Visual Delights IV – Visual Empires

Friday - Registration and Refreshments – 9.30 – 10.00 am

The conference is being held at: The University of Sheffield, Union of Students, Western Bank, Sheffield S10 2TG.

Registration will be in the foyer by the entrance to the Auditorium. This entrance is the set of glass doors before you reach the entrance for the Interval Bar. All delegates/speakers should follow the path down by the side of Cafe Revolution.

Opening Lecture (10.00 – 10.30am)
Welcome from Simon Popple &Vanessa Toulmin

Allison Griffiths
Nontheatrical Ethnographic Film: Playing Indian in the Museum Sponsored Expedition Film
The American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York City was an important, if overlooked, sponsor and exhibitor of motion pictures in the first 30 years of the twentieth century. The exhibition of magic lantern slides and motion pictures were *de rigeur* in large public museums by the mid 1910s, vital forces in the discourse of armchair travel and in establishing museums as dignified and disciplined venues for popular visual culture. Museum-goers in institutions large and small, urban and provincial, came to expect lectures illustrated with film, and some upper-class patrons may have encountered cinema for the very first time in the refined auditorium of the AMNH. One arena of museum work where film was appropriated enthusiastically in the early part of the twentieth century is the museum sponsored expedition film, a genre that has received less attention than commercially produced ethnographic films or even films made by anthropologists. I will concentrate on the 1927 AMNH sponsored expedition to the Southwest led by acclaimed artist, children's book author, and founder of both the Woodcraft League and the Boy Scouts of America, Ernest Thompson Seton, and AMNH visual instruction curator (and later Chairman of the Hayden Planetarium), Clyde Fisher. My goal is to consider how the surviving 22-minute footage, titled by the AMNH in the 1980s as *Camping Among the Indians*, bears the marks of its conditions of sponsorship, production, and exhibition as distinct from other types of ethnographic filmmaking from the era. I'm also interested in excavating some of the fantasies at play around this film; especially its relationship to the Woodcraft League, which promoted nature, scouting and survival techniques heavily influenced by Native American culture. Questions I investigate include how both the Woodcraft League and *Camping Among the Indians* legitimized "playing Indian" à la Peter Pan's adventures in Never Land (J. M. Barrie's character was contemporaneous with the founding of the Woodcraft League in 1902); how fantasies of nature, performance, and primitivism were inscribed in the Woodcraft and scouting movements and recirculated in *Camping Among the Indians*; and whether the expedition film as an all-but forgotten mode of nonfiction cinema which was never subject to the industrial protocols of the Hollywood film or the newsreel reflects the consolidation of an emerging ethnographic style premised upon earlier tropes of filming native peoples, or something rather different that was possibly ahead of its time. The footage assembled in *Camping Among the Indians* was apparently never publically shown in its entirety, additional footage shot during the expedition never found its way in *Camping Among the Indians*, and it's unclear what purpose it served other than illustrating lectures. A close look at the assembled material and its contexts reveals a great deal about nontheatrical film from the early cinema and silent eras, a subject undergoing a renaissance in film scholarship today.

Panel 1-10.30am- Noon

Regional Empires Chair Simon Popple

Jill Sullivan

'Overflowing houses': Panoramas in Exeter and Bristol 1840-1870

In the mid-nineteenth century, the entertainment calendar of towns and cities in the south west featured a steadily growing number of visits by touring panorama and diorama companies, displaying scenes of Empire, rail journeys across America, and trips to the Continent. However, the sustained appearance of touring exhibitions depended not only on the provision of up-to-date scenes, but also on the recognition of local preference and expectation.

At Exeter for example, the most popular panoramas were those that exhibited scenes from the Continent. Such 'trips' reflected the fashionable interests of local Society and advertisements appealed directly to their expected patronage. In 1869, the promotion of Hamilton's 'Delightful Excursions to the Continent and Back in Two Hours' included a reprinted letter from Miss Burdett Coutts, personally recommending the panorama. Written in response to a viewing in London, the sentiments of the letter were echoed in the local papers, anxious to align aristocratic approval and philanthropic leadership to local interests. Conversely, in mid-century Bristol panoramas were unpopular with the upper and middle class clientele of wealthy Clifton, and hastily revised promotions reflected the necessary tactics employed to engage and encourage their attendance. And at both centres, whilst smaller and locally-produced shows could also find success, all showmen and artists soon discovered that poor artistic quality or uninteresting lectures could not be imposed arbitrarily on provincial audiences.

This paper, then, will discuss a range of advertisements and reviews that offer an alternative perspective on the provincial reception of panoramas, moving beyond the stock phrases such as 'overflowing houses' and 'delighted audiences' to examine the sometimes variable success that greeted the showmen and how their promotional appeals could be adapted to suit the realities of each local population.

John Plunkett

Gateway to Empire: Plymouth's popular entertainments 1855-75

Between 1801 and 1911, the population of Plymouth expanded rapidly from 43,914 in 1801 to 193,184. This fourfold increase was, in part, a result of Plymouth's maritime importance in that it was an important port for both the Royal Navy and the commercial transportation of goods and passengers. This paper explores the way that mid-Victorian popular entertainments in Plymouth were influenced by its maritime identity, and through having a transient portion of its population, whether sailors, marines, or passengers, who were either about to leave for foreign climes or who had just returned. It will particularly focus on the exhibition practices of large-scale panoramas and dioramas between 1855 and 1875, and the predilection for international and/or imperial subject matter. In addition to demonstrating the success of these touring shows in relation to other popular entertainment forms such as theatre, concerts, and popular lecturing, the paper will focus on particular examples of the dialectic between the local and global through demonstrating the way even international/imperial exhibitions geared themselves to local interests and identities. For example, touring panoramas sometimes used bands from the naval regiments stationed in Plymouth to augment their performances. Similarly, a panorama of Ireland was incredibly successful because of the large number of Irish navvies who were employed in building the

docks (the proprietors of the show were so grateful for the large attendances that, at the end of their run, they repainted the final scene of the panorama to show Plymouth Hoe).

Joe Kember

'Pure, Elevating, Instructive Entertainment': Travel lectures in Plymouth during the 1890s.

During the 1880s and 1890s, Plymouth, like most towns in the UK, saw a dramatic increase in the number and variety of lectures being given to its inhabitants. Frequently illustrated, often by the magic lantern, these performances took place within many civic and charitable institutions, such as the Mechanic's Institute, Plymouth Institution, YMCA, YWCA, temperance organisations, churches, schools, and bazaars. The lecture, whether illustrated or not, was a remarkably pervasive feature of life in Plymouth, with several shows often taking place during any one evening in the winter season. This paper will present a sample of such shows, including entertainments staged by local missionary societies, churches, and by travelling celebrity lecturers such as Rawei Taimoa, 'The Maori Evangelist', who arrived in Plymouth during 1895. Presenting images and narratives in venues of all sizes and to all kinds of audiences, these performances brought colonial and missionary discourses to all strata of Plymouth society, and can be profitably regarded as a powerful means by which Imperial narratives reached into the most everyday practices of Plymothians. Indeed, the cumulative weight and pervasiveness of such shows, not to mention their widely reported content, gives us one way to think about the impact of global ideas upon definitions of 'community' established by civic authorities and by local media during this period.

Ros Leveridge

'A panorama of Eastern splendour and of Western might': Screening the Delhi Durbars in South West coastal resorts.

The Delhi Durbars of 1903 and 1911 were magnificent visual spectacles which, with extraordinary displays of pomp and ceremony, celebrated the coronation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, and King George V and Queen Mary, as Emperor and Empress of India. The 1903 Durbar was a glorious pageant, famously orchestrated with precision timing by the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon. It left observers overwhelmed and journalists literally lost for words to describe the dazzling array of colours presented by the ten days spectacle of maharajahas and elephants, jewels and costumes. The 1911 Durbar was no less magnificent in size and splendour, and was made even more prestigious by the presence of the King and Queen. At the height of Empire, the scale and magnificence of both celebrations displayed the strength of imperial power to Britons at home, its colonies overseas, and to the wider world. The medium of film, still in its infancy in 1903, extended the sights of the Durbars far beyond the audiences of native Indians and the rich and titled British who attended, to mass audiences across Europe and Asia, and were a gift to filmmakers seeking topical subjects to catch the public interest. They happened at a time of innovation and discovery in the emerging film industry; in the eight years which separated the two Durbars, exhibition practices underwent a profound change which impacted on the screening of these films in Britain, and the audiences who viewed them. This paper will focus on the reception of Delhi Durbar films in four contrasting coastal resorts in the South West, and consider their impact and importance to regional audiences. It will explore the different contexts in which these films were screened locally, and examine the ways in which they concurred with or complemented current ideas and interests in these four culturally distinct sites.

