

**Seeing Sense**  
**The Visual Culture of Provincial Ireland**  
**1896-1906**

**Niamh McCole**

**PhD Communication Studies**  
**2005**

Dublin City University

School of Communications

**Seeing Sense**  
The Visual Culture of Provincial Ireland  
1896-1906

Niamh McCole, MA

A Thesis submitted to Dublin City University in candidacy for  
the degree of PhD

Supervisor Dr. Pat Brereton

### **Declaration**

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of PhD, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work

Signed NSMCCole

ID Number 95971131

Date 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005

## **Abstract**

The objective of this research is to examine what is meant by visual culture in the context of provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906 and to argue for a particular conception of its meaning, range and influence. This study defines visual culture in terms of the interaction between viewer and viewed, recognising the complex interplay between the images produced and circulated within a culture, the viewing apparatus(es) by which such images are made available and the cultural consciousness, competences and preferences which accompany and influence our viewing experiences.

By surveying the reception of Magic Lantern and Cinematograph entertainments in rural Ireland between 1896 and 1906, it becomes possible to suggest a distinction between historically and culturally grounded 'ways of seeing'. In presenting evidence of a complex of receptive patterns, it is argued that the exhibition and reception of such media in conjunction with cultural repertoires and ideological influence forms the basis from which the era's visual culture can be described and mapped.

## Table of Contents

<b>Chapter One: Introduction</b>	.....	<b>1</b>
1 0	Introduction	2
1 1	Background	3
1 1 1	Implications for this Study	5
1 2	Objectives	6
1 3	1896-1906 A Historical Overview	8
1 3 1	The Case Study	14
1 4	Structure of the Study	15
<b>Chapter Two: Visuality</b>	.....	<b>20</b>
2 0	Introduction	21
2 0 1	Vision and Subjectivity	21
2 1	Background	22
2 1 1	Modernity and Visuality	23
2 2	Perspective	24
2 3	Descartes	29
2 4	Cartesian Perspectivalism	33
2 5	Challenges to Cartesian Perspectivalism	35
2 6	The Nineteenth Century	36
2 6 1	Foucault and Panopticism	37
2 6 2	Jonathan Crary and the Historicised Observer	41
2 6 3	Modernity and <i>Flâneurie</i>	45
2 7	Spectacle vs Participation	49
2 7 1	Bakhtin and the Carnavalesque	51
2 8	Conclusions	53
2 9	Audiences	54
2 10	Background	55
2 11	The Return of the Reader	57
2 12	The Active Audience	58

2 12 1	Polysemy	59
2 12 2	The British Cultural Studies Approach	62
2 12 3	Cultural Studies and Visual Culture	64
2 13	Spectatorship in Film Theory	65
2 14	Considering Context	68
2 14 1	Eric Michaels and the Warlpiri Project	71
2 15	Conclusions	75
 <b>Chapter Three: Methodology</b> .....		<b>83</b>
3 0	Introduction	84
3 1	History and Hermeneutics	85
3 1 1	Reception Studies and Historical Research	86
3 2	The 'New' Media History	90
3 2 1	Background	90
3 2 2	Objectives of this Research	94
3 3	Research Objectives	95
3 4	Discourse Analysis	96
3 5	Newspapers	98
3 5 1	The Local Press in Ireland	99
3 5 2	Reviews	100
3 6	Structure of the Case Study	103
3 6 1	Exhibition	106
3 6 2	Reception	106
3 6 3	Supplementary Research and Analysis	107
3 7	Conclusions	107

<b>Chapter Four: Exhibition</b>	<b>110</b>
4 0	Introduction 111
4 1	Background 112
4 2	Implications for this Study 115
4 3	What was Exhibited? 117
4 3 1	The Magic Lantern 117
4 3 1 1	The Magic Lantern in Ireland 119
4 3 2	The Cinematograph 120
4 3 2 1	The Cinematograph in Ireland 121
4 4	Venue 122
4 4 1	Exhibition Venues in Rural Ireland 127
4 4 2	Theatres 128
4 4 2 1	Independent, Commercial Theatres in Ireland 129
4 4 3	Civic Owned Venues – The Town Hall 129
4 4 4	Church Controlled Venues 133
4 5	The Entertainment Package 134
4 6	Accompaniment 136
4 7	The ‘Who’ of Exhibition 140
4 7 1	The Lecturer 141
4 7 2	The Projectionist 145
4 8	Enterpreneurs of Leisure 148
4 8 1	The Ormonde Family and La Belle Sunflower Cotere 149
4 8 2	Mr Leslie Fleming 150
4 8 3	The Canadian Commissioners 152
4 9	The Church and Projected Screen Entertainments 154
4 9 1	Religious and Philanthropic Organisations 157
4 9 2	Religious Organisations and Programme Content 159
4 9 2 1	The Passion Play 161
4 9 2 2	Illustrated Lectures 166
4 9 3	Theology and Visual Representation 172
4 10	Conclusions ..... 175

<b>Chapter Five: Reception</b> .....	<b>180</b>
5 0 Introduction	181
5 1 Background	182
5 2 Implications for this Study	184
5 3 Intertextuality	186
5 3 1 H R Jauss and the Horizon of Expectation	189
5 3 2 Yuri Tsivian and Cultural Reception in Russia	192
5 4 The Social Audience	195
5 5 Realism	201
5 5 1 Realism and Sound Technologies	209
5 5 2 Recognition and Local Content	210
5 6 Relative Absence of Visual Culture	217
5 6 3 Oral Bias	218
5 7 Politics, Ideology and Film/Slide Content	224
5 7 1 The Boer War Slides and Films	225
5 7 2 Nationalism and Projected Screen Entertainments	233
5 8 The Clergy	240
5 9 The Gaelic League	241
5 9 1 The Gaelic League and Popular Culture	242
5 10 Conclusions	248
<b>Chapter Six: Conclusions</b> .....	<b>256</b>
6 0 Introduction	257
6 1 Theoretical and Methodological Overview	258
6 2 Exhibition	260
6 3 Reception	264
6 4 Conclusions	268
6 5 Potential for Further Research	269
<b>Bibliography</b>	



### **List of Figures and Illustration Credits**

Fig 1	Newspaper Publication Locations	104
Fig 2	Magic Lantern c 1900 – Author’s Collection	117
Fig 3	Horgan Cinematograph – Horgan Collection, Irish Film Institute, reproduced by Kind permission of Jim Horgan	120
Fig 4	Classroom c 1902 – Irish Photographic Archive, reproduced by kind permission Of the National Library of Ireland	133
Fig 5	Ormondes Advertisement, <i>Kerry Sentinel</i> 1902, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	134
Fig 6	Military Bagpiper Magic Lantern Slide, Author’s Collection	138
Fig 7	Apology, <i>Sligo Champion</i> 1897, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	146
Fig 8	Ormondes Advertisement, <i>Ballymoney Free Press</i> 1900, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	149
Fig 9	Illustrated Service Review, <i>Longford Independent</i> 1898, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	151
Fig 10	Advertisement, <i>Longford Independent</i> 1896, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	160
Fig 11	Pilgrim’s Progress Advertisement, <i>Longford Independent</i> 1896, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	160
Fig 12	Passion Play Review 1898, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	163
Fig 13	Lecture Review 1899, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	166
Fig 14	Palestine Lecture Review 1898, reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland	168
Fig 15	Surrender of the Boers to General Roberts Magic Lantern Slide, Author’s Collection	199
Fig 16	Lumières’ <i>Arrivée D’Un Train</i> 1895	202
Fig 17	Coronation of Edward VII Magic Lantern Slide, Author’s Collection	205

<b>Fig 18 Boer War of 1900 Title Slide, Author's Collection</b>	<b>225</b>
<b>Fig 19 Lord Roberts at the Front, Author's Collection</b>	<b>231</b>
<b>Fig 20 3 Slide from The Life of Queen Victoria Series, Author's Collection</b>	<b>233</b>
<b>Fig 21 '98 Lecture Review 1898</b>	<b>235</b>
<b>Fig 22 '98 Lecture Review 1898</b>	<b>236</b>

#### **List of Tables**

<b>Table 1 Newspapers Surveyed</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>Table 2 Magic Lantern Venues</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>Table 3 Cinematograph Venues</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>Table 4 Boer War Exhibitions</b>	<b>229</b>
<b>Table 5 Nationalist Exhibitions</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>Table 6 Gaelic League Entertainments</b>	<b>242</b>

## **Appendices**

**Appendix A Range of Frequency of Rural Entertainments 1896-1906 per County**

**Appendix B Cinematograph Exhibitions 1896-1906 per County**

**Appendix C Magic Lantern Exhibitions 1896-1906 per County**

**Appendix D Cinematograph and Magic Lantern Venues 1896-1906 per County**

**Appendix E Lantern Readings (reproduced by kind permission of the Magic Lantern Society)**

**The Boer War of 1900**

**The Life of Queen Victoria**

**Travels in the Holy Land**

**The Passion Play**

## **Chapter One**

# **Introduction**

## **1.0 Introduction**

Seeing is not just the having of a visual experience, it is also the manner in which the visual experience is had (Hansen, cited by Earle, 1997 303)

There is an evident vagueness about the term 'visual culture' as employed in the literature of the various disciplines that lay claim to its territory Bryson, Holly and Moxey in their 1994 collection, *Visual Culture*, define their subject as the history of images Jenks' 1995 publication, also entitled *Visual Culture*, employs the term as a means to establish a 'social theory of visibility' (1995 1) Evans & Hall understand visual culture as composed of 'systems of representation,' using 'visual languages' and modes of representation to set meaning in place (1999 307) The objective of this research is to examine what is meant by visual culture in a historical Irish context and to argue for a particular conception of its meaning, range and influence I follow Mirzoeff in proposing that visual culture should not be defined as a medium so much as by the interaction between viewer and viewed (1999 13), recognising the complex interplay between the images produced and circulated within a culture, the viewing apparatus(es) by which such images are made available and sustained, and the cultural competences and preferences which accompany and determine our viewing experiences

Following initial consideration of the range of available theoretical perspectives, a case study, detailing the visual culture of provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906, will be presented and discussed A wide range of screen entertainments produced locally, nationally and internationally were exhibited to provincial residents and by surveying their reception in provincial Ireland during the decade 1896-1906, as indicated in the reviews published in a representative sample of provincial newspapers, it becomes possible to examine the potential for the production and maintenance of a historically and culturally distinctive interpretation of such images as a historically and culturally differentiated 'way of seeing' Reception therefore takes precedence over production as a methodological focus In presenting evidence of a distinctive complex of patterns of appropriation and customisation of 19<sup>th</sup> century visual media technologies according to political influence, direct intervention by the cultural revival project and the exercise of cultural preference, I propose an approach to visibility as a socio-historic realm of interpretative practices

## 1.1 Background

Abetted by the hegemony of vision inherent in the texts and tenets of Western metaphysics, a discipline understood to originate in, and to be thoroughly circumscribed by, vision and its metaphors, the manner in which we view viewing and think about thinking have become inextricably intertwined. The Cartesian origins of modern epistemology and philosophical reflection are taken to represent a turning point in the ascendancy of a certain way of thinking about experience, in particular that of an isolated cognitive agent, or modern 'self'. The subsequent valorisation of dualism encouraged the conception of seeing and thinking as equivalent processes in which ideas pass in review before an inner eye. Truth became associated with 'clear and distinct ideas' (Descartes) and objectivity with observation (Hobbes). The aim of philosophical and scientific enquiry, according to this model, appears to be knowing reality without being affected by it. Knowledge, in effect, took leave of its senses.

The hierarchisation of the senses implied in such an approach to knowledge, especially since the early modern period encouraged an increased reliance upon sight as the foundation of objectivity and certitude. Eventually, due to its extensive promotion, sight is argued to have assumed a certain uncontested hegemony over our culture and its philosophical discourse, establishing, in keeping with the instrumental rationality of our culture and the technological character of our society, an ocularcentric metaphysics of power (Houlgate, 1993: 98).

Accompanying the increasing entrenchment of the visual in philosophical discourse was an attempt to impose an understanding of vision as a panhuman, universal and essentialised phenomenon. Most attempts to theorise vision and visibility emerge from this model which emphasises an unbroken and overarching Western visual tradition, mapping the linear trajectory of a dominant scopic evolution conceived as synchronous, continuous and inevitable and making of a plurality of social visualities one essential vision.

Many such theorisations of the visual concerns themselves with the nineteenth century, understood as a fundamentally visual era in which a profound cultural shift gained momentum. Indeed, the modern era is largely characterised as one in which a premium was placed on rendering experience in visual form, 'the age of the world picture' (Heidegger, 1977 130). Comolli considers the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to manifest at every level an 'ideology of the visible' (1980 122-3). Whether accomplished in terms of a 'frenzy of the visible' or by an 'immense accumulation of spectacles' (Ibid), the social life of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is argued to have been fundamentally transfigured by the social multiplication of images. Heidegger claims that 'the fact that the world becomes a picture at all is what distinguishes the essence of the modern age' (1977 130). It is argued that the prevailing discourses of industrialisation, urbanisation, commodification and technology conjoined to produce a visuality and subjectivity characterised as specifically modern. Drawing on the work of Benjamin, the link between modern perception and the emergence and popularisation of visual media technologies, in particular the cinema, has been instituted and defended. As a characteristically 'modern' technology, cinema, it is argued, both presupposes and reflects the altered subjectivity formed by urban experience.

The invocation and mobilisation of such a teleologically ordained schematic, informed to a significant degree by our philosophical inheritance, must be recognised as a telescoped account. The history of critical interpretations has obscured alternatives and discontinuities, no less legitimate, which highlight the shortcomings of monolithic, albeit tidy and relatively unproblematic, constructions of vision which imply that at every step in the necessary evolution of this schema, the same essential presuppositions can be applied with equal validity and assurance regarding the observer's relation to the world, closing out difference and dissonance. This naive assumption rests on an undefended belief in the persistence of universality that has increasingly come under attack. The visual is always contested, debated and transformed as a constantly challenged locus of social interaction. No single way of seeing can ever be wholly and unconditionally accepted in a particular historical moment.

While we should acknowledge some debt to our philosophical inheritance, it lacks a specifically nuanced, historical perspective which admits multiplicity, dissonance and the possibility of alternatives. To do so implicitly requires that we challenge that which Moholy-Nagy describes as ‘the hygiene of the optical’ (cited by McQuire, 1998: 15), vision’s artificially imposed independence from embodiment, engagement and the other senses which has little foundation in actual experience. The perceptions encountered across the entire range of the human sensory apparatus are continually invoked in order to confirm, reinforce, undermine and correct each other. Moreover, the senses are deeply embedded in our emotional responses to the world and our status as viewers an accumulation of those constitutive experiences. To conceive of vision as discrete and compartmentalised ignores and side-steps concrete difference in its attempt to tidily account for things in general and grounds certainties in the incomplete, incorrigible and decontextualised reportage of the passive, inner, disembodied and disengaged eye.

### **1.1.1 Implications for this Study**

The repudiation of the alleged universality of sight and its isolation and autonomy as a means of knowing and experiencing the world informs and underlines the concerns of this research at a fundamental level. For a variety of reasons, a decisive absence still structures the dominant theorisations of visual culture in which a paucity of consideration of the social context of viewing emerges as the unsatisfactory result of the large-scale generalisations and occlusions of universalising discourses. It becomes vital to examine specific practises of socialisation at work in different social and cultural formations and to consider the relation of these processes to different historical times. While the visibility debate has been largely preoccupied with discussion of the privileging of vision, my interest in this project is concerned with the nature of the investments we make in vision, exploring the ordinary, diverse uses of images in an actual, empirical environment.



## 1.2 Objectives

This research supports the proposition that the experience of vision is the result of cultural, social and political practices whose organisation consists of mixtures of signifying regimes, a matter of historical and cultural contingency rather than the inevitable outcome of a dominant, unifying logic. Images and their interpretation are specific assemblages organised in accordance with certain practices specific to a culture or way of life. More specifically, this project is concerned not merely to affirm this proposition, but to examine the way in which such attributes play out in the context of early Irish visuality.

This study is concerned to rethink the issue of visuality along more materialist lines, proposing that there are many differences in how we see, how we are able, allowed and made to see, and how we see this seeing. Moreover, the research attempts to highlight the requirement to nuance the distinct but overlapping practices which constitute, at any given historical moment, the social, cultural and discursive constructions of the visual field which in varying combination determine and constitute the activity of looking.

Thus, the objective of this research is to argue for a model of visuality that allows for the mobility and permeability of cultures and practices. In short, this project proposes that each given cultural group constructs its own visual culture, defined here as the interaction between viewer and viewed, the circulation, exhibition and reception of images and the cultural competences and repertoires that inform our viewing experiences.

This realisation requires recognition of the cultural practices of looking and interpretation and the capacity of the viewer to make images signify. In this schema, meaning cannot be considered fixed, stable, or unequivocal across time. This interpretative activity is the work of socially and culturally situated viewers who, collectively, form the audience for the reception of visual media images and the focus for the study which follows.

My approach to visual culture thus becomes concerned to elaborate the history of viewers rather than of the viewed, of their reception of a range of visual media produced locally, nationally and internationally. Of course, the elaboration of a complete picture of any visual culture must take account of the entire image environment, including the production, circulation and exhibition of images and the images themselves, but for the purposes of this study, the shift in focus from production to reception requires a corresponding methodological shift in focus from the objects of vision to the way in which we inform our viewing of those objects. To proceed in this manner requires an understanding that what the eye sees is dictated by an entire repertoire of beliefs and values and by a set of cultural and political discourses, competences and preferences. Chapters Four and Five of the study are explicitly concerned, by means of an examination and discussion of the exhibition and reception of projected screen entertainments in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906, with the mutual implication of viewer and viewed. The elaboration of visual culture of the period thus requires that the seeing of any audience is returned to, and examined within, its social, cultural and political context. By employing such a conception of viewing, as this research does, we move beyond the limitations of traditional approaches to audiences and their activity. In foregrounding the locatedness or situatedness of all viewing, universality is resisted and finality postponed. Yet, rather than uncritically celebrating the freedom of all viewers to make individual, idiosyncratic meanings from promiscuous polysemic texts, this research remains sensitive to that which Ahmad describes as the 'predominant, unifying cultural schemes whose efficiency is felt in the most general attitudes of readers towards a text' (2000: 2), proposing that cultural meanings are established and maintained by collective rather than individual identities.

### 1.3 1896-1906 A Historical Overview

Ireland of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries offers the opportunity to examine a unique visual culture set apart from the European mainstream. Recalling my foregoing remarks concerning the character of visual Modernity and its dependence upon urbanisation and industrialisation, Mulhall claims that the Irish population remained largely rural in its distribution and that 'Ireland, as a whole, failed to benefit from the industrial revolution' (Ibid), a view confirmed by Ó Gráda (1994 313-314)

McLysaght recalls the 1890s in Co. Clare as a period largely untouched by modernity

Physically railways, bicycles and telegraphy were the only modern inventions in general use which differentiate the Ireland of [the 1890s and 1900s] from that of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In a few places, electricity had taken the place of oil lamps and candles and unbeknownst to us, there may have been telephones in some of the main Post Offices, but these things did not come into the life of the average man and woman anywhere (1986 108)

Notwithstanding the retardation of industrialisation in Ireland, the Post-Famine years saw a marked improvement in the quality of life of Ireland, particularly outside of the urban centres. Politically, the 1896-1906 period in Ireland was one of general calm (Ferriter, 2004 29). Despite the evolution of political nationalism in the South during the earlier years of the nineteenth century, 'there was considerable support in Ireland for the maintenance of the Act of Union' (Ibid) and 'most were also culturally and politically comfortable with the trappings of empire' (Ibid 30). Although, by 1900, the Irish Parliamentary Party had been reunited under John Redmond following the Parnell split and 'Home Rule Nationalism was in a healthy condition' (Fitzgibbon, 1983 138), the policy of successive British governments, notably that of Balfour, of 'Killing Home Rule with Kindness' ushered in 'a golden age' of constructive change in which the Irish saw 'their wishes being fulfilled without the need for violence' (Fitzgibbon, 1983 302). The Land Wars of the 1880s had passed, evictions had substantially declined and the introduction of Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 granted the three 'F's demanded by Land Agitation: fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale, introducing rent controls and reductions and greatly restricting the ability of landlords to rule their estates with 'unfettered and autocratic power' (Hopper, 1989 83)

The farmers of Ireland had at last entered into their economic kingdom. Many still remained 'poor' and some pulled ahead more rapidly than others. But overall, there can be no doubt that the decades after the Land War witnessed a dramatic relative advance when compared to the quarter century that had gone before (Ibid 99)

The Land Purchase Acts beginning in 1885 had begun the process of transferring ownership of holdings to tenant farmers on attractive financial terms. The establishment of the United Irish League in 1900 ensured that the shared interests of large and small framers prevailed in a united effort to achieve broad based land reform (Clark, 1982 26). By 1900, 60,000 rural tenant farmers owned their holdings, purchased with substantial government assistance. The Wyndham Act of 1903 saw this figure rise to 200,000. For the landless labourer, whose numbers substantially declined in the post-Land War years, the introduction of the Labourer's Act in 1893 ensured a more comfortable standard of living. As former tenants and labourers of the estates secured ownership of their holdings, the position of their landlords remained one of 'retreat without collapse' (Clark & Donnelly, 1983 272). Such broadbased reform of provincial Irish life and the achievement of the goals of the Land Wars saw the decline of locally based anti-landlordism, agrarian unrest and faction fighting. By contrast, what emerged as the predominant form of collective objective and action was 'the large associational movement staking new claims to a share of power at the National level' (Clark & Donnelly, 1983 10)

Though the decades following the Famine contained some intermittent periods of crop failure and agricultural hardship, Irish agriculture did not suffer an agricultural or economic depression (Ó Gráda, 1994 257). In Ireland, the Post-Famine years were a generally prosperous period of innovation, rising yields and buoyant exports (Ibid). The establishment of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (1899) encouraged improvements in efficiency and farming techniques. The growth of the Cooperative movement in the 1890s also contributed to improving standards, yields and profits for farmers. A steady rise in the value of Irish agricultural wages from the 1860s continued into the 1910s (Ibid 236) and were proportionally higher than the value of agricultural wages in Britain (Ibid)

The growth in agricultural output was matched by, and related to, a concurrent growth in retailing as the number and size of provincial shops increased and expanded the range of goods they carried (Hopper, 1989 102) The increase in wages was accompanied by corresponding increases in the purchasing power of the provincial community the increases in the consumption of tobacco, sugar and tea, the numbers of provincial residents travelling by train, the growth of holiday resorts such as Bray and Portrush and the numbers of people opening and maintaining savings accounts (Ó Gráda, 1994 239) suggest an economic picture of 'relative prosperity in Ireland during the 1890s' (Rockett, 2004a 24) and relatively comfortable quality of life

Literacy levels rose everywhere, as did the numbers attending school Housing was improving Banks were extending their branches throughout the countryside More letters were being written and posted Diet and dress became increasingly dependent on retail purchase Transport facilities and the number of passengers carried by rail grew substantially' (Hopper, 1989 101-102)

Though periods of 'distress' occurred in the western counties into the 1890s, relief was provided to prevent rural residents from dying of famine-related causes (Ó Grada, 1994 253) Such crises also provided the impetus for preventative and constructive action such as the creation of the Congested Districts Board (1891), public works projects such as the construction of light railways in the West and improvements in public housing and health

The introduction of the Local Government Act of 1898 removed fiscal and administrative powers and responsibilities from Protestant landlord dominated Grand Juries and provided a system of local administration elected by a democratic franchise that included women voters John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, described the act as a social revolution that 'disestablished the old ascendancy class from its position of power and made the mass of Irish people masters of all the finance and all of the local affairs of Ireland' (cited by Travers, 2001 12) Mrs Maurice Dockerell, writing in 1899, summarised the transitions underway

The governing power in local affairs has passed from the unionists to the nationalists, from Protestants to Catholics, from the educated, cultured, leisure classes to the traders, small farmers and in many cases even to the labourers (cited by Luddy, 1995 296)

For the first time in centuries, Clark & Donnelly note, rural populations were 'no longer engaged in a zero-sum conflict with a landowning class' According to Fitzpatrick, conflict within social strata was more prevalent than conflict between the classes (1982: 44) and that the relative stability of material standards of living in the provinces discouraged the development of a 'rigid sense of class distinctiveness' (Ibid: 56) Reference to class division in the relevant literature seem to concur that 'whether we consider economic functions, aspirations or social mobility, the concept of class division seems artificial and implausible when applied' to the period under review (Ibid) The lack of industrial growth outside of the linen and shipbuilding interests in Belfast and some manufacturing in Dublin ensured that a sense of working class hegemony was only beginning to emerge in urban areas and had little impact outside of Belfast and Dublin (Ferriter, 2004: 31) Certainly, outside of these centres, there was little evidence of organised labour aside from agrarian collectives such as the UIL and various Cooperative Societies whose respective goals of Land Reform and agricultural improvement were proceeding apace Though Connolly had established his Irish Socialist Republican Party and published *The Workers Republic* in 1896 and societies catering for skilled and unskilled labourers existed in Dublin, Cork and Belfast by 1890 (O'Connor, 1992: 50) the filtration of the socialist position to the provinces was relatively weak and diffuse

[O]f all the countries in Europe, Ireland was perhaps least infected by the Marxist myth that on one fine communist day, history could cease  
(Fitzgibbon, 1983: 302)

In this climate of political calm and economic prosperity, socially and economically, a new middle class of farmers was 'cementing its gains and political authority' (Ferriter 2004: 29) A secondary effect of land reform, according to Hill, was the establishment of a class of small farm proprietors which formed a conservative core in Irish society (2005: 21) Notwithstanding the inevitable tensions between various sections of local and regional communities, Hopper notes that the role of newly landed farmers and rural residents became that of 'a thirsty sponge soaking up as quickly as possible any radical floods which might from time to time threaten the prosperity and power they had at last achieved' (1989: 103)

In place of radical politics, particularly in the aftermath of the Parnell split, nationalists increasingly turned to a new sense of cultural distinctiveness and identity to cultivate new sources of nationalist consciousness. As noted by Ferriter (2004) above, considerable support for maintenance of the Act of Union remained, yet a growing antipathy towards Britain and Britishness began to gain ground. The establishment of the Gaelic League according to the (non-sectarian) ideals of cultural purity and tradition found widespread support throughout the provinces and was reinforced by the enthusiastic approval of the clergy. The overlapping and mutually reinforcing causes and concerns of the League and the clergy saw a close relationship develop and prosper, promoting the interests of culture and religion in their vision of what Ireland should be. In addition to their campaigns against 'gutter' literature and 'imported' entertainment, the combined forces of cultural protectionism and conservative Catholicism dichotomised the 'Catholic Ireland from British mass industrial society as a superior democratic nation based on the conservative virtues of a prosperous peasant proprietary' (Hutchinson, 1989: 138).

In spite of their particular confluence of outlook and objectives, participation in the Gaelic League was not confined to the Catholic Church. Protestant clergy and laymen were also prominently initially, as were republican nationalists, attracted to its radical cultural separatism (Hutchinson, 1989: 139). Notwithstanding such broad-based support, 'Gaelic Ireland gradually became Catholic *insula sacra* a unique spiritual haven of traditional folk simplicity, free from all the evils of modernity – a secular literature, alcoholism, sexual immorality, socialist agitation and materialist ideals' (Ibid: 140).

Returning to this project's concern with visual culture, it is clear that late 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, unlike its European neighbours, did not participate in the narratives and projects of ocularcentric Modernity. While Martin Jay correctly catalogues the ubiquity and ineluctability of the modality of the visual in the evolution of the English and French languages (1994: 1), the Irish language distinctly favoured the ear. Irish language metaphors and proverbs generally favour the sense of hearing over that of sight. Such leagain cainte as 'A blind man can see his mouth,' 'A book to a blind man signifies nothing' and 'An eye is blind in another man's corner' allude to the inadequacy of visual perception in explaining our relation to the world.

Following Jay, 1994 1), I believe that when we take into account the cultural resonances of our language inheritance, it is reasonable to suggest that an articulation of a culture's beliefs and values is implied in the metaphors upon which a culture chooses to depend

The absence of a well established and vibrant visual culture in Ireland during the period in question has been confirmed by many writers and theorists across a broad range of disciplines To summarise their arguments, little of note was produced between the monastic period and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Irish visual arts, with the exception of modest production by the colonial Ascendancy (Dalsimer & Kreilcamp, 1993, DePaor, 1993) During the ten year period addressed by my research, only three art exhibitions were reported on in the Provinces and, in contrast to our contemporary notion of art exhibitions and their contents, 19<sup>th</sup> century Provincial exhibitions emphasised handcrafts such as pottery, lacemaking and basketmaking over drawing, painting and sculpture The dominant position of handcrafts in the nation's art culture underscores Lelia Doolan's comment that, traditionally, 'we are not as literate visually as we are verbally' (1984 116) and that Irish visual culture, having 'missed' the Renaissance (O'Neill, 1993 55, DePaor, 1993 119), favoured forms which did not require familiarity with, or competence in, a visuality predicated on 'Renaissance' principles (Doolan, 1984 116) During the decade in question, responsibility for Art education fell to the Department of Agriculture, Science and 'Technical Instruction,' a broad-based term for education in such skills as poultry-keeping and butter-making The *Drogheda Argus* of 1897, noting a 20% decrease in the number of science and art classes in Irish schools in the year 1896-7 criticises the department as being 'totally out of touch with the industrial requirements of the country' and for 'failing in its duty We have no hope that under the present system any improvement will take place' (DA 28 08 97 7) In this context, cultural expression and significance simply took other forms, notably 'words and traditional music' (DePaor, 1993 119) In conjunction with an efficient complex of overlapping and mutually reinforcing interests, it seems likely that the lack of an established and robust visual culture may have served as an impediment to notions of visual pleasure



### **1.3.1 The Case Study**

My case study is selected and conducted as a specific instance of the intersection in visual culture of viewer and viewed in order to elucidate their complex interconnections and operations. Specifically, the case study, addressing the decade 1896 to 1906, is designed to

- 1 identify the range of interpretations and responses of provincial Irish audiences to visual media
- 2 to speculate about, and argue for, the possible conditions that determine or inform those interpretations
- 3 to situate those interpretations within an appropriate social, historical and cultural context

The exhibition and reception of the cinematograph and the magic lantern between 1896 and 1906 were chosen as a frame through which to argue for the necessity of considering visual culture as necessarily culturally shaped and historically informed. The elaboration of the visual culture of provincial Ireland during the period under review thus requires both historicising theoretical arguments about images and delineating a discursive field within which these images would have made sense. It is argued that what is described as meaning and meaningful is structured and circumscribed by the performative exigencies of exhibition, political sympathy and the intertextual context of cultural forms and texts.

For the decade 1896-1906, I attempt an inclusive historical survey of screen exhibitions in provincial Ireland, situating such entertainments within the cultural practices which inform their significance and challenging accounts which refuse the possibility of cultural and historical specificity or permeability. Beginning with the introduction of the cinematograph in 1896, and proceeding by means of an analysis of newspaper reviews, I trace its exhibition and reception throughout the provinces during the first ten years of its history, challenging the imposition on untheorised generalisations regarding the cinema's emergence, its circumstances of exhibition and the audiences who paid to see it. Careful examination of its exhibition and reception alongside familiar projected screen entertainments such as the magic lantern and traditional entertainment items provides evidence of a distinctive complex of patterns of appropriation of the characteristics of such media in a particular cultural and political climate.

My research suggests that rather than bringing with them an ineluctable set of meaning to be replicated regardless of temporal or geographical variables, projected screen entertainments in provincial Ireland were creatively customised according to a repertoire of cultural values that were both implicitly mobilised by viewers and explicitly championed by organisations such as the Gaelic League. Further, the prevalence of distinctive and complicated relations of political sympathy is argued to have formed an important lens through which the content of films and slides was evaluated and to have functioned as a determinant of response. As with all historical research, it must be remembered, that provincial Irish attitudes to projected screen entertainments do not, as Musser (1994) cautions, readily open themselves to our understanding, they are frequently strange and familiar, amusing and perplexing in unexpected ways. The purpose of this project is not to revel in the seeming eccentricity of Irish audience's reception of such media but to return such responses to the context of prevailing norms and practices, as argued in Chapters Four and Five, however far removed they may be from our current experience and expectations.

#### **1.4 Structure of the Study**

The structure of the subsequent chapters in working through the objectives listed above are summarised below.

##### **Chapter Two: Visuality**

The objective of this chapter is to address the shortcomings of accounts of visuality which rest in large part on an undefended belief in the persistence and legitimacy of universality. In this chapter, the historical foundations of two key theoretical positions, collectively described as 'Cartesian Perspectivalism,' are detailed to expose the historical foundations of how a certain, dominant conception of vision established itself. Further, the (modern, Western metaphysical) temptation to subsume all the possibilities and actualities of a complex and homogenous terrain into a single, homogenous and universal paradigm, articulated in, and resonating through, a variety of discourses including those associated with the development of linear perspective and Cartesian epistemology, are discussed.

While critiquing the imposition of abstract, general and universalised presumptions regarding visual culture, the contribution of such recent scholarship as that of Foucault and Crary in challenging and attempting to transcend the fundamental assumptions of ocularcentrism will be evaluated in terms of their usefulness for this study

Recognising that different discourse practices inevitably shape different approaches and types of responses, I suggest that those accounts predicated upon a key distinction between spectacle and participation are inadequate to describe the experience of viewers which emerges in the subsequent case study This chapter will conclude that visual culture is a work of construction and negotiation, the product of complex historical and cultural discourses

### **Chapter Three: Methodology**

Although often tacitly assumed, the contribution that a viewer, reader or listener makes to their engagement with media forms and texts has rarely formed the central subject of critical enquiry Building upon the critical challenges developed in Chapter Two, this chapter considers the relationships between cultural texts and their consumers In recent years, media historians, encouraged by research emerging from both Reception Studies and Audience Research, have become increasingly critical of accounts of media reception which privilege the medium as object rather than practice

Rejecting theoretical assumptions and methodologies in which meaning is considered to be contained in the text, awaiting extraction by a passive recipient, a Reception Studies approach is favoured as a valuable means of transcending both theoretical positions which privilege fixed meaning beyond the exigencies of context Theorising the possible relationship between spectators and projected screen entertainments, it is argued that viewers exhibit agency, that the meanings of entertainments vary widely and that these variations are determined by the audience's social, cultural and political discourses Further, the ability of audience research approaches to locate social actors in historical and political context will be evaluated

Rejecting theoretical models written without reference to actual viewers, this approach to media history, developed and championed by a number of early cinema scholars, is adopted firstly as a useful and credible means of permitting discussion of the social context of exhibiting and viewing images, secondly, the approach allows for discussion of culturally and historically specific appropriations of projected screen entertainments in a manner not necessarily consistent with the perspectives of generalising and universalising discourses

This chapter will also detail the specifics of my case study. Answering the call of the 'new' media historians to broaden the range and type of research materials which can be mined to provide evidence pertinent to the examination of historical reception, the usefulness of newspaper reviews as a research source will be argued for. Surveying a complete range of newspaper reviews of cinematograph and magic lantern entertainments published in the provincial press of ten randomly selected counties for the decade 1896-1906, a series of arguments regarding a culturally and historically nuanced model of visibility will be extrapolated.

Chapters Four and Five build upon my critique of universalising discourses and concern with 'locatedness' in media history. By surveying the reception of the magic lantern and the cinematograph in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906, I argue that what is defined as meaning and meaningful is structured and circumscribed by the performative exigencies of exhibition and the intertextual context of cultural forms, texts and politics.

#### **Chapter Four: Exhibition**

In arguing that the seeing of any audience must be returned to, and examined within, its social and performative context, this chapter proposes that where and how the cinematograph and the magic lantern were exhibited can be used as an interpretative key to our understanding of their reception in provincial Ireland in the decade under review. It is argued that the study of exhibition offers a means of getting beyond the texts themselves and of considering the relationship of projected screen entertainments to larger social and historical settings.

The exhibition venues in which magic lantern and cinematographic entertainments were screened are detailed in terms of their impact upon programming. Magic lantern and cinematographic exhibitions are considered in the context of simultaneous musical accompaniment, spoken commentary and operational aesthetics as well as alternating and competing acts as part of a variety programme. The influence of the prominent individuals who presented such entertainments is detailed, with particular emphasis on the role and influence of the clergy. It is argued that once the cinematograph and the magic lantern are considered from the perspective of exhibition, we move beyond consideration of medium-as-object to a more dialogical consideration of such entertainments as performative social events with multiple histories.

### **Chapter Five: Reception**

For the decade of 1896 to 1906 in provincial Ireland, this chapter attempts to map out what Tsivian calls the 'cultural reception' of projected screen entertainments, the 'set of active, creative, interventionist or even aggressive' responses (1994: 1) as a means of emphasising cultural specificity and nuance in the decoding of audience receptions of early mass media. Building upon the insights of Reception Studies elaborated in Chapter Three, the responses of actual audiences and their reception and interpretative practices are examined. The contributions of Jauss and Tsivian in theorising the collective, cultural reception of, respectively, literary and cinematic texts, are foregrounded and their importance for the concerns of this study discussed. In attempting to piece together a broader cultural ethnography, this chapter asks questions concerning the social and cultural modes of perception and reception visual media first tapped into, relied upon and later transformed. The evidence uncovered directs the realisation that provincial Irish audiences' responses to visual media were by no means simple registrations and uncritical appreciation of realistic representation. In this chapter, it will be argued that a complex of factors, overlapping and reinforcing one another functioned as a lens through which the cinematograph and magic lantern were received. Contemporaneous forms of entertainment traded in established cultural values and these values provided a cultural template into which the visual qualities of cinematograph and magic lantern displays were inserted and according to which these media were made to make sense.

The relative lack of a well established and vibrant visual culture and a tendency to prefer the oral, participatory elements of entertainments emerge as key influences upon the reception of the visual entertainments as a creative process in which their content and form are actively remade and customised according to existing cultural preferences and competences. Political sympathies and the influence of the Gaelic League and the clergy on prevailing attitudes towards leisure and the attendant arbitration of entertainment informed by the cultural nationalist sensibility is demonstrated to have greatly contributed to the dominant series of attitudes and expectations which audiences brought with them.

### **Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusions**

This final chapter will revisit the objectives of the research specified above and elaborated throughout the subsequent chapters. The usefulness of the methodologies and theoretical perspectives employed will be evaluated with respect to their theoretical and practical implications for upholding the objectives of the project. Fundamentally, this chapter will reiterate the requirement to consider viewers as necessarily constituted by their cultural locatedness and their situation within powerful systems of cultural values and competences. Recognition of the preferences and capacities of actual audiences, rather than claiming access to a universal, abstract and objective visuality, links the ways in which media are established and integrated into everyday practices, to culturally and historically specific traditions, aesthetics and narratives.

## **Chapter Two**

# **Visuality**

## **2.0 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to critically assess a representative selection of theories regarding the relations pertaining between viewer and viewed and their suitability to describe and explain the visual culture of provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906. In the first section, I examine the theoretical perspectives which address the models of vision proposed as appropriate to, and reflective of, the modern period. It will be argued that these perspectives fail to theorise the role of the viewer beyond a universalised, disembodied and disengaged paradigm. In the second section, the activity of the viewer, situated in the material world, embodied and engaged, and their activity in producing interpretations of media texts are discussed. The impact of cultural membership in informing and shaping this activity is considered to be of central importance in designating and influencing the relationship between viewer and viewed.

### **2.0.1 Vision and Subjectivity**

Vision and subjectivity, in a wide range of critical accounts, are identified as equivalent, even identical, terms. The conflation of the two terms posits an unequivocal relation between seeing and knowing which points to important implications for the conception and description of a given epoch or culture's visuality. Knowing and seeing, in this model, are conceived as the action of an isolated subject, separated from the object world of which he is doing the seeing/knowing. By contrast, the approach of this research proposes that meaning and significance should be sought in the untidy and potentially disruptive incorporation of the viewer into this orderly, mechanical relation, recognising that our viewpoint may be governed by more than is apparent. In order to adequately develop an account of the visual culture of turn of the century provincial Ireland, it is first necessary to challenge that equivocation which explicitly maintains that everyone knows and sees in the same way. Secondly, it is important to elaborate the culturally and historically variable factors that influence, even determine, visual culture. Thirdly, the knowing and seeing of any audience must be returned to, and examined within, its social and historical context. The first of these objectives is addressed in this chapter, the second in the following chapter and the last forms the central concern of my case study and is discussed in Chapters Four and Five.



The point of emphasising the postulated equivalence of vision and subjectivity has important resonances for the concerns of this study. In considering the production of meaning as a transaction between viewer and viewed and in locating the interpretative capacity of the viewing subject as central, meaning is conceived as part of, and constructed across, a wider discursive framework. In this way, viewer and viewed are seen as mutually implicated: what we see plays a part in our subjectivity, our subjectivity plays a part in what we see. This recognition will be considered in further detail in the next Chapter.

## **2.1 Background**

Abetted by the hegemony of vision inherent in the texts and tenets of Western metaphysics, a discipline understood to originate in, and to be thoroughly circumscribed by, vision and its metaphors (Levin, 1997: 31), the manner in which we view, viewing and think about thinking have become inextricably intertwined. In the history of Reason, largely conceived as a story told in the rhetoric of vision, the progression from sight to insight becomes a matter of a few short steps. The Cartesian origins of modern epistemology and philosophical reflection are taken to represent a turning point in the ascendancy of a certain way of thinking about experience and, in particular, the experience of an isolated cognitive agent or modern 'self' (Levin, 1997, 1993, Jay, 1994, 1988, Jay & Brennan, 1996). Dominant accounts of vision identify a clear construction of (transcendental) subjectivity distinct from (inert) objecthood (Jenks, 1995a: 1), a construction which is variously claimed to subtend 'metaphysical thought, empirical science and capitalist logic all at once' (Foster 1988: x, Classen, 1993: 6). The subsequent valorisation of dualism encouraged the conception of seeing and thinking as equivalent processes in which ideas pass in review before an inner eye (Rorty, 1979: 49), disembodied, detached and disengaged from the object of its knowledge.

### 2.1.1 Modernity<sup>1</sup> and Visuality

The modern era, with which the substance of this research is concerned, Martin Jay alleges, has been dominated by the sense of sight in a particular and fundamental way. Beginning with the Renaissance and the scientific revolution, modernity has been considered resolutely ocularcentric. The invention of such technologies as printing, the telescope, the microscope and photography reinforced the privileging of the visual and constituted the perceptual field as 'fundamentally nonreflexive, visual and quantitative' (1988: 3)<sup>2</sup>

A central trope for the activities of seeing in the modern era has been the window, as an object that frames and mediates the possibilities of vision.

The condition of the window implies a *boundary* between the perceiver and the perceived. It establishes as a condition for perception a formal *separation* between a subject who sees the world and the world that is seen, and in so doing it sets the stage, as it were, for that retreat or withdrawal of the self from the world which characterises the dawn of the modern age. Enconced behind the window the self becomes an observing *subject*, a *spectator* as against a world which becomes a *spectacle*, an *object* of vision (Romanayshyn, 1989: 42).

Truth became associated with 'clear and distinct ideas' (Descartes) and objectivity with observation (Hobbes). Knowledge, in effect, took leave of its senses. Eventually, and cumulatively, sight is alleged to have assumed a certain uncontested hegemony over Western culture and its philosophical discourse (Jay, 1994, Rorty, 1979). The validity of such essentialism and universalism will be challenged in the course of my case study.

A variety of disciplines have pointed in different ways to the historical and cultural specificity of our Western conception of visuality. The following section elaborates a representative (rather than exhaustive) evaluation of the two key historical theorisations of vision and subjectivity, collectively described as Cartesian Perspectivalism, considered to be the epitome of the modern scopic regime (Jay, 1988: 10). I attempt to point out how, within this framework, a certain conception of vision and an equivalence between that vision and the knowing subject became established and to indicate how it might be interrogated in order to more adequately address the particularities of provincial Irish visual culture of the late nineteenth century.

## 2.2 Perspective

Veltman (2000) argues that subjectivity, as an epistemological problem, develops from the distinction of subject and object made possible by the discovery of linear perspective. The Italian Renaissance conceived of the picture plane by combining the medieval notion that space has a centre with Euclidean optics, according to which seeing is produced in a 'cone of vision'.<sup>3</sup> First systematised by Leone Battista di Alberti in 1435, an immense literature has investigated numerous aspects and implications of linear perspective, from the psychological to the religious

[T]he metaphysics of Aristotelean space fell into disfavour in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, [and] artists both north and south of the Alps began to accept the kind of space we see empirically without theological preconceptions or mathematical structure. Finally, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there emerged mathematically ordered 'systemic space', infinite, homogenous and isotropic, making possible the advent of linear perspective (Edgerton, 1976: 161)

Perspective is regarded as a practical means for securing a rigorous, systemic and mathematical relationship between the shapes of objects as concretely located in space and their pictorial representation. In the standard version of Alberti's perspective, an image must be viewed as though through a rectangular window. The canvas is divided geometrically so that the illusion of three dimensions can be produced on the canvas by establishing an infinitely receding horizon in the centre of the flat surface that constitutes a hierarchy in terms of the proportionate sizes of the objects that appear in the grid.<sup>4</sup>

While Alberti's codification of the laws of perspective was designed with the telling of *istorias*, or ennobling stories of religious or, to a lesser extent, mythical significance, in mind, gradually such religious and textual underpinnings were eroded. Nonetheless 'favourable connotations surrounding the allegedly objective optical order remained powerfully in place' (Jay, 1994: 5)

This new visual order in turn was raised to a powerful secular vision of the world in which

everything [centres] on the eye of the beholder. It is like a beam from a lighthouse – only instead of light travelling outward, appearances travel in. The conventions called those appearances *reality*. Perspective makes the single eye the centre of the visible world. Everything converges on the eye as to the vanishing point of infinity. The visible world is arranged as the universe was once thought to be arranged for God (Berger, 1972: 16)

This inaugurates a psychology of distance and detachment between this monolithic, fixed and unblinking eye of the mind and the materiality of the world which now becomes an object of vision and space an ordered system of abstract, linear coordinates. Actual, bifocal vision is erased from the scene, as is the body, in favour of an eternal, essentialised eye. Extending to this argument to the viewing of a cinematograph film or magic lantern show, the body of the spectator, the invocation of the other senses to confirm, negate or augment the spectacle and the shared space of the theatre are bracketed off from the experience of spectating. The case study that follows presents evidence of a markedly different experience in which audiences were materially aware of their physical and visible presence in the theatre and in which audience members participated in the exhibition in which ‘whistling, yelling, smoking and interruptions is [sic] allowed a free hand’ (WN 22 11 02: 7). Such evidence suggests that the essentialised and universalised vision of perspective has little practical application in an actual viewing environment.

However, as Veltman observes, the exclusion of mental or other interference of the observer in the systemic relationship between observer and picture plane results in a paradox: the relationship (between the observer and the picture plane) may exist independent of the observer. At the same time, a subjective relationship necessarily obtains between the observer and the picture plane. According to Veltman, the objective relation became linked with science and, as its opposite, the subjective relation remains associated with art. ‘Objectivity becomes a goal and subjectivity emerges as something negative’ (Veltman, 2000: 3)

Aided by the political and economic ascendance of Western Europe, Albertian perspective was adopted as the primary codification of representation under the banner of reason and objectivity<sup>5</sup> Conley claims that in the alignment of the subjective standpoint of a beholder with the vanishing point, visibility becomes a controlling agency by virtue of systematic means (Conley, 1996) Such a centering offers the individual the (false) impression that he or she is the source of meaning when in fact it is the image which structures the response Conley explicitly states the connection between the laws of perspective and subjectivity

The assignment or 'fixing' of social and sexual roles, which entails the creation of subjectivity, is clearly related to the impact of artificial perspective that allows what is seen to be aligned with the 'subjective standpoint of the beholder,' in the perspectival plan, point of view becomes autonomous but also a function of a central vanishing point marked in the image to which the viewer's gaze is attached The effect of the visual mechanism extends itself so decisively in the early modern world that when a subject obtains his/her point of view from alignment with a vanishing point, all objects in the representational space depend on the point of view, or rather, they seem exact only if one occupies the point of view Through perspective, subjectivity can claim itself to be entirely objective all the while it works in concert with the conquest of space (Conley, 1996 48)

As a means to rationalise vision through mathematics, it is worth noting the parallels that film theorists and historians have established between perspective and cinema. Combining perspective's reliance on one-point perspective with the more powerful mimetic system of photographic realism, cinema has been viewed as producing a representational space that similarly attempts to be transparent, 'like a window on the real' (Bazin, 1967 29) Not only will my case study offer an account of viewing which insists upon the materiality of embodiment, but also will demonstrate that the transparency of visual realism for early Irish audiences was not automatically and uncritically accepted Indeed, my survey of cinematographic and magic lantern exhibitions reveals a marked ambivalence in respect of the 'realistic' qualities of the images presented in which a range of accounts, from 'singularly realistic' (CC 10 02 00 2), 'vivid and lifelike' (CC 10 02 00 2) and 'representative of life' (Sc 22 02 02 8) to a description of the 'crudeness and poverty' of the photographic image (BFP 10 03 03 02 4) are recorded

The flourishing of an era of humanism and the corresponding devaluing of the power and authority of faith were taken as the advent of the modern era in which science and technology come to the fore

Science and technology have advanced in more than direct ratio to the ability of men to contrive methods by phenomena which could otherwise be known only through the senses of touch, hearing, taste and smell, have been brought within the range of visual recognition and measurement and thus become subject to that logical symbolisation without which rational thought and analysis are impossible. The discovery of the early forms of these grammars and techniques constitutes the beginning of the rationalisation of sight which was the most important event of the Renaissance (Ivins, 1938: 13)

That the Renaissance pictorial model continues to dominate philosophical accounts of seeing says something important about vision, not least in its conceiving of the eye as singular 'rather than the two eyes of normal binocular vision [it] was conceived in the manner of a lone eye looking through a peephole at the scene in front of it. Such an eye was understood to be static, unblinking, and fixated, rather than dynamic. It followed the logic of the Gaze rather than the Glance' (Jay, 1988: 7)

Was the dominance of perspective a choice made in favour of certain historical constructions or is representation part of some other more determined and less contingent structure? Is it simply an accident of history, preordained by nature, or is it constructed by combining, as Victor Burgin suggests, different conceptions of space attached to different phases of history? Firstly, in order to return to the concerns of this thesis, we must recognise that vision (of itself and as a model for subjectivity), representation and linear perspective are historical constructs. Knowledge of perspective can be traced back to the ancients, and even following the emergence of perspective as a practice in the Quattrocento, it continued to evolve and develop through the refinements of Vitruvius, Dürer, Vignola, Kepler, Desargues and Blaise Pascal (Ivins, 1938). Moreover, it seems too reductive to assign a simple, causal relation to the implication of artificial perspective in the rationalisation of vision and, by implication, subjectivity.

Alternative significant factors may have played an equally important part in the period's construction of visual experience, for example, the invention of printing and the Counter Reformation cannot be dismissed from consideration. Ivins suggests that the requirement to duplicate images may be significant in this period, necessitating the development of a grammatical scheme for securing the logical relations within the system of pictorial symbols and the reciprocal correspondence between pictorial representation of objects and the locations of those objects in space (Ivins, 1938: 9)<sup>6</sup>

The variation in terms employed to describe the origins of perspective is also of interest. If we consider perspective to have been 'discovered', we imply that its laws had existed in nature all along, if 'invented', we impute an artificiality to it. While presenting itself as a model analogous to 'natural' vision, concealing its artifice, we must never overlook the fact that it is a 'symbolic convention' (Panofsky, 1991) and as such, there is nothing inevitable, necessary or predestined about it. In phenomenological reality, straight lines do appear curved, the visual field is not flat. The 'discovery' of perspective is thus not the 'rediscovery' or 'recollection' of an ultimate metaphysical truth. Perspective is simply a geometrisation of vision which became a (codified) representational system, a conventional, cultural habit of mind. We are not forever coerced into unquestioningly accepting or acquiescing to this system. Any convention is open to debate and challenges and the system of artificial perspective is no exception. Postmodern resistance and negotiation of key grand narratives can fracture such hegemony in a productive way, encouraging a proliferation of perspectives and viewpoints such as that offered by the case study which follows.<sup>7</sup>

The Renaissance event emerges as a decisive moment in the history of vision, metaphysics and subjectivity dominated by a visual paradigm. Yet in this emergence, we must recognise, along with Panofsky, that each historical epoch is governed by its own historical perspective, which prevails in a way that influences individual instances of vision and the collective realisation of the capacity and potential which is implicated in our own visual culture.

Moreover, we must acknowledge the determining influence of our cultural being in both circumscribing and opening up our visuality, forcing a confrontation with universal, essentialist models of visual experience which increasingly come under attack. Arguably, to a greater degree than linear perspective, the contribution of Descartes to conceptions of vision and subjectivity, is pivotal.

### 2.3 Descartes

René Descartes is variously described, celebrated and vilified as a quintessentially visual philosopher whose ocularcentrism, it is claimed, inaugurated the dominant scopical regime of the modern era. He is identified as an emblematic figure of an age which assimilates knowing to seeing so that knowing is described as gazing with the mind's eye on mental representations that mirror the external world.

Descartes begins *La Dioptrique* with his praise of the senses, among which vision is singled out as the most universal and noble. 'All the management of our lives depends on the senses, and that of sight is the most comprehensive and noblest of these' (Descartes, 1965: 65).<sup>8</sup> A major goal in Descartes' researches into vision and its operation was to argue 'against those who believed that we see by means of little images, "intentional species" that resemble the objects in the world to be seen' (Atherton, 1997: 144). Expanding upon Kepler's theorisation of the retinal image (1604), Descartes strove to determine what happened beyond the retina and, paradoxically, produced a remarkably antivisual account of vision. In fact, he contended that 'what we see, so far from being a picture copying the exterior world, in fact bears no resemblance to that world at all' (Levin, 1997: 28). For Descartes, the image is not what we see. There are no 'species' flitting through the air and the picture on the retina is not an immediate object of vision, it is formed progressively. Vision arises because objects of sight produce 'through the medium of the intervening transparent bodies, local motions in the optic nerve fibres at the back of our eyes and then in the region of the brain where these nerves originate' (Descartes, 1985, 1: 153).<sup>9</sup>

Descartes believes that what the eye perceives is necessarily a false representation of the world, asserting that the body inevitably records a distorted view of an external scene, a visual array that is an inaccurate representation of the geometrical properties of the world and thus, vision cannot be trusted.



In the judging of distance by size and shape, or colour, or light, pictures in perspective sufficiently demonstrate to us how easy it is to be mistaken. For often, because the things which are pictures there are smaller than we imagine that they should be, and because their outlines are less distinct and their colours darker or more feeble, they appear to us to be farther away than in actuality (Descartes, 1965 112-3)

For Descartes, truth about our visible world rests upon a construction achieved through geometrical reasoning, moving beyond the physical apparatus of the eye to speculate about its link with human consciousness. In doing so, he warns against ‘assuming that in order to sense, the mind needs to perceive certain images, transmitted by the objects to the brain, as our philosophers commonly assume – as if there were yet other eyes within our brain with which we could perceive [such images]’ (Descartes, 1985, 1 167). The images formed in the brain, Descartes contends, are the result of the process of deciphering signs in which visible clues allow us to reconstruct the genuine, geometrical order of the world, a position echoed by Arnheim centuries later in his insistence that ‘visual perception is not a passive recording of stimulus material but an active concern of the mind. The sense of sight operates selectively. Perception involves problem solving’ (1969 37).

In claiming that awareness of place and location are understood by ‘rational calculation,’ by means of a ‘natural geometry,’ Descartes admits that much of our visual experience is not based solely on the content of our perceptual sensations. By themselves, ‘sensations do not represent anything located outside our thought’ (Ibid, 1 162). Consequently, and crucially, we require the calculations of our ‘natural geometry’ in order to construct our visual field. For Descartes, ‘perception, or the action by which we perceive, is not a vision, but is solely an inspection by the mind’ (Ibid 2 21). We cannot know the world by eyesight alone. The secure positioning of the self within an empty, interior space becomes a precondition for knowing the outside world. ‘I will now shut my eyes, I shall stop my ears, I shall disregard my senses’ (Ibid, 2 24). For Descartes, the camera obscura provides an appropriate and accurate analogy.

If at the core of Descartes' method was the need to escape the uncertainties of mere human vision and the confusion of the senses, his invocation of the camera obscura is congruent with his quest to found knowledge on a purely objective view of the world. For Rorty, the typical Cartesian observer is identified by

the conception of the human mind as an inner space in which both pains and clear and distinct ideas passed in review before an Inner Eye. The novelty was the notion of a single inner space in which bodily and perceptual sensations were objects of quasi-observation (Rorty, 1979: 49-50)

Descartes' commitment to rationalism disposed him to transfer the properties of the visible to the mental domain 'whence they will illuminate metaphorically the powers of reason to attain certitude as clear and distinct ideas' (cited by Levin, 1993: 9-10), thus an inner light, free of sensory experience is empowered to rationalise the visible world. Thus vision itself becomes a 'construct' of the rational mind and its referent becomes the optical projection of a geometric system.

Cartesian dualism established the autonomy of the mind, portraying the individual as separated from an external world that can be perceived only through one's mental representations of it. The Cartesian *cogito* gains the sense of being a subject by retaining the power to reflect on itself, to represent itself and the world to itself. From this position, 'our selves sit, as it were, at the centre of these subjective worlds, spectators in the theatre of mind in which they are forever trapped' (Bakhurst & Sypnowich, 1995: 3). Descartes' model of vision, it is claimed, turns the seer into a detached spectator, a subject who observes the world from a disembodied, disengaged and essentially dehistoricised position (Judovitz, 1993). The Cartesian method of analysis, so closely related to this model, can be seen in the procedure by which his conceptual distinction between mind and body emerges. Descartes' '*cogito*' project, so deeply embedded in Western thought, begins with the 'eye of the mind'. In looking at the world as though through a window, our contact with that world is restricted to those ways which favour the eye. What is visible, observable and measurable increasingly constitutes the index of the real.

Descartes' accomplishment is one of constructing an orderly substitute for our disorderly world. The material world is displaced by an abstract, intellectual universe in which what we see and what we know are 'eternalised, reduced to one point-of-view, and disembodied' (Jay, 1988: 7)

In the *cogito*, the subject conceives of itself as a universal centre, surrounded by the stable plenitude of an object world. Both subject and object exist in a state of mutual confirmation and fixity. The subject, from the position of the centre amidst the world of things, looks out on objects and perceives them as separate *entities*. That is, objects manifest to the subject as complete beings having (i) stable location in a single place, (ii) independent self-existence (requiring the existence of nothing else in order to exist), (iii) permanent, enduring form (Bryson, 1988: 96) <sup>10</sup>

By considering what belongs to the concept of 'mind' one discerns that it is conceptually distinct from the body. The mental representation of one need not include the other. By means of an intellectual process, the absolute distinctness of mind and body is established and maintained. The 'truth' becomes not simply 'what is,' but 'that which I cannot doubt,' and thus available only to and through the mind. The Cartesian ego becomes disassociated from the material body. The idea of a disengaged, disembodied 'I' is valorised as a responsible thinking mind, responsible for its own judgements and decisions. In turn,

[t]he subject is first of all an 'inner' space, a mind to use the old terminology, or a mechanism capable of processing representations. The body, other people or objects may form the content of my representations. They may also be causally responsible for some of these representations. But what I am is definable independently of body or other. It is a centre of monological consciousness (Taylor, 1993: 49)

Clearly, the materiality of the gendered body, our membership of social, cultural and class collectives, have implications both for our subjectivity and our experiences as viewers. Chapters Four and Five of this study elaborate an account of viewing which recognises this at a fundamental level.

The triumph of Cartesian subjectivity is to be seen in the objective rationality it empowered and imposed. For Sutcliff, '[w]hat characterises the men of the generation of Descartes is above all the will to dominate, to control events, to eliminate chance and the irrational' (Sutcliff, 1968: 21). In effect, this new rationalism is credited with defining a mode of vision and subjectivity, predicated on the ideals of privacy and interiority, that, as it will be seen, prepares for the particularly 'modern' modes of vision discussed by Foucault and Crary below.<sup>11</sup>

#### **2.4 Cartesian Perspectivalism**

Levin identifies the philosophical project of Descartes and the codification of perspective as the two crucial 'generative sites of Modernity' (1993: 24). Descartes had assumed that 'clear and distinct' ideas available to any/every mental gaze would be identical to the guaranteed congruence between such ideas and the external world. Albertian perspective similarly proposed that all viewers, occupying the 'correct' viewpoint, would see the same orthogonal lines and vanishing point. Thus Cartesian Perspectivalism, proposing an equivalence between the geometry of the world and the 'natural geometry' of the mind, and more importantly, the viewer it presupposed, were construed as atemporal, decorporealised and transcendental, a timeless, placeless relationship to a world of visible objects.

An abstract fiction of seeing displaces and occludes the concrete hermeneutics of human perception. 'Vision' is abstracted from the concrete activities of human perception and presented as a disengaged act of 'mental seeing'. Perception is treated ahistorically as an invariant faculty of the mind: the visible is not understood as a texture of practical involvements and figural intentionalities, but as a geometric order of spatial distance through which the free-floating eye inspects the timeless fabric of the universe (Sandywell, 1999: 40).

As Irigaray states, the disembodied look replaced the body 'the moment the look dominates, the body loses its materiality' (cited by Friedberg, 1994 32) For Jay, Cartesian perspectivalism, characterised as a form of 'high altitude thinking' (1998 10), is complicit with the valorisation of a scientific worldview, culminating in the modern era, that 'no longer hermeneutically read the world as a divine text but rather saw it as situated in a mathematically regular spatio-temporal order filled with natural objects that could only be observed from without by the dispassionate eye of the neutral researcher' and with the 'fundamentally bourgeois ethic of the modern world' (Ibid 9) <sup>12</sup>

The emergence of photography and later cinematography in the 19<sup>th</sup> century are taken to represent the culmination and consolidation of the epistemology of scientific realism which held that, by means of technology, specifically the disembodied, mechanical eye of the camera, direct, faithful knowledge of the world could be reproduced <sup>13</sup>

Heidegger comments on the particular legacy of Cartesian Perspectivalism to Modernity, describing the era as the age of the 'world picture [This] does not mean a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as a picture the world picture does not change from an earlier medieval one, but rather the fact that the world becomes a picture at all is what distinguishes the essence of the modern age' (1977 130)

Levin contends that a compelling case can be made for the view that the history of Western culture is a history of ocularcentrism and that, in the modern age, this ocularcentrism, manifest as Cartesian Perspectivalism, has taken on quite a distinctive character and equally distinctive socio-cultural functions (1997 398) Charged with an unrelenting project of totalisation, objectification and reification, Cartesian perspectivalism and its associated rationality have come under increasing attack as the source of all the ills of the modern world The primacy of the visual modality was increasingly brought into question <sup>14</sup>

The central characteristic of Cartesian Perspectivalism that has formed a target for consistent attack in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is its presumption of an atemporal, disembodied viewer, disengaged from what Merleau Ponty has called the 'flesh of the world,' a disengagement challenged by studies such as this. In its failure to allow for a variety of subjectivities, visualities and ways of approaching knowledge, Cartesian Perspectivalism as an account for vision and visuality must be recognised as inadequate. As shall be suggested by the case study which follows, what is suppressed in the seeing-knowing equation is the fact that interpretations are produced in cultural, historical and personal contexts that are always shaped by the interpreter's values<sup>15</sup>

## **2.5 Challenges to Cartesian Perspectivalism**

Though embedded in the metaphors and logic of Western conceptions of vision, the subject and knowledge, Cartesian perspectivalism no longer occupies a privileged position in the majority of critical interpretations. Current scholarship has begun to challenge, and attempts to transcend, the fundamental assumptions of ocularcentric language and thinking characteristic of the Western metaphysical tradition. Theorists such as Arnheim, for example, refuse to follow Descartes in confirming the prevailing 'prejudicial discrimination between perception and thinking' in Western epistemology and prefers to think in terms of 'collaboration' of perceiving and thinking (1969: 1)

Emerging from the rise of hermeneutics and the profusion of linguistically-oriented structuralist and post-structuralist modes of thought, analysis and critique place new emphasis on multiplicity and historicity. The visuality of the modern era as a complex, scopical culture has become increasingly anatomised, its Cartesian Perspectivalist foundations questioned. Theorists have begun to probe the era's visualities to interrogate its historical development and cohesiveness and to argue against the subsumption of all the possibilities and actualities of a complex and homogenous terrain into a single, dominant, homogenous and universal paradigm and to propose alternatives (Jay, 1988, Crary, 1990, 1988, Alpers, 1983). An attempt is made to move beyond dominant visual metaphors and schemas of intelligibility informing Western epistemology to a richer, dialogical and pluralised conception of vision, knowledge and experience. This study follows such initiatives and argues for an acknowledgement of history, culture and embodied subjectivity in accounting for the visual culture of provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906.

## 2.6 The Nineteenth Century

Amid the unprecedented turbulence of the big city's traffic, noise, billboards, street signs, window displays and advertisements, the individual faced a new intensity of sensory stimulation. The metropolis subjected the individual to a barrage of impressions, shocks and jolts. The tempo of life also became more frenzied, sped up by new forms of rapid transportation, the pressing schedules of modern capitalism and the ever-accelerating pace of the assembly line (Singer, 1995a: 73)

In the nineteenth century, the cultural changes that began in early modern Europe came into full flower, both in terms of scope and speed. With the spread of the Industrial Revolution and consequent urbanisation, the continuing transformation of agrarian life by the market economy and the challenge to traditional religious views by the diffusion of the Scientific Revolution, a profound cultural shift gained momentum.<sup>16</sup> The displacements wrought by increasing urbanisation and industrialisation are argued to have fundamentally transformed the manner in which viewers related to the viewed. Improvements and acceleration in transportation and communications redefined conceptualisations and experience of space, time and proximity. Speed became the prime quotient of modern social relations. Thought and culture reflected the influence of industrialism, mechanisation and urbanisation and commodification.

Of the many theoretical efforts mobilised to characterise and discuss visuality in the modern period,<sup>17</sup> two distinct but interrelated approaches, both of which began to chip away at the hegemony of Cartesian Perspectivalism and to forward a discussion of vision and the viewer as historical, are discussed below. The first concerns the 'rationalisation' of vision, the second describes the instability and contingency of vision (Donald, 1995: 82). From these two theoretical starting points, two corresponding models of visuality have been specifically identified as characteristic of the modern period: panopticism and *flâneurie*, the former theorised by Foucault and the latter, building upon the work of Jonathan Crary in relocating vision in the body of the observer, by a variety of writers from Baudelaire and Benjamin to Friedberg.

Foucault's elaboration of the panoptic and medical gazes of modernity and his critique of the type of vision practice in the service of power is emblematic of the first approach and, in addition, functions to underline the necessity of speaking of visualities in plural and historical terms. Crary's account, emphasising the ephemerality of the visual, reflects on the changes modern society and culture have wrought on the relation of a perceiving subject to an external world and considers such changes to have forced the reconsideration of perception as embodied. Friedberg and other theorists of *flânerie* follow Crary in arguing that recorporealised vision forms the basis for a 'mobilised' and 'virtual' gaze of modernity. Following an account of both perspectives, their usefulness in theoretically and methodologically framing my study of late nineteenth century Provincial Irish visuality will be discussed.

### **2.6.1 Foucault and Panopticism**

Michel Foucault's excavation of, and concern with, the genealogy of epistemes, or the conditions of knowledge in a culture, raises the possibility of writing the history of different visual or scopic regimes. According to Foucault's approach, each historical age inaugurates a 'new field of visibility' (1973: 132). By elaborating their different ways of encoding the hegemony of vision, Foucault believes it is possible to differentiate between the classical and modern orders.

For Foucault, the thought and culture of the modern episteme not only continue to privilege sight, but allow its worst tendencies to dominate in a particularly modern way. His work centres around the making visible of correlations between vision and truth, and vision and power. Examining the transformation of habitual ways of seeing in psychiatry, medicine, sexuality and punishment, Foucault finds an instrumental relation in which a particular, modern mode of vision could be transposed and systematically applied to the organisation of social spaces in which the human body was positioned and analysed as an object of scientific discourse.



Linking the construction of madness as spectacle with new asymmetrical techniques of observation, the modern, detached gaze, seeks only to provide a reductive visibility

[Madness] is judged only by its acts, it is not accused of intentions, nor are its secrets to be fathomed. Madness is responsible for only that part of itself which is visible. All the rest is reduced to silence. Madness no longer exists except as seen (1965: 70)

The key characteristic of this mode of vision is its asymmetry. While seeking to render the human body legible, the implications of the imposition of the clinical gaze are critical. 'The [clinical] examination transformed the economy of visibility into the exercise of power' (1975b: 187)

Foucault locates the origins of modernity in a specific reordering of power, knowledge and the visible and the mutual implication of the verbs *voir*, *savoir*, and *pouvoir*. The distinctiveness of modernity's visuality, for Foucault, derives from its complicity with the forces of modern technologies, identifying modernity's power to see, to make visible, with the power to control. Distancing himself from the Enlightenment's 'great myth of the free gaze' (1975a: 51), Foucault proposes that 'the gaze that sees is the gaze that dominates' (Ibid: 39). His analyses question the involvement of vision in the operation and institutions of power, exposing how, in the historical evolution of modernity, 'vision has become supervision' (Flynn, 1993: 281) as the hegemony of vision is increasingly implicated in practices of governance and discipline. In modernity, the ocularcentrism of our culture makes its appearance in and as panopticism.

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault identifies a shift in governmentality organised around the gaze of the sovereign to a disciplinary economy organised by surveillance and normalisation, fundamentally reconceptualising the relationship pertaining between the seer and the seen. He invokes Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, a twelve-sided iron-framed and glass-walled prison with a specific, centrally arranged layout, as a model for a scopical regime in which power is exercised through the relations of visibility.<sup>18</sup>

An unseen warden surveys a confined and permanently visible inmate from a central tower in a visually conceived and maintained relation of power and domination. The inmate's consciousness of their continuous visibility fostered the development of an internalised sense of surveillance.

He who is subjected to a field of visibility and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power – he becomes the principle of his own subjection. By this very fact, the external power may throw off its physical weight, it tends to the non-corporeal, and, the more it approaches this limit, the more constant, profound and permanent its effects (Foucault, 1978: 202-203)

For Foucault, politics, when allied to the hegemony of vision, becomes a technopolitics of 'invisible surveillance, disciplinary regimes of supervision, the totalitarian administration and authoritarian control of vision and visibility Panopticism' (Levin, 1997: 60). Organised by the conjunction of a universalised, instrumental rationality and advanced technologies of visibility, panopticism, as a normalising gaze functioning throughout the social system, ensures social control, stability and integration through the constant (self-) regulation of daily life. Thus, the shift from the sovereign power of the classical period to the disciplinary power of the modern period is to be correlated, for Foucault, with a shift in the mode of vision dominant in our political institutions, namely from governmentality organised around the gaze of the sovereign to governmentality organised by surveillance (Levin, 1997: 20). Implicit in Foucault's theorisation of the panoptic gaze is the commensurate effect upon the body. This disciplining of the body, its individualisation by means of visibility, becomes a central strategy in the conversion of the idea of the 'crowd' into a more orderly 'audience,' a strategy with key implications for audience deployment, as will be discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

A number of critics have drawn compelling parallels between Foucault's theorisation of panopticism and (cinematic) spectatorship. Feminist theorists find resonance between panopticism and the 'male gaze' (DeLauretis, 1984, Kaplan, 1983). Apparatus theorists focus on the immobility and confinement of spectators in movie theatres. Baudry foregrounds the condition of unseen seeing as the grounds for the spectator's confusing of cinematic representations (1986). Foucault himself, in drawing attention to the mutual implication of modern vision and modern technologies asks, what happened when the '[d]ialectic of the Lumières [was] transported into the doctor's eye?' (1975: 52)

Foucault's reading of panopticism as a totalitarian politicisation of space in the form of a 'project of universal visibility' (1980: 154)<sup>19</sup> induces in him the requirement to expose the apparatus and operations of this power of the visible. His ocularcentric vocabulary articulates an attempt to undermine and resist the hegemony of modern vision asking, where is the 'gaze of compassion?' (1975: 40). Foucault articulates his concern for the ethical and political dimensions of our culture and practices of vision by exposing them in a critical light

by what right can one transform [a patient] into an object of observation... is not this a tacit form of violence, all the more abusive for its silence, upon a sick body that demands to be comforted, not displayed? Can pain be a spectacle?  
(1975a: 83-4)

His project is to

contribute to changing certain things in people's way of perceiving and doing things, to participate in this difficult displacement of forms and sensibility and thresholds of tolerance (1987: 112)

Foucault's recognition that different historical epochs employ different frameworks of comprehension is a welcome contribution to the analysis of vision, subjectivity and knowledge as culturally and historically embedded. While, retrospectively, his arguments regarding the four epistemes he identifies in post-Renaissance culture seem persuasive, it is unlikely that his consideration of the transition from one episteme to another as a clean 'rupture' can be upheld.

