “New Filter Technique for Color Cinematography,” *American Cinematographer*, vol. 47, nr. 10, 1946, pp. 356, 381.

<sup>5</sup> For more detail on colored light norms and flesh tones, see Patrick Keating, *Hollywood Lighting from the Silent Era to Film Noir*, New York, 2009, pp. 212-213. For more detail on colored lighting schemes from the 1920s to the 1950s, see Scott Higgins, “Chroma-Drama: Innovation and Convention in Douglas Sirk's Color Designs” in *Color and the Moving Image: History, Theory, Aesthetics, Archive*, New York and London, 2013, pp. 170-178.

<sup>6</sup> “Best Shot Films,” *American Cinematographer*, vol. 80, nr. 3, 1999, p. 123.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Scott Eyman, *Print the Legend: The Life and Times of John Ford*. New York, 1999, pp. 350-351. Ellipses outside of brackets are present in the original document.

<sup>8</sup> Russell Merritt, “Crying in Color: How Hollywood Coped When Technicolor Died,” *Journal of the National Film and Sound Archive, Australia*, vol. 3, no. 2/3, 2008, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Joseph McBride, “People We Like: Winton Hoch,” *Film Comment*, vol. 15, nr. 6, pp. 74-75.

<sup>10</sup> Heather Heckman, “The Cameraman and the Glamour-Puss: Technicolor Cinematography in John Ford's *Drums Along the Mohawk*,” in *Color and the Moving Image: History, Theory, Aesthetics, Archive*, New York and London, 2013, p. 167.

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<sup>11</sup> Merritt, "Crying in Color," p. 7.