12.00 -1.00pm Lunch

<u>Panel 2 (1.00pm – 3.00pm)</u>

Locating Empire Chair Vanessa Toulmin

Teresa Castro

Imperialism and Early Cinema's "Mapping Impulse.

As it has often been pointed out, the institutional configuration of cinema during the first decades of the twentieth century was strongly informed by the consolidation and the dissemination of imperialist discourse. This process seems to be driven by what could be called a general *mapping impulse* that deemed cinema capable of transforming unknown regions into a recognizable, knowable and therefore orderable and controllable world. Such an impulse could be described as the drive to cover space from its detailed sights to more general, comprehensive views, obtained through surveying and over-viewing.

The idea of a "mapping impulse" allows us to single out a number of important aspects with regards to some early non-fiction films, from exotic travelogues to ethnographic and "pre-documentary" films: the seemingly *topographic* nature of their subject; their *descriptive* ambition and their frequent *serial* mode of constitution. More than just a trope of the pervasive imperialist discourse, "mapping" would then be the underlying technique that oversees the very act of filming or even the constitution of a visual archive. It would be both common to the wider imperialist demarche and many cinematographic enterprises.

Among the several examples to be discussed, we mention the *Archives de la Planète* (1912-1931). Founded with the purpose of documenting the 'surface of the globe as inhabited and developed by Man', they bestow upon this "mapping impulse" an ambitious goal: the *description* and *classification* of the entire planet. The collection illustrates, by its avowed purpose and its extraordinary visual outcome, the "imperialist ordering of the globe under a panoptical regime".

Cosimo Chiarelli

In the (visual) heart of Borneo – Charles Hose in Sarawak

Borneo, and particularly Sarawak, holds a peculiar place in the Victorian exotic imagination. Due to its geographical position, its naturalistic and ethnic richness, but most of all to the original rules and political organization introduced by James Brooke, the founder of a dynasty of "White Rajahs" that ruled the country for over one century (James Brooke 1842-1868; his nephew Charles 1868-1917; this last's son, Vyner 1917-1946), this region was at the time perceived as an "alternative" colonial experiment within the British Empire.

During all the Nineteenth century, Sarawak myth was essentially literary, feeding on a copious production of writings, such as autobiographical narratives and travel accounts, and was celebrated in European popular culture by novels and adventure tales, notably by Joseph Conrad and Emilio Salgari.

The images illustrating this myth, and particularly the photographs, are on the contrary less frequent, at least up to the end of the century.

This situation changes significantly at the turn of the century. Charles Hose (1863-1929) was definitely the principal author of the creation of a coherent and widespread visual representation of this colonial utopia.

In his twofold rule of colonial administrator and passionate collector of naturalist specimen and ethnographic artefacts, Hose was the privileged point of reference for the naturalistic travellers passing through, which he guided in their wandering on the island, suggesting the subjects of their photos.

Moreover, being he himself a photographer with a good technical skill, he realized in a short space of time, between 1895 and the beginning of the Twentieth century, a remarkable photographic corpus, characterised by an interesting recourse to the staging and the theatricalization of the subjects in order to create a normalized and pacified universe of interethnic relations on the background of a luxuriant nature.

These images, thanks to the pervasive and qualified network of Hose's correspondents all over the world, were soon widespread and diffused in circles sometimes very different from one another (from the scientific literature to the adventure's narrative, to the missionary's propaganda and the geographical didactic), in this way settling themselves permanently in the collective imaginary on Borneo.

For this reason, Hose's occurrence is particularly significant because it enables us to see in a concrete way the process of creation and setting of a colonial visual imagery, starting from the material production of images up to their different consumption in a multilayered but coherent corpus of significances.

J. P. Short
Empire and the Working-Class Eye: A History of Bourgeois Anxiety – waiting
Marx, in his Paris manuscripts of 1844, suggests that the visual sense—in some sense, the eye—has a history. What is at most only implicit is the *social* history of the visual; here, of the *working-class* eye. This history remains unwritten, except perhaps in fragments. More fully realized, such a history—founded upon the historicity of visual experience—would examine the production of vision within the relations of production, or within and across class formations. It would engage historical discourses that identify and denigrate the hypertrophied visual sense of the European "masses" in the later nineteenth century.
In Second Empire Germany, my starting point, such discourse flourished among a cultivated bourgeoisie animated by their perception of a degraded mass culture. A concept of greedy, vulgar working-class visuality—the gawking, ogling, mindless gaze of the mass—developed in the material context of proliferating technologies of visual projection and representation—commercial technologies of "picturing"—and the consequent explosion of images in circulation. The "spectatorial pleasure" of empire (J.A. Hobson) is a special case in the development of this discourse, one that draws metropolitan class distinctions and the racist logic of primitivism into an illuminating relation. The visual culture of imperialism (panoramic violence, peep-show titillation, magic-lantern ethnography, commodity propaganda, etc.) fairly mesmerizes workers in a way analogous to the overpowering effects of mass-produced images on "primitives" at the colonial periphery.

Of course, the fixations and anxieties generated by the *fin-de-siècle* visual culture of imperialism quite likely say much more about the bourgeoisie, source of the discourse on working-class visuality, than about workers themselves. And whether, indeed, an ogling working-class subject—uniquely transfixed by images of empire—was ever produced socially may not be ascertainable as empirical history. (The recovery of sight is, after all, an elusive object, the more so among the dead.) But the very density and universality of the discourse itself, taken up in the light of more recent theories about the mutability or historicity of vision, suggest, perhaps, a provisional and tactical acceptance of it at face value as one way forward into the social history of the visual.

The task of this paper is to lay some of the preliminary conceptual and empirical framework for that inquiry: to bring together the system of imperial representation (the visual objects themselves) and discourses about their popular reception (understood as fractured by social class). This will illuminate the nature of imperialism as a form of knowledge that reproduced

precisely those class divisions it was meant to defuse, even as it engages themes of the social history of visual experience, disciplining vision, capitalist mass culture and the figuration of the primitive.

Louise Tythacott
Race on display: the 'Melanian', 'Mongolian' and 'Caucasian' galleries at Liverpool Museum, 1896-1929
In 1896, the *Annual Reports* of the Free Public Museum of Liverpool began to list all accessions according to three racial groupings – 'Melanian', 'Mongolian' and 'Caucasian'. 'Melanian' objects – described as those of the 'black' races – were from Africa, as well as the Pacific. Material culture from the 'Mongolian', or 'yellow' races, consisted of an extraordinary diversity of peoples - from the Americas, Africa and Asia. Artefacts of the Caucasian, or 'white' races, were predominantly European, though Egypt as well as countries in Asia, the Middle East and the Americas were at times incorporated into this racial category. By 1901, this tripartite distinction had become the overall organising principle of the galleries at Liverpool Museum. Melanian objects were in the basement; Caucasian things were on the ground floor; and Mongolian material culture was exhibited on the top floor. The racial typology was also articulated through distinctive display styles, for while the basement focussed on social life, the galleries devoted to the Caucasian and Mongolian races emphasised objects as art or antiquity (Hill, 2005). There remained strong echoes of these racial divisions at Liverpool Museum until at least 1929.

In organising the collections in this way, Liverpool Museum was making statements reflecting the dominant belief system of the time. Its galleries can be considered a visualisation of evolutionary ideas, physically mapping through the layout of the floors the relative degree of civilisation of peoples. The relationship between evolutionary displays and colonialism has been well recognised in the museological literature over recent decades (Barringer and Flynn, 1988, Bennett, 1995, 2004: Coombes, 1994; Levell, 2001; Shelton, 2000). The ethnographic museum as an instrument of ideology became increasingly a means of positioning cultures in relation to each other, with Europe always at the apex of the hierarchy of development. The paper will explore the circumstances around the emergence of such racial displays at Liverpool Museum, locating these within the wider culture of exhibition-making in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

3.00- 3.30pm - Refreshments

Panel 3 Friday Afternoon (3.30 – 5.30pm)

Imperial identities 1 Chair John Fullerton

Fulya Ertem
Facing the "Other": A critical approach to the construction of identity narratives in the early photographic practice of the Ottoman Empire.
When photography was spread outside Europe at the end of 19th century, it played an important role in transforming the Ottoman Empire. Not only it was used to record its history but also it became a means of marketing the "Orient"- as a commercial port, trading centre, market for European goods and site for foreign investments. At that time, it was common to observe that Western photographers were also carried away by an exotic Eastern image.

The early photographic practice in Turkey has the traces of such an interest, especially if we consider the nature of the first photographs taken during the Tanzimat/Reform period of the Ottoman Empire (1839-1876). At that period, photography was generally a field where a

small group of people with a Western background were working at. Their aims were usually to photograph landscapes including ceremonial market places, streets, religious and civilian architectural examples reflecting the texture of life in large cities. Among these non-Muslim photographers, there were some, such as Abdullah Brothers, James Robertson and Sebah&Joallier who also executed a series of work that reflects a general attitude towards photography in Europe: the desire to create/categorize subjectivities through the construction of identity narratives.