Each culture brings with it a set of meanings and codes which cannot be ineluctably displaced upon imposition of a replacement set. Change is never an orderly, tidy process.

The fundamental codes of a culture – those governing its language, *its schemas of perception*, its exchanges, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practices - establish for every man, from the very first, the empirical orders with which he will be dealing and within which he will be at home (1973: xx, my emphasis).

In acknowledging the importance of cultural background in conditioning and regulating (visual) experience, Foucault nonetheless fails to recognise the persistence of cultural values between epistemes, a persistence that my case study identifies and examines among provincial Irish viewers. As Modernity's impact began to grow, the audiences of late nineteenth and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland clearly preferred to customise 'modern' entertainments according to much older yet still powerful cultural competences and preferences. In place of the detached and disembodied spectatorship of modern vision, early Irish audiences retained patterns of mobility, visibility and participation, and invoked a wide range of sensory responses in their apprehension of projected screen entertainments. For the purposes of this research, a further difficulty with the invocation of panopticism as a model for vision is that Foucault's analysis is restricted to detailing the subjective effects of imagined, continuous surveillance on the observed. The experience of the observer is left wholly untheorised.

### **2.6.2 Jonathan Crary and the Historicised Observer**

In *Techniques of the Observer*, Jonathan Crary offers a radical alternative to accounts of vision predicated upon the notion of universalised, ahistorical teleology. More importantly, it is Crary's explicit aim to forward a critique of visual culture that insists upon the central role of the historicised observer, a project he continues to develop with regard to the examination of attention and the attentive subject in *Suspensions of Perception*. Through an examination of the camera obscura as it appears in the work of such 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century scholars as Descartes, Condillac and Locke, Crary asserts that 'from the late 1500s to the end of the 1700s, the structure and principles of the camera obscura coalesced into a dominant paradigm through which was described the status and possibilities of an observer' (Crary, 1990: 27). Subject and world were understood to be pre-given, separate and distinct entities.

[T]he camera obscura performs an operation of individuation, that is, it necessarily defines an observer as isolated, enclosed and autonomous. It impels a withdrawal from the world, in order to regulate and purify one's relation to the manifold contents of the now 'exterior' world (Ibid 38-9)

Seeing was thus constituted as a passive process in which the observer's physical and sensory experience was subordinated to the relations between a technological apparatus and the world of objective truth

By the early 1800s, Crary identifies a 'systemic rupture' in which 'the rigidity of the camera obscura, its fixed positions, its identification of perception and object were all too inflexible and immobile' for a rapidly changing set of cultural and political requirements. According to Crary's account, the impact and importance of physiology in the study of vision in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century forced a new beginning for the manner in which vision was conceptualised. In an approach indebted to that of Foucault's characterisation of epistemic rupture, Crary identifies physiology as

one of those sciences in which man emerges as the being in whom the transcendent is mapped onto the empirical. It was the discovery that knowledge was conditioned by the physical and the anatomical functioning of the body and in particular of the eyes (Ibid 70)

The study of vision in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is located within the body of the observer. Seeing and knowing are no longer understood as a transaction between a passive observer and an external world but the product of an autonomous, organic system and as such, are fundamentally subjective. 'The body, which had been a neutral or invisible term in vision was now the thickness from which knowledge of vision was derived' (Crary, 1988 43). Crary illustrates the shift in scientific understanding of visual experience by examining a wide range of physiological and philosophical accounts, for example, he includes a discussion of Goethe's closing off of the aperture of the camera obscura to investigate subjective after-images in his *Theory of Colours*, abandoning the timeless, incorporeal order of the camera obscura and re-placing vision within the unstable physiology and temporality of the human body. 'The corporeal subjectivity of the observer, which was a priori excluded from the concept of the camera obscura, suddenly becomes the site on which an observer is possible' (1990 69)

Crary further illustrates the relocation of vision from camera to body by examining the manner in which it was reproduced in various optical devices in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Growing out of the 'radical abstraction and reconstruction' of optical experience he identifies in the early 1800s, Crary's analysis of the kaleidoscope, the phenakistoscope, the diorama and, most importantly, the stereoscope, elaborates a radical repositioning of the observer's relation to visual representation. For the camera obscura spectator, the apparatus necessarily prevented the spectator from seeing his position as part of the representation due to the spatial and temporal simultaneity of human subjectivity and objective apparatus. As optical experience became the product of the functional interaction of body and machinery, a new conjunction of binocular body, optical apparatus and image emerged. Crary identifies this reorganisation of perception as a key facet of modernity in which the visual field was reconstituted as 'a surface of inscriptions upon which a promiscuous range of effects could be produced' (1990: 96). Increasingly, the eye became accustomed to rationalised forms of movement, a practice that both coincided with, and was made possible by, the increasing abstraction of optical experience from a stable referent. For Crary, the dissolution of Cartesian binarisms, a fundamental condition of modernity, are manifested in technologies such as the stereoscope. The 19<sup>th</sup> century observer becomes simultaneously the subject and object of vision.

Crary's Foucault-inspired approach offers a sophisticated analysis of the question of visual technology and its effects. Crary notes a tendency to conflate all optical devices in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as 'equally implicated in a vague collective drive to higher and higher standards of verisimilitude in representation, in which Renaissance perspective and photography are part of the same quest for a fully objective equivalent of "natural vision"' (1990: 10), a tendency which neglects how some optical devices were expressions of 'nonveridical' models of perception. Crary warns against the bias in much literature to read off an account of the spectator from optical apparatuses in a technologically deterministic manner. He asserts that 'the position and function of a technique is historically variable' (Ibid.: 8). He adopts an approach that argues against any simple continuity flowing seamlessly from one epoch to the next, making evolutionary narratives and assumed generalities problematic.

Crary insists on a history of seeing and, by implication knowing, in which difference and historical change play an important role. Thus Crary, at first glance, abandons the notion that sight, subject and knowledge, regardless of historical circumstance, remain unchanged and unchanging. In identifying the observer as 'an effect of an irreducibly heterogeneous system of discursive, social, technological and institutional relations' (Ibid 6), Crary opens up a conception of the spectator as an unfixed category, a shifting, unstable entity formed and reformed by the complex interplay of fluid variables whose interaction, in varying degrees, forms the field from which vision takes place. For Crary, what determines vision at any given historical moment 'is not some deep structure, economic base or world-view, but rather the collective functioning of a collective assemblage of disparate parts on a single social surface. There never was or will be a self-present beholder to whom a world is transparently evident. Instead there are more or less powerful arrangements of forces out of which the capacities of an observer are possible' (Ibid), 'the notion of an observer has meaning only in terms of the multiple conditions under which he or she is possible' (1988 48). This valuable insight, highlighting the central concerns of this research, however, fails to prevent Crary from falling prey to his own criticisms.

Crary's account of the camera obscura and the spectator it presupposes, characterised in terms of objectivity, or at least the suppression of subjectivity, is counterposed against its nineteenth century counterpart in which subjectivity operates unfettered in visual experience. In endorsing convenient subject-object binarisms, Crary absorbs all possible theories and histories of the observer into a single, non-empirical account of a purely hypothetical observer. He also subsumes the thought, differences and idiosyncracies of a wide range of critics into this 'dominant model' representing a 'homogenous terrain'. His account of optical devices and physiological experiments form part of a 'sweeping transformation of the way in which the observer was figured', a 'dominant model of what an observer was in the nineteenth century,' a 'hegemonic set of discourses and practices in which vision took shape' (Ibid 7). Moreover, Crary ignores completely the empirical history of spectatorship and of visuality as a cultural practice of the everyday life of observers marked by culture, gender, class and ethnicity, a neglect which studies such as this attempt to address. He considers it self-evident that 'there was no single nineteenth century observer, no example that can be located empirically' (Ibid).

While it must be recognised that any theoretical reflection on visual culture will necessarily involve some form of abstraction and generality about spectators and visual regimes, and while I agree that there is no single observer representative of the viewing choices, practices and experiences in any given epoch, the assertion that empirical observers do not exist is plainly untenable. We have access to many accounts of what people liked to look at, how they described what they saw, how they understood the experience, many of which are detailed in Chapters Four and Five. Crary concludes that there is only the observer figured in the 'dominant model' that he has abstracted from physiological optics and optical technologies. While he acknowledges 'practices of vision' beyond the scope of his analysis, he relentlessly assimilates them to his 'dominant model' by characterising them as 'marginal and local forms by which dominant practices of vision were resisted, deflected or imperfectly constituted' (Ibid). In such a formulation, all heterogeneity in visual experience is preordained to fit a 'dominant/resistant' or 'universal/local' model in which 'marginal' or 'peripheral' positions are construed as aberrant, primitive or imperfect. It is the contention of this research that visual culture is a process by which all engagements with visual experience are valid.

### **2.6.3 Modernity and *Flâneurie***

To the perfect spectator, the impassioned observer, it is an immense joy to make his domicile amongst numbers, amidst fluctuation and movement, amidst the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home, and yet to feel at home, to behold the world, to be in the midst of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world – these are some of the minor pleasures of such independent, impassioned and impartial spirits, whom words can only clumsily describe. The observer is a prince who always rejoices in his incognito (Baudelaire, 1986: 34).

The modern era is characterised as a new stage in the ascendance of the visual as well as a social and cultural discourse. The French poet Baudelaire, in attempting to come to terms with the large scale reordering of the built environment of his native Paris, prototypically coined the term 'modernity' to indicate a pervasive and unsettling experience of newness, characterised by the transitory, the ephemeral and the contingent.



As Crary argues, the social and economic shifts of modernity coincided with, and caused, new representational practices, in fact, a 'sweeping reorganisation of visual culture' (Crary, 2000 2)

In this environment, the visual culture of late nineteenth century urban spectators is characterised by Comolli as a 'frenzy of the visible' (1980 122) in which the social multiplication of images required and produced a fundamentally different register of subjective experience characterised by distraction and diversion. Overstimulated by the world around them, the relationship between viewer and viewed was recast as a dynamic and fleeting encounter, perpetually mobile and unstable, in which the viewer's attention was solicited by an incessant series of 'attractions, shocks and surprises' (Hansen, 1991 29)

This type of reception was perceived very early on as a specifically modern form of subjectivity. More than a mere reflection of urban life and industrial technology, the principle of short term and excessive stimulation had been elaborated by the media of an emerging consumer culture from the mid-nineteenth century on in advertising, shop window displays and a whole range of consumer oriented spectacles - World Fairs, Panoramas, Dioramas, amusement parks' (Ibid)

As a corollary, Jenks identifies in Modernity a 'serious commitment to surface' in which 'the prime cultural value now becomes "face value"' (1995a 7)

Late nineteenth century consumer culture is also linked with the development of new and distinctly modern cultural forms. Advertising became a commonplace of the modern world as billboards, newspapers and periodicals solicited the attention of potential consumers (Leach, 1993). Photography and cinematography developed and flourished in this environment of consumption and spectacular display, of accelerated ephemerality and obsolescence, and became synonymous with the dynamics of the era.<sup>20</sup> Benjamin writes that '[i]n a film, perception in the form of shocks was established as a formal principle. That which determines the rhythm of production on a conveyor belt is precisely the rhythm of reception in the film' (1983 132). Drawing on the work of Benjamin, many others have examined links between cinematic and modern perception.

McQuire discusses the invocation of cinema as both formative of, and a powerful metaphor for, the exigencies of the modern experience in the 'oscillation of real and imaginary, displacement of stable centres of existence, dislocation of fixed boundaries' (1998 91) More than simply an emblem of modernity, Charney & Schwartz claim that 'modernity can be understood as inherently cinematic' (1995 2) Hansen considers modernity to have realised itself in and through cinema, both depending on the primacy of the visual and the diversity and fragmentation of modern life (1995 363)

Gunning, in explaining his invocation of the term 'cinema of attractions' to describe the unique aesthetics of early cinema, writes 'the cinema of attractions not only exemplifies a particularly modern form of aesthetics but also responds to the specifics of modern and especially urban life, what Benjamin and Kracauer understood as the drying up of experience and its replacement by a culture of distraction' (1995 126) More forcefully, Hansen argues that the specificity of the relations pertaining between cinema and modernity cannot be considered in exclusion from one another

[T]he cinema was not just one among a number of perceptual technologies, nor even the culmination of a particular logic of the gaze, it was, above all the single most expansive discursive horizon in which the effects of modernity were reflected, rejected or denied, transmuted or negotiated It was both part and prominent symptom of the crisis as which modernity was perceived (1995 365)

Baudelaire proposed the *flâneur* as the model for an observer appropriate to the new cultural topography, a figure who has been adopted by a wide range of writers as both a product of modernity and a metaphor for its experience (Jenks, 1995b 146, Friedberg, 1994, Buck-Morss, 1989, Frisby, 1985, Wolff, 1985) The cities of modernity were the playground for the *flâneur's* gaze As both a 'spectator and depicter of modern life,' the *flâneur* is characterised as a 'panoramicly situated' spectator who spends his abundant leisure time 'botanising on the asphalt' (Benjamin, cited by Rabinowitz, 1997 91) He<sup>21</sup> moves 'through space and among the people with a viscosity that both enables and privileges vision' (Jenks, 1995b 146) asserting both independence from, and insight into, the urban scenes he passed

As typified by *flâneurie*, modern attention was conceived not only as visual and mobile, but also fleeting and ephemeral ‘[s]urrounded by visual stimuli and relying on the encompassing power of his perception, the *flâneur* moves freely in the streets, intent solely on pursuing this seemingly unique and individual experience of reality’ (Gleber, 1997 55)<sup>22</sup>

Returning to Crary’s argument for the consideration of 19<sup>th</sup> century vision as essentially embodied, the conjunction of this premise with the mobile frame of the camera has, as Friedberg claims, injected new fluidity into the period’s visual relations (1994) Friedberg’s theorisation of the ‘virtual’ and ‘mobile’ gaze of the *flâneur* points to the fact that while Crary succeeds in relocating vision in the body of the observer, and thereby at one level challenges the abstract, disembodied eye of Cartesian Perspectivalism, this embodied perception nonetheless remains disengaged from the ‘flesh of the world’ As the *flâneur* moves about the streets and arcades drinking in a profusion of images, his mobile and virtual gaze remains fleeting and disengaged

Skilled in the capacity of distancing oneself by turning reality into a phantasmagoria, rather than being caught up in the crowd, he slows his pace and observes it, making a pattern out of a surface (Buck-Morss, 1992 24)

While *flâneurie* shares with panopticism an emblematic status as characteristic of modernity, the former is distinguished by its emphasis on mobility and fluid subjectivity rather than the latter’s restraint As challenges to Cartesian Perspectivalism, both *flâneurie* and panopticism succeed in offering alternative to abstracted, idealised and teleologically determined vision, particularly in their characterisation of each as a historically constituted mode of vision, responsive to, and reflective of, their respective historic, social and cultural environments

Both *flâneurie* and panopticism, as ‘modern’ modes of vision, sustain a relation between viewer and viewed that privileges distance and disengagement The exercise of disciplinary power of panopticism relies for its effect on the (imagined, nonphysical, permanent) application of a surveilling gaze from without, an external gaze whose internalisation then produces the self-generating, disciplinary gaze described and critiqued by Foucault

The mobile *flâneur*, strolling about the streets of modern cities, is conceived crucially as ‘everywhere in possession of his incognito’ (Baudelaire, 1986 9) and as someone who is ‘not [to be] spoken to To understand him you must learn the “art of seeing” which is to become like a paralytic’ (Sennett, 1977 213) He passively registers and describes the sights of city life and moves on The sounds, smells and tastes of the metropolis are beyond his interest There is no place in the *flâneur’s* vision for contemplation, reaction or interaction This research, in considering the relations pertaining between viewer and viewed as a transaction in which both terms are mutually implicated, seeks instead to describe a visuality in which the viewer participates Indeed, relations of participation, both in terms of interjections during exhibitions and in terms of a searching engagement with the content of projected screen entertainments for familiar places and faces emerge as a central determinant of the viewer-viewed relationship throughout the case study which follows

## 2.7 Spectacle vs. Participation

In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation (Debord, 1977 1)

As indicated above, Cartesian Perspectivalism, in its privileging of the fixed, monocular geometrically determined viewpoint, posits a one-way relation of seeing So too do panopticism in its theorising of the exercise of the jailer’s gaze upon the permanently visible inmate and the *flâneur’s* roving eye which passively registers the spectacle that is the modern city Both panopticism and *flâneurie* share with Cartesian perspectivalism an acknowledgement of the disengaged, contemplative subject whose detached gaze registers an environment of images and commodity forms The other senses are completely ignored in what Jay terms a ‘de-eroticisation of vision’ (1988 8) The visual environment of modernity and its strategies of visuality, whether perspectivalist, panoptic or mobilised, taught its viewers how to look As Jenks remarks ‘The spectacle indicates rules of what to see and how to see it’ (1995b 155), ‘it blocks, ignores, shuts out, other forms of cognition Spectacle offers an imagistic surface of the world as a strategy of containment against any depth of involvement with that world’ (Polan, 1987 1)

Rather than upholding visual models which bracket off the other senses from visual experience, my case study suggests their complementarity, particularly with respect to hearing as audiences accorded great importance to ‘the eloquent words’ and ‘magnificent oration’ of lecturers accompanying the projected images (BFP 05 03 96 2) Rather than preserving the spectacle’s injunction on involvement, my case study proposes active participation, signalled by audiences’ ‘cheer[ing] and [hiss]ing’ as their ‘feelings prompted’ (TH 13 10 00 2) as a central facet of the relations of viewing

Deriving from Descartes’ preference for conceiving of the viewer as a spectator rather than an actor’ (Descartes, cited by Jay, 1993 101), Jay argues that the implications of the hegemony of Cartesian Perceptualism and its valorisation of the abstract and quantitatively conceived visual order forced the dissipation of participatory modes of engagement and the widening of the gap between spectator and spectacle (1988 8) In the same publication, Bryson contrasts Cartesian Perceptualism with the ‘performative – the idea of performance and the insertion of the body into the optical field’ (1988 25)

‘Spectacle’ according to Bakhtin, corresponds to the ‘private chamber,’ to ‘the attempt to restructure society without community’ (Debord, 1977 137) Privileging the individual over the communal, spectacle becomes something that demands passivity Implementing a one way discourse, community and interdependence are alienated As McQuire has argued, modernisation has been synonymous with the disintegration of tradition and the destabilisation of links between locality and identity (1998 6) By contrast, my case study reveals a strong connection between locality and identity which permeated the viewing experience of early Irish audiences to the extent that viewers preferred and even demanded the exhibition of ‘local scenes [which] particularly caught the fancy of the audience’ (DA 15 02 02 4)

Modernity's preference for experiencing a spectacle was addressed to an audience of isolated individuals rather than a crowd. The achievement of the appropriate gaze thus required the conversion of the embodied, heterogeneous crowd of earlier times into a disciplined and static audience. Where once the body of the viewer was a central part of the crowd and its active, disruptive, spectacular theatricality (Bakhtin, 1984, Altick, 1978, Sennett, 1977), modern vision required its disciplining into a static and passive form of viewing spectatorship (Stallybrass & White, 1986). In spite of the regulation of the exhibition context in which early provincial Irish viewers were seated facing a screen in a darkened room, my case study nonetheless identifies instances in which audience members were free 'to go in and out as their inclination or thirstiness dictate[d]' (SC 23 05 96 5) and in which 'whistling, yelling, smoking and interruptions is [sic] allowed a free hand' (WN 22 11 02 7)

### **2.7.1 Bakhtin and the Carnavalesque**

In *Rabelais and his World*, the Russian literary and cultural critic, Bakhtin, recalls the medieval world of festival and excess and forwards the notion of a 'pageant without footlights and without a division into performers and spectators' (1984 122) as the central tenet of his theorisation of the carnivalesque. Rejecting the rigid dualism between subject and object, mind and body, of Cartesian Perspectivalism, Bakhtin proposes a radically alternative sensory regime which devalues sight and its disembodiment and detachment in favour of the more sensuous, direct and 'carnal' senses of touch, taste and smell <sup>23</sup>

As both an event and a concept, Bakhtin discusses the central role that carnival played in the lives of all classes in the Renaissance. Emphasising 'free and familiar contact' (Ibid 123) and separate from church ritual and feudal hierarchy, carnival is an inclusive, all-encompassing festive celebration that delights in the temporary suspension and transgression of social, religious and class norms and prohibitions, '[d]uring Carnival time life is subject only to its laws the laws of its own freedom' (Ibid 7)

For Bakhtin, carnival expresses the 'joyful relativity' of all structure and order. Bakhtin's rejection of Cartesian dualism and the atomised, isolated subject is underscored by his discussion of the radical alterity of the 'grotesque body'. Placing primary emphasis on the sensual, bodily and tactile aspects of human life within the context of everyday sociality, the cultural and symbolic forms of Carnival celebrated excess, the grotesque and 'the material bodily principle' including feasting and drunkenness, sex, flatulence and through its celebration of 'the "lower bodily stratum"' affirms a perceptual, organic process of birth and death, nourishment and decay that is wholly transindividual' (Brandon Kershner, 2001: 26). Accordingly, this emphasis encouraged the people to become 'aware of their sensual, material, bodily unity and community' (Bakhtin, 1984: 255). Each individual, no longer isolated and unitary, was 'an indissoluble part of the collectivity, a member of the people's mass body' (Ibid).

The rise of the bourgeois public sphere and the mechanistic, abstracted reasoning of Enlightenment broke the link with the carnivalesque (though Bakhtin maintains that the carnival spirit is indestructible in human society). Where medieval festival culture emphasised the 'sensuous, local, oral and particularistic aspects of human life' (Gardiner, 1999: 70), modernity transferred 'cosmology and philosophy to a higher, stratospheric plane, on which nature and ethics had to conform to abstract, timeless, general and universal theories' (Toulmin, 1990: 35), consolidating Cartesian perspectivalism and valorising a corresponding abstract visuality. Associated with the rationality and refinement of the salons and tea rooms of 17<sup>th</sup> century society, the opposition of polite, bourgeois society, with its ideals of predictability, stability and closure to the base and lowly activities of carnival caused its submersion (Stallybrass & White, 1986: 26) and '[s]pectators [were] made into onlookers, compensating for exclusion through the deployment of the discriminating gaze' (Ibid: 187).

Carnival insists on participation, there are no spectators or onlookers passively registering and cataloguing its sights (and sounds, smells and tastes). Carnival is not reflective or contemplative. Carnival is embodied and engaged. As Crary declares, 'true carnival ends when it becomes spectacle' (2003). In challenging the abstract and disengaged seeing of Cartesian perspectivalism, Bakhtin holds out the possibility of an entirely different metaphysics of perception, one that allows for a 'plural metaphoricity that resists reduction to a univocal master trope' (Jay, 1993: 511).

Bakhtin's work gives us an image of an 'embodied, intersubjective form of reason that engages all of the human senses in a manner that privileges an open, mutually enriching and ethically responsible relationship between self, other and nature' (Gardiner, 1999)

I emphasise the dichotomy between spectacle and participation as the division becomes of central importance throughout the case study that follows. In addition, the distinction between spectacle and community, the sense of local communities demonstrating local affinities, emerges as a key facet of the visual culture of provincial Ireland during the period under review in which audiences clearly preferred and 'more especially enjoyed' local scenes (DA 18 11 05 4)

## 2.8 Conclusions

This chapter sought to contest the hegemony of the Cartesian perspectivalist tradition which maintains an abstracted, disembodied and disengaged relationship between viewer and viewed. The historical foundations of its development have been examined and a series of challenges discussed. The approaches of Foucault and Crary in emphasising the requirement to conceive of visuality as necessarily historical, responsive to, and reflective of, their social and historical environments and circumstances, provide a more complex but ultimately more useful means to see seeing and think about thinking. Further, writers such as Foucault encourage us to use vision as a critique of vision, to determine which potentials in our vision the modern age has failed to realise. For the purposes of this research, the centrality of embodiment and participation in Bakhtin's theorising of the Carnavalesque stimulates us into rethinking the historical primacy of vision at the expense of the other sense modalities, ignored and suppressed yet so crucial to human being and social life.

In discussing the deficiencies of the Cartesian Perspectivalist approach to visuality, Haraway argues for a redefinition of vision which would allow for the production of 'situated knowledges'. Her preference is for replacing a disembodied view from above with an individual view from somewhere (1991). As stated above, the point of emphasising the implication of subjectivity in theorisations of the visual has been to underscore the principle that central to the historical and cultural practice of looking and interpretation is the subjective capacity of the viewer to make images signify.



Informed by the hypothesis that the relationship between viewer and viewed must explicitly be recognised as a discursive and historical construction, it is the contention of this research that our seeing is a work of construction, the product of an intricate historical and cultural discourse. The following section will elaborate a series of methodological models which attempt to account for the activity of viewers as culturally, historically and socially situated subjects and, more specifically, to shape a theoretical and methodological framework adequate to the description and analysis of the visual culture of provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906.

## 2.9 Audiences

It is the proposition of this research that visual culture should be conceived interactively, recognising the complex interplay between the images produced and circulated within a culture, the viewing apparatuses and exhibition contexts by and in which such images are made available and the culturally specific knowledges and templates that designate and reinforce the relationship of interactivity between viewer and viewed. As Bryson argues,

[w]hen I learn to see socially, that is, when I begin to articulate my retinal experience with the codes of recognition that come to me from my social milieu(s), I am inserted into systems of visual discourse that saw the world before I did and will go on seeing after I see no longer. Everything I see is orchestrated with a cultural production of seeing that exists independently of my life and outside it, my individual discoveries, the findings of my eye as it probes through the world, come to unfold in terms not of my making and indifferent to my mortality (1988: 92).

As a means of describing such a relationship, this research proceeds by examining the manner in which provincial Irish viewers received and responded to visual media forms and texts. Rather than presuming that a visual medium brings with it an ineluctable set of meanings, producing the same effects and interpretations among its viewers regardless of historical period and cultural membership, a key informing principle will be to incorporate a recognition of the influence of cultural and historical circumstance as central to this relationship. Bringing together a series of perspectives regarding the theoretical and practical implications of the apparatus, the text, the reader and their interaction, the contributions and weaknesses of recent research perspectives will be discussed and evaluated with respect to the requirements of my research.

## 2.10 Background

Research in the history of media and their reception to date has relied almost exclusively on approaches in which the effects of media forms and texts are inferred from textual analysis. Stacey comments upon what she perceives to be a 'textual obsession' in traditional media histories:

The ease of conducting textual analysis certainly compares favourably with the uncertainties and practical problems of audience research. Almost invariably, the former is more straightforward, less time-consuming and more manageable. The text is a discrete object of study which is usually relatively accessible, in contrast to audiences who have to be selected, contacted and whose opinions and feelings have to be collected before any analysis can even begin' (1993: 263)

The primary critical focus of such disciplines as art history, literary theory and classical film studies has traditionally been the meaningful, stable and discrete text as the product of the singular, authoritative author. This position has been attended by a number of key assumptions and methodologies in which meaning is considered to be resident in the text, awaiting extraction, unmodified by a hypothetical, passive recipient. Early audience research paradigms, emerging at an intersection between quantitative social scientific methods and economic and political interests, produced a series of largely empirical accounts that aimed to demonstrate the susceptibility of the audience to mass media influence. The underlying conclusion was that media forms and texts have the power to provoke or influence sweeping changes at the social and political levels. The attendant discourse invokes metaphors of narcosis and duping in a 'hypodermic' model of media effects in which audiences, particularly subordinate groups such as children, women and immigrants, unquestioningly absorb, and are powerless to resist, the message of the text. Later, many theorists argued for the need to go beyond this simplistic input/output model and focused instead on the ways in which viewers 'use' media. Central to the 'uses and gratifications' model was the assumption that viewers have the power to 'use' media presentations to 'gratify' psychological needs (McQuail, 1998).

It is the proposition of this research that audience response can't be derived exclusively through an examination of media texts or forms without reference to the socially, historically and culturally constituted groups who comprised their audiences. When theorists have attempted an examination of audiences, the tendency has been to focus on 'the canonical method of literary studies' (Stacey, 1993: 260), which attempts to determine the interpretative strategies of a hypothetical spectator, by analysis of the text, with little attention directed to studies of actual audiences and their interpretative practices. The difficulties with such approaches are exacerbated when the object of study is historical. The implicit assumption of an equivalence between the factors enabling and constraining readings in the past and those brought to bear on analyses by contemporary researchers is problematic. The successful replication of the activity of a group of individuals whose activity is circumscribed by cultural, social and historical context is improbable if not impossible when theoretical models factor out variability of response by considering reading processes in the abstract. It is unsatisfactory to assume that individuals have only one logical or acceptable relation to media forms and texts and that relation prevails across time and place.

Much of critical practice today attempts to explore the interface between the text (literary or audio-visual) and its reception. Various perspectives theorise a range of different schemas of the reader-text dynamic, yet our tendency to conceive of reading and interpreting as a private experience involving only an independent text and an individual reader is inadequate to explain the cultural, collective response of actual audiences in 19<sup>th</sup> century provincial Ireland. As Staiger argues, 'what we are interested in, then, is not the so-called correct reading of a particular film but the range of possible readings and reading processes at historical moments and their relation or lack of relation to groups of historical spectators' (1986: 20).

## 2.11 The Return of the Reader

Prompted by the burgeoning interpretative turn in the human sciences and a new awareness of the principles of self-reflexivity in research methods, a confrontation was forced with key assumptions regarding the investigator's involvement in the object of study. The focus of inquiry necessarily shifted concern from the observed to the interaction between the observer and the observed. Not only was the implication of a reader in the construction of knowledge foregrounded, but the pluralisation of many different readers and perspectives was highlighted and celebrated. Correspondingly, elitist conceptions of culture, cultural production and cultural reception were coming under attack. The plausibility of the authority of the producer and his intentions, and indeed, any supposed site of imposed meaning or ideological coherence were considered suspect.

A parallel movement in literary theory away from Formalism<sup>24</sup> and New Criticism<sup>25</sup> began to locate the reader at the centre of the interpretative enterprise. Linguistic models of communication stressed the role of the message's receiver and Poststructuralist theory, boldly announcing the Death of the Author, questioned the unifying authority of a singular producer or author. 'a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination. We know that to give writing a future, it is necessary to overthrow the myth: the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author' (Barthes, 1977: 148). From the work of theorists such as Barthes, Levi-Strauss, Foucault and Lacan emerged a central recognition of the linguistic, and the more generally discursive, structuring of cultural production and reception. The meaning of the text was no longer regarded as authoritatively given but rather as an open structure demanding productive understanding.

Reception theory developed from a confluence of structuralism, hermeneutics and phenomenology. Displacing the focus from the author or text to the reader who constitutes the text as part of the *activity* of reading, literature, and by extension, media forms and texts, are conceived as multifaceted, offering different faces to different readers rather than 'a monument that monologically reveals its timeless essence' (Jauss, 1982: 21).

Rejecting the privilege of production and authorship, reception studies aims to elucidate the relationship that pertains between real texts and real readers, not as a generalised, systematic and abstract explanation of how theoretical readers *may* have interpreted texts, but how individuals have actually understood them. Reception Studies, as a discipline and a methodology, explicitly rejects the principles of essentialism, universalism and uniformity of response. From this perspective, reading and, by extension, viewing, involve a dialogue between reader and text. Different evaluations of this dialogue have defined and emphasised a range of conceptualisation of the role and status of the reader in literary theory from implied (Mailloux, 1982), ideal (De Maria, cited by Staiger, 1992: 25), coherent (Rutherford, 1977) and competent readers (Culler, 1981, 1975) to the resisting reader (Fetterly, 1978).

## 2.12 The Active Audience

In the emerging field of media studies in Britain, Gramscian-inspired historical studies of culture informed a generation of scholars of the 1980s, particularly those affiliated to the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, who produced re-readings of popular art forms and social practices. Focussing on subtle yet complex communication patterns which present as 'natural' that which is socially motivated and politically implemented, the cultural studies approach to the study of media texts and their audiences foregrounds the concept of hegemony in examining the range of variation in mass media content and its reception, identifying ways in which basic questions are dominantly framed and 'obviousnesses' proposed. Hegemony characterises social relations as a series of struggles for power. Cultural studies views texts similarly, as the site of a series of struggles for meaning. The dominant ideology, working through the form of the text, can be 'resisted, evaded or negotiated with, in varying degrees, by differently situated readers' (Fiske, 1987: 41)<sup>26</sup>

Many recent audience studies have examined the way in which audiences actively make sense of presentations, insisting that the meaning of media texts is found not in the texts themselves but in audience activity (Liebes & Katz, 1988, Wren-Lewis, 1983). According to Katz and Liebes, texts 'do not impose themselves unequivocally on passive viewers. . . the reading of a [text] is a process of negotiation between the story on the screen and the culture of the viewers' (1986: 97). Newcomb and Hirsch define the viewer as a 'bricoleur' who actively constructs meaning (1984: 69).

Indeed, for Wren-Lewis, texts are no more than 'meaningless' clusters of 'narrative forms/devices that engender particular kinds of purchase within [audience members'] cultural parameters' (1983 196), an 'empty vessel' that can be 'all things to all people' (Barkin & Gurevitch, 1987 18)

### 2.12.1 Polysemy

The Active Audience assumption and its affirmation and celebration of the freedom of readers and viewers to make their own meanings have been fuelled by the attendant notion of polysemy. First proposed by Hall (1980), the media text is seen to be an open potential, a site for more than one, singular, authoritative meaning. Barthes argues that '[t]o give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing' (1977 147). Hall concurs: 'There is no necessary correspondence between encoding and decoding, the former can attempt to prefer, but cannot prescribe or guarantee the latter, which has its own conditions of existence' (1980 135). The proposition has been useful in conveying the idea of the diversity of meanings.

Lindloff observes that the 'polysemic character of mass communication codes' produces texts that allow for a plurality of decodings' (1988 83). Liebes argues that television texts 'invite negotiation and permit different readings' (1988 277). Fiske is among the most forceful of theorists in his celebration of this 'semiotic democracy' in which individuals are free to construct their own meanings in an autonomous cultural economy. He concludes that we should stop focusing on 'the power of the industry and upon the power of ideology and hegemony' and ask instead 'how it is that people can turn the products of the industry into *their* popular culture and can make them serve *their interests*' (1989 74-5, emphasis in original).

However, a number of critics have begun to argue that the idea of polysemy and audience freedom has been taken too far. Morley questions the empirical validity of freedom of interpretation: 'the demonstration that theoretically "anything goes" in terms of the potential polysemy of any text is very different from the demonstration that empirically "just anything" happens when it comes to the actual reading of the television text' (1989 39).

Murdock cautions that to speak of polysemy in terms of 'perfect competition' is 'useless in understanding the workings of the cultural field since it is obvious that some discourses are backed by greater material resources and promoted by spokespersons with preferential access to the major means of publicity and policy making' (1989 438)

Moreover, the concept of autonomy of interpretation has been equated with an associated conception of audience empowerment. All too easily, polysemy assumes an equivalence between diverse response and 'critical' response. In this version of polysemy, people use the content of media against itself, as a means of self-empowerment. 'Whatever the message encoded, decoding comes to the rescue. Media domination is weak and ineffectual since the people make their own messages' (Budd et al, 1990 170). The associated, though misconceived implication is that '[w]e don't need to worry about people watching several hours of TV a day, consuming its images, ads and values. People are already critical, active viewers and listeners, not cultural dopes manipulated by the media' (Ibid). Ang cautions against this position while 'audiences may be active, in myriad ways, in using and interpreting media it would be utterly out of perspective to cheerfully equate 'active' with 'powerful' (1990 247)

For Carragee, polysemy is often assumed rather than demonstrated, built exclusively on considerations of audience interpretations without reference to the text itself, which, according to the original formulation, is considered to be the location for the postulated multiplicity of available meanings. In view of this acknowledgement, several critics, arguing for an acknowledgement of the limits of interpretation, have called for a reaffirmation of the text (Brunsdon, 1989, Carragee, 1990, Gripsrud, 1990, Wolfe, 1992). Others have argued for limits to the freedom of interpretation (Eco, 1979). While defining the reader/viewer as an active producer of meaning rather than passive consumer, the recognition of this constitutive role brings with it its own attendant complexities. Overthrowing authorial and textual privilege in favour of the dangerous proposition that meaning is exclusively produced by the reader is no more than an inversion of the binarism.

Staiger distinguishes between the philosophical possibility of reading anything any way and the historical fact that the range of interpretations available is constrained (1992) While it is correct to assume the potential for a plurality of meanings in any interpretative encounter, it does not imply that apparent uniqueness among readings is a manifestation of absolute freedom for every reader or the absence or impossibility of collectivity of response Experience of readers and viewers and their commonality of interpretations supports the conclusion that controlling conventions, whether cultural or ideological, to a substantial degree curb and constrain response Not everything is possible at all times It is vital to recognise that audience responses and interpretations are historical realities defined by context rather than either an inherent or automatic act predicated on some essential human process, or an autonomous, idiosyncratic process free from any defining or constraining interpretative framework

In an insightful critique of prevalent accounts of textual polysemy, Condit (1989) forwards a useful distinction between polysemy and polyvalence Arguing that emphases on autonomy of interpretation may be overdrawn, Condit suggests that texts are only occasionally or partially polysemic She proposes the notion of polyvalence as a more appropriate alternative 'It is not that texts routinely feature unstable denotation but that instability of connotation requires viewers to judge texts from their own value systems' (1989 106) Condit's correction, for the purposes of my research, is preferable to an unbounded freedom of interpretation Clearly, such factors as cultural membership, gender and class are powerful structural agents in shaping audience beliefs, opinions and attitudes The valorisation of polysemy makes it difficult to explain the cultural commonality of response evident throughout my case study Further, Condit's proposition, though her explicit concern is with texts, is more readily adapted to consideration of the reception of media forms

If, however, we admit the possibility of truly polysemic, individual interpretations of texts, then, as my research requires, we come a step closer to recognising the actual readers of texts Many of the most significant problems of interpretation and response involve the everyday practice of recipients, the ways in which texts are rendered meaningful and relevant and integrated into social and cultural discourses



For Carragee, it is likely that these discourses, though considered external to individual television texts and individual moments of reception, may play a significant role in current interpretations and uses of the media by shaping viewer's expectations of television. Carragee cites Jameson's observation that history 'sets inexorable limits to individual as well as collective praxis' (1981: 102).<sup>27</sup> Thus, although a reader may approach a text from a personal standpoint actualising the discursive level and decoding the message, he does so through a socially constructed reading praxis that bears the influence of such variables as gender, class and culture. This praxis, constituted and controlled by a nexus of cultural histories, memories, competences and preferences is crucially absent in the majority of accounts that claim to theorise the act of reception.

### **2.12.2 The British Cultural Studies Approach**

The primary motivation and informing idea behind the work of British Cultural Studies, strongly influenced by Marxist and neo-Marxist politics, concerned the ideological power and influence of media texts. Reacting against the prevalent influence of the Frankfurt school which regarded 'traditional culture' as something good and authentic, something irrevocably contaminated by contact with mass culture's media technologies and products,<sup>28</sup> this perspective claimed to unequivocally expose the relationship between media products and their audiences as one of domination and conquest in which the content and hegemonic control of mass media irreversibly pollute and progressively erode traditional languages and cultures, replacing them with alien social values and an attraction to Western consumer goods (Postman, 1993; O'Regan, 1990).

For the British cultural critics, attention to issues of meaning and signification focused primarily on issues of hegemony and the dominant ideology. Hall's influential *Encoding/Decoding Television Discourse* article suggests a range of possible responses to mediated forms, a range limited by hegemonically structured thought. Recipients may produce a 'dominant reading' in which the content is accepted and affirmed without question. They may produce a 'negotiated reading' in which parts of the content are questioned but the fundamental socio-political attitude is affirmed.<sup>29</sup> Otherwise, they may produce an 'oppositional reading' in which the content, as the product of an undesirable social system, is rejected.

For the first time, a model attempting to explain the activity of reading, or in this case, watching television, was connected with social practice and in turn became the model for much subsequent empirical audience research

David Morley's 1980 *Nationwide* audience study was the first to field test Hall's proposals. Morley's analysis of audience reactions to the current affairs magazine programme demonstrated the ways in which the programme controls content in order to promote a hegemonic perspective. Following an interpretative analysis of the programme's text and using Hall's theory to demonstrate how individual interpretations of television texts vary with structural and cultural formations pre-existent to the individual such as class and gender, Morley conducted a study of audience reactions to the programme content in an attempt to test both the limits imposed by the text and the range of interpretations that might be associated with class-defined social positions by differentiating between the audience's acceptance or rejection of specific ideological messages. Morley's application of Hall's model formed an important step in theoretical development and dialogue and since has been widely extended in a variety of approaches which continue to theorise the relationship between texts and audiences (Ang, 1985, Radway, 1984, Fiske, 1987, Bennett & Woolloacott, 1987, Liebes and Katz, 1991). Morley himself continued to expand on the original project, later adapting the early decoding work into a more situated analysis of the concrete determinations circulating in and between television watching and family processes.

There have been a number of suggestions for improving and enhancing the decoding model, (for example, Corner, 1983, Wren-Lewis, 1983). Indeed, Morley himself acknowledges that though the notion of hegemony represents a significant advance in the history of theoretical development and dialogue, Hall's tripartite structure is inadequate in accounting for the range of responses of interviewees and thus fails to account completely for actual social practices involving texts and their real 'readers'. It may have been naive to expect that all responses could be mechanistically fit into one of three limited categories. Indeed, Morley later criticised the use of his results, objecting to their appropriation by critics aiming to document 'the total absence of media influence in the "semiotic democracy" of media influence' (1997: 125).

Lembo & Tucker (1990) criticise the approach for its reductive tendency to analyse all cultural interpretation in terms of struggle between dominant and subordinate groups and the assumption that the only way in which to validly theorise responses, whether dominant, negotiated or oppositional, is in relation to ideological power and, by extension, that 'resistance' is necessarily politically motivated Gitlin offers a useful, if scathing, corrective

Resistance, meaning all sorts of grumbling, multiple interpretation, semiological inversion, pleasure, rage, friction, numbness, what have you, 'resistance' is accorded dignity, even glory, by stamping these not-so-great refusals with a vocabulary derived from life-threatening work against fascism As if the same concept should serve for the Chinese student uprising and cable TV grazing (1991 336)

In my research, 'resistance' to 'dominant' meanings takes a diverse range of forms Some responses clearly indicate the agency of the audience being activated in relation to an obvious ideological stimulus such as the screening of Boer War films and slides at which 'cheer[ing] and hiss[ing] as the political feelings of the mixed audience prompted' (TH 13 10 00 2) Other 'resistant' reactions appear to derive from a shared inheritance of deportment norms in which 'whistling, yelling, smoking and interruptions' (WN 22 11 02 7) were common in exhibition venues Rejection of the authenticity and 'realism' of images presented as 'counterfeit presentments' (SC 22 02 02 8), and favouring the 'eloquence of the lecturer and his wonderfully realistic descriptions of the various scenes along with his brilliant flashes of wit and humour' (BFP 19 10 05 2) appear to accord with familiar cultural expectations and competences In Chapters Four and Five, I discuss such reactions and attempt to locate such descriptive responses in relation to the prevailing social and cultural context

### **2.12.3 Cultural Studies and Visual Culture**

The cultural studies approach emerged as a reaction to, and criticism of, models informed by the remnants of positivism and behaviourism Taking seriously the processes which produce texts and audience, rather than the texts themselves, for the first time, research explored marginalised social groups workers, consumers of popular culture and women, without paternalistically predetermining their responses as immature, aberrant or trivial

In validating a multiplicity of different interpretations by different people, reception researchers began to develop and incorporate a postmodern pluralisation of values and of truth. In investigating the processes which produce texts and influence, interpretation, the concerns and objectives of Cultural Studies have been further extended and specialised to examine and explain the specifically visual. As academic interest in Visual Culture has evolved, the legacy of Cultural Studies has been of enormous importance in delineating a methodology and set of principles which forms the basis for the study of visual cultures such as that undertaken here.

The great advantage of the Cultural Studies approach, for the purposes of my research, has been its attempt to link discursive, textual and social process in grounding the issue of reception in actual social practice.

The audience must be conceived of as composed of socially situated individual readers, whose individual readings will be framed by shared cultural formations and practices pre-existent to the individual. Shared 'orientations' which will in turn be determined by factors derived from the objective position of the individual in the class structure. These objective factors must be seen as setting parameters to individual experience, although not 'determining' consciousness in a mechanistic way, people understand their situation and react to it through the level of subcultures and meaning systems' (Morley, 1980: 15)

These 'shared cultural formations and practices' are argued to form the foundation for the particularities of response evident throughout the case study.

### **2.13 Spectatorship in Film Theory**

Film Studies' interest in spectatorship has followed a similar evolutionary path. In the years following 1968, a heightened awareness of the implication of cinema in the reproduction of capitalist social relations emerged as critics appropriated Althusser's theorisation of the operation of ideology in society. A parallel shift in the concerns of literary theory and philosophy, in which the consideration of subjectivity took centre stage, informed developments. Moving beyond the examination of film content, studies of cinema began by assuming that cinema as an institution was to be considered as ideologically suspect in its reaffirmation of the status quo.

Emphasising its 'emblematic quality' cinema was recognised as 'a projection of [society's] most fundamental needs, desires and beliefs' and thus as reflecting 'a passive and complicitous acceptance of society as it was' (Mayne 1993: 5). Althusser's theory suggested that the situation of film viewing required examination as an ideological mechanism for the interpellation of subjects. Study of the subject-effect aimed to reveal how film-goers become subjects by uncovering the various devices and components of the cinema that function to create ideological subjects (Ibid: 14).

Meanwhile, Barthes' work in the structural analysis of texts revealed textuality to be productive of similar subject effects. The aim of the structuralist activity, according to Barthes, was not so much to assign 'full meanings to the objects it discovers' as to understand 'how meaning is possible – at what price and along what tracks' (Barthes, 1972: 218). Formed by the interplay of different discourses, narrative, political and psychoanalytic, textuality was conceived as an ideologically motivated representational system in which subject positions are constructed for individuals to occupy.

The combination of perspectives yielded two types of inquiry. The first elaborates an account of how the cinematic apparatus and its perceptual, spatial and social specificities function to ideologically position the spectator (Baudry, 1986; Comolli, 1980). The second focused on the inherent voyeurism of the cinema and the acquiescence of the viewer in assuming the subject positions offered. Screen theory aimed to uncover the symbolic mechanisms through which cinematic texts confer subjectivity on readers by 'suturing' them into the film narrative. Writers such as Heath (1981) developed methods of textual analysis linking this process of submission with the invisible form of the classical cinema arguing that the very 'naturalness' of the storytelling compels this identification.

In focusing on the processes of subject formation, film theory displaced the problem of audience activity and effects (and the questions of the social formation) onto the level of discourse (Allor, 1988: 221). In substituting the apparatus for the viewer and the camera for the eye, the (hypothetical) spectator was conceived as a construction of the text/in the text:

What moves in film, finally, is the spectator immobile in front of the screen. Film is the regulation of that movement, the individual as subject held in a shifting and placing of desire, energy, contradiction, in a perceptual retotalisation of the imaginary (the set scene of image and subject). This is the investment of film in narrativisation, and crucially for a coherent space, the unity of place and vision' (Heath, 1981: 107)

The assumed displacement of social processes by ahistorical, unconscious psychoanalytic ones suggests Screen Theory's inadequacy as a useful model of reception for the purposes of this research. Screen Theory's theorisation of the ideological operation of either the cinematic apparatus or text as a 'cause' of subject effects amounts to an extreme case of textual determinism or text-centricity in which the activity of the viewer and the possibility of resistance are completely sidestepped. Moreover, the approach omits to address the cultural specificity of discourses or the relationship of those discourses to wider social structures.

Psychoanalytic approaches to understanding the relationship between cinema and its spectator were most heavily and productively worked by feminist film scholars who developed a politics of representation by exploring the dynamics of the relation between women and the fantasy worlds of popular cultural texts, pleasure in the text itself and the pleasure of experiencing positions for engagement structured within the text (Kuhn, 1987), though a suggested weakness of the approach has been its tendency to assume correspondence between particular forms of address and socially occurring ideological structures (Nightingale, 1996). Writers such as Mulvey (1975) and Doane (1988) have also used the approach in their proposition that spectatorship is structurally masculinised. The resultant recognition of female identification as problematic impelled research to recognise that there is more to reception than textually and ideologically predetermined subject positions and to move beyond the textually deterministic psychoanalytic/semiotic framework to include culturally specific and historically variable aspects of reception.

The difficulties presented by female spectatorship have been of crucial importance in forcing canonical film theory to confront the important distinction between the hypothetical subjectivity of the textually inscribed spectator and the actual practices of the empirical, social audience (Kuhn, 1984), a distinction that Michaels' work on Aboriginal spectators below makes clear. In addition, the gathering momentum of insights from literary theory celebrating audience activity encouraged film scholars to move away from the issue of how subjects were created by texts in order to focus on how viewers received such texts and the meanings they created from them.<sup>30</sup> Thus, as a means of mediating between the levels of abstracted theory and actual audience response, Hansen argues for the necessity of complicating the issue with the imperative to account for the 'social, collective, experiential dimension of collective cinematic reception' (1989: 169)

#### **2.14 Considering Context**

Research in the cultural studies and spectatorship traditions broadly investigates a number of audience members, either as individuals or as a group, and proposes their reception of media texts as representative of a narrowly conceived objective social class, category or subject position in an overly positivistic manner. Audience positions and reactions are subordinate to the text, in effect, deterministically 'caused' by the ideological content of media texts. The audience, correspondingly, is considered to be victimised or subjugated by the text and much of the complexity of the viewing experience is sidestepped. Fiske explains the difficulty: the text is considered to precede the receiver in time and is accordingly given precedence in the receptive encounter:

When I watch television, I precede any programme the box can offer me: my social history which has constructed me as the discursive and ideological melange that I am has been working to form my moment of consciousness in front of the screen for far longer and far more insistently than any 'influence' the screen can exert over me (Fiske, 1988b: 246)

For Fiske, the audience comprises '[a] personified cultural process held in a moment of temporary stability when shifting social allegiances come together at the moment of semiosis' (1988a 246) Incorporating the social and material history of the 'person,' defined as the nexus of the intersection between the individual and the subject, the key to understanding reception for Fiske requires an understanding of this historical person as formed by, and consisting of, social allegiances Social allegiances emerge from shared discourse and constitute the primary points of correspondence between the viewer and the text

Lembo & Tucker forward a similar argument, proposing that all social action must be understood in terms of a 'pre-existing cultural milieu that determines the texture of social interaction' (1990 101) The sociologically informed account of human behaviour that they endorse assumes that shared meanings are a central dimension of human behaviour, and thus reception, conceived in terms of both individual and group actions, is shaped and motivated by such 'intersubjective' meanings For Lembo and Tucker, the Cultural Studies model unsatisfactorily reduces all community consensus to the determination of ideological power<sup>31</sup> As Ellen Wood reminds us that 'not all social conflicts are class conflicts and not all ideologies are class ideologies' (1986 52)

This study proceeds to elaborate the visual culture of provincial Irish audiences in the decade 1896 to 1906 and the relevance of ideology and class relations to the social structure of the period requires some elaboration To ignore the influence of, for example, class, religion or political persuasion in constraining or promoting interpretation, we risk overemphasising social pluralism and individual subjectivity to the degree that collectivity of response, so clearly demonstrated in the case study which follows, becomes impossible



While I agree with the criticisms detailed above, that articulations of opposition or resistance are not inevitably and necessarily linked to political and progressive change, the consideration of the relations of ideology can provide some basis upon which to chart and explain the notion of an active audience. Morley in *Family Television* insists that we must include consideration of 'basic structural factors' such as culture and class which prevail across contextual variations (1986: 41). For Chantal Mouffe, a viewer, reader or listener must not be theorised as

a monad, an 'unencumbered' self that exists prior to and independently of society, but rather as a site constituted by an ensemble of 'subject positions,' inscribed in a multiplicity of social relations, the member of many communities and participant in a plurality of collective forms of identification (1993: 97)

Morley, in *Family Television*, suggests that his *Nationwide* findings, in which he proposed that 'deep structures' such as class positions are generative of direct effects at the level of cultural practice, may have been simplistic (1986: 43). Instead, he believes it may be more fruitful to examine the different ways in which such 'deep structures' such as those detailed in Chapter One, work themselves out in particular contexts and to reinstate the notion of audiences actively engaging in cultural practice in terms of 'what we make of that history has made us' (Ibid)

The 'active' responses of early audiences in Provincial Ireland are clearly not those of free floating, ahistorical actors, but of a shared cultural and social consciousness, grounded in prevailing social, political, class and cultural structures. The collective articulation of particular preferences, the exercise of distinctive patterns of deportment and the customisation of entertainment content according to familiar templates and tropes indicates that collective audience response is crucially linked to collective audience identity and, in the case of the early Irish audiences examined here, that political affiliation crucially affected audience interpretations of media content. Further, though beyond the scope of this study, this position recognises the question of which interests have the power to select and define media content and in determining the way in which key relationships in our society are explained and understood (Philo, 1990, Kelly & O'Connor, 1990)

For Kelly & O'Connor, the selective and defining power of media producers in Ireland has been in the hands of an 'Irish petit bourgeoisie' (1997: 6). As shall be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, such groups as the Church, local administrators and certain prominent individuals constructed the dominant discourses and regulated the contexts in which projected screen entertainments were viewed by early Provincial Irish audiences.

E. P. Thompson defines a class of people as 'a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions and value systems, who have a *disposition to behave* as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways' (1980: 939, emphasis in original). As noted in Chapter One, 'whether we consider economic functions, aspirations or social mobility, the concept of class division seems artificial and implausible when applied' to the audiences examined in this study (Fitzpatrick, 1982: 56), Thompson's definition provides a useful ground from which to think about a shared social consciousness and its implication in a network of ideological and cultural relations influenced by such factors as religion and political affiliation. As Michael's study below details, the shared experiences and histories of individuals' social lives comprise a common cultural resource which is drawn upon in daily practices including reception.

### **3.6.1 Eric Michaels and the Warlpiri Project**

The introduction of modern, Western media into traditional, indigenous, oral cultures has served as a useful illustration of the complex interplay of media forms, texts and audiences responses. Eric Michaels' landmark work among the Warlpiri Aborigines of Australia's Northern Territory confirms the centrality of culture in structuring and directing interpretation. In Michaels' analysis Aboriginal viewers were shown to invoke distinctive approaches to both media production and reception, generating markedly different texts and discourses than may have been expected by their (Western) producers.<sup>32</sup>

Michaels' key contribution is his insistence that European and Warlpiri appropriations of television are the result of culturally distinct information systems, predicated on a division between oral and literate cultures, between the 'time bias' of oral culture and the 'space bias' of literate culture. Michaels stresses the importance of recognising that the difference between the two orders is not that of speech versus writing but of fundamentally different ways in which information is handled. Thus, Michaels continues the project of emphasising the centrality of culture in audience response. In *Hollywood Iconography: A Warlpiri Reading*, Michaels examines the influence of Warlpiri iconography and interpretative protocols in Aboriginal reception of Western television, noting that Aborigines are likely to produce highly discrepant readings of mainstream media.

The Warlpiri Aborigines produced remarkable readings of Hollywood videos, best explained with reference to traditional oral performances and inscriptive practices. But when I claim that Aborigines produce highly atypical readings of television and video programmes, readings which people from Western culture are unlikely to predict, I don't just mean that Aborigines don't know how to read television. Rather, their readings are just one example, if a particularly dramatic one, of a more general rule: people's readings of media are based as much on their lived experience, historical circumstances and cultural perspectives than any inherent instructions in the text itself on how something ought to be interpreted. To account for Aboriginal readings of television, it would be necessary to investigate Aboriginal social experience, history and culture. In these were discovered traditional rules for communicating, for example, story form, ritual performance, speech avoidance and secret/sacred restrictions (1990: 21).

Claiming that 'Aboriginal audiences who are first speakers of indigenous languages appear to be viewing and interpreting video texts in a manner more consistent with traditional forms than contemporary ones' (1987a: 275), Michaels notes several salient 'misreadings' common among Warlpiri viewers: narrative exposition and character development are rarely accorded much attention or ignored (1987b: 117), more dramatic scenes meriting greater attention than the overall plot.<sup>33</sup>

Michaels identifies this attention to dramatic scenes as consistent with strategies of Aboriginal storytelling, 'where moments of especial significance may be drawn out, repeated and repeated (as in song) and elaborated, at the expense of (again from a European perspective) connections between these moments, how the plot moves from one event to the next' (1987a 275) Warlpiri viewers will commonly supplement the narrative information according to their own cultural requirements 'When Hollywood videos fail to say where Rocky's grandmother is, or who's taking care of his sister-in-law, Warlpiri viewers discuss the matter and need to fill in what for them is missing content' (1987b 9) Consistent with the claims of Ong (2000) and other scholars of oral societies, Michaels' study of Warlpiri reception confirms the patterns of redundancy and formulaic action and themes, emphasis on type characters, episodic rather than expository structure, action-orientation and focus on familial relationships and other elements that can be considered local or familiar from their own lives

What Warlpiri viewers require is a good deal of visual and visceral action, a rich familial and kinship context and a means of combining these into a classificatory universe whose truth is partly in the structures they can produce with these elements and partly in the opportunities the texts provide for negotiation and social discourse (1987b 13)

Michaels' study demonstrates a culturally determined strategy of reception that becomes particularly evident in the content of the case study which follows different cultural groups, rather than accepting an obvious reading of media texts, in fact recreate them according to perceptual and comprehension schemas often radically different from those who produce and distribute the texts Research evidence, according to Ruby, suggests that when the producer's message conflicts with the worldview of the viewer, it is most likely that the viewer's worldview will prevail and that the text will be 'recreated' in its terms, or dismissed (1995 195)

Michaels' Warlpiri reception study recognises that media texts are not, in themselves, inherently meaningful and that what is perceived or understood by audiences is determined in large part by the characteristics of that audience beyond the rigidity of the response categories of the cultural studies approach

While Michaels' study confirms that viewers themselves can attribute meanings to media texts regardless of the producers' intentions and do so by forwarding cultural assumptions which permit the overlooking, contradiction and even misunderstanding of that intention, his refusal to identify his individual informants, or to categorise them according to their demographic membership, challenges the notion that aberrant or discrepant readings of mainstream media texts are the result of individual resisting subjects refusing to accept the preferred reading proposed by the text's producers. Preserving the anonymity of the respondents allows Michael to highlight the cultural structures speaking through the subject and reminds us that our response to media forms and texts are informed by our membership of cultural groupings and that our responses, to a significant extent, both require and are informed by cultural consensus and community authority. They are not random, subversive happenstance, but are culturally, historically and socially situated. Aboriginal readings are the product of different concerns, beliefs and interpretative frameworks that are brought to bear on their reception of mainstream media.<sup>34</sup>

Michaels' aim is not to advocate textual polysemy but to uncover the cultural, communal principles whereby viewers come to construct distinctive meanings. His interest is not in any, random meaning, but in those which require community authorisation. These are not just any principles, they are historically embedded in verifiable cultural practices.

Aboriginal viewers may be predisposed to 'see' graphic images/sequences e.g. TV differently from Europeans because their conventions for ordering the visual world, their generic styles for organising narratives and their social rules for speaking differ in particular ways. I believe we now have preliminary evidence that this construction is different in some particulars. But these particulars are not easily called 'grammatical' or even linguistic. They are more properly described as cultural, *they reach down into semiotic expression from higher levels of abstraction rather than constructing meaning from clearly distinguishable differences in any base unit* (1987a: 277, emphasis in original)

Michaels' work shows Hall's tripartite structure of valid response to be inadequate to account for the range of possible interpretations and readings of texts. What of failing to recognise aspects of the message, of ignoring or tuning out of sections that are not considered interesting or relevant? The cultural studies approach broadly considers such responses as 'misreadings' and excludes them from consideration.

Recalling Condit's preference to speak of polyvalence rather than polysemy cited above, Fiske (1988a) cites Morley's revision of the position in identifying 'relevance' as a more useful criterion than 'preference' in evaluating response<sup>35</sup> For Fiske, preference is a textual concept, relevance a social one

Viewers derive meaning and pleasure from encounters with texts that are relevant to his or her social allegiances at the moment of viewing. As a discursively derived concept, brought to the text by the viewer, the criteria for relevance precede the viewing moment. Michaels' identification of relevance as fundamentally cultural, participating in a network of socially and culturally inherited and maintained discourses, represents a valuable advance for the requirements of this project. The invocation of relevance as an operative category in reception more adequately allows for responses that Hall's and Morley's (early) accounts clearly preclude.

## Conclusions

When I see, *what* I see, is laid down by paths or networks laid down in advance of my seeing (Bryson, 1988: 93)

In the previous section, a series of assumptions predicated on the model of Cartesian Perspectivalism and its presupposition of an abstract, disengaged relationship between viewer and viewed were critiqued and alternatives discussed. While the historical accounts of Foucault and Crary and the theorisation of panopticism and *flânerie* as models of vision, sensitive to the fluidities and specificities of the modern era, begin to address the complexity of the dynamics of visuality and mitigate against the assumption of homogeneity in specific scopic regimes, they nonetheless fail to move beyond the distance and disembodiment of the model they attempt to replace. It was concluded that any model which fails to recognise the embodiment and engagement of viewers in that which they view is critically myopic.

In failing to address the central issue of the viewer's participation in viewing, such theoretical positions were considered to be unable to theorise the relationship between viewer and viewed beyond the level of universalism and essentialism. Further, as models specifically concerned to describe the visual conditions and strategies of modernity, Cartesian Perspectivalism, panopticism and *flâneurie* share in an inability to explain the visuality of a temporally parallel but geographically and experientially 'unmodern' provincial and agrarian culture such as that addressed by my case study.

Responding to Haraway's call to replace a disembodied view from above with a socially and culturally situated view from somewhere (1991), the second section of this chapter sought to return consideration of culture to a central position in theories of the relationship that pertains between cultural objects and their consumers. With respect to the requirements of this project, it has been argued that the reviewed accounts of audience reception largely proceed from a text-centred or text-active position in which the ideological content of texts 'causes' a redefinition of meanings consistent with subcultural membership or an unquestioning acquiescence to the subject positions constructed by the text. With the notable exception of studies such as that of Michaels and the later Cultural Studies work, the majority of literature examined fails to both recognise that meaning emerges from the specific and located interaction between text and reader and to adequately locate social actors in cultural and historical context.

Ultimately, the research perspectives outlined above raise more questions than they answer. What about the visual culture of those far from the teeming metropolises of modernity without experience of industrialisation, urbanisation, acceleration and hyperstimulus? What of cultures in which the arrival of Modernity was delayed, postponed, or treated with antipathy? What of the introduction of such technologies as cinema in cultures devoid of the influence of modernism? What of cultures in which, as Doolan notes, the principles of a 'Renaissance' type of visuality were absent (1987: 116)? What of the visual culture of more oral-oriented societies in which hearing is valued above sight and participation above spectacle? As will be made clear in Chapters Four and Five, the visual culture of provincial Ireland in 1896-1906 presents a visual culture largely incommensurable with the universalism, essentialism and abstraction of the models critiqued above.

In recognising the central role of culture in the relationship between viewer and viewed, this research attempts to elaborate the pertinence of context in informing our understanding of visual culture. The shared experience and histories of individuals' social lives comprise a common cultural resource which is drawn upon in their practice of reception. The elimination of context, of the unique position of different cultures and different subjects, in turn eliminates the potential heterogeneity of viewing (Burnett, 1990: 128), of how responses to visual media are situated within specific discursive fields which inform and influence those responses.



---

<sup>1</sup> Singer distils from the many overlapping ideas implied by the term 'Modernity' three dominant perspectives (1995a 72)

- 1 Modernity as a moral and political concept in which norms and values central to the feudal and religious worlds are open to question
- 2 Modernity as a cognitive concept, in which an instrumental rationality emerges as the intellectual framework through which the world is perceived and constructed
- 3 Modernity as a socio-economic concept, designating an array of technological and social changes which reached a 'critical mass' in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century

To these three central tenets, Singer, following Simmel and Benjamin, adds a fourth, a neurological conception, which requires that modernity be understood in terms of a 'fundamentally different register of subjective experience characterised by the physical and perceptual shocks of the modern urban environment' (Ibid) It is predominantly with this fourth characterisation that my remarks on modernity and visuality are concerned.

<sup>2</sup> See Donald M. Lowe (1982) *The History of Bourgeois Perception*.

<sup>3</sup> Historians can trace knowledge of perspective back further than the Quattrocento arguing that awareness of the scheme can be found in the work of Ptolemy, Euclid, Galen and Roger Bacon The scheme, however, did not move from speculation into practice until Alberti codified what Brunelleschi had 'discovered' and the laws of perspective were instituted as vision's own laws

<sup>4</sup> Ivins claims this scheme marked the beginning of the substitution of visual for tactile spatial awareness (he rejects the notion that the ancient Greeks and medievals preferred vision among the senses and based their conceptual schemata for spatial representation on vision) because its novel 'procedure of central projection and section not only automatically brought parallel lines together in logically determining vanishing points, but provided as basis for hitherto missing grammar or rules for securing both logical relations within the system of symbols employed and a two-way metrical correspondence between the pictorial representations of objects and the shapes of those objects located in space (Ivins, 1938 10) Whether or not one agrees with Ivins' assessment of the sensory biases of previous epochs, the primacy of vision throughout the Renaissance period is undeniable

<sup>5</sup> Alpers contrasts the Albertian perspective associated with the Italian Renaissance with the nonperspectival 'Northern' tradition of 'describing' Distinguishing the 'window' of Albertian perspectival painting, concerned to codify and preserve the illusion of three-dimensionality, Dutch painting of the 17<sup>th</sup> century concerns itself with the depiction of the textures and colours of the flat and opaque surfaces of the world In this regard, Alpers proposes, Dutch 17<sup>th</sup> century art is better conceived in terms of a map than a window Where the paintings of the Italian Renaissance aim to produce a self-contained picture carefully constructed according to the principles of perspective and contained within the frame, Dutch art of the same period is configured differently, 'as though the world came first The world seems cut off by the edges of the work, or conversely, seems to extend beyond its bounds as if the frame were an afterthought and not a prior defining device' (1983 xxv)

<sup>6</sup> Ivins also notes that just as the earliest datable woodcut prints were made during the lifetime of Alberti, so Monge and Poncelet, whose development of Alberti's original model of perspective is central to engineering science, were contemporaries of Niepce and Fox Talbot (1938 12)

<sup>7</sup> Kuhn identifies in contemporary film studies a parallel concern for the decentering of fixed viewpoints (1998)

<sup>8</sup> But he immediately qualifies his privilege of vision by affirming the necessity of technical innovations to augment its power 'There is no doubt that the inventions which serve to augment its power are among the most useful that there can be' (1965 65)

<sup>9</sup> For Descartes, vision, at least at the physiological level, entails a mechanical relationship between the human body and external objects He explicitly compares the manner in which the visual apparatus is stimulated by light to the movement of a blind man's stick (Descartes, 1985 1 153) Descartes anticipates Berkeley in his assertion that light and colour are 'the only qualities belonging properly to the sense of sight' (Ibid 1 167)

---

<sup>10</sup> The parallels seem evident between this conception of Cartesian Perspectivalism and Bazin's goal of 'total cinema' both of which presume a fixed stable, social world that can be accurately recorded (Bazin, 1971: 17-22).

<sup>11</sup> We must also acknowledge that there is nothing inherently tyrannical in comparing vision and knowing. Descartes, it appears, did not make vision by itself responsible for the reductive objectification and instrumentalisation of the world.

<sup>12</sup> Though it should be noted that Jay's project is to challenge the homogeneity of Cartesian Perspectivalism in the modern period and he proposes that we consider such alternatives as baroque vision as 'scopic regimes' which existed alongside Cartesian Perspectivalism throughout Modernity.

<sup>13</sup> An immense literature has emerged, arguing from various perspectives, that innovations in the accessibility of knowledge and the structure of human thought that attended the rise of literacy and print in Europe wrought profound changes (usually identified with Cartesian Perspectivalism) in varying manners and degrees, in the conceptual capacities of man and, as a consequence, provoked key shifts in art, literature, philosophy and politics (Clanchy, 1979; Goody, 1987, 1968; Havelock, 1963; Stock, 1983) The consciousness claimed to emerge from the logic of the printed text is strikingly similar to the values of Cartesian perspectivalism as identified by Romanayshyn: linear rationality, narrative continuity, infinite progress and individual privacy (1993: 344).

Privileging of seeing over hearing, logical over tonal ... involved profound shifts ... [it m]eant the triumph of written culture over the older culture of speaking and listening and the privileging of learning by detached mental representation or envisioning over learning by mimetic physical participation, a deacoustification of language whereby onomatopoeic namings were replaced by visible signs for things beheld theoretically. Ultimately, therefore, the domination of vision meant the hegemony of a different conception of rationality, one that thinks itself disembodied, timeless and unchanging and that takes pride in its emotional detachment, its ability to remain untouched and unmoved by what it sees (Levin, 1997: 22-3).

While Smith (1997) identifies ocularcentrism as central to the 'triumph' of literacy over orality, other scholars argue the converse. Carpenter contends that 'literacy orchestrated the senses under a single conductor: sight. It enthroned sight to the point where it alone was trusted. All truth was expected to conform to observed experience ... Sight became supreme and all other senses became subservient to it' (1976: 42).

<sup>14</sup> The dethronement of transcendental (Cartesian) perspectivalism was not confined to philosophical discourse. Impressionism, in emphasising flattened or foreshortened space over three dimensionality, blurred contours and evident brushstrokes over *chiaroscuro* modelling and the democratisation of subject matter over the representation of theatricalised scenes in idealised geometric space, reflects an awareness of the real, lived, corporeally situated character of vision.

<sup>15</sup> While the influence of the development and application of Cartesian perspectivalism has played an important role in the history of vision and subjectivity, we must recognise it as unacceptably ethnocentric.

[T]he Western conception of a person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic centre of awareness, emotions, judgement and action, organised into a distinctive whole and set contrastively against a social and natural background is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the World's cultures (Geertz, 1989: 229).

<sup>16</sup> Friedberg concedes that though broadly speaking Modernity is considered a social formation coincident with 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century industrialisation and urbanisation, the rate of development, and by implication, decay, was uneven (1994: 13).