In their photographs, we thus perceive an attempt of identifying everyday life people according to their jobs or specific characteristics, under such titles as, "Simit Seller", "Dervish", "Porter", "Street Barber" etc.

This paper intends to analyze some of these photographs in terms of their possibility of questioning and/or breaking such a construction, by focusing on the act of posing and its potential in questioning (self-) identification and (self-) recognition.

It will thus try to argue that in an era where photography was used to create an image of the "Other", the encounter of this "Other" with the photographic camera for the first time, may provide us with examples of posing subjects who appear to expose some inner conflicts and incongruities, permitting us to question the power of photography in the construction of identity narratives.

Roshini Kempadoo

Defining subjects: Photography and the Trinidad plantation worker (1860s – 1940s).

As an integral part of my research of the colonial archive, I examine a selection of photographs and postcards of Trinidad (1860s – 1940s). The photographs constitute visual elements of the formal and informal archives located in Trinidad. They are intrinsic to visualising Trinidad as a British state, making use of photographic techniques and conventions as they were being developed by European photographic communities and 'exported' to the colonies. Colonial photographic practices of this kind and through this period were contributions to the imperative to define an empiric and universalising language. It is through the examination of the photographs and the function of photography associated with genre and circulation, that a more complex representation of the Trinidad plantation worker figure as colonial subject may be drawn.

In this paper, I explore the way in which perceptions of the colonial plantation worker figure became determined through the coloniser's gaze. I refer to photographs from the West Indiana and Special Collection (WISC) at the University of the West Indies, St Augustine campus, the National Archive of Trinidad and Tobago, Port-of-Spain, Mrs. Olga Mavrogordato's private collection, Port-of-Spain, and Mr. Della Costa's glass plate collection, Port-of-Spain. They are analysed to:

- Examine the way photographic techniques and processes constituted the Trinidad plantation worker as the colonial subject, at once racialised and construed as the commodified object of the plantation economy.
- Explore ways in which visual racial demarcation between the ex-slave population mainly of African descent and the indentured[1] labourers mainly of Indian origin were developed using photographic techniques and stylistic approaches.

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[1] The indentured system was introduced by the British to provide labour for the plantations after the abolition of slavery. The first ship carrying indentured labourers, the *Fatel Razack* left Kolkata on February 16, 1845 and landed in the Gulf of Paria, Trinidad on May 30, 1845 with 227 immigrants. Several authors including Samaroo (1987, 1995, 1996), Dabydeen (1987, 1996),

- Identify ways in which a particular mise-en-scène becomes associated with the plantation worker figure to include plantation spaces and locations, urban environments, and island landscapes.
- Comment on the significance of the honorific (Sekula, 1986) and humanising portrait of the colonial plantation worker that emerged at the turn of the century, as he/she gained improved financial and political positions in the colonial society. The creation of formal photographic portraits by emergent, urban, ex-plantation worker populations became important to the individual and collective representations of contemporary Trinidadian society.

As a photographer, media artist, and academic, I elaborate on the importance of examining and analysing historical photographs as representations of the contemporary racialised black British/Caribbean body. The photographs are visual elements of what I conceptualise as the *contiguous Trinidad archive*, existing as colonial documentation inherent to the ex-British colony. As such the archive is severely limited by the inherent absence of particular and personalised narratives, or the counter-perspective of the plantation worker's experience of this period of history. It is I argue, through the creative practice of re-imagining and re-reading his/her experience and perspective that we may be able to fill in absent stories, critique, and counteract photography's initial purpose of picturing the Empire and its subjects.

Michael Eaton

Golden Bough and Silver Nitrate.

Sir James George Frazer's 'The Golden Bough', which runs to twelve volumes, is now one of the world's great unread books but in an abridged form was once a massive best seller whose influence has been out of all proportion to its consumption. Though his research methods are dismissed by anthropologists today he remains a great prose stylist whose modest quest to explicate all the world's ritual practices past and present and to provide a definition of and explanation for Magic and Religion rarely caused him to leave the surrounds of Trinity College, Cambridge. As a classicist his pursuit began with archaeological finds made by Lord Savile of Rufford Abbey at the Temple of Diana at Nemi - an amazing treasure trove once on public display in Nottingham Castle Museum but now sadly languishing in storage. Originally a biologist, Alfred Haddon was a very different Cambridge pioneer of the fledgling discipline of Anthropology whose more practical and ultimately influential approach led to an expedition to the Torres Straits where he recorded the ritual dances of the native population in sound and vision, becoming in 1898 the first ethnographic film maker.

Using Haddon's field recordings, Frazer's writings and images from the Nemi collection this talk will contrast the methods employed by these two eminent anthropologists working at the end of the 19th century from the perspective not of an academic but of an entertainer. Before he became a successful dramatist Michael Eaton (Professor of Creative Writing at Nottingham Trent University) was a failed anthropologist. His bfi monograph *Jean Rouch - Anthropology, Reality, Cinema* (1978) was the first publication in English to present the work of a great film maker who worked in the tradition of Haddon.

Alessandro Pes

Ordinary People Celebrities-The Fascist mythizising of Italian settlers in East Africa

In 1936 the conquest of Ethiopia represented for the Italian Fascist Government the opportunity to establish the Empire of Italian East Africa. Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somali

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Look Lai (1993), and Tinker (1974), have written about the Indian and Chinese indentured system in Trinidad and British Guiana, which combined saw the largest population of Indians transported to the Caribbean.

became parts of the Empire. According to Fascist plan the territory of the Italian Empire had to become a population colony. By this way the Italian East Africa would had to become the destination for unemployed and peasant Italians.

After the establishment of the Empire of Italian East Africa the Fascist Government needed to find some ways to embolden Italian people to settle the colonies. A tool was Cinema and the news from colonies filmed by Istituto LUCE and called *Cinegiornale*, one of the most powerful medium of Fascist Propaganda [Ben-Ghiat;2005]. Cinemas and theatres were the places where Italian audience watched weekly newsreel of Istituto LUCE. Reports were made with the aim to allure and make confidential Italian colonies to people from mother country. This reports represented by an heroical way the ordinary life of the first Italian settlers in the Empire of Italian East Africa. The *Cinegiornale* of Istituto Luce could be considered as a way to create Celebrities from ordinary people with the aim to persuade Italian people from both middle and low classes to join the colonial dream.
Moving from the analysis of the records of National Archives in Rome, the review of *Cinegiornale* of Istituto Luce and the cinematographic journals during the years of the Empire of Italian East Africa the aim of this paper is to investigate how Fascist Colonial newsreel succeeded to create myth of ordinary people in the colony and the ways in which this myth was acknowledged by the audience from the mother country.

Screenings: 7.00pm onwards

Nico De Klerk (Nederlands Film Archive) presents Gustav Deutsch's *Welt Spiegel Kino* #2

Gustav Deutsch, born in Vienna in 1952, is a leading figure of international found-footage cinema. In his extravagant "remixes" of film history, every genre imaginable has its place: fiction and document, magic fables and newsreels, amateur and scientific films. Although his works are highly playful and often humorous, he is not concerned with ironic effects when choosing and editing his found materials. Essentially, Deutsch's filmmaking looks for a "sensual comprehension" of the medium, and for an understanding of the ways in which cinema, history and individual lives are intertwined. The title of one of his major works sums up this perspective: *Welt Spiegel Kino (World Mirror Cinema)*.

Bryony Dixon - Curator of Silent film, BFI National Archive
The age of the great international exhibition was born out of the industrial revolution and global colonialism. They were primarily an expression of national confidence and vigour but the first Great Exhibition in London in 1851 also made a handsome profit leaving a considerable legacy, the great London museums and the temporary structure of the Crystal Palace which lasted for a further 85 years in a new home in Sydenham. The 1851 exhibition spawned a vogue for various kinds of these events – an official international exposition at irregular intervals which survives to this day and minor leagues of national events wit international scope celebrating specific events such as the opening of the Panama canal or the signing of the Franco British 'entente'. These 'world's fairs' as they came to be known, were characterised by exhibits of trade innovations, goods (and peoples) from around the world, public entertainments, fairground rides and the wonders of the new technologies of the day. The temporary buildings and structures of the fairs, in the period under review, tended towards the exotic, transforming London, Paris, or Chicago into fantasy theme parks of which only a few relics survive on the ground, but a few images of which survive in these fragments of film.

Films:

Savage South Africa - Savage Attack and Repulse (1899)
The Paris and St Louis Expositions (1904)
Panorama of the Paris Exhibition No. 3 (1900)
Pan American Exposition by Night (1901)
Mitchell and Kenyon 703: Panorama of Cork Exhibition Grounds (1902)
White City - Franco British Exhibition 1908
Brussels Exhibition (1910)
Visit to Earl's Court (1911)
Gaumont Graphic: Festival of Empire: Their Majesties Driving in Semi State to the Opening Ceremony (1911)
Lord Grenfell lays the foundation stone of the Malta Pavilion for the British Empire Exhibition in 1924 with scenes of construction.(1926)
Topical Budget: Thrills in the Making Topical Budget 649-2 (1924)
The Excursion to Wembley of Employees of Pullars of Perth (1924)
King Opens Empire Exhibition Topical Budget 661-1 (1924)
White City Demobbed (1920)
Fireworks at Crystal Palace (1925)

Saturday 9.30– 10.00am Registration

Panel 1 Saturday Morning (10.00 –Noon)

Ethnography and performance Chair Alison Griffiths

Jacob Smith
The Adventures of the Lion Tamer
Lion tamers were a significant form of nineteenth century British and American popular entertainment and spectacular stardom. The display of wild animals as popular entertainment has a long history, indicating a powerful fascination both with wild, exotic animals and the heroic men and women who performed with them. The form of wild animal acts however, are shaped by culture and history, a fact that an examination of nineteenth and early twentieth century lion tamers will illustrate. The lion tamer came to cultural prominence at the same time as modern zoos and circuses, and like those institutions, the formal qualities of the lion tamer act provided a stage on which Western audiences could engage with changing conceptions of the natural world in the wake of modernity, and the influence of colonialism on the cultural conception of gender and race.

In terms of the latter, European menageries symbolized colonial conquests and influence over remote exotic territories, and modern zoos were emblems of Western nations' domination over their colonial empires. Lions and tigers held a particular fascination as some of the most dangerous exotic animals from colonial Africa and India. American displays of wild animals could also index dynamics of colonialism, race and masculinity. In fact, lion taming, along with prizefighting and big game hunting, became an entertainment form that was prized for the way in which it enacted a "primitive" masculinity, and celebrated white lion tamers were thought to enact their dominance not only over the king of beasts, but over black men as well. Evidence drawn from popular press accounts reveal that the lion tamer offered a powerful embodiment of the white masculine ideal at the turn of the century. Through an examination of the discourses surrounding the careers of performers such as Isaac Van Amburgh, Carl Hagenbeck, Professor Darling, George Conklin and Captain Jack Bonavita, I will explore the ways in which this form of popular spectacular performance was shaped by its historical context, and how it, in turn, helped to shape popular notions or race, masculinity and the natural world.

Christina Welch

The Popular Visual Representation of North American Indian Peoples and their Lifeways at the World's Fairs and in the Wild West Shows

This interdisciplinary paper examines and contextualises the popular visual representations of North American Indian peoples and their lifeways at the World's Fairs and in Wild West Shows during the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. With a focus on American Fairs (but with reference to expositions worldwide from London's Crystal Palace Exposition of 1850 to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904), and Buffalo Bill's touring Wild West Show (from its founding in 1883 to the final UK tour in 1904), it will argue that these spaces and places were arenas where colonially constructed identities, and Western ideologies were enforced and reinforced to the general public. Here typically, North American Indian peoples were represented as primitive savages, in direct opposition to Western Civilized Christian norms.

Whilst much has been written about the phenomena of World's Fairs (Allwood 1977, Altick 1978, Auerbach 1999, Breitbart 2001, Corbey 1995, Greenhalgh 1988, Maxwell 1999, Reid-Badger 1979, Rydell 1985), and touring shows such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West (Gallop 2001, Kasson 2001), the majority of writing has marginalised the role of these Fairs and shows in communicating identities to the general public. Indeed, while the origins and the colonialism of identity portrayals have received academic attention (Corbey 1995, Jahoda 1999, Maxwell 1999), only Whissel (2002) has touched on the effects of these representations on the show-going public, and only Kasson (2001) has addressed the understandings of show performers themselves. It would seem then that despite the recent popularity of post-colonial analysis and post-structural studies of visual media, the potential effects of popular performances on identity creation has received little academic attention. Yet these World Fairs (notably the ethnographic displays on the Midway section of the American Fairs, and the general use of anthropological photography in American, European & antipodean expositions) and Wild West shows were spaces and places where the boundaries between entertainment and education, and between the scientific and the popular were ambiguous.

As such, this paper will argue that it was at these Fairs and shows where social, political, cultural and religious/spiritual identities were created and reinforced, and that a specific Western constructed colonialist perception of North American Indian-ness was presented, represented and re-presented to the general public in their millions. This paper will contend therefore that the effect of the colonial narratives propagated at these popular visual shows and Fairs should not be underestimated when considering identity construction, both of the North American Indian Other and of the Westerner.

Joshua Yumibe

Abyssinian Expedition and the Field of Visual Display

Between the fall of 1926 and late spring of 1927, the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago in conjunction with the *Chicago Daily News* mounted an expedition to Ethiopia. What was particularly appealing to the Field Museum and to the *Chicago Daily News* was that while many explorers, game hunters, and colonialist powers had noted the country's vast resources, scientifically it was still relatively unexplored at the time. The Field Museum hoped to rectify this and expand its collections, and the *Daily News* planned on making the expedition into a major media event by running frequent updates on the status of the journey in its pages. In this paper, I will focus on one of the records of the expedition: a film shot during the journey by New York socialite, Suydam Cutting, titled *Abyssinian Expedition*.

My paper will situate *Abyssinian Expedition* within the milieu of international politics surrounding Ethiopia in the 1920s. During this period, both Britain and Italy were planning on dividing Ethiopia into two trade regions, which each would respectively control thus

effectively dissolving Ethiopian sovereignty. The regent and heir to the throne of Ethiopia, Ras Tafari Mekonnen, threatened to protest to the League of Nations over these plans, but he was in a precarious situation as Britain and Italy promised to respond by denouncing Ethiopia to the League for continuing the practice of slavery. Faced with this impasse, Ras Tafari hoped to improve the popular image of Ethiopia in the eyes of the world by showing that it was a modernizing and progressive nation in order to impede Britain's and Italy's colonialist designs. In the Field Museum's expedition and the media coverage it entailed, he saw a means of achieving this.

Against this backdrop of international colonial conflict, the film produced is remarkable. It captures not just the international political situation as Ras Tafari attempted to project himself and his nation to the world through the cinematic medium, but it also illustrates Ras Tafari's own local political situation by pitting him against two of his traditionalist rivals, Ras Hailu and Dejazmatch Ayalu, who were upset by the modern reforms he was instituting. The way *Abyssinian Expedition* stages this rivalry between modernity and tradition in Ethiopia illustrates many of the primitivist assumptions that the expedition members made about the Ethiopians.

However, at the same time, the fact that both Ras Tafari and his rivals recognized the power of and performed for the movie camera underscores the potential of the cinema—and nonfiction film in particular—to mediate colonial histories and conflicts. This paper will thus complement Theresa Scandiffio's presentation on the American-elite production and local exhibition context of the Field Museum's programming by showing how the observed and supposedly exotic natives in this film not only returned the gaze but also attempted to co-opt ethnographic power dynamics by appealing directly to the Field's exhibition context.

Theresa Scandiffio

Welcome to the Show: Field Museum-Sponsored Expedition Films (1920s-1930s)

Starting in 1921, Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History began producing expedition films to show as part of its public programming. Scientists and curators as well as local philanthropists and artists made the films to supplement materials for the museum's high-profile expeditions and exhibitions. Film was integrated into the museum's intermedial public programming (e.g. lantern slides and habitat groups) as a means to develop a strong rapport with sectors of the population of the city that were deemed under-educated -- the urban child, working class and immigrant adults. But the museum also promoted itself as an inclusive space for all sectors of society, from those considered the most vulnerable to the most privileged demographics including the middle and upper class of Chicago. Films funded and filmed by the museum trustees and philanthropists drew the (aspiring) elite into the museum's theatre space to see their role models and peers on the screen.

The Field films produced rare views for Chicagoans of the time. They provided patrons with images of foreign and far away lands such as Alaska or Japan, and offered them access to the private lives of the city's social elite who played starring roles in the film as explorers, hunters and filmmakers. These local film stars had garnered a reputation in the mid-West for building up the second city, in part, by collecting souvenirs from around the world and giving them to a number of Chicago's cultural institutions to claim as their own. The Field sought to capitalize on the public's desire to catch a glimpse at how such a process unfolds. The films not only provided the average citizen with exotic images from around the world but also the opportunity to be closer to the elite and even imagine what it would be like to travel and live the life of adventure only attainable to the upper-class urban sophisticate.