<sup>17</sup> Hansen cautions against the uncritical assumption of a 'hegemonic modernism.' Drawing a clear distinction between late 19<sup>th</sup> modernism, typified by the culture of Paris, and early 20<sup>th</sup> century modernism, associated with America and the culture of mass production, consumption and standardisation, she criticises the subsumption of their contradictory and heterogeneous aspects to the claims of one dominant paradigm (1995: 364).

---

Further, Hetherington proposes that even within the same historical and geographical modernity, tensions and contrasts can be discerned '[In] the modernity of Paris it would be easy to see a contrast between the lived reality of the street, bohemia and the barricade on the one hand and that of the spectacle of the arcade, the boulevard and the department store on the other' (2003 16)

<sup>18</sup> The Panopticon was also conceived as an architectural model for such other buildings as factories, hospitals in which enclosure was a priority

<sup>19</sup> In 'Types of Lighting' Benjamin anticipates Foucault's analysis of panopticism with observations about the early years of electricity that already saw potential danger in 19<sup>th</sup> century projects for city lighting based on an idea of 'universal illumination' (1999)

<sup>20</sup> Fell recognises similar characteristics in the literature of the period, such as the fragmenting of temporal sequence, the interjection of movement and the 'externalisation of memory into tangible, "visible" experience' (1986 54)

<sup>21</sup> In the majority of accounts which invoke the *flâneur* as a model or motif of 'modern' vision, the presumption is that he is invariably male and has adequate leisure time in which to conduct his observation of modern life (as an indication of the appropriate pace of *flâneurie*, Benjamin famously described Parisian *flâneurs* walking turtles on leashes) By extension, the 'view' of modernity and modern vision to which *flâneurie* corresponds is therefore conceived as fundamentally gendered and bourgeois A number of writers have begun to debate the possibility of female *flâneurie* (Russell, 2001, Gleber, 1997, Bruno, 1993, Buck-Morss, 1989, Wolff, 1985) in recent years, but the presumption of socio-economic class has been largely neglected.

<sup>22</sup> Gunning suggests that the adoption of the model of the *flâneur* as exemplary of the relations of looking of modernity, may require some modification Arguing that, as much as an epitome of the age, the *flâneur* was also its victim As a consequence of the increasing acceleration associated with modernity, the *flâneur* simply couldn't keep up '[H]e marked a transitional phase of modern urban geography like the arcades in which he strolled, disappearing as Paris fully entered modernity' (1997 27) Gunning proposes that as modernity developed, so too did appropriate versions of *flâneurie*, of which he details those of the *badaud* (gawker) and the detective (Ibid) By contrast, Friedberg (1994) and Russell (2001) propose that the model of the *flâneur* is equally adaptive to the experience of late and even postmodernity Buck-Morss contends that in spite of Gunning's correction, the *flâneur* persists as the '*ur-form*' of modern consumer society (Gunning, 1997 27)

<sup>23</sup> Lucien Febvre, in his own study of Rabelais, remarks that the non-visual human senses were much more acute in the early modern and medieval periods than in modernity (1982 432)

<sup>24</sup> By means of close analysis of the technical variables of the text, Formalists critics sought to describe the properties of the text Placing a premium on the text as productive of a range of effects upon the receiver, formalism considers the text to be a closed, finite system in which the activity of the viewer/reader, is determined by the internal operations of the textual system

<sup>25</sup> New Criticism sought to produce a wholly 'autonomous' or 'autotelic' text, completely dissociated from the surrounding environment. Proposing a way of reading that emphasised form, analysis was exclusively concerned with the words on a page, completely divorced from the irrelevancies of the author's intention, historical or ideological context, and the activity of the reader

<sup>26</sup> From this starting point, two distinct approaches emerged (O'Connor & Klaus, 2000) the 'public knowledge' project, 'concerned with the media as an agency of public knowledge and 'definitional' power, with a focus on news and current affairs output and a direct connection with the politics of information and the viewer as citizen', (Comer, cited by O'Connor & Klaus, 2000 373) and the 'popular culture' project, 'concerned primarily with the implications for social consciousness of the media as a source of entertainment and is thereby connected with the social problematics of 'taste' and of pleasure,' in fictional genres (Ibid 373)

---

<sup>27</sup> Following Carragee's consideration of the material conditions that function to influence an audience's reception of a media text, I am unsatisfied with the majority of research paradigms in the cultural studies tradition's avoidance of the issue of the form in which media texts are delivered. It is likely that, particularly in the case of the reception of texts delivered by new or unfamiliar technologies, the apparatus of delivery has considerable impact on reception. Few theorists engage in any discussion of such a likelihood beyond a recognition of the omission (Evans, 1990, Budd et al, 1990)

<sup>28</sup> This argument, outdated and undermined to a significant extent, forms the central basis for the Gaelic League's antipathy to (British) imported popular culture, as will be seen in Chapter Five

<sup>29</sup> 'Decoding within the negotiated version contains a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements, it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract) while at a more restricted, (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules. It accords the privileged position to the dominant definitions of events while reserving the right to make a more negotiated reading, 'local conditions,' to its own more corporate positions. This negotiated version of the dominant ideology is thus shot through with contradictions, though these are only on certain occasions brought to full visibility' (Hall, 1980: 137)

<sup>30</sup> Theorists such as Bordwell (1985), working within the cognitivist paradigm, also theorised spectator activity as fundamental to the interpretation of films. In an account reminiscent of the reader-response theorist, Wolfgang Iser (1978), Bordwell proposes a model in which the film text cues and constrains the (hypothetical and textually inscribed) spectator's activity by providing the spectator with a set of schematised and incomplete instructions. 'blanks' or 'gaps' are structured into the text that the spectator must attempt to complete. Emphasising the communicative dimension inherent in the texts themselves, cognitivism as an approach, however, relies on the assumption of human universals and limits the spectator's activity to the automatic activation of mental processes, thereby sidestepping the crucial issues of culture and cultural difference.

<sup>31</sup> As an alternative, Lembo & Tucker reinvigorate the Habermas (1984) conception of the 'lifeworld' as the cultural environment and circumstance in which communicative action takes place. Habermas defines the lifeworld as 'culturally transmitted, pre-reflexive, certain, intuitively available, background knowledge' (cited by Lembo & Tucker, 1990: 102) that provides taken-for-granted interpretative patterns.

<sup>32</sup> Michaels identifies Aboriginal modes of communication as extensions of the oral and face-to-face nature of that society which requires that information is owned, inherited and regulated in complex ways

Knowledge in the form of stories and songs is the prerogative of senior men and women (elders) and the rules governing its transmission are highly regulated. Violating speaking constraints and rights here is [sic] treated as theft and recognised to be highly subversive of the gerontocratic social structure. From these basic facts of information ownership flow the essential conditions governing Aboriginal expressive media. Modern mass media is based on a contrasting and subversive principle – that information is made to appear ostensibly free (1990: 22)

<sup>33</sup> 'When [Aboriginal] people retell to me the plots of a [Hollywood] movie, they may provide in astonishing, almost slow-motion detail, how someone was killed, or how a car turned over. [the plot] will only be explained on request. The responses tend to be offhanded and highly discrepant from what my reading, based on European conventions, reveals' (Michaels, 1987a: 275)

<sup>34</sup> Michaels politicises the introduction of Western media technologies into Aboriginal oral culture as the collision of two different information systems by emphasising the cultural right of the Warlpiri Aborigines to the maintenance and negotiated transformation of their highly regulated oral culture and its distinctive information order and systems, to organise the work of production around kinship rules, to maintain and reproduce indigenous, culturally appropriate ways of understanding media texts, both imported and indigenous. Michaels' arguments for 'a cultural future' depend fundamentally on revealing how social and cultural matters are implicated in text production and comprehension.

---

<sup>35</sup> Fiske also opens up discussion of the concept of pleasure as an appropriate consideration in the theorisation of response. As O'Connor & Klaus (2000) remark, the consideration of the pleasures that receivers take in media texts, *their* decision to respond, merits considerable attention. More productively theorised in the popular culture branch of cultural studies, initial consideration identified pleasure exclusively as a function of ideology in its implied acceptance of the ideological message of the text. Feminist scholars' focus on the pleasures of 'women's genres' such as soap opera and romance novels sought to broaden the scope of the concept (Brown, 1994, Radway, 1984, Modleski, 1982). Returning to Fiske's consideration of relevance, the meanings derived from mass media texts are considered pleasurable when they are pertinent to the viewer's social allegiance and when the viewer has been active in generating them. 'The pleasure is greatest when the viewer is actively engaged in the production of socially pertinent meanings' (1988: 247). Thus, in the context of my research, attending to those aspects of a visual media text that fit closest with cultural and discursive norms can be accounted for.

## **Chapter Three**

# **Methodology**

### **3.0 Introduction**

A decisive absence still structures the dominant approaches to the study of the history of visual media. As detailed in Chapter 2, analyses of visual media entertainments have frequently suffered by assembling an overly unified conception of the image and its impact, refusing alternatives and masking dissonance. Two dominant perspectives claiming to account for the relationship pertaining between viewer and viewed have been identified and critiqued. The first concerns a paucity of references to the social context of viewing/exhibition of images and a lack of consideration of the scope of its social effects which have been regularly consigned to the margins or footnotes of media history. A second strand of research in the cultural studies tradition proposes that responses to media conform to one of three possibilities: acceptance, negotiation or resistance. Further, this approach tends to uncritically equate acceptance with passivity and opposition with activity and progression. In seeking to formulate connections which offer an alternative to these models, the importance of cultural and historical context in the production of meaning must be acknowledged as central.<sup>1</sup> As the evidence presented in this project will demonstrate, the analysis of reception in a given historical and cultural context reveals different concerns, coherences and complexities.

It is the aim of this research to counter the large-scale generalisations and occlusions of 'universalist' media history and to dislodge the imposition of abstract and schematic teleological perspectives in favour of a more nuanced, culturally appropriate account of visual culture. To this end, a case study, detailing provincial Irish audiences' responses to cinematographic and magic lantern exhibitions during the years 1896 to 1906, will be offered. Specifically, the objectives of this case study are:

- 1 to identify the range of interpretations and responses to the magic lantern and cinematograph
- 2 to speculate about, and argue for, the possible conditions that determine or inform those interpretations
- 3 to situate those interpretations within an appropriate social, historical and cultural context

In this section, the hermeneutic turn in contemporary cultural theory will be examined and the impact and usefulness of the Reception Studies paradigm will be summarised. The methodological benefits of 'new' film history' (Allen & Gomery, 1985; Kuhn, 1998) will be evaluated in relation to the above objectives and the corresponding approaches to collecting relevant research data applied. The analysis of the data corpus will be situated within the framework of Reception Studies and an interpretative approach to Discourse Analysis. More specifically, the structure of the case study that follows is laid out in detail.

### 3.1 History and Hermeneutics

Significant changes in the analysis of culture and society over the last 20 years have resulted in a methodological intersection between the disciplines of ethnography, cultural studies and communications, representing a fundamental shift in the parameters we use to ground research as outlined in the previous chapter. As Gibbons remarks,

One of the tasks for which the interpretative strategies deployed in cultural studies are best disposed, opening up spaces for, and affording glimpses of, alternative ways of organising experience ... addressing marginalised or dissonant [voices] in Irish [cultural history is] a valuable way of ensuring that dialogue rather than monologue informs our understanding of cultural identity (1994: 14).

Contemporary research into visual culture has taken an explicitly historical and hermeneutic direction. Recent work from sociology and social theory has been at the forefront of this reorientation (Jenks, 1995; Lowe, 1982, Chaplin, 1994). The growing recognition that, although the biology of vision remains constant, different cultures and societies have accorded greatly different emphases to the resulting perception (Shohat & Stam, 1998: 46; de Bolla, 1995: 232).

The rejection of the assumption that to look means to see and to see means to understand, derived in large part from a *tabula rasa* conception of human consciousness (Burnett, 1995: 3), has provoked an interest in differentiating between different 'ways of seeing' (Jay, 1994; Levin, 1997, 1993; Lowe, 1982).



This hermeneutic turn concerns an analytic attitude to visual culture in which visual experience is approached as a socio-historical realm of interpretative practices, that is, visual experience is understood, fundamentally, as socially organised, historically shaped and politically informed. From this perspective, all signifying practices, including those of visual culture, display irreducibly hermeneutic characteristics (Heywood & Sandywell, 1999)

### **3.1.1 Reception Studies and Historical Research**

Much of critical practice today attempts to explore the interface between the text and its reception. In recent years there has been a concerted attempt to overcome the idea that spectators are locked into linear and mechanical notions of reception (Hansen, 1991: 5), a position which privileges fixed meaning beyond the exigencies of context.

At the same time, there has been increased attention to historical specificity across a broad range of disciplines (Kuhn, 1998: 8), as a response to the postmodern imperative to dissolve theoretical universalisms. Rejecting the concept of internal textual structure in the wake of the collapse of structuralism gave symbolic production more autonomy and cultural analysis was now seen as better approached as discourse analysis and the study of discursive practices. A corresponding development in literary theory and textual interpretation saw the emergence of reader-response theory. Rejecting the analytic assumptions of New Criticism and its exclusive focus on the text, reader-response theory argued instead that shifting attention to the practices of reading meant repositioning rather than abandoning the text. The return of the reader in literary theory found resonance beyond the range of its discipline, its interpretative analytics having considerable overlap with the developments that inform contemporary cultural studies.

Beginning with the work of such literary theorists as Jauss, Iser and Fish, the project of identifying the reader as an active agent in the production of meaning gained momentum. Meaning, from a reader-response perspective, emerges from the interaction between the text and actual rather than implied, ideal readers. This pioneering work in recognising that texts are not inherently meaningful, though groundbreaking, was of limited usefulness. Most literary reception theories hypothetically construct the viewer and his or her role in the construction of meaning as generalised and abstracted schematic operations conceived without reference to the actual activities of real readers. Preferring the elegant simplicity of the idealised reader and tidy communication process to field testing their theories, Jauss acknowledges the limitation 'Since I do not yet suffer from having to become an empiricist, I can calmly put up with the fact that my solution does not yet provide the model for the overdue empirical research into reception' (1982: 144).

More recently, the insights and assumptions of literary reception theory have been adopted by researchers investigating the purposive, interpretative work performed by audience members in the reception of media texts. Invigorated by the adoption of a more interdisciplinary set of assumptions and methodologies, new insights into cultural reception have resulted from qualitative, and more particularly, ethnographic approaches to audience research as cultural reception was acknowledged to be a situated, contextualised phenomenon (cf. Michaels' Aboriginal study detailed above). A receiver, marked by the cultural, social and historical experience considered instrumental in constructing a 'horizon of expectation' (Jauss, 1982) for the reception process, interacts with the text to produce a similarly situated, contextualised interpretation. Reception Studies denies the notion of a transparent or causal relationship existing between text and readers and has as its object researching the history of their interaction, assuming a complex, social and political context that informs and structures the viewing experience as an exchange. Cultural reception, thus conceived, is approached as a socio-historical realm of interpretative practices.

Reception Studies recognises that the question of the production of meaning imbricates not only the text, the reader and their interaction, but also and crucially, the context of their interaction. Reception Studies seeks to consider the range of interpretations, to argue for the possible conditions for the production of those interpretations and to place those interpretations within historical, cultural and political contexts, seeking empirical evidence through historical or ethnographic research that documents the production and circulation of meaning. Though Reception Studies' exclusive focus is, quite obviously, reception, the perspective in no way claims that the need to examine production is eliminated. Instead of simply inverting the binarism between the terms of the production-reception relation, Reception Studies proposes that knowledge of that relation is not a necessary condition for deriving valid conclusions with regard to meaning. Indeed, Reception Studies warns of the dangers of uncritically replacing one term with the other (Staiger, 1992).

In keeping with the requirement of reception studies to avoid the reduction of untidy yet richly nuanced complexity into a stable set of generalisable positions, this new research perspective offers quite specific insights with limited scope for essentialism and universalism of validity. Rejecting the idea that meaning is somehow fixed or immanent in the text, awaiting extraction by an ahistorical, ideal reader, Reception Studies avoids generalised, systematic explanations of how viewers may have responded to particular media texts in favour of examining how those texts were actually understood. In place of easily generalisable research findings, Reception Studies prefers to focus on quite particular insights pertinent only to specific reception circumstances and criteria. Reception Studies relies upon historical evidence to demonstrate that cultural membership exerts a determining influence in directing interpretation and thus seeks generalisations which, while applicable to individual situations, provide knowledge about larger scale practices determined by community and consensus, about the knowledge and discourses an audience brings to the text.

Our individual sensibilities and perceptions are never purely individual, but are the result of our upbringing, heritage and tradition. Though we might see things in ways different from the way others do in the community to which we belong, the community already participates in the formation of our identity and the parameters for our differences are themselves established by the language we speak and by the cultural context in which we mature (Warnke, 1993: 305)

Reception Studies' informing principle is that interpreting texts is a historical reality defined by context (Staiger, 1992: 18) 'if context is an important determinant, then what is salient in that context can't be understood from idealised speculation. History is necessary' (Staiger, 1992: 80). Thus historical rather than universal interpretation becomes the objective of Reception Studies. Willeman concurs, arguing that the assumed universality of film language ignores specific knowledges that may be at work in the reading of a text such as particular, historically accrued modes of making sense, i.e. 'cultural traditions' (1995: 27). Allen advocates 'taking a stab at the cultural repertoires audiences might have brought with them' (1998: 19). For Barker & Brooks, audiences are social, producing meanings as part of living their lives in and through social conditions and possibilities (1998: 9). It is with this aspect of Reception Studies that this research is concerned to develop

Staiger favours a materialist approach as the model best suited to historical Reception Studies (1992: 79). Her privileging of this epistemology derives from her aim to broaden and historicise the description of interpretative activities by looking at the actual responses of viewers rather than relying upon the media text for hypothetical evidence concerning those responses (1992: 91). It is only by understanding the meanings constructed by audiences that we can understand how that (cultural) form functions within the larger culture

## 3.2 The 'New'<sup>2</sup> Media History

### 3.2.1 Background

Kuhn recognises in the current interest in screen histories evidence of a move within the broader context of cultural theory and analysis towards increased historical specificity and a general concern with 'locatedness' and 'situatedness' in which 'history' itself has assumed the status of a privileged 'signifier' (1998: 8). Kuhn proposes two influential factors, both of which she identifies with the 'postmodernisation' of culture and knowledge, as central to this agenda. Firstly, the widening of interdisciplinary activity in many academic institutions has facilitated a 'borrowing' of theories and methodologies across intellectual traditions, 'historical' approaches have consequently had considerable impact on research in a variety of disciplines. Secondly, the breakdown of theoretical universalisms, associated with the postmodern project, has led to a deeper focus on historicity. While uneven and contested, this historical turn is nevertheless seen as part of a broader impetus to locate some of the grand narratives of structuralism, semiotics and psychoanalysis within specific historical conjectures (Ibid). The burgeoning and disruptive interest in early cinema and, in this context, the new film history framework has expanded the traditional modes of film history, obliging it to accommodate not only the requirements of film theory and criticism, but also those of sociology, cultural studies and ethnography.

Robert Allen notes his surprise at how little the audience features in received film history. Except for 'the legendary viewers who dived under their seats' at *Arrivé d'un Train*, or the immigrants who allegedly learned American values in the Nickelodeons, 'film history is written as though films had no audiences or that they were seen by everyone in the same way, as though the history of the films themselves was privileged over the history of their reception by the billions of people who have watched them' (1998: 14). In recent years, media historians have become increasingly critical of the accounts predicated on the master/masterpiece model, the cataloguing of a series of 'firsts' in the necessary evolution of screen practice, the biography of pioneers and unsupported anecdotes whose versions of events has lingered.

Aiming to offer a theoretical perspective unclouded by narrow assumptions of organic evolution and benefiting from the insights of interdisciplinary dissatisfaction with a conception of history as a smooth, inevitable, linear progression from one point in the development of a device or idea to the next, theorists such as Allen & Gomery, Gunning, Musser, and others have argued forcefully against the possibility that media history cannot reveal anything other than a foregone conclusion <sup>3</sup>

Allen (1998 14) rejects the uncritical application of the now canonical account of the hypothesised film-going experience of working class New Yorkers, based on flimsy evidence, as the standard model for reception, subsuming all diversity into an accepted orthodoxy This tendency has a long history, originating in the discourses surrounding the emergence of cinema as a form of 'universal language' capable of transcending divisions of culture, class, gender and ethnicity Miriam Hansen cites the following passage as an example of 'taking class out of the working class and ethnic difference out of the immigrant' (Hansen, 1991 80)

This is the marvel of the motion pictures it is art democratic, art for the race It is in a way a new universal language even more elemental than music, for it is the telling of a story in the simple way that children are taught – through pictures There is no bar of language for the alien or the ignorant, but here the masses of mankind enter through the rhythm of vivid motion the light that flies before and the beauty that calls the spirit of the race For a mere nickel, the wasted man, whose life has hitherto been toil and sleep, is kindled with wonder he sees alien people and begins to understand how like they are to him, he sees courage and aspiration and agony, and begins to understand himself He begins to feel himself a brother of a race that is led by manly dreams (Occasional Contributor) (Ibid 78)

A second problem for 'new' media historians has been to repopulate their work with actual subjects. Building upon the valuable perspectives of Reception Studies, the concept of the viewer has shifted from a disembodied, 'spectator-in-the-text' to a search for actual, flesh and blood audience members. If the spectator position of film theory aligns viewing with transcendental forms of identification and visual mastery, the spectator of early cinema, by contrast, is an embodied, socially configured and heterogenous construction. From this perspective, the examination of early cinema now demands a broader context that includes consideration of historical, social and cultural determinants (cf. Elsaesser, 1990: 1-10).

A further objective of the 'new' media history project has been to examine the degree to which cinema and other forms of entertainment traded in established cultural values or created new ones. Miriam Hansen proposes that for early cinema audiences, 'The meanings transacted were contingent upon *local* conditions and constellations, leaving reception at the mercy of relatively *unpredictable*, aleatory processes' (1991: 94, emphasis in original). In view of this concern, 'new' film history becomes a cultural ethnography, asking what mode of perception and cognition cinema first relied on or stimulated in their audiences.

Gunning identifies this key move with a fundamental change in research practices. In the quest to rediscover embodied and historical viewers, the textual analysis of film has been discredited in favour of a quest for traces of the film experiences which constitute the ground of a history of reception (1994: xx1). Allen and Gomery put it more bluntly: 'For certain investigations, film viewing is really an inappropriate research method' (1985: 38). Loiperdinger offers a comprehensive list of research possibilities which include production, distribution, performance, exhibition context, nature of the film programme, economic interests, government controls, public opinion and, in particular, the public themselves (1996: 41). The result has been a revision of what counts as evidence in film history and where to find it: planning records, business files, patent registrations, court reports, studio publicity and, most importantly for this project, newspapers.

The impact of the 'new' film history has been widely felt. It is encouraging to see the principles so forcefully advocated by its proponents yielding results. While local film and media histories are far from plentiful, the publication of several in recent years bodes well of this type of historical endeavour. Noteworthy among these are Gregory Waller's study of the introduction of cinema in Lexington, Kentucky (1995), Lagos' work on Film Exhibition in Seattle in the same period (2003) and MacKenzie's account of early cinema Québec (2000).

A cautionary note seems appropriate here. In 'new' media history's enthusiasm to jettison the inscribed, theoretical spectator-in-the-text, in favour of rediscovering the actual, empirical viewers of the past, it must be recognised that an absolute distinction between history and theory is more likely to be announced than fully realised. Hansen reminds us that while certainly theoretical concepts of spectatorship must be historicised, reception-oriented film history must correspondingly require a theoretical framework that enables the conceptualisation of the possible relations between visual media and their audiences (1991: 5).



### 3.2.2 Objectives of this research

Understanding a community or culture does not consist solely in establishing 'neutral facts' or 'objective' details it means taking seriously *their* ways of structuring experience, their popular narratives, the distinctive manner in which they frame the social and political realities which affect their lives (Gibbons, 1996 17)

It is the objective of this research to offer a counter perspective to universalising media history discourse and to address some of the conspicuous absences and omissions in Irish media history In the global context, as noted in my introduction to the project and in Chapter 2, 19<sup>th</sup> century provincial Ireland's visual culture provokes key questions about, and forces a confrontation with, the dominant accounts of visuality in the modern period Cartesian Perspectivalism, Panopticism and *Flâneurie* Largely cut off from the experience of industrialisation, urbanisation and acceleration, with their associated perceptual and cognitive implications, the experience of those excluded from such narratives should provide an interesting counterpoint More generally, the subject of provincial experience and attitudes in media histories has been left virtually untouched in the both the national and international contexts

Further, it is my intention to forward an alternative view of Irish media history to the dominant accounts whose concern it has been to offer biographies of key personalities such as Dan Lowry (Watters & Murtagh, 1975), Joyce (Ellmann, 1959), Olcott and the Kalem Company (Rockett et al, 1987, 1996), or to trace the development of salient themes such as nationalism (Rockett & Finn, 1995, McLoone, 2000) or representation (McLoone, 2000, Pettitt, 2000) Rather, I attempt an inclusive historical project which situates media texts within the cultural practices which inform their significance With the exception of some valuable recent work on the class-inflected experience of cinema and music hall reception in Dublin (McGuinness, 2000) and of female audiences and the pleasures of cinema-going (Byrne, 1997), the overwhelming trend in Irish audience research, particularly in the historical context, has been to refuse the possibility of cultural specificity

In the first two decades of the century of cinema, the nature of film-going and viewing conditions in Ireland were broadly comparable to those in Britain and other European countries (Pettitt, 2000 31)

Building upon my critique of universalising discourses of visibility in Chapter 2, and a concern with 'locatedness' and 'situatedness' (Kuhn, 1998 8), my approach considers the image within a context historically and culturally bound to the activities of viewing in which it is not the image in isolation that defines the interaction. For my case study, I argue that what is defined as meaning and meaningful is structured and circumscribed by the performative exigencies of exhibition and with the intertextual context of cultural forms and texts.

For the decade of 1896-1906 in provincial Ireland, I want to map out what Yuri Tsivian calls the 'cultural reception' of visual media entertainments, the set of 'active, creative, interventionist or even aggressive' responses (1994 1) which, recalling Hansen's warning above, offers the capacity to bridge the gap between inscribed, theoretical spectator as textual point of address and the actual viewer as empirical entity, between the realms of ethnographic/historical 'facts' and theoretical speculation. The elaboration of the visual culture of Ireland thus requires both historicising theoretical arguments about visual media and delineating a discursive field within which the media forms and texts themselves would have made sense.

### **3.3 Research Objectives**

The aims of this research project are

- 1 to identify the range of interpretations and responses to the cinematograph and the magic lantern
- 2 to speculate about, and argue for the possible conditions that determine or inform those interpretations
- 3 to situate those interpretations within an appropriate historical, social, cultural and political context

To this end, a historical assessment is required to understand the emergence of interpretative sensibilities. It is argued that to accomplish these objectives, the study must focus on how a cultural group mobilises an interpretative map in ways that enable distinct perceptions of visual media to come into being, thereby shifting concern with the practices of reception to the level of the sociohistoric. An examination of provincial Ireland's interest in and interpretations of cinematograph and magic lantern exhibitions allows us to tap into a highly selective process of cultural reception.

It is simple enough to agree that reception is important, documenting historical instances of reception is quite another matter. The accomplishment of these goals, by necessity, requires a constant dialogue between theory and evidence. Lack of archival holdings of films and records (many were lost in the Customs House Fire) contributes to the practical difficulty of studying 19<sup>th</sup> century visual culture in Ireland. In this case, the burden of proof relies, by necessity, upon the analysis of published newspaper advertisements, notices and, most importantly, reviews of exhibitions, on the grounds that alternative evidence has not survived. Proceeding by means of Discourse Analysis, an analysis of these reviews will be conducted. As a method applied to research such as this, Discourse Analysis has proved useful in the past: for example, fan magazines and newspaper reviews have been excavated to a variety of ends, such as Hansen's (1991) and de Cordova's (1990) research into the formation of the star system and the way in which particular stars were conceptualised.

### **3.4 Discourse Analysis**

In order to most fruitfully utilise the information contained in the advertisements, reviews and feature articles collected, an appropriate form of analysis must be selected. Fairclough (1995a) recommends analysing media language as discourse, proposing that discourse analysis is concerned with practices as well as texts, both discourse practices and socio-cultural practices (1995a: 16).

Through studying the manner in which people speak and write, Discourse Analysis proposes to elucidate the social assumptions, shared cultural values and communities of response in which spectators are involved. While Discourse Analysis is widely recognised as one of the most vast, it is also known as one of the most diversely adopted and defined approaches to the study of communication (Stubbs 1983: 12, Tannen, 1989: 6-8, Schrifin, 1994: 1). Among the reasons cited for the lack of synthesis in characterisations of Discourse analysis' ontology and epistemology are the isolation of language studies from other social sciences, the domination of language study by cognitive and formalistic paradigms and, most importantly, a tendency to view language as transparent (Fairclough, 1992: 1). Schrifin blames the necessary interdisciplinarity of the field (1994: 1), in which the application of the models and methods to the particular concerns of varied research domains has resulted in an overwhelming range of definitions, practices and results. Indeed, the concept 'discourse' itself has many competing, complementary and overlapping definitions and meanings, each formulated according to the concerns of the various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. For the purposes of this research, Rose's definition of discourse as 'groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking' (discourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it' (2001: 136) is useful.

My framework shares with Fairclough a conception of language as constituting and constituted by the social, in particular, historical, cultural and material contexts (Fairclough, 1992). However, for the purposes of this historical study, an interpretative approach to Discourse Analysis, concerned to disclose how texts are conditioned to inscribe, either directly or indirectly, assumptions, beliefs and expectations regarding the social or cultural environment, is preferred as more pertinent to a historical study such as this, rather than the more common Critical Discourse Analysis approach (Fairclough, 1995b). Foregrounding the social, consensual nature of meaning-making, my aim is not to examine the ideological or hegemonic potential of discourse but to examine its reflective capacity.

Recognising that a mere descriptive account of discourse is inadequate, my concern is to link analytic insights into the cultural and social world with which the discourse dialogues, for illustrative rather than political purpose. An interpretative approach to Discourse Analysis emphasises the unique features of specific contexts and meanings as central to understanding social meaning. As Gibbons notes:

[O]ne of the tasks for which the interpretative strategies deployed in cultural studies are best disposed, opening up spaces for, and affording glimpses of, alternative ways of organising experience – addressing marginalised or dissonant voices in Irish [cultural history] – [and] ensuring that dialogue rather than monologue informs our understanding of cultural identity’ (Gibbons, 1994: 14)

Thus, evidence cannot be isolated from the context in which it occurs or the meanings assigned to it by the social actors involved. My analysis is interested in the interpretative repertoires that were mobilised in order to reflect and construct popular opinion regarding visual media entertainments in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century provincial Ireland.

### **3.5 Newspapers**

In concerning itself primarily with the reception of magic lantern and cinematograph exhibitions, this research looks to other kinds of evidence than a simple re-viewing of the surviving, partial collection films and slides that were shown. In *Film History: Theory and Practice* (1985) Allen and Gomery called for a new generation of film scholars to investigate the history of moviegoing in their local communities, using the selected community’s newspapers as a principal resource, a recommendation supported by Elsaesser (1996: 10). Waller (1995) notes the influential role of the press in promoting, reporting on and editorialising about the movies.

As a body of material, the local newspaper provides not just the greatest repository of daily and weekly happenings in provincial Ireland but a key resource in determining the availability of projected screen entertainments and their place in the general popular culture of the epoch, of accounts of what happened when imported amusement hit the provinces, and the ways in which the cinematograph and magic lantern were marketed and consumed in towns large and small across Ireland

### **3.5.1 The Local Press in Ireland**

The press has traditionally occupied an extraordinarily powerful position in Irish society. Many scholars have commented on the fact that even while the population of Ireland declined, particularly in rural areas, the acquisition of literacy increased (Bourke, 2003, Legg, 1999, Ó Gráda, 1994), a fact confirmed by a contemporary commentator. John Pope-Hennessey, writing in 1884, noted that the 'reading public in Ireland is comparatively large and larger than the reading public in any country in the world' (1884: 92). The 1880s saw a substantial increase in the number of newspapers in print and a quadrupling of the numbers of newspaper editors and journalists employed between 1861 and 1911 (Ó Gráda, 1994). More specifically, the substantial increase in the numbers of provincial newspapers published (Legg, 1999: 120) is of particular interest for this study. According to Legg, the rural readership of local papers was comprised of, in the main, 'the farmers and farmworkers and the shopkeepers and the clerks of the town' (Ibid: 130).

The newspapers chosen (at random) for this study quite comprehensively cover local, national and international politics, court reports, Boards of Guardians reports, agricultural news, sport and entertainment news. While I do not assume that these newspapers fully and accurately spoke for, to and about all people in the community, between the editorials, advertisements and regular columns, I found a great deal of information, read through an interpretative content analysis framework, about how entertainment figured in the social history of provincial Ireland during the period in question and about the prevailing social, cultural and political influences that may have informed its reception.

### 3.5.2 Reviews

The explanatory force of reviews as indices of popular response and opinion has been discussed by a number of critics including Klinger who argues that reviews and feature articles offer evidence of the cultural hierarchies and 'taste formations' of particular social groups

[Reviews] signify cultural hierarchies of aesthetic value reigning at particular times. As a primary public tastemaker, the critic operates to make, in Pierre Bourdieu's parlance, 'distinctions'. Among other things, the critic distinguishes legitimate from illegitimate and proper from improper modes of aesthetic appropriation (1994: 70)

Jancovich identifies reviews and reviewers as gatekeepers or guardians of those specific taste formations, 'mediating between texts and audiences and specifying particular ways of appropriating or consuming texts' (2001: 38). Allen and Gomery highlight the 'agenda-setting' function of reviews that may not tell 'audiences what to think so much as what to think about' (1985: 90). Poe considers the role of 'professional spectators' in a similar light (2001: 93).

For the purposes of this research, Staiger's claim that reviews constitute 'traces' of events, and thus a legitimate way of reconstructing reception practices (1993) is of particular interest. Reviews are a particular kind of public discourse which, although mediated, provide insights into the textual, extratextual and cultural determinants of readings. Gunning notes that the first published reactions to motion pictures in the US came primarily from journalists who saw the films in specially arranged press screenings or theatrical premieres, who, 'in simple but effective prose they registered their approval of the latest technological invention and generally praised it for its lifelike realism' (1994: xvi). Staiger's analysis relies on accounts produced by professional reviewers with considerable expertise in the medium of film. By contrast, the reviews that comprise the data corpus for my research are taken from local newspapers in the period 1986-1996, written by locals who attended the entertainments under review in the company of the public for whom they were commenting.

Matthew Smith insists that such reviews 'must be seen not only as journalism, but also as genuine audience reactions. Reviewer's perceptions, like those of their readers, were fresh and untainted by prior experience. Reviewer and audience alike began at page one and had similar experiences' (2000: 1). Thus, I propose that it is likely that their authors could not be considered experts or critics in the contemporary sense.

Their accounts of cinematograph and magic lantern exhibitions read not as those of the trained critic or taste police but as those of the everyman, of ordinary newcomers to a novel form of entertainment, presenting their views and opinions, evaluating the content and aesthetic value of cinematograph and magic lantern presentations from a socially, culturally, historically and locally determined perspective. In fact, it becomes clear from the content of such reviews that their authors, rather than availing of private press screenings, took their place in the stalls among the ranks of the general public. The reviewer of the *Tuam Herald* campaigns vigorously during the period in question for the Town Commissioners to provide a Press Box in the Town Hall, 'in order that the often difficult and thankless task of criticising local vocal or dramatic efforts might be carried out unhampered' (TH 16 05 96: 2). The *Sligo Champion* of the following week commends the reviewer's suggestion but warns of some potential drawbacks to the proposed segregation of the press: 'Pressmen might want to go out 'to see a man' and if they were boxed up they could not do so. It is better under present circumstances to give certain critics the run of the front seats to go in and out as their inclination or thirstiness dictates' (SC 23 05 96: 5).

Allen confirms the usefulness of analysis of reviews in the 'new' media historiography and his perspective raises another important consideration. Given that the objectives of this research are to uncover cultural responses to visual media entertainments which are elaborated by collective rather than individual entities, Allen reminds us that individual 'activations' of film texts have little relevance except where they represent a more generalisable appropriation of that text (1998: 19).



Tsivian concurs

The writer on films filters his or her perceptions through more than a subjective grid. As they participate in the passions and tacit assumptions of their age and nation (not to mention class and gender) they stain the image they present of the film with them. In addition, the immediate context of their viewing experience – the theatre, the musical accompaniment and the environment in which a film is projected – all may leave an imprint on viewer's impressions of the films they watch (1994 xvii)

For the purposes of my project, I attempt to describe and analyse the dominant, unifying cultural assumptions and protocols that operate unpredictably and with uneven influence, yet whose efficiency is felt in the most general attitudes of a viewer towards a text. Reconstructing the critical discourse surrounding a given film text has relevance for the history of screen reception not in itself but only in relation to what these data might suggest about the underlying structures of reception, their interaction, variability, modification over time or resistance to change.

While Staiger acknowledges the difficulty in absolutely determining the cultural meaning of a text and the circularity of interpreting interpretations, she is nonetheless convinced that the examination of reviews is a useful discursive resource in an attempt to illuminate the cultural meanings of texts in specific times and social circumstances. Nonetheless, Staiger cautions that such souvenirs of interpretations and viewer experience are 'tainted with power struggles, contradictions and overdeterminations in the superstructure. Evidence exists or does not exist partially by the whims of chance and also because of the strategies of dominant ideologies' (1992: 79). This becomes evident throughout the case study as strategies of selective reporting and criticism reveal the ideological orientation of the publications surveyed.

### 3.6 Structure of the Case Study

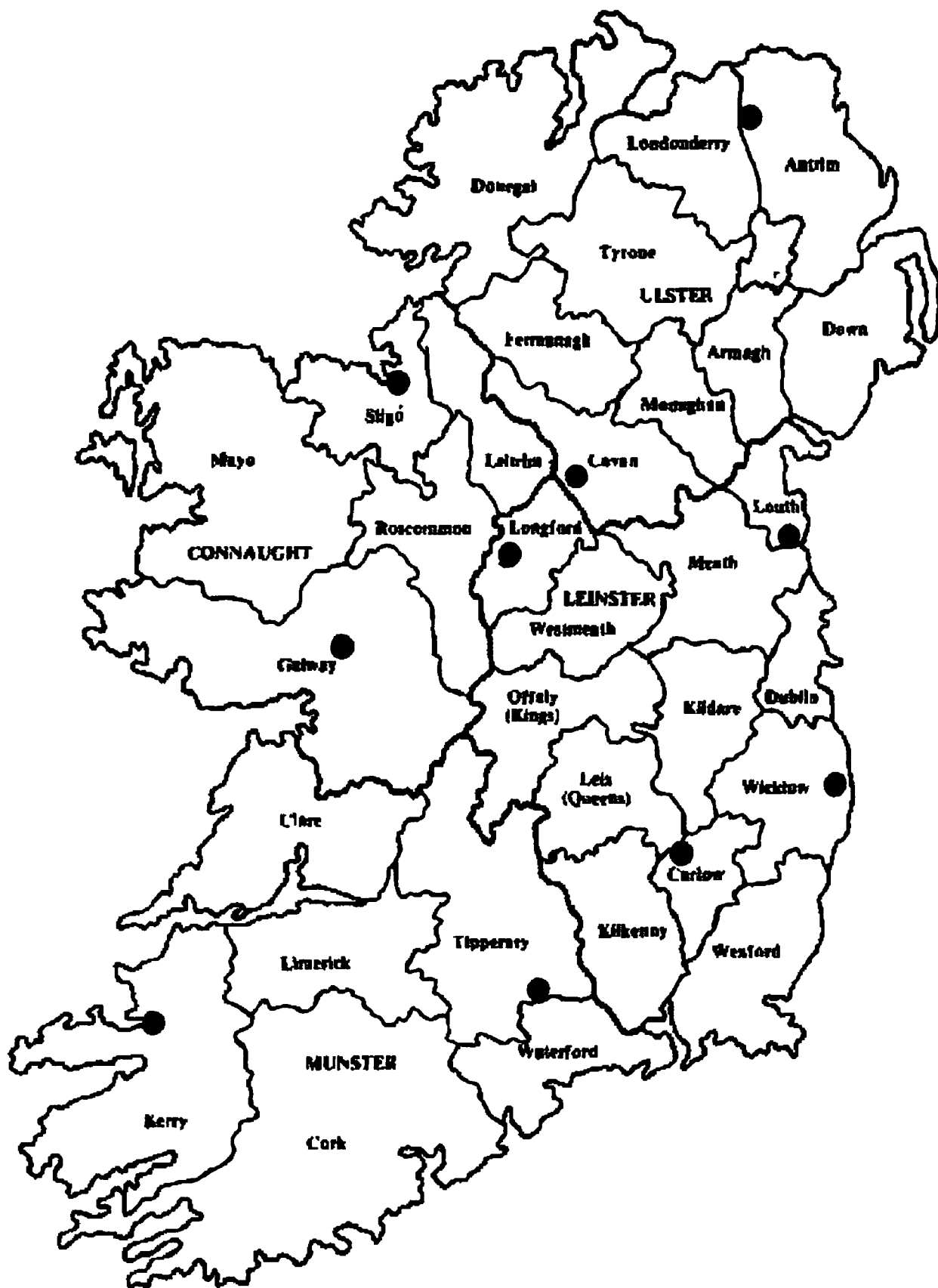
Selection of material was determined primarily by availability. From the newspaper collection of the National Library of Ireland, a list was compiled of all newspapers of which a complete run existed for the period in question. From this preliminary list, ten publications were chosen at random.

<b>Newspaper Title</b>	<b>County</b>	<b>Code</b>
Anglo-Celt	Cavan	AC
Ballymoney Free Press	Antrim	BFP
Carlow Sentinel	Carlow	CS
Clonmel Chronicle	Tipperary	CC
Drogheda Argus	Louth	DA
Kerry Sentinel	Kerry	KS
Longford Independent	Longford	LI
Shgo Champion	Sligo	SC
Tuam Herald	Galway	TH
Wicklow Newsletter	Wicklow	WN

Table 1 Newspapers Surveyed

The locations of their publication and geographic spread are mapped overleaf.

Fig 1 Newspaper Publication Locations



Beginning on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1896, the year in which the cinematograph was first exhibited in Ireland, and continuing uninterrupted for a period of ten years, each edition of each newspaper was examined carefully and details of any mention of visual media entertainments recorded. As the aims of this project principally concern the reception of such entertainments, content analysis of the newspaper texts was confined primarily to published reviews. Advertisements and ancillary articles are included only where relevant as supporting evidence and are clearly signalled as such.

Of the visual media entertainments described and reviewed, two technologies which share a number of parallels in terms of form and practice have been selected for detailed analysis: the magic lantern and the cinematograph. By surveying the exhibition and reception of these two technologies in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906, my findings suggest that, in addition to the intertextual context of cultural forms, texts and politics, what is defined as meaning and meaningful is structured and circumscribed by the performative exigencies of exhibition and by the exercise of cultural preference, prevailing political sympathy, and direct intervention by the cultural revival project.

Analysis was further limited to public entertainments, events where attendance was restricted by membership, private invitation or other factor have been omitted for the reason that my concern is to demonstrate public reaction to visual media entertainments. My findings are detailed and discussed in the next two chapters under the headings of Exhibition and Reception.

### **3.6.1 Exhibition**

In arguing that the seeing of any audience must be returned to, and examined within, its social and performative context, this chapter proposes that where and how the cinematograph and the magic lantern were exhibited can be used as an interpretative key to our understanding of their reception in provincial Ireland during the period under review. It is argued that the study of exhibition, comprising the venue in which the entertainment took place, the structure of the entertainment programmes in which such entertainments were inserted, the accompaniments with which they appeared and the individuals and groups who promoted and exhibited magic lantern and cinematograph shows, collectively impacted upon the relationship of projected screen entertainments to produce a context for reception which reflected and responded to larger cultural and historical settings.

### **3.6.2 Reception**

This chapter describes and analyses the responses of actual audiences and their receptive and interpretative practices. It will be argued that the reception of cinematograph and magic lantern shows involved an explicit recognition of, and recourse to, established cultural values and the mobilisation of an already existing and familiar cultural template into which such entertainments were inserted and according to which they made sense. What emerges is a distinctive and active appropriation of the cinematograph and magic lantern in which the composite form of the entertainments was effectively disassembled and creatively remade according to familiar perceptual schema. Ideological and political conviction have been considered as providing an additional, and fundamental lens through which the content of films and slides were read and evaluated and the source of an attendant consciousness which determined in large part audiences' 'resistance' to, or 'acceptance' of, the exhibited pictures. Further, the influence of such organisations as the Gaelic League and the clergy on prevailing attitudes towards leisure and the attendant arbitration of entertainment according to the cultural nationalist sensibility is shown to have crucially shaped the dominant series of attitudes and expectations which audiences brought to bear on their evaluations of the visual media exhibited.

### **3.6.3 Supplementary Research and Analysis**

As qualitative research has come to be favoured in the social sciences, the words 'quantitative' and 'empirical' are likely to be received with disapproval in the sense that they connote work that is largely uninformed by theory or which is uninterested in connecting itself to wider social or cultural contexts. Nonetheless, sometimes, getting to the heart of what counts involves counting. In this case, by empirical tests of the frequency of different kinds of visual entertainments, I mean to indicate the examination of large, systematic and comprehensive bodies of data that permit the formation of hypotheses and the grounding of assertions. In order to provide this necessary foundation, the number of visual media entertainments was recorded and contrasted with the frequency of alternative public entertainments available at the time, viz, Dramatic entertainments, Concerts and Variety entertainments, Lectures, Circuses and Sgorudheachta/Aeridheachta. This information will be found in the Appendices.

### **3.7 Conclusions**

A central principle of this project contends that viewers exhibit agency. Challenging the contention of such accounts detailed in the previous chapter which equate acceptance with passivity and opposition with action and progression, Reception Studies assumes that meanings vary widely and that these variations are 'determined by the audience's own social discourses' (Ahmad, 2000: 2).

This chapter has advocated the implementation of a Reception Studies perspective as an appropriate methodological framework to the requirements of this research. The major strength and responsibility of Reception Studies has been identified as its concern to account for variety of interpretation and response, particularly when variation is consistent within a culturally, historically and socially bound group of individuals. It is argued that such variation, or conversely, conformity, must have been achieved through social or cultural practice (Staiger, 1992: 154). My case study, as elaborated in Chapters 4 and 5, seeks to describe the strategies of interpretation and responses and to argue for their cultural, political and historical foundations.

In adopting the methodological recommendations of 'New' Film History, I hope to have demonstrated the usefulness of expanding the objects of study beyond the confines of the texts themselves and the benefits of close examination of the material documents of local journalism in accomplishing the objectives of this research project. It is hoped that this material documentation offers both balance and tangible support to theoretical speculation and interpretation identified by Hansen as necessary to enable the conceptualisation of the possible relations between visual media and their audiences (1991: 5). The combination of Reception Studies' epistemology and New Film History's methodological materialism, it is hoped, will permit the analysis of provincial Ireland's interest in, and interpretations of, visual media forms and texts as a highly selective process of cultural reception.

---

<sup>1</sup> It must, however, be acknowledged that context is not a finite quality which can either be wholly preserved or completely restored.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'new' film history appears to have been coined by Thomas Elsaesser in his 1986 article, 'The New Film History' but has since gained widespread currency (cf Kuhn 1998 1-10). The approach is distinguished by its attention to the collection and analysis of documentary materials in attempting to account for a material, empirical history of film. In extrapolating the usefulness of the paradigm to inform a research agenda that includes other visual media forms, I continue to refer to the model as 'new'. I also retain the use of single quotes to distinguish the meaning from the more general and contemporary usage, which refers to digital media technologies.

<sup>3</sup> The rejection of the idealistic vision which assures us that the next technologies are immeasurably superior to previous ones, embodying the modern teleological narrative of progress and development towards a technological perfection to come has become a salient theme in disciplines other than media studies. The recognition that new technologies neither arrive in a vacuum, nor bring with them an ineluctable set of meanings, has featured in the work of, among others, historians of technology (Bijker, 1995, Winston, 1996). For some years historians of technology, such as Rossel, have striven to study the 'roads not taken' as well as the roads which were – inventions which failed as well as succeeded (1998).



## **Chapter Four**

# **Exhibition**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The context of visual media exhibition constitutes a necessary and rich terrain for the consideration of the conditions of reception in Provincial Ireland. As detailed in Chapter 3, a problem with traditional histories of visual media is that they have tended to focus on the medium as static object rather than as practice, evaluating the cultural significance of early visual media from a very partial database of surviving isolated images.

This research supports Hansen's argument that 'it is a mark of early cinema's specificity that its effects on the viewer were determined less by the film itself than by the particular act of exhibition, the situation of reception' (Hansen, 1991: 93). Arnold considers exhibition as a 'necessary starting point for a theory of film reception' (cited by Hark, 2002: 3). Thus, before making any claims about the capacity of Irish Provincial audiences to accept, resist or customise visual media entertainments, it is necessary to discuss the exhibition contexts in which visual media were received, the programming strategies employed and the influential individuals and groups who brought such entertainments to the provinces.

In this chapter, I examine the extent to which where and how visual media entertainments were shown can be used as an interpretative key to our understanding of their reception in Provincial Ireland in the decade 1896-1906. Seconding Gunning's assertion that 'the immediate context of their viewing experience – the theatre, the musical accompaniment and the environment in which a film is projected – all may leave an imprint on viewer's impressions of the film they watch' (1994: xvii), it will be argued that meaning is in large part defined, or at the very least, influenced, by the context in which the image is viewed. For the purposes of this research, exhibition concerns locally specific, socially and culturally differentiated audiences, the 'show' - the entertainment package and the singular and to some extent unpredictable performance - and the individuals who brought visual media entertainments before the public.

#### 4.1 Background

While little scholarly attention has been paid to the exhibition context, I believe that the history of how Irish spectators have received and responded to media cannot be written without a well-grounded understanding of exhibition patterns and practices. Exhibition is without doubt one of the most unacknowledged and undertheorised areas in media studies, yet we must recognise that there is a history, or indeed histories, of exhibition that merits our attention.

We lack a historical overview of the changing face of screen exhibition in Ireland. We have no survey of the venues in which audiences engaged with screen entertainments, or the activities of those who provided them. We lack systemic historical analysis of the technological transformation of screen presentations, from the coming of sound, to colour and wide-screen images. Exhibition is not simply a missing piece of Irish media history that can be appended to conventional accounts. Rather, once exhibition is taken as a necessary part of this history, we must rethink how we conceive of the media as an object of study.

Sklar identifies a tendency in film studies literature to emphasise institutions and processes over the lived experience of people (1990: 28). Here, recognising that the discursive functioning of visual media cannot be deduced from the images alone, I argue that the exhibition context is a crucial element of analysis. Rather than continuing to conceive of media studies as primarily the study of media texts, this research attempts to question their social existence and import. The study of exhibition offers a partial solution to the problem of getting beyond the texts themselves, of considering the relationship of media to larger social and historical settings (Klinger, 1997). As Waller reminds us, 'there is no "film" apart from exhibition, we seek out, take pleasure or displeasure in the *experience* of a film' (2001: 3).

With exhibition in mind we must ask a different set of questions about how films are screened at different times and places, for different audiences and in different social settings. In the past, as now, films are likely to have a wide range of meanings, depending on 'the neighbourhood and status of the theatre, on the ethnic and racial background of the habitual audience, on the mixture of gender and generation, on ambition and skills of the exhibitor and the performing personnel' (Hansen, 1993: 208-9)

The study of exhibition continues the recent trend in scholarship on cinema in pursuing the wider range of archival, oral and ethnographic research called for by the new film historians. Waller emphasises the benefits of such an approach to film history: 'From different perspectives these documents speak of what film exhibition was. In so doing, they open up, enliven and complicate the cultural history of the movies' (2001: 6). Allen critiques the tendency among screen historians to uncritically apply the hypothesised experience of industrial New York exhibition as an unquestioned universalism (1998: 15). Accounts which present a view of early cinema exhibition as unfolding identically, necessarily and simultaneously, neglects the fact that modes of production, distribution and exhibition developed unevenly, both temporally and geographically. Not only does the issue of a 'time lag' raise challenges to untheorised universalism, the range of social and cultural requirements which cinema exhibition answered or negotiated remains beyond the scope of such limited conceptualisation.

Where exhibition has been foregrounded in media studies, the dominant accounts remain unsatisfactory, at least for the concerns of my research. Kochberg defines exhibition as 'the division of the film industry concentrating on the public screening of the film' (2000: 14). Allen offers a similar definition: 'the institutional and economic dimensions of reception – that is, the nature of the institutional apparatus under whose auspices and for whose benefit films were shown, the relationship between that term as has been used within the industry and other segments of the film business, the location and physical nature of the sites of exhibition' (1998: 15). The failure to theorise beyond an industrial economic paradigm underlines the serious deficiency in accounting for the social dimension of exhibition.

Alternative definitions encounter alternative limitations. Gomery defines exhibition as the place and/or format in which movies are seen '[from] the simple nickelodeon to the ornate movie palace, from the unpretentious neighbourhood theatre to the orchestrated marketing of the multiplex in the shopping mall, from television's repetitive "Late Show" to vast selections available in the world of home video' (1992 xviii). In spite of his acknowledgement that 'the film industry begins with the *production* of artefacts, followed by their *distribution*, followed by their *exhibition*. It is on this third level that the public takes on motion pictures' (Ibid xviii), which succeeds in broadening the scope somewhat, Gomery concentrates on an 'internal' history of these institutions and produces a business history of exhibition. The meaning of cinema-going as an activity is almost entirely absent from his account.

It is important to acknowledge the diversity underneath the seeming homogeneity of early visual media exhibitions. The cultural arena in which our media circulate can be seen to have national, regional and even local variations. In this light, I prefer Hark's definition 'exhibition [is] all the practices that come together at a given time and place to enable viewers to watch a film' (2002: 1). From this broad designation, it becomes reasonable to suggest that from different contexts different exhibition pictures emerge, nonetheless, to apply such a broad interpretation would be beyond both the range and goals of this research. Waller, in aiming to examine the early exhibition and reception circumstances of Lexington, Kentucky offers a more practical alternative:

[M]y ambition has been to remain attentive to both the specifics of theatre design, programming policy, and marketing schemes, and also to more general questions about the fear of amusement, the filling of leisure time, the uses of high and low culture, and the public articulation of values and goals as Lexington moved into the twentieth century. This aspiration towards social history requires that the movies be seen in the context of other cheap amusements, special events, and public recreational occasions (1995: xiv-xvi).

## 4.2 Implications for this Study

The recognition that different exhibition formats necessarily influence or even determine the way films can be and are read allows for the consideration of two key distinct, yet overlapping sets of relationships between texts and their performance and between exhibition and spectatorship. Clearly, the relation between texts and their performance was both structured and constrained by the venues in which they were exhibited, the company they kept on stage and the prevailing technological capabilities. The relation between exhibition and spectatorship links social and cultural experience with connotations generated by the conditions of exhibition. Conditions of exhibition cannot fail to have significant impact on the audience as Hark remarks, 'many aspects of exhibition work subtly to construct the viewing experience' (2002: 2). The complexities of the relationship between attending screen entertainments and other social pleasures must be detailed and discussed.

To consider exhibition in the context of the history of the meanings and activities of media consumption offers an additional fillip for the concerns of this research. In tackling the issues raised above, it becomes methodologically useful to situate the 'screen' histories as part of local histories. As detailed in Chapter 3, scholarship on early Irish media history has focused on pioneers and the elaboration of such themes as representation and nationalism, an approach which tends to collapse cinema history into larger narratives and totalities, marginalising alternative perspectives. In this context, the importance of exhibition has been neglected. There have as yet been no sustained attempts to study exhibition as a crucial facet of how and where Ireland's indigenous and imported media products have been made available to the public. The study of exhibition foregrounds the local settings, structures and conditions in which audiences engage with the cinema.

It must be recognised that the consideration of exhibition within this context also presents certain methodological difficulties. The collection and analysis of relevant material involves research that depends upon a wide array of historically particular yet diverse, dispersed and transient material which defies the kind of abstract generalisations common to approaches based upon conventional film theory. Instead, exhibition histories tell specific stories about local individuals, communities and events that cannot be determined in advance of research.

I do not attempt to offer an encyclopaedic history. To write about all phases of visual media exhibition is far beyond the scope of this thesis. Thus, I limit my scope in three ways. I only examine visual media exhibition in provincial Ireland. The urban experience of the introduction of cinema and visual culture has been written elsewhere (cf. Charney & Schwartz, 1995 *passim*, Rockett, 1987, McGuinness, 2000). Secondly, I limit consideration of available technologies to two apparatuses, the magic lantern and the cinematograph, as a lens through which to examine prevailing exhibition contexts in early provincial Irish visual culture for the reason that they were the most popular visual media entertainments during the period in question. Their shared status as projected screen entertainments (rather than, for example, Panoramas or staged Tableaux Vivants and Waxworks) also facilitates consideration of their co-existence as well as competition. Thirdly, I am concerned with the exhibition context only insofar as it impacts upon the primary concern of this thesis, the reception of visual media. The economic and technological facets are only considered insofar as they impact upon the questions listed above.

### 4.3 What was Exhibited?

For the purposes of this study, I have focused on the exhibition of two projected screen technologies which shared a number of parallels in terms of form and practice: the magic lantern and the cinematograph.<sup>1</sup> My intention is not to offer a comprehensive history of the genesis and development of both technologies, but rather to examine how and where they were exhibited and, in the following chapter, how they were received and from such examination, to argue for a conception of visual culture as, necessarily, a transaction between viewer and viewed. Thus, their descriptions and histories are sketched below only in as much detail as necessary to the larger questions. The remainder of this chapter will explore the circumstances of their exhibition and the implications for their reception.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.3.1 The Magic Lantern



Fig. 2 Magic Lantern c. 1900

The Magic Lantern has received comparatively little attention from historians of the projected picture or any other branch of popular culture. Beginning with Christian Huygens 1659 invention of a *lanterne magique*, over a period of more than 200 years the Magic Lantern developed from basic projectors such as the Sturm Lantern, capable of producing small, dimly lit images to elaborate trinunial lanterns, capable or simulating changes in time, climate and mood.



With increasing technological sophistication, mechanically moveable hand painted and later photographic glass slides were placed in front of a lens and light source, usually an oxy-acetylene or oxy-hydrogen lamp fuelled by incandescent calcium oxide (limelight) gas, and their images projected on screen. The advantage of converting to these gases, according to Fell, was not only that they gave a brighter light but, more importantly, that they could be controlled on cue from a single source (1986 29) Musser argues that such refinements made possible the 'new era of travelling exhibition these exhibitors were soon touring Europe, presenting their entertainments at fairs – a pattern of exhibition that continued into the twentieth century'(1994 22) Robinson deduces from his study of 18<sup>th</sup> century iconography that itinerant showmen travelled Europe with their magic lanterns, giving shows in taverns, barns and in the halls of grand houses and that their repertoire already exploited the attractions of popular show business – laughter, fright and the mystical (1996 34)

As magic lanterns became more readily available and less expensive, people could create Lantern shows for themselves at home or in the community<sup>3</sup> Later, lanterns were developed with moving parts, and screenings began to feature multiple lanterns to give impression of depth and sequence and colour and dissolve wheels to indicate scene transitions By the 1890s, Bottomore argues, the Magic Lantern had become an important medium of entertainment and instruction with 'an entire industry of firms producing slide sets, projectors and associated paraphernalia' (1996 136) With the availability of increasingly elaborate equipment, a new style of exhibition emerged, as 'Professors' repackaged the image of the lantern show, adopting the device for providing pictorial amusement, education and illusion in public halls and theatres and in upper and middle class homes

#### 4.3.1.1 The Magic Lantern in Ireland.

Though it is unclear when the Magic Lantern was introduced in Ireland, it was both a well established and regular feature of provincial entertainment programmes by 1896. Its primary use was to provide illustrations for lectures, but there is evidence that scenic views, illustrated songs, comic and trick slides also enjoyed a measure of popularity. In spite of the technological complexity achieved by many lantern manufacturers and practitioners, the standard of equipment and performance in provincial Ireland rarely attained the level of sophistication of European and American counterparts. While multiple lantern exhibitions capable of simulating temporal, climactic and mood changes became standard in London's Polytechnic (Heard, 1996: 25), the vast majority of Irish lantern entertainments featured a single apparatus and special effects such as colour and dissolves are rarely noted (though there is mention of 'coloured and mechanical effect slides' at a screening in Longford in 1902 (LI 23 08 02 3)). One of the most successful European applications of the device was the *Fantasmagoria* - an elaborate entertainment that invoked the supernatural by projecting images of spectres and the dead. In spite of the great familiarity that followed commercial expansion and success, Gunning remarks that the lantern 'did not entirely overcome its uncanny associations,' noting that, in some circles, it retained the name, '*lanterne du peur*' (2000: 320). There are no records of the appearance of the *fantasmagoria* in Ireland between 1896 and 1906 in my case study, and for the most part, the device was deployed for illustrative rather than illusory purposes. The lantern in Britain and the U.S. was also used for theatrical special effects, dream sequences, apparitions, and 'transformation scenes' (Fell, 1986: 31, Friedberg, 1998: 258), though it must be noted that such uses were rare in provincial Irish theatrical productions. Several production and distribution firms, for the most part located in Dublin, are mentioned but it seems unlikely that they produced such ambitious slides as the following example noted by Fell: 'The production of a series of slides often entailed considerable dramatic staging, travel for backgrounds and casting and costumes. When Charles K. Harris made his slide scenes for *Ivona, Can't You Love Your Joe?* He sent a photographer into Alabama and Tennessee for settings and "real Southern Darkies" - As many as sixty persons appeared in the ensemble scenes' (1986: 143).

### 4.3.2 The Cinematograph

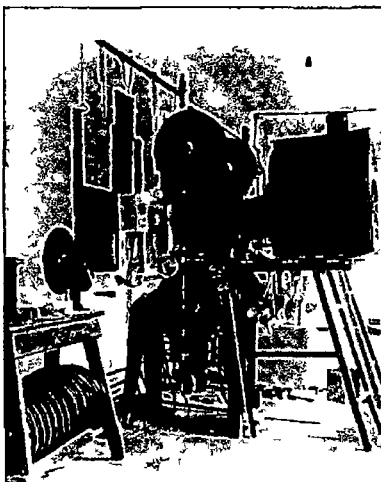


Fig 3 Horgan Cinematograph

There are many alternate and competing accounts of the genesis of motion pictures. For the purposes of this study, an exhaustive survey of those accounts is not required, having been written elsewhere (Coe, 1983, Winston, 1996, Musser, 1994, Fell, 1986, 1979). To summarise, the development of motion picture technology emerged from the realisation of a conception that had been envisioned centuries beforehand.

The contributions of several centuries brought to fruition the apparatus which first brought motion pictures to the public, from the Renaissance camera obscura and magic lanterns, the variety of nineteenth century optical toys, the development of photography and investigations into the physiology of perception and the persistence of vision. Seemingly unrelated devices which contributed to the invention derived from a variety of contexts, including, for example, the incorporation of technologies such as the bicycle and the sewing machine (Hansen, 1991: 29). The emergence of the cinematic apparatus thus displays a fundamental character of bricolage (Williams, 1992).

The names of the legendary inventors associated with the apparatus are both abundant and internationally diverse. Muybridge and Marey, the Skladanowskys, Paul, Edison and Dickson. Generally, the Lumière brothers, who developed a viable system for projecting photographic film onto a screen, and are credited with the first commercial cinema screening, take credit as founding fathers of the modern motion picture.

Describing their invention as a Cinematograph, deriving from the Greek meaning, 'the writing of movement,' the Lumières' camera comprised a neat apparatus serving as printer as well as camera and projector. Film placed inside the camera was passed in front of a lens and light source by means of a hand crank. An improvement on Edison's 'peephole' kinoscope, the Cinematograph permitted the viewing of the images on a screen external to the apparatus and provided for consumption of the images by more than one individual. Coupled with their industrial acumen, the Lumières quickly embarked on a strategy of widespread commercial exploitation of their invention, dispatching agents across the world to accomplish the double function of promoting the Lumière cinematographe and photographing international locations to enrich the burgeoning catalogue of Lumière films.

#### **4.3.2.1 The Cinematograph in Ireland**

In February of 1896, the *Freeman's Journal* reported on the screening of the Cinematograph in Britain. Two months later, on April 21<sup>st</sup>, the first Irish screening of the cinematograph took place at Dan Lowry's 'Star of Erin' Theatre in Dublin, which had been temporarily converted into a cinema for the purpose (Flynn, 1996: 16, McIlroy, 1988: 1). Surviving accounts report that the first screening was a failure, the 'pictures of prize-fighter and acrobats' being 'barely visible' (McIlroy, 1988: 1). Lowry acquired better equipment and included the Cinematograph as part of the Star of Erin's variety programme the following November where it 'eclipsed' the accompanying acts and crowded the house to 'suffocation' (Rockett, 1987: 4). The programme included films of People Walking in Sackville Street, Traffic on Carlisle Bridge and The 13<sup>th</sup> Hussars Marching through the City (Ibid: 4-5). In the same year, Georges Promio, a Lumière cameraman, arrived in Ireland to record scenes in Belfast, Lisburn, Kingstown and Dublin.

Gradually, screenings began to occur throughout the country Lowry opened a premises in Cork, the Palace Variety Theatre, in 1897 with the appearance of Professor Jolley's Cinematograph on Easter Monday (O'Leary, 1984 14, Rockett, 1987 5) O'Leary records an appearance of Robert Paul's Animatographe in the Cork Opera House early in 1897, confirmed by McIlroy, who also notes its appearance at Belfast's Grand Opera House the same year By 1901 the Irish Animated Picture Company had been established to exhibit and distribute films (McIlroy, 1988 2) Edison's Pictures appeared in the Rotunda, Dublin in 1901 (O'Leary, 1984) and, satisfied with the success of the entertainment, the manager, James T Jameson, began to send out travelling shows to Irish towns (Ibid) According to O'Leary, troupes and families such as the Elliman's, Coons and Sylvester's became full time travelling exhibitors (though none of their names appear in my data corpus)

Jameson founded The Irish Animated Photo Company in 1904, preferring Edison's Biograph to Lumière's Cinematograph. He acquired an extensive library of films which he rented out to provincial exhibitors and sent his operators and equipment to existing theatres, town halls and other suitable venues According to Hanlon, their catalogue included A Trip to the Moon, The Hen that Laid the Golden Eggs (colour), Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Alibaba and the Forty Thieves, Pearl Fisher's Magical Pictures 'of the conjurer and illusionist type,' popular race meetings, valuable educational subjects and historical events' (1948 97)

In the first decade of cinema's appearance in Ireland, a number of projected motion picture devices were showcased My survey of visual media entertainments in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906 includes the following the Biograph (WN) and Biographe (DA, 08 12 00 4), Paul's Theatrograph (SC, 08 05 97 5), Vivo-Tableaux (TH, 04 10 02 2), Centematograph (KS, 04 04 00 3), Edison's Pictures (SC, 22 02 02 8), Jubileograph (DA, 21 05 98 4), Professor Kinetos's Cinematograph (WN 18 12 97 4), Davies' Cinematograph (SC, 20 12 02 4), Poole's Myriorama (DA 03 08 01 4) and the Animatograph (DA, 18 11 05 4)

The profusion of functionally similar instruments underlines and testifies to the range and pervasiveness of entrepreneurs who worked, in temporal tandem with the Lumières, towards the same technological end and in search of the same commercial success

Both the Magic Lantern and the Cinematograph fulfilled, for the most part, comparable functions in Irish provincial entertainment programmes. Gaudreault notes that, in part because, the cinema was regarded as a technical improvement of the magic lantern, many of the first exhibitors of the cinematograph seem to have begun their careers as magic lantern operators. He also reminds us that the apparatuses first used for projecting films employed a magic lantern to provide a light source (1990: 281 n. 6). Sharing similar content, both apparatuses were regularly deployed to provide illustrations for lectures, travelogues and religious allegories, often as part of the same 'multimedia' entertainment (Ibid). Both, though less commonly, provided entertainments that were specific to their capacity to visually deceive: trick slides and films are periodically mentioned.

For the purposes of this research, however, I consider the cinematograph and the magic lantern to be a much wider phenomenon than a catalogue of technical refinement. Thus, consideration must be extended not just to inventors, but also to national entrepreneurs and local enthusiasts who purchased the equipment and brought it to the provinces, the exhibitors who fashioned programmes, the projectionists who operated the devices and the audiences who attended the screenings.

More importantly for the purposes of this chapter, the very nature of the Magic Lantern and the Cinematograph apparatuses as projected screen entertainments demanded strict regulation of the exhibition context. The placing of rows of seats facing forwards directs spectator attention. The dimming of lights in the projection space further intensifies the regulation of vision: the controlling principle of projected light in a darkened space means that the screened image demands attention<sup>4</sup>. Both devices, therefore, shared the formal elements of a structured experience in which reception is to a significant degree determined by the appropriate exhibition of the apparatus.

#### 4.4 Venue

An architectural space, the film theatre embodies a variety of experiences  
The reception is changed by the space of the cinema and the type of physical  
inhabitation that the site desires, projects and actually creates Different models  
of spectatorship are prefigured in the architecture of the theatre and in its location  
The spectatorial voyage is architecturally constructed and diversified' (Bruno, 1997 13)

Television studies' insistence that the home setting differs radically from the theatre setting and that this difference affects not only the programmes produced but also how they are chosen and received by the spectator indicates the centrality of the issue of venue As Morley insists, issues of spectatorship can be reoriented around film exhibition such that 'the *object* of viewing can be understood in relation to the *context* of viewing' (1992 157-8, emphasis in original) Thus, not only the institutions and practices of exhibition but its spaces help shape audience experience of media. Among the central influences in the regulation of the exhibition circumstance was the selection of an appropriate venue

As noted earlier, research into screen exhibition has concentrated primarily on production and, where it has addressed exhibition, the emphasis has been almost exclusively economic There have been few studies of the venues in which screen entertainments were presented in terms of their semiotic impact and social function, as the place 'where the process begun by production is completed by consumption' (Herzog, 2002 51) As Klinger remarks, the design, location and other features of the venue itself constitute significant determinants of the filmgoing experience 'Trends affecting the exhibition site, such as the development of the picture palace with its grand architecture, the introduction of air conditioning, concession stands, double features and many other theatrical innovations create "framing" devices that strongly interact with the phenomenon of viewing, affecting the historical apprehension of films' (Klinger, 1997 116)

Where exhibition venues have been the subject of scholarly investigation, there has been a tendency to restrict analysis to documenting the material history, design and locations of the buildings in which films were shown, specifically nickelodeons (Merritt, 2002, Musser, 1994, 1991, Singer, 1995b), movie palaces (Herzog, 2002, 1984, 1981), drive-ins (Cohen, 1994) and in recent years, multiplexes (Edgerton, 2002, Paul, 2002, Friedberg, 1994) Hark notes a dominant tendency in earlier studies to concentrate on the material history of film exhibition in the larger urban centres of northeast and midwest America as the places where ‘the studio-owned theatres were most likely to be situated, where the largest and most elaborate movie palaces were built and where the evolution of the movie audience involved the change from one comprised mostly of poorer immigrants to one that included significant numbers of native, middle-class families’ (2002: 17) Such a paradigm neglects alternative exhibition practices found outside the metropolis, where, as Andrew notes ‘[e]very country developed ad hoc exhibition strategies, particularly for rural areas’ (2002: 163) Studies such as that of Carbine and Waller are useful in broadening the scope to include the experiences of marginalised groups, notably Black communities in the silent period (Carbine, 1996, Waller, 2002)<sup>5</sup>

Further, research into the history of film exhibition that pays attention to where cinema theatres were sited and of whom their local constituencies consisted will also offer important clues as to the growth and composition of cinema audiences beyond vague generalisations. An analysis of where they were exhibited offers an opportunity to infer, at least indirectly, the composition of the audience.