For this paper, I will look at the production and reception of two Field Museum-sponsored expeditions and corresponding films -- Field Museum-Borden Arctic Expedition of 1927 and film of same title made by Chicago philanthropist Josephine Slaughter; and the Field Museum-

Crane Pacific Expedition and accompanying film made by Chicago industrialist Sidney N. Shurcliff's *Jungle Islands* (1928/9). Both expeditions set out to collect ethnological specimens, plants, birds and mammals for the Field. The press coverage on the expeditions not only tracked the scientific discoveries made for the museum but also the daily activities of the philanthropist-cum-explorers. I will look at how local and national newspapers promoted the films as vital tools for teaching Chicagoans lessons of natural history and social behavior. I am interested in tracking how the films tend to each be more ethnographies of the American elite (gender and class structures) than studies of exotic peoples and locales. The pageantry of the supposed "ethnographers" blur the traditional anthropological distinction between the observer and observed – the elite are transformed into consumer objects (e.g. film stars, fashion models) as much as the "natives" are reified as "other."

12.00 -1.00pm Lunch

Panel 2 Saturday Afternoon (1.00- 3.00pm)

Imperial Identities 2 Chair John Plunkett

Yvonne Zimmermann

Visual Empire of the Alps

The paper focuses on the construction and dissemination of national, imperial and colonial narratives on the Alps in Early Cinema that helped define and propagate what can be called the 'Visual Empire of the Alps'. Although devoid of realist ambitions for geopolitical expansion, the imaginary realm of the Empire of the Alps comprises national, economic and ethnographic discourses to negotiate issues of identity, imperialism and colonialism.
The key elements of the symbolic Empire of the Alps will be outlined by means of three prototypical films, starting with the first *vues Lumière* taken in Switzerland on the occasion of the Swiss National Exhibition in Geneva in 1896. There, the country exhibited itself in an alpine pasture, thus claiming the Alps to symbolise a distinct national feature. Although the Alps are a supranational territory, Switzerland was the only country to reduce its "Invention of Tradition" (Eric Hobsbawm) to the regime of the Alps and to construct and divulge an alpine national image and identity both at home and abroad.

The aesthetic and narrative 'development' of the Visual Empire of the Alps is continued in process films such as Nestlé's *Eine riesenhafte Industrie (A Giant Industry,* 1913) on the fabrication of condensed milk. Integrated in a narrative of industrial capitalism, the Empire of the Alps turns into an allegory of economic expansion and global trade: The raw material form the periphery (pure milk from the Alps) empowers the industrial centre to economically conquer the world by flooding the globe with milk.

The third example, *La Suisse inconnue: La vallée de Lötschenthal* (1916, P: Frederick Burlingham Films, Montreux), changes the focus and traces the Empire of the Alps from an ethnographic perspective, thus mapping the Alpine Empire as a colonial, or, to be more precise, as an inner-colonial space. The projection of the Alpine Empire as an undeveloped territory inhabited by ignorant primitive people turns the Alps into an exotic place to be explored and appropriated through the colonial gaze of the film camera.

To sum up: The paper intends to analyze and discuss the Visual Empire of the Alps as an imaginary landscape where Early Cinema's presentational modes and narratives meet to explore and exploit the visual attraction and rhetoric potential of Empires. Until the end of World War I, so my thesis, the notion of 'empire', whether real or imagined, is a discursive matrix that underlies early non fiction's aesthetic and narrative modes of appropriating the world, and is thus a key to its understanding.

Gunnar Iversen

Inventing the Nation – Diorama in Norway 1888-1894

On 27 December 1888, the painter Wilhelm Peters opened a Diorama-building in Christiania, Norway's capital. The first diorama-painting that was exhibited was a large mountain vista from the North of Norway; *Lyngenfjorden*. The Diorama in Christiania was a success; according to a souvenir programme published some years later "more than 100.000 people had visited the Diorama". Five years later, in 1892, another Diorama-building opened in Norway, in the smaller town Trondheim, in the middle of the country. The first painting that was exhibited was *Lyngenfjorden*.

In the paper, the diorama painting *Lyngenfjorden* and the establishing of diorama-buildings in Christiania and Trondheim will be discussed. Most of the paintings that were exhibited were part of what has been called one of the grand themes of Norwegian landscape painting and photography in the 19th century; a romantic theme of Nature's overpowering monumentality.

These romantic images were especially important in the struggle for independence in Norway. Images of unspoilt nature, or the indigenous Sami people, were used in an effort to define Norwegianness. The Diorama paintings of Norwegian nature played an important role in the construction of a narrative concerning identity, race and nationalism. They were used to invent the nation, and gain independence from imperial Sweden in the years between 1888 and 1894.

Andrew May & Christina Twomey

Visual subjects and colonial sympathies: Australian responses to the 1870s Indian famine

'Indian famine most intense; Two Hundred Thousand Pounds raised here; Colonial sympathy would be heartily welcome; can you do anything in the matter?'

In the same year that Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, the Lord Mayor of London telegrammed the mayors of Australia's leading cities with an urgent request. He invited colonial sympathy and aid to assist victims of the famine then raging across the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and over the course of which over 6 million people died. Indian Famine Relief Fund committees were established, subscription lists opened, benefit concerts organised, and contributions solicited from churches, schools and workplaces in shires and municipalities across the country. Australian contributions themselves augmented a broader Empire response to a 'truly merciful and humane object'. This paper examines the role of photographic images of famine victims in mobilising relief responses. Harrowing photographic images taken by Colonel Willoughby Wallace Hooper were copied in Australia by commercial photographers and widely circulated in the relief effort. Mike Davis (Late Victorian Holocausts) has linked the ravaging effects of an El Niño cycle with laissez-faire imperial policy which exacerbated the famine's effects. The cover of Davis's book includes an unacknowledged image from Hooper's collection, and our aim is to analyse how this imagery was deployed across the empire.

A reading of the Australian response to the 1870s famine relief effort reveals ways in which knowledge of India, ideas of imperial identities and relationships, and constructions of the other, were precipitated around the circulation of such imagery. There were many nineteenth-century vectors of the Australia/India connection, and a prosperous commerce and exchange of people, labour, goods, capital, ideas and material culture. In the 1870s, India was part of the Empire, yet a subject colony. Its subjects may have been nominally British, but racial ideologies classified them as inferior subordinates; Christian rhetoric could also read the prevalence of famine and disease as retribution on a heathen nation. The images also underscored an essential point of difference between the Australian colonies and India; while

both might be part of the broader empire, Australia was a colony of white settlement. This was a distinction that, in Australian eyes, it was important to maintain.

The deployment of such explicit visual representations of suffering confirmed as well as contested meanings around race, identity and imperial ideology. We observe the ways in which the widespread distribution and public display of such imagery elicited diverse local patterns of giving. We also speculate on the ways in which representations of the Indian famine at once asserted the primacy and power of colonial surveillance, but also undermined the comforting concept of the benefits of imperial rule for subject peoples. It also exposed further contradictions of Australian attitudes to its own marginalised indigenous peoples. The images are disturbing in their aestheticising of disaster, reveal little about the realities of the lives of famine victims, and anticipate a visual tradition more familiar in twentieth-century images of starvation associated with postcolonial states.

Annamaria Motrescu

Displaced Indian identities in early colonial amateur films

This paper examines a number of early British and Indian amateur films and how their narrative commonality illustrates British imperial ideologies from the first decades of the twentieth century. These amateur films present particular ways of constructing the Indian 'Other' through exoticised identities. The comparative analysis identifies recurrent ethnographic, instructional and tourist perspectives, and reflects on how these mirrored British colonial attitudes in India. It also shows how constructions of the Indian 'Other' were associated with early twentieth-century British imperial propaganda. It is within this specific visuality that questions of race, identity, and religious and ideological policies are addressed. Examples selected from the British Film Institute, the Centre of South Asian Studies' (Cambridge), and the British Empire & Commonwealth museum's collections include home movies, amateur travelogues and missionary films made between 1904 and 1929. The research corpus includes records by filmmakers from diverse social backgrounds such as Anglican missionaries, British colonial civil servants and Maharajahs. Among these titles are *Salvation Army Parade in Indian Village No 2.* (1904), the *Studd Collection* (1927-29), *Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine Film* (1927), *Nyimsao and Kheseto: a tale of the Naga Hills* (1929), and the Maharaja of Kotah's films (early 1920s).

The research methodology relies on postcolonial and visual anthropology theories. The analytical enquiry focuses on how conventional imperial rhetoric defined models of cinematographic acknowledgment of colonial Indian identities. It also examines how the filmmakers' social affiliations within the colonial framework located the Indian 'Other' in their films at the confluence of religious, racial and colonial governmentality. The paper explores visual tropes used by these amateur filmmakers when showing Indian people as 'primitive' imperial subjects, 'criminal tribes', or as epitomes of great wealth. The first two examples are recurrent in British amateur films, while the latter is frequently found in Indian films, particularly in those made by or on behalf of Maharajahs. The filmmakers' desire to emulate popular imperial representations of Indian culture becomes evident in their choice of themes, events, and personalities as well as in their filming style. For instance, several British amateur filmmakers modelled their records after ethnographic or travelogue films, and by portraying Indian people within a 'primitive' romanticised colonial locus they supported Britain's 'civilising' imperialism in India. In contrast, some Indian filmmakers preferred a journalistic style and followed the narrative and aesthetics of actualities when showing state visits by British officials or by members of the British royal house. As a result, Indian amateur film practice often endorsed Indian princely states' promotional strategies in relation to the British Raj.