A number of recent studies have begun to acknowledge and identify the variety of exhibition venues, particularly in the first two decades of cinema’s emergence, and to speculate about the implications of ‘place’ and ‘location’ for cinema’s reception (Lagos, 2003, MacKenzie, 2002, Waller, 1995, Hendrykowska, 1992, Allen, 1985, Herzog, 1984) As early cinema was intimately bound to the practice of exhibition, studies in early audience formation and viewing relations have relocated the experience of early cinema in a wide range of cultural practices such as vaudeville theatre, amusement parks, shopping arcades etc.



Hansen proposes that early audiences were as varied as the contexts in which they viewed screen entertainments (1991 60) Moreover, studies such as that of Musser catalogue a range of different exhibition practices, commensurate with such locales, which further impact upon the attitudes of audiences to their presentation (1994 9) In identifying considerable regional variation in exhibition, Musser's concerns echo those of this research. Hansen reminds us that exhibitions varying from time to time and place to place allowed for locally and culturally specific acts of reception, opening up a margin of participation and unpredictability (1991 43)

Different meanings attach to different sites of film exhibition and distribution

Correspondingly, a variety of meanings attends the activities of film consumption within these sites Hu remarks that in China the teahouse, as the most common venue for 'play,' was considered the most appropriate venue for the first exhibitions of the cinematograph (2001) Sorlin reports that the Italian preference for early film screenings was the photostudio, an appropriate choice in a culture where the cinema was considered to be merely an extension of photography (1996 16) Thus, it appears that different sites of exhibition offered their own version of 'entertainment' packaged with the social and cultural needs of its audience in mind

Insofar as the 'where' of exhibition automatically brings with it an array of aesthetic value judgements pertaining to the prestige and acceptability of the entertainments, the selection of a particular locale of exhibition thus carries important weight Herzog suggests that the choice of venue leaves a lingering 'trace' 'Even when cinema moved on from [carnivals and amusement parks], it retained many parallels with them Especially because of film's false start in being exhibited as curiosities a trace of the voyeuristic freakishness the penny arcade shares with the circus sideshow attached itself to moviegoing' (Herzog 1981 25-6) Hark also notes the relative durability of exhibition 'tropes' appropriate to given venues 'It should also be noted that tropes which arise from one set of exhibition practices tend to linger even when those practices are replaced by others' (2002 8)

#### 4.4.1 Exhibition Venues in Provincial Ireland 1896-1906

This research supports the foregoing arguments that the selection of venue has important consequences for exhibition and reception of projected screen entertainments. As noted above, different meanings attach to different site of exhibition and consumption and features of the venue itself have resonance beyond the bricks and mortar of the building.

Provincial Ireland of 1896-1906 lacked any dedicated theatres for the exhibition of visual media entertainments. The most common venues for visual media presentations in provincial areas during the period were Theatres, Town Halls, Assembly Halls, Reading Rooms & Lecture Halls of Religious and Philanthropic organisations, Schoolrooms, Churches, Courthouses, Creameries, Factory Dining Halls, Barns and Military Barracks, of which the most common are discussed below. Details regarding their frequency and year of use can be found in Appendix C.

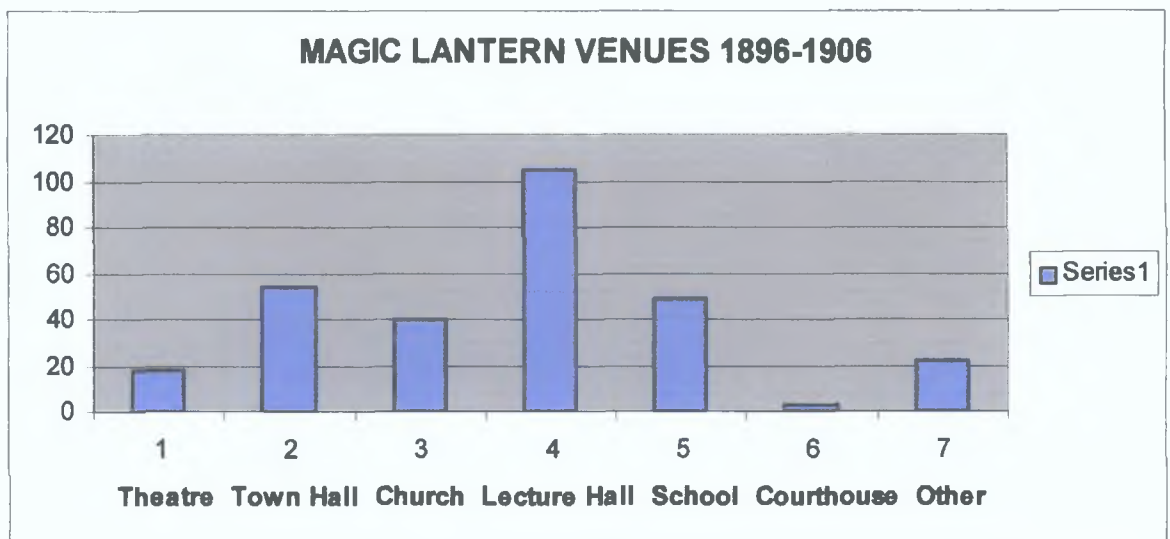


Table 2. Magic Lantern Venues

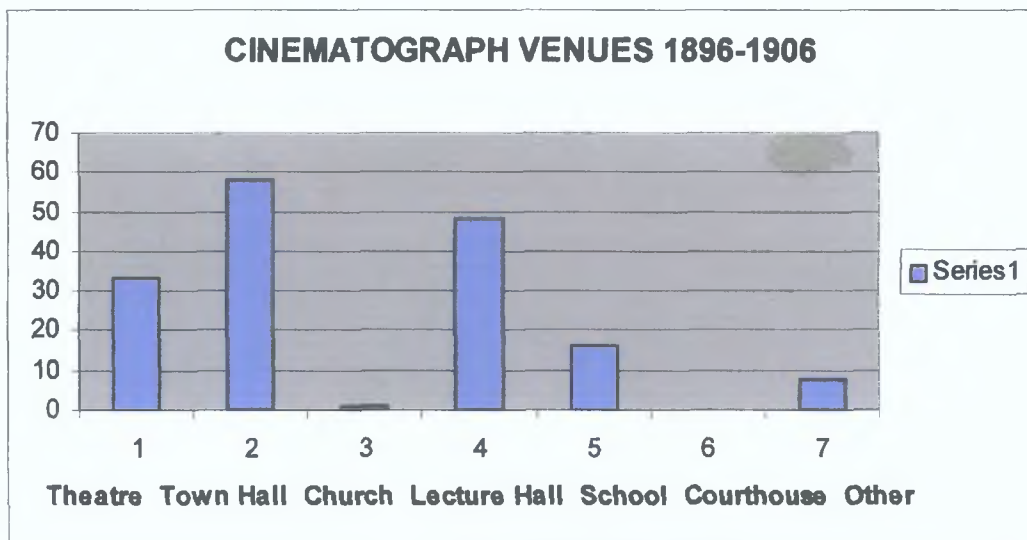


Table 3. Cinematograph Venues

#### 4.4.2 Theatres

The research of Musser, along with that of Allen and others, has shown that in the U.S. between 1895 and at least 1903, although travelling exhibitions were common, the major sites of film exhibition were vaudeville or theatre houses that catered to urban and primarily middle class audiences (Allen, 1980; Musser, 1990; Fell, 1983). Allen's work on the history of American cinema identifies a crucial and mutually reciprocal relationship between cinema and vaudeville in terms of sharing venues, programme format and content, though Allen and Herzog (2002: 53) suspect that this circumstance may have been entirely a matter of good timing: '[1895] was perhaps the most auspicious moment in the history of vaudeville for the introduction of something new' (1980: 146). Winston views the relationship differently, as one of dependence: 'The emergence of this theatrical industry operates as a supervening social necessity to transform the prototype technology and produce the "invention" of the cinema' (1996: 35). Up to 1906, Allen claims, not only did cinema depend almost exclusively on vaudeville theatres for its exhibition but movies shared a 'media intertext' with vaudeville's formal features and subject matter (Allen, 1980). Vaudeville was 'the heart of mainstream mass entertainment ... a complex matrix of commercialised popular entertainment' (Gomery, 1992: 13).

#### **4.4.2.1 Independent, Commercial Theatres in Ireland**

Projected screen entertainments in provincial Ireland, in contrast to the accounts forwarded by analyses limited to urban metropolises, did not take place in dedicated variety and vaudeville theatres. As independently owned, commercial venues, theatrical exhibitions, where they did occur, featured cinematograph pictures presented by large travelling companies such as the Original Irish Animated Photo Company, The Ormonde Family and La Belle Sunflower Coterie, or Bostock's Grand Vaudeville Theatre Company. Provincial theatres advertised the arrival of travelling exhibitions among an entertainment programme that aspired to attracting the elite of the area, relying most heavily on dramatic performances, opera and classical/orchestral music of large touring companies to draw their patrons. Variety shows of a 'high class' nature were also common, featuring visiting 'artistes' of national or international reputation, including Percy French and John McCormack.

Exhibitors in theatres offered visual novelties such as 'Vivo-Tableaux,' 'Living Photography,' 'Living Pictures' etc. for consumption by audiences in a variety format which stressed the cosmopolitan and 'high class' nature of the programmes on offer.<sup>6</sup> Diverse programmes featuring the 'extraordinary successes' of 'living pictures' along with artistes of renown offer, as their cardinal objective, the 'very latest of everything worthy of notice' in amusement and entertainment. As an enterprise, theatrical presentations of 'high and refined' (DA 10 09 04 4) visual media most closely approximate the requirements of vaudeville presentation, promotion and appreciation.

#### **4.4.3 Civic Owned Venues: The Town Hall**

The erection and maintenance of the civic owned Town Hall in many cases was financed, at least in part, by funds obtained by subscription from the public. As such, the building, in effect, was the property of the community and thus was required to provide a locus for the community to gather, 'where all can meet on even terms and enjoy the particular forms of entertainment then being provided' (AC 22 08 01 1)

Entertainments were staged for a variety of community and civic purposes and to answer the perceived needs of that community, supplying entertainment which 'opens the minds of the growing-up population [and] helps to keep them out of harm's way and ill' (Ibid)

Kingscourt can boast of a Town Hall, a fine building with plenty of rooms admirably adapted to the wants of a [Young Mens' Society or] Club When the parishioners [of Cavan] were asked to subscribe to the building of this hall they were told that reading rooms, libraries and what not would be carried on within its walls In 1897 a Cycling and Athletic Club was established here and they got permission to hold their meetings in the hall By establishing a Society or reading rooms in this town a good number of young men would be saved from the public house (AC 26 01 01 9)

During the period in question, several localities were without adequate community gathering places and efforts were marshalled to establish new structures or to improve existing ones

The Loughrea Town Hall has been a grim, gaunt and neglected building for some years past which was not perhaps to be wondered at But for the past few weeks it has been wonderfully improved The hall is also to be generally renovated and made comfortable for plays and dances and balls, and non-political, semi-Christian gatherings (TH 29 07 99 4)

An alternative means of generating funds for the erection or improvement of public buildings was to organise benefit concerts

If [a concert] can be organised to repair the National Hall, many friends from Castleblaney and Carrickmacross have promised to extend their support Many districts round here use the Hall, yet it is permitted to fall into decay (AC 17 10 03 7)

Managed by a committee appointed by the Town Commissioners, maintenance of the building and its facilities was the responsibility of the Committee *The Wicklow Newsletter*, in advertising the upcoming visit of the Ormonde family to the Town Hall, recommends that 'the Committee of that building should [see that a] little attention [is] paid to the window blinds and ventilation'(WN 22 11 02 7) Town Hall entertainments often advertise that bicycle parking facilities will be made available

A review of a limelight exhibition of the Passion Play in Longford, notes as the chief concern of the report that 'the building was comfortably heated' (LI 06 01 00 3)

Though frequently Town Hall exhibitions solicited a similar 'high class' audience to vaudeville and variety theatres, they usually advertised less cosmopolitan programmes, emphasising the 'instructive' or 'educational' value of the show. Sharing with lecture halls, assembly halls, association halls and reading rooms the market for entertainments of this nature, such venues tended to offer both magic lantern and cinematograph entertainments as attractions for 'instructive' or 'improving' purposes and for raising funds for charitable causes rather than commercial gain.

In contrast to the booking and exhibition of projected screen entertainments in autonomous, commercially run variety and vaudeville theatres, the staging of entertainments in Ireland's Town Halls, magic lantern, cinematograph or otherwise, was subject to a process of vetting in advance of exhibition. Applications for use of the premises were addressed to the Board appointed by the Town Commissioners. The decision to approve applications fell to the Board who, consequently, exercised a measure of control over the type of entertainments permitted to be staged. The Chairman of the Board of Wicklow Town Commissioners in 1903 boasted that 'The power [to grant permission for use of the Town Hall] was delegated to me by the Board. When Barney McHugh [manager] gets an application he invariably communicates with me and I do not think during the time I have been in charge anything objectionable has taken place.' The Parish Priest, at the same meeting praises the Chairman's exercise of 'admirable discretion' it would always be well if the programme was submitted to the Board beforehand' (WN 07 02 03 2). Exhibitors had to gauge their potential audience, making their program as enticing as possible without alienating their constituency. It seems reasonable to suggest that in the years before official censorship legislation was applied, this form of self-censorship was common.

The use of the Courthouse was less common, perhaps because its facilities for staging entertainments were inadequate

After a considerable lapse of time the people of Tralee were treated to a concert in the Courthouse on Wednesday night. Since the Concert Hall has been purchased for private purposes, entertainments have been few and far between. Of course, for the staging of anything in the shape of dramatic or operatic entertainments there is no place available (KS 04 03 05 2)

Many religious and civic groups – YMCAs, Church Literary Societies, Temperance Unions etc – owned and operated lecture halls, which they used for their own entertainments. Their premises were, on occasion, rented out for public entertainments but their privileged position as custodians allowed them exercise complete control over their use. Without exception, church and religiously-affiliated organisations elected a clergyman as President or Chairman, reinforcing the Church's control over access to such venues. The *Longford Independent* of 1898 reports a dispute regarding the belief of the Protestant Hall Committee that 'they have the power to refuse the Hall whenever they like

The Hall by this same committee was refused to Canon O'Connor, an Irish Church Clergyman of the highest rank' (LI 23 07 98 3). The *Tuam Herald* of 1898 published two separate appeals to the Tuam Catholic Temperance Society to allow access to their rooms 'for public lectures on Sunday evenings' (TH 15 02 98 3), urging that Tuam, 'with the opportunity which its beautiful [Catholic Temperance] Hall affords, has not the excuse of being the Cinderella of the Western Provinces' (TH 08 02 96 2)

Patrons of Town and Association Hall entertainments, secure in the knowledge that righteous individuals had approved, in advance, any proposed exhibition, could be sure of the rectitude of the entertainment and could therefore attend with impunity. By contrast, autonomous, commercially run theatres used the rhetoric of advertising to convince cinematograph patrons of the integrity of their programmes, invoking the approval of, the 'clergy of all denominations, the elite of society and an enormous concourse of people' as reassurance (DA 10 09 04 4)

#### 4.4.4 Church Controlled Venues



Fig 4 Classroom c 1902

The popularity of the schoolroom as a venue for provincial entertainments was widespread. Indeed, such was the frequency of its use as an exhibition venue that the requirements of accommodating an audience were incorporated into building and furnishing decisions.

##### CAHIR NEW CHURCH SCHOOL

The school furniture is constructed on a new principle. The desks are made singly and attached to the seats in such a way that during school hours they are raised above the latter and then they can be used by the pupils. Whenever a meeting or soiree is being held, the desks can be lowered on a level with the seats, so as to have a continuous row of seats for those attending such occasions. The advantage of such a plan is obvious, because it will do away with the necessity of removing desks outside the building (CC 02 06 00 3)

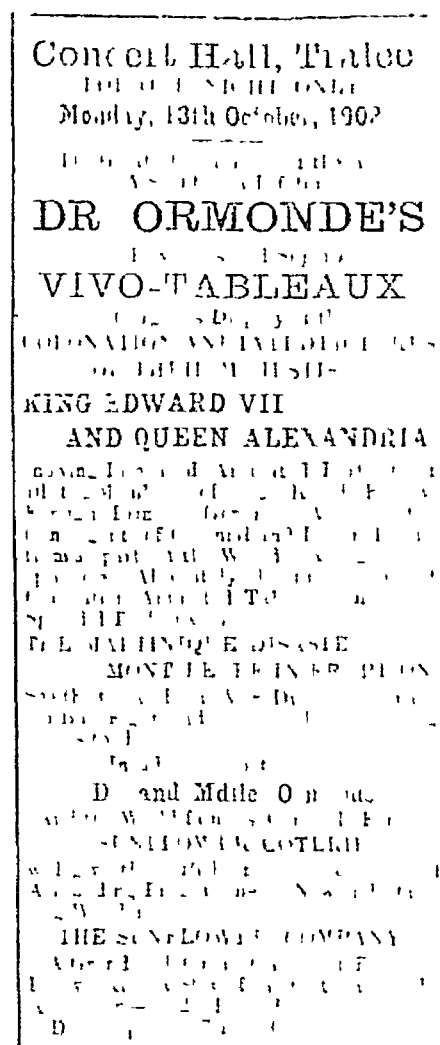
Entertainments in schoolhouses and churches almost exclusively feature local talent and the majority were conducted under the auspices of local charities, religious organisations or community groups (cf Waller, 1995: 8). Church screenings, naturally, required the approval of the senior cleric and Committee (LI 28 03 96 2). In the case of school screenings, the entertainment appears to have required the approval of the school's chaplain who regularly participated in the organisation of the event, or, at the very least, was present. As such, an implicit guarantee was supplied to ensure that the entertainment would be of acceptable character.



As noted earlier, the Church's right to grant or refuse access to venues under their control, it seems reasonable to suggest, may have functioned as a form of censorship of exhibitions and their content in the years before official censorship legislation was passed

Additional determining features of the exhibition context are the range of activities alternating with the projection and those occurring simultaneously, that is, in the case of the former, the entertainment package, comprising the variety of acts with which the projection shared a bill, and in the case of the latter, the accompaniment to the images

#### 4.5 The Entertainment Package



An important question posed with regard to screen exhibition is whether audiences go to *the* movies or *a* movie (Hark, 2002: 3, emphasis in original). Gomery argues that '[I]t is very difficult to learn the precise nature of filmgoing because there have been few instances when films stood alone as the economic draw' (1986: 78). Hark concurs, noting that '[f]acilitating the consumer's access to a specific film does not figure very strongly in these exhibition strategies' (2002: 3). Thus, we must include in investigations into the exhibition context the programmes in which the Magic Lantern and the Cinematograph took their place alongside and against other contemporary forms of entertainment. Hansen claims that a key element of early cinematic experience was the variety format, both as an entrepreneurial and aesthetic principle.

Fig 5 Ormondes Ad *Kerry Sentinel* (08/10/02)

'Whatever the number and status of films within a given programme their sequence was arranged in the most random manner possible, emulating the overall structure of the programme in its emphasis on diversity, its shifting moods and styles of representation' (1991 29)

The above advertisement offers an example of the diversity evident on the bills in which the cinematograph and magic lantern appeared. The travelling Ormonde Family and La Belle Sunflower Coterie promote 'Vivo-Tableaux' animated pictures among such attractions as 'Lightning Sketches,' ventriloquism, an escapist, a virtuoso violin recital and hypnotism. In spite of the foregrounding of the Vivo-Tableaux in the centre of the advert, the most discussed item throughout the country of the Ormonde's programme was their clairvoyancy act in which Stella Ormonde, a 'Rosicrucian Psychognomist' and 'modern witch of Endor' would 'forsooth, forthwith in a dreamy, far-off voice proclaim the thoughts of all and sundry. She foretold the happy return of absent friends, the success of future enterprises, health and plentiful days and plethoric housefuls and pledges of affection and such like roseate and desirable things' (TH 13 10 00 2)

---

The variety format, the primary format in which both magic lantern and cinematograph pictures were exhibited in towns and cities, nationally and internationally (Rocket, 1987, Hansen, 1991, Allen, 1980), and adopted by provincial exhibitors, consisted of short, unrelated acts appearing in random order, ensuring that each screening functioned as a one-off event rather than uniform product and emphasised the presentness of both the performance and the audience. Further, the alternation of both magic lantern and cinematograph pictures with one another and with songs and recitations, skits and dances, maintained a sense of continuity between the screen space and the physical space of the theatre. In this context, Hansen argues that early film-spectator relations were characterised by a social dimension. She cites certain conventions of early screen presentations such as smgalongs and amateur nights as supportive of a 'display of collectivity' (Ibid 94) in which a social field of individuals could be organised into collective units of consumption. This aspect of spectator-screen relations will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Whether within the individual programme or in the rapid alternation of programmes, early Provincial Irish magic lantern and cinematograph presentations, shared with variety theatre content, form and exhibition context, thus variety elements such as live music and narration, comic turns and dances, even the inclusion of intervals, helps to frame the experience of such entertainments. Gomery and Hark propose that we need to ‘allocate further study to the changing nature of the entertainment package offered by exhibitors’ (Gomery, 1986: 78)

#### 4.6 Accompaniment

It was quite exceptional, in the silent period, for a film to be projected in complete silence. One of the fundamentals of the early cinema, although it is often ignored, is that the filmic spectacle, even in those days, was nearly always an *audio-visual* one (Gaudreault, 1990: 274, emphasis in original)

Tsivian argues that consideration of musical accompaniment is pivotal in the study of film, noting that, fundamentally, accompaniment must be examined as a facet of exhibition rather than production (1994: 78). Rejecting the assumption that silent film sound was ‘coherent and unitary,’ scholars have begun to consider the possibility of ‘multiple silent film accompaniment styles’ (Altman, 2001: 232)

Abel and Altman marvel at the range and diversity of both improvised and recorded accompaniments to projected screen images during the period in question. ‘barkers and ballyhoos, pianists and “traps” or “effects” players, effects machines and synch-sound apparatuses, lecturers and actors speaking behind or beside the screen, illustrated song performers and small or large orchestras’ (2001: xiii)

King prefers to consider such accompaniments as a major determinant of early screen projections rather than a mere adjunct thus underscoring the fundamentally hybrid character of early screen projections (1996) The role of the lecturer in providing accompanying commentary to screen exhibitions will be discussed later, but additionally, the accompanying music, effects or commentary shaped an exhibition context that must be considered as responsible, in large part, for determining audience response to the images on screen ‘Sound functioned *differently* during the silent era Essentially it produced a sense of immediacy and participation Live sound actualised the image, and, merging with it, emphasised the presentness of the performance and the audience’ (King, 1996 15, emphasis in original)

It was certainly the case in provincial Irish magic lantern and cinematograph exhibitions that musical accompaniments were the norm. The vast majority of presentations of both media featured a single pianist improvising appropriate tunes but large travelling companies occasionally brought small orchestras to accompany their exhibitions, and occasionally the Gramophone or Phonograph as an accompaniment to an illustrated lecture or limelight exhibition (CS 26 01 01 2, LI 13 01 00 3 respectively) was deployed to provide appropriate music King foregrounds the provision of atmosphere as the primary role of the accompanist to anticipate, confirm and reinforce the images projected on screen ‘intensifying emotional impact, heightening drama, underscoring climaxes, providing a sense of complicity’ (1996 31) Jost characterises accompanying music as nonspecific ‘sound masses whose particularity was their lack of orientation and the fact that they were not anchored in any specific point of the image’ (2001 49) In provincial Ireland, it appears that, in some cases, sound accompaniment was designed to augment, and was synchronised with, specific images

One review of a Magic Lantern entertainment comments that:

One of the slides showed the Campbells going to the relief of the town playing on their bagpipes. In order to make their representation as real as possible, it became necessary to have an imitation of the bagpipes. This was supplied by Mrs. Fleming and Mr. Harris to striking effect (LI 06.06.96: 2).



Fig. 6 Military Bagpiper Magic Lantern Slide, c.1900

It is unclear how the bagpipe imitation was produced but the above highlights a key function of accompaniment ignored by Jost.

Châteauevert and Gaudreault discuss the ‘disciplinary’ function of music: ‘music had imposed a first form of structuring by occupying the whole space of the theatre ... it contributed to force silence in the space of the theatre’ (2001: 188). Its functions in the Irish context ranged from ‘increas[ing] ... the pleasure of seeing [the cinematograph pictures]’ (DA 17.09.04: 4) and ‘enlivening’ the exhibition of Edison’s Pictures (CC 19.11.02: 2), from adding ‘very materially’ to the ‘enjoyment of the [magic lantern] programme’ (LI 28.03.96: 2), to, as indicated above, making the (magic lantern) ‘representation as real as possible’ (LI 06.06.96: 2).

The majority of studies of screen accompaniment consider the accompanist as an abstract, anonymous *function* of the presentation. By contrast, reviews of projected screen entertainment published in the provincial Irish press single out the accompanist for special mention, often including their musical credentials (DA 09 01 04 4), noting not just their contribution to the entertainment, but their merits as individuals

They all admired the [bioscope] pictures, but the pleasure of seeing them had been increased by such splendid music as had been given them that evening by their accomplished and talented pianist, Miss May Snow. Miss Snow was always ready to come to the rescue, her kindly feelings and generous nature prompted her to do a good turn whenever she could (DA 17 09 04 4)

Tsivian confirms the ubiquity of musical accompaniment in early Russian screen exhibitions, but argues such contributions were not subject to aesthetic discrimination. Provincial Irish accompaniment is distinguished by being subject to criticism as much as their corresponding images

A word must be said about the pianist. With wonderful persistence he tried to vamp up appropriate airs for several scenes [exhibited by Edison's Pictures]— he succeeded to a certain degree. Mark Twain has told us of one when the picture of the 'Prodigal Son' was exhibited, who played in fine marching style, 'When Johnny Comes Marching Home!' And again, a no less noted man of letters, a dramatist and wit — an Irishman to boot — who, unfortunately has sunk into an unhallowed grave, said that in some of the Wild West States of America he had to put up the legend during his lecture, 'Don't shoot the pianist, he's doing his best!' This is only a paraphrase for the statement that the pianist is good, but the instrument requires tuning as far as the unmusical genius who represented this paper on Thursday evening could make out' (TH 06 09 02 2)

Under these conditions, the structure of the exhibition context, as Hansen argues, determined the uniqueness of every projected screen entertainment — a one-off performance rather than a finished product and mass cultural commodity (1991: 43). As a live, present factor in the exhibition of films and slides produced and circulated on a national and international scale, Polet proposes that 'the strong presential [sic] dimension of early cinema acted as a stimulant for the reactivity of the audience' (2001: 196)

In terms of the broader objectives of this research, the particularity of the role of the accompaniment to the exhibition of magic lantern and cinematograph pictures underscores both the influence of exhibition context on the reception of images and the requirement to move beyond the assumption that we all see the same things in the same way. As Rabinowitz notes, the consideration of accompaniment

necessitate[s] our reconceptualisation of the demands made on the spectator sound contributed to a movie-going experience that always involved multiple senses. From the outset, then, movie-going produced an alternative kind of spectatorial pleasure to the monolithic, ahistorical model of 'distracted' spectatorship that shapes our understanding of the history of cinema spectatorship (2001: 167)

#### **4.7 The 'Who' of Exhibition**

Those whom Rosensweig calls the 'entrepreneurs of leisure' (1983) figure prominently in my case study. A diverse group of individuals took advantage of the available technologies for a variety of ends. In contrast to the dominant accounts of early cinema history which emphasise the contribution of theatre owners, private investors and expansion-oriented amusement corporations, among the entrepreneurs of leisure in Ireland we find the Ormonde Family and La Belle Sunflower Coterie, a travelling family show which included 'Vivo-Tableaux' animated pictures as part of the entertainment, the Original Irish Animated Photo Company, Canadian government representatives seeking to attract emigrants and, contrastingly, local, public-minded individuals who took it upon themselves to provide an entertainment 'service,' usually for charitable benefit, for their communities. The contribution of the clergy will be detailed in a later section.

Musser is the most vociferous proponent of the idea that the exhibitor of early screen entertainments was of critical importance in influencing the direction and reception of an entertainment. Stressing the creative role of the exhibitor, Musser credits the exhibitor with responsibility not only for the presentation of the images, but also with their narrative arrangement and, therefore, the authorship of the show (Musser, 1990, 1991, 1994, Gunning, 1995a)

They selected and acquired short films and frequently edited these subjects into programmes with complex narrative structures. They were also responsible for the sound accompaniment: a lecture, music, sound effects and even voices from behind the screen (Musser, 1991: 103)

While his argument is persuasive, Musser's characterisation of the exhibitor's role requires further analysis. His use of the term 'exhibitor' is used interchangeably and as a generalisation to describe an entertainment's distributor, lecturer or projectionist, functions which, in the provincial Irish context, were decidedly separate and specialised

#### 4.7.1 The Lecturer

Descended from the fairground barker and, more specifically, from the magic lantern lecturer, the film lecturer had, it seems, particular importance during the first decade of film exhibition. He<sup>7</sup> furnished audiences with an aural commentary accompanying the projection of the film and influenced in a crucial manner the way films were experienced during the earliest period of film history (1991: 84)

Various writers highlight a range of duties linked with screen exhibition but, almost invariably, the word 'exhibitor' is used without qualification to describe activities more properly, in the context of my case study, belonging to the lecturer. For Gaudreault, supplements were required to solve problems of legibility (1990: 277) arising from the projected image's narrative deficiencies of which two methods were available to exhibitors: narrators and intertitles. I have been unable to determine any screenings in provincial Ireland which included intertitles.<sup>8</sup> The narrator, by contrast, was indispensable. Apart from the evident requirement to improvise a discourse out of the images on screen, 'entirely from memory' (CC 22/04/99: 2) or to present a pre-scripted commentary (Gaudreault, 1990: 275). Gunning includes among lecturer's duties to demonstrate the theatricality of the device and stress the act of display, to build atmosphere and expectation and to directly address the audience, mediating between audience and film (1995: 120)



Further responsibilities cited include the duty to hype the film (Ibid, Gaudreault, 1990 278) and to monitor the interpretation not just of the images but also the behaviour of the audience (Polet, 2001 193) Lecturers speaking before provincial Irish audiences, accompanied by cinematograph and magic images, were more limited in the duties required of them. The *Clonmel Chronicle* of 1902 characterises a typical illustrated lecture as follows ‘The lecture was what might be called a pictorial history of Palestine as described in the New Testament, with marginal notes of [the lecturer’s] own impressions and observations during his visits there’ and the lecturer’s performance as ‘lucid and scholarly’ (CC 29 01 02 4) Indeed, the lecturer himself was frequently the primary ‘draw’ of the entertainment ‘the reputation of the lecturer’ was a ‘potent factor’ in arousing the interest of the people of the district to attend an illustrated lecture (DA 09 03 04 3) The *Longford Independent* cites ‘the popularity and ability of Rev Mr Justice as a lecturer’ as a principal reason for attendance at an illustrated lecture on ‘Palestine’(02 04 98 3)

The predominant responsibility of the lecturer was to actualise the images on screen for the audience In the case of the illustrated lecture, the commentary accompanying illustrated travelogues was expected to ‘present these journeys as alternatives to travel for those who lacked the time, money or fortitude for such undertakings Offering personal accounts of their adventures, these world travellers were figures with whom audiences could identify and derive vicarious pleasure and experience ’ (Musser 1990 127) In this context, the lecturer’s responsibility was to point ‘out as faithfully as he could the little incidents that occurred in that pleasant journey’ (KS 01 04 05 3) and to convey to his audience the ‘local colour which many travellers are slow to appreciate’ (CS 04 03 99 3) This criterion, it appears, was adequately fulfilled by Irish lecturers

The only way they could study geography properly was to go and see the countries and seas which they had before them on the map, but since they had not that opportunity they had the next best thing and that was Father Clarke’s graphic description of his whole journey both by land or sea, for he had brought home to them the different countries he had passed in a way that could not be done by any book or map (DA 20 12 02 4)

Graphic description was not the only weapon in the arsenal of the successful lecturer. The *Ballymoney Free Press* reviews a cinematographic display on 'The Soudan Conquest' in which the lecturer 'was dressed in the martial costume of a Dervish commander, in garments brought home by his gallant brother, Major F Hutchinson, who took an active part in the memorable campaign. Mr Hutchinson stood beside the screen and described the events and incidents of the battles that took place at the localities depicted' (BFP 02 02 99 4). Another issue mentions the lecturer's inclusion of 'specimens of chain armour and weapons brought from the field of battle' in a display of magic lantern pictures from the same campaign (BFP 23 02 99 2). The *Longford Independent* reports on a Limelight Exhibition of pictures from the Spanish American War, noting that the lecturer, in the course of his address, 'referred to a letter written by a Longford man, Mr Joseph Donnelly, who had delineated in graphic language some incidents in the war of which he was an observer and personally engaged in' (LI 08 10 98 2).

While expected to demonstrate 'mastery of the subject matter' (BFP 26 11 03 4), providing 'an exhaustive and painstaking resumé of the subject' (KS 10 02 97 3), the lecturer was also required to entertain. 'During the delivery of the lecture he introduced some humorous racy hits which were well received' (Ibid). Above all, eloquence is demanded. 'The lecture was characterised from beginning to end by research, lucidity of style and vividness of narration. More than once the audience seemed to be literally carried away by the eloquence of the lecturer and his wonderfully realistic descriptions of the various [magic lantern] scenes along with his brilliant flashes of wit and humour' (BFP 19 10 05 2).

Perhaps because of the poverty of detail contained in screen images, lecturers were called upon to provide such information. '[The magic lantern images depicted] a magnificent processional cross measuring 2 ft 9¼ in in length the ground work was oak plated with light bronze. He was inclined to assign it to the later 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> century' (AC 13 02 04 8), and also to simplify complex material as in the case of this 'scientific' illustrated lecture.

'He illustrated his remarks regarding the production of the 'new light' by means of an electrical and optical apparatus. It is called the 10-inch spark induction coil. In plain language he gave a description of this instrument,' 'language which made it plain to the poorest understanding' (SC 09 10 97 8)

It was also the prerogative of the lecturer to direct audience interpretations or to contextualise the content of the entertainment. In the case of an 1899 Boer War limelight exhibition in Carlow, the lecturer was charged with giving 'personal experiences of the manners and customs' of the Boers and further to 'defend them as a people from many exaggerated and unfounded claims made against them in the English Press' and to condemn 'the tyranny and corruption of the Boer government against the uitlanders [sic] and their oppression of the coloured peoples' (CS 09 12 99 2). As an exhibition strategy, the lecturer is not required to exercise objectivity: it is *his* account that audiences have come to hear.

He very eloquently and sometimes sarcastically described the cruelties of Cromwell's army whom certain people in England called 'God fearing men'. Mr Ferguson said they were men endowed with the spirit of evil who violated every law of civilised warfare and every principle of human nature (SC 22 01 98 8)

Braun & Keil suggest an additional motive for lecturers to customise or tailor the entertainment to suit regional tastes:

Both musicians and lecturers had the opportunity to alter what, on a textual and visual level, were products of filmmakers from other nations. Aspects of regionally inflected identity derived from the presence of locally trained musicians. To the degree that regional particularities might be supplied as a supplement to a foreign based film text, they would reside in the performative dimension of the sound component of the experience' (2001: 200)

Common to both Magic Lantern and Cinematographic exhibitions, the lecturer was the key agent of screen pleasure. Gaudreault argues that to tell a story, one of two modes of narrative communication must be used: monstration or narration (1990). Yet, recognising the narrative weakness of available images, Gaudreault foregrounds the hybridity of both Magic Lantern and cinematograph projections and argues for the primacy of the lecturer's commentary in his consideration of projected screen entertainments (1990: 276). The lecturer becomes a specific instance of an exhibition mode in which the exhibitor exerted control over the film by having control over its reception. This latter concern will be considered in detail in the next chapter. The presence of a lecturer and the delivery of his address, happening there and then, never to be replicated exactly elsewhere, reminded audiences of this specificity. The exhibition circumstance reinforced the awareness that the spectacle the audience were attending was a unique event.

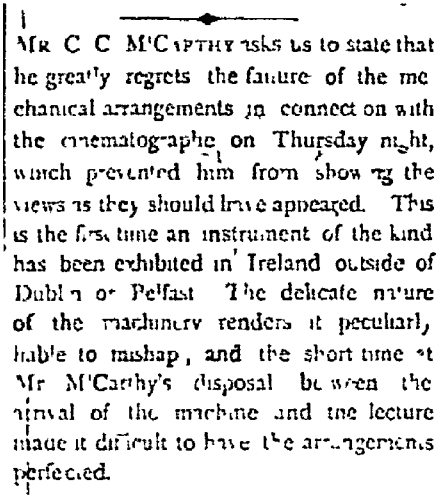
#### **4.7.2 The Projectionist**

Where it has been common in the literature to use the term 'exhibitor' as a convenient catch-all to describe all individuals involved in the presentation of screen entertainments, to do so in the context of provincial Irish exhibition is misleading. What emerges from my study is a tangible division of labour, most particularly, the separation of the functions of the lecturer and the projectionist.

Gunning and Hansen agree that during the early years of the cinema, audiences were fascinated less by the indexical quality of the images projected but by the apparatus itself as an attraction; audiences went to projected screen entertainments as much to marvel at the machine as to view the film (Gunning, 1990: 58, Hansen, 1991: 32). Tsivian considers the Russian spectator of the same period to be a 'medium-sensitive viewer' (1994: xxi). In my survey of visual media entertainments in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906, I found that the exhibition of the apparatus, whether Magic Lantern or Cinematograph, went unremarked and thus the perceptual implications of exhibiting screen entertainments cannot be tested in relation to my particular data corpus.

Emphasising the novelty and sometimes the scientific marvel of, particularly, the Cinematograph, Heath notes that ‘what is promoted, what is sold is the experience of the machine, the “apparatus”’ (1980 1)

Though advertisements and newspaper notices promote the apparatus itself, whether Cinematograph or Limelight illustrations, the apparatus is exempt from comment in the corresponding reviews, except where technical difficulty of some nature was noted, such as the lack of sufficient gas at a magic lantern exhibition of Boer War pictures (BFP 11 03 01 3) Indeed, the first ever exhibition of the cinematograph in Ireland at the Empire Palace Theatre on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1896, suffered serious technical difficulties noted in the *Freeman’s Journal* review (McIlroy, 1998, Rockett, 1987) The *Sligo Champion* of 1897 published this apology on behalf of a lecturer who experienced technical difficulty during an exhibition of the cinematograph



MR C C M'CARTHY asks us to state that he greatly regrets the failure of the mechanical arrangements in connection with the cinematographic on Thursday night, which prevented him from showing the views as they should have appeared. This is the first time an instrument of the kind has been exhibited in Ireland outside of Dublin or Belfast. The delicate nature of the machinery renders it peculiarly liable to mishap, and the short time at Mr M'Carthy's disposal between the arrival of the machine and the lecture made it difficult to have the arrangements perfected.

Fig 7 Published Apology *Sligo Champion* (30 01 97 3)

What appeared to be of enormous significance, however, was the operator's ability to manipulate the machine. An acknowledgement such as this was far from uncommon

[T]heir thanks was due to Messrs Fitzgerald, of Listowel and Mr M'Carthy, of Tralee, for the very capable manner in which they manipulated the lantern slides that illustrated the lecture. He could only hope that if ever there was an occasion for them to handle any other weapons in the cause of Ireland they would be as adept with them as they were with this one (applause) (KS 25 05 98 3)

While those same advertisements fail to mention, in most circumstances, the identity of the operator, virtually every review credits the projectionist by name and remarks upon the quality of their contribution. The substantial difference in focus between marketing and reception, between the expectations of the promoters and the reviewers, points to the value of considering exhibition as a crucial determinant of reception.

Throughout my analysis of reviews, audience attention was drawn, first of all, to the content and quality of the lecturer's address, and, in the second instance, to the successful, or otherwise operation of the necessary equipment. In the latter case, the *Drogheda Argus* of 1897, in reporting on a magic lantern exhibition, comments that,

In references to illustrated lectures, people are often likely to overlook the important work performed by the gentleman who works the magic lantern, and who, as we aptly remarked in our hearing on Sunday night, could leave us all in the dark, so that we might pay a special tribute to Mr Young for his perfect management of this department which was carried out without a hitch (DA 09 10 97 6)

It appears that correct manipulation of the apparatus was a matter of some skill, and it is noteworthy that many 'universally adroit' cinematograph projectionists were recruited from the ranks of photographers and chemists (TH 13 11 97 2). The structure of turn-of-the-century entertainments, as noted above, emulated that of a meeting. Projectionists and their assistants, though excluded from mention in the advertisements and notices promoting the entertainment, received, as a matter of course, 'a well deserved compliment' from the lecturers whose address they illustrated (BFP 21 12 00 2)<sup>9</sup>, and for their 'kindness' and 'skill' in operating the lantern, were routinely 'included in the vote of thanks' (WN 28 11 03 5) proposed by the Chairman. The foregrounding of the projectionist's performance is particularly interesting given the fact that only very rarely is the photographer of the views exhibited by the projectionist credited at all, and even more rarely by name.

Musser identifies an 'operational aesthetic' prevalent in American culture in 19<sup>th</sup> century America in which entertainments focussed attention on the structure of a technology in a way that encouraged the audience to learn how it worked (1994: 55). In the provincial Irish context, however, there appears to be little interest in learning about manipulation of the lantern or cinematograph, rather, the focus was on the projectionist's role as a *performance*, worthy of mention and credit in its own right. 'a number of excellent views were shown from a magic lantern by Mr Sharpe, who *performed* his part so well that he ably sustained the interest of those present' (WN 12 06 97 7, my emphasis)

#### **4.8 Entrepreneurs of Leisure**

In addition to those responsible for the presentation of the pictures and their verbal or musical accompaniment, those to whom Rosensweig refers as 'entrepreneurs of leisure' formed an influential constituency in cinematograph and magic lantern screenings. The individuals and groups who purchased the necessary equipment and promoted their exhibition in the provinces emerge as key influences on projected screen entertainment exhibition.

#### 4.8.1 The Ormonde Family and La Belle Sunflower Coterie

NEW TOWN HALL BALLYMONEY  
FRIDAY 31st AUGUST

SENSATIONAL RETURN!

**DR. ORMONDE**

Direct from the Front with his very  
Latest Astounding and

**SOUL THRILLING VIVOGRAPH,**  
The Rage of London and Paris.

Latest and Vivid Scenes of the

**BOER & CHINA WARS**  
Guns and Troops in actual Action

HER MAJESTY

**QUEEN VICTORIA IN IRELAND**

The Royal Procession entering the City  
Gates of Dublin Reception by the Lord  
Mayor and Corporation. The Key of the  
City presented to her Majesty. The most  
brilliant record in existence of his most  
unique ceremony forming in all the Finest  
**ANIMATED PICTURES** ever produced  
before any audience together with the  
**SERIOUS ANIMATED TABLEUX OF  
THE PARIS EXHIBITION OF 1900**

Grand and Great Programmes of Marvelous and  
Astounding Performances by Dr & **MDLLE E. S.  
ORMONDE** and the World Famous **ORMONDE  
FAMILY LA BELLE SUNFLOWER  
COTERIE**

Grand Violin Recital by

**MDLLE LOTTIE ORMONDE,**

The Greatest and only Sensational Young  
Lady Violinist in the World pronounced  
by the musical world the Unrivalled and  
modern **PAGANINI**

**MR. FRPD ORMONDE,** the Royal Lighting  
Artist, Chronographist, and Ventriloquist  
**MDLLE L. ORMONDE** the World's Latest  
Lightning Calculator **MDLLE S. ORMONDE**  
the Rosicrucian Psychognomist, a Modern Witch  
& Endor "The World's only Genuine and Ac-  
knowledged Clairvoyante in her Marvelous and  
Rosicrucian Psychognomancy telling the Past,  
Present and Future.

**MR. PERCY ORMONDE** the Musical Memory  
**MISS MINNIE BALDWIN** the American  
Ginerva **DR. ORMONDE,** the Fun King, the  
Flying Mahatmas and the "Convict's Escape"

Prices of Admission—3s, 2s, and 1s. Doors  
open at 7 15. Commence at 8. 5059

Travelling exhibitions were the only means of access to the cinematograph for the majority of provincial Irish people Herzog cites Sargent's claim that '[f]rom 1896 to beyond 1900 the pictures were regarded as good only for vaudeville programmes and special travelling exhibitions' (2002: 54). This claim has a particular resonance in the case of the Ormonde Family and La Belle Sunflower Coterie, a travelling family show that featured 'Vivo-Tableaux' as part of their 'high class' vaudeville-style bill across the provinces during the period in question. Comprising Dr Ormonde, his daughters Stella and Lottie, his son Fred and the unnamed members of La Belle Sunflower Coterie, the programme featured Ventriloquism, 'Lightning' sketches and mental arithmetic, an escape act, violin recitals, a popular clairvoyant act and 'Vivo-Tableaux'. Each of the ten counties reviewed for the decade 1896-1906 had at least one annual visit from the Ormondes.<sup>10</sup>

Fig 8 Ormond's Advert (BFP 23 08 00 2)

Gomery argues that early exhibitors, adopting the model of theatre advertising, 'believed they could make money by putting a crowd in a hall and projecting motion pictures on a surface' (1992: 6). As a promotional strategy, it seems that Irish audiences required a little more incentive to attend. The Ormondes provide an example of how entrepreneurs attempted to provide a profitable entertainment package. Offering entertainment billed as 'marvellous,' 'world famous,' 'bewildering,' 'sensational,' and 'crowded nightly with the elite of each town,' it appears that the marketing strategy of the Ormondes was to offer a cosmopolitan product distinct from the programmes featured in most local concerts.<sup>11</sup>



#### 4.8.2 Mr. Leslie M. Fleming

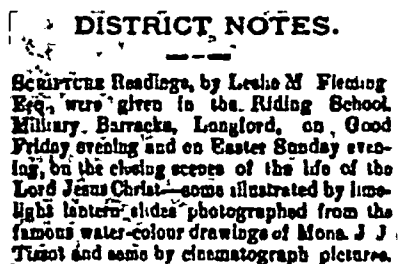


Fig 9 Illustrated Service Review (LI 16 04 98 3)

The magic lantern was less dependent on itinerant showmen for its exhibition. Its relatively moderate cost and easy access to a wide variety of slide sets and series, brought it within the reach of individuals and groups. Leslie Fleming, a prominent Longford Methodist and member of various local sodalities including the Temperance Union, regularly gave illustrated lectures and limelight and cinematograph entertainments in the Protestant and Methodist Churches of Longford and at his home at Cartron, Longford and his attendance at other venues across the county, bringing with him his 'magnificent lantern' (LI 22 02 96 3), is noted

Accompanied by his wife on piano, Mr Harris on violin and Messrs Reid and Sargaison as lantern operators, Mr Fleming, it appears, offered a kind of 'public service' for his community, appropriating the lantern, and occasionally the cinematograph, as a means of popularising church services and rallying Unionist sentiment, for which he was regularly praised in the newspaper 'The people of Longford and vicinity are deeply indebted to Mr Fleming for the splendid entertainment, deeply interesting and instructive, given under his auspices' (LI 08 10 98 2). In addition to entertainments conceived and organised by Mr Fleming, on occasion his 'valuable' services were requisitioned (LI 28 03 96 2)

**A CONCERT**  
 —AND—  
**LIMELIGHT ENTERTAINMENT**  
 Will be given in  
**THE HALL, CHURCH ST.,**  
 — LONGFORD, —  
 On Thursday, the 28th day of March, 1896,  
 AT 8 O'CLOCK.  
**MR. NOUD, MR. DELANY,**  
**MR. SARGAISON & MR. REID**  
 And other well known Amateurs have kindly  
 promised to give their valuable aid and Mr  
**FLEMING** promises to exhibit some new and  
 popular Slides never before shown in Longford,  
 and which will be improved by Piano and Violin  
 accompaniments by Mrs FLEMING and Mr  
**HARRIS**  
 Front Seats, 1s. 6d., Admission, 1s.  
 Children Half price

Mr Fleming usually adopted the role and duties of lecturer, relying on Messrs Reid and Sargaison to provide the illustrations, though for smaller gatherings, Mr Fleming himself is credited with the operation of the apparatus and the provision of musical entertainment during the intervals

Fig 10 Advert (LI 14 03 96 2)

Mr Fleming's entertainments centred around religious instruction and his most popular regular entertainment was a series of Illustrated Services of Song and Limelight Lantern Services conducted weekly on Sunday evenings following the regular Sunday service As the Longford Independent reports,

Mr Leslie M Fleming still continues to give his free limelight entertainments on Sunday evenings Instead of the interest in these exhibitions being on the wane, as would naturally be expected, the reverse is the case, each successive entertainment being attended by an augmented congregation Mr Fleming's good work is appreciated by the general public of Longford and his efforts to instruct are bearing fruit (LI 06 06 96 3)

Mr Fleming also conducted exhibitions of sacred pictures (LI 06 04 98 3), the Passion Play (LI 06 01 00 3), religious tributes (LI 24 10 96 3) and Temperance stories (LI 13 01 00 3) Invoking an 'instructional' or 'sacred' quality allowed him to sidestep the stigma of commercialism

Mr Fleming's politics were well advertised in the content of the entertainments he organised, the majority of which conclude with the singing of the National Anthem and the display of a portrait of the Queen (LI 22 02 96 3)

The scenes depicted were most realistic, and much gratitude was evinced to Mr and Mrs Fleming for giving this opportunity of viewing the scenes and ceremonies of the beloved and lamented Queen and Empress (LI 23 02 01 3)

His exhibitions of War pictures, notably those associated with the Boer conflict, were regular. His interest in promoting lantern and later cinematograph exhibitions appears to have been entirely altruistic, the proceeds being devoted to church funds or the 'fund for wives and families of the "khaki-ordered" south' (LI 13 01 00 3)

Mr Fleming, as a projected screen entertainment enthusiast rather than a professional exhibitor seeking commercial success, is representative of a wide range of such individuals whose entertainment services were offered to, and secured by, a wide range of local venues. Mr T W Banks, a Sligo customs official travelled widely in the district exhibiting the cinematograph and gramophone at small provincial concerts in the North West. Mr Lees of Clonmel regularly produced both cinematograph and magic lantern shows along with Canon Rooke of Wicklow. Mr Scanlon of Tuam and Messrs Duffy of Drogheda were among the only such exhibitors credited with the photographing of the slides they exhibited to their respective audiences. The majority of such exhibitors double-jobbed as both lecturer and projectionist, underscoring the appreciation of exhibition as performance. As 'provider[s] of healthy and innocent amusement' (SC 23 08 02 5), their interest in exhibiting the cinematograph appears to have been entirely altruistic, the proceeds of their entertainments being devoted to local charitable causes. Their repertoire seems to consist of short amusing films, scenics, street scenes and local views. As noted above, the cinematograph and magic lantern themselves, contrary to the prevailing promotional strategies, received little critical attention.

#### **4.8.3 The Canadian Commissioners**

A regular feature of provincial entertainment programmes was the visit of the Canadian Commissioner and his illustrated lecture showcasing 'Canadian Life and Industries'. Two representatives of the Canadian government, Mr Devlin and Mr Webster, accepted invitations to speak on the subject of the opportunities Canada offered to young, enterprising emigrants.

Describing Canada as ‘the El Dorado of the West, rich alike in mineral and agricultural products, watered by vast rivers and provided with ample means of communication by a sedulous and able Government’ the commissioners protested that while [i]t was not [their] business and certainly not [their] desire to lend help in increasing the number [of emigrants],’ they merely wanted to ‘make Canada better known and to secure for [their] country as many as possible of those leaving ’ (SC 17 01 03 5)

Mr Devlin appears to have been particularly adept at tailoring the content of his address to the goals of the organisation that had secured his services. When presenting his lecture to the Sligo Catholic Literary Society, Mr Devlin made sure to emphasise that ‘many of the principal men in Canada were Irish Catholics and that Catholics enjoyed the privilege of a Catholic University’ (SC 23 03 1900 4). When addressing groups of a nationalist constituency, he spoke of ‘the free institutions of Canada and the marvellous development it had made under Home Rule’ (SC 17 01 03 5). Conversely, loyalist audiences were approached as fellow members of ‘the British dominions’ (CC 27 01 04 3). Such strategies of ‘content management’ suggest a strong awareness of the complexity of prevailing political sympathies and their influence on how well their lecture was likely to be received.

The above description of three distinctive exhibition styles and strategies highlights the need to reject uncritical generalisations regarding the ‘exhibitor’ or exhibition context. The marked difference in the selection of programmes, the venues chosen and the entertainment’s object between the professional, commercial Ormonde Family, the tinkerer Fleming and the Canadian Government representatives offers a further means from which to address the impact of exhibition context upon the relationships between the text and its performance and the performance and its spectators.

Having addressed the issue of the exhibition of projected screen entertainments in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906 from a range of perspectives, I detail below how those individual concerns can coalesce to form a more complete picture of exhibition. Thus, it is important to consider the impact of these variables in their combination upon the relationships between the text and its performance and the performance and its spectators. In order to more fully interrogate these relationships, examination of the role of the Church and clergy requires simultaneous consideration of venue, personnel, content and audience.

#### **4.9 The Church and Projected Screen Entertainments**

In no other country in the world, probably, is religion so dominant an element in the daily life of the people and certainly, nowhere else has the minister of religion so wide and undisputed an authority (Plunkett, 1904: 94)

Questions concerning the acceptability of entertainments were, implicitly, answered in the context of their exhibition. In the churches, temperance halls and schoolrooms of provincial Ireland, the public could access a wide selection of visual media entertainments by exhibitors who appealed to their sensibilities while maintaining an appropriate moral tone and thus attracting the support of the clergy. Connolly observes that the clergy were the most important intermediaries between elite and popular culture during the nineteenth century, taking an active part in the social lives of their congregations (1998: 16-17). The salience of religious presence and participation in, and sanction of, magic lantern displays, illustrated lectures and cinematograph screenings was widespread. Where screen entertainments form part of such bills, their 'instructive' and 'intellectual' qualities are emphasised over more trivial amusement, forestalling any fears about impropriety. Individual distinctions notwithstanding, in terms of content as well as local sponsorship, virtually all of these non-profit, nontheatrical events could be said to occupy a sort of perfectly legitimate cultural middle ground, well above what might have been labelled 'cheap amusement' (Waller, 1995: 8).

Under church sponsorship and authority, religious, morally conservative groups who saw themselves opposed to questionable, commercial amusements, became the leading users of the magic lantern and the cinematograph (Musser, 1994)

Rule identifies in the majority of 19<sup>th</sup> century Christian religions the development of a common antipathy to 'that recreational complex of behaviour which included gambling, adultery, drinking, cruel sports and Sabbath breaking and blasphemy – all of which took place together at the race-course, the drinking palace, the theatre, the "feast" and the fair' (1982: 50). In this context, the role of the clergy in disparaging and resisting 'indecent' forms of leisure in favour of cultivating pastimes of an 'improving' or 'instructive' nature becomes prevalent.

The cinematograph exhibition in the Wicklow Assembly Hall on Monday last was, as we predicted last week it would be, a big success and the public ought to be very thankful to the Rev. Canon Rooke for using his influence in the bringing of such *scientific* exhibits within the reach of the people of Wicklow (WN 25 12 97: 5).

The majority of provincial visual media entertainments were conducted, at the very least, in the presence of church leaders who were called upon or volunteered their services in chairing or presiding over such meetings. Their inclusion in the text of the corresponding reviews suggests that their presence confirmed the didactic quality of the entertainment in question. Reviewing a cinematograph presentation in Sligo, the *Champion* reports that 'Mr. John Ross, in proposing acknowledgements, said he wished to include the names of Fathers M'Govern and Flynn [in the vote of thanks], who very kindly attended and whom everyone was glad to see present' (SC 17 01 03: 5). Neither cleric had any role in the evening's proceedings beyond their attendance.

Indeed, church leaders during the period in question are central figures in the organisation of events for intellectual and instructive entertainment, often financially harnessed for parish benefit, such as for the 'purchase and acquisition of the [parochial] house, which will be a standing memorial to his devotion to the interests of the parish' (AC 30 07 04 7) Further, the presence of a church leader offered an opportunity to reinforce the message of Christian teaching, for example, expressing 'the hope that the children would always guard against becoming lazy, and practice the principles of industry' (LI 21 03 96 2)

Not only was the presence of the clergy a commonplace of cinematograph and magic lantern exhibition in the provinces, they were often involved in the provision of such amusements as the owners and operators of the necessary apparatus

On Friday night a magic lantern and gramophone entertainment etc was given in Newbliss by Rev H O'Neill, C C and Rev L Murray, the Seminary, Monaghan

In accordance with the arrangement, Father Murray came from Monaghan on the previous day but in consequence of a defect in the working of the lantern, Father Murray was obliged to abandon the entertainment Subsequently, however, he sought the services of Rev Hugh O'Neill, C C , who willingly came to Newbliss, though at considerable inconvenience, bringing with him his own lantern and views, which gave unbounded satisfaction (AC 07 01 05 7)

Rev Father Hugh O'Neill, mentioned above, appears quite regularly on the provincial entertainment circuit in the Cavan/Monaghan area. Other notable clergymen in possession of lanterns or cinematograph equipment and credited with their 'skillful' operation during the period in question included Revs Crawford, Killingly and Watt of Antrim, Fathers Hill and Ryan of Drogheda, Rev Gilmore of Blarney, Father Hannon of Shgo and Archdeacon Warren of the Diocese of Lismore, who on many occasions 'very kindly lent his splendid lantern' (CC 19 12 00 2) The participation of clerics, across the denominations, in the ownership and operation of screen apparatuses is noteworthy and will be discussed later

#### **4.9.1 Religious and Philanthropic Organisations**

Many religious and philanthropic groups such as Total Abstinence and Temperance Unions, Missionary Groups, Church Literary Societies and the YMCI/YMCA/YWCA organised sports, concerts, meetings and lectures to preach their message

The Ohver Plunkett Total Abstinence Society in Drogheda are reported to have held entertainments in their Hall, which included 'scenes from nature' illustrating 'The Curse of Drink, being the downfall and death of a good man and the break up of his home, all brought about by the drink fiend' (DA 08 02 02 2) Not all entertainments were similarly proselytising, others purported to 'give the young men exceptional facilities for the cultivation of literary instincts' (KS 24 02 87 3) and to offer a more morally uplifting alternative to the pub

The annual entertainment [demonstration of X-Rays] under the auspices of the Coleraine Y M C I is deservedly popular, and in the excellent programme which the committee presented to a large and representative assemblage on Friday night, there were elements so thoroughly as to constitute an undeniable plea for the permanence of the Young Men's 'social', even it had not been already assured It is an occasion when all ages of both sexes combine to show their appreciation of the Institute as one of the essentials of a well-ordered community, and in order that this may be done with the least possible self-sacrifice, the executive of the YMCI contrive to place before them a bill of fare which may be relied upon to contain something absolutely unique and therefore irresistible to the novelty-seeking (BFP 15 04 97 3)

As an 'one of the essentials of a well-ordered community,' the establishment of such organisations as prominent suppliers of 'absolutely unique,' 'irresistible' yet instructive, morally sound entertainment would provide the added benefit that 'a good number of young men would be saved from the public house' (AC 26 01 01 9) The success of events organised by morally sound organisations was cited as a recruitment lure



The *Drogheda Argus*, reporting on a magic lantern entertainment hosted by the Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Society notes that the ‘audience applauded until they were hoarse And yet people will tell you that these is nothing but dullness and solemnity about teetotalism A little experience would show these wiseacres their mistake’ (DA 20 10 00 4) The *Anglo Celt* reports that ‘[a]t the conclusion of the [cinematograph] entertainment on Monday night, Rev Dr Comey, President of the Temperance League conclud[ed] by expressing his hope that the membership roll of 300 would by that time twelve months be at least doubled’ (AC 20 02 04 5)

The *Drogheda Argus* commends the local Total Abstinence Society for their efforts to relieve the monotony of winter evenings by providing a series of ‘interesting and instructive’ illustrated lectures

In Drogheda, as in almost every provincial town of its size and population, the winter evenings are long and dreary, amusement is scarce and one is often puzzled as to what to do with one’s self The committee of the Oliver Plunkett Society have recognised this and endeavoured to remedy this evil [ ] The more [illustrated lectures] they had the better, for they would help to pass the long winter evenings for the people and give them pleasure, combmed with instruction (applause) (DA 09 12 05 6)

Hark notes that an incentive ascribed to attend screen exhibitions, from the beginning of the movies, has been ‘to get out of the house [implying] the imprisoning nature of the house with a trip to the theatre as glorious liberation’ (2002 13) Charney & Schwartz list ‘brief respite for the labourer on his way home release from household drudgery and cultural touchstone for immigrants’ (1995 5) as the central motivations behind 19<sup>th</sup> century (urban) cinema-going In the provincial Irish press, several articles bemoan the monotony of long Winter evenings, and periodic relief and escape from routine is commonly called for in the local press, indicatmg an impetus to attend screen exhibitions marginalised by dominant accounts of exhibition.

The invocation of amusement as a panacea to all provincial complaints, however, goes a little too far. *The Anglo-Celt* of 1903 proposes that 'social gatherings should be encouraged and monthly or fortnightly concerts held, so that the Ireland of the future would be a place where no boy or girl would wish to emigrate from' (AC 17 10 03 7). At the same time, entertainments conducted under the auspices of religious and philanthropic groups, while stemming the flow of emigrants and drunkards, raised money that could be used for such diverse purposes as the missions, building funds, piano purchase and coal funds.

#### **4.9.2 Religious Organisations and Entertainment Content**

The most common of all projected screen entertainments, Magic lantern and Cinematograph exhibitions of religious or moral theme were encouraged and endorsed by the clergy of all denominations. Their number and range is quite staggering, from Lectures on Missionary Work to exhibitions of the Passion Play, from Services of Song to Religious Tributes, from Illustrated Allegories to Religious Histories. Whether staged by local clergymen or travelling evangelists, the participation and approval of local clerics was required and enthusiastically supplied. For the most part, religious entertainments comprised the interchangeable elements of 'suitable scripture lesson, text and hymns' and appropriate sacred song and music, live or recorded. Illustrations consisted of biblical scenes, or 'hymns, Scripture readings and texts for each of the services' put upon slides and thrown upon the screen, so as to be read and sung by the audience' (LI 28 03 98 2).

Some such entertainments were topical, for example the religious tribute compiled and exhibited following the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury shortly after his visit to Ireland in 1896.<sup>12</sup> Others detailed the history and genesis of the dominant faiths: for example lantern exhibitions of 'The Story of the English Bible' (LI 24 10 96 3), or 'The Work that Shook the World' comprising 'a detailed account of the life of Martin Luther and much interesting information about the Reformation times' (BFP 18 02 04 2).

The illustrated service of song was a popular illustrated singalong, particularly among the Protestant Churches. Comprising a 'thrilling narrative' (LI 23 04 98 3) of moral courage featuring characters who overcome adversity through spiritual fortitude and virtue 'The hearty singing of well-known and catchy hymns' (WN 06 05 05 4) and verbal commentary accompanied the on-screen illustrations

The story of 'Nan' – the young girl who battles with adverse circumstances, being early left an orphan, and by her patient trust in God and by prayer and effort reclaimed two ladies from the blighting efforts of the drink fiend, as well as reclaiming her own brother who returned to her a confirmed drunkard from Australia - awakened the interest of young and old who listened with rapt attention for an hour and a half as Rev John Haddon read the thrilling narrative. The views, forty in number executed from life models were accompanied by temperance hymns and songs (LI 23 04 98 3)

Similar services were titled as 'Rhoda, or the Gipsy Girl's Mission of Love' (WN 05 02 98 5), 'Little Minnie,' 'Tempest Toss'd,' 'Roll Call,' 'Sunshine After Rain,' (LI 01 02 96 3), 'Two Golden Lillies,' the story of the bravery of a young girl in attempting to ensure the safe return of her father from sea (LI 01 02 96 3) and 'Bravo Sergeant Campbell, Three Cheers for Campbell' a limelight service written and published by a Co Carlow Methodist clergyman. Illustrated 'immortal' Allegories such as the The Pilgrim's Progress were provided by local ministers or travelling preachers (WN 17 06 05 9) <sup>11</sup>

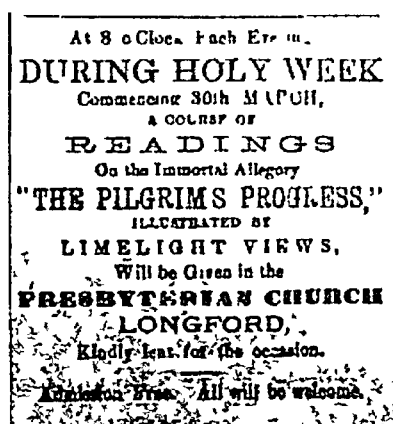


Fig 11 Advertisement *Longford Independent* (28 03 96 2)

Editorials in the local press encourage attendance at such entertainments and, in many cases, stress their ecumenical nature. The *Longford Independent* confirms that an impending Illustrated Allegory to be held in the local Presbyterian Church 'will, of course, be of a strictly religious character, but wholly free from any sectarian tendency or bias. The novelty and attractiveness of these services will doubtlessly engage the attention of all Christians without denominational distinction all will be welcome' (LI 28 03 96 2)

Most popular of all religious entertainments were the screening of the Passion Play and Illustrated Lectures on sacred or moral themes. Below, these are discussed in detail.

#### **4.9.2.1 The Passion Play**

Exhibitors who addressed audiences under church sponsorship showed many of the same films or lantern views as commercial companies, though the inclusion of, for example, dancing girls and fight films was, for the most part, avoided. While the screening of prizefight films in commercial theatres, most notably the Corbett-Fitzsimmons boxing match of 1897, is identified as one of the staples of early cinema programmes by a variety of writers (Musser, 1994, Hansen, 1991, Waller, 1995, Burch, 1990), cinematograph and magic lantern entertainments organised by, or conducted in the presence of, the clergy favoured more moral and 'instructive' themes and the screening of the Passion Play became a regular substitute.<sup>14</sup>

On Tuesday night [cinematographic] scenes from the Passion Play were produced with reverence and suitable surroundings. From the stable in Bethlehem to the Crucifixion on Count [sic] Calvary, each scene of Our Blessed Lord's life was produced with awe-inspiring effect. They properly and judiciously supplanted the [boxing] 'ring' scenes (SC 07 09 01 5)

Musser (1994) and Burch (1990) have identified a range of versions of the Passion Play of Oberammergau produced for both magic lantern and cinematograph between 1897 and 1898. Already an established standard of the illustrated lecture, the Passion Play provided religious groups with an opportunity to both entertain and offer spiritual uplift. The *Drogheda Argus* strongly recommends such a lecture to its readers:

On next Monday evening, in the Oliver Plunkett Hall, Fair Street, Archdeacon Seagrave will deliver a descriptive lecture on 'The Passion Play' (as produced by the peasants at Oberamergau). The lecture will be illustrated by limelight views. Most of our readers, probably, have read in the Public Press notices of this awe-inspiring and yet fascinating play, and are therefore aware that its production in the little village of Oberamergau attracts increasing numbers of visitors from almost every portion of the globe. On Monday night the citizens of Drogheda will have the unique opportunity of having the play presented vividly before them and the Archdeacon's descriptive lecture will, we are sure, prove most interesting (DA 14 12 01 4)

The Passion Play was promoted and exhibited by the clergy of all of the dominant denominations. For the most part, it seems, viewers attended the performances held in their own parish's churches and halls, but there is evidence of an attempt to secure a more ecumenical following. The *Longford Independent* reports that the exhibition of photographic Passion Play slides 'was crowded to the doors by persons of all denominations including Roman Catholics' (LI 16 04 98 3) in spite of the fact that it had been organised and narrated by the prominent local Methodist, Mr Leslie Fleming. It is difficult to explain the attendance of Roman Catholics at a Methodist gathering, especially when one considers that Catholic groups were equally enthusiastic about exhibiting the Play for their members. Perhaps the fact that the abovementioned screening was held in Easter Week had a bearing on the composition of the audience.

It appears that the Passion Play was among the most popular and attractive subjects for provincial Irish audiences, drawing audiences of such numbers that ‘for the privilege of being present [at a lantern exhibition] it was necessary to occupy a seat an hour or more in advance, or to spend an equal amount of time waiting for admission’ (CS 24 11 00 2) However, it appears that debate concerning the appropriateness of such sacred screenings and the manner in which they were conducted was common in the 1890s <sup>15</sup> In reviewing a cinematographic portrayal of the Passion Play, the *Longford Independent* appears to anticipate objection and is careful to defend its exhibition

Mr Fleming also read from Dean Farrar's Book on the Passion Play several extracts in defence and justification of the production of these pictures and in reply to objections and doubts raised by different parties with reference to them. There was appropriate sacred music on the piano by Mrs. Fleming

Fig 12 Passion Play Review (LI 16 04 98 3)

In this context, the exhibition of the play was handled with the utmost delicacy and propriety Careful to preserve an appropriate atmosphere of solemnity, sacred music (live and recorded) and appropriate commentary were provided, most often by church officials, in a manner which ‘allowed the [magic lantern] audience to form a good idea of the solemnity and perfection with which the simple peasants of Oberammergau present to admiring and awestricken thousands the sacred drama of the Passion’ (DA 21 12 01 4)

Father Galwey's voice possesses no great power but is particularly distinct and harmonious, so that not a word is lost He made no attempt at oratory, but in chaste and appropriate language he dealt in detail and in order with the events in the life of our Blessed Lord, private and public, as recorded in the Sacred Scriptures

Father Galwey captivated his audience by the simplicity of his style and the felicitous arrangement of his narrative There was the further charm of sacred music at intervals, the Cathedral Choir assisting, also the Juvenile Choir of the Presentation Convent’ (CS 24 11 00 2)

The presentation of the Passion Play frequently occurred during such periods in the religious calendar as Lent, Easter and Christmas and efforts were made to preserve the solemnity of its subject matter, recalling Tsivian's detailed description of the regulations imposed upon the exhibition of films portraying the Imperial family in Russia. Concerned about the possibility of 'semantic interference,' the Russian authorities forbade the screening of Imperial films unless a series of conditions were respected, including the segregation of the Imperial material from the rest of the programme by an interval, the raising and lowering of a curtain and the ringing of a bell. Further the speed at which the cinematograph was cranked was strictly regulated and required to be conducted under the supervision of the theatre manager to ensure that comic effects could not be produced by running the film at an inappropriate speed (1994: 127).

Musser, discussing the popularity of the Passion Play in New York's Eden Musée, suggests that a similar requirement to preserve the solemnity appropriate to the exhibition was observed (1990: 218). By contrast, Waller notes that the passion Play in Lexington, Kentucky during the same period, was exhibited as a 'prelude' to vaudeville shows or as a substitute for a melodrama or farce on variety bills rather than as an attraction in itself (1995: 52). In the case of its exhibition in provincial Ireland, the Passion Play was most commonly screened as part of a unified sacred programme. However, there is evidence that 'the sad events in the life of our Lord' occasionally shared a bill with less sacred items including cinematograph films of 'The dedication of the Armagh Cathedral, the Irish Language Procession in Dublin and the pilgrimage to Lourdes [and] a very funny set of laughable living pictures [which] provoked rounds of laughter' (DA 18 11 09: 4).

It appears that the appearance of the Passion Play in variety concerts may have been exploited as a means of either securing permission or avoiding censure for staging variety shows on Sundays. The above excerpt is taken from the review of a concert held on Sunday. The *Anglo Celt* reviews a series of concerts at which the cinematograph was featured over two days in Cavan, noting that 'the pictures on Sunday [were those] dealing with the Passion Play depicted at Oberammergau' (AC 20 02 04: 5).

Even in such cases both the promoters and reviewers are concerned to ensure that the (bioscope) performance remained 'free of objectionable items' (AC 18 02 05 11) As noted earlier, the strict control exercised over access to venues and the vetting of content in advance of exhibition facilitated this criterion

The screening of the Passion Play, Musser remarks, was a unique instance of early multi-media exhibition in which both the cinematograph and magic lantern were used (1991 122-4) '*The Passion Play* was not a single scene but a program composed of as many as twenty three discrete scenes, each of which was its own "Film" and an unknown quantity of slides Such confusion equates the films that were produced with what was shown' (Ibid 124) This recognition highlights a key methodological problem for researchers in conducting studies such as this The impossibility of accurately reconstructing the order and content of projected screen entertainments forces us to look elsewhere for evidence of what may have been exhibited and how it was received

In Irish exhibitions of the play, the length of the presentation and its composition varied greatly, from short segments of a wider entertainment programme to exhibitions in which the (lantern) illustrations 'followed one another in such quick succession that their number must have been legion' (CS 24 11 00 2) The images were variously accompanied by pre-scripted or improvised verbal description, by appropriate solemn live or recorded choral or instrumental music and, in some cases, preceded or followed by unrelated material of an entirely different tone It is unclear in many reviews whether the images exhibited were still slides, motion pictures or a combination of the two What is clear, however, that there was not a single, authoritative version exhibited throughout the provinces Each exhibition claimed the singularity of a live performance (Hansen, 1991)



#### 4.9.2.2. Illustrated Lectures

Lectures concerning issues of spirituality and moral conduct were common. The *Ballymoney Free Press* reviewed an address, illustrated by cinematographic and magic lantern views, condemning the dangers of gambling:

There was no vice so degrading to the spirit, or so hardening to the heart. A gambler would play at his mother's funeral and gamble over her coffin. The course of a young man who is tempted to bet or gamble is, in most cases, rapidly downward. He bets, he loses. He takes a loan, as he calls it, out of his master's till. He takes more to recover himself, as he thinks. He is found out, disgraced, loses his situation, perhaps finding himself in prison. The cause of God did not need the dice box. Mr Greer then gave his exhibition on the illuminated screen. The pictures were illustrative of drinking and gambling and they gave most vivid representations of how the small beginnings of the vice rapidly increased, and carried the victim headlong to ruin. As they passed in review, Mr Greer explained them, and enforced their teaching, which was most attentively listened to' (BFP 30 11 05 4)

Another catalogue 'The Evils of the Opium Traffic in China'

#### THE EVILS OF THE OPIUM TRAFFIC IN CHINA.

On Friday night a lecture on this subject was delivered by the Rev. Charles J. Byford, a returned missionary, who appeared in Chinese costume. His lecture, which was a lengthened one, embraced descriptions of Chinese life, the customs and religions of that country, and the evils arising from opium smoking, but though exceedingly interesting on account of the fund of information it contained, we can only give a mere précis of the lecture. There was a very considerable attendance.

Fig 13 Lecture Review (CC 25 10 99 3)

After quoting native testimony, Mr Byford said that the opium curse had fixed its octopus-like grip upon the very vitals of the Chinese natives, and it behoved us to use every legitimate way in our power to release the poor victims. At the conclusion of the address the meeting were [sic] treated to a series of dissolving views, clearly showing how the poppy was grown in India, and how the opium was manufactured, and afterwards sold at auction to merchants who exported the article to China. Other [lantern] illustrations were given showing the demoralised state to which people in India and China were being reduced through the use of opium, which added considerably to the interesting character of the lecture (CC 25 10 99 3)

These gatherings can conveniently be summarised as ‘evangelical’ - moral reformers usually aiming to encourage ‘improving’ uses of leisure time and signposting the dangers of living immorally. Though such lectures were regularly presented, the most common screen entertainment of the period in provincial Ireland was the illustrated travel lecture.

In response to the exclusion of the travel genre from film history anthologies, the illustrated travelogue has begun to receive sustained attention in recent years as one of the most popular and developed forms of screen practice at the turn of the century (Ruoff, 1998: 2, Musser, 1990: 123). In Ireland, as we have seen, religious subjects in general were an important genre for the provincial entertainment circuit, providing entertainments which regularly featured ‘sanitised’ elements of vaudeville or music hall ‘turns’.

Illustrated Travelogues narrated by the clergy, recounting their experiences as missionaries or pilgrims, and augmented by appropriate sacred music and hymns, were the most commonly reviewed visual media entertainments during the period in question.<sup>16</sup> This recognition, of course, again raises the question of the methodological difficulties of fully recovering the number and type of entertainments held rather than those reported on, the latter list inevitably reflecting the power of editors and journalists to select events for coverage which agreed with their ideological orientation. The exhibition of religious travelogues in lecture and assembly halls, churches and schoolrooms, etc., was subject to the same controlling criteria imposed on entertainments generally staged in these locales. The participation of the clergy, however, as lecturers and exhibitors, was inevitable.<sup>17</sup>

Travel lectures offered a ‘non-fiction drama of people and places, true but dramatised’ (Ruoff, 1998: 4), combining human commentary with still or moving imagery. The emphasis is on actuality footage and scenics, though travelogues often featured hymns and scripture readings, or vocal and instrumental concert items before, during or following the lecture. As noted of the exhibitions of the Passion Play, religiously themed travelogues, most frequently concerning places associated with Christianity, such as Rome and Palestine, are often presented on Sundays and during Advent and Lent.<sup>18</sup>

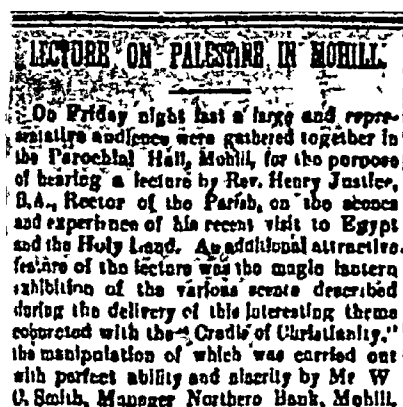


Fig 14 Palestine Lecture Review (LI 02 04 98 3)

The *Longford Independent* reports of an Illustrated Lecture on Palestine, that a 'lecture on this interesting subject would at any time interest and command the attention of a large audience, but its delivery during the Holy season of Lent was befittingly appropriate' (LI 02 04 98 3)

Most such lectures, advertised as 'enlightening and entertaining,' 'instructive and interesting,' or 'a rare intellectual treat,' took the form of a topographical, historical and biblical account of the destination, combined with personal experience and anecdote, and supplemented by visual illustrations, for example, 'a pictorial history of Palestine as described in the New Testament, with marginal notes of [the lecturer's] own impression and observations during his visits there, and these he put before his hearers in such a lucid, scholarly manner that the incidents described in the latter portion of the Bible must have been very clearly understood by the audience, one and all' (CC 29 01 02 4)

Musser considers the sustained popularity of religious travel lectures in the broader context of 'polite' culture 'while they appealed primarily to aficionados of refined entertainment, they were considered sufficiently enlightening and informative to have the support of moralistic Protestant religious groups. The long-standing alliance of church moralism and polite culture continued to operate' (1994 223). As mentioned earlier, the privileged position of the clergy in allowing access to venues and approving entertainment content supports Musser's argument.

The prevalence of lectures on missionary work, exhibited as might be expected in venues subject to church authorisation, is remarkable, not least because of their range and number, indicated above, but also because of their care to satisfy the moralistic imperatives of providing instructive amusement, to attract subscriptions for worthy causes and to reinforce doctrine among the faithful.

The following excerpt is taken from the *Clonmel Chronicle's* review of an Illustrated Lecture, organised for the benefit of the Church Missionary Society

How remarkable it was to see all the churches which the lecturer had pointed out in the views presented to the meeting and which were the centre of light to those living in darkness. Would it not be a terrible thing if some of those churches were closed, no one being left to preach Christ's gospel in them? He asked them to take to heart the great responsibility that devolved on the society to carry on the missionary work and to show their interest in that work by helping it on in every way in their power. The Archdeacon said it was proposed to raise a sum of £50,000 by a million shilling subscriptions and as he had promised to assist in that project, he would be happy to receive a shilling from those willing to subscribe (CC 06 02 04 2)

Earlier, the broadly ecumenical nature of many religious exhibition was highlighted and in many cases is continued with respect to Mission lectures

The chair was taken by Rev James Stewart who explained the interdenominational nature of the [Qua Iboe] mission which the lecturer worthily represents and pointed out that this common platform basis was highly commendable' (BFP 26 10 05 3)<sup>19</sup>

Musser is critical of the clergy's motives in staging such entertainments 'They were engaged in a more or less explicit crusade for the souls of the community. Ministers considered the illustrated lecture to be just one of the many weapons in their arsenal and frequently presented them' (Musser, 1994 42)

Illustrated travel lectures in provincial Ireland, insofar as their content can be reconstructed, generally adhere to the following pattern: a chronicle of the history, topography and religion of the country in question followed by a description of the 'Manners, Customs and Character of the people' (DA 25 11 05 4). Their portrayals of native populations are strongly Eurocentric and rarely flattering.

'Passing next to the islanders themselves [the lecturer] gave entertaining accounts of their houses, dress (very trivial), hairdressing, concerts (chiefly of kerosene tins), religion and general characteristics, assigning them a place far above the lowest in the scale of intelligence and bringing his remarks to a conclusion with a glowing prediction of the prosperity that is in store for the islands of the South Seas' (SC 02 12 99 8) A lecture on 'The Land of the Rising Sun' claims that the 'principal cause' of rapid progress of Japan in recent times 'was the thorough and efficient training in Western civilisation given by the European nations to this Oriental people' (DA 02 12 05 6) Numerous examples of the improvements wrought by colonial powers and missionaries are detailed 'Since British occupation of Egypt much has been accomplished toward the improvement of this ancient method of irrigating and fertilising the land, and if our presence and influence is longer continued it must inevitably lead to still greater advantage' (CC 22 07 96 3)

Lectures concerning missionary work, reveal much about prevailing assumptions regarding imperialism, race and cultural superiority in the context of colonialism and Christianity Taken alongside commerce and civilisation, the Christian mission appears to be implicated not just in spreading the good word and attracting converts, but in reinforcing the colonial order Fabian claims the conventional discipline of anthropology has its origins in European colonialism, and, by extension, missionary work Fabian argues that the European colonial mentality was fundamentally visualist and that the ability to 'visualise' a culture or society, for the visualist colonisers, became synonymous with understanding it and enforced the distinction of humans along a scale from 'primitive' to 'civilised' (1983) The distinction, predicated on the perception of the Other as Object, enabled and reinforced by strategies of representation, was tied to the implicit evocation of larger meanings, such as Progress or Empire Mitchell notes the importance of the construction of otherness to the manufacture of imperial purpose (1998 297) Fabian names this system 'visualism' and locates its parallel in the Empiricist ideal of observational science (1983)

Mitchell cites Said's identification of the primary feature of Orientalism as 'the product of unchanging racial or cultural essences, these essential characteristics are in each case the polar opposite of the West (passive rather than active, static rather than mobile, emotional rather than rational, chaotic rather than ordered), and the Oriental opposite is therefore marked by a series of fundamental absences (of movement, reason, order, meaning ) In terms of these three features – essentialism, otherness and absence – the colonial world can be mastered and colonial mastery will, in turn, reinscribe and reinforce these defining features' (Mitchell, 1998 293) The accounts of the missionary or pilgrim travellers who lectured to provincial Irish audiences made it easy to demonstrate the 'discrepancy between "civilisation" and "Christianity" on the one hand, "primitivism" and "paganism" on the other, and the means of "evolution" or "conversion" from one stage to the other' (Mudimbe, 1988 20) As a matter of course, this demonstration was coupled with the solicitation of donations for the missions which 'were the centre of light to those living in darkness,' for 'it would be a terrible thing if the Churches were closed [and] no one left to preach Christ's Gospel' (CC 06 02 04 3)

As Europe consolidated its colonial power, Mitchell claims, non-European visitors found themselves continually being placed on exhibition or made the careful object of European curiosity (1998 295) It was somewhat surprising to find this to be the case in Clonmel during an illustrated lecture on missionary work in West Africa

During the evening, Charlie Ben Etem Abassi, of old Calabar, who was rescued from sacrifice by Father McDermott and who has been educated by the Christian Brothers in Clonmel, sang Irish songs and took part in Irish dances' (CC 14 09 04 3)

Reviews of these lectures are useful in revealing the way in which a purportedly 'instructive' and 'educational' entertainment can, with historical distance, be seen to carry quite disturbing meanings As in all historical work of this nature, the reconciliation of 'primitive' representations with contemporary standards proves a methodological challenge

### **4.9.3 Theology and Visual Representation.**

The evidence listed above foregrounding the collaboration of clerics from different parishes and regions suggests networks of cooperation of a clergy fully supporting and practicing the exhibition of cinematograph and magic lantern pictures as attractive pastimes for their flocks. Waller confirms that the endorsement of screen entertainments by the clergy was strongly linked to their view of the apparatus as an educational tool (1995: 23). While this was certainly the case, their motivation in promoting screenings remains enigmatic. My case study reveals that participation of the clergy in screen exhibitions was most extensive among the Protestant faiths, particularly among Methodists and Presbyterians, a finding seconded by Musser in his study of early American cinema (1994). My suspicion in attempting to explain the marked discrepancy between appropriation of the cinematograph and magic lantern between Catholic and Protestant communities (and clergy) evident throughout the data sample concerns the separation of the registers of sacred and secular visual representation deriving from their theological inheritance.

In relation to visual representation, the concern of the Reformation was primarily directed towards idolatrous misuse of artistic objects and practices in late-medieval Catholicism. The deployment of the visual and plastic arts in liturgical and other religious contexts prompted a concern to differentiate between sacred and secular uses of, and subjects for, art. Catholic theologian John of Damascus (665-749) argued that the veneration of images of Jesus Christ could not be idolatrous since God had rendered himself in human form. Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) defended the didactic and devotional use of images by the church, distinguishing between a good iconology which venerates images and a bad idolatry which worships them. For the illiterate masses, stained glass windows told the stories of the Gospel and the Passion was regularly acted out in mime. Bonaventure (1217-1274), identified three vital functions of the religious image: to educate the illiterate faithful about matters of doctrine, to arouse devotion and to encourage a worshipful disposition (Besançon, 2000: 158). For Bonaventure, the image functioned more efficiently than the written or spoken word in achieving these goals and so a higher value came to be placed on images.

William Jones identifies the result of this position as a 'veritable image explosion' (1977 86-7) in which popular piety filled the churches of Europe with a plethora of sacred art, the patronage of which became identified as pious 'good works' in and of itself. Statues and paintings had come to be invested with miraculous powers and were associated with spiritual visionary experiences (Camille, 1989 223-4). For Catholicism, the aesthetic gaze was equivalent to worship (Hart, 2002 16).

The important role of visual stimulation in medieval worship and the peculiar power accorded to the visual may contribute to an explanation of the virulent distrust of images that accompanied the Reformation which largely condemned all images, whether iconolatrous or idolatrous and prompted a return to the unadorned simplicity of the Word. Jay argues that the Protestant position regarding idolatry led to a new awareness of the difference between fetishism and representation and helped pave the way for the secularisation of the visual realm, releasing the plastic arts from their sacred duties (1994 40). Calvin's emphatic rejection of images in liturgical and devotional contexts was chiefly directed against visual representations of God as inadequate to his glory and majesty and thus fundamentally profane. However, his iconoclasm was not universal. Outside of liturgical and devotional contexts, Calvin identified artistic vision and skill as a gift of the Holy Spirit for the common good of mankind and singled out landscape and portrait painting as especially 'useful' and 'pleasant' (Besançon, 2000 188) and his theology thus encouraged and authorised the production of secular images as an example of the work of man exerting itself for the glory of God alone (Ibid 190). Thus, by reorienting and refocusing the artistic gaze into a secular vision, according to Hart, post-Reformation painting discovered and encouraged many new subjects. Portraiture received a boost from the secularising of representation, from Protestantism's theological emphasis on the importance of the individual and affirmation of humanity as created in the image and likeness of God. The development of landscape and still life painting can be traced to the liberation of the medium from subservience to the church and its concerns (2002 14).



Reformation hermeneutics determined a philosophical programme in which the secular rhetoric of mechanical science was extended to the realm of representation and the beginnings of an abstraction of artistic form from any substantive content was underway (Soskice 1996 36) Thus the achievement of Protestantism was 'a careful disentangling the religious from a damaging conflation of it with the aesthetic' (Ibid 15) It seems reasonable to suggest that Catholic theology may have collapsed the two levels of reference sacred and secular Protestant theology, by contrast, successfully disentangled them. This recognition permits the speculation that, at some level, Catholic theology and practice retained and supported a fear of the image and encouraged its suppression. this contention will be examined in further detail in Chapter 5

Critics have discussed the involvement of the clergy in popular entertainment in terms of 'social control,' the imposition of new forms of behaviour on the provincial public by external forces (Rule, 1982 49), or the exploitation of religious subject matter by commercially savvy entrepreneurs and its ultimate subsumption into the cultural framework of 'cheap amusement' (Musser, 1994 221) The Irish context, in providing telling evidence of their significant participation and activity, and in proving the position of the clergy at the forefront of projected screen exhibitions, offers an alternative picture In valorising the instructive qualities of the exhibitions they sponsored, the clergy, at least implicitly, helped to identify and shape both the composition and reaction of their audiences The sustained popularity of church-led instruction and amusement during the period arguably helped to shape the provincial public's conceptions of the media and their social and cultural import

#### 4.10 Conclusions

It has been the contention of this chapter that an understanding of exhibition as a historically determined social practice is a necessary starting point for an examination of reception. Alternative formations of spectatorship such as that which prevailed in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906 have not been, for obvious reasons, as widely documented as the tendencies which prevailed internationally, but they leave their traces by way of conspicuous absences, and by foregrounding elements not traditionally highlighted in conventional histories of screen entertainment. A different notion of cinematograph and magic lantern reception can be inferred, as we have seen, from exhibition practices in which the participation of the clergy in organising, supervising or presenting exhibitions, or in which the lecturer's address is specifically praised to the neglect of the corresponding images. It becomes clear that factors determining the acceptability of certain entertainments are likely to be found in their context of exhibition.

In attempting to examine the reception of magic lantern and cinematograph pictures in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906, the history of their exhibition, in giving us an indication of the conditions of reception at a particular place in a given time, affords us insight into reception as a historically determined social practice.

Returning to the questions raised in Chapters 2 and 3, this research is concerned to describe and account for the emergence and maintenance of a visual culture other than that predicated on such models of visuality as Cartesian Perspectivalist, Panoptic and *Flâneurie*. Once screen entertainments are considered from the perspective of exhibition, we move beyond consideration of the medium-as-object to entertainments as performative social events with multiple histories. If an entertainment's mode of address helps to constitute spectators, so too do the spaces, practices and entrepreneurs of exhibition help to shape audience experiences of those entertainments. The recognition that 'the immediate context of their viewing experience – the theatre, the musical accompaniment and the environment in which a film is projected – all may leave an impression on viewer's impressions of the films they watch' (Gunning, 1994 xvii) becomes a central concern for the objectives of this research.

Specifically, the prevalent exhibition contexts in provincial Ireland, some aspects of which are noted in a range of exhibition environments other than that examined here, clearly signal the facilitating of participation and community in the choices of venue and in the popularity of verbal and musical accompaniments. The snapshot view of cinematograph and magic lantern exhibition presented here underscores the significant point that visual culture is a work of construction, incorporating the viewer, the viewed and the viewing context.

---

<sup>1</sup> Film studies tends to treat 'protocinematic technologies' as part of an evolutionary chain driving towards verisimilitude. In this schema, technologies of vision are identified as capable not only of reinforcing the predispositions said to inhere in vision, for example, reification and detachment and their harnessing of vision and attention, but also guilty of suppressing other potentials inherent in vision that may have been possible, encouraged and even dominant in alternative contexts of perception. This conception ignores the conceptual and historical singularities of each device as well as the circumstances which contributed to their growth and decline and the historical subject that technologies presuppose.

<sup>2</sup> To do so also offers the opportunity to explore the reception of both an established apparatus (the magic lantern had been a common feature in provincial entertainment programmes for at least a decade) and the introduction of a new technology, arguably providing grounds for a challenge to the deterministic assumption that technologies bring with them an ineluctable set of meanings. Correspondingly, it should be possible to determine the extent to which screen images changed and adapted their shapes and functions. The inclusion of the magic lantern as a projected screen entertainment provides for the exploration of the extent to which protocinematic devices can be considered as more than mere technological prefigurations of cinema. Fell remarks that '[l]imited in length and prone to unpredictable projector performance, the earliest films perpetuated something akin to magic lantern and optical toy entertainment' (1979: 12). It is the contention of this research that such devices often directly affected where and by whom cinema would eventually be seen.

<sup>3</sup> This advertisement, published in the *Wicklow Newsletter* of 1904, gives an indication of the relative cost: 'MAGIC LANTERN for sale, with 30 beautiful coloured slides. Magic Lantern in perfect order, and nearly new, original price at Yeates', Dublin, two guineas, to be sold complete for one guinea. May be seen at the Library, Main Street, Wicklow' (WN 14 01 04 14).

<sup>4</sup> Though, as Rockett notes, the darkened space of the cinema also provides the opportunity for such 'extra-textual' activities as holding hands (2004c).

<sup>5</sup> Waller, for example, emphasised the requirement for balconies to accommodate black spectators in the theatres and vaudeville houses of Lexington, Kentucky in the silent era, to conform to the racial segregation policy. With the establishment of black theatres, catering exclusively to black audiences, he notes, it was increasingly the venue and the high quality of the surroundings and service offered that was promoted, above the content of the entertainment programme (1995: 166). In her analysis of Chicago's black exhibition venues in the same period, Carbine identifies an explicit strategy of soliciting support for venues owned by, and employing, blacks (1996: 241). This strategy, she argues, facilitated the conception of the picture house as a 'space for consciousness and assertion of social difference' (Ibid: 234).

<sup>6</sup> The *Drogheda Argus* of 1904 advertises the impending visit of the Original Irish Animated Photo Company as follows:

[We have] much pleasure in drawing the attention of the public, and all lovers of amusement to the coming visit of the original Irish Animated Photo Company from the Round Room, Rotunda, Dublin, where they have scored so many extraordinary successes, and where it was honoured by the presence of the clergy of all denominations, the elite of society, and an enormous concourse of people.

The high and refined character of the Irish Animated Photo Company's entertainment being so well established, we confidently solicit the esteemed patronage of our readers for the best exposition ever placed before a Louth or Meath audience (DA 10 09 04 4).

<sup>7</sup> Only one female lecturer was mentioned in my data corpus.

<sup>8</sup> Intertitles did not become generalised in the (Irish) cinema until c 1912 (Rockett, 2004c).

---

<sup>9</sup> 'Mr W Halliday, draper, Main Street, and Mr S Hatty, cycle manufacturer, Mam street, had charge of the lantern and the ability they displayed in managing the machine was indeed of a high order. The learned lecturer remarked afterward that he had never seen a lantern better managed and seldom as well' (BFP 26 11 03 4)

<sup>10</sup> Rosensweig's study of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> audiences shares some commonality with the findings of this research, including his identification of participation and commonality as central to the experience of early cinema audiences

<sup>11</sup> The promotional strategy of the Ormondes highlights some of the methodological complexity of analysing newspaper reviews to mine information about exhibition and reception. In the case of the Ormondes, the marketing of each appearance received more column inches than any other such entertainment. In addition to the large advertisements placed in the local press in advance of their appearance, a series of notices were published elsewhere in the newspaper. In every locality and for every appearance during the decade under review, these notices are almost identically scripted. Invariably beginning with the details of the date and venue of the performance, the notice then proceeds as follows: 'In speaking of their entertainment a contemporary says - ' This unidentified contemporary details every item on the bill, each of which is lauded for their 'excellence,' 'brilliance,' and 'high class nature' and which 'amazes and delights' the audience. The striking similarity in tone and wording suggests that the notices were the work of one pen, perhaps a nineteenth century version of a press release, for example, every notice mentions that Miss Lottie's violin is believed to have been made by the great Russian violin maker, S Kiapose, and is valued at £650. For this reason in the analysis of the case study data, all such notices were regarded as paid 'puff' pieces and excluded from consideration as genuine reviews.

<sup>12</sup> '[O]n his return journey and with tragic and appalling suddenness he was called away to receive the crown of righteousness which God has prepared for those who love Him. By his every word and act during his short stay in Ireland he had shown himself to be a true Christian gentleman, and a noble champion of Protestant truth. We have therefore found it fitting in this little meeting composed of Christians of different denominations to refer to this matter, and as a small and humble tribute of respect and honour to the memory of the Archbishop of Canterbury to place on the screen his portrait, and a few pictures of scenes and places with which he was associated, including the great Cathedral over which he presided in life, and in which now repose in the calm stillness of death his honoured remains awaiting the resurrection of the just' (LI 24 10 96 3)

<sup>13</sup> 'Mr Sims has received throughout Ireland a very hearty welcome, wherever these sacred pictures have been shown. All lovers of good, artistic pictures and fine singing are especially attracted, as the views are admitted to be as fine as ever shown, and Mr Sims and Mr Whitfield are splendid trained soloists. The beautiful pictures that illustrate these solos make them doubly impressive. Mr Sims gives stirring addresses on the subjects taken up and so the whole service is highly instructive and interesting. We are sure our readers will avail themselves of this opportunity of hearing our American friends and seeing the beautiful pictures' (WN 17 06 05 9)

<sup>14</sup> It must be noted, however, that fight films did appear on Irish programmes, including that of the first ever cinematograph screening in the Star of Erin, Dublin, on April 17<sup>th</sup> 1896 (Rockett, 1987 3)

<sup>15</sup> Musser notes that controversy concerning not just the potential for sacrilege but also misrepresentation attended Passion Play screenings in New York in 1898 (1990 216). Such objections, both in the international and local contexts are reminiscent of the recent controversy surrounding the exhibition of Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ*. Perhaps it is reasonable to suggest that the potential to disturb religious sensibilities by the visual exhibition of sacred themes and narratives remains a matter of concern for different generations.

---

<sup>16</sup> The following (indicative rather than exhaustive) list serves as an example of their range and pervasiveness

- 'A Trip to Rome' by Rev Lockhart (DA 09 01 04 4)  
'Rome, Ancient and Modern,' by Rev Father Fitzmaurice, OSF (DA 02 03 01 4 )  
'An Easter Holiday in Rome' (WN 22 02 96 4)  
'The Irish Pilgrimage to Rome,' by Father Clarke (DA 20 12 02 1)  
'Travels in Japan,' by Rev Father Moore (DA19 01 01 4)  
'Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun, by Father Coleman, OP (DA 25 11 05 4)  
'Japan It's Scenery, Customs and Missionary Work, SPG, (CC 08 03 05 3)  
'Lourdes and its History,' by Rev J F Murphy, CC (DA 31 12 04 4)  
'Missionary Work in Madagascar, by Rev C K Blount (CS 05 12 96 2)  
Lecture on Mission Work by Mr R.L. McKeown, Qua Iboe Mission (BFP 26 10 05 3)  
'Missionary Work in Nigeria and the Soudan' CMS' (CC 06 02 04 2)  
'Missionaries and their Friends' by Rev H. deVere White, SPG (LI 19 04 98 3)  
'Travels in Australia,' by Rev Father Moore (DA 22 12 00 7)  
'Naples, Pompeii and Vesuvius' by Rev J Jackson (BFP 19 10 05 2)  
'Count Moore's Lecture on the Holy Land' (CC 29 01 02 4)  
'His Visit to the Holy Land,' Rev WA Wilson (BFP 24 03 98 4)  
Lecture on Palestine by Rev Henry Justice, BA, Rector of the Parish (LI 02 04 98 3)  
'Lecture on Ceylon & Uganda,' by Rev Mr Brown, CMS (BFP 05 12 01 4)

<sup>17</sup> The *Drogheda Argus* reports that following an illustrated lecture on 'Japan the Land of the Rising Sun' by local curate Fr Coleman, the priest said 'that not having put forward to the public any work of charity as an object of the lecture, he was free to either keep the proceeds or to devote them to any work of public utility' (DA 02 12 05 6) The priest offered the money to charity

<sup>18</sup> Friedberg notes that Thomas Cook, the first British entrepreneur of the package tour, was an active supporter of the Temperance Movement and encouraged such travel as an alternative to alcohol (1994 59)

<sup>19</sup> It is therefore interesting to note a situation where religious tolerance is entirely lacking  
'The lecturer first spoke of the island of Ceylon and how it was first Christianised by the Portuguese who told the inhabitants that if they would embrace Christianity according to the Roman Catholic faith, that they should have Government appointments The result was that many became Christians according to that faith Later on, he said, when the island came to be owned by the Dutch, similar rewards were promised if they embraced the Reformed religion and similar results followed, so that still later, when the island became a British territory, many of the inhabitants asked the British what religion they (the British) wished them to be, and when they answered that no distinction was made as to religion, the result was that 3,000 went back to Paganism in one year The lecturer [Rev Mr Brown] went on to describe Buddhism and its prayer wheels, devil dancers etc and also explained the different kinds of work being carried out by the Church Missionary Society The lecturer next spoke of Uganda and how the missionary work was proceeding there and stated that last year adult baptisms were at the rate of 61 per week' (BFP 05 12 01 4)

**Chapter Five**

**Reception**

## 5.0 Introduction

It is the primary proposition of this research that visual culture should be conceived interactively, recognising the complex interplay between images produced and circulated within a culture, the viewing apparatuses and exhibition contexts by and in which such images are made available and the culturally specific knowledges and repertoires that designate and reinforce the relationship of interactivity between viewer and viewed

As noted in the foregoing chapters, research in the history of media has relied almost exclusively on approaches which privilege the analysis of institutions and processes over the lived experience of audiences (Sklar, 1990: 28), or in which the effects of media forms and texts are inferred from textual analysis. Allen, as previously noted, expresses surprise at how little the audience has featured in traditional film histories. With the exception of the mythical spectators who dived under their seats at *L'Arrivée d'un Train*, or the scores of immigrants who purportedly assimilated American values in Nickelodeons, 'film history is written as though films had no audiences, or that they were seen by everyone in the same way, as though the history of the films themselves was privileged over the history of the billions of people who have watched them' (1998: 14)

Building upon the tenets of Reception Studies as outlined in Chapter 3, my research attempts to foreground the social existence and import of media and their use. In spite of the standardisation of the production, distribution and exhibition of films, their audiences remained diverse, both in terms of their composition and responses. The study of reception offers the opportunity of getting beyond the texts themselves and the tendency to classify early film reception as the hypothesised, undifferentiated experience of urbanised, industrialised New Yorkers (Allen, 1998). Gomery urges that we 'set aside the myth that all [audiences] instantly and uncritically embraced the movie show' (1992: 3) in favour of considering the relationship of media forms, texts and spectators in relation to larger social and historical settings (Klinger, 1997)



## **5.1 Background**

As detailed in Chapter 3, theoretical investigations into spectatorship in the 70s and 80s primarily concerned themselves with the textually inscribed, ahistorical spectator as a structural, codified function of the classical narrative system. The movie-goer, invited to assume the position of this inscribed ideal spectator in a closed system, is conceived in anonymity, devoid of the influential marks of social, sexual, cultural and historical membership. Reception, thus, was effectively read off from textual analysis of specific films. Stacey comments upon the appeal of this approach:

The ease of conducting textual analysis certainly compares favourably with the uncertainties and practical problems of audience research. Almost invariably, the former is more straightforward, less time-consuming and more manageable. The text is a discrete object of study which is usually relatively accessible, in contrast to audiences who have to be selected, contacted and whose opinions and feelings have to be collected before analysis can begin (1994: 263)

As Kuhn remarks, what is eliminated between textually inscribed and empirical viewer, from any theory that conceptualises the spectator as a function or effect of such a closed system, is a recognition of the public, social dimension of cinematic reception (1998). Accounts which conceive of cinema history as that of a largely undifferentiated mass communication that offered the same experience to people in Manhattan and Mohill neglect the fact that modes of reception varied enormously, both temporally and geographically. Consideration of the social composition and cultural experiences of early cinema's audiences have consistently displayed a remarkable disregard for non-American factors. The hegemonic rhetorics which have dominated the historical debate presume that we all see the same things in the same way, regardless of social or cultural membership. Analyses that fail to take into account the social and cultural contexts in which media are consumed, and choose to impose imported theory on local contexts, misrepresent the meaning of film and the meanings made of it.

It is only relatively recently that the contribution that a reader/viewer makes in the process of reception has been directly addressed by historians of the media. Though often tacitly assumed, this contribution, informed by social and cultural membership, has rarely featured in critical enquiry. While it has broadly been agreed that early cinema enjoyed a distinctive mode of reception, bracketed off from the reception of films *sui generis*, the approaches of, for example, Gunning (1990) and Musser (1994) present early cinema spectatorship and reception as paradigmatically different to that of later classical cinema but tend to collapse that difference into an undifferentiated binarism between 'primitive' and 'classical' reception. Theorists such as Hansen (1991), Balides (1993) and Schlüppmann (1996a, 1996b) and have begun to chip away at this shortcoming offering gender-inflected accounts of reception in New York and Wilhelmine Germany respectively. Recent work, informed by the insights of Reception Studies and building upon increased interdisciplinarity across a range of theoretical disciplines, has begun to forward a more nuanced set of assumptions. The study of reception continues the trend in scholarship on cinema in pursuing a wide range of archival, oral and ethnographic research called for by the new film historians. Ethnographic, social history and cultural studies research methodologies proposed that the reader/viewer approaches the medium bearing the marks of their specific cultural and historical environment and that these cultural and historical marks play a significant role in constructing the 'horizon of expectations' (Kuhn, 1998, Jauss, 1982) for the reception process. This hermeneutic horizon, determining how a historical spectator makes sense of what s/he perceives, is comprised of a 'contested field of multiple positions and conflicting interests defined (though not necessarily confined) in terms of the viewer's class, race, gender and sexual orientation' which can give rise to formations not necessarily anticipated in the context of production (Kuhn, 1998: 7).

In recognising that what viewers have historically made of films involves the mobilisation of a number of sets of abilities and competences, preferences and inclinations, the consensus history of the past has largely lost its force. Feminists such as Mayne (1993) and Hansen (1991) considered the ways in which moviegoing was an activity of special significance to women, while DeCordova conducted similar research on the child audience (2002).

Sklar (1990) and Rosensweig (1983) examined the experience of film viewing from the perspective of working class immigrants. Historians such as Klinger have investigated the manner in which publicity and promotional campaigns prepared audiences for reception of Sirk's melodramas (1994). Others have mined intertextual evidence to investigate the mediation of historical viewers' reception, revealing how intertextual determinants reinforced particular meanings of film texts (Uricchio & Pearson, 1993). The unity of the above perspectives in questioning the autonomy of the text and in emphasising the importance of historicity and cultural specificity in the study of media reception has been a key corrective to positionless, universalist and essentialist accounts of spectatorship.

As history, and not philosophy, reception studies is interested in what actually occurred in the material world. Reception studies does not attempt to construct a generalised, systemic explanation of how individuals might have comprehended texts but rather how they actually have understood them (Staiger, 1992: 8)<sup>1</sup>

## **5.2 Implications for this Study**

As has been noted in Chapters 3 and 4, the majority of histories of the media in Ireland have tended to collapse that history into larger narratives in which the importance of the underlying structures of reception, their variability, interaction and resistance to change have been overlooked. In identifying a concern with 'locatedness' and 'situatedness' in historical enquiry, reception studies assumes that responses to visual media, like the viewers who produce them, is a situated phenomenon. The 'situation' of the viewer implies that specific cultural, social and historical conditions play a significant role in constructing the 'horizon of expectations' which largely informs the reception process.

In acknowledging the diversity underlying the seeming homogeneity of visual media reception, we must further recognise that the cultural arena in which our media circulate and are made meaningful can be seen to have national, regional and even local variations. In considering reception in the context of the history of activities and meanings of media consumption in local rather than global settings, it becomes methodologically useful to situate such histories as part of local histories. This approach supports both the audience studies' requirement to incorporate the activity of the audience in grounding and producing interpretations and the 'new' film history call to return film history to local contexts in which the activity of actual spectators can be researched and analysed.

Yet researching and producing such a local history presents certain methodological problems. The history of the audience remains among the most elusive aspects of media history, since audiences form temporary and elusive communities and leave few traces of their presence. The collection and analysis of such traces depends upon a wide array of historically particular yet diverse, dispersed and transient research materials which defy the kind of abstract generalisations common to approaches based on conventional film theory. Instead, reception histories tell specific stories about the meanings of media, often not clearly articulated, which cannot be determined in advance of research.

In pursuing the issue of reception among provincial Irish audiences between 1896 and 1906, my objective is not to offer an encyclopaedic history of the media in Ireland. This chapter is interested in the interpretative repertoires that were mobilised in order to reflect and construct public opinion cinematographic and magic lantern exhibitions between 1896 and 1906 and to use such repertoires as a lens through which to argue for a conception of visual culture as a transaction between viewer and viewed. More specifically, I attempt to identify the range of interpretations and responses to these media, to speculate about and argue for the possible conditions that determine or inform those interpretations and to situate those interpretations within an appropriate historical, social, cultural and political context.

Further, analysis will thus be subject to the same limits imposed in my foregoing consideration of exhibition. The examination of reception will be restricted to that evinced by provincial audiences and secondly, I limit consideration of the reception of available technologies to two apparatuses: the cinematograph and the magic lantern. Here, I intend to follow a distinct methodological direction. Through an examination of the relations between cultural expectations and both the form and content of cinematograph and magic lantern exhibitions, I will try to infer the most common types of attitudes that such entertainments solicited among provincial Irish audiences beyond the empirical variability of audiences and subjective spectatorial behaviour.

The approach I propose here relies upon a recognition of the intertextual and intermedial context of media exhibition and reception. It is my intention to sketch the media landscape of the period, identifying not only the prevalent media and entertainment forms and styles, but also the underlying cultural patterns and preferences that may have influenced and even determined the earliest Irish spectators' frame of reference when understanding and conceptualising the functions and screen practices of the cinematograph and the magic lantern.

### **5.3 Intertextuality**

Newness enters the world through hybridity, impurity, intermingling, the transformation that comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, ideas, politics, movies, songs, [from] melange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and a bit of that (Rushdie, 1990: 52)

My research assumes that cinematograph and magic lantern exhibitions during the period in question were enmeshed in a wide range of already existing cultural practices. It will be argued that contemporaneous forms of entertainment traded in established cultural values and that this entertainment context provides a cultural template into which the cinematograph and magic lantern were inserted and according to which these media made sense. As a corollary, though beyond the scope of this project, novel visual media entertainments similarly come to affect that template.

Contrary to the teleological perspective that the 'new' film history seeks to critique and replace, the method offers a means to piece together a cultural ethnography, asking crucial questions about the social and cultural modes of perception and reception visual media first tapped into, relied upon and, later, transformed 'New' media history asks that we think in terms of the contemporaneity and simultaneity of different cultural texts and forms and their interplay within a specific social space The point here is that there are not just new technologies which arrive in a cultural vacuum and bring with them an ineluctable set of meanings Rather, media forms and texts are introduced into a context in which they co-exist as much as compete with a multiplicity of social and cultural relations which determine the parameters that lay out not only the possible but also the most likely conditions of reception

Such concerns shift attention away from the visual media text to focus instead on what modes of exhibition and reception, already in place, new media technologies first rely upon or stimulate in their audiences From this perspective, it becomes vital to investigate the development and legacy of the prevailing cultural forms in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland which inhabited the same physical and discursive spaces and thus both created and shaped the dominant series of attitudes and expectations which audiences brought with them.

We have a problem not only in defining different media and different perception of media historically These (new) media are also intertwined in a 'wickerwork' of media practices, contaminating each other and our perception of the real (Björkin, 2001 35)

It has been widely acknowledged that existing cultural repertoires, experiences of other media and forms of communication, are mobilised in order to make sense, enhance or negate what has been presented to us At any specific historical moment, the reception of visual media texts and forms is elaborated according to sets of intertextual relations available to one audience or another

Variously described as 'intermediality' (Abel & Altman, 2001: xiii), 'acculturation' and 'tropes of reception,' (Tsivian, 1994: 3), 'bricolage' (Williams, 1992), 'contamination' (Björkin, 2001: 32) 'pre-understandings' (Eagleton, 1983: pp) and 'hybridity' (Christie, 2001: 45), it is accepted that intertextuality (Bennett & Woolacott, 1987: 56; Uricchio & Pearson, 1996: 219), constitutes an essential component of the conditions of reception and explains the variety and diversity of both possible and likely interpretative stances.

Bennett and Woolacott explain:

The process of reading is not one in which the reader and the text meet as abstractions but one in which the intertextually organised reader meets the intertextually organised text. The exchange is ... 'muddied' by the cultural debris which attach to both texts and readers in the determinate conditions which regulate the specific forms of their encounter (1987: 56).

Uricchio & Pearson offer examples of potential evidentiary sources for reconstructing the intertextual contexts of a specific historical moment which range from

directly related references to a fuller construction, which includes more ephemeral, less directly related and locatable cultural expressions. Intertextuality thus embraces everything from textual sources such as plays and paintings to culturally pervasive artefacts such as advertising and textbooks ... The interaction of text and context occurs within a cultural context, the delineation of which provides essential evidence about the conditions of reception. Context embraces everything from the specifics of theatre architecture, to the economics of the film industry, to the literacy rates and immigration policies ... we ... will focus on situating texts in a cultural context through considering the circulation of relevant intertexts among different social formations. (1996: 219).

The concept of intertextuality can be approached from a variety of perspectives: Klinger notes that acknowledgement of intertextuality chiefly references cinema's relation to other media and businesses, the mutual influences between film and associated practices external to the film industry (1997: 116). Williams (1992) and Musser (1994) contend that the content of contemporaneous popular entertainments provided intertextual cross-fertilisation in terms of subject matter, performance conventions and viewer expectations.

Gunning offers two distinct but interrelated options, 'the immediate context of the viewing experience – the theatre, the musical accompaniment and the environment in which a film is projected' and 'the passions and tacit assumptions of their age and nation (not to mention class and gender)' which 'stain' the image (1994 xvii) The former of Gunning's considerations has been discussed in the previous chapter, the latter I examine below

By 'intertextual relations' in the following discussion, I refer to the nexus of knowledge and expectations audiences bring with them as well as, indirectly, to the 'social text' of those audiences with their differing desires or interests (Abel, 1996 9) From this perspective, the existing cultural context, repertoires, preferences and competencies of viewers becomes central to their experience of reception Klinger identifies intertextual determinants as particularly important for reception studies in helping to depict further formative influences in the film text itself, sets of expectations or desires audience members may have brought with to their filmgoing from their participation in other adjacent spheres and modes of evaluation other media may have brought to bear on the cinema at specific times Hence, studying the film's association with closely related terrains illuminates just how strongly intertextual its existence is, as this provides another step in constructing its historical meaning (Klinger, 1997 116)

The work of two key theorists has been central to my consideration of reception of projected screen entertainments in provincial Ireland during the period in question, H R. Jauss and Yuri Tsivian. Their contributions to the debate are summarised below

### **5.3.1 H.R. Jauss and the Horizon of Expectations**

Hans Robert Jauss of the Constance School of Literary Criticism maintains that the evolution of the audience, rather than the historical period of production, explains the history of a literary text Reception aesthetics, the perspective elaborated by Jauss and his colleagues, examines how readers realise the potential of a text and how readings change over the course of history



Building on Gadamer's argument that all interpretations of past literature arise from a dialogue between past and present, Jauss proposes that a frequently neglected element of the meaning of any narrative is its audience and their experience in consuming other narratives. Our attempts to understand a work depend both on this experience and the enframing cultural context.

A literary work, even if it appears to be new, does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum, but predisposes its audience to a very specific type of reception by announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics or implicit allusions. It awakens memories of that which was already read, brings the reader to a specific emotional attitude and with its 'beginning' arouses expectations for the 'middle and end,' which can then be maintained intact or altered, reoriented or even fulfilled ironically in the course of the reading. The new text evokes for the reader (listener) the horizon of expectations and rules familiar from earlier texts which are then varied, corrected, changed or just reproduced (1982: 23)

In his attempt to account for both the dialectic of production and reception of literary works in a given culture at a given time and for historical continuities and discontinuities in the reception of individual works, Jauss introduces the notion of a 'horizon of expectation,' the 'rules of the game' or set of cultural, ethical and literary expectations that establish assumptions concerning a text's meaning and thus impacts upon its interpretation. Though never fully explicit to its subjects, the 'horizon of expectation' describes the criteria readers use to judge literary texts in 'the historical moment of their appearance' (Ibid: 25)

For Jauss, it is incorrect to assume that a work is universal, that its meaning is fixed and open to all readers in a given period. Rather, the appearance of a new text evokes for the reader 'the horizon of expectation and "rules of the game" familiar to him from earlier texts, which as such can then be varied, extended, corrected, but also transformed, crossed out or simply reproduced' (Jauss, 1982: 88). Thus, the successive interpretations through which a text has been perceived become a horizon or background that sets up assumptions about a text's meaning and thus influences its interpretation.

A literary work is not an object that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader in each period. It is not a monument that monologically reveals its timeless essence. It is much more like an orchestration that strikes ever new resonances among its readers and that frees the text from the material of the words and brings it to a contemporary existence (Ibid 21)

In addition to concretising the horizon of expectation as a determinative intertextual force in the reception of projected screen entertainments, a second benefit of Jauss' concept for the purposes of my research is his presupposition of a broad synthesis between the private and the public dimensions of the literary work. While the majority of accounts of reception informed by the reader-response tradition of literary criticism focus on the isolated, individual reader, Jauss' model of the horizon of expectation is theorised, fundamentally, as collective

[T]he passage from the individual to the collective or social aspects of the work is implicit in the model of the horizon. Preconscious or subconscious expectations are always collective and, therefore, to a degree, 'received'. They are the outcome of a reception by means of which the individual work becomes part of a landscape against which new works will, in turn, be silhouetted (DeMan, 1982 xiii)

For Jauss, the question of the subjectivity of the interpretation and the differing tastes or competences of readers can only be asked meaningfully once the 'transsubjective' horizon of understanding has been identified and clarified (Jauss, 1982 23). In highlighting the importance of horizons of expectation, Jauss circumvents the problem of autonomous, idiosyncratic readings and their validity.

Jauss' rejection of the idea of timeless, universal meaning also raises the issue of the functional connection between media and society. His foregrounding of the way in which a text may satisfy, surpass, disappoint or refute the expectations of its audience highlights the shortcomings of uncritically presupposing that we all see the same things in the same way.

Jauss conceives of both readers and aesthetic value as sociologically determined, active and collective, locating the actualisation of meaning in the fusion between the 'intrinsic' literary horizon implied by the text and the 'social' horizon determined by the historically and socially given world of readers' biography, social group, class, education, and generation. Reception thus depends on the cultural, ideological and social assumptions and practices of reading publics.<sup>2</sup>

Though conceived and elaborated strictly within the confines of literary theory and criticism and without testing in an empirical setting, Jauss' acknowledges the difficulty in applying his model to the study of the actual reception of real audiences.<sup>3</sup>

Since I do not yet suffer from having to become an empiricist, I can easily put up with the fact that my solution does not yet provide the model for the overdue empirical research into reception (Ibid 144)

Tsivian's research into the cultural reception of cinema in Russia mediates between the analysis of ethnographic or historical facts and theoretical speculation, taking a further step in bridging the gap between the spectator as textual point of address and the viewer as an empirical unit.

### **5.3.2 Yuri Tsivian and Cultural Reception in Russia**

Tsivian's formulation of reception in the years following the introduction of the cinematograph in late Imperial Russia provides a provocative and fascinating account of the ways in which the physical circumstances of exhibition, leisure customs and practices, specific familiar narrative structures and the intertextuality of Russian urban culture combined to affect what he describes as the 'cultural reception' of films. As a theoretical starting point, Tsivian assumes that no film is complete until it has been received and that this reception is irrevocably stained by the historical and social position of the viewer.

Defined as the set of 'active, creative, interventionist or even aggressive' responses that reflect on films and their meaning rather than simply reacting to them (1994 1), Tsivian's approach to cultural reception has resonance beyond the temporal and geographic moment he details for the reception of projected screen entertainments where and whenever they were encountered <sup>4</sup>

For the remainder of this chapter, I will repeatedly return to Tsivian's theorisation of 'tropes of film reception'

Whatever its immediate cause, more often than not the first shock of seeing images in motion assumed the form of recognisable cultural patterns. We will call them the 'tropes of film reception'. These patterns (or tropes) formed a buffer zone between film and culture' (1994 4)

I consider this formulation to be central to my analysis and discussion of the reception of the cinematograph and the magic lantern in provincial Ireland between 1896 and 1906. Applying the notion of tropes to his case study, Tsivian considers the manner in which viewers received the first films as a culturally conditioned response to cinema as a medium. In tracing the associations made at the time by Russia's urban and erudite intelligentsia, Tsivian proposes that such audiences were prepared by existing cultural commonplaces for looking at and understanding films. This background 'overshadowed the film text' and 'interpreted originality as a fault' (1990 249). Tsivian reports that the first published responses to the screening of Lumières' *L'Arrivée d'un Train* unexpectedly reveal that the cultural background dominating public reception of the film was to be found in literature rather than with familiarity with the photographic image. Drawing on existing forms of representation and mapping them on the new moving images, Tsivian cites Stasov's response to the approach of the train: 'It gets bigger and bigger and you think it's going to run you over, just like in *Anna Karenina*' (1990 249). Further, he notes that the transposing of familiar 'tropes' of reception onto the new medium exceeded the semiotic limits of the bare film text. The reviewers' predilection for describing the detail contained in the images in 'novelistic detail' allows the author to effect a 'hypercorrection of each film' in which the writer prefers to replace the abrupt ending to the film with one more suited to prevailing cultural norms.

In the case of *L'Arrivée d'un Train*, the writer describes a 'poorly dressed man holding a bundle, looking about distractedly' and reads into this description 'the desire to live beyond his means' (Ibid) Conceiving of the introduction of a new medium into a culture, Tsivian regards the cinematograph as 'a communications network striving for an isomorphic relationship with culture' (1990 254) Tsivian identifies this relationship between text and culture as reciprocal 'early film worked by putting new life in old literary clichés' (1994 4) and uses these accounts to underline his central argument that the reception of the moving image was not always as universal or stable as it has allegedly become

Though Tsivian confines his study exclusively to the reactions and reports of the urban Russian intelligentsia, his perspective has resonance beyond the empirical confines of his case study His analysis of the manner in which his respondents received the first films as a culturally conditioned response to a medium offers a useful and provocative platform from which a variety of text/medium-audiences relations can be explored For the purposes of my research, a practical synthesis of Jauss' conceptualisation of 'horizons of expectation' and Tsivian's 'cultural reception' offers the opportunity to examine the visual culture of Ireland from a perspective informed by theoretical speculation about possible viewing relations and the material examination of records detailing those relations in their actuality Thus, the examination of the visual culture of Ireland between 1896 and 1906 requires both historicising theoretical arguments about visual culture and delimiting the discursive field within which media forms and texts would have made sense

Tsivian traces the associations made among cinema critics in Imperial Russian between film viewing, theatre and literature as an interpretative key to understanding how viewers perceived the image exhibited on screen. His conclusions suggest that a robust visual culture existed prior to the arrival of the cinematograph which prepared viewers for looking at and understanding the new medium. In the Irish context, that visual culture was lacking

Viewers, it appears, turned instead to the more familiar structures and practices of oral culture, with its focus on the voice, performance, immediacy and participation. An examination of provincial Ireland's interest in, and interpretations of, cinematograph and magic lantern pictures allows us to tap into a highly selective process of cultural reception in which six overlapping and mutually reinforcing considerations emerge. The first, building upon my discussion of the exhibition context in the previous chapter, details the deportment of audiences and their sense of participation and communality. The second concerns a marked ambivalence to the quality and impact of magic lantern and cinematograph images, particularly with respect to the realism of their representation. Thirdly, a strong preference for the exhibition of films and slides featuring local people, places and events emerges. Fourthly, I identify a tangible bias in favour of the 'oral' qualities of entertainment at the expense of the visual, which I argue may have resulted from a complex of interests, including the relative absence of a visual vernacular. Fifthly, I examine the prevailing political landscape and its influence in influencing responses and lastly, I consider the influence of direct, cultural political intervention by the revivalist project, supported by the clergy.

#### **5.4 The Social Audience**

The exhibition context during the period in question fostered a fundamentally different conception of audience membership and spectatorship to that which we know today. Conceiving of early cinema spectatorship as a phenomenon radically different in its constituency and predicated upon a different set of principles to the model of spectatorship associated with the classical narrative cinema, writers have increasingly stressed the self-consciously exhibitionist nature of early cinema films, a quality disavowed by classical cinema. Hansen adopts Metz's distinction between cinematic and theatrical voyeurism to explain. In the case of the former, the audience ceases to exist for the (anticipated, normative) individual spectator engaged in viewing the film (1991: 35). By contrast, the latter, theatrical voyeurism thrives on a reciprocity of seeing and being seen, an 'active complicity' (Ibid) which retains a public and social dimension. Gunning confirms that the form and style of early films prevented narrative absorption by means of its 'aesthetic of astonishment' (Gunning, 1995a: 121), its foregrounding the act of display.

Further, early film's direct and outward address to the acknowledged audience disrupts classical cinema's myth of the invisible gaze (1990 58)

Before the establishment of narrative absorption as a key characteristic of classical cinema, and for as long as cinema shared a venue and programme with variety and other entertainments, 'the screening of films would not necessarily have diminished the audience's awareness of itself as a public, as a collective body present to the spectacles being exhibited' (Hansen, 1991 36) The variety format, consisting of short, unrelated acts appearing in random order, inhibited screen absorption in the classical sense This context ensured that each screening functioned as a one-off event rather than uniform product and emphasised the presentness of both the performance and the audience<sup>5</sup> Further, the alternation of screen exhibitions with songs and recitations, skits and dances, maintained a sense of continuity between the screen space and the physical space of the theatre (Rockett, 1987, Hansen, 1991)

In this context, Hansen argues that early film-spectator relations were characterised by a social dimension. She cites certain conventions of early screen presentations such as singalongs and amateur nights as supportive of a 'display of collectivity' (Ibid 94) in which a social field of individuals could be organised into collective units of consumption For Hark, this sense of collectivity is strongest when exhibition involves 'large lobby areas in which movie-goers linger,' or strong neighbourhood identification with a particular theatre' (2002 9) Given that dedicated movie theatres did not appear in Ireland until much later than the period under review, the latter circumstance cannot be tested Hark's former proposition seems to indicate that communality is forged in areas, unlike the theatre itself during the course of the presentation, where audience members are *visible*

It is clear from provincial Irish press reports during the period in question that even during screen presentations, audience members were individually discernible. The composition of the audience in terms of gender and age is routinely included. The reviewer from the *Tuam Herald* offers his opinion on the composition of the audience attending a Magic Lantern entertainment in 1897:

Before the performance opened, the HERALD appreciator glanced an observant eye upon the audience and he was glad to observe that besides being huge, the assembly was made up of a good proportion of the fair (and they are always fair be they *brunettes* or *blondes*) sex and that judges of good music from the fair and foul gender were adequately represented' (TH 13 11 97 2)

Many reviews begin by listing the names of individuals in attendance, often with their addresses and occupations supplied. Notable absences are also included and explained as part of the text of the review, for example, 'The Rev Wm. Phelan, P P, owing to a slight indisposition, was unable to attend' a screening of Boer War slides (CC 10 02 00 2). My findings second those of Srivinas who, in the case of Indian audiences for cinema, notes that individuals 'routinely dress up for the movies and go to be seen and to see others' (2002: 163).

In the case of provincial Irish entertainments produced for charitable purpose in a particular district, the lists of attendees from entertainment to entertainment is virtually identical, suggesting a knowledge on the part of individuals that their visible presence, or absence, was likely to be noted, thereby opening their community standing as generous, moral citizens to question.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, it appears that in place of a 'fixed and isolated observer' (Crary, 1990: 18), it may have been common for audience members to exercise mobility during a performance. As noted in Chapter 3, the *Sligo Champion* objects to the proposition to provide a Press Box for reviewers, for the reason that, one 'might want to go out "to see a man" and if they were boxed up they could not do so. It is better under present circumstances to give certain critics the run of the front seats to go in and out as their inclination or thirstiness dictates' (SC 23 05 96 5)<sup>7</sup>



The exhibition circumstance clearly was crucial to this forging of the audience's sense of itself as an audience. Châteauvert & Gaudreault comment that early cinema screenings involved a 'resolutely public space' between the screen and the spectator (2001: 183). In contrast to the private space of institutional cinema and its individualised, silent spectator, the viewing situation permits the addressing of the audience present as a collective entity. The range and organisation of ancillary entertainment features, such as the singing of popular songs (sometimes illustrated by lantern views in which the chorus lyrics were projected on screen), dancing and recitations, encouraged audience participation. Indeed, I think it may be reasonable to suggest that entertainment programmes in which cinematograph and magic lantern presentations featured were organised to anticipate the social aspects of the event. As noted earlier, the specific exhibition context, including unpredictable elements such as live accompaniment and alternating acts, contained a 'strong presential dimension' which functioned as a stimulant for the 'reactivity of the audience,' (Polet, 2001: 196) yet it is clear that the deportment of the audience at projected screen entertainments owed as much to prevailing cultural norms and entertainment intertexts.

There is little doubt that provincial Irish audiences conceived of themselves as a public gathering, an active force not merely witnessing but participating in the performance. The social atmosphere of screen exhibitions allowed for their active involvement, clearly signalled in the reviews by the inclusion of their appreciation, or otherwise, of the show on offer, a finding also noted by Rockett in relation to the screening of Boer War pictures in Dublin during the same period (2004a) and by Rosensweig in his study of 1920s American movie audiences. Most reviews published punctuate their reports with actual responses from audience members including, '(applause)' and '(hear, hear), 'cheer[ing] and hiss[ing] as the political feelings of the mixed audience prompted' (TH 13 10 00 2)<sup>8</sup>. One writer notes of an impending visit of the Ormondes to the Assembly Hall, Wicklow, that 'whistling, yelling, smoking and interruptions is [sic] allowed a free hand' (WN 22 11 02 7).

A common stimulus for such interjection appears to be closely linked to political persuasion and will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Interestingly, the majority of reported audience interaction appears to have been directed at both the pictorial and non-pictorial features of the entertainment.

Conviviality, high-spirited and spontaneous interaction were the norm,<sup>9</sup> not only with respect to the entertainment presented on screen, but with one another. Eschewing the harnessing of spectators into an economy of distanced and disengaged looking of such models of visuality as Cartesian Perspectivalism, Panopticism and *Flânerie*, my case study reveals repeated evidence of interactive, lively and, occasionally, rowdy behaviour. Provincial Irish audiences, it appears, were not shy about expressing their opinions on matters of topical interest, particularly with respect to screenings of slides and films of the Boer War.



Fig. 15 Surrender of the Boers to General Roberts

The *Wicklow Newsletter* reports that during such a screening, ‘One [magic lantern] picture showed a regiment of English soldiers, which Mr. Barrett described as “The Bedfords on the March,” when one of the audience expressed a wish to see them on the run’ (WN 19.01.01: 2).

The *Longford Independent*, reviewing a magic lantern exhibition of Boer War slides contends that '[t]he feelings of the audience in relation to Dr Jameson's raid could be easily gauged by the applause and hisses which followed the appearance of the principal characters in that inglorious event upon the sheet and it was made abundantly clear that the sympathies of the vast majority of those present were on the side of Jameson' (LI 28 03 96 2)

The *Carlow Sentinel* reports that a portion of the audience at a limelight screening of 'The War in Africa,'

of whom something better might have been expected, created such a disturbance that the proper carrying out of the programme was an impossibility. What was intended for a pro-Boer demonstration was made while the views were on the screen, but the demonstrators appeared to be rather foggy as to the merits or demerits of the case, as the same pictures were cheered and hissed on alternate nights' (CS 13 01 00 2)

The *Ballymoney Free Press*, comments on the 'musical ejaculation' of an audience member at a cinematographic exhibition in Bushmills, which 'reminded one of the proximity of a colony of creatures from Cockin-China' and which 'was varied by that of the feline species' (BFP 16 02 99 2)

In addition, the vast majority of entertainments are structured along the lines of a meeting, presupposing both visibility and participation. A chairperson is nominated to introduce and preside over the entertainment. At the close of the proceedings, the Chairperson is required to make a few remarks and to propose a vote of thanks to the provider(s) of the evening's amusement. The motion is seconded by a member of the audience, often adding their own remarks, and the vote is then put to the audience and passed or rejected accordingly. The Chairperson also had the authority to direct the behaviour of the audience.

He [the Chairman] had only one request to make to the juvenile portion of the audience, they would abstain from any unseemly noise, as it was very disturbing to the [magic lantern] lecturer. His remarks were addressed to the juvenile portion of the audience whom he requested to listen to the lecture with patience and attention (DA 06 02 96 4)

The entertainer having replied accordingly, the composition of the audience is again signalled and their communality bolstered by the singing of the National Anthem, an appropriate hymn or, in the case of Nationalist entertainments, an appropriate ballad, bringing the proceedings to a conclusion. This structure, familiar to all, functions to anticipate and accommodate the social, communal and convivial aspects of the event while retaining the semblance of formality necessary to the smooth running of the show.

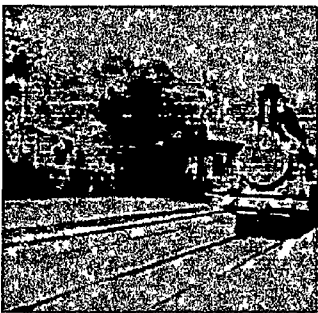
Recalling Debord's critique of the (modern) spectacle's privilege of the logic of individual satisfaction and passivity, precluding community and interdependence, it seems clear that provincial Irish audiences did not respect the spectacle's injunction on participation. In a manner reminiscent of Bakhtin's theorisation of Carnival, albeit without the scatological elements he describes, the incorporation of bawdy wordplay and spontaneous interjection emerges as a sort of 'verbal' carnival in which the social audience were materially aware of their activity and communality. Challenging the abstract and detached seeing of Cartesian Perspectivalism, Panopticism and *Flânerie*, the provincial Irish audience valued sociability over silent contemplation in their reception of visual entertainments.

## 5.5 Realism

The first theoreticians of cinema such as Kracauer, Arnheim and Bazin, whose influence remains considerable, considered film to be a mimetic medium uniquely equipped to capture and reveal the world as it actually *is*. From this perspective, cinema was considered in the context of the evolution of absolute fidelity in visual representation and the indexicality of the moving photographic image its pinnacle. For the first time, and in contrast to all previous attempts to animate images, the cinematic image produced 'a complex articulated movement in which all parts of the image could vary in relation to all other parts' (McQuire, 1998: 65). Movement was no longer restricted to the lateral plane, but could advance and recede from the viewer's position. According to McQuire, early films 'transfixed' audiences with minute gradations of movement – smoke rising, dust settling, breaking waves (Ibid). The unique, evidential force of the photograph, conceived in terms of an 'idealisation of neutrality' (McQuire, 1998: 3) and coupled with the recording of motion, fostered the belief that representation had equalled perception.

Familiarity with photography was widespread during the decade in question. Though the inclusion of photographic illustrations in their pages was extremely rare,<sup>10</sup> each of the newspapers under review routinely advertised the availability of photographic services in their respective localities. A Sligo photographer lists his product lines as ‘Cartes de Visite Cabmets Ensuring Graceful and Natural Poses, Platinotypes, Carbon Pictures and Landscape Work’ along with photographic supplies for amateurs (SC 25 04 03 4). Others advertise picture postcards (SC 14 10 05 4, BFP 02 07 03 3, CS 01 01 98 2, WN 05 03 04 4) Christmas cards (‘Local views of interesting places in and about Cavan beautifully finished on Xmas and New Year mounts’ AC 25 12 97 2, CS 01 01 98 2). The Tuam Herald of 1896 speculates that ‘everyone likes to see his or her face and person rendered permanent’ and reports the opinion of the town’s photographer, Mr John Croly, that the majority of his custom ‘lay with those who were on the point of emigrating to the United States or other foreign lands, the reason undoubtedly being that friends at home like to retain in the glow of actuality the presentment of the features of dear ones whom perhaps they might not see hereafter in this life’ (TH 18 07 96 2)<sup>11</sup>

In considering the impact of the first projected screen pictures on audiences, it has been common in the relevant literature to emphasise their ‘uncanny’ realism as a primary draw (Bottomore, 1999 179)<sup>12</sup> Lastra’s survey of early film catalogues, newspapers and trade journals reveals that the single most persistent term of positive evaluation was ‘realism’ (1997 265)



In spite of the controversy surrounding the credibility of one of the founding ‘myths’ of cinema, the legendary accounts of spectators diving under their seats at the approach of the train in Lumière’s *L’Arrivée d’un Train*, Bottomore insists that such a reaction did, on occasion, happen (1999 177)<sup>13</sup>

Fig 16 Lumière’s *Arrivée D’Un Train* (1895)

Dai Vaughan notes that the first British Lumière programme screened included the short actuality, *Boat Leaving a Harbour*, after which audience members came forward to tap the screen with their walking sticks convinced that the screen concealed a tank of water (1990 63) My concern here is not to debate the plausibility of such reactions, but to discuss the manner in which provincial Irish audiences first apprehended these realistic images

The promoters of (particularly) cinematographic entertainments foregrounded the 'scientific amusement' (CC 13 02 97 3) provided by 'one of the greatest wonders of the age' (BFP 02 12 97 2) The *Clonmel Chronicle* published the following notice in 1897, alerting the public to the attractions of the cinematograph in advance of the first screening

#### THE CINEMATOGRAPH FIRST VISIT TO CLONMEL

One of the most popular of what may be termed scientific amusements that have been given to the public is undoubtedly the Cinematograph or 'Animated Pictures' It is absolutely the most attractive and entertaining of known inventions – in fact no invention yet brought out for the amusement and edification of the public can be compared with it and none have been received with greater surprise and acclamation It is positively the greatest and most mystifying wonder of photography and electricity known, and its marvels are difficult to realise in every respect true to life, and with every movement as though the actual reality were before us  
(CC 17 02 97 2)

Such advertising was a prime means of explaining the character and content of entertainment programmes and thus attracting audiences The promotional discourse of the notice makes several key assumptions about the prospective customers it hopes to attract Firstly, it is assumed that the public are familiar with the name of Edison and his work<sup>14</sup> Making use of the familiar language of marvel that accompanied the name internationally, the notice reproduces a sense of excitement about advances in technologies of entertainment and replicates the rhetoric of wonder and awe common to the promotion of scientific novelties throughout the nineteenth century The invocation of science, invention and edification as primary attractions signal the respectability of the entertainment

The language of the notice also signals a curious ambivalence to realism of representation. Described as ‘mystifying’ and ‘difficult to realise’ yet ‘in every respect true to life as though the actual reality were before us,’ I am reminded of Gunning’s suggestion that contemporary conceptions of cinematic realism owed more to the traditions of magic theatre and presentations of popular science, designed to astound and baffle rather than to transparently explicate, than to conceptions of documentary realism (Gunning, 1990: 96). The subsequent issue, again enticing audiences to attend the forthcoming show, comments that ‘the audiences looking at these wonderful “Living Pictures” can hardly realise that what is exhibited before them through the medium of Edison’s marvellous invention is after all but a *shadow*, and not the actual presentment of life in its varied forms’ (CC 17 02 97: 2, my emphasis). This description recalls Gorky’s emphasis on the uncanny effect of the cinematograph’s mix of both realistic and nonrealistic qualities, presenting ‘not life but the shadow of life’ (Gorky, cited by Tsivian, 1994: 7). While I have been unable to find any instance of terrified audiences reacting to images of such unprecedented realism in my case study, Edison’s promoters certainly considered the possibility that prospective audiences might confuse representation and reality.

Most remarkable about the above marketing campaign is that the entertainment didn’t merit a review or report of any kind following the cinematograph’s appearance in Clonmel. It was as though it had never taken place.

The substantial difference in focus between marketing and reception, between the expectations of the promoters and reviewers is interesting. While photographic slides and cinematographic films seem to be accepted as ‘true’ records of objects and events, there remains an unresolved ambivalence regarding the provincial Irish audience’s reaction to, and acceptance of, the realism of the images with which they were presented. On the one hand, a significant number of reviews discuss the ‘vivid and lifelike’ nature of Magic Lantern slides (CC 10 02 00: 2) and cinematograph films. The ‘singularly realistic’ (CC 22 07 96: 3) character of the photographic and cinematographic image appeared to function under a variety of guises and with correspondingly various effects. On the other, the realism of the images was challenged or ignored.

An entertainment, hosted by the local Presbyterian rector under the auspices of the Irish National Gambling League, included a series of slides 'illustrative of the evils of drinking and gambling,' giving 'most vivid representations of how the small beginnings of vice rapidly increased and carried the victim headlong to ruin' (BFP 30.11.05: 4).

The *Drogheda Argus* reports on a cinematographic presentation of films of the Boer War, Queen Victoria's Funeral and the Opening of Parliament, screened in 1901, by Poole's Myriorama:

The pictures presented to view were ... really instructive as they imparted a very accurate idea of the countries described. Now that globe-trotting has become a necessity of life, it is a good thing for those who have not an opportunity given them of travelling to have presented to their gaze faithful representations of the different cities of the world and the beauty spots which adorn this earth of ours.

Mr. Poole has supplied a – we might almost call it – want in our lives

(DA 03.08.01: 4).

Similarly, the exhibition of cinematograph images of the visit of the newly crowned Edward VII to Belfast incited the reviewer to comment that 'the scenes were brought so clearly before the audience that it was almost impossible to get rid of the idea that the onlookers were part of the vast assembly in Belfast on that historic occasion' (BFP 17.12.03: 4).