Lastly, this paper highlights common representational patterns used by British and Indian filmmakers and how they visually controlled, constructed or contested Indian identities according to the colonial propaganda of the early twentieth century. The paper concludes with several British and Indian case studies that illuminate the complementarity between early amateur film practice and popular imperial culture in the construction of the Indian 'Other'.

3.00 – 3.30pm Refreshments

3.30 – 4.00pm - **'Lucerna': the Magic Lantern Web Resource**
Richard Crangle, Magic Lantern Society

Arising from a collaboration between colleagues at the Universities of Trier and Brighton and members of the Magic Lantern Society, this ambitious project aims to create a searchable online resource covering all aspects of magic lantern history, practice and materials.
The resource will include an extensive database covering slide sets, lanterns and other artefacts, people and organisations connected with the medium, events and performances, and 'readings', references and other related texts. Low-resolution images will be included wherever available. It will also serve as a repository for new research findings and a clearing-house for access to high-quality images and other online resources.
The first published result arising from the project is the Magic Lantern Society's recent *Illustrated Bamforth Slide Catalogue* DVD-ROM, and most of the database content so far covers the British lantern slide trade of the 1880s-1910s. But the projected scope of the project is much wider, covering the full 350-year history of the lantern medium, all subject genres and all national origins. The ultimate aim will be to allow moderated contributions by scholars and collectors worldwide, to create a 'living' resource that will stimulate and support further research in this important medium.

Panel 3 Saturday Afternoon - (4.00 – 6.00 pm)

Audiences and markets Chair Joe Kember

Amy Sargeant
Lever, Lifebuoy and Ivory
The proposed paper will be concerned with Lever Brothers advertising in print and on screen before the formation of Unilever in 1929. As Eric Hobsbawm has noted, advertising expanded in the nineteenth century, as an instrument of capitalism and imperialism.
I shall also discuss various other campaigns employed by Lever to advance his business empire and his use of 'ambassadors' abroad. 'What an asset to the British Empire a firm like this is', boasted the in-house magazine, 'Progress', in 1909, 'further than all your Hague Conferences'. However, national interests and the company's interests did not always necessarily coincide.

I shall also refer to a number of Lever publications intended 'to act as a "means of intercommunication" between the Head Office in the United Kingdom, and the Offices, Agencies, Oil Mills and Associated Companies abroad'. Lever manufacture and distribution extended throughout the British Empire and into German, Portuguese and Belgian colonies in Africa. Frequently, Lever is reported as visiting such outposts himself. Of what, I shall ask, did this 'intercommunication' consist? Is there evidence of more than the paternalism (at best) with which Lever conducted his company's affairs at home? How is the exchange between production and consumption represented in advertising of this period and how does it correspond to a burgeoning field of popular and academic material devoted to advertising psychology? To whom were Lever's multifarious methods of promotion directed?

John Fullerton and Elaine King

Looking back, looking forward: colonial architecture in Mexico at the turn of the twentieth century and its representation in photography and the illustrated press.

At the turn of the twentieth century, images of Spanish colonial architecture circulated widely to a popular audience in Mexico through photography and the illustrated press. Drawing on the holdings of Archivo General de la Nación, Biblioteca Nacional UNAM, and CONDUMEX, this paper examines the inheritance of Spanish colonial architecture in Mexico and its representation in photography and the illustrated press at the turn of the century. In particular, the paper characterises the manner in which colonial architecture was harnessed to represent the picturesque while also disseminating notions of the modern. In this regard, it is argued that photography and the illustrated press not only redefined a popular understanding of the picturesque, but also demonstrated a concern for articulating movement through space. The manner in which such strategies were highlighted in nineteenth-century travel accounts of Mexico is also briefly considered.

Denis Condon

Receiving News from the Seat of War: Dublin Audiences Respond to Boer War Entertainments.

This reception study of Boer War entertainments in Dublin seeks to engage with recent research that has provided competing views on Irish audiences' interest in these phenomena. In the booklet accompanying the BFI's *Mitchell & Kenyon in Ireland* DVD, Vanessa Toulmin writes that the body of surviving local films shot in Ireland in 1901 and 1902 by M&K for British showmen exhibiting in the country 'challenges traditional notions of Ireland under British rule, showing, on the whole, a distinctly middle-class and loyal population firmly at the heart of the British Empire'. 'The brief and perhaps sunny hiatus that was Edwardian Ireland was soon to be overshadowed by events in Ireland and Europe as a whole', including the Great War, the Easter Rising and the Civil War. The film *Munster Fusiliers Returned from Boer War to Victoria Barracks, Cork* (1902), 'reminds us of the importance of Irish soldiers to the wars of Empire throughout the Victorian period', particularly the fact that 'more than 30,000 Irish soldiers fought in the British army during the Boer War', a point that has been obscured because 'the nationalist press at the time and later historians have emphasised the pro-Boer aspects of Irish society'. Study of the exhibition and reception of Boer War magic lantern lectures and film shows in Ireland, however, suggests that the loyalty of the population should not be exaggerated. Niamh McCole's PhD research on magic lantern shows in provincial Ireland indicates a 'binarism of response' to Boer War slides from unionist and nationalist audiences, but she stresses the role of the lecturer in mediating the content of the slides and avoiding negative audience reaction.

This paper examining Boer-based war entertainments in Dublin largely confirms McCole's findings, showing the sometimes contentious nature of such shows and how they prompted reflection on the possible ideological uses of new media forms. In the context of competing ideologies, Dublin-based newspapers pointed out the limitations of the new media technologies based on the telegraph and the photograph. Although they are remarkable achievements in themselves, these media could be made to lie, whether inadvertently, to increase their entertainment value, or to suit the ideological position of the user.

Martin Loiperdinger

Screening the Boer War in Germany: Audience Response and Censorship

The first ban of film screenings by the local police which is known in Germany so far took place in Munich, on 22 March 1900: The renowned variety theatre Deutsches Theater was screening a programme number of lantern slides and 68mm Biograph films showing both

parties of the Boer War: British troops and their military leaders as well as Boer troops and 'Ohm' Kruger.

Though audience response was limited to auditive demonstrations of disapproval of the British and of sympathy for the Boers, the police banned all visual representations of the British side (but did not object enthusiastic ovations for the Boers). The ban in Munich was pronounced complying with orders given by the Emperor William the Second himself: Munich then was a center of anti-British manifestations which authorities were not pleased with as the German Government obeyed strict neutrality, against public opinion in Germany which took the side of the Boers.

Whereas the differing political positions of public opinion and the government can be analysed exhaustively based on myriads of commenting articles in the daily press, screenings of slides and film strips representing the Boer War in variety theatres and travelling cinemas offer a prominent case to study audience response to still and moving photographies in the earliest period of German cinema. Through police and press reports on Boer War screenings in different regions and cities of Germany, my paper will try to trace spontaneous manifestations of public opinion by the public (instead of published opinion in daily newspapers which is usually the kind of source focussed by historians of public opinion).

Performance: *Professor Mervyn Heard's Lantern Show* 7.30 pm

Professor Heard introduces modern audiences to the
weird and wonderful magic lantern entertainments once presented in public halls and private drawing rooms throughout the 19th century

Each show is different and draws on a unique collection
of original 19th century mechanical moving pictures, sights, frights, moral warnings, adventures, pictorial curiosities and fascinating information

This is a specially commissioned show focusing on material related to the First World War.

Sunday

Panel 1 (9.30– 11.30am)

Cinema and the British Empire Chair Nick Hiley

Tom Rice
Presenting the Empire on Screen: The Empire Series (1925-1928)
Between 1925 and 1928, British Instructional Films produced three series of short films, which promised to show the 'peoples, homes and habits' of the British Empire. This paper examines, for the first time, what the production, representation and reception of these films reveal about cinema's engagement with the Empire. In particular the paper will offer insights into the Colonial Office's attitude towards film as a tool for imperial propaganda, will assess how these films imagined the Empire and endorsed established colonial narratives, and finally illustrate how, and why, cinematic treatments of the Empire shifted during this period.
The paper uses Colonial Office records to uncover the production history behind these films, which comprised predominantly of footage shown at the Wembley exhibition and material shot during the Empire Cruise of the Special Squadron. These largely overlooked films thus contribute to existing discourses surrounding the Empire Exhibition and also – when viewed in the context of newly implemented industry regulations - offer broader insights into the development, within the film industry, of a national and imperial identity on screen. With

close textual analysis of a number of the films - such as *An African Derby* and *The Oil Palm of Nigeria* - the paper will examine the representational and generic tropes across the series, and consider how these colonial narratives work with the dominant governmental attitudes and colonial policies of the period. In particular, the paper will consider the 'Empire Series' alongside British Instructional Films' 1925 series – released weekly in fourteen parts – of the Prince of Wales' tour of Africa. The paper will thus consider how the royal family was positioned within this image of Empire and will assess how British Instructional - with commissions from trade and state – created an image of the Empire on screen.
An examination of the promotion, distribution and exhibition of the 'Empire Series' will highlight the shifting commercial demands, and the changing generic framework, for these colonial narratives. Originally conceived as a series of 52 films – with a film released into 400 cinemas each week for a year – the series was a commercial failure and was subsequently repositioned as an educational series available for non-theatrical distribution in schools and clubs. Viewed within the context of concurrent fictional productions such as *Nionga* (1925), *Palaver* (1926), and *Stampede* (1929), the paper will finally consider what this series ultimately reveals about the changing role of film in promoting and representing the Empire to British audiences.