Fig. 17 Coronation of Edward VII Slide



A review of the exhibition of the cinematograph at a benefit for the local Presbyterian Sabbath Schools in Ballymoney commented that the 'spectator was transported, in vision, to some of the most charming sights in the world' (BFP 09 12 97 2) Films and slides depicting the action of the Boer War, the Coronation of Edward VII and Queen Victoria's funeral, in certain districts, received very favourable response

The Clonmel Chronicle reports upon a series of lantern slides in which 'while not a few of them served to show the beautiful character of the scenery and the importance of the British colonial possessions others in a most reliable character indicated the remarkable physical features of the country and the difficulties which our brave soldiers and sailors are now overcoming' (CC 06 12 99 3) The Wicklow Newsletter, reviewing a Boys' Brigade 'Kinematograph' lecture, reports that

As the favourite generals were recognised, cheer after cheer went up From this fever heat of enthusiasm the change was a sad one to a series of panoramic presentations of the last solemn offices of state on the occasion [of the funeral] of the great Queen This portion of the display, needless to say, hushed the audience to the stillness of a cathedral, not a few being visibly affected as the end of the beloved monarch was thus recalled' (WN 16 03 01 10)

With the exception of a report detailing an illustrated lecture delivered by the Right Rev Archdeacon Seagrove in Drogheda on 'The Passion Play at Ober Ammergau,' in which the reviewer comments that '[t]he picture of the person taking the part of Judas was next displayed It agreed exactly with our conception of a traitor' (DA 21 12 01 4) and a *Sligo Champion* review of Edison's Pictures which comments that 'on a very extensive screen were thrown not still pictures, but representative of life in its most active operations Men and women as large as life moved about, and the rapid movements were depicted with a truthfulness which was beyond conception' (SC 22 02 02 8), there is little positive reaction to the quality, aesthetic and affective, of the exhibited images outside of the contexts detailed above <sup>15</sup>

It was not unusual for cinematograph and magic lantern pictures during the period under review to be screened during the interval or at the conclusion of a variety bill rather than as the central feature and regularly without detail or description of any nature or consequence in the corresponding reviews. Unfavourable criticism was not uncommon, such as this review of Edison's pictures in Drogheda

Considerable disappointment was evinced by the audience which visited the Whitworth Hall on Monday night. No doubt, Edison's invention is a wonderful one, but somehow or other one's eyes get tired of looking at the pictures and they become somehow monotonous also (DA 15 02 02 4)

In the terms of the description and evaluation of the quality and impact of the images, a broad range of reviews of Magic Lantern and Cinematographic entertainments in the local press of the period comment upon the perceived poverty of the images screened relative to the known, or speculated, reality. In reviewing an illustrated lecture on Japan in 1901, the *Drogheda Argus* reports that '[t]he next scene was Nara, with its deerpark surrounding the temple. The deer looked rather fierce but were not so in reality. [Kyoto] is a very old city and the streets [in the slides] do not look much, but they are picturesque when you go there and see them in detail. A person could form no idea of the splendour in this locality' (DA 19 01 01 4)

The *Ballymoney Free Press* of 1902 similarly details the apology of a lecturer presenting a lecture on his travels in Gibraltar who 'said truth constrained him to apologise for their [magic lantern slides'] crudeness and poverty which did no justice whatever to the clear atmosphere and delicate tints characteristic of the Peninsula' (BFP 13 03 02 4). The same newspaper published quite a damning criticism of a cinematograph exhibition

By the aid of Lumiere's cinematograph, the Oceanic was launched in Craigatimpin Hall on Friday evening last. The launch passed off without any loss of life or limb and, like many other things in life, there was more pleasure in the anticipation than in the realisation. The representation of the launch of the Oceanic does not possess anything very exciting, in fact, the launch may be described as flat (BFP 09 02 99 2)

In stark contrast to prevalent rhetorics of shock and astonishment that purportedly accompanied the first cinema screenings, it appears that the reviewer didn't find the film shocking enough.

A second criticism of the visual aspects of projected screen entertainments concerns the extent to which they could reliably be considered genuine records of the events they represented. The reviewer of the *Sligo Champion* considers cinematograph images as 'counterfeit presentments' (SC 22 02 02 8), a telling description found also in the reports of the reviewer of Edison's Pictures in Tuam, indicating a suspicion of their indexicality<sup>16</sup>

The latter further notes that 'some who had the pleasure of travelling in [the Rhine] are of the opinion that less paint and more accuracy might make the [cinematographic] exhibition more telling, faithful and consequently true'. Questioning the authenticity of some of the films, particularly one of President Kruger leaving government buildings, he reports that 'the thought came over us, as we looked, that [how] the camera man could have gotten hold of this dramatic scene, where he found space, and when, at the dramatic moment, he found the fleeing President to pose. It may be said that everything true was fancied and that everything that was fanciful and fascinating was not true' (TH 06 09 02 2)

The same publication, paradoxically, accords great fidelity to still photographs presented as part of a magic lantern display, describing them as 'vivid and pulsating with actuality [lending] life and permanence to the possessing event recorded by the truth-telling camera' (TH 13 11 97 2). The reviews being published anonymously, it is unclear if both accounts were the work of the same individual.

While it may be overstating the case to invoke a sectarian binarism in terms of evaluating the realistic quality of cinematograph and Magic Lantern shows, the fact that the majority of positive assessments derived from Protestant, particularly Methodist and Presbyterian communities, is unequivocal. Recalling my speculation concerning the extensive participation of Protestant clergymen in adopting and promoting the available technologies of visual representation detailed in the previous chapter, the restriction of such positive comment to screenings taking place within such environments, or content of a broadly Unionist nature, might indicate that the Protestant faiths, having a theological inheritance which more successfully disentangled the sacred and secular levels of visual representation were more comfortable in appreciating the realistic qualities of an entertainment. By contrast, Catholic Nationalists may have been predisposed to see 'the image' in a more negative light. Of course, as has been demonstrated by Rockett (1987, 2004a), such reticence and ambivalence regarding positive evaluations of the images screened was to be greatly tempered throughout the country in subsequent years.

### **5.5.1 Realism and Sound Technologies**

A further peculiarity of provincial Irish audiences' assessment of the realism of representation concerns a technology which both rivaled and complemented the cinematograph and magic lantern on a range of entertainment bills. The Gramophone or Phonograph, a very popular addition to variety programmes, was widely appreciated as an instrument of 'remarkable accuracy' (SC 22 03 02 4), 'the latest and greatest of Mr Edison's numerous and astounding inventions' and 'a rich and rare treat, every word and note proceeding from the phonograph having been clearly heard in every part of the hall' (CS 26 01 01 2). It was not uncommon for the Gramophone to play for over two hours during the course of an entertainment (AC 04 02 99 2), reproducing 'national and other popular songs, recitations and speeches, banjo and cornet solos, bagpipes and band pieces' (Ibid) and 'baby cries' (SC 09 10 97 5). The instrument was capable of 'reproduc[ing] the human voice, or any musical instrument, or a full band of instruments together, sufficiently loud to fill the large church' (AC 04 02 99 2).

The *Sligo Champion* reports on a lecture in which the lecturer's 'assistant spoke into this instrument as his words were admirably reproduced' (SC 30 01 97 5) and on a second entertainment in which 'a song, given by Mr Smylie in his best style was clearly reproduced by the phonograph in a few minutes afterwards' (SC 09 10 97 5) The *Ballymoney Free Press* describes the 'unbounded delight of the audience [who were] fairly astonished by its marvelous reproduction of songs, choruses, speeches and musical selections' (BFP 29 12 98 3) Not only was the gramophone a popular addition to concert programmes, gramophone imitation acts were also common The *Sligo Champion* describes one such performer's imitation as 'simply ludicrously perfect' (SC 07 09 01 5) and another's as 'better than the instrument itself' (SC 07 03 03 4) The instrument was widely perceived as a provider of 'great fun and laughter' (DA 21/01 05 5), an 'entertainment in itself' (WN 31 12 98 6) and 'a source of amusement in home and hall [that] has become so well-known and popular' (SC 25 04 03 4)

A key advantage of the gramophone as an item on a concert bill, was that it could be adapted to serve a variety of entertainment agenda, including that of the cultural revival project, as was the case in reviews published by the *Sligo Champion* (22 03 02 4, 28 03 03 5, 25 04 03 4, *Wicklow Newsletter*, 02 03 01 5) This aspect will be discussed in greater detail below

### **5.5.2 Recognition and Local Content**

In spite of the demonstrated ambivalence concerning the realistic qualities of slides and films between 1896 and 1906, a key pleasure of such entertainments for early Irish audiences was that of recognition. This observation seems particularly paradoxical considering that the recognition of persons, events and places depends for its success upon the indexicality and realism of the relevant images

The act of reading faces in photographs has been the subject of a number of critical histories. Green-Lewis suggests that the emergence of photography 'validated and authorised certain kinds of readership [and] ensured the practice of reading faces would become widespread' (1996: 160-1). Sennett, in linking the rise of the 'personality' with developments in public conceptions of the nature of appearance, claims that by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of natural character had been replaced by a notion of personality in which 'appearances [were] guides to the authentic self of the wearer' (1977: 153). The popularity of such 19<sup>th</sup> century 'sciences' as phrenology and physiognomy, which depended fundamentally upon the indexicality of the photograph as a scientific recording device, proposed that the character of an individual could be unproblematically read off from the appearance of an image.

It has been widely acknowledged that travelling exhibitors often photographed local places and events and screened them the following day (Pople, 1996: 100; Allen, 1979: 7). Indeed the Lumière camera was specifically designed to be portable and to incorporate a printer for this very purpose (Lagos, 2003: 106) and Waller comments on the success of the strategy for both Biograph and Selig (1995):

Uh Jung characterises the objective of producing local views as 'cover[ing] as many local people as possible in order to make them attend a show and watch themselves on screen' (2002: 255). Hansen notes that public interest was captured by the work of the camera team and by the reproduction of scenes from people's everyday lives, the possibility of seeing oneself or someone familiar on the screen, linking this particular kind of visual pleasure to Benjamin's assertion that 'any man today can lay claim to being filmed'. For Hansen, the pleasure of recognition requires an investment in the screen as mirror, a markedly different relation to later, narratively mediated forms of identification, such as psychologically motivated characters and star images, which effectively displaced interest in local and personal representation to the realm of home movies (1991: 31).

The *Clonmel Chronicle* of 1902 reports that in the exhibition of a programme of Edison's Animated Pictures, '[t]he audience were greatly interested in the panoramic views of the funeral of the late Most Rev Dr Croke, Archbishop of Cashel, passing through the streets of Thurles On the procession the Mayor of Clonmel, Alderman T J Condon, M P , the Town Clerk, Mr J F O'Brien and the civic sword and mace bearers were clearly distinguishable' (CC 16 08 02 2) The *Drogheda Argus* of 1904, reviewing a bioscope entertainment, comments that, of a varied programme, the audience 'more especially' enjoyed 'local scenes on the Boyne, in which the Boyne Valley Launch and Mr E McCarthy, the courteous manager of the company figured prominently ' The same publication, reporting on the exhibition of the Animatograph at Kilsaran, observes that '[t]he special cinematograph pictures thrown on the screen were the great Bute wedding at Kilsaran on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1905 and a large number of lantern slides that preceded the memorable event Everyone present, in fact, saw the whole wedding right through again, and recognised themselves or their friends as if they were in reality' (DA 18 11 05 4) The *Sligo Champion* describes the delight of the audience at an Edison's Animated Pictures 'who identified the exact "counterfeit presentment" of many old friends such as that worthy Soggarth Aroon, Canon Loftus of Ballymote, Alderman Connolly and that veteran John Ferguson They walked in front of the audience as large as life and it is needless to say that they met with a kindly reception' SC 22 02 02 8)

*The Tuam Herald* published the following account of the local scenes exhibited during a Magic Lantern display

[M]any of the audience noticed their counterfeit presentments in moods that showed them as they are, not what they might think themselves to be To see ourselves as others see us was a consummation much desired by an overestimated Caledonian bard, but here before us was the life of the denizens of Tuam in all faithfulness enthralled Tuamites in their everyday habits, at Athletic sports, on far-famed Gurrans and the eventful locality of the railway station was not forgotten in its life-like representation of hurry and scurry, leave-taking, pathetic and humorous, all vividly portrayed [sic] (TH 13 11 97 2)

Tsivian, in his study of the reception of late Imperial Russian cinema, found that familiar faces on the screen would 'evoke the motif of doubles and duality with the traditional accessories of magic mirrors and haunted portraits' (1994 3-4) He also cites an account of Tolstoy's attendance at a film in which he himself appeared Tsivian reports that after watching himself for a few moments, he left the theatre saying, 'I don't know why but I feel frightened' (Ibid) Tsivian explains this reaction in terms of the Symbolist language of the dead, popular among Russian critics of the period Bottomore suggests that this aspect of the cinematograph 'may even have had religious implications with its potential for revealing guilt and perhaps leading to very public shame' (1999 179) By contrast, provincial Irish audiences appear to have been, first and foremost, amused by the depiction of themselves on screen, 'creat[ing] rounds of laughter as those in the audience recognised themselves or their neighbours in the living pictures ye gods! How we laughed' (SC 17 01 03 5)

Jung, in her article highlighting the neglect of local films in cinema historiography, claims that the key significance of local films is that camera objects and audience are potentially identical (2002 255) Thus, rather than the mode of production determining the 'localness' or otherwise of a film, it was, crucially, the mode of reception the audience watching themselves and their locality and events which they had already experienced through the eye of the camera

A number of critics have foregrounded the role of (intertextual) foreknowledge in the reception of early projected screen entertainments (Hansen, 1991 45, Musser, 1994, Stager, 1992 103), but the popularity of local films, in my case study, I believe, signals a more culturally embedded trope of reception. The viewer of local material is solicited on the basis of their local knowledge While a stranger, watching local images and films, could produce no more than a general, undifferentiated meaning, for locals the appeal to a public recognition encourages a searching *participation* with the images, simultaneously an intellectual and an emotional engagement



Burnett suggests that the central appeal of family photograph albums, rather than simply functioning as a memento, becomes a source of storytelling. Thus, by his logic, the local film comes to exemplify not simply what audiences recognise in the images, but the capacity to 'produce a narrative in relation to its contents' (1995). In an entertainment environment in which films were produced and circulated on an international scale, yet leisure, for the most part was community based (and oriented) and participatory, the local film could function as a highlight, distinguishing the programme from that of other venues and occasions and fulfilling its requirement to reference the community attending its exhibition.

While, typically, a cinematograph or Magic Lantern programme may have included scenes from international travel, proto-newsreels of political and military significance, events concerning the Royal family and so on, a typical reaction to such a cinematograph programme was published by the *Sligo Champion* in 1902. 'There may have been too much of the Coronation pictures but the local scenes, including Lough Gill regatta, Cattle Show, etc, made up for the 'loyal' displays' (23 08 02 5). The *Tuam Herald* of 1897 details the local views exhibited during a Magic Lantern display of the 'various scenes to be observed in Tuam on ordinary days of the week, on market days, on fair days, were presented to the eye of the spectator' (TH 13 11 97 2). The *Drogheda Argus* reviewing a Magic Lantern entertainment in the village of Clogherhead in 1902 observes that '[t]he local scenes particularly caught the fancy of the audience, especially those depicting the fishermen, life-boat men and the village of Clogher itself' (DA 15 02 02 4).

The reviews published throughout my data sample explicitly articulate a strong preference for local material and in some cases, an uncompromising demand. The *Drogheda Argus* reports that, during a visit of Edison's Animated Pictures to the town in 1902, '[c]onsiderable disappointment was evinced by the crowded audience which visited the Whitworth Hall on Monday night when they discovered that no local scenes were to be shown on the occasion'. It seems likely that this disappointment was made known to the exhibitor since on the following day, 'three local pictures were thrown upon the screen for the admiration of the audience' (DA 15 02 02 4).

The same publication reviews an illustrated lecture on 'Japan The Land of the Rising Sun' in 1905 in which the writer reports that the lecturer 'sprung [sic] a surprise on the audience at the last moment by exhibiting a view of the Magdalene Tower' (DA 02 12 05 6) The *Carlow Sentinel* in 1902 reports that '[c]onsiderable local interest was attached to the [cinematograph] display as it included admirable views of the recent Carlow regatta, including the grandstand and its occupants [and] the finishes of come of the principal races' (CS 01 11 02 2) The *Longford Independent* catalogues a series of local lantern slides presented in 1902

The first local view was a draught bullock at Lough Rynn in harness Then followed a view of the upper end of Main street, Mohill, also a view of Mohill Railway Station, with Mr Melvin standing on the platform, and which was received with applause Afterwards, good views were shown of Lough Rynn Castle, a Cavan and Leitrim Railway train, an exterior view of the Parochial Hall, the drawbridge at Lough Rynn, Farnaught Church, the 'crane' at Mohill, showing Paddy Fitzgerald in the act of weighing a bag of potatoes' (LI 11 01 02 2)

Recalling the antipathy of the *Tuam Herald's* reviewer to the 'counterfeit' nature of cinematographic representation, might it be persuasive to think of the preference for local content as a guarantee of authenticity?<sup>17</sup> Mobilising local knowledge as confirmation of the image as genuine requires that the audience attend to the images and evaluate their authenticity The demand for local content provides a telling example of audiences' capacity to reproduce the image according to cultural preference The provincial Irish affinity for local material, encouraging engagement and involvement rather than distanced and anonymous appreciation of a mass cultural spectacle, signals a preference for entertainment marked by participation rather than spectacular distance<sup>18</sup>

While the evidence surveyed suggests a particularly strong preference for local films and slides throughout the provinces, it would be incorrect to suggest that such preference was limited to such areas and audiences. The *Belfast Newsletter*, a metropolitan publication circulated in the centre of the industrialised North East, reports that of a Lumière Triograph programme which included a turn out of the Belfast Fire brigade under Supt Parker and a football match between Glentoran and Cliftonville at the Belfast Empire Theatre of Varieties in October of 1897, 'most of [the films] being views of local places and events, they naturally possess a great deal of interest' and were 'received with rapturous applause' (25 10 97 6). In Dublin, the national publication, *the Freeman's Journal* advertised the November 1897 season of Lumière Triograph pictures, including 'Local Views of Dublin' as a primary draw (13 11 97 7). In their review of the entertainment, the critic's preferred scene was 'that representing a turn-out of the Dublin Fire Brigade. There you have Capt Purcell and his men tearing along as hard as their ground cattle can carry them at or about Stephen's Green' (16 11 97 5). Reviewing the same entertainment, the *Irish Times* draws particular attention to the 'local scenes' including Sackville Street, Blackrock Park, a football match in the Phoenix Park and the turn out of the Dublin Fire Brigade (16 11 97 6). Rockett notes that the screening of a local rugby match between Lansdowne and Trinity College by Edison's Electric Animated Pictures in December 1901 functioned as a means of 'cleverly targeting local audiences' (2004a 24). Allen and Popple describe the popular practice of early travelling film exhibitors in the US and France and Britain respectively to shoot local actuality films and invite locals to visit a screening to see themselves (Allen, 1979 7, Popple, 1996 100). The substantial difference between the provincial and the urban reception of such material, whether cinematograph or Magic Lantern, appears to have been the greater potential for provincial audience members to themselves be captured on screen, or for the subjects to be personally known to them. Given the greater population densities of urban centres such as Belfast and Dublin, the greater anonymity of their citizens would have limited such potential.

## **5.6 Relative Absence of Visual Culture**

In conceiving and developing the historical intertextual relations relevant to the first projected screen entertainments, theorists have focused on elaboration of the media landscape and consideration of prevalent entertainment forms, for example, the long history of Magic Lantern and Phantasmagoria shows (Musser, 1994, 1984), Vaudeville theatre, (Allen, 1980) and Museums (Griffiths, 2002) In this section I examine how responses to media are situated within specific discursive fields which inform and influence those responses My focus here concerns the relative durability of cultural forms and their role in the creative remaking of projected screen entertainments in terms of cultural context and continuity The complex of meanings appropriate to the visual legibility of projected screen entertainments was effectively sidestepped and functionally remade according to familiar perceptual templates and competences

As argued in Chapter One, a variety of theorists have remarked upon the absence of an established and robust visual culture in Ireland during the period in question (Dalsimer & Kreilcamp, 1993, DePaor, 1993) Late 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, unlike its European neighbours, did not participate in the narratives and projects of ocularcentric Modernity, as elaborated in Chapter 2 Favouring the report of the ear above that of the eye, such writers as Rockett claim that ‘the word has dominated, and continues to overpower, the visual in Irish cultural life’ (1992 26) Emphasising an art culture that aligned itself with handicrafts such as lacemaking, pottery and basketweaving above fine art and sculpture, Doolan’s comment that ‘we are not as literate visually as we are verbally’ and that Irish visual culture, having ‘missed’ the Renaissance (O’Neill, 1993 55, DePaor, 1993 119) favoured forms which did not require familiarity with, or competence in, a visuality predicated on ‘Renaissance’ principles (Doolan, 1984 116), seems persuasive In this context, cultural expression and significance simply took other forms It seems reasonable to suggest that the absence of an established and vibrant visual culture may have served as an impediment to visual pleasure

### 5.6.1 Oral Bias

The composite nature of early screen projections, involving image, music, commentary and sound effects, discussed in the previous chapter, has been highlighted by such writers as King (1996), Gaudreault (1990) and Musser (1994). Though increasingly recognised as a hybrid medium, the spectacular effects of the projected image have been foregrounded in narratives which situate the cinema's emergence and popularity within the teleological evolution of the drive towards visual realism. Gunning emphasises the uniqueness of early cinema as deriving from the power to astonish rather than the power to narrate (1995a, 1990)<sup>19</sup>. As has been detailed above, provincial Irish audiences rarely evinced astonishment or shock in the face of the realistic marvels of the magic lantern and the cinematograph. Rather, they were more likely to reappropriate the received images back into a hermeneutic frame which primarily favoured activity and participation above passive contemplation.

In chapter 4, I discussed the indispensability of the lecturer in the exhibition of Magic Lantern and Cinematographic images in provincial Ireland. While a majority of critics consider the appearance of a lecturer to be widespread, his function is considered an 'adjunct' to the images on screen (Hansen, 1991: 97). Gaudreault observes that 'the great majority [of early films] consisted of a single shot and they usually aspired to nothing beyond visual pleasure' (1990: 277). Thus, 'all that the spectators had to do was to see, to look, something for which they had not need of a lecturer-adjurant' (Ibid). As a mediator of the images on screen, the activity of the lecturer in provincial Ireland was not perceived as compensatory. Lecturers explained the narrative line of the images, filled out what was seen and improvised a discourse based on the images. As a key agent of screen pleasure, the lecturer mediated the images rather than the other way around, speaking directly to their audience. Thus, the quality of their oratory was paramount. In the evaluation of films and slides, what appeared to matter most was the quality and content of the accompanying oratory, beyond the visual impact of the images cast upon the screen.

As noted above, it was not uncommon for films and slides to be exhibited during the interval or at the end of a variety programme, and frequently without comment or criticism other than curt recognition of the operator's skill. By contrast, the quality of the lecture and its delivery is subjected to detailed description, analysis and comment.

A lecturer of recognised ability was frequently the primary attraction of an entertainment. The *Drogheda Argus* reports that the 'reputation of the [magic lantern] lecturer and the attractiveness of his subject were potent factors in arousing the interest of the people' (DA 19 03 04 3). The *Ballymoney Free Press* of 1896 offers the following opinion on the address of an illustrated travelogue:

The people came in crowds for miles around to hear the eloquent words that flowed from the lips of this prince of Irish orators for almost two hours he held the audience spellbound. It has seldom been our privilege to hear a more magnificent oration (BFP 05 03 96 2).

Where detailed description of the content and quality of projected screen images is sporadic, the eloquence and style of the lecturer's address was of paramount importance.<sup>20</sup> 'Research, lucidity of style and vividness of narration' (BFP 19 10 05 2) were expected. 'Delicacy of touch and charm' (BFP 27 02 96 2) were appreciated, 'brilliant flashes of wit and humour' (BFP 19 10 05 2) admired and fluency and the ability to speak 'entirely from memory' (CC 22 04 99 2, 18 02 99 3) preferred.<sup>21</sup> The ability of a lecturer to embellish dull material is commended:

[m]uch was expected of Mr Glynn, but the splendid way in which he treated the subject was a pleasant surprise. Such subjects, when treated with the usual dry-as-dust style that the antiquarian has from time immemorial made us disgustingly acquainted with, lose all their charm by reason of method in which facts and statistics are marshalled. Mr Glynn treated his subject, however, in a far different manner (TH 04 10 02 2).

The *Carlow Sentinel* criticises a visiting magic lantern lecturer for ‘baldness or lack of ornament [which] diminishes the interest’ in his account of Lord Kitchener’s military campaign at Khartoum and advises that ‘his description should be like some great artistic work, bold in outline and execution’ (CS 18 03 99 3) Ineptitude and ineloquence are not tolerated The *Sligo Champion* comments on the inadequate performance of one such cinematograph lecturer

From the commencement, Mr M’Carthy gave evidence that lecturing was not his forte He may be a very practical man, and we believe he is but as a lecturer, he is not in it The matter of his lecture may have been excellent but he read the Manuscript in such a low tone of voice as to make his utterance unheard beyond a limited space in the front seats (SC 30 01 97 5)

A later report demonstrates a long memory on the part of Sligo audiences

Owing to the former miserable failure on the part of a party who advertised himself as a lecturer the people [were] rather wary of trusting another But Mr Lynd as the opposite to the first fraud, for he knew what he was speaking about and could impart his knowledge in a most attractive and receivable form Mr Lynd possesses all the characteristics of a popular lecturer (09 10 97 5)

This particular example underscores my finding that the reputation, personality and performance of the lecturer in combination contained the capacity not simply to anchor the images he presented but to determine and control the reception of the ‘text’ he delivered Above all, it appears, the audience needed to both respect and trust the lecturer, the veracity of the content of his address and his ability to deliver it well In this context, it is noteworthy that a significant number of lecturers were members of the clergy whose social authority was immediately visible Further, the credentials of a lecturer were routinely listed by the Chairman at the outset of an entertainment, validating his qualification to speak on the topic at hand and satisfying the demand for authoritative knowledge In the case of Sligo audiences, ineptitude in lecturing resulted in a negative impact on the reception of the film. As argued in Chapter 4, it is clear that as an exhibition variable, the quality of the lecturer and his address could materially affect the film’s reception

While the primary function was to provide 'to make the audience happy' (BFP 02 02 96 2) a key concern of the lecturer's address was to make the subject 'plain to the poorest understanding' (SC 09 10 98 5), particularly with regard to lectures of scientific interest and travelogues. The *Drogheda Argus*, reviewing a lantern lecture, comments that

[t]he only way in which they could study geography properly was to go and see the countries and seas which they had before them on the map, but since they had not the opportunity, they had the next best thing and that was Fr Clarke's graphic description on his whole journey both by land and sea, for he had brought home to them the different countries he had passed in a way that could not be done by any book or map' (DA 20 12 03 4)

In contrast to the mistrust of images discussed above, comment upon the content of lectures highlights their perceived accuracy, 'faithfulness' (KS 01 04 05 5) and 'realism' (LI 02 04 98 3). Where the content and quality of images were routinely questioned, the *Longford Independent* reports upon an audience's appreciation of the address of a 'popular' and 'able' cinematograph lecturer which was followed 'with the keenest desire, owing to the information it conveyed to the mind and depicted to vision' (LI 02 04 98 3). The *Ballymoney Free Press* reports that the audience attending a travelogue in 1905 'seemed to be literally carried away by the eloquence of the [lantern] lecturer and his wonderfully realistic descriptions of the various scenes he himself had visited' (BFP 19 10 05 2). The *Tuam Herald*, reviewing an illustrated lecture about the history of a local abbey reports that

[h]e clothed the dry facts with the glamour of palpitating interest, he brought us back with rare literary skill and entrancing style to the monastic life five hundred years ago he pictured in glowing language the stages of the day's employment for those holy men he made these far-off days live palpitatingly for a twentieth century audience, who, as the bee upon the flower, hung upon the honey of his most eloquent word (TH 04 10 02 2)



The content of lectures accompanying Magic Lantern and Cinematograph presentations focuses more on the specific than the general and abounds with anecdotes of personal experience not reflected in the content of generic (silent) films, or as a means to anchor unfamiliar material. Rather than operating as a neutral relay of information, the improvisations, asides and digressions of lecturers were the aspects of their address that drew the most positive praise. Trading in local knowledge, 'the most popular lecturers – the ones that found the greatest praise in the newspapers – were local, popular, therefore, because of their familiarity with the audience as well as their subject' (Braun & Keil, 2001: 201). The audience who knew the lecturer trusted him to bring a knowledge of locale that made films more relevant. Frequent recourse to local events or personalities is common to the degree that regional particularities are supplied as a context for, or supplement to, 'foreign' texts. The *Anglo Celt*, reporting on a Magic Lantern travelogue, comments that 'a graphic description of the various scenes created some amusement by appropriately connecting them with some clever local hits relative to those assembled' (18 02 99: 4). In an 1898 review of Spanish-American war pictures, the Longford Independent reports that 'Mr L M Fleming, who gave the readings in an excellent manner, referred to a letter written by a Longford man, Mr Joseph Donnelly, who had delineated in graphic language some incidents of the war of which he was an observer and personally engaged in' (08 10 98: 2). Braun and Keil recognise in this invocation of local, familiar references that lecturers had the opportunity to alter what, on a textual and visual level were products of filmmakers from other nations (2001: 200).

Recalling my above remarks on the participatory nature of audiences' engagement with local content, the appearance and contribution of a lecturer, directly addressing and interpellating audiences, reminds us that each entertainment comprised a unique performance that could never be exactly replicated elsewhere. Châteauvert and Gaudreault recognise in the unique exhibition circumstance an opportunity for audience members to directly participate in the conduct of the entertainment, 'if only to answer the direct, constant and systematic interpellation of the audience by the lecturer, who always acted to some extent as interlocutor' (2001: 186).

For provincial Irish audiences the links between locality and identity were reinforced by their demand for the exhibition of local slides and films. Further, the lecturer's narrative was never considered a compensation or 'safety net,' it was the visual images that were ancillary. Specifically, in the case of provincial Irish entertainments, the lecturer mediates the images rather than the other way around, inverting Gaudreault's dichotomy between 'monstration' and 'narration' (1990: 276). The corresponding effect on their reception meant that projected screen entertainments were received primarily as oral narratives supplemented by ancillary images on screen in which the lecturer's text had priority over the latter's 'spectacular' aspect. This observation requires the recognition, at a fundamental level, that what is visible may not, in fact, be legible.

Preference for local content and quality narration were closely intertwined and reinforced one another as internally produced strategies for appropriating the images exhibited.<sup>22</sup> In the provincial Irish context, the hybridity of the medium is selectively disaggregated and the experience of oral modes of communication and culture mobilised to adapt or customise what was presented. Thus, the impact and affect of the visual is leached away and the informational yield of oral elements of the media foregrounded.

While articulating a preference for the oral elements accompanying the exhibition of cinematograph films among Provincial Irish audiences, the danger of imposing an overly rigid binarism between the 'oral' and the 'visual' arises. As I have noted above, the visual qualities of cinematograph films *were* recognised and appreciated and it remains a possibility that the relative emphasis on the spoken may have been the result of a complex of determinants, including the bias and interests of the journalists and editors who reported on the screenings and the clergy whose approval was required. Further, it would be overly simplistic to argue that early Irish audiences were visually illiterate. In the prevailing cultural climate, it seems likely that a complex of interests conspired to foreground the oral over the visual in the evaluation of the relative merits of the cinema. As I'll go on to discuss in more detail, the clergy's suppression of the secular potential of the apparatus was bolstered by the cultural protectionist strategies that gained widespread support in the late 1890s.

The meteoric rise of branches of the Gaelic League throughout the provinces during the decade surveyed emerges as a central determining factor in influencing not only the type, structure and popularity of entertainments, but also the manner in which they were received

The above remarks concerning the reception of projected screen entertainments can broadly be considered internally produced strategies for interpreting projected screen images at the formal level. In terms of responding to the content of such entertainments, early Provincial Irish audiences present a distinctive community of diverse and influential viewpoints and ideological convictions

### **5.7 Politics, Ideology and Film/Slide Content**

The contribution of the Cultural Studies approach to understanding responses to media, as detailed in Chapter Two, has been its attempt to link discursive, textual and social process in grounding the issue of reception in actual social practice. In arguing for a conception of the audience as composed of socially situated viewers whose readings are framed by shared social and cultural formations, the foundations of such formations and their role in influencing interpretations of media content must be detailed

As noted in Chapter 1, the 1896-1906 period in Ireland was one of general political calm as the 'Killing Home Rule with Kindness' policy of several British Governments contributed to a marked improvement in the quality of life of Irish citizens

Notwithstanding such improvements and the settling of the land issue, Horace Plunkett, writing in 1904, comments upon the Irish public's 'obsession with politics' (1904: 59)

The replacement of radical politics with a new sense of cultural distinctiveness and identity as the foundation of a nationalist consciousness had considerable resonance and impact. In the expansion of the sentiment of nationality and nationalism outside the domain of party politics, Mangle notes the effect: 'Few cultures, at the popular as well as higher levels, were as politicised as that of Ireland in the period under review. Politics impinged ineluctably on literature and language, upon farming and upon religion, upon urban life and upon the everyday purchasing of goods' (1983: 104-105)

A complex political landscape prevailed in which Unionism and Nationalism, Protestantism and Catholicism vied for ascendancy. From this perspective, political affiliation and conviction formed an important ideological lens through which the content of cinematograph films and magic lantern exhibitions were received.

### 5.7.1 The Boer War Films and Slides



Fig. 18 The Boer War of 1900 Slide Series Title Slide

The outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 provided the subject matter for a wide range of films and slide series screened as 'entertainment' throughout the Irish provinces. Throughout the British Empire, then at its zenith in terms of both power and prestige, the war was a watershed event, the 'last great imperial adventure of the nineteenth century and the first glimpse of the horrors of fully mechanised attrition that would characterise the twentieth' (Pople, 2004: 150).

Internationally, War pictures were key subjects for film and lantern slide producers throughout the decade under review. War pictures had been enthusiastically received in the United States during the same period. (Waller, 1995; Musser, 1994). Musser credits the Spanish-American War as responsible for reinvigorating the industry in the 1897-1898 period (1994: 226) Indeed, so enthusiastic was the response of audiences to the pictures of the Spanish-American War that Edison renamed his projecting Kinetoscope the 'Wargraph' for the duration of the conflict (Ibid). Audiences were primed for such slides and films by newspaper reports and illustrated Sunday features (Waller 1995: 59).

Producers began to harness the medium's potential as a 'visual newspaper' (Musser, 1994: 225) and audiences' eagerness to witness such topical entertainment as a 'national adventure' (Waller, 1995: 59). Presenting a proto-newsreel account of the course of the war, the production and exhibition of Boer War films and slide series marked the war out as 'the first fully mediated conflict in British imperial history' in which were articulated 'very specific aspects of current news issues,' responses to 'popular sentiment' and a 'patriotic, if not jingoistic, imperial ethos' (Popple, 2004: 150). According to Popple & Kember, Boer War films and slides became the key mediator of the war at home (2004: 40). Combining dynamic nationalistic and patriotic narratives relating to the prosecution of war, Boer War slides and films' central narrative role was to show audiences 'their "boys" in the field and to demonise the foe' (Ibid: 57). Slides and films produced in Britain for exhibition throughout the Empire focused on the conduct of the Boers and contrasted their behaviour on the field of battle with that of the British troops (Popple 2002: 17). Racial stereotypes and themes relating to decency, cruelty and even hygiene became recurrent narrative subjects (Popple & Kember, 2004: 41). Their explicit thematic valorisation of patriotism, imperialism and militarism, of obvious significance in the history of the British Empire, also represented a turning point in the history of Irish nationalism (Mulhall, 2004).

Nationalist Ireland rallied behind the Boers, the challenge to the Empire of the two South African Republics having inevitable resonance. As national sentiment galvanised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the notion of a distinctive Irish cultural identity was increasingly counterposed against that of the corrupting, oppressing British. In 1899, Major John McBride formed an Irish brigade to aid the Boers in their struggle. Riots in Dublin created a no-go area for British troops. Posters supporting Generals DeWet and Botha and Transvaal Republic flags were commonly visible throughout the country (McCracken, 2002). Influential national figures such as James Connolly, Yeats, Maud Gonne and Arthur Griffith, recently returned from the South African diamond mines, publicly and fervently supported the Boers. According to Mulhall, the Boer War functioned as a catalyst that helped to extend Irish nationalism beyond narrow provincialism to a more mature, developed national awareness (2004).

Yet support for the Boers against the British was far from unanimous 30,000 Irishmen were in active service in British forces and support for the troops was considerable Throughout the conflict, the British Army was commanded by an Irish general, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Ireland, Lord Frederick Roberts who, in many circles, was lauded as a hero

The provincial newspapers surveyed as part of this study uniformly provided extensive coverage of the Boer War, beginning in 1896 with columns detailing 'Fighting in the Transvaal' (BFP, 14 01 1896) By the time of official outbreak of war in October 1899, every publication included dedicated columns describing and analysing the conflict The *Tuam Herald* reported that '[g]reat interest is manifested in town each evening upon the arrival of the evening newspapers containing news of the events occurring in the Transvaal Large crowds collect outside Kelly's and a veritable fight takes place for the sparse numbers of "Evening Heralds" received' (TH 04 11 99 4) Indeed, for many of these publications, their first published photographs concerned the events and persons connected with the war The *Ballymoney Free Press*' first such photograph was of local man Private John Dinsinore, wounded at Magersfontein

Outside of the columns of newsprint, the war began to assume greater relevance During the early 1900s, two Galway GAA teams called themselves the Tuam Krugers and the Athenry DeWets in support of the Boers A Shgo cobbler promoted the merits of his products with a newspaper advert in which he claimed that 'McElhenney's Boots keep out DeWet' (SC 09 02 01 10) A touring circus company presented an outdoor extravaganza entitled 'Savage South Africa' which included such acts as

The Boers at Peace and in War The Ox Wagons Trekking Mule transport Marvellous Performing Elephants, Graceful and Expert Horsemanship The Handy Man and Maxim guns Over 100 Basuto Horses and Ponies Twenty Mules The ORIGINAL GWELO COACH driven by Joseph Keighery who drove this identical coach when attacked by the Matabele, and who was state coachman to President Kruger for 4 years THE CELEBRATED PRINCE LOBENGULA, ZULU CHIEFS OF SPLENDID PHYSIQUE Over 500 PEOPLE BLACK AND WHITE appear (LI 24 08 01 2)

In Drogheda, the local branch of the Total Abstinence Society staged a 'Boers Vs British 'sham battle,' in which

[T]he Imperialists donned military uniforms Those on the Boer side wore only trousers and shirts, and of course, the inevitable bandolier Photographs were then taken of the alleged combatants, with 'dummy' rifles in their hands and the pictures, when they appear, ought to be very amusing' (DA 06 10 00 4)

Other publications published requests for 'comforts' for British soldiers engaged in the conflict, including 'flannel shirts, socks, balaclava helmets, tobacco and lozenges' (CC 23 12 99 2)

Films and slides detailing the hostilities were the most common subjects of provincial cinematograph and magic lantern exhibitions between 1899 and 1902 and are detailed overleaf

Though films and slides of the Spanish-American war were commonly exhibited, their content did not attract comment in the corresponding reviews to any significant degree By contrast, the reception of Boer War pictures, by far the most common of all films and slides exhibited during the period under review, was a matter of considerable complexity, indicating strongly the conflicting political and ideological tensions becoming evident in late nineteenth century Ireland Rockett notes the screening of a film of the leaders of the war in Dublin was greeted by 'mixed demonstrations of approval and disapproval' indicating a politically mixed audience (2004a 24), a situation paralleled throughout the reviews surveyed

**Table 4 BOER WAR EXHIBITIONS  
1896-1906**

**MAGIC LANTERN**

1896	Ride of Dr. Jameson into the Transvaal Kimberley Compound Mr. Cecil Rhodes Dr. Jameson President Kruger Dr. Jameson and his Troopers crossing the Frontier Surrender of Dr. Jameson Incarceration of Dr. Jameson
1898	Dr. Jameson's Raid on the Transvaal Dr. Jameson's Camp at Pitsani Battle at Doorkop Surrender Dr. Jim
1899	Incidents Connected with the War in Africa My Experience in South Africa Capetown Table Mountain Karoo Veldt Durban Pietermantzberg Howler Falls Ladysmith Boer and Native Life President Kruger
1900	At the Front with Lord Roberts The Transvaal Cabinet From Boer Ultimatum to British Victory under Lord Roberts The War in the Transvaal Scenes from the Front General Joubert President Kruger English Generals The Heroes of the Transvaal War The War in South Africa The South African War
1901	At the Front with Lord Roberts The War in the Transvaal South African War From Capetown to Pretoria
1902	The Boer War and its Causes Spion Kop after the Battle Spion Kop after the Bursting of Shell fired from Ladysmith

**CINEMATOGRAPH**

1900	From Boer Ultimatum to British Victory Under Lord Roberts General Joubert President Kruger The Boer War Fine View of Mafeking Royal Insh King's Royal Rifles First Battles of Colenso Dublin Fusiliers at Glencoe Battle of Belmont Battle of Paardeburg
1901	The Transvaal War Winning the VC. An Incident in the Boer War French's Scouts Feeding the Boers Tending to the Wounded Lord Roberts at Capetown Return of the C.L.Vs Guns and Troops in Action Dr. Jameson
1902	"Our Boys in Blue" President Kruger Leaving Government Buildings
1905	The Boer War Boer War Pictures General Piet Cronje's Boers and Britishers at St. Louis Exposition



While it is difficult to adequately and accurately reconstruct the content and order of exhibitions, it appears that Boer War pictures, both photographic and were screened as both an integrated, stand-alone programme and as elements of a variety programme in which songs, dances and other unrelated pictures were present. Films and slide series, it appears, were regularly obtained from centralised sources such as Mason's and Mayne's studios in Dublin or Lizars' in Belfast and accompanying readings were routinely supplied along with the pictures, offering a strong pro-British viewpoint, as indicated in the lantern reading contained in Appendix E.

A binarism of response can be clearly discerned in the published reviews of Boer slides and films. For unionist audiences, such pro-British films and slides were met with widespread approval. As noted by Popple & Kember above, pro-British reviews highlighted the 'tyranny and corruption of the Boer Government' (CS 09 12 99 2), contrasting, in a lantern lecture, their 'deceit, injustice and oppression' (BFP 20 12 00 2) with 'the finest army Great Britain ever placed in the field, and at a distance of 7,000 miles from home (loud applause) That was a sight which utterly astonished the world, and at the same time excited the envy of our enemies' (Ibid). At a Kinematograph Lecture hosted by the Bray Boys' Brigade in Wicklow in 1901,

As the favourite generals were recognised cheer after cheer went up, and the effect was heightened by the appearance of Masters Campbell and Knox, who sounded the general salute scene after scene continued to meet with the most unstinted marks of approval (WN 16 03 01 10)

A lantern lecture held in Carlow in 1899 evoked a similar response

The slide depicting Ladysmith was received with an ovation of applause which was repeated whenever the lecturer had occasion to mention the gallantry of British soldiers and sailors in past actions at the Cape. Glances of Boer and native life afforded some amusement and the portrait of President Kruger was greeted in a manner that indicated clearly the loyal sentiments of the audience (CC 06 12 99 3)



Fig. 19 Lord Roberts at the Front

A favourite lantern image was that of Lord Roberts, Commander in Chief of the British forces in South Africa, an Irishman by birth:

And above all, they must not forget that when England wanted a skilled General they turned to the little green sod on their western coast, and there they drew from it a man called “Bobs” (Cheers) (BFP 20.12.00: 2).

For nationalists, the conflict in South African galvanised national sentiment and audiences routinely articulated their support for the Boers. At a *Vivo-Tableaux* exhibition of War Pictures presented by the Ormonde Family in Tralee in 1900, the reviewer reports:

The programme was thoroughly enjoyed, especially the war pictures, which afforded a splendid indication of the feeling of the Irish people in connection with the South African War. For one cheer for the British there were forty for the Boers (KS 07.11.00: 02).

‘Demonstrations’ were reported at an exhibition Boer War pictures by Poole’s Myriorama in Drogheda and at a Lantern Exhibition in Carlow, in which ‘[c]ertain self-appointed disturbers of the peace ... were present, making such very clever remarks (CS 13.01.00: 02).

For both unionist and nationalist audiences, the lecturer was a key mediator of the content of the images. The potentially mixed composition of audiences for entertainments in such venues and theatres and Town Halls appears to have been recognised by Boer War lecturers. While presenting a pro-British view of the War, the content of their lectures, as recorded in the published reviews, demonstrate care on the lecturer’s part to temper the obvious pro-British stance. At a Boer War lantern lecture held in Carlow in 1899, the lecturer ‘gave his personal experience of the manners and customs of the Boers and ... defend[ed] them as a people from many exaggerated and unfounded charges made against them in the English press’ (CS 09.12.99: 2), yet continued in his lecture to support the British.

The clear binarism of response reported in the provincial press highlights one of the central methodological difficulties of conducting studies such as this. The content of reviews clearly indicates the editorial and ideological orientation of the newspapers surveyed and demonstrates the influence of journalists and editors in both reflecting and constructing 'public' opinion. Of the newspapers examined in this study, those most likely to print pro-British sentiments were the *Ballymoney Free Press*, the *Carlow Sentinel*, the *Clonmel Chronicle*, the *Longford Independent* and the *Wicklow Newsletter*, all of which are identified by Legg (1999) as Unionist, Conservative or Conservative-Neutral publications. Those publications which espouse a nationalist viewpoint, the *Anglo-Celt*, the *Drogheda Argus*, the *Kerry Sentinel*, the *Sligo Champion* and the *Tuam Herald*, are identified as Liberal, National or National-Independent. Not only did such publications choose to cover events which tallied with their ideological preference but also regularly editorialised on reviewed entertainments. The *Drogheda Argus* reporter, commenting on the pro-Boer pictures exhibited by Poole's Myriorama in the Whitworth Hall, offers some advice to audience and exhibitor alike:

We must draw the line here, however, and enter our earnest word of protest against the misrepresentation of the Boer War to which the Drogheda people were treated. It was hard upon the audience to sit quiet while calumnies long refuted were trotted out for their information and the patience of many a person in the Whitworth Hall was taxed to straining point in listening to the rabid Jingo utterances that they were freely treated to for a portion of the performance each night. This Jingoism was the one jarring feature of an otherwise highly pleasant, highly amusing and very instructive entertainment. As we said in the beginning, Poole's Myriorama is worth a visit, and we trust, in its future visits to Drogheda, anything approaching the vulgar display of partizan [sic] feeling or contempt for the well-conceived opinion for the bulk of the audience will be carefully avoided  
(03 08 1901: 4)

### 5.7.2 Nationalism and Projected Screen Entertainments

The early days of cinema in Ireland coincided with a period in Irish history in which (Catholic) nationalism was emerging as the dominant political force in the counties outside of Ulster. From the late nineteenth century, Irish culture functioned as the focus and conduit for the articulation of identity. As noted by Ferriter, the cultural revival was a relatively coherent mass movement, despite differences in religion, class and gender, and was accompanied by a new dynamism and confidence among Catholic nationalists (2004: 31).

Despite the relative political calm of the period, there is little doubt that a new surge in the national struggle was evolving. Though founded as a non-sectarian and non-political organisation, the Gaelic League was unashamedly nationalist in its convictions. By the early twentieth century, Hutchinson argues, the Gaelic League was transformed into a significant ideological movement ... eventually becoming the vehicle for a revolutionary campaign that established in 1921 an independent Irish state' (1989, 116). The contribution and influence of the Gaelic League to provincial entertainment agenda and opinion will be discussed later.

The inception, production and distribution of films and magic lantern slides was largely conducted abroad, particularly in Britain. An abundance of royal pictures, detailing the reigns of both Queen Victoria and Edward VII (see Appendix ??) were screened throughout provincial Ireland and their reception reflected the polarity of political conviction.



Fig. 20. 3 Slides from 'The Life of Queen Victoria' Slide Series

The reviewer of a Bray Boy's Brigade Kinematograph Lecture in 1901 wrote that

the change was a sad one to a series of panoramic presentations of the last solemn offices of state on the occasion of the great Queen, whom we still all so keenly mourn, the naval pageant on the Solent, and the great military and civic tributes of London and Windsor This portion of the display, needless to say, hushed the audience to the stillness of a cathedral, not a few being visibly affected by as the end of the beloved monarch was thus recalled (WN 16 03 01 10)

Audiences attending an exhibition of Edison's Pictures in Clonmel in 1902 reported that

Very great interest was manifested in the pictures of the recent Coronation – scenes being shown of the Royal procession in the streets, as well as of the ceremony in the abbey In the former the King and Queen were readily recognised in the State carriage and there was much cheering from all parts of the crowded house (CC 16 08 02 2)

Approval of such pictures was far from universal in provincial Ireland Films and slides of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria were among the most common pictures screened during the period under review, yet support for celebrating the event was far from widespread The editor of the Sligo Champion advocated to his readers that the event should be 'observed as one of general mourning and National humiliation throughout Ireland' (SC 19 06 97 4) The Tuam Herald, reporting on a cinematograph screening by the Ormonde family in 1902, notes that

[t]he picture of His Majesty King Edward the Seventh evoked a solitary hiss from some of the demons of the gallery, by others termed the gods, which was answered by a solitary handclap from the front seats (TH 11 10 02 02)

Audiences in Sligo expressed a clear preference for local slides to 'make up' for the 'loyal' displays (SC 23 08 02 5)

By comparison, the availability of programme material which presented nationalist subjects and themes was comparatively limited, though enthusiastically welcomed among nationalist audiences Edison's Pictures, during a 1902 season in Sligo, exhibited the following series of films, to the obvious approval of the audience

The series of views which brought down the house were those connected with political life in Ireland. The arrival of Mr John Redmond at Queenstown was an admirable portrayal of this exciting and historic event. The picture, a very animated one, which represented the delegates going into the Rotunda in Dublin, to the great National Convention, met with the hearty approval of the audience. Another picture which took greatly with the audience was that which represented the Irish Parliamentary Party leaving Dublin's City Hall, after holding their Convention. Such men as John Dillon, the two Redmonds, Mr M'Millop and Alderman M'Hugh were easily recognised, and there were loud cheers as they passed down the steps of this historical building (SC 22 02 02 8)

During 1898, a time remembered by Alfred Web as one in which '[t]he country appears *memorial mad*' (cited by Foster, 2001 219, emphasis in original), a range of activities were planned and executed to commemorate the centenary of the 1798 Rebellion. A centennial movement had begun in Dublin in 1879 when a group of Wexford men founded the '98 Club, branches of which were evident throughout the provinces during the period under review. John Redmond, later to reunite the Irish Parliamentary Party, was a noted speaker on the subject on both sides of the Atlantic, usually with the aim of demonstrating the illegitimacy of the Union and for fundraising purposes (Ibid 220-221). The *Kerry Sentinel* advertised a brand of "'98 Centenary Whiskey' labelled with the 'heads of Irish Leaders of that Period' (11 06 98 4). Sandwiched between the Nationalist antipathy to the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897 and their support of the Boers against the British, and intersecting with the cultural revival project, Foster argues that the '98 centenary both contributed to the reunion of the constitutional nationalists and helped spark the revival of the IRB. Further, he argues, the commemorations were effectively hijacked by mainstream Irish nationalism and by the clergy (Ibid)

98 LECTURE AND CONCERT IN LISTOWEL

On Saturday night, a lecture on the 98 Movement will be delivered in Listowel by Mr T. F. O'Sullivan similar to the address delivered by him in the Concert Hall, Tralee on Sunday night last. There will also be a number of patriotic recitations and a concert of Irish music. Having regard to the patriotic purpose for which the entertainment is being held—to forward a subscription on behalf of the town to the Wolfe Tone Memorial Fund—we are sure it will be liberally patronised.

Throughout the Irish provinces, the '98 centenary became common currency in entertainment programmes. Concert bills regularly featured recitations such as 'Who Fears to Speak of '98' and Robert Emmet's speech from the Dock.

Fig 21 '98 Lecture Review (KS 01 06 98 3)

Illustrated Lectures commemorating the 1798 Rebellion were commonly presented prior to and during the centenary year of 1898, often as benefits for such organisations as the Wolfe Tone and United Irishmen Fund. The *Anglo-Celt* reports on one such lecture, illustrated by Limelight 'Photoramic' views, in which '[t]he Hall was densely packed and, as the pictures of the various stirring battles of the rebellion were thrown upon the screen, they were received with thunderous applause' (DA 09 10 97 6). Among the portraits of the United Irishmen and the scenes of the battles were exhibited such slides as

a very affecting picture representing Britain presenting an address of congratulation to Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee, and Erin depositing a wreath on the grave of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. This country, typified [sic] on the second picture, was still sorrowing for the loss of the men of '98, '48 and '67, but next year, please God, they would have a Jubilee of their own (Ibid)

The range of Nationalist Magic Lantern Slides and Cinematograph Films during the 1896-1906 decade are detailed overleaf

**Table 5 NATIONALIST EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906**

**MAGIC LANTERN SLIDES**

<b>1897</b>	<p>Irish Flag</p> <p>Sarsfield</p> <p>Treaty Stone of Limerick</p> <p>King William</p> <p>King James</p> <p>Massacre of Drogheda</p> <p>Mass in the Penal Days</p> <p>Presentation to Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee/Enn Depositing Wreath on Grave of Lord Edward Fitzgerald</p> <p>Tone Russell and Neilson forming United Irishmen</p> <p>Rev H Jackson's Tomb</p> <p>Father Matthew Hall Dublin</p> <p>Thomas A. Emmet</p> <p>Theobald Wolfe Tone</p> <p>The Two Sheara Brothers</p> <p>Captain Armstrong</p> <p>Morra House</p> <p>Battles of Oulart Hill Tubberneering and Vinegar Hill</p> <p>Enniscorthy Castle</p> <p>Father Murphy's Well</p> <p>Robert Emmet</p> <p>Lord Edward</p> <p>Booleavogue</p> <p>Croppy Hole</p> <p>Arne Devlin</p>
-------------	--

<b>1898</b>	<p>Archibald Hamilton Rowan</p> <p>William Orr</p> <p>Wolfe Tone at his Court Martial</p> <p>Stafford Street, Dublin (Wolfe Tone's Birthplace)</p> <p>The Meeting of Tone M'Cracken and Russell in Belfast</p> <p>Bodenstown Church</p> <p>Napper Tandy</p> <p>Arthur O'Connor</p> <p>John and Henry Sheares</p> <p>John and Henry Sheares on the Scaffold</p> <p>The Altar at Newgate Jail</p> <p>Lord Edward Fitzgerald</p> <p>Lord Edward's Chamber</p> <p>Lord Edward's Fatal Struggle with his Captors</p> <p>Murphy's House Thomas Street, Dublin</p> <p>Samuel Neilson</p> <p>Henry M'Cracken</p> <p>The Battle of Antrim</p> <p>The Execution of Henry M'Cracken</p> <p>Newell the Informer</p> <p>Reynolds the Informer</p> <p>Jeremy O'Brien</p> <p>The Execution of one of O'Brien's Victims</p> <p>Flogging of the Purcell's by Capt. Sandys</p> <p>O'Connell Street, Dublin</p> <p>The Execution of Dr Esmonde on Carisle Bridge</p> <p>Fr John Murphy</p> <p>Vinegar Hill</p> <p>Fr Murphy leading the Insurgents</p> <p>Tubberneering Glen</p> <p>The Battle of New Ross</p> <p>Joseph Holt</p>
-------------	--



As noted by Foster, the '98 centenary was effectively colonised by mainstream nationalism and commemorative lectures were routinely used as a forum to galvanise support for Home Rule (2001)

Aside from the content of the lecture itself, the meeting structure discussed in the previous Chapter provided a space and opportunity for prominent nationalists to contribute their views on the National cause and to encourage audience members to renew their patriotic commitment

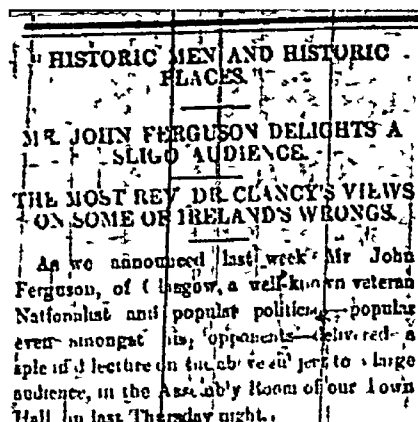


Fig 22 '98 Lecture Review (SC 15 01 98 3)

The cause for which so many men lived and died is still worth fighting for (applause) One result of to-night's [lantern] lecture ought to be the birth of a renewed spirit of patriotism, of heroic determination to labour in the same great cause, until our country's claim to manage her own domestic affairs be admitted and satisfied (loud applause) (SC 22 01 98 8)

Audiences attending such lectures were encouraged to

take an active interest in propagating the glorious gospel which the United Irishmen preached in life – the gospel of manly resistance to an intolerable tyranny, and of among love [sic] and good fellowship all classes and sections of Irishmen By standing loyally to these principles Irishmen would show that they were worthy of the blessings of national freedom, and worthy successors of those who endeavoured to assert the independence of the old land in glorious and never-to-be-forgotten '98 (loud applause) (KS 01 06 98 3)

The rhetoric of '98 commemorative lectures closely mirrored that of the Gaelic League in valorising traditional Irish culture above that of corrupt Britain

Ireland – which was a great civilised country at the time when those who professed to be the conquerors of the Irish race – the ancient inhabitants of Britain – were painted savages running about in their woods. It was the old sunburst that hung in Royal Tara over the assembly of learned men, princes, and legislators transacting the business of Ireland as a Nation on lines which were nearly the same as the constitution of our latter day republics, and – nobody knew what might happen – it might be again be the flag of Ireland, an independent nation, at a time when, in the words of Macauley, the solitary traveller might sit on London Bridge and sketch the ruins of St Paul's (applause) (DA 09 10 97 6)

The political persuasion of early Irish audiences clearly functioned as a lens through which the content of films and slides exhibited was evaluated. Ambiguous or mixed reactions indicate multiple and often contradictory discourses of meaning related to political viewpoint. Further, as can be determined by the transcriptions included above, the punctuation of reviews with reference to actual audience reactions such as '(applause)', '(loud applause)' and '(cheers)', as well as details of hissing, clapping and interjections directs the conclusion that political conviction functioned as a strong stimulus for audience participation as detailed earlier in this chapter.

The expansion of the nationalist agenda outside of the party political domain was closely allied to a vision of Ireland shared by the clergy and exclusivist currents in cultural politics. This confluence of ideology concerns the imposition of an external yet highly influential set of criteria in the evaluation of the merits of projected screen entertainments.

## 5.8 The Clergy

Horace Plunkett, writing in 1904, described the enormous influence of the clergy in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century provincial Ireland ‘In no other country in the world, probably, is religion so dominant an element in the daily life of the people and certainly, nowhere else has the minister of religion so wide and undisputed an authority’ (Plunkett, 1904 94) As argued in Chapter 4, it is reasonable to suggest that a different notion of cinematograph reception can be inferred from exhibition practices in which the participation and sanction of the clergy in organising, supervising or presenting exhibitions prevailed In the Town Halls, churches, temperance halls and schoolrooms of provincial Ireland, the salience of religious presence in approving, organising and conducting cinematograph screenings was widespread during the period under review The Church’s right to grant or refuse access to venues under their control effectively functioned as a form of regulation of exhibitions and their content in the years before official censorship legislation was applied In this context, the role of the clergy in disparaging and resisting ‘indecent’ forms of leisure in favour of cultivating pastimes of an ‘improving’ or ‘instructive’ nature becomes prevalent

As McQuire has remarked, ‘cinema was the place in which an avowedly secular society prepared itself to encounter the other – the foreign, the fantastic, the erotic’ (1998 216) The participation of the clergy in controlling the exhibition context suggests a strategy of regulation of the use of the cinematograph to prevent, or at least to curtail, the exercise of its secular potential, a strategy underpinned by the project of cultural nationalism As Rockett has noted, the coordination of the efforts of national protectionist campaigns and the institutional Catholic church effected a suppression of such entertainments and that cinema, in this climate, was ‘already a marked medium’ (2004 19)

The meteoric rise of branches of the Gaelic League throughout the provinces during the decade surveyed emerges as a central determining factor in influencing not only the type, structure and popularity of entertainments, but also the manner in which they were received Thus, this research’s concern with the location of culture as a central force in influencing and determining reception requires consideration of the most influential cultural organisation operating in Ireland at the time

## 5.9 The Gaelic League

On November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1892, the man who was to become the first President of the Irish Free State, Douglas Hyde presented his initial manifesto for cultural revival to the National Literary Society. Culturally, and in due course politically, it was a subversive and revolutionary statement in which he set out the agenda for cultural nationalism in Ireland. From this beginning, *Conradh na Gaeidhlice*, or the Gaelic League was formed. Claiming that the Irish people had become 'a nation of imitators,' culturally indistinguishable from their English colonisers, mimicking the English 'in our dress, literature, music, games and ideas only a long time after them and a vast way behind,' Hyde catalogued a history of people 'who drop their own language to speak English,' of generations ignorant of Gaelic literature preferring 'penny dreadfuls, shilling shockers and still more, the garbage of English weeklies like *Bow Bells* and the *Police Intelligence*,' yet paradoxically 'protesting as a matter of sentiment that they hate the country which at every hand's turn they rush to imitate.' As a result, Ireland was incapable of producing 'anything good in literature, art or institutions.' Hyde's castigation of the decline of Irish language and culture finished with an appeal 'to cultivate everything that is most racial, most smacking of the soil, most Gaelic, most Irish because Ireland *is* and will *ever* remain Celtic to the core.' By means of a return to the ethnic remnants of peasant culture and customs, the League sought to rectify their abandonment for alien English norms (Hutchinson, 1987: 119), to develop the intellectual, moral and social life of the Irish people from within.<sup>23</sup>

Founded and promoted as a strictly non-political and non-sectarian organisation, the League successfully adopted a policy of recruiting both Unionist and Nationalist members in its early years, projecting a conception of Irish society and culture as a superior, Gaelic, rural, communalist civilisation.<sup>24</sup> Growing from 43 branches in 1897 to 227 branches by 1902 and almost 600, with a membership approaching 50,000, by 1904, the League continued to challenge deference to English culture and promoted a sense of self-respect and self-confidence in Irish culture to the Catholic young. By 1904, the teaching of the Irish language had been introduced into 1,300 National Schools, a massive increase from 140 schools in 1900.<sup>25</sup>

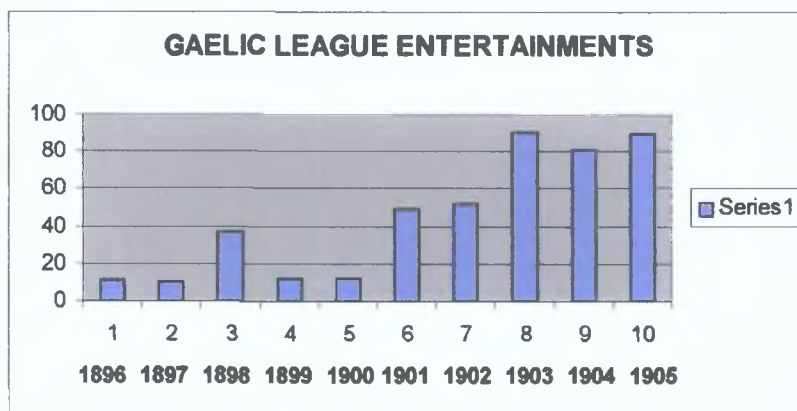
Increasingly, Urban District Councils voted in favour of public signage in Irish as well as English. League publications during one year reached nearly a quarter of a million copies.

### 5.9.1 The Gaelic League and Popular Culture

Hyde's initial manifesto for the cultural revival in which he called for the de-anglicisation of Ireland, and the subsequent founding of the Gaelic League according to these principles, in practice forced the creation of a binary opposition: organic, native peasant culture versus constructed, alien British culture. Britain had taken the place reserved by cultural critic Matthew Arnold for American vulgarization in polluting the Irish sensibility. Thus, from the very outset of the revival, popular culture *in general* tended to be depicted as an unwelcome, foreign force, corroding the purity of Irish indigenous cultural heritage.

As Gaelic League membership burgeoned, a palpable shift in cultural climate begins to emerge aligned with the League's adjustment in attitudes towards recreation. The rural, peasant, native entertainments so highly praised by the League become the most common and prominent items on concert bills once local Gaelic League branches became established and prospered. The number and type of entertainments appearing in the rural entertainment calendar dramatically rises from the date of the establishment of local League branches (See Appendix A). Kiberd remarks that the Gaelic League 'remained unchallenged as ... a provider of entertainment, especially of Irish music and dancing in those days' (1982: 6).

Table 6. Gaelic League Entertainments 1896-1906



More importantly for the concerns of my research, the public's response to those changes, as reflected in the published reviews, is significant. The Gaelic League's objectives began to dictate not only the types of entertainment considered appropriate, but their goals began to form the content of such entertainments<sup>26</sup>. As a direct response to the encroachment of British cultural sensibility into the Irish provincial entertainment programme, the Gaelic League employed a number of organisers (*túmairí*) who travelled the country founding new branches which in turn were served by travelling teachers who taught the Irish language as well as Irish dancing, history, folklore and music. Further, the League organised various competitions and entertainments. *Feiseanna*, *Aeríodheachta* and *Sgorúidheachta* became regular features in the provincial entertainment timetable, as a more culturally appropriate alternative to the 'polluting filth' and 'vulgaries of Whitechapel'.

Illustrated Lantern Lectures began to feature Irish subjects and themes 'to enlighten Irishmen on their own country' (DA, 06 02 1904) and for 'spreading a knowledge of history and cultivating a pride in native civilisation and language' (DA, 28 01 1905). Irish dancing was among the most popular concert or *Feis* items<sup>27</sup>. Concerts increasingly promoted songs 'in our grand old mother tongue,' ballads such as, 'Come Back to Erin,' 'Eileen Aroon' and 'Carrighoun,' 'The Harp that Once,' and 'The West's Asleep,' were most popular, along with recitations such as 'An Appeal for the Irish Language,' selections of instrumental Irish airs, whistling solos of Irish tunes and Gramophone selections of Irish music and song.

Notably, concerts regularly conclude with the singing of 'God Save Ireland,' 'Let Erin Remember,' or the rallying song of the Gaelic League, '*Go Mairidh ár nGaedhlighe Slán*' in place of the official National Anthem. 'God Save the Queen,' was now considered anathema to the Gaelic Leaguers. During this period, Peadar Kearney, who was later to write the Irish National Anthem, is reputed to have hosed members of the Empire Palace Orchestra for playing 'God Save the Queen' in protest. Even *Tableaux Vivants* of a 'national' description such as, 'The Children of Lir,' 'St. Patrick,' 'Osin in Tírnan Og [sic],' and 'Erin' began to appear in provincial variety concerts.

The League's antipathy to British popular culture, so explicitly critiqued by Hyde, became a key concern for provincial entertainment seekers. The League's success in cultivating among its members a pride in native, rural, peasant pastimes had resonance beyond Hyde's rhetoric. The League became, in many districts, synonymous with wholesome, quality entertainment.<sup>28</sup> The previously popular concert items of comic songs and stage-Irishism, were to receive the most vitriolic and unrelenting criticism as a 'vulgar English view of ourselves as uninformed, illiterate buffoons – a picture of obscenity and degradation [and] an insult to public taste' (KS, 03 12 03 2). The *Anglo-Celt* of October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1904 reports on a concert in which 'the stage manager was obliged to stop an imported comedian of the 'Hand-them-over-to-Reilly" type' against which 'Every Irish Irelander should set his face '

In this context, Music hall, in particular, became the *bête noire* of the League. In reaction to its appearance on Irish variety bills the Gaelic League was most critical. Members of the Gaelic League heckled music hall performances for their perceived 'stage Irishery'. In the columns of the League's newspaper, *The Leader* (September 1<sup>st</sup> 1900), music halls were referred to as 'regular night-schools for Anglicisation'

The variety format was the most common arrangement in which the Irish provincial public were to witness projected screen entertainments during the period under review. Performances consisted of a series of short, unconnected films, slides or poses, alternating with and sandwiched between a discontinuous and enticing range of variety 'turns'. Cinematograph and Magic Lantern exhibitions took their place among comic and sentimental songs and recitations, short plays and skits, instrumental music and dances with whom they competed and against which they were evaluated. While projected screen entertainments were not specifically castigated by Hyde or the League, their implication in a vaudeville or variety format meant that they too, at least indirectly, suffered in terms of popularity under the revivalist programme.

Irish items were explicitly and actively encouraged in the preparation of concert programmes. The *Kerry Sentinel* of November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1898 published the following review of a variety concert held in Kenmare

The alarming extent to which the Anglicisation of our music and songs has reached is painfully evident from the perusal of reports in the Provincial press of popular entertainments. Take the remote town of Kenmare, Co Kerry, for instance, situated in a district where sixty percent of the people are Irish-speaking. Here at least one would expect to find some lingering appreciation of our beautiful native music but alas! the detestable English music hall song holds sway. At a concert recently given in the Town Hall, we find that of a long programme there were only a few items which could by any stretch be called Irish, none at all being in the Irish language, while the audience were freely treated to such gems as 'Mrs 'Awkins,' 'Job Lot,' and 'Bunkydoodleido'

The havoc being wrought on the national character by this wholesale supplanting of our native songs by the product of the London music hall is so serious as to merit the attention of every Irishman who seeks the merit of his country. The fact that the popular song of Whitechapel also finds applause in Kerry is positive proof that we are being assimilated by the 'imperialist race' and are being degraded in the process.

By contrast, the *Tuam Herald* of November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1898, carries a review of a *Feis Ceoil* held in Galway

One of the chief characteristics of this competition and concert [of Irish music, song and dance] where the performers are all peasants, was what might have been a surprise to most people, but none to me, namely a complete absence of all vulgarity – that hideous art defiler which stalks like a skeleton at most art feasts of the present day while the inhabitants of shabby England are often vulgar, the Celtic peasants of the uncontaminated West are naturally poetical and refined, and that is the explanation of the fact that all vulgarity was absent from this little music festival of peasants<sup>29</sup>



As national sentiment burgeoned, the rhetoric of colonialism, imperialism and racial/ethnic difference conceived as 'natural' found easy translation in reviews of entertainments. The discourse of contamination and disease versus purity and health<sup>30</sup> so clearly invoked here is typical of the type of review increasingly published in each county following the establishment of local branches of the League. Concerts which conform to the League's idea of wholesome national entertainment are widely praised as the League encouraged entertainments which were 'thoroughly enjoyable wholly Irish and local in character' (*Sligo Champion*, 29<sup>th</sup> March, 1902). The enthusiastic participation of the clergy in espousing wholesome, traditional recreation was widespread and the Tralee *Fests* of 1903 included a competition for children saying prayers in Irish. The Clonmel Chronicle, reporting on the 1903 St. Patrick's Day Mass, remarked on the congregation's delight at hearing 'all through the Mass several hymns sung in Irish by at least 100 children. There were some present who appeared to be astonished beyond expression at the thrilling sweetness of those Gaelic accents as they fell from the lips of those gifted children. Happy for those children who have such teachers, Nuns and brothers, Gaelic with their whole hearts and tireless teachers of Irish music bless their old land and make it Gaelic from shore to shore' (CC 21 03 03 3)

In the Irish context, it is reasonable to argue that the League's broad influence on Irish culture and leisure produced an antipathy towards *any* entertainment content that could not be considered 'national,' 'local' and 'Gaelic.' Highlighting for the importance of the local, as manifested in specific programming demands, corroborated and reinforced the objectives of the organization and functioned as an opportunity to remake or customise cinematographic presentations in such a way as to mitigate against potential revivalist criticism and censure, if not directly corroborate the aims of the League.

Not only did Hyde and his followers view British popular culture as a polluting alien force to be countered, their project can also be seen as representing an intellectual current fearful of the transformation of (Irish) peasants into the masses of (British) industrial society. There was a strong tendency to set the peasantry, their culture and religion against a Modernism linked with the English. McQuire equates modernisation with 'the disintegration of tradition' and 'absolute liberation from the past' (1998: 6, 113). The central objective of the League was to revive tradition. Where the traditional continuities of life were fragmented by the accelerated processes of modernity, the Gaelic League, to a significant extent, equated modernisation with Anglicisation<sup>31</sup> and believed that 'if something were not done quickly, the Ireland of monuments and cottages will be inundated by a flood of black spuming factories, travelling salesmen and cockney corner boys'.<sup>32</sup> In addition to their overlapping campaigns against 'gutter' literature and 'imported' entertainment, the combined forces of cultural protectionism and conservative Catholicism dichotomised the 'Catholic Ireland from British mass industrial society as a superior democratic nation based on the conservative virtues of a prosperous peasant proprietary' (Hutchinson, 1989: 138). A cleric and League member, Fr. T. F. Macken's 1903 speech to the Maynooth Union effectively summarises their combined perspective:

No lover of Ireland – no genuine Irishman – can contemplate without feelings akin to horror, an industrial Ireland with centres of manufacture such as are to be found in Germany, in England and in America. Such industrial complexes were destructive of family life as well as the personal dignity of the workingman – those countries where the land is deserted and where the toiling millions are congregated in large cities and towns leading lives of physical and moral degradation (cited by Miller, 1973: 72).