Emma Sandon

Cinema and Empire: The Prince of Wales Tour 1925

This paper will examine how film was incorporated by British royalty in the 1920s to extend and reinstate the British Empire in a period of its instability and transition. Prior to the advent of film, tours by the Prince of Wales to the Empire instituted under Queen Victoria's rule in the latter half of the nineteenth century had been very well publicised by the press and pictorials. From the 1920s the film medium was incorporated into the visual publicity attached to royal tours. The paper will focus on films made in Africa of the Prince of Wales tour in 1925: *Prince of Wales Tour* shot by British Instructional (BI) and *With His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales in South Africa* made by African Film Productions (AFP).

The film crews were comprised of 'ace' colonial cameramen, Geoffrey Barkas for British Instructional and Joseph Albrecht and George Noble for AFP, a testament to the significance of this film record. The South African film historian, Thelma Gutsche, reported that the footage was screened on Broadway and in London, simultaneously with the progress of the tour. Subsequently a documentary, *Great White Chief*, was edited from the extended footage and was 'very popular' (Gutsche, 1972: 323). The British film historian, Rachael Low, however found the Prince of Wales Tour films to be 'staid'. She describes them as being typical of official film produced in the period with 'indigestible factual titles' and 'visual material as simple as that of an early scenic' (Low, 1997: 286).

This paper will consider some aspects of the impact the films might have had.
It will view the films against the wider context of South African politics at the time. This includes white Afrikaner Nationalist politics as well as African opposition to Empire. It will also contextualise the films within a broader analysis of how the British government used film to promote Empire in the 1920s. For example, prior to the Tour, AFP and BI had produced films to be shown at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. A special cinema attached to the South African exhibit showing AFP films was very popular and attracted 600,000 visitors in December of that year. South Africa was seen to be potentially important for the development of British film production and as possibly the next 'Hollywood of the Empire' (Gutsche, 1972: 337). Whilst this came to nothing, the idea of Empire film production culminated in the extended interest in film that was tabled at the Imperial Conference of 1926 and embodied in the Empire Marketing Board and the Cinematograph Films Act of 1927. The conjunction of the Prince of Wales Tour in 1925 with this narrative of cinema and Empire is the central interest of this paper.

Scott Anthony

Snowden Gamble and the films of Imperial Airways

My paper focuses on the films commissioned by Snowden Gamble of Imperial Airways during the 1930s, these films were part of a wider programme of cultural patronage designed to ease political and public disquiet about the rapid development of the aviation industry. The positive new image that Gamble strove to encourage in both official and 'home' movies such as Air Outpost, Wings Over Empire and The Future's in the Air, played down the industry's reliance on military spending to posit aviation as a missionary technology, spreading progress, order and civilisation throughout the British Empire. Empire Air Mail was an especially important vehicle for demonstrating how the civil aviation industry enabled lofty democratising ideals to be realised by linking together communities with a cheap, efficient and much publicised, international postal service. This creative and ideological tension between imperialism and internationalism is something that I will probe further in the first section of the paper.

Gamble's task was to demonstrate how a maturing industry served the society that was heavily subsidising it, to this end he utilised public sculpture by Barbara Hepworth, touring photography exhibitions endorsed by Herbert Read, and artistic promos like Len Lye's Colour Flight, to mould an early consumerist image for a mode of transport still commonly thought of as either eccentric or aristocratic. The second half of my paper will discuss how the Imperial Airways board wrestled with the public issues that these attention-grabbing stunts increasingly raised. For example, how to balance the promotion of global consumerism while avoiding the charge of imperial exploitation, how to emphasise aviation's revolutionary speed and power while stressing its peaceful domesticity, and how to adapt the stark branding and modernist forms of German and Soviet innovations while remaining 'democratic'.

This paper represents a bridge between my PhD, 'Stephen Tallents and the development of public relations in Britain', which I completed at Oxford in 2007, and a new project on artistic, cultural and political forms of technophilia in Britain and the Commonwealth in the early twentieth century.

Maurizio Cinquegrani

From Sydenham to Hyderabad: a Cinematic Map of the British Empire and its Cities

My paper will focuses on the ways in which early actuality films representing urban spaces contributed to the construction of colonial visual narratives and the consolidation of imperial ideologies. Early films contributed to the development of the imperial project and provided a great volume of information to the urban experience of the Empire. In my paper, the role played by films in definying the nature of Empire will emerge from the vaster network of nineteenth-century popular visual cultures as a form of soft propaganda which resulted in the spread of the imperial theme in music halls, town halls, fairgrounds and, from 1909, purpose-built cinemas.

The work of pioneer filmmakers reflected the importance of imperial culture of exploration and resulted in a visual topography of the colonial cities. My aim is to define a cinematic map of the British Empire during the closing twenty years of the so-called long nineteenth century (1895-1914). In particular, I will focus on London and colonial cities in British India and South Africa. The representation of other urban areas in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, such as Dublin and Liverpool, and in other territories of the Empire, such as Cairo, Hong Kong and Melbourne, will also be tangentially tackled. Actuality films of colonial exhibitions and displays in London (London Zoological Gardens, the Crystal Palace, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the South African Exhibition in Earl's Court, and the Victoria

Diamond Jubilee) supported the imperial message by constructing an image of 'otherness' through figurative representations of imperialist movement to and through the empire and, on the other hand, contributed to connect large geographical areas and offered an ordered and domesticated image and experience of the colonial other. These imperial attitudes to colonial subjects also emerged from films of street life, architecture and imperial processions (such as the Delhi Durbar) in colonial cities films emphasized the exoticism of colonial urban spaces.

The relationship between cinema and urban motifs of display will be contextualized within the emergence of a imperial culture of exploration which was related to empirical and geographical knowledge and required a wide range of visual resources.

11.30 – 11. 45 am Break

11.45 – 12. 30 pm The Empire Exhibition of 1938 – The Spectator's Perspective
Presented by Ruth Washbrook, Education and Outreach Officer, Scottish Screen Archive, National Library of Scotland

With much of the focus of interpretation and analysis of films depicting the Empire expositions relating to professionally made promotional, propaganda and newsreel films, the amateur perspective has perhaps been somewhat overlooked. This presentation will showcase several amateur films including rare amateur colour films highlighting the wonders of the 1938 Empire Exhibition held in Glasgow's Bellahouston Park, and examine the differing perspectives of the professional documentary with that of the amateur spectator.

Films
***Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938* (2 mins) (BW)**
Amateur newsreel highlighting the progress made in building the Empire Exhibition.
***The King and Queen Visit the Empire Exhibition (1938)* (13 mins) (BW)**
Professional documentary showcasing the highlights of the Exhibition.
***Sketch Plan of the Exhibition* (1938) (7 mins) (Colour)**
A personal film belonging to Empire Exhibition architect, Thomas S Tait, recording him at work on plans for the Exhibition and the finished buildings.
***A Visit to the Empire Exhibition* (1938) (12 mins) (Colour)**
Mr Campbell films his family's day out at the Exhibition.

12.30 – 1.30 pm Lunch

Panel 2 (1.30 – 3. 15pm)

Imperial Humour Chair Richard Crangle

Samantha Holland
The hilarious joke of miscegenation in turn-of-the-century US films and culture.
In this paper I look closely at representations in several early films – including *What Happened In the Tunnel* (Edison manufacturing Company, 1903), *The Mis-Directed Kiss* (American Mutoscope & Biograph, 1904), and *Jack the Kisser* (1907) – which make a racist joke of miscegenation, and which thereby contribute to the establishment of representations of race in US cinema at the turn of the century and beyond.

I contextualise the representations in the new urban environments of the US in the turn-of-the-century, and in particular in the milieu of fairs, amusements parks and Expositions in

which various "ethnographic" displays informed and were informed by cinematic images of miscegenation and white supremacy.