The whole infrastructure of modernisation appalled the Gaelic League. The machinery and technologies associated with Modernity and modernisation were considered a threat and the League failed to distinguish the specifically English from the generally modern. They assumed that Irish culture would not survive in a modernised world. They should therefore, unlike every other European people opt out from the modernisation process and continue to 'dwell in a mythical world of kneebreeches and ballads' (Ó Giolláin, 2000: 139).

Though the cinematograph and magic lantern are not specifically singled out as technologies of modernisation in this context, I think it's reasonable to argue that, at least indirectly, such devices were considered suspect and unwelcome

The influence of the Gaelic League in moulding the entertainment patterns of the period is undeniable. The *Longford Independent* reports in 1903 that '[t]he English music hall absurdities, coon songs and all the productions of the Saxon have run their course and their place – thanks to the exertions of the Gaelic League – have been supplanted by good Irish and Anglo-Irish songs and dances' (LI 10 09 03 3) <sup>33</sup> Further, their intervention provides a salient example of a situation in which both the exhibition and reception of visual media were shaped and positioned by the larger forces of Irish history <sup>34</sup> Fearful of the encroachment of imported entertainment and of a mass culture in the making, the League appointed itself to the role of cultural gatekeeper or authorising 'agent' and determined which cultural activities were invested with significance and which were unworthy. Not only were the remnants of oral culture continuing to influence reception of projected screen entertainments, as I have demonstrated above, but the intervention of the Gaelic League ensured their resurrection to the forefront of the entertainment agenda. The Gaelic League's direct intervention in the provincial leisure timetable emerges as a calculated and tactical response to the cultural encroachment of 'West Britonism,' in which the project of cultural revival exerts itself as a form of cultural control

## 5.10 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have argued for the usefulness of applying a socio-historic approach to film history as a means of countering those still influential accounts which focus exclusively on the industrialized, urban centers of New York, London and Paris or on issues of style and authorship. I believe that in foregrounding cultural context, my approach affirms Staiger's contention that 'looking at celluloid texts will no longer do in writing film history' and that a 'study of the textual features of early cinema without regard to historical context is critically fallacious'

Reception and its cultural context should not be regarded as peripheral to the more or less immanent interpretation of individual films. Rather, they must be considered constitutive conditions and permanently present forces shaping the development as well as constraints of specific media practices.

In conceiving of spectatorship in the provincial Irish context, the audience's sense of itself was of a social, collective gathering. The prevailing exhibition context, offering a fundamentally different experience to that of classical cinema, determined a mode of reception in which audience visibility, mobility and participation were the norm. The influence of ideological and political conviction in directing interpretations of films' and slides' content may have formed the basis for directing such responses. In this context, the reception of projected screen entertainments in Ireland centres around the key principles of participation, communality and a shared political consciousness.

The influence and exercise of cultural preference as a central determinant of the relationship between spectators and screen functions to reinforce these principles. The explicit preference of provincial Irish audiences was for entertainment items that sustained and enhanced the collective, participatory relations between viewer and viewed. As a culturally appropriate means of interpreting magic lantern and cinematographic representations, the approach of provincial Irish audiences was to restructure the content of the entertainments exhibited, to interpret them in manner consistent with their political and ideological conviction, and to remake them according to their particular 'horizon of expectation' or 'cultural tropes'. The relative durability of the cultural forms and figures of orality and participation, whether spontaneous and organic or imposed and encouraged by the revivalist programme, has much to do with their practical decoupling of (spoken) narrative and (visual) image and the assigning of greater emphasis to the former. This, of course, does not mean that images were ignored or dismissed.

As I have shown, slides and films were discussed in some detail, particularly in the context of their alleged realistic qualities. Further, response to the content of films and slides has been demonstrated to owe much to prevailing ideological and political affiliations. The elements of the entertainment that more closely agreed with their privilege of spoken narrative and their preference for participatory engagement, whether in recognising the faces and places on screen or in contributing comments and appreciation (or otherwise), resulted in the creative remaking of projected screen entertainments according to participatory and collective cultural repertoires. Of course, certain elements of reception that have been identified here in the provincial Irish context have, to varying degrees, been identified by writers outside of the particular context examined here.

In their combination, however, the distinctive complex of receptive patterns of provincial Irish audiences for which I have argued supports my contention that visuality cannot only, and even primarily, be conceived in terms of universal, theoretical models such as those of Cartesian Perspectivalism, Panopticism and *Flânerie*. In the first instance, the presupposition of distance between spectacle and spectator assumed by such models clearly collapses when the activity and participation of the audience is recognised. Secondly, the emphasis on spoken narrative clearly signalled in the case study requires the recognition that what is visible is not necessarily legible. Thus, I conclude that visuality should be understood in terms of cultural continuity as well as change, in relation to practices of adaptation as well as adoption. To approach visual knowledge from this perspective provides the opportunity to avoid the imposition of generalisations about visuality and the homogeneity of specific scopic regimes (Jay, 1988).

---

<sup>1</sup> In referring to audience 'understanding' of texts, Staiger comes close to asserting that responses to media forms and texts are the result of a conscious, reasoned and articulated process of comprehending. Fiske offers an alternative argument. Invoking DeCerteau's theorisation of the 'practice of everyday life,' Fiske distinguishes between mass culture and popular culture, proposing that in creating popular culture, socially and economically subordinated people can use mass culture's products as material resources for oppositional activities and the assertion of social difference. For Fiske, this form of 'tactical' consumption is an opportunistic subversion of mass cultural consumption (Fiske, 1988). My research, while supporting the general position that Staiger advocates, and affirming her emphasis on the material above the theoretical, prefers to think of audience reactions and responses in terms of a subaltern process of interpretation. Thus, I assume that such interpretations are the result of a more unconscious and inarticulate process which derives from, and reflects, the cultural and historical circumstances in which they are generated.

<sup>2</sup> The proper study of any narrative, Jauss argues, involves the reconstruction of the horizon of expectation of its original audience. His approach allows for a systemic study of the history of reception, which unlike traditional histories of literature, allows us to examine the variation in the reception of the same text in different historical formations. Aesthetic distance, which Jauss theorises as the gap between the horizon of expectation and the arrival of new works, produces a change in horizon, indicated by audience reaction and critical judgement. In the case of works not directed at specific publics, and by implication a familiar horizon of expectation, a new horizon and aesthetic norms are established, transforming and reproducing the criteria of a previous horizon. Re-evaluation of previously unsuccessful or unpopular works becomes possible. The new is effectively an historical category brought about through historical forces. Reception is thus conceived as a synchronic and diachronic process. Horizons of expectation are dynamically integrated as the 'meaning potential' of texts becomes progressively actualised through the various stages of its reception.

<sup>3</sup> In spite of the usefulness of his account for the requirements of this study, Jauss' linear and progressive approach to the historical reception of texts approaches a regrettable teleology. In practice, it is unlikely that reception proceeds with the regularity and tidiness that Jauss proposes. His critics argue that he emphasises aesthetic horizons to the practical neglect of discursive, social and political contexts (Suleman, 1980: 37). Moreover, Jauss' closed conception of a homogenous reading public and its expectations doesn't allow for sufficient diversity and he neglects to theorise the possibility of different publics and different horizons existing within that reading public at any one given time. Of course, this doesn't render the concept of 'horizons of expectation' invalid but begs the question of the multiplication of horizons of expectation and the acknowledgement that there is no single, closed, homogenous reading public.

<sup>4</sup> One shortcoming of Tsivian's account, for the purposes of my study is his exclusive focus on the educated and urbane audiences of Moscow and St. Petersburg. While Gunning points out that his findings do not necessarily exclude the experience of provincial illiterates (1994), there is no direct or necessary correspondence between them.

<sup>5</sup> In Chapter 4, I detailed a range of items which, in concert, formed the entertainment package and argued that the practice of participation may have been preserved by the integration of non-visual elements into the entertainment. Exhibited as part of a variety bill, cinematographic and magic lantern displays were sandwiched between a range of live acts, most notably, songs, music and dances. Mays considers the structure of popular ballads, so prevalent in entertainment programmes during the period of my research, both in themselves and in their performance as fundamentally 'oral'. Their listeners were 'invariably invited to participate from the outset' (1998: 9). Uí Ógáin supports this view, commenting that the 'chief function of music is to involve people in shared experiences within the framework of their cultural experience' (1995: 90). Thus, a musician or singer cannot be ignorant of the expectations of the audience. In the local context, Bach suggests that local musical events bring people together and evoke for them 'a collective experience to which common meanings are assigned' (2003: 2). Frith concurs: music has a potential to 'create, define and articulate the idea of community and with it, a collective identity' (1992: 17). The interactional character of music and song thus makes the nature of musical meaning social in character (Bach, *Ibid*).

---

<sup>6</sup> The *Ballymoney Free Press* of 1987, reviewing a cinematograph entertainment conducted as a fundraiser for the local Presbyterian Sabbath Schools, comments that '[a]lthough the weather was very unfavourable, the hall was filled, the double combination of a good object and an agreeable entertainment having irresistible attractions' (BFP 09 12 97 2) Such comments arose frequently throughout the case study, inviting consideration of pleasures and motives in attending entertainments not usually examined by theorists

<sup>7</sup> The *Irish Times* of 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1939 published a similar appeal to theatrical exhibitors  
'The film form of entertainment would be rendered greatly more attractive to the public if a short interval in the course of each performance were allowed with the lights turned up and an opportunity given for people not only to recognise, but talk to, or salute their friends? This period has often been a welcome relief and variety, besides giving a chance to find out "who's who" among the audience and to knit up an old acquaintanceship I am thinking especially of those many attractive young ladies who would like not only to see and be seen, but could also show what taste they possess in the matter of dress and reciprocate with mutual admiration '

The parallels between the conventions of late 19<sup>th</sup> century exhibition norms, permitting visibility, mobility and interaction and the request of the above writer are striking Perhaps it is reasonable to suggest that the norms of the silent era concerning the deportment of the audience had been undermined by the coming of sound, which required silence among audiences, yet that the social aspect of cinemagoing remained a primary attraction The examination of the many possibilities suggested here is beyond the scope of this research, yet it points to the necessity of continuing studies such as this into the succeeding decades

<sup>8</sup> Ruth Finnegan's characterisation of the audiences in oral culture provides some compelling similarities 'It needs to be borne in mind that the recognised style of delivery may include formal or informal participation by the audience The act of performance as a whole can comprise not just the solo poet's declamation, but formal rejoinders from one or more of the audience, there is often a specified chorus part, or recognised patterns of interjections, clapping, or even dancing by the audience this participation by the audience forms a recognised aspect of the whole occasion of the performance – part of the accepted stylistic conventions' (1992 122)

<sup>9</sup> Rosensweig notes a similar trend among urban working class immigrant audiences which, he argues, 'grew out of traditions of working class public recreational behaviour based on sociability, conviviality, communality and informality' (1983 203)

<sup>10</sup> Exceptions include BFP 26 06 02 5 Supplement – full page half tone picture of the newly crowned King and Queen and AC 02 01 04 5 CLONES MURDER – photographs of the victim's sister and aunt, 09 01 04, photographs of the victim's house and the interior of the slaughterhouse where the body was found, TH 08 07 96 4 Photograph of Archbishop of Tuam, DA 11 07 03 4 Photograph of John Boyle O'Reilly (to commemorate unveiling of the John Boyle O'Reilly monument in Drogheda

<sup>11</sup> Gunning claims that re-presenting the appearance of the putatively unique individual, the photograph 'destabilised traditional conceptions of personal identity by making the body a transportable image fully adaptable to systems of circulation and mobility that modernity demanded' (1995b 18) By contrast, as this example demonstrates, in late nineteenth century Ireland with its high emigration rates, it was the individual who was mobile, the photograph stayed behind in their place

---

<sup>12</sup> The new techniques of realistic representation of the nineteenth century, according to Gunning, gave rise to the blurring of representation and reality, a tendency to understand the real only as its representations which he describes as a crucial aspect of Modernity (1995b) The foregrounding of external appearance thus functions as a conflation of the signifier and the signified. In the Irish context, as this story published in the *Wicklow Newsletter* in 1901 makes clear, there was no clear consensus as to the photograph's indexicality being preferred over the real

'SHILLELAGH GUARDIANS AND LADIES' PHOTOGRAPHS

"The Shillelagh Guardians required a night-nurse and in the advertisement which was issued they asked candidates to send their photographs On Friday, there were four applicants received, accompanied by four photographs the photographs were passed around, and the following discussion ensued -

"First Guardian - I think this lady is the best, she has a 'rae?arious' [indistinct print] look

"Second Guardian - But she is not so strong as this one Look at her arms

"Third Guardian - The one I have is the best looking (laughter) I like her face

"Fourth Guardian - The lady I have is more settled It's one like what we want I wouldn't get a young flighty thing that will be going away and getting married (laughter) My woman is the woman for the work

"Third Guardian - A nurse should get a chance of getting married as well as any other woman

"Fourth Guardian - Begorra, many of them make chances of themselves

It was soon evident that none of the applicants could be judged by their photographs, and the guardians had to fall back on the old plan of selecting the lady with the best testimonials' (WN 02 03 01 4)

The publication of such an article suggests to me the possibility of toying with the idea that photography might, in fact, be capable of capturing reality in all its complexity

<sup>13</sup> My case study reveals no examples of such reactions While a significant number of exponents of the 'panicking audience' theory attribute its (purported) occurrence to the experience of naive, unsophisticated 'rubes', the provincial Irish audience was just that, yet their failure to react in the prescribed manner is telling

<sup>14</sup> News stories throughout the sample detail Edison's inventions and projects such as his efforts to photograph the brain and thought processes The *Carlow Sentinel* describes him as 'a man of unparalleled genius' (CS 25 10 02 3)

<sup>15</sup> Certainly, a measure of curiosity attended the first cinematograph screening in Ireland but it is important to qualify the invocation of curiosity as a motive Rogoff reminds us that 'curious' implies a certain unsettling notion of things outside the realms of the known, things not yet understood or articulated (1998 18)

<sup>16</sup> This nomenclature closely parallels Wordsworth's definition of 'spectacle' as 'fraudulent display' (Prelude, Book 7)

<sup>17</sup> O'Neill claims that '[o]f course Irish popular culture, like all peasant culture *did* function primarily at the local level' but warns against the equation of the local with 'stasis, isolation or inferiority' (VI 56)

<sup>18</sup> Though, as Staiger observes, narrativity and visual spectacle existed as available sites of affective response for all spectators (1992 118), whether they chose to mobilise them or not

<sup>19</sup> A similar argument has been raised in recent years regarding the spectacular power of contemporary blockbusters, the special effects dominating the experience of viewing above the narrative exposition (cf Chittock, 1996 222)



---

<sup>20</sup> Harvey identifies in the aesthetic canons of Irish oral narrative a commitment to the virtuosic expression of *crua-Ghaelig* (a type of speech unlike the common speech, more grammatical in its nature and possessing an archaic quality) 'Aesthetic judgements of Irish Gaelic storytelling were based on the display of linguistic virtuosity – linguistic excellence and dexterity *for its own sake* was [sic] the most important yardstick by which the narrator of Irish stories was measured' (1992: 55-6). Harvey's research identifies the language itself as the primary concern and motivation for storytellers, particularly Irish language storytellers, above plot, characterisation or any other possibilities.

<sup>21</sup> Ong remarks that in oral cultures, audiences exert direct pressure on the content and procession of each performance: 'narrators narrate what audiences call for or will tolerate – audience expectation can help fix themes and formulas' (2000: 67).

<sup>22</sup> Thissen offers the example of the preference of Jewish audiences for 'sighing and crying' above comedy as a similar case in which preference determined exhibition policy: 'When a manager of a Yiddish theatre decides to produce a comedy, he adds a couple of pogroms, some suicides, a few poor orphans and a deserted woman – of course – to ensure that the people will weep more than they will laugh' (1999: 20).

<sup>23</sup> 'The national customs, culture and recreations – have almost disappeared and with them the strongest ties which bind people to the place of their birth. The Gaelic revival, as I understand it, is an attempt to supply these deficiencies, to give Irish people a culture of their own, and I believe that by awakening the feelings of pride, self-respect and love of country, based on knowledge, every department of Irish life will be invigorated. If Irish traditions, art, music and culture are allowed to disappear, it will mean the disappearance of the race' (Plunkett, 1904: 154-155).

<sup>24</sup> In spite of the Gaelic League's explicitly articulated non-political ethos, by the early twentieth century, 'it was transformed into a significant ideological movement by a rising Catholic intelligentsia, eventually becoming the vehicle for a revolutionary campaign that established in 1921 an independent Irish state' (Hutchinson, 1987: 115-6). Patrick Pearse was to write that when the Gaelic League was founded in 1893, 'the Irish Revolution began' (cited by Mac Aodha, 1972: 21). Emergent political parties paid lip service to the League while using its membership as a recruiting ground (Greene, 1972: 18).

<sup>25</sup> While succeeding in arresting the decline of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht, the League was ultimately unsuccessful in its ambition to reinstate Irish as the vernacular of all its countrymen (Lee, 1973: 140). Indeed, Synge criticised the failure of the League to produce any result more favourable than 'girls jabbering in bad Irish at young clerks pale with enthusiasm' (cited by Greene, 1972: 13).

<sup>26</sup> The following excerpt is taken from the text of a lecture on 'Some aspects of Irish History, delivered in Tralee in 1903:

After some introductory remarks on the great loss of traditional knowledge of Irish history from the disuse of the native language, Dr Coffey [the lecturer] said: 'Irish education divorced from the Irish language tends to lead to neglect of, to want of sympathy with, all the periods of our history not directly associated with the operations of English customs and English law – the Irish people are in danger as a nation of losing the key to the study of the attributes of mind and character which have made us what we are. If English power prevailed it was a military, not a normal or intellectual supremacy. Why, then, should we Irish of the present set aside for ever the speech which witnessed the greatest intellectual, artistic and religious triumphs of our people, which was the vehicle of thought for our ancestors during the long, fierce struggle of two great systems of civilisation? Why should we abandon it at the present day when the spread of education makes it so easy to maintain our glorious Language?' (KS, 10.01.03: 3)

<sup>27</sup> 'The greatest attraction of the concert was the local competition in Irish step-dancing. About half a dozen entered the ring. Some others could not resist 'having a step' though they refrained from competing' (SC, 23.04.04: 1).

---

<sup>28</sup> The *Anglo Celt* of February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1901 published this letter in response to one written the previous week under the pseudonym 'Amusement' bemoaning the lack of entertainment facilities in the town. Sir - Your correspondent, 'Amusement' of last week touches an undoubted and patent disease in the present social life of Ireland. If 'Amusement' went to the bottom he might find that the dearth of amusements was owing to the dearth of national life and vitality – the loss of national characteristics. When did amusement get scarce? when every national pastime was swept away and its place left – void. Therefore the cause of the disease points to its remedy. Return to national studies, pastimes and pursuits and cease to be slavish imitators and you will want amusement no longer. In one word, start the Gaelic League. Throw in your lot with resurgent rather than with decadent Ireland and things cease to look murky. Gaelic Leaguers see practically everything bright in Ireland. Look there for light' (AC 02 02 01 5)

<sup>29</sup> Paradoxically, while praising the 'natural' purity and refinement of Galway's musical peasants, those reviewing travel lectures such as those delivered by missionaries, as detailed in the previous Chapter, seemed to have little difficulty in inverting, applying and accepting this rhetoric in the case of the uncivilised, pagan savage.

<sup>30</sup> The invocation of such a discourse, of course, shares many parallels with prevailing theorisations concerning cultural imperialism, particularly with respect to US media content corroding and contaminating indigenous material.

<sup>31</sup> or, as Joe Lee argues, confused them, since 'Ireland was no more Anglicised in 1892 than in 1848' (1973 139-40)

<sup>32</sup> During the course of a lecture on 'Japan The Land of the Rising Sun' in Drogheda in 1905, the lecturer, a member of the Gaelic League, 'dealt with the arts and crafts of Japan and the unselfish and uncommercial lives of the old artists, who worked for art's sake,' a state of things, the lecturer feared, 'would fast disappear under the malign influence of competition and commercialism' (DA 02 12 05 6)

<sup>33</sup> The Gaelic League's objectives and achievements are not without their critics. Malcolm argues that the model of culture fostered and promoted retrospectively emerges as synthetic and 'carefully sanitised' (1998 53, 1983 40). According to Greene, Hyde 'populated his ideal Ireland with a nation of stage-Irishmen, mimicking reality in Irish instead of English' (Greene, 1972 12). While valourising the organic, native peasantry of the West as homogenous and unchanging (Bourke, 2003 33), as a 'sealed community' represented as 'acting out the last rituals of a previous order' (Higgins, 1984 132). Higgins argues that the League's creation of an official cultural ideology was hostile to much of the real culture of the community. Of course, in the rural areas there was song and dance, there were entertainment practices and an oral tradition in storytelling. There was music too. It was of the people. It was to be regarded as coarse and not sufficiently uplifting by the self-appointed revivalists. It was sad and often angry and rang of the experience of poverty' (Higgins, 1984 133).

<sup>34</sup> Judith Thissen's study of the introduction of cinema in an ethnic Jewish neighbourhood in Manhattan during the same period offers some interesting parallels. For conservative Jewish leaders, music hall and cinema were considered emblematic of the 'Americanisation' of Jewish culture. Concerned about the question of who would ultimately exercise control over the Jewish entertainment business and 'educate and direct Jewish immigrants on the threshold of Americanisation,' (1999 21) cinema was constructed as the 'low Other' and relegated to the bottom of the cultural hierarchy. As a strategy of undermining the Americanisation of their popular culture, Jewish exhibitors invested heavily in, and promoted, Jewish vaudeville as an 'old fashioned form of entertainment' (1999 22). As Thissen observes, exhibitors and audiences alike sought to 'preserve the conditions that encouraged manifestations of ethnicity,' (Ibid 23) not only in terms of content but also in terms of the deportment of audiences. Yiddish music hall permitted 'a participatory, sound-intensive form of response' and 'active sociability' (Ibid).

## **Chapter Six**

# **Conclusions**

## **6.0 Introduction**

It has been the objective of this research to examine what is meant by visual culture and to argue for a particular conception of its meaning, range and influence. I have argued that approaches to, and experience of, visual media are a work of continuing (re)construction, the product of an intricate discourse in which the cultural, political and historical permeability of identities and practices are explicitly recognised. In short, this research has proposed that early provincial Irish audiences constructed their own visual culture, defined here in terms of the interaction between viewer and viewed, the complex interplay between the images produced and circulated within that culture, the viewing apparatus(es) by which such images were made available and sustained, and the cultural competences and political preferences that accompanied and determined their viewing experiences.

This objective has been put to the test in its application to a case study in which the investigation of the viewer of 19<sup>th</sup> century provincial Ireland has very precise contours, is situated in a social and cultural context and located in a fluctuating deployment of the senses. In addition, in my attempt to offer a counter perspective to universalising discourses of vision, I also attempted to address some of the conspicuous historical omissions and absences of Irish media history which typically neglect discussion of both early exhibition strategies and contexts and the corresponding reception of Irish audiences.

A Reception Studies framework was adopted as the most suitable means of researching the interaction between viewer and viewed. For the decade 1896 to 1906, I undertook to describe and analyse the reception of visual media entertainments by provincial Irish audiences as a matrix through which it becomes possible to distinguish a culturally and historically differentiated 'way of seeing'. The case study was designed and conducted as a means of challenging the position that everyone sees in the same way. Secondly, it provided the opportunity to return the seeing of a culturally bounded audience to its social context. Thirdly, it enabled the identification and discussion of the cultural, political and historical variables that influence and determine visual culture. From the analysis of the data, a model of a culturally and historically distinctive way of seeing, derived from the analysis of a complex of overlapping interests, was extrapolated and argued for.

## 6.1 Theoretical and Methodological Overview

Having outlined the background of the project, the specific objectives of the research and the structure of the thesis in working through these objectives, I undertook to address the shortcomings of accounts of visuality which rely upon the assumption of both the persistence and legitimacy of universality. In Chapter 2, I contested both the foundations and hegemony of Cartesian Perspectivalism, derived from the development of linear perspective and the 'visualist' philosophy of Descartes, as a model for the universality, transparency and 'naturalness' of vision. Proposing that a correspondence between the geometry of the world and the geometry of the mind, the viewer presupposed by Cartesian Perspectivalism was identified as abstract, disengaged and disembodied. Thus, by implication, the relationship between viewer and viewed emerged as a timeless, placeless inspection of the objects of the world by the intellect of the transcendental observer.

The contributions of Foucault and Crary and the corresponding models of panopticism and *flânerie* in attempting to challenge this position were similarly critiqued. The former, examining the medical and panoptic gazes of modernity, argued for the recognition of vision as functional to, and reflective of, its historical episteme. The latter theorises the implications of the acceleration, industrialisation and urbanisation of modernity on the perceiving subject, observing that, in contrast to the spectator of previous epochs, the vision of the modern spectator, with which this study is concerned, was more accurately conceived as both embodied and mobile.

In characterising both panoptic vision and *flânerie* as historically constituted modes of vision, responsive to and reflective of their respective social, historical and cultural environments, their challenge to the universality of Cartesian Perspectivalism, at face value, succeeds. Nonetheless, the shortcoming of both models, for the purposes of my research, is that they sustain and privilege a visual economy of distance and detachment. Demanding passive survey and registration of the field of the visible, the participation and interactivity of the viewer are explicitly excluded.

In the second part of this chapter, I focused on the issue of (visual) media texts and forms and their theorisation in literary, television and film studies. Arguing against the implication that a visual medium brings with it an ineluctable set of meanings which it unilaterally imposes upon its viewers, regardless of historical circumstance or cultural context, I focused on the contribution of the viewer in the transaction between viewer and viewed. The authority of authorial or textual meaning above the viewer's work of productive understanding was contested and a concern for grounding an understanding of interpretation in terms of historical and cultural specificity developed. The concern of Cultural Studies perspectives with identifying and examining ideological influence and Michaels' Aboriginal studies represent, for the purposes of my research, a significant advance on this restriction, proposing that cultural groups can, and do, recreate the contents of media texts according to perceptually, culturally and ideologically appropriate schema. The interest of both these approaches in responses to media texts goes beyond advocating the notion of true polysemy, seeking instead the underlying cultural and ideological determinants of those responses, evident in reactions that require community authorisation.

As a research framework, Reception Studies' primary advantage, for the purposes of my research, has been its insistence not only that viewers exhibit agency, but that variation in the readings and responses of those viewers is determined by their social and historical discourses. In proposing that interpreting texts is a historical reality defined by context, Reception Studies seeks to consider the range of interpretations, to argue for the possible conditions of the production of those interpretations and to place those interpretations within historical, cultural and political contexts, seeking empirical evidence through historical or ethnographic research that documents the production and circulation of meaning. As a supporting framework, the parallel concern of 'new' film historians to produce (local) empirical histories of the social context of exhibiting and viewing images, grounded in research materials such as newspapers, makes it possible to direct attention to the culturally and historically determined interpretations of visual media produced by actual provincial Irish spectators during the years 1896 to 1906.

The application of this theoretical perspective and methodological framework to the analysis of reviews of cinematograph and magic lantern shows in the provinces of Ireland during the decade under review yielded a broad range of information which, conveniently, could be considered under one of two designations, exhibition and reception, each of which are discussed in detail below

## **6.2 Exhibition**

I have argued that the seeing of any audience must be returned to its social and historical context. Thus, the elaboration of that context, detailing where and how visual media texts were made available to provincial Irish audiences, provides a key to understanding their reception. From a distinctive exhibition context, a correspondingly distinctive reception picture emerges. Clearly, the relationship between exhibition and reception links social and cultural experience with the structuring and constraining connotations and practices of the exhibition context.

For the purposes of this study, I focused on the exhibition of two visual media which shared both content and the formal elements of a structured entertainment experience: the magic lantern and the cinematograph. As the place in which 'production is completed by consumption' (Herzog, 2000: 51), a consideration of the venue in which projected screen entertainments took place revealed significant influence, different meanings attached to different sites of exhibition and consumption. The exhibitions featured in theatres, for the most part, were presented by large travelling companies and featured a 'high class' variety bill designed to attract the elite of the town. Exhibitions held in Town Halls, Assembly and Lecture Rooms, Schools and Churches attracted and accommodated a different type of exhibition. As community property, entertainments were staged for a variety of civic and community purposes. Decisions regarding the granting of permission to use the venue were referred to a committee or cleric and thus, were subject to a significant degree of control. In the former case, the rhetoric of advertising was used as a means to convince patrons of the integrity of the exhibition, in the latter, the knowledge that the programme had been vetted in advance usually sufficed.

A second determining factor of the exhibition content was the accompaniment to the images cast on screen. In the provincial Irish case, as elsewhere, it seems that cinematograph and magic lantern displays were invariably accompanied by instrumental music and the descriptions of a lecturer, both of which I consider to be responsible, in large part, for determining audience responses to the images on screen. In the case of musical accompaniment, described in the majority of the available literature as an anonymous function of the overall exhibition, exempt from aesthetic discrimination, provincial Irish accompanists and their contributions to the exhibition were singled out for special mention and praise or censure. As a key variable in exhibition context, the accompaniment emphasised the singularity of the entertainment and had the potential to direct and influence audience responses. In addition to the accompaniment, the overall entertainment package as part of which the cinematograph and magic lantern were exhibited was considered. Sharing a variety bill with such live items as songs, instrumental music, comic sketches, dances, the presentness of the audience at a one-off event, never to be replicated elsewhere, was sustained and emphasised.

In contrast to Musser's undifferentiated invocation of the term 'exhibitor' to describe and generalise a range of duties involved in presenting a projected screen entertainment, my case study, throughout the data corpus, reveals a significant and sustained division of labour. The functions of lecturer and projectionist were decidedly separate and specialised. The lecturer was a central, indispensable and often primary element in every exhibition. Charged with actualising the images on screen for the audience, the successful lecturer was praised for the accuracy and contextualisation of information, humour in delivery, the ability to relate the content of the exhibition to local concerns and, above all, for the quality and style of his oratory.

While a majority of commentators foreground the exhibition of the apparatus in early cinema presentations, my research discovered the emphasis to be on the projectionist rather than on his equipment. In fact, the magic lantern and the cinematograph as technologies of representation themselves went almost wholly unremarked. The projectionist's ability to operate the apparatus, by contrast, was reviewed as a *performance*, worthy of mention and credit in its own right.



A discussion of the 'entrepreneurs of leisure' responsible for bringing the cinematograph and magic lantern exhibitions to the provinces emphasises the diversity under the seeming homogeneity of exhibition. A diverse group of individuals took advantage of the available technologies for a variety of ends, of which three have been discussed in detail: the travelling variety company, the philanthropic enthusiast and the government representative. Their distinctive choices of content and styles of presentation highlight the need to reject uncritical assumptions regarding the role of the exhibitor or exhibition context.

Finally, in this chapter, having detailed the individual variables influencing the exhibition context, I examine them in their combination. As the most important intermediaries of popular culture during the period, the clergy played a central role in the operation, accompaniment and content of projected screen entertainments. Their provision and support of, and participation in, magic lantern and cinematograph exhibitions for a variety of civic or charitable causes were a commonplace of the provincial entertainment calendar. Implicitly, their involvement confirmed the integrity and didactic quality of the performance. Explicitly, their participation offered an opportunity to reinforce Church teaching and to fundraise for a variety of charitable and parish purposes.

Clergy-led religious and philanthropic organisations were leading providers of entertainment in the provinces during the period under review and they occasionally exhibited projected screen entertainments as part of their broad ranging leisure and entertainment activities that, for the most part, attempted to secure an ecumenical following. The content of their magic lantern and cinematograph presentations routinely functioned to underline their message and encourage recruitment, offering a morally preferable and culturally cultivated alternative to the public house.

Most commonly, the projected screen entertainments supported by the clergy were exhibitions of illustrated services of song, the Passion Play and illustrated lectures. As part of a programme which included sacred images, hymns and scripture readings, the attendance of the clergy was not only required but enthusiastically supplied. Featuring stories of overcoming adversity through virtue and spiritual fortitude, illustrated services of song were a popular singalong entertainment. An established standard of

the magic lantern repertoire, cinematograph screenings of the Passion Play, accompanied by pre-scripted or improvised commentary, sacred music and hymns, were both very common and popular, particularly at Easter. There is some evidence to suggest that the screening of the Passion Play may have raised objection on the grounds of sacrilege or misrepresentation, but it is clear that such exhibitions were, for the most part, presented as unified, sacred programmes with the utmost propriety and solemnity. Illustrated lectures concerning issues of spirituality and moral conduct were also common, encouraging moral and 'improving' uses of leisure time. The most common such lecture to feature in my case study was the illustrated travelogue. Narrated by the clergy, recounting their experiences as missionaries or pilgrims, and augmented by appropriate sacred music and hymns, illustrated travelogues were the most common visual media entertainments during the period in question. Reinforcing the prevailing and mutually implicated discourses of Christianity, colonialism and civilisation, as a primary goal, the exhibitions produced and promoted by the clergy were designed to entertain and offer spiritual uplift. It is also clear that care was taken to satisfy the moralistic imperatives of providing instructive amusement, to attract subscriptions for worthy causes and to reinforce doctrine among the faithful.

My case study, in providing telling evidence of significant participation and activity, and in proving the position of the clergy at the forefront of projected screen exhibitions, offers an alternative picture of screen exhibition to that of conventional histories. In valorising the instructive qualities of the exhibitions they sponsored, the clergy, at least implicitly, helped to identify and shape both the composition and reaction of their audiences. The sustained popularity of church-led instruction and amusement during the period arguably helped to shape the provincial public's conceptions of the media and their social and cultural import.

A different notion of visual media reception can be inferred, as we have seen, from exhibition practices in which the participation of the clergy in organising, supervising or presenting exhibitions, or in which the lecturer's oratory is specifically praised to the neglect of the corresponding images. It becomes clear that factors determining the meaning of images are likely to be found in their specific context of exhibition.

In arguing for the mutual implication of viewer, viewed and viewing context in an examination of visual culture qualitatively different to those predicated on models of universality, it is clear that the provincial Irish reception of cinema and magic lantern was intimately shaped by, and bound, to its particular practices of exhibition. Specifically, the prevalent exhibition contexts, including venues, personnel and practices in provincial Ireland during the period under review, clearly signal the facilitating of participation and communality.

### **6.3 Reception**

In undertaking to build a model of visual culture that explicitly recognises the historical and cultural permeability of identities and practices, this chapter sought to enable the identification and discussion of the cultural, political and historical variables that influence and determine visual culture. More specifically, this chapter examined the importance of the underlying structures of reception, their variability, interaction and resistance to change.

In identifying a concern with 'locatedness' and 'situatedness' in historical enquiry, reception studies assumes that responses to visual media, like the viewers who produce them, is a situated phenomenon. The 'situation' of the viewer implies that specific cultural, social and historical conditions play a significant role in constructing the 'horizon of expectations' (Jauss) or 'tropes of reception' (Tsivian) which largely inform the reception process. From this perspective, the existing cultural context, repertoires, preferences and competencies of viewers, and the prevailing political landscape(s) become central to their experience of reception. I identified the range of interpretations and responses to cinematograph and magic lantern exhibitions, speculated about and argued for the possible conditions that determine or inform those interpretations and situated those interpretations within an appropriate historical, social, cultural and political context.

Throughout my case study six factors which, in their combination, contributed to a particular reception process emerged

- 1 audiences conceived of themselves and their role in an entertainment as active, participatory and communal,
- 2 audiences demonstrated a significant degree of ambivalence towards the visual impact and quality of the magic lantern slides and cinematograph films exhibited, particularly with respect to their purported realism,
- 3 audiences exhibited a strong preference for films and slides featuring local people, place and events,
- 4 audiences emphasised the oral quality of spoken narrative above the visual aspect of the exhibitions,
- 5 political conviction formed an influential ideological lens through which the content of slides and films was read,
- 6 the direct intervention of the Gaelic League and the cultural revivalist project fundamentally changed the entertainment priorities and allegiances of provincial Irish audiences

I argued that the exhibition structure and circumstance in which provincial Irish audiences received films and slides fostered a fundamentally different notion and practice of spectatorship to that which we know today. Eschewing Modernity's harnessing of spectators into an economy of distanced and disengaged looking, the demonstrated visibility, mobility and conviviality of audience members involved, and even required, a fundamentally social dimension that has largely disappeared from contemporary theorisations and experiences of spectatorship

The recognition and appreciation of the unprecedented realism of photographic slides and cinematographic films is emphasised in the relevant literature as their primary attraction. A range of writers have debated the possibility that audience members did, in fact, dive under their seats at the approach of the train during Lumière's *L'Arrivée d'un Train*, purportedly the most striking example of audiences' credulity in the face of the indexicality of the photographic image. In the provincial Irish context, the substantial difference in focus between marketing and reception, between the expectations of the promoters and reviewers of projected screen entertainments is interesting

While photographic slides and cinematographic films seem to be accepted as 'true' records of objects and events, there remains an unresolved ambivalence regarding the provincial Irish audience's reaction to, and acceptance of, the realism of the images with which they were presented. While the discourse of promotion emphasised the realism of the images, audience reaction was unpredictable. On the one hand, the realistic character of the photographic image appeared to function under a variety of guises and with correspondingly various effects. On the other, the realism, and, by extension, the fidelity of the images were challenged or ignored. By contrast, the realistic qualities of gramophone and phonograph reproductions were widely accepted and appreciated.

In spite of the demonstrated ambivalence to the indexicality of the photographic image, a key feature of provincial audiences' reception of those images was their preference, and sometimes, demand for the screening of images of local people, places and events. This observation seems particularly paradoxical considering that their recognition depends for its success upon the indexicality and realism of the relevant images. The exhibition of local content seemed to answer two salient concerns of provincial audiences. Firstly, in exhibiting local pictures, the audience themselves could guarantee the authenticity of the reproduction; the images' veracity was therefore assured. Secondly, as I remarked earlier, audience deportment during the screening of pictures facilitated their participation. The exhibition of local scenes encouraged a searching engagement in which the audience's activity was required to make the pictures meaningful. The provincial Irish affinity for local material, the facilitation and encouragement of engagement and involvement, rather than distanced and anonymous appreciation of a mass cultural spectacle, signals a preference for entertainment marked by participation rather than spectacular distance.

In a culture characterised as lacking in terms of an established and vibrant visual culture, particularly with respect to the visual arts predicated on Renaissance principles, significance may have been sought beyond the image itself. Though widely recognised as hybrid media, the inclusion of a lecturer to accompany the exhibition of the images is recognised by a majority of critics as an adjunct to the films or slides presented.

By contrast, what appeared to matter most to provincial Irish audiences in this period was the quality and content of the accompanying oratory, beyond the visual impact of the images cast upon the screen

Indeed, it was usual for the content and delivery of the lecturer's address to receive greater attention in the corresponding reviews, often to the exclusion of any mention of the visual elements. The corresponding effect on their reception meant that films and slides were received primarily as oral narratives supplemented by ancillary images on screen in which the lecturer's text had relative priority over the latter's 'spectacular' aspect. Preference for local content and reliance upon accompanying verbal description were closely intertwined and reinforced one another as internally produced strategies for appropriating the images exhibited. In the provincial Irish context, the hybridity of the medium is selectively disaggregated and the experience of familiar modes of reception mobilised to adapt or customise what was presented.

The complex political landscape of provincial Ireland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries substantially influenced the reception of films and slides, particularly those relating to 'unionist' or 'nationalist' themes. The agency of the audience in responding to such subjects and their acceptance of, or resistance to, their ideological position, signals the efficiency of political identity and consciousness as a central influence in cinematograph and magic lantern reception.

The meteoric rise of branches of the Gaelic League and the mutually reinforcing ideologies of the League and the clergy throughout the provinces during the decade surveyed emerges as a central determining factor in influencing not only the type, structure and popularity of entertainments, but also the manner in which they were received. As Gaelic League membership burgeoned, a palpable shift in cultural climate begins to emerge aligned with the League's adjustment in attitudes towards recreation. The provincial, peasant, native entertainments so highly praised by the League become the most common and prominent items on concert bills. Conversely, (British) popular culture was explicitly denounced as an unwelcome, foreign force, corroding the purity of Irish indigenous cultural heritage.

Not only were the remnants of traditional, oral culture continuing to influence reception of projected screen entertainments, but the intervention of the Gaelic League ensured their resurrection to the forefront of the entertainment agenda. While projected screen entertainments were not specifically castigated by the Gaelic League, their implication in a vaudeville or variety format meant that they too, at least indirectly, suffered in terms of popularity under the revivalist programme. Indeed, I believe it is reasonable to argue that the League's broad influence on Irish culture and leisure produced an antipathy towards *any* entertainment content that could not be considered 'national,' 'local' and 'Gaelic.'

Highlighting for the importance of the local, as manifested in specific programming demands, corroborated and reinforced the objectives of the organisation and functioned as an opportunity to remake or customise cinematographic presentations in such a way as to mitigate against potential revivalist criticism and censure, if not directly corroborate the aims of the League.

#### **6.4 Conclusions**

The reception studies and 'new' film history framework applied has been successful in addressing the requirement to demonstrate the value of approaching a theorisation of visual culture in terms of how visual media entertainments were exhibited and received. 'New' film history, in its privileging of actual spectators and in suggesting a diverse range of evidence sources, has provided the foundation from which the key hypotheses of this research could be tested and validated. In attending to the manner in which provincial Irish audiences viewed cinematograph and magic lantern entertainments, a reception-oriented method has been successful in permitting the identification of a range of responses to such media and in enabling grounded speculation about their constitutive conditions.

In accordance with my objective to demonstrate the necessity for considering visual culture as a construction, attentive to, and reflective of its constitutive historical and social conditions, early provincial Irish reception, as the result of a complex of overlapping influences and forces, evinces a distinctive process of interpreting and consuming visual images.

While such elements identified by this study such as preference for local content and participation have been noted in contexts outside of that under review, the conjunction of a range of exhibition and receptive circumstances and contexts, familiar and functional to the audiences they served and a cultural inheritance which owed much to its oral legacy, underwrote the provincial Irish experience of visual media entertainments in synthesis with the signifying economy of the visual sign. In exercising political agency and in deconstructing the amalgam of image and sound of early film and slide shows, provincial Irish audiences clearly exercised an active, productive capacity to resist, recreate and reappropriate the form and content of cinematograph and slide shows in a manner consistent with the prevailing political and cultural opinion and cultural values of participation and listening.

The centrality of listening in the visual media experience for provincial Irish audiences provokes vital questions about, and forces a confrontation with, the historical privileging of vision at the expense of other sense modalities. The practice of participation insists on an engagement with images precluded by Cartesian Perspectivalism, panopticism and *flâneurie*. Rather than conceiving of the provincial Irish reception of visual media as an example of resistance or opposition, I prefer to consider their encounter in terms of adaptation as well as adoption. Thus, reception and, by extension, visual culture should be considered in terms of continuity as well as change. The influence and exercise of the two central strategies of listening and participating, informed by, and read through, an efficient cultural matrix, proves that visual culture is a practice. Thus, the act of looking entails various sensory and discursive practices that cannot be reduced to universal, essential categories.

## **6.5 Potential for Further Research**

My case study is a snapshot view of a historically distant decade, addressing the period in which the cinema was new, as both a technology and an entertainment. As a technical improvement in a catalogue of apparatuses aiming at the reproduction of the real, its continuing refinement in the succeeding decades would necessarily have impacted upon its viewers' reception. In the context of research such as this, a recognition of the impact of technological change on visual culture raises a number of related questions.



- At what point did the cinematograph completely supersede the magic lantern?
- How long did it take for the lecturer to become defunct?
- What influence might the coming of sound have had on the freedom of audiences to move around and interject?
- To what extent did the increasing modernisation of Ireland alter the perceptual preferences of audiences and at what rate?

I believe that a continuation of this research into the succeeding decades could benefit from the theoretical and methodological direction proposed here

A secondary consideration of the usefulness of studies such as this concerns the context of prevailing unease regarding the saturation of globalised media content in such a small market. As noted in Chapter 3, Irish media studies have been predominantly defined in terms of an examination of Irish media texts produced by Irish people concerning 'Irish' themes and identities and the difficulty of sustaining the production of indigenous content in the face of a globalised media landscape. Perhaps the approach I have taken signals an alternative means of facing the issue. While I do not dismiss the concern regarding globalisation, nor, of course, do I propose that an indigenous Irish media industry is superfluous, I believe the argument requires some modification. If we accept, and as I believe I have proven, that audiences exhibit agency and creativity in their appropriation and interpretation of media content, then we come a step closer to practising rather than simply theorising the activity of the audience.

# **Bibliography**

- Abel, (1996) (ed ) *Silent Film*, London Athlone
- Abel, R. & Altman, R. (2001) (eds ) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press
- Ahmad, J (2000) *A Reception Analysis of a Development-Oriented Television Programme in a Multi-Ethnic Society*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Dublin Dublin City University
- Allen, R.C (1998) 'From Exhibition to Reception Reflections on the Audience in Film History,' in A Kuhn & J Stacey (eds ), *Screen Histories A Screen Reader*, Oxford Oxford University Press, pp 13-21
- (1980) *Vaudeville and Film 1895-1915, A Study in Media Interaction*, New York Arno Press
- (1979) 'Contra the Chaser Theory,' *Wide Angle* 3 1, pp 4-11
- Allen, R.C & Gomery, D (1985) *Film History Theory and Practice*, New York McGraw-Hill
- Allor, M (1988) Relocating the Site of the Audience, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5, 217-233
- Alpers, S (1983) *The Art of Describing Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago University of Chicago Press
- Altick, R. (1978) *The Shows of London*, Cambridge, MA Harvard/Belknap Press
- Altman, R. (2001) 'The Living Nickelodeon' in R. Abel & R. Altman (eds ) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, pp 232-240
- Andrew, D (2002) 'Film and Society Public Rituals and Private Space,' in I R. Hark (ed ) *Exhibition The Film Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pp 161-172
- Ang, I (1990) 'Culture and Communication,' *European Journal of Communication* 5(2-3), pp 239-261
- (1985) *Watching Dallas Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination*, London & New York Methuen
- Arnheim, R. (1969) *Visual Thinking*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London. University of California Press

- Atherton, M (1997) 'How to Write the History of Vision Understanding the Relationship Between Descartes and Berkeley,' in D M Levin (ed ), *Sites of Vision. The Discursive Construction of Sight in the History of Philosophy*, Cambridge, MA & London MIT Press, pp 139-165
- Bach, S (2003) 'Ideologising Popular Culture The Case of Contemporary Political Songs in Ireland,' <http://web.onetel.net.uk/~sbach/perfref.htm>, accessed 14 04 03,
- Bakhtin, M (1984) *Rabelais and his World*, Bloomington. Indiana University Press
- Bakhurst, D & Sypnowich, C (1995) 'Introduction. Problems of the Social Self' in D Bakhurst & C Sypnowich (eds ) *The Social Self*, Thousand Oaks Sage, pp 1-17)
- Balides, C (1993) 'Scenarios of Exposure in the Practice of Everyday Life Women in the Cinema of Attractions,' *Screen 34 (1)*, pp 19-37
- Barker, M & Brookes, K. (1998) *Knowing Audiences Judge Dredd Its Friends, Fans and Foes*, Luton University of Luton Press
- Barkin, S & Gurevitch, M (1987) 'Out of Work and On the Air Television News of Unemployment,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication 4*, pp 1-20
- Barthes, R. (1977) 'The Death of the Author,' in *Image, Music, Text*, London Fontana pp 142-148
- (1972), 'Structuralist Activity, in *Critical Essays*, trans R. Howard, Evanston Northwestern University Press
- Baudelaire, C (1986) 'The Painter of Modern Life,' in *My Heart Laid Bare and Other Prose Writings*, London Soho Book Company
- Baudry, J L (1986) 'Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus' and 'The Apparatus Metapsychological Approaches to the Impression of Reality in Cinema' in P Rosen (ed ) *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology*, New York Columbia University Press, 286-298
- Bazin, A. (1971) ) *What is Cinema?* Vol. 2, Berkeley University of California Press (1967) *What is Cinema?* Vol 1, Berkeley University of California Press
- Benjamin, W (1983) *Charles Baudelaire, A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* London Verso
- (1999) *The Arcades Project*, trans H Eiland & K. McLaughlin, Cambridge MA & London Belknap Press

Bennett, T & Woolacott, J (1987) *Bond and Beyond The Political Career of a Popular Hero*, London Macmillan

Berger, J (1972) *Ways of Seeing*, London BBC

Besançon, A. (2000) *The Forbidden Image An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans J M Todd, Chicago & London. University of Chicago Press

Bijker, W E (1995) *Of Bicycles, Bakelite and Bulbs Toward a Theory of Sociotechnical Change*, Cambridge, MA MIT Press

(1987) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*, Cambridge, MA MIT Press

Bjorkin, M (2001) 'Remarks on Writing and Technologies of Sound in Early Cinema,' in R. Abel & R. Altman (eds) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, pp 32-38

Bordwell, D (1985) *Narration in the Fiction Film*, Madison. University of Wisconsin Press

Bottomore, S (1999) 'The Panicking Audience? Early Cinema and the "Train Effect"' in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 19 2, pp 177-216

(1996) "'Nine Days Wonder" Early Cinema and its Sceptics,' in C Williams (ed) *Cinema. The Beginnings and the Future*, London University of Westminster Press, pp 135-149

Bourke, A. (2003) 'The Virtual Reality of Irish Fairy Legend,' in Claire Connolly (ed) *Theorising Ireland*, New York & Basingstoke Macmillan, pp 27-40

Brandon Kershner, R. (2001) 'Mikhail Bakhtin and Bakhtinian Criticism,' in J Wolfreys (ed) *Introducing Literary Theories*, Edinburgh Edinburgh University Press, pp 19-32

Braun, M & Keil, C (2001) 'Sounding Canadian Early Sound Practices and Nationalism in Toronto-Based Exhibition,' in R. Abel & R. Altman (eds) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, pp 198-204

Brown, M E (1994) *Soap Opera and Women's Talk. The Pleasure of Resistance*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi Sage

- Bruno, G (1997) 'Site-Seeing Architecture and the Moving Image,' *Wide Angle* 19 4, pp 8-24
- (1993) *Street Walking on a Ruined Map Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari*, Princeton Princeton University Press
- Brunsdon, C (1989) 'Text and Audience,' in E Senter, H Borchers, G Kreutzner & E M Warth (eds ), *Remote Control Television, Audience and Cultural Power*, London and New York Routledge, pp 116-129
- Bryson, N (1988) 'The Gaze in the Expanded Field' in H Foster (ed ) *Vision and Visuality*, Seattle Bay Press, pp 87-114
- (1983) *Vision and Painting The Logic of the Gaze*, London Macmillan
- Bryson, N., Holly, M A , Moxey, K. (1994) *Visual Culture Images and Interpretations*, Hanover and London Wesleyan University Press
- Buck-Morss, S (1992) 'Aesthetics and Anaesthetics Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered,' *October* 62, pp 31-42
- (1989) *The Dialectics of Seeing*, Cambridge, MA MIT Press
- Budd, M , Entman, R.M & Steinman, C (1990) 'The Affirmative Character of U S Cultural Studies,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (2), pp 169-184
- Burch, N (1990) *Life to those Shadows*, London British Film Institute
- Burgin, V (1986) *The End of Art Theory Criticism and Postmodernity*, London Macmillan
- Burnett, R. (1990) *Cultures of Vision Images, Media and the Imaginary*, Bloomington & Indianapolis Indiana University Press
- Byrne, H (1997) 'The Female Audience and the Pleasures of Cinema,' in M J Kelly & B O'Connor (eds ) *Media Audiences in Ireland Power and Cultural Identity*, Dublin UCD Press, pp 88-106
- Camille, M (1989) *The Gothic Idol Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge Cambridge University Press
- Carbine, M (1996) "'The Finest Outside the Loop " Motion Picture Exhibition in Chicago's Black Metropolis,' in R. Abel (ed ), *Silent Film*, London Athlone, pp 234-262
- Carpenter, E (1976) *Oh, What a Blow that Phantom Gave Me!*, London Paladin

- Carragee, K. (1990) 'Interpretive Media Studies and Interpretive Social Science,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (2), pp 81-96
- Chaplin, E (1994) *Sociology and Visual Representation*, London Routledge
- Charney, L & Schwartz, V R. (eds) *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Berkeley University of California Press
- Châteauvert, J & Gaudreault, A (2001) 'The Noises of Spectators, or the Spectator as Additive to the Spectacle,' in R. Abel & R. Altman (eds) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, pp 183-191
- Chittock, J (1996) 'Back to the Future The Cinema's Lessons of History,' in C. Williams (ed) *Cinema The Beginnings and the Future*, London University of Westminster Press, pp 217-227
- Christie, I (2001) 'Early Phonograph Culture and Moving Pictures,' in R. Abel & R. Altman (eds) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis Indiana University Press, pp 3-12
- Clanchy, M (1979) *From Memory to Written Record 1066-1307*, Cambridge, MA Harvard University Press
- Clark, S, (1982) 'The Importance of Agrarian Classes Agrarian Class Structure and Collective Action in Nineteenth Century Ireland' in P. J. Drudy (ed) *Ireland Land, Politics and People*, Cambridge, New York & Melbourne Cambridge University Press, pp 11-36
- Clark, S & Donnelly, J S jnr (1983) (eds) *Irish Peasants Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914*, Manchester Manchester University Press
- Classen, C (1993) *Worlds of Sense Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures*, London Routledge
- Coe, B (1983) *The History of Movie Photography*, London Ash & Grant
- Cohen, M (1994) 'Forgotten Audiences in the Passion Pits Drive-In Theatres and Changing Spectator Practices in Post-War America' *Film & History* 6 4, pp 470-486
- Comolli, J L (1980) 'Machines of the Visible' in T. DeLauretis & S. Heath (eds) *The Cinematic Apparatus*, New York St Martin's Press, pp 122-123

- Condit, C M (1989) 'The Rhetorical Limits of Polysemy,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 6, pp 103-122
- Conley, T (1996) 'The Wit of the Letter Holbein's Lacan' in Jay, M & Brennan, T (eds) *Vision in Context*, London Routledge, pp 45-62
- Connolly, S (1998) "'Ag Déanamh Commanding'" Elite responses to Popular Culture, 1660-1850,' in J S Donnelly Jr and K A Miller (eds) *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, Dublin Academic Press, pp 1-29
- Corner, J (1983) 'Textuality, Communication and Power,' in H Davis & P Walton (eds) *Language, Image, Media*, Oxford Basil Blackwell, pp 266-281
- Crary, J (2003) 'Vision between Spectacle and Community,' Address delivered at Visual Knowledges Conference, University of Edinburgh, September 18th, 2003
- (2000) *Suspensions of Perception. Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture*, Cambridge MA MIT Press
- (1990) *Techniques of the Observer On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, MA MIT Press
- (1988) "Modernising Vision" in H Foster (ed.), *Vision and Visuality*, Seattle Bay Press pp 29-50
- Culler, J (1981) *The Pursuit of Signs Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*, Ithaca Cornell University Press
- (1975) *Structuralist Poetics Structuralism, Literature and the Study of Literature*, Ithaca Cornell University Press
- Dalsimer, A. & Kreilcamp (1993) (eds) *Visualising Ireland National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, London & Boston Faber & Faber
- DeBolla, P (1995) 'The Visibility of Visuality' in S Melville & B Readings (eds), *Vision and Textuality*, London Macmillan, pp 282-295
- Debord, G (1977) *The Society of the Spectacle*, Detroit Red and Black
- DeCordova, R. (2002) 'Ethnography and Exhibition The Child Audience, the Hays Office and Saturday Matinees,' in G Waller (ed) *Moviegoing in America*, Malden MA & Oxford Blackwell, pp 159-169
- (1990) *Picture Personalities The Emergence of the Star System in America*, Urbana University of Illinois Press



- DeLauretis, T (1986) (ed ) *Feminist Studies/Cultural Studies*, London Macmillan  
(1984) *Alice Doesn't Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema*, Bloomington Indiana  
University Press
- DePaor, M (1993) 'Irish Antiquarian Artists' in A M Dalsimer (ed ) *Visualising  
Ireland National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, London & Boston  
Faber & Faber
- DeMan (1982) 'Introduction' in H R. Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans  
T Bahti, Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press, pp vii-xxv
- Descartes, R. (1985) *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans J Cottingham,  
R. Stoothoff & D Murdoch, 2 vols , Cambridge Cambridge University Press
- (1965) *Discourse on Method, Optics, Geometry and Meteorology*, trans  
Paul J Olscamp, Indianapolis Bobbs-Merrill
- Doane, M A (1988) *The Desire to Desire*, Bloomington Indiana University Press
- Donald, J (1995) 'The City, The Cinema Modern Spaces,' in C Jenks (ed ) *Visual  
Culture*, London Routledge, pp 77-95
- Doolan, L (1984) 'A Debate on Media and Popular Culture,' *Crane Bag* 8, pp 175-  
191
- Eagleton, T (1983) *Literary Theory An Introduction*, Minneapolis University of  
Minnesota Press
- Earle, W J (1997) 'Ducks and Rabbits Visuality in Wittgenstein' in D M Levin  
(Ed ), *Sites of Vision. The Discursive Construction of Sight in the History of  
Philosophy*, Cambridge, MA & London M I T Press, pp 293-314
- Eco U (1979) *The Role of the Reader*, Bloomington Indiana University Press
- Edgerton, G (2002) 'The Multiplex The Modern American Motion Picture Theatre  
as Message' in I R Hark (ed ) *Exhibition The Film Reader*, London & New  
York Routledge, pp 155-159
- Edgerton, S (1976) *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective*, New York  
Harper & Row

- Elasaesser, T (1996) (ed ) *A Second Life German Cinema's First Decades*, Amsterdam Amsterdam University Press
- (1990) 'Early Cinema. From Linear History to Mass Media Archaeology,' in T Elsaesser (ed ), *Early Cinema Space, Frame Narrative*, London British Film Institute, pp 1-10
- (1986) 'The New Film History,' *Sight and Sound* 55 4, pp 246-51
- Ellman (1959) *James Joyce*, New York Oxford University Press
- Evans, W A. (1990) 'The Interpretive Turn in Media Research Innovation, Iteration or Illusion?' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (2), pp 147-168
- Evans, J & Hall, S (1999) (eds ) *Visual Culture The Reader* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi Sage
- Fabian, J (1983) *Time and the Other*, New York Columbia University Press
- Fairclough, N (1995a) *Media Discourse*, London & New York Arnold
- (1995b) *Critical Discourse Analysis*, London Longman
- (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge Polity
- Febvre, L (1982) *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century The Religion of Rabelais*, Cambridge, MA Harvard University Press
- Fell, J L (1986) *Film and the Narrative Tradition*, Berkeley & Los Angeles University of California Press
- (1983) *Film Before Griffith*, (ed ) Berkeley University of California Press
- (1979) *A History of Films*, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta, Dallas, Montreal & Toronto Holt Rinehart & Winston
- Ferriter, D (2004) *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000*, London Profile Books
- Fetterly, J (1978) *The Resisting Reader A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*, Bloomington University of Indiana Press
- Finnegan, R. (1992) *Oral Poetry Its Nature, Significance and Social Context*, Bloomington. Indiana University Press

- Fiske, J (1992) 'British Cultural Studies and Television,' in R C Allen, (ed )  
*Channels of Discourse, Reassembled* London Routledge, pp 287-326
- (1989) *Understanding Popular Culture Reading the Popular*, London  
Routledge
- (1988a) "Meaningful Moments," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5, pp  
246-251
- (1988b) 'Popular Forces and the Culture of Everyday Life,' *Southern Review*  
21, pp 288-306
- (1987) *Television Culture*, London Routledge
- Fitzgibbon, C (1983) *The Irish in Ireland*, London David & Charles, New York  
W W Norton & Company
- Fitzpatrick, D (1982) 'Class, Family and Rural Unrest' in P J Drudy (ed ) *Ireland  
Land, Politics and People*, Cambridge, New York & Melbourne Cambridge  
University Press, pp 37-45
- Flynn, A (1996) *Irish Film 100 Years*, Bray Kestrel Books
- Flynn, T R. (1993) 'Foucault and the Eclipse of Vision' in D M Levin (ed )  
*Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, Los Angeles and London University  
of California Press, pp 273-286
- Foster, H (1988) (ed.) *Vision and Visuality*, Seattle Bay Press
- Foster, R.F (2001) *The Irish Story Telling Tales and Making it Up in Ireland*,  
London Allen Lane/Penguin Press
-

- Foucault, M (1987) 'Questions of Method' in K. Baynes, T Bohman & T McCarthy (eds) *After Philosophy End or Transformation?*, Cambridge MA MIT Press
- (1980) *Power/Knowledge Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1922-1977*, New York Pantheon
- (1975a) *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, trans A.Sheridan, New York Pantheon Books
- (1975b) *The Birth of the Clinic*, New York Random House
- (1973) *The Order of Things*, New York Random House
- (1965) *Madness and Civilisation. A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, New York Random House
- Friedberg, A. (1998) 'The Mobilised and Virtual Gaze in Modernity Flâneur/Flâneuse,' in N Mirzoeff, *Visual Culture Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pp 253-262
- (1994) *Window Shopping Cinema and the Postmodern*, Berkeley University of California Press
- Frisby, D (1985) *Fragments of Modernity*, Cambridge Polity Press
- Frith, S (1992) 'The Cultural Study of Popular Music,' in L. Grossberg, C Nelson & P Treichler (eds) *Cultural Studies*, London Routledge, pp 174-186
- Gardiner, M (1999) 'Bakhtin and the Metaphorics of Perception,' in I Heywood & B Sandywell (eds) *Interpreting Visual Culture Explorations in the Hermeneutics of the Visual*, London & New York Routledge, pp 57-73
- Gaudreault, A. (1990) 'Showing and Telling Image and Word in Early Cinema,' in T Elsaesser (ed) *Early Cinema Space, Frame, Narrative*, London British Film Institute, pp 274-281
- Geertz, C (1989) *Work and Lives The Anthropologist as Author*, Cambridge Polity Press
- Gibbons, L. (1996) *Transformations in Irish Culture*, Cork Cork University Press
- (1994) 'Refiguring Irish Identity Culture, Politics and National Narratives,' paper presented at the Desmond C Greaves Summer School

- Gitlin, T (1991) 'The Politics of Communication and the Communication of Politics,' in J Curran & N Gurevitch (eds) *Mass Media and Society*, London Edward Arnold
- Gleber, A (1997) 'Women on the Screens and Streets of Modernity In Search of the Female *Flâneur*,' in D Andrew (ed) *The Image in Dispute Art and Cinema in the Age of Photography*, Austin University of Texas Press, pp 55-85
- Gomery, D (1992) *Shared Pleasures A History of Movie Presentation in the United States*, London British Film Institute
- (1986) 'The Popularity of Filmgoing in the US 1930-50,' in C McCabe, (ed) *High Theory/ Low Culture*, Manchester University of Manchester Press, pp 80-100
- Goody, J (1987) *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral*, Cambridge Cambridge University Press
- (1968) (ed) *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, London Cambridge University Press
- Greene, D (1972) 'The Founding of the Gaelic League,' in S O Tuama (ed), *The Gaelic League Idea*, Cork Mercier Press, pp 9-19
- Green Lewis, J (1996) *Framing the Victorians Photography and the Culture of Realism*, Ithaca Cornell University Press
- Griffiths, A (2002) *Wondrous Difference Cinema, Anthropology and Turn of the Century Visual Culture*, New York Columbia University Press
- Gripsrud, J (1990) Towards a Flexible Methodology in Studying Mass Media Meaning Dynasty in Norway, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (2), pp 117-128

- Gunning, T (2000) "'Animated Pictures'" Tales of Cinema's Forgotten Future after 100 Years of Films,' in C Gledhill & L Williams (eds) *Reinventing Film Studies*, London. Arnold, pp 316-331
- (1997) 'From the Kaleidoscope to the X-Ray Urban Spectatorship, Poe, Benjamin, and *Traffic in Souls* (1913), *Wide Angle*, 19 4, pp 25-61
- (1995a) 'An Aesthetic of Astonishment Early Film and the (In)Credulous Spectator,' in L Williams (ed) *Viewing Positions Ways of Seeing Film*, New Brunswick Rutgers University Press, pp 114-133
- (1995b) 'Tracing the Individual Body Photography, Detectives and Early Cinema,' in L Charney & V R. Schwartz (eds), *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Berkeley University of California Press, pp 15-45
- (1994) 'Foreword' in Y Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception*, Chicago & London University of Chicago Press, pp xv-xxii
- (1991) *D W Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film The Early Years at Biograph*, Urbana & Chicago University of Illinois Press
- (1990) 'The Cinema of Attractions Early Film, its Spectator and the Avant-Garde' in T Elsaesser (ed) *Early Cinema Space, Frame, Narrative*, London British Film Institute, pp 56-62
- Hall, S (1980) 'Cultural Studies Two Paradigms,' *Media, Culture and Society* 2, pp 57-72
- (1973), "Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse," in S Hall, et al (eds), *Culture, Media, Language*, London Hutchinson
- Hanlon, J (1948) 'Flashback to Dublin's First Picture Houses,' in Fr Devine (ed) *The Cinema Handbook*, Dublin Parkside Press, 96-104
- Hansen, M (1995) 'America, Paris, the Alps Kracauer (and Benjamin) on Cinema and Modernity,' in L Charney & V R Schwartz (eds) *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Berkeley University of California Press, pp 362-402
- (1993) 'Early Cinema, Late Cinema Permutations of the Public Sphere?' *Screen* 34 3, pp 197-210
- (1991) *Babel and Babylon Spectatorship in the American Silent Film*, Cambridge MA Harvard University Press
- Haraway, D (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs and Women The Reinvention of Nature*, London & New York: Routledge

- Hark, I R (2002) (ed ) *Exhibition. The Film Reader*, London & New York Routledge
- Hart, T A. (2002) 'Protestantism and the Arts' [www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/divinity/beyond\\_the\\_image/hart\\_prot\\_arts.pdf](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/divinity/beyond_the_image/hart_prot_arts.pdf)
- Harvey, C B (1992) *Contemporary Irish Traditional Narrative The English Language Tradition*, Berkeley & Los Angeles University of California Press
- Havelock, E A. (1963) *Preface to Plato*, Cambridge MA Belknap/Harvard University Press
- Heard, M (1996) 'The Magic Lantern's Wild Years,' in C Williams (ed ) *Cinema The Beginnings and the Future*, London University of Westminster Press, pp 24-32
- Heath, S (1981) *Questions of Cinema*, Bloomington University of Indiana Press
- Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans W Lovett, New York Harper & Row
- Hendrykowska, M (1992) 'Was the Cinema Fairground Entertainment? The Birth and Role of Cinema in the Polish Territories up to 1908,' in R Dyer & G Vincendeau (eds ) *Popular European Cinema*, London Routledge
- Hetherington, K. (2003) 'The Kinaesthetics of Capitalism Fetishism, Spectacle and the Body', [http //www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Hetherington-Kinaesthetics-of-Capitalism.pdf](http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Hetherington-Kinaesthetics-of-Capitalism.pdf)
- Herzog, C (2002) 'The Movie Palace and the Theatrical Sources of its Architectural Style,' in I R Hark (ed ) *Exhibition. The Film Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pps 51-65
- (1984) 'The Archaeology of Cinema Architecture The Origins of the Movie Theatre,' *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 9 1, pp 11-32
- (1981) 'The Movie Palace and the Theatrical Sources of its Architectural Style,' *Cinema Journal* 20 2, pp 15-37
- Heywood, I & Sandywell, B (1999) (eds ) *Interpreting Visual Culture Explorations in the Hermeneutics of the Visual*, London Routledge
- Higgins, M D (1984) 'The Tyranny of Images,' *The Crane Bag*, 8 2, pp 132-142
- Hill, M (2005) *Women in Ireland A Century of Change*, Belfast The Blackstaff Press

- Hopper, K.T (1989) *Ireland Since 1800 Conflict and Conformity*, London & New York Longman
- Houlgate, S (1993) 'Vision, Reflection and Openness The "Hegemony of Vision" from a Hegelian Point of View' in D M Levin (ed ) *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, Los Angeles and London University of California Press, pp 87-122
- Hu, J (2001) 'Yingxi (Shadow Play) The Initial Chinese Conception about Film, <http://latrobe.edu.au/www/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1100/jhfr11g.htm> Date accessed 19/07/01
- Hutchinson (1987) *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism. The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, London Allen & Unwin
- Iser, W (1978) *The Act of Reading A Theory of Aesthetic Response*, Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press
- Ivins, W (1938) *On the Rationalisation of Sight*, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Jancovich, M (2001) 'Genre and the Audience Genre Classifications and Cultural Distinctions in the Mediation of *Silence of the Lambs*,' in M Stokes & R. Maltby (eds ), *Hollywood Spectatorship Changing Perceptions of Cinema Audiences*, London British Film Institute, pp 33-45
- Jauss, H.R. (1982) *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans Timothy Bahti, Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press
- Jay, M (1994) *Downcast Eyes The Demigration of Vision in Twentieth Century French Thought*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London University of California Press
- (1988) 'Scopic Regimes of Modernity,' in H Foster (ed ) *Vision and Visuality*, Seattle Bay Press, pp 3-27
- Jay, M & Brennan, T (1996) (eds ) *Vision in Context*, London Routledge
- Jenks, C (1995a) *Visual Culture*, London Routledge
- (1995b) 'Watching your Step The History and Practice of the *Flâneur*,' in C Jenks, (ed ) *Visual Culture*, London Routledge, pps 142-160
- Jones, W (1977) 'Art and Christian Piety Iconoclasm in Medieval Europe,' in J Gutmann (ed ) *The Image and the Word Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Missoula MO Scholars Press, pp 75-16



- Jost, F (2001) 'The Voices of Silence' in R. Abel & R. Altman, *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis Indiana University Press, pp 48-56
- Judovitz, D (1993) 'Vision, Representation and Technology of Descartes' in D M Levin (ed ) *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, Los Angeles and London University of California Press, pp 63-85
- Jung, U (2002) 'Local Views a Blind Spot in the Historiography of Early German Cinema,' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 22 (3), pp 253-273
- Kaplan, E A. (1983) *Women and Film Both Sides of the Camera*, New York Methuen
- Katz, E & Liebes, T (1986) 'Decoding 'Dallas ' Notes from a Cross Cultural Study, in G Gumpert & R. Cathcart (eds ), *Inter/Media Interpersonal Communication in a Media World 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.*, New York Oxford University Press, pp 97-109
- Kelly, M J & O'Connor, B (1997) (eds ) *Media Audiences in Ireland Power and Cultural Identity*, Dublin UCD Press
- Kennedy, L (1983) 'Farmers, Traders and Agricultural Politics in Pre-Independence Ireland,' in S Clark & J S Connelly jnr (eds) *Irish Peasants Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914*, Manchester Manchester University Press, pp 339-373
- Kiberd, D (1982) 'The Perils of Nostalgia. A Critique of the Revival' in P Connolly (ed ) *Literature and the Changing Ireland*, Gerrard's Cross, Buckinghamshire Colin Smythe Ltd pp 1-24
- King, N (1996) 'The Sound of Silents' in R Abel (ed ) *Silent Film*, London Athlone, pp 31-44
- Klinger, B (1997) 'Film History Terminable and Interminable,' *Screen* 38 2, pp 107-128
- (1994) *Melodrama and Meaning History, Vulture and the Films of Douglas Sirk*, Bloomington Indiana University Press
- Kochberg, S (2000) 'Cinema as Institution' in J Nelmes (ed.) *An Introduction to Film Studies*, London Routledge, 13-58