Focusing on the anxious hilarity with which allusions to miscegenation were treated, I illustrate how early films were at least as effective at 'mask[ing] and obviat[ing] the social dangers of mixing class, race, and ethnic groups' as were such racist spectacles as the Javanese and Dahomey villages at the Columbian Exposition and similar events (Rabinovitz 61). I argue that while such "live exhibits" contained racial and ethnic otherness in the urban environment, films provided an even more "safe" environment in which to contain yet play with mixing racial and ethnic groups – precisely because of their tightly controllable form, and their use of a diegetic world; this prevented "problems" such as those encountered when Dahomeyans and Exposition visitors mixed in public places such as restaurants, as well as similar "problems" encountered by fair-goers as they increasingly found themselves coming face to face with African-Americans in the US urban environment.

At the same time, I consider how some aspects of the films at issue might be read to undermine such containment, and how these aspects were caught up in the flurry of confusion around how to establish the formal and representational norms of the cinema in the changing urban environment.

In contextualising early filmic representations of the repeated racist joke, I discuss more fully how the films under consideration clearly support and are pertinent to Hazel V. Carby's argument that the urbanization of African-Americans at the turn-of-the-century had clear consequences for the representation of black women at that time. I also consider the interrelationships between the fairs, films and urban environment in light of arguments that new forms of looking and being looked at evolved at fairs and Expositions, and that early cinema in particular built upon and narrowed down such forms of visuality. To conclude, I investigate the idea that a form of "showmanship" has survived in relation to cinematic representations of miscegenation to the extent that, as Joe Kember has argued in relation to freak shows, cinema manages still to largely contain otherness in an ideologically "safe" form.

Paul Maloney

St George and Ali Baba: the visual culture of pantomime in Edinburgh in 1869

The 1860s saw some of the first use of photography to document and promote theatre productions in Scotland. This paper offers a close reading of two sets of rarely-seen cabinet photographs, held in the National Library of Scotland collections, that depict the casts of two pantomimes produced in Edinburgh in the 1869-1870 season: Harlequin St George and the Dragon, produced at the Princess's Theatre, and Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, from the Theatre Royal.

The photographs - detailed studio portraits of the performers fully characterised in stage costumes, wigs and make-up - give a strong indication of the production values of pantomimes in Scotland in this period, and use some strongly iconographic imaging to represent a range of national and ethnic archetypes.

I will use both sets of photographs to facilitate a discussion of nation and empire as represented on Scotland's popular stages at the time. Specifically, I will use the photographs, together with scripts and press reviews, to examine the two productions in detail and suggest ways in which they constructed and contributed to two important and complementary political narratives of contemporary Scottish society: union and empire.

Firstly, I will argue that Harlequin St George and the Dragon presents the familiar story as a unionist allegory, in which knights representing England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland unite to

rescue a princess imprisoned by a wicked magician. The story's harmonious theme of exploring cultural differences as a means of encouraging closer ties extends to pictorial scenes apparently representative of Scottish, English and Irish life: the English scene, set in water meadows below Windsor Castle, is framed as an Arcadian pastoral idyll, with shepherds and shepherdesses after Watteau.

Secondly, I will argue that Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves includes more exotic fantasies of an ethnically-different 'Araby' and other imagined distant lands. The costumes and spectacle of Ali Baba feature a range of visual tropes by which eastern and oriental subjects were signified as Other for the viewing delight of contemporary theatre-goers.

These photographs suggest ways in which the popular stage had a key role in bolstering the most distinctive Scottish identity of the age, that which was demonstrably (visually and aurally) Scottish but also strongly unionist and ambitiously imperial.

This paper draws on current research for Pantomime in Scotland, an AHRC-funded project based at the Department of Theatre, Film and Television Studies at the University of Glasgow.

Matthew L. McDowell

Newspaper cartoons and the drawing of early Scottish football, 1865-1902

The explosion of association football in Scotland during the 1870s and 1880s created a burgeoning working-class subculture, one which would be addressed by an ever-growing sporting industry. Part and parcel of this industry was the birth of a sporting press, one which – at least initially – betrayed football's cultured beginnings. Codified British sport, with its origins in both the private school syndicate and the British military, was a crucial component of the Victorian zeitgeist of 'muscular Christianity,' and the early sport media was initially comprised of middle-class journalists who believed in gentlemanly values of fair play and strict amateurism.

And, since sport was initially tied to ideas of nation and empire, and was coming of age in an era of rapid industrialisation, Scottish football's early newspaper ambassadors were keen to spin both the imperial and fraternal connotations of the sport. In doing so, the press men enlisted cartoonists to create not only the atmosphere of early football matches, but also meaningful characterisations of football's players, supporters and occasionally – themselves. The very bourgeois, very gentlemanly and very Protestant representatives of early Scottish sport were creating images of sport of and for a population with experiences very different from their own.

My conference presentation will explore the meanings behind the drawings of the early Scottish football press. In one specific instance, sport historians Bill Murray and Joseph Bradley debated the significance of the use of simian characters to denote members of Celtic Football Club, a club formed in 1887 and initially comprised of Irish Catholic immigrants. But this instance is far from the only ethnographic marker of early Scottish football, and similar images of 'tartanalia' were also used for Highlanders and other rural Scots; who, while initially far removed from the sophisticated circles of cultured Glasgow, were increasingly entering the field of play against middle-class Scottish clubs (and succeeding).
The press men and their image-makers reflected concerns that the old order of Scottish society was being threatened, on and off the pitch.

But many of these cartoons were less loaded in their meaning. Some caricatured the bureaucracy of early Scottish football. More importantly, some of them – as was the case in almost all newspapers at the time – were merely meant to provide a window into major

popular events. Cartoonists were present at important matches, sketching the individual images of the players, the club officials and the referee, as well as still drawings of the 'action,' complete with captions. Cartoonists were also responsible for drawing images of the evolution of the football supporter, occasionally even capturing banter and conversation between players and supporters. In my presentation, I will discuss how these 'images' have created an indelible imprint on the popular imagination of Scottish football, and what these drawings tell us about the society – and the medium – that created them.

Andrew Shail

'The Great American Kinetograph' in Britain: Film, Fakery and The Boer War

This paper will examine Raymond Rayne's short story 'Colonel Rankin's Advertisement' (December 1901), one of the earliest appearances in literary fiction of a film-making outfit, to excavate the snapshot it preserves of the perceptions held by the British public about cinema and its place in the new and changing screen practices of the turn of the century. In this story, American entrepreneur 'Colonel' Cornelius P. Rankin pays down-on-his-luck Brit Walter Heslop to stage a fake assassination attempt on the German Emperor during a procession through London to the State Opening of Parliament, expecting great profits from his 'kinetograph' film of the 'event'. Heslop agrees but, finding himself restored to his fortunes, passes on the task to a man who happens to be an Italian anarchist, who attempts to shoot the Emperor for real, managing only to shoot Rankin's kinetograph before British and German agents storm the building and kill him.

Produced shortly after Edward VII's accession to the throne, this story pokes gentle fun at the frequent presence of Kaiser Wilhelm in the UK during 1901, criticising, in line with much popular opinion, the imperial partnership that Edward sought to cultivate between Britain and Germany. Against this commentary a narrative featuring a film camera as one of its main protagonist reveals much about popular perceptions of the new proto-medium that were held at the time. Years before American trust-based business practice would come to elevate America to dominance in world film markets, American business practice is already so familiar that it is possible to imagine a financial empire placed in the hands of the titular Colonel, who boasts that he has "planted Kinetographs over the surface of the habitable globe. Hear me? I do not permit the orb of day to set on thee great American Kinetograph". This empire is set to rival the established order: "Where else", the Colonel asks, "can you see in one evening the Battle of Colenso; the Chutes at Earl's Court; the Siege of Pekin; the Finish of the Derby; Sir Alfred Milner paring his finger-nails"? This story also, I will show, evidences the recent occurrence of a key change in contemporary perceptions of cinema. While this story likens cinema both to telecommunication technologies for the transmission of news and to optical 'magic' apparatuses for the synthesis of deceptions, by show-casing the cinematograph as news-maker rather than news-recorder, Rayne suggests that a new definition of cinema as an act of *pro-filmic*, rather than *filmic*, contrivance was emerging, showing that the medium was newly (and to some quite astonishingly) coming to be seen as capable of this key aspect of *fictional* production.

This paper will demonstrate the key role played in this changing perception by the spread, amongst UK audiences, of anxieties about film faking provoked by the current imperial conflict, the Anglo-Boer War.

Interval

3.30 – 5.30pm Performance: *The Crazy Cinematograph* and conclusion

The Crazy Cinématographe is a touring spectacle celebrating the films produced in Europe during the first decade of the twentieth century. The show celebrates the work of the

European film archives by producing a prestigious and entertaining showcase for those little known wonders only known to archivists, historians and festival goers, but not to the general public.

This performance will take place in the main auditorium.