- Kuhn, A (1998) 'Screen Histories An Introduction' in A. Kuhn (ed ) *Screen Histories A Screen Reader*, London BFI, pp 1-10
- (1987) Women's Genres Melodrama, Soap Opera and Theory, in C Gledhill (ed ), *Home is Where the Heart Is Studies in Melodrama and the Women's Film*, London British Film Institute pp 339-349
- (1984), 'Women's Genres,' *Screen 25 (1)*, pp 18-28
- Lagos, T G (2003) 'Film Exhibition in Seattle, 1897-1912 Leisure Activity in a Scraggly, Smelly Frontier Town,' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 23 2, pp 101-115
- Lastra, J (1997) 'From the Captured Moment to the Cinematic Image A Transformation of the Pictorial Order,' in D Andrew (ed ) *The Image in Dispute Art and Cinema in the Age of Photography*, Austin University of Texas Press, pp 263-292
- Leach, (1993) *Land of Desire Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture*, New York Vintage Books
- Lee, J (1973) *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918*, Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- Legg, M L (1999) *Newspapers and Nationalism, The Irish Provincial Press 1850-1892*, Dublin Four Courts Press
- Lembo, R. & Tucker, K.H Jr (1990) 'Culture, Television and Opposition. Rethinking Cultural Studies,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7, pp 97-116
- Levin, D M (1997) *Sites of Vision The Discursive Construction of Sight in the History of Philosophy*, Cambridge, MA & London MIT Press
- (1993) *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, Berkeley & Los Angeles University of California Press
- Liebes, T (1988) 'Cultural Differences in the Retelling of Television Fiction,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5, pp 277-292
- Liebes, T. & Katz, E (1991) *The Export of Meaning*, Oxford Oxford University Press
- (1988), 'Dallas and Genesis Primordially and Seriality in Popular Culture,' in J W Carey (ed ), *Media, Myths and Narratives*, Newbury Park CA Sage, pp 113-135

- Lindloff, T (1988) 'Media Audiences as Interpretive Communities,' in J Anderson (ed), *Communication Yearbook, Vol II*, Newbury Park CA Sage, pp 81-107
- Livingstone, S (1993) 'The Rise and Fall of Audience Research. An Old Story with a New Ending,' *Journal of Communication* 43 (4), pp 5-12
- Lorperdinger, M (1996) 'The Kaiser's Cinema An Archaeology of Attitudes and Audiences' in T Elsaesser (ed), *Second Life German Cinema's First Decades*, Amsterdam Amsterdam University Press, pp 41-50
- Lowe, D M (1982) *The History of Bourgeois Perception*, Brighton Harvester
- Luddy, M (1995) *Women in Ireland 1800-1918 A Documentary History*, Cork Cork University Press
- Mangle, W F (1983) 'The Gaelic Athletic Association and Popular Culture, 1884-1924,' in O MacDonagh, W F Mangle & P Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, pp 104-121
- MacAodha (1972) 'Was this a Social Revolution?' In S Ó Tuama (ed.) *The Gaelic League Idea*, Cork Mercier Press, pp 20-30
- Mailloux, S (1982) *Interpretative Conventions The Reader in the Study of American Fiction*, Ithaca Cornell University Press
- Mayne, J (1993) *Cinema and Spectatorship*, London & New York Routledge
- McCracken, D. (2002) *Forgotten Protest Ireland and the Anglo-Boer War*, Belfast Ulster Historical Foundation
- McGuinness, D (2000) *Media Consumption and Dublin Working Class Identity*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Dublin Dublin City University
- McIlroy, B (1998) *Irish Cinema An Illustrated History*, Dublin Anna Livia Press
- McKenzie, S (2000) 'A Screen of One's Own Early Cinema in Québec and the Public Sphere, 1906-28,' *Screen* 41 2, pp 183-202
- McLoone, M (2000) *Irish Film The Emergence of a Contemporary Cinema*, London BFI
- McLysaght, E (1986) 'The 1890s and 1900s in Clare,' in S Gmelch (ed) *Irish Life and Traditions*, Dublin O'Brien Press, Syracuse Syracuse University Press, pp 104-113

- McQuail, D (1998) 'With the Benefit of Hindsight Reflections on Uses and Gratifications Research,' in R. Dickinson, R. Harindranath & O. Linné (eds ), *Approaches to Audiences A Reader*, New York Oxford University Press, pp 151-165
- McQuire, S (1998) *Visions of Modernity Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera*, London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi Sage
- Merritt, R. (2002) 'The Nickelodeon Theatre, 1905-1914,' in I. R. Hark (ed ) *Exhibition The Film Reader*, London & New York, Routledge, pp 21-30
- Michaels, E (1990) 'A Model of Teleported Texts (with Reference to Aboriginal Television),' *Continuum* 3 (2), pp 8-31
- (1987a) 'The Indigenous Languages of Video and Television in Central Australia' in M. Taureg & J. Ruby (eds ) *Visual Explorations of the World Selected Proceedings of the International Visual Communication Conference*, Gottingen Rader Verlag, pp 266-282
- (1987b) 'Hollywood Iconography A Warlpiri Reading,' in P. Drummond & R. Patterson (eds ) *Television and its Audience International Research Perspectives*, London BFI, pp 109-124
- Miller, D. W. (1973) *Church, State and Nation in Ireland 1898-1921*, Dublin. Gill & Macmillan
- Mirzoeff, N (1999) *An Introduction to Visual Culture*, London & New York Routledge
- Mitchell, T (1998) 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,' in N. Mirzoeff (ed ) *The Visual Culture Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pp 293-303

- Morley, D (1997) 'Theoretical Orthodoxies Textualism, Constructivism and the "New Ethnography" in Cultural Studies' in M Ferguson & P Golding (eds ), *Cultural Studies in Question*, London Sage, pp 138-154
- (1992) *Television, Audience and Cultural Studies*, London & New York Routledge),
- (1989), 'Changing Paradigms in Audience Studies,' in E Seiter, H Borchers, G Kreutzner & E M Warth, *Remote Control Television, Audiences and Cultural Power*, London and New York Routledge, pp 16-43
- (1986) *Family Television Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure*, London & New York Routledge
- (1980) *The Nationwide Audience*, London British Film Institute
- Mouffe, C (1993) *The Return of the Political*, London Verso
- Mudimbe, V Y (1988) *The Invention of Africa Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*, Bloomington Indiana University Press
- Mulhail, D (2004) 'The Age of Ulysses James Joyce's Portrait of Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Ireland,' *History Ireland* 12 2
- (1999) *A New Day Dawning A Portrait of Ireland in 1900*, Cork Collins Press
- Mulvey, L (1975) 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' *Screen* 16 (3), pp 6-18
- Murdock, G (1989) 'Cultural Studies, Missing Links,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* 6, pp 436-440
- Musser, C (1994) *The Emergence of Cinema. The American Screen to 1907*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London University of California Press
- (1991) *Before the Nickelodeon Edwin S Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company*, Berkeley & Los Angeles University of California Press
- (1990) 'The Travel Genre in 1903-1904 Moving Towards fictional Narrative,' in T Elsaesser (ed ) *Early Cinema Space, Frame Narrative*, London British Film Institute, pp 123-132
- Newcomb, H & Hirsch, P (1984) "Television as a Cultural Forum, in W D Rowland Jr & B Watkins (eds ), *Interpreting Television*, Newbury Park CA Sage, pp 58-73

- Nightingale, V (1996) *Studying Audiences The Shock of the Real*, London & New York Routledge
- O'Connor, E (1992) *A Labour History of Ireland 1824-1960*, Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- O'Connor, B & Klaus, E (2000) "Pleasure and Meaningful Discourse," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 3 (3), pp 369-387
- Ó Giolláin, D (2000) *Locating Irish Folklore Tradition, Modernity, Identity*, Cork Cork University Press
- Ó Gráda, (1994) *Ireland A New Economic and Social History, 1780-1939*, Oxford Clarendon Press, New York Oxford University Press
- O'Leary, L (ed.) *A Seat Among the Stars The Cinema and Ireland*, Belfast Ulster Television
- O'Neill, K. (1993) 'Looking at the Pictures Art and Artfulness in Colonial Ireland,' in A M Dalsimer (ed ) *Visualising Ireland National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, London & Boston Faber & Faber
- Ong, W J (2000) *Orality and Literacy The Technologising of the Word*, London Routledge
- O'Regan, T (1990) 'TV as Cultural Technology The Work of Eric Michaels,' *Continuum* 3 (2), pp 53-98
- Paul, W (2002) 'The K-Mart Audience at the Mall Movies,' in I R Hark (ed ) *Exhibition The Film Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pp 77-88
- Panofsky, E (1991) *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans C S Wood, London. Zone Books
- Pettitt, L (2000) *Screening Ireland Film and Television Representation*, Manchester University of Manchester Press
- Philo G (1990) *Seeing and Believing*, London Routledge
- Plunkett, H (1904, rpt 1982) *Ireland in the New Century*, Dublin Irish Academic Press
- Poe, G T (2001) 'Historical Spectatorship Around and About Stanley Kramer's *On the Beach*,' in M Stokes & R. Maltby (eds ), *Hollywood Spectatorship Changing Perceptions of Cinema Audiences*, London British Film Institute, pp 91-102

- Polan, D (1987) 'Film Theory Reassessed,' *Continuum* 1 2,  
[http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/1\\_2/Polan.html](http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/1_2/Polan.html)
- Polet, J (2001) 'Early Cinematograph Spectacles The Role of the Sound Accompaniment in the Reception of Moving Images,' in R. Abel & R. Altman (eds) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, pp 192-197
- Pope-Hennessy, J (1884) 'What Do the Irish Read,' in *Nineteenth Century*, 5 (June) 1884)
- Popple, S (2004) "'Startling, Realistic, Pathetic' The Mitchell and Kenyon Boer War Films' in V. Toulmin, S. Popple & P. Russell (eds) *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon: Edwardian Britain on Film*, London: BFI, pp 150-157
- (2002) "'But the Khaki-Covered Camera is the Latest Thing' The Boer War Cinema and Visual Culture in Britain,' in A. Higson (ed) *Young and Innocent? The Cinema in Britain 1896-1930*, Exeter: Exeter University Press, pp 13-27
- (1996) 'The Diffuse Beam Cinema and Change,' in C. Williams (ed) *Cinema: The Beginnings and the Future*, London: University of Westminster Press, pp 97-106
- Popple, S & Kembe, J (2004) *Early Cinema: From Factory Gate to Dream Factory*, London & New York: Wallflower Press
- Postman, N (1993) *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, New York: Vintage Books
- Rabinowitz, L (2001) "'Bells and Whistles' The Sound of Meaning in Train Travel Film Rides,' in R. Abel & R. Altman (eds) *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp 167-182
- (1997) 'The Fair View: Female Spectators and the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition,' in D. Andrew (ed) *The Image in Dispute: Art and Cinema in the Age of Photography*, Austin: University of Texas Press, pp 87-116
- Radway, J (1984) *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

- Robinson, D (1996) 'Realising the Vision. 300Years of Cinematography,' in C Williams (ed ) *Cinema The Beginnings and the Future*, London University Of Westminster Press, pp 33-40
- (1983) 'Archaeology of the Cinema 8' *Framework* 22/23 pp 4-11
- Rockett, K. (2004a) 'Something Strange and Rich. James Joyce, Beatrice Cenci and the Volta,' *Film and Film Culture*, Vol. 3 pp 21-34
- (2004b) *Irish Film Censorship A Cultural Journey from Silent Cinema to Internet Pornography*, Dublin Four Courts Press
- (2004c) Personal Correspondence)
- (1996) ed. *The Irish Filmography Fiction Films 1896 - 1996*, Dun Laoghaire Red Mountain Media
- (1992) 'From Atlanta to Dublin,' *Sight and Sound (June)*, PPS
- (1987) 'The Silent Period' in K. Rockett, L. Gibbons & J Hill, *Cinema and Ireland*, Beckenham, Dublin & New South Wales Croom Helm, pp 3-50
- Rockett, K. & Finn, E (1995) *Still Irish A Century of Irish in Film*, Dublin Red Mountain Press
- Rogoff, I (1998) 'Studying Visual Culture,' in N Mirzoeff (ed ) *The Visual Culture Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pp 14-26
- Romanayshyn (1993) "The Despotic Eye and Its Shadow Media Image in the Age of Literacy," in D M Levin (ed ) *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, Los Angeles and London University of California Press, pp 339-359
- (1989) *Technology as Symptom and Dream*, London Routledge
- Rorty, R. (1979) *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, Princeton Princeton University Press
- Rose, G (2001) *Visual Methodologies An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi Sage
- Rosensweig, R. (1983) *Eight Hours for What We Will Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*, Cambridge Cambridge University Press
- Rossel, D (1998) *Living Pictures The Origins of the Movies*, New York State University of New York Press



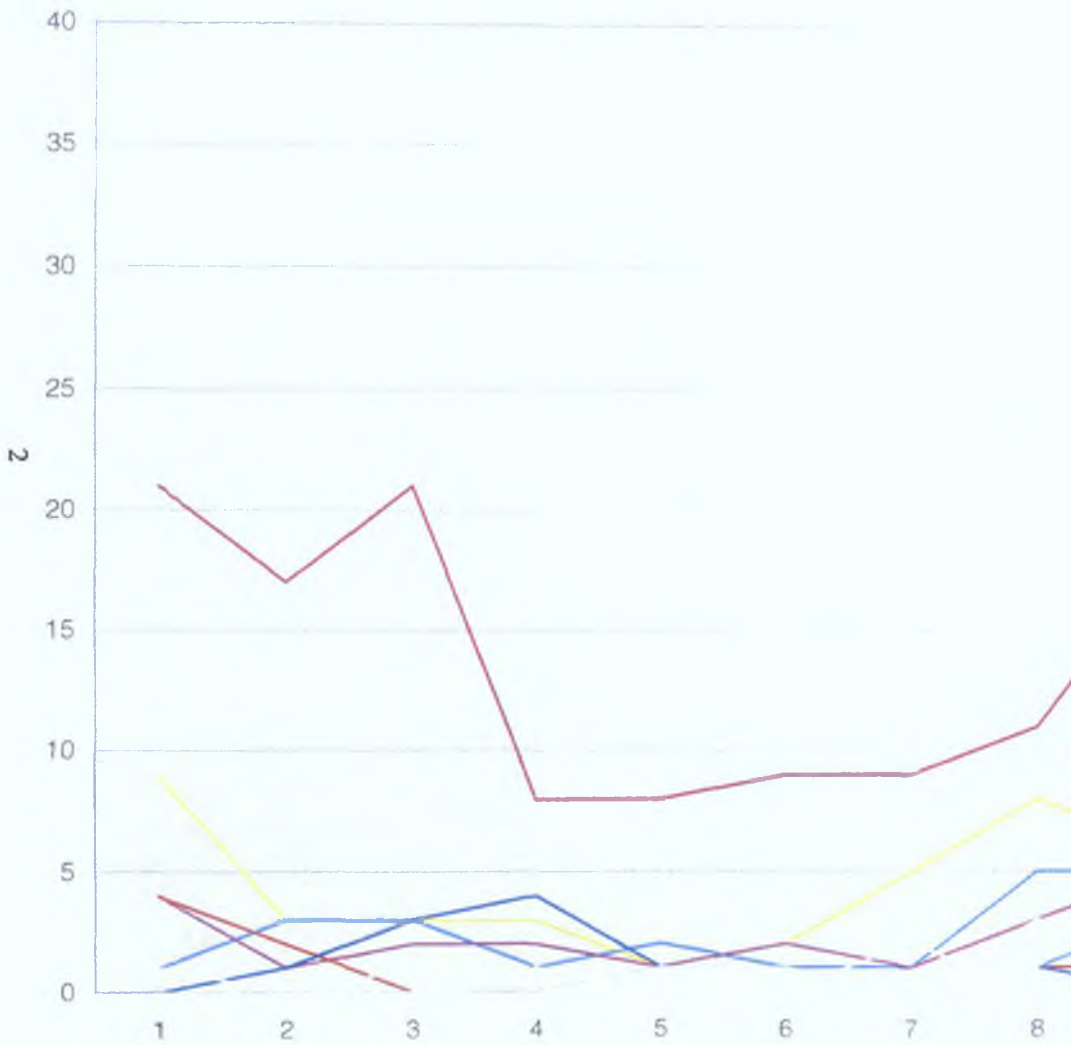
- Ruby, J (1995) 'The Viewer Viewed The Reception of Ethnographic Film,' in P Crawford & S Balduz (eds) *The Construction of the Viewer*, Hojberg Intervention Press, pp 193-206
- Rule, J (1982) 'Methodism, Popular Beliefs and Village Culture in Cornwall, 1800-1850,' in R.D Storch (ed) *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England*, New York. St. Martin's Press, London & Canberra. Croom Helm, pp 48-70
- Ruoff, J (1992) 'Around the World in Eighty Minutes. The Travel Lecture Film,' *Cineaction* 47, pp 2-11
- Rushdie, S (1990) 'In Good Faith The Pen Against the Sword,' *Newsweek* 12<sup>th</sup> February, 1990, pp 47-57
- Russell, C (2001) 'Parallax Historiography The Flâneuse as Cyberfeminist,' <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/film/articles/parallax-historiography.html>, accessed 04 07 01, 12 pages
- Rutherford, J (1977) 'Structuralism' in J Routh & J Wolff (eds) *The Sociology of Literature Theoretical Approaches*, Keele University of Keele Press, pp 43-55
- Sandywell, B (1999) 'Specular Grammar The Visual Rhetoric of Modernity' in I Heywood & B Sandywell (eds) *Interpreting Visual Culture*, London Routledge, pp 30-56
- Schriffin, (1994) *Approaches to Discourse*, Cambridge MA & Oxford Blackwell
- Schlüpmann, H (1996a) 'Asta Nielsen and Female Narration The Early Films,' in T Elsaesser (ed) *A Second Life German Cinema's First Decades*, Amsterdam. Amsterdam University Press, pp 118-122
- (1996b) 'Cinema as Anti-Theatre Actresses and Female Audiences in Wilhelmian Germany,' in R. Abel (ed) *Silent Film*, London Athlone, pp 125-141
- Seaman, W R. (1992) 'Active Audience Theory Pointless Populism,' *Culture and Society*, vol. 14, pp 301-311
- Sennett, R. (1977) *The Fall of Public Man*, London Faber & Faber
- Shohat, E & Stam, R. (1998) 'Narrativising Visual Culture Towards a Polycentric Aesthetic,' in N Mirzoeff (ed), *The Visual Culture Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pp 27-49

- Singer, B (1995a) 'Modernity, Hyperstimulus and the Rise of Popular Sensationalism' in L Charney & V R Schwartz (eds) *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Berkeley University of California Press, pp 72-99
- (1995b) 'Manhattan Nickelodeons New Data on Audiences and Exhibitors,' *Cinema Journal* 34 3, pp 5-35
- Sklar, R.(1990) 'Oh! Althusser Historiography and the Rise of Cinema Studies,' in R. Sklar & C Musser (eds ), *Resisting Images Essays on Cinema and History*, Philadelphia Temple University Press, pp 11-35
- Smith, C P (1997) 'From Acoustics to Optics The Rise of the Metaphysical and the Demise of the Melodic in Aristotle's *Poetics*' in D M Levin (ed ), *Sites of Vision. The Discursive Construction of Sight in the History of Philosophy*, Cambridge, MA & London MIT Press, pp 69-91
- Smith, M. (2001) 'Film Reviews and Announcements From 1896 Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto,' *Loneragan Review*, 6
- Sorlin, P (1996) *Italian National Cinema, 1896-1996*, London & New York Routledge
- Soskice, J (1996) 'Sight and Vision in Medieval Christian Thought,' in M Jay & T Brennan (eds ) *Vision in Context*, London Routledge, pp 31-43
- Srinivas, L (2002) 'The Active Audience Spectatorship, Social Relations and the Experience of Cinema in India,' *Media, Culture and Society* 24 2, pp 155-173
- Stacey, J (1994) *Star Gazing Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*, London & New York Routledge
- Staiger, J (1993) 'Taboo and Totem. Cultural Meanings of *The Silence of the Lambs*' in J Collins & H Radner (eds ), *Film Theory Goes to the Movies*, New York Routledge, pp 142-155
- (1992) *Interpreting Films Studies in the Reception of American Cinema*, Princeton Princeton University Press
- (1986) 'The Handmaiden of Villainy Methods and Problems on Studying the Historical Reception of a Film,' *Wide Angle* 8 (1), 20-27
- Stallybrass, P & White, A. (1986) *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, London Methuen
- Stock, B (1983) *The Implications of Literacy*, Princeton Princeton University Press

- Stubbs, M (1983) *Discourse Analysis*, Chicago University of Chicago Press
- Suleiman, S R. (1980) 'Introduction Varieties of Audience Oriented Criticism,' in Suleiman, S R & Crosman, I (eds ) *The Reader in the text Essays on Audience and Interpretation*, Princeton Princeton University Press, pp 3-45
- Sutcliff, F E (1968) 'Introduction to Descartes' in R. Descartes, *Discourse on Method and the Meditations*, Harmondsworth Penguin
- Tannin, D (1989) *Talking Voices Repetition, Dialogue and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*, Cambridge Cambridge University Press
- Taylor, C (1993) 'To Follow a Rule' in C Calhoun, E Lipuma & M Postone (eds ) *Bourdieu Critical Perspectives*, Cambridge Polity Press, pp 45-60
- Thissen, J (1999) 'Jewish Immigrant Audiences in New York City, 1905-14,' in M Stokes & R Maltby (eds ) *American Movie Audiences From the Turn of the Century to the Sound Era*, London Routledge, pp 15-28
- Thompson, E P (1980) *Writing by Candlelight*, London Merlin
- Toulmin, S (1990) *Cosmopolis The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*, Chicago Chicago University Press
- Travers, P (2001) 'A Bloodless Revolution The Democratisation of Irish Local Government 1898-9' in M E Daly (ed ) *County and Town One Hundred Years of Local Government in Ireland*, Dublin Institute of Public Administration, pp 12-23
- Tsivian, Y (1994) *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception*, Chicago University of Chicago Press
- (1990) 'Some Historical Footnote to the Kuleshov Experiment' in T Elsaesser (ed ) *Early Cinema. Space, Frame Narrative*, London BFI, pp 247-252
- Uí Ógáin, R. (1995) 'Traditional Music and Irish Cultural History,' in G Gillen & H White, (eds ) *Irish Musical Studies 3 Music and Irish Cultural History*, Dublin Academic Press, pp 77-100
- Uricchio, E & Pearson, R. (1993) *Reframing Culture The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films*, Princeton Princeton University Press
- (1996) 'Dante's Inferno and Caesar's Ghost Intertextuality and Conditions of Reception in Early American Cinema,' in R. Abel (ed ) *Silent Film*, London Athlone, pp 217-233

- Vaughan, D (1990) 'Let there be Lumière,' in T Elsaesser (ed ) *Early Cinema Space, Frame, Narrative*, London BFI, pp 63- 67
- Veltman, (2000) "Space, Time and Perspective in Print Media and Electronic Culture, [http //sumscorp com/contemporary/space.html](http://sumscorp.com/contemporary/space.html)
- Waller, G (2002) 'Another Audience Black Moviegoing from 1907 to 1916,' in I R. Hark (ed ), *Exhibition The Film Reader*, London & New York Routledge, pp 31-40
- (2001) 'Sleighbells and Moving Pictures On the Trail of D W Robertson,' in R. Abel & R Altman (eds ) *The Sound of Early Cinema*, Bloomington & Indianapolis Indiana University Press, pp 121-128
- (1995) *Main Street Amusements Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City, 1896-1930*, Washington & London Smithsonian Institute Press
- Warnke, G (1993) 'Ocularcentrism and Social Criticism,' in D M Levin (ed ) *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, Berkeley & Los Angeles University of California Press, pp 287-308
- Watters, E & Murtagh, M (1975) *Infinite Varieties Dan Lowrey's Music Hall 1879-1897*, Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- Willemsen, P (1995) 'The National' in L Devereaux & R. Hillman (eds ), *Fields of Vision. Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology and Photography*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London University of California Press, pp 21-34
- Williams, A. (1992) *Republic of Images A History of French Filmmaking*, Cambridge MA Harvard University Press
- Winston, B (1996) *Technologies of Seeing, Photography, Cinematography and Television*, London British Film Institute
- Wolfe, A.S (1992) 'Who's Gotta Have It? The Ownership of Meaning and Mass Media Texts,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 9 (3), pp 261-276
- Wolff, J (1985) 'The Invisible Flâneuse Women and the Literature of Modernity,' *Theory, Culture and Society* 2 3, pps 37-46
- Wood, E M (1986) *The Retreat from Class A New 'True' Socialism*, London Verso
- Wren Lewis, J (1983) 'The Encoding-Decoding Model Criticisms and Redevelopments for Research on Decoding,' *Media, Culture and Society* 5, pp 179-197

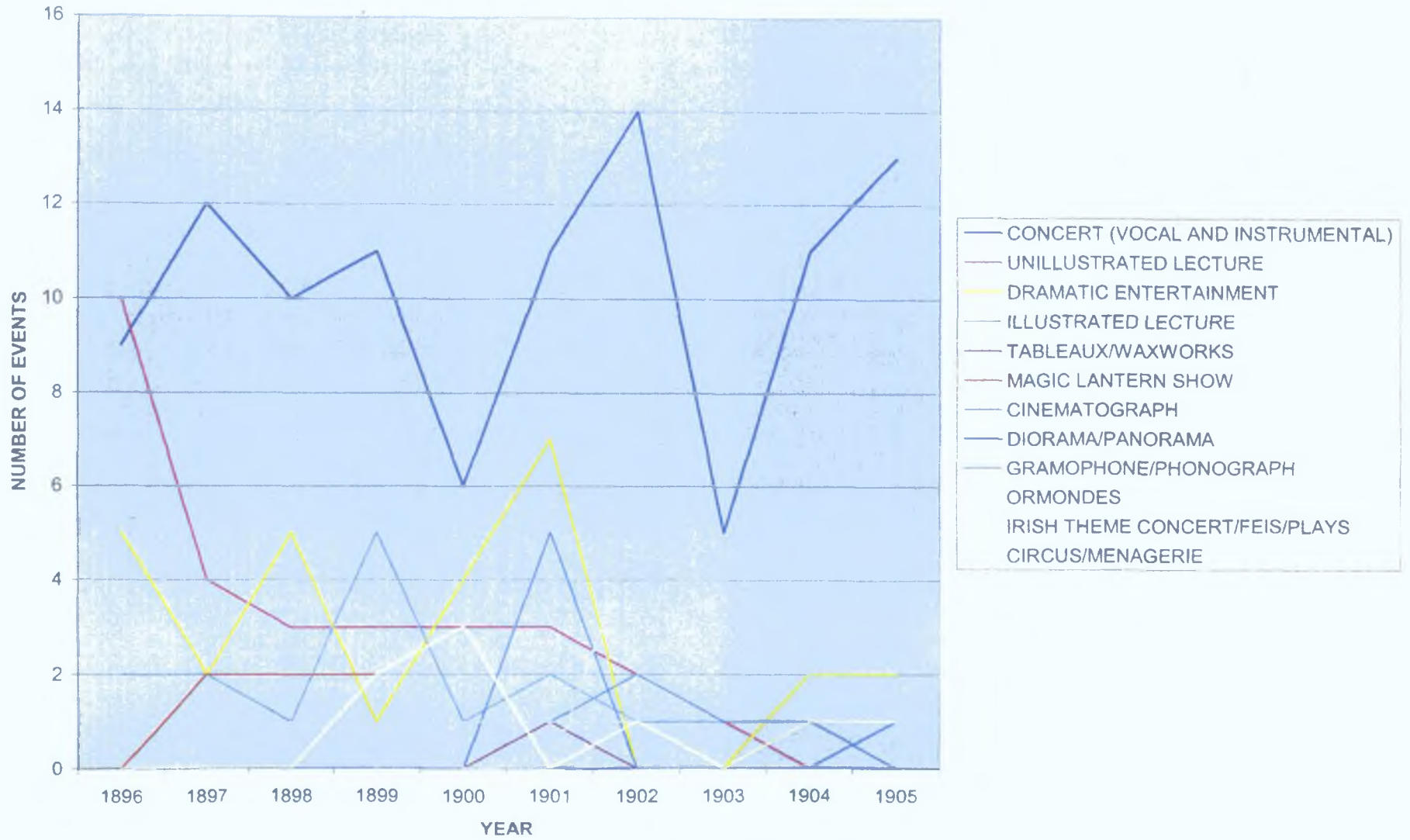
# **Appendix A**





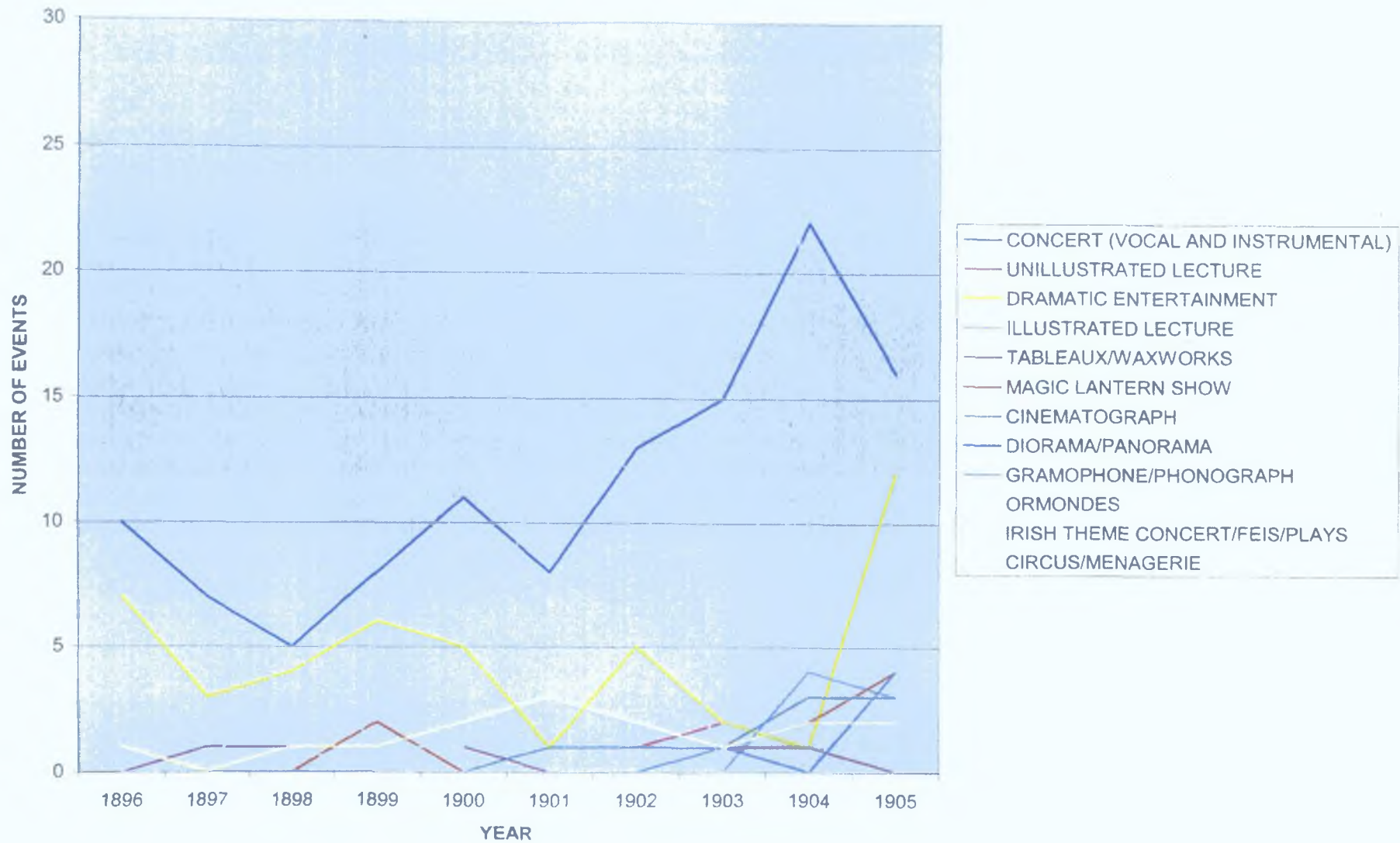
- CONCERT (VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL)
- UNILLUSTRATED LECTURE
- DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT
- ILLUSTRATED LECTURE
- TABLEAUX/WAXWORKS
- MAGIC LANTERN SHOW
- CINEMATOGRAPH
- DIORAMA/PANORAMA
- GRAMOPHONE/PHONOGRAPH
- ORMONDES
- IRISH THEME CONCERT/FEIS/PLAYS
- CIRCUS/MENAGERIE

# CARLOW



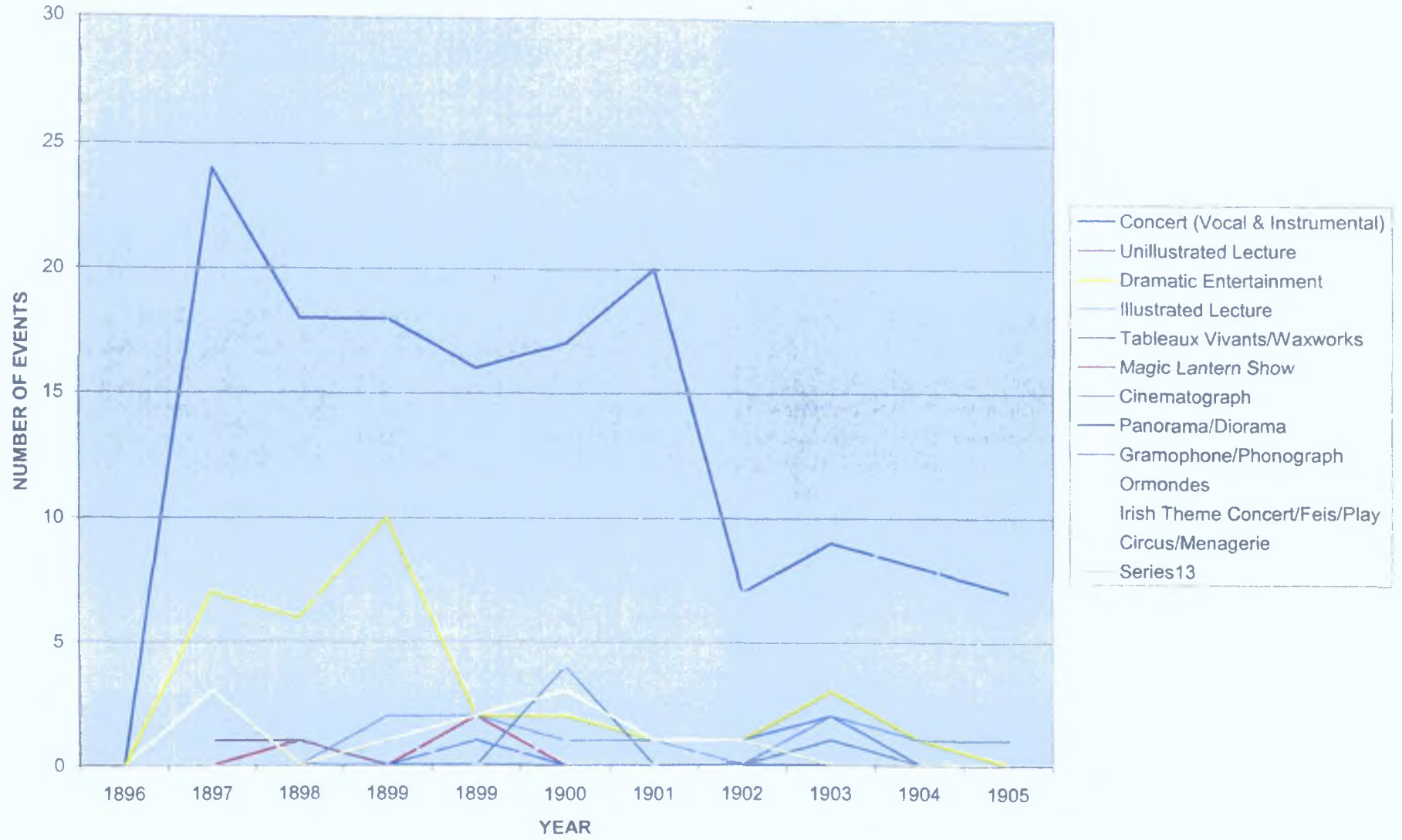


# CAVAN

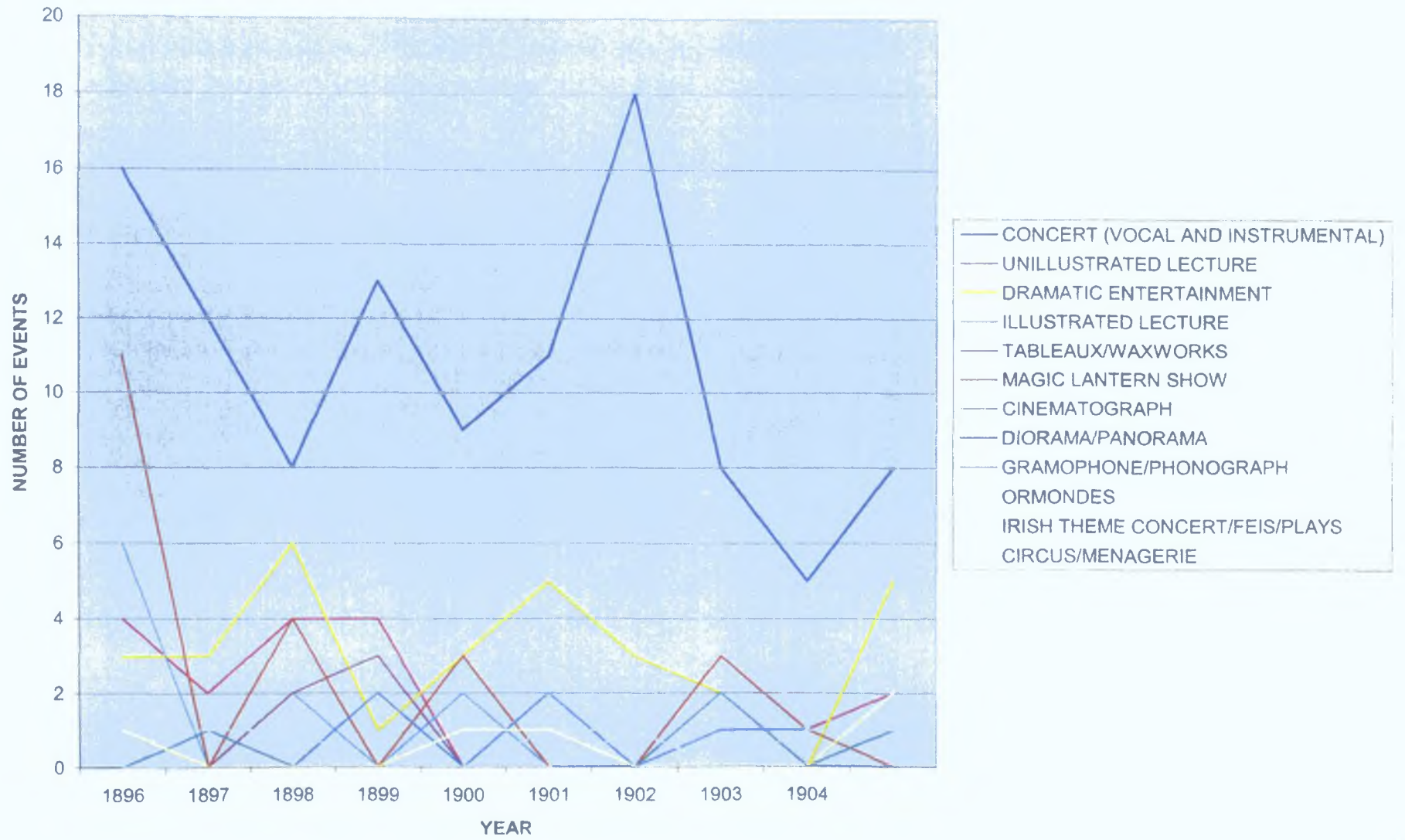




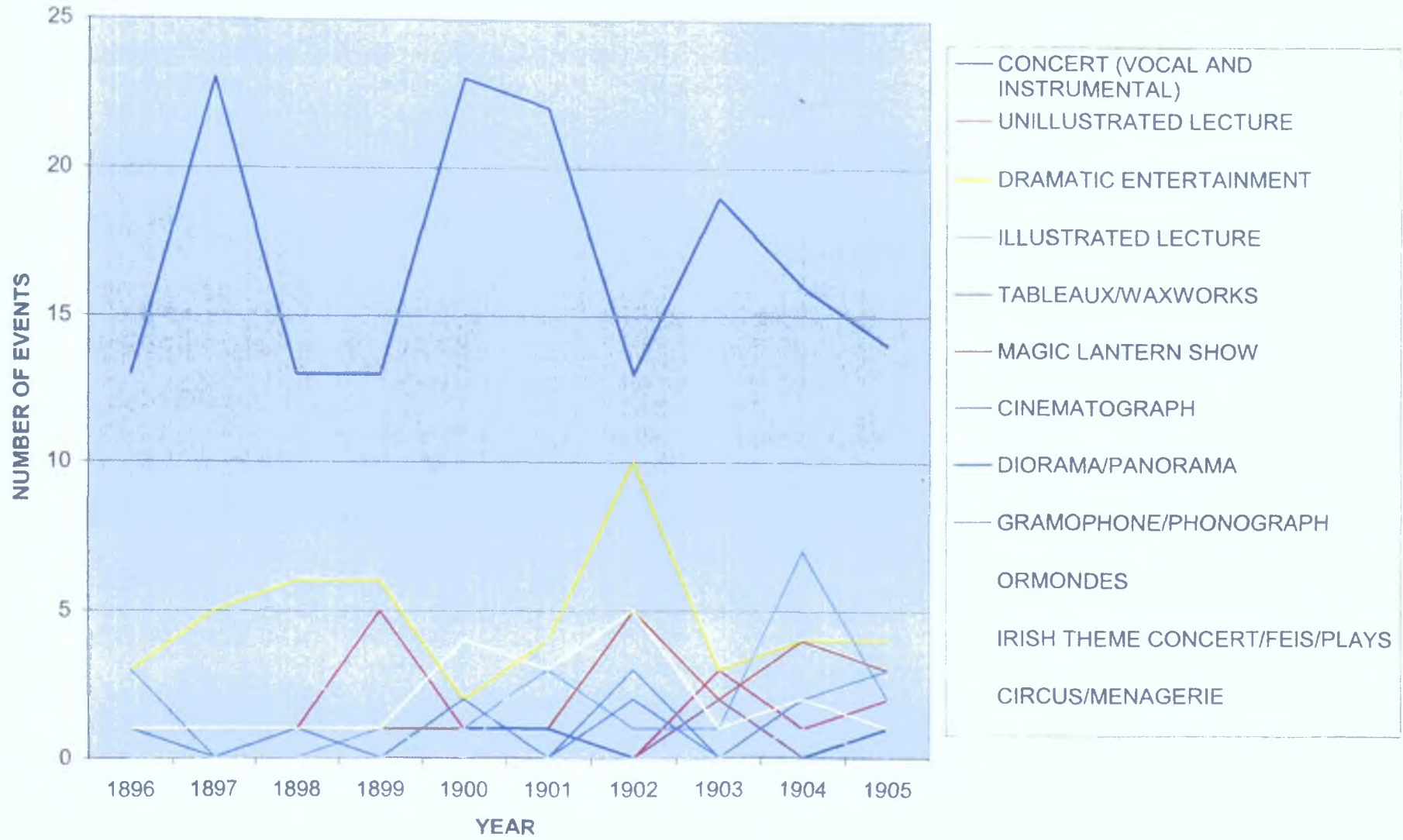
# KERRY



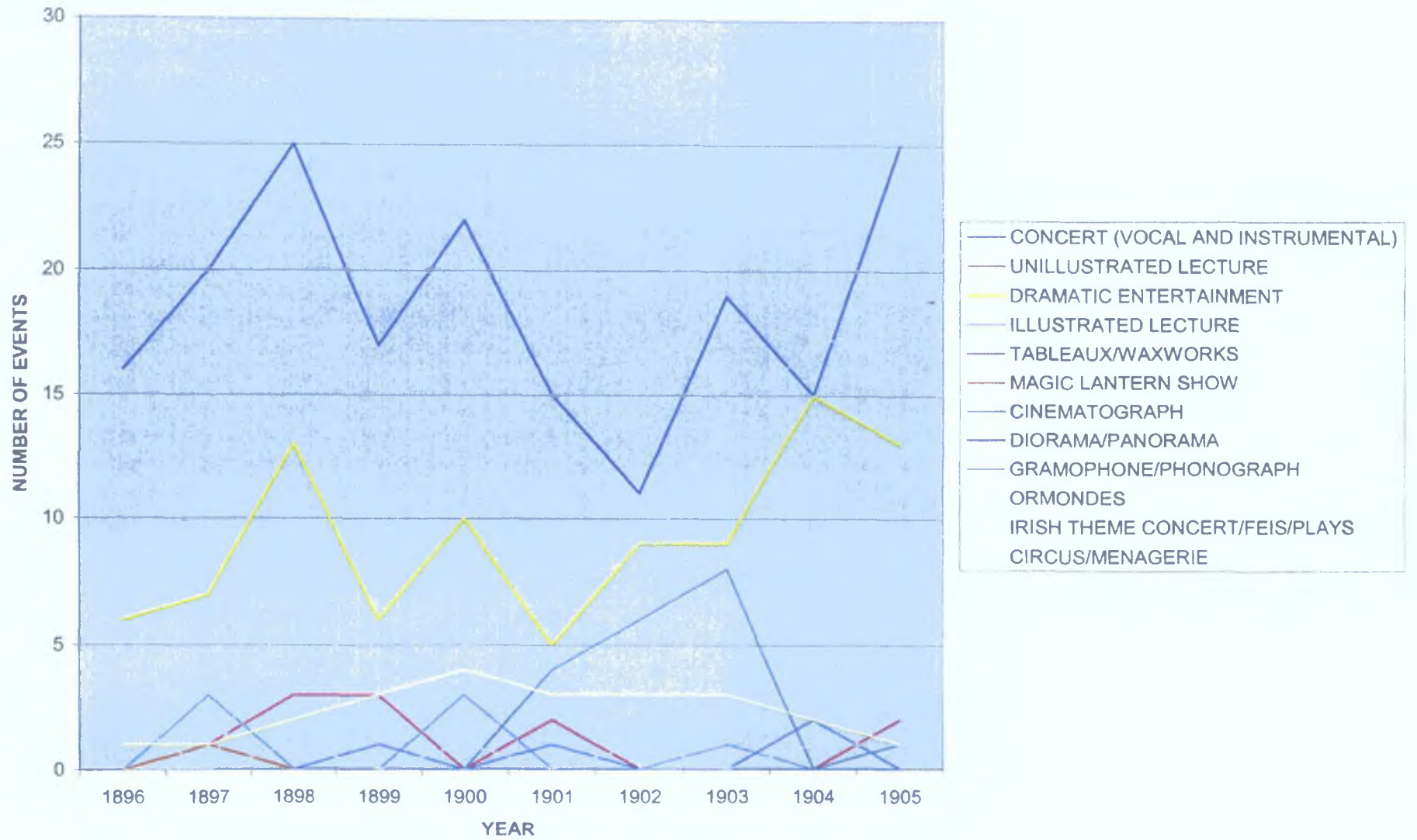
# LONGFORD



# LOUTH

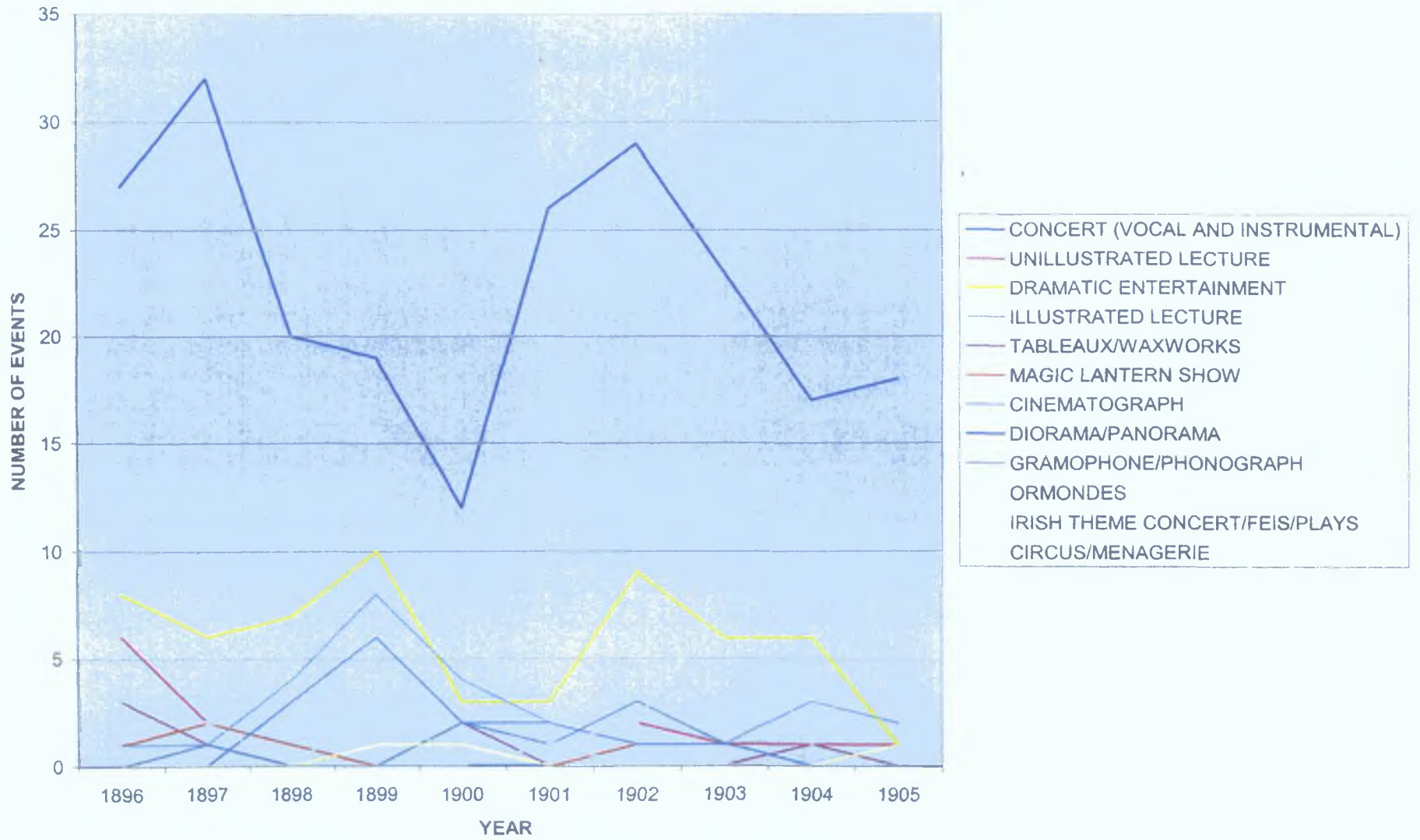


# SLIGO

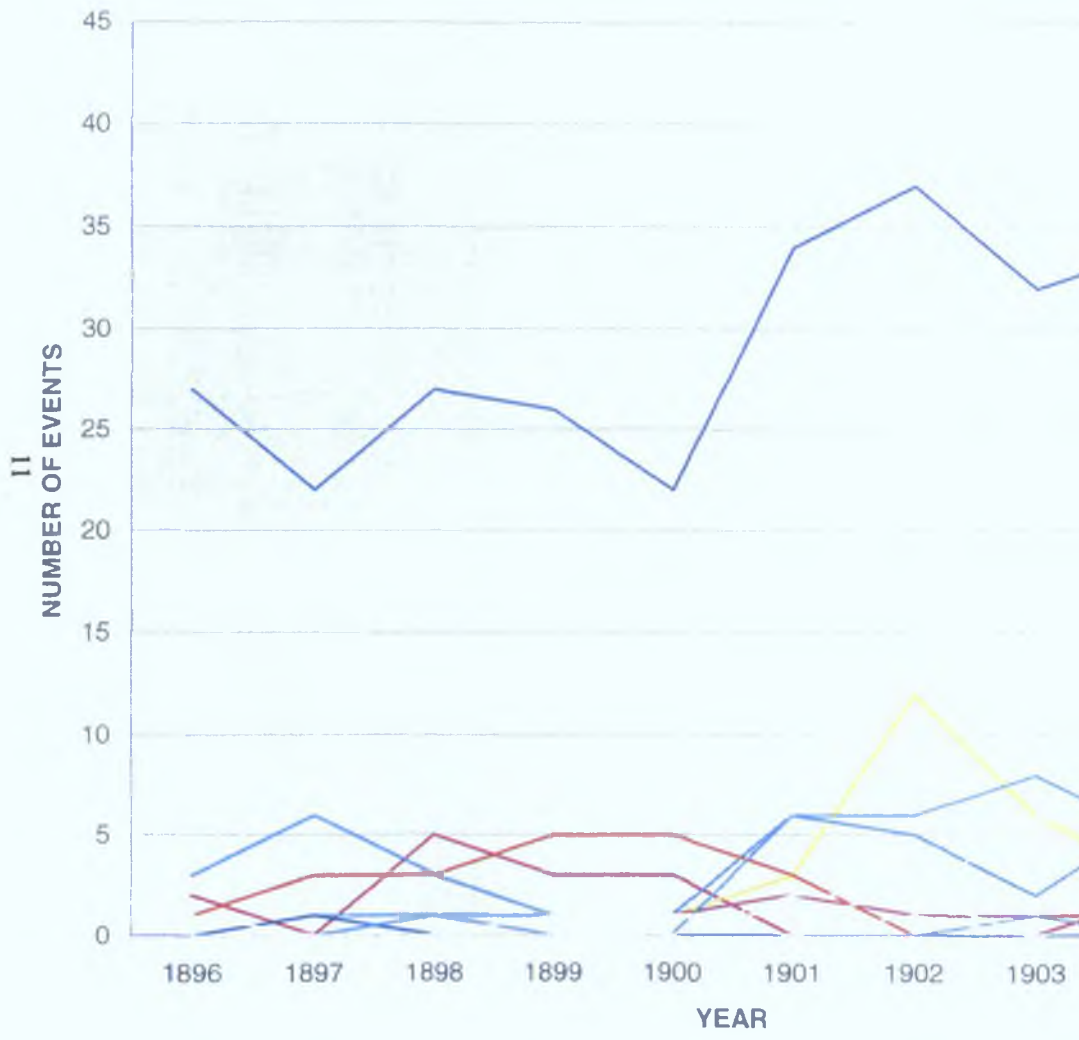


# TIPPERARY

10



# WICKLOW







- CONCERT (VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL)
- UNILLUSTRATED LECTURE
- DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT
- ILLUSTRATED LECTURE
- TABLEAUX/WAXWORKS
- MAGIC LANTERN SHOW
- CINEMATOGRAPH
- DIORAMA/PANORAMA
- GRAMOPHONE/PHONOGRAPH
- ORMONDES
- IRISH THEME CONCERT/FEIS/PLAYS
- CIRCUS/MENAGERIE

# **Appendix B**

ANTRIM CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1897	Cinematograph and Phonograph		Jubilee Procession in London Opening of the Dock in Belfast	Actuality Actuality	Lawrence	Charitable	Presbyterian
1898	Cinematograph and Limelight Entertainment		Spanish-American War Death of Nelson Carnival of Venice Lord Kitchener of Khartoum Battle of Obdurman London by Night The Final Charge	War Pictures Actuality Scenic/Travel War Pictures War Pictures Scenic Military		Charitable	Methodist
	Cinematograph		A Pleasant Evening Party Diamond Jubilee Procession in Turn Out of the Fire Bngade Cavalry Charge Boulevards of Paris	Actuality Actuality Actuality Military Scenic		Charitable	Presbytenan
	Cinematograph and Phonograph		Jubilee Scenes	Actuality		Charitable	
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1899	Illustrated Lecture and Cinematograph	The Soudan Conquest	No details	War Pictures	Mr Hogan, (N	Charitable	Protestant
	Cinematograph and Limelight Entertainment		Launch of the Oceanic	Maritime	Mr Hogg		
	Cinematograph		The English Lake District	Scenic/Travel	Mr Erskine Mayne (Belfast)		
	Cinematograph		No details		Mr Woodside	Charitable	
1900	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
	Cinematograph Lecture	From Boer Ultimatum to British Victory Under Lord Roberts					Presbyterian
1902	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1903	Cinematograph		Edward VII's Visit to Belfast	Actuality/Royal	Lizars, Belfas	Charitable	
1904	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	

CARLOW CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1898	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
	Cinematograph		Charge of the Lancers Snowballing Bathing Scene Pillow Fight Turn Out of Fire Bngade Fire Brigade in Action	Actuality Actuality Actuality ? Actuality Actuality	Mr Erskine Mayne		
	Variety Entertainment		No details				
1900	Cinematograph		No details			Commercial	
	Variety Entertainment		Boer War Pictures	Boer War Pictur	Flood Porter's	Commercial	
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1901	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
	Variety Entertainment		No details		Miss Flo Wall	Commercial	
	Variety Entertainment		Shamrock 11 Lipton Kempton Park Passion Play at Oberammergau Cuba and the Philipines Illustrated Songs	? Scenic? Scenic? Racing? Passion Play War Pictures Illustrated songs	Chicago Com	Commercial	
1902	Edison's Animated Pictures		No details		Original Irish	Commercial	
	Edison's Animated Pictures		Carlow Regatta Finshes of the Races High Diving Grandstand and its Occupants	Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views	Original Irish	Commercial	
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
	Edison's Animated Pictures		No details		Original Irish	Commercial	
1904	Temperance Entertainment		No details				
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1906	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	

CAVAN CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1898	Ormondas	No details	No details		Ormondas	Commercial	
	Variety Concert		No details			Commercial	
1899	Variety Concert		No details			Commercial	
1901	Concert	No details	No details			Charitable	Methodist
1902	Variety Entertainment		A Trip to the Moon		Marconi's Vau	Commercial	
	Concert		Steeplechase Exciting Football Match The Exhibition The Champion Dancer Railway Accident New York Workers in the Street Cyclist's Mishap Tnal for the Amenca Cup Cricket Match Passion Play	Sporting Sporting ? ? Actuality Travel/Scenic Actuality ? Sporting Sporting Passion Play		Charitable	Catholic
1904	Concert	No details	No details			Charitable	Catholic
	Concert		Gordon Bennett Motor Race	Actuality		Charitable	
1905	Bioscope	The Passion Play	Passion Play Stations of the Cross from Antwerp Cathedral	Passion Play	Professor Bar	Commercial	
	Variety Entertainment		No details				
	Concert		No details			Charitable	
	Concert		No details			Charitable	

**GALWAY CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENT</b>	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>FILMS</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>OPERATOR</b>	<b>PROCEEDS</b>	<b>DENOMINATION</b>
1898	Concert and Cinematograph		Graeco-Turko War Jubilee Procession Naval Review	War Pictures Royal Military			
1901	Ormondes	Vivograph	Boer War Films	Boer War Films	Ormondes	Commercial	
1902	Edison's Pictures		A "Prominent" Politician The late Most Rev Dr Croke, "Our Boys in Blue" President Kruger Leaving Govt Rhine Scenery Sir Thomas Lipton's Yacht Sir Thomas Lipton playing Ping Ancient Insh Crosses Athlone Mills Cork Exhibition	Portrait Portrait Boer War Films Boer War Films Scenic Actuality Actuality Scenic Scenic Actuality	Edison's Lvin	Commercial	
	Ormondes	Vivograph	Coronation Scenes Portrait of Edward VII Boer Scenes	Royal Royal War Pictures	Ormondes	Commercial	

KERRY CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1900	Concert and Cinematograph		No details		Dunlop Tyre Co	Charitable	
	Cinematograph and Phonograph		General Joubert President Kruger Cinderella Pantomime Fitzsimmons v Jeffnes Fight Jeffnes v Sharkey Fight	Boer War Portrait Boer War Portrait Fairy Tale/Pantomime Boxing Film Boxing Film	Bostock's	Commercial	
	Cinematograph		No details				
	Cinematograph		No details				
	Cinematograph		No details				
	Ormondes	Boer War	No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1902	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1903	Bioscope		No details				

LONGFORD CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1897	Cinematograph and Limelight Exhibit		No details		Mr Leslie Fleming		
1898	Passion Play		Raising of the Son of the Widow Garden of Gethsemane Via Dolorosa Crucifixion Scene	Passion Play Passion Play Passion Play Passion Play	Mr Leslie Fleming	Charitable	
	Cinematograph and Limelight	Spanish-American War	No details	War Pictures	Messrs Reid and Sargason		
1900	Cinematograph and Limelight Exhibit	Conquest of the Soudan	No details	War Pictures			
1901	Cinematograph Exhibition	Funeral of Queen Victoria	No details	Royal	Mr Leslie Fleming		
1902	Professor Banvard's Cinematograph	No details	War Pictures	War Pictures	Professor Banvard	Commercial	
	Ormondes	No details			Ormondes	Commercial	
1903	Bioscope	PC	No details		Irish Animated	Commercial	
1904	Ormondes		PC		Ormondes	Commercial	
1905	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	

LOUTH CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1898	Variety Concert	Jubileeograph	No details		Sam Hague's	Commercial	
	Poole's Mynorama	Mynorama	No details		Poole's Mynor	Commercial	
	Variety Concert		No details				
1899	Variety Concert		No details		Oliver Plunket	Charitable	
	Variety Entertainment		No details			Charitable	
1900	Poole's Mynorama	Mynorama	The Boer War Fine View of Mafeking Royal Irish King's Royal Rifles First Battles of Colenso Dublin Fusiliers at Glencoe Battle of Belmont	Boer War Pictur Boer War Pictures Boer War Pictures Boer War Pictures Boer War Pictures Boer War Pictures Boer War Pictures	Poole's Myrio	Commercial	
	Variety Entertainment		No details		Dare's Anglo-American Minstrels		
	Variety Entertainment		Battle of Paardeburg	Boer War Pictur	Poole's Cinen	Commercial	
	Variety Concert		No details		Bostock's Bio	Commercial	
1901	Variety Concert	Mynorama	Transvaal War Queen's Funeral Opening of Parliament by the K	War Pictures Royal Royal	Poole's Mynor	Commercial	
1902	Cinematograph	Edison's Animated Pictures	World History Notable Sights Swiss Scenery Humorous Subjects Street Scenes Life in Ireland Life and Scenes in Drogheda	Historical Scenic Scenic Humorous Scenic/Actuality Scenic/Actuality Local Views	Edison's Anim	Commercial	
	Cinematograph	Edison's Animated Pictures	No details		Edison's Anim	Commercial	
	Concert		No details			Charitable	



LOUTH CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906 CONTD

1904	Concert		No details			Charitable	
	Bioscope Entertainment	Original Insh Animated Photo Company	Boyne Valley Launch Mr E McCarthy, Manager of E	Local Views Local Portrait	Mr Coote Or	Charitable	
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1905	Variety Show	Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show	Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show	No details	Buffalo Bill's V	Commercial	
	Living Pictures		Procession at Armagh Cathedr Boer War Russo-Japanese War Bombardment of Port Arthur	Actuality War Pictures War Pictures War Pictures	Rev Father F	Charitable	
	Animatograph		No details			Charitable	
	Animatograph		Bute Wedding, Kilsaran Passion Play The Dedication of Armagh Catt Insh Language Procession in D Pignmage to Lourdes The Tramp's Revenge The Mischievous Boys A Terror in the House An Interesting Story An Electric Shock The Unfortunate Traveller Cardiff Castle Bute Castle	Local Actuality Passion Play Actuality Actuality Actuality Comic Comic Comic Comic Comic Comic Comic Comic Scenic Scenic	Mr Erskine Mayne, Belfast		
	Mynorama		Boer War Pictures	Boer War Pictur	Poole's Mynor	Commercial	

SLIGO CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906 CONTD

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1897	Cinematograph Lecture	Inventions of the Nineteenth Century	No details (equipment failed)		Mr C C McCarthy		
	Variety Concert	Paul's Theatrograph			Comet Comed	Commercial	
1898	Ormondes	PC			Ormondes	Commercial	
1900	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
1901	Biographe		Passion Play Boxing Films	Passion Play Boxing	Bostock's Gra	Commercial	
	Cinematograph Exhibition	Queen Victoria's Funeral Exhibition	No details	Royal	Mr Mayne, Dublin		
	Concert		No details				
1902	Concert		No details			Charitable	
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	
	Edison's Pictures		Football Match Hurling Match A Tour in Switzerland Joan of Arc Passion Play Arrival of John Redmond at Qu Delegates at the National Conv Irish Parliamentary Party Leav	Sport Sport Scenic Historical Passion Play Actuality Actuality Actuality	Edison's Anni	Commercial	
	Animated Pictures		Sligo Abbey Lough Gill Killarney Vale of Ovoca	Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic	Mr T W Ban	Charitable	
	Animated Pictures		Street Scenes of Dublin Street Scenes of Cork Street Scenes of Belfast New York	Scenic Scenic Scenic Travelogue	Mr T W Ban		
	Animated Pictures		Some 'Loyal' films Lough Gill Regatta Cattle Show	Royal Local View Local View	Mr T W Ban		
	Cinematograph		No details		Mr W H Davies (former circus proprietor)		
1903	Cinematograph		Brooklyn	Travelogue	Mr T W Ban	Charitable	

SLIGO CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906 CONTD

1903	Cinematograph		Sligo Butter Market The Chief and Seidlitz Powder Oliver Twist	Local View Comic Comic	Mr T W Ban	Charitable	
	Cinematograph		No details		Mr T W Banks		
	Concert		No details		Mr T W Banks		
	Cinematograph and Gramophone		No details		Mr T W Ban	Charitable	
	Cinematograph and Gramophone		Delhi Durbar Royal Procession at Westminster Opening of Parliament Launch of Shamrock III at Dun Sligo Scenes Gougane Barra Waterfalls in Antrim Waterfalls in Glencar Shruneen-na-nAlt Temperance Procession at Sligo Sligo Butter Market	Travel/Actuality Actuality Actuality Actuality Local View Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Actuality/Local Local View	Mr T W Banks		
	Cinematograph		Races at Hazelwood Boat Races	Local View Local View	Mr T W Banks		
	Animated Pictures		Royal Visit to Ireland Gordon Bennett Motor Race Sligo Temperance Procession Sligo Streets Sligo Quays Hazelwood Races Lough Gill Regatta Butter Market	Royal Sporting/Actuality Local View Local View Local View Local View Local View Local View	Mr T W Banks		
1905	Ormondes		Russo-Japanese War Pictures	War Pictures	Ormondes	Commercial	
	Animated Pictures		No details		Original Irish	Commercial	
	Ormondes		Battle of the Sea of Japan Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show Riots in Russia Hackenschmidt General Piet Cronje's Boers and Cicero Winning the Derby	War Pictures Wild West War Pictures Boxing Boer War Pictures Sport			

TIPPERARY CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1897	Cinematograph		No details				
1900	Concert and Cinematograph		Parade of the Scotch Guards	Actuality	Mr Mayne (Dublin)		
			Highway Robbery	?			
			A Caravan of Camels	Scenic			
			Fire Alarm	Actuality			
			A French Boxing Match	Sporting			
			Children Playing	Actuality			
			The Sleepy Coachman	?			
			Arabs Descending from the Py	Scenic			
			Spanish Bullfight	Actuality			
			A Game of Backgammon	Actuality			
			A Restaurant Comedy	Comic			
			A Modern Magician	?			
			A Sparring Match	Sporting			
			A Fishing Party	Actuality			
			A Gambling Story	?			
Highgate Tunnel	Scenic						
State Entry of the Queen into D	Royal						
Panorama of the Paris Exhibiti	Travelogue						
View of the Moving Platform at	Scenic						
	Concert and Cinematograph		No details				
	Concert	A Trip to Rome	Views of Rome Irish Wit and Humour	Travelogue	Mr Mason, D	Chantable	
1901	Vanity Entertainment		The Tour of the Duke and Duc	Royal	Mr T Mason, Dublin		Protestant
			The Queen's Funeral at Cowes	Royal			
			Winning the V C - an incident	Boer War Pictures			
			Fishing Extraordinary	Actuality			
			Snowballing Scene	Actuality			
			Making Sausages	Actuality			
			Winning the Gloves	Actuality			
Conundrums							
	Ormondes		No details		Ormondes	Commercial	

TIPPERARY CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906 CONTD

1902	Edison's Pictures	Coronation Royal Procession Coronation Scenes in the Abb Funeral of Archbishop Croke Carlow Regatta Waterford Regatta Clonmel Horse Show Visit of the Irish Delegates to A National Convention Punchestown Races Hammers Championship Run English Football Cup Final Little Titch Ching Long Soo Herr Sawade Tally-ho Cork Exhibition Niagara Switzerland Scenes	Royal Royal Actuality Sporting Sporting Actuality Actuality Sporting Sporting Sporting     Actuality Scenic Scenic	Original Irish / Commercial	
	Edison's Pictures	Coronation Coronation Procession Funeral of Most Rev Dr Croke Catholic Procession through M Tour through Switzerland Crossing of Glaciers by a Tour Cutting of Footholds in the Ice Swiss Railway Lines John Redmond's Tour in Amer National Convention Wards Stag Hunt	Royal Royal Actuality Actuality Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Actuality Actuality Sporting	Edison's Pictu Commercial	
	Edison's Pictures	Limerick Races	Sporting	Edison's Pictu Commercial	
	Edison's Pictures	No details		Edison's Pictu Commercial	
1903	Variety Entertainment	The Delhi Durbar		Mr Martin (Mason & Sons, Dublin)	

WICKLOW CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1908 CONTD

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1897	Concert		No details		Professor Kinet		
	Variety Entertainment		Aesthetoscope		Col C Reid's	Commercial	
1898	Variety Entertainment		No details		Mr Mason, D	Charitable	
	Exhibition of Dissolving Views and Cinematograph		No details				
	Variety Entertainment		No details				
	Cinematograph		No details				
1900	Ormondes		The Boer and China Wars Guns and Troops in Action HM Queen Victoria in Ireland				
1901	Concert		French's Scouts Feeding the Boers Tending to the Wounded Lord Roberts at Capetown Return of the C I Vs Queen Victoria at the Phoenix The Rival Bill-posters The Fraudulent Beggar	Boer War Picture Boer War Picture Boer War Picture Boer War Picture Boer War Picture Royal Comic Comic		Charitable	Protestant
	Concert	Incidents in the Last Year of the Life of Q	Boer War Pictures China War Pictures Queen Victoria's Visit to Dublin Funeral Procession at Cowes Funeral Procession on the Solent Funeral Procession through London Funeral Procession through W	Boer War Picture War Pictures Royal Royal Royal Royal Royal			
	Variety Entertainment		No details		Miss Flo Wall	Commercial	
	Cinematograph and Concertgraph		No details			Charitable	
	Kinematograph Lecture		Visit of Queen Victoria to Dublin Lord Mayor Presenting Civic Society Boer War Pictures Dr Roberts Naval Pageant on the Solent Military and Civic Tributes, London Military and Civic Tributes, W	Royal Royal Boer War Picture Boer War Portrait Royal Royal Royal	Mr Tom Mason, Dublin		Protestant

WICKLOW CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS 1896-1906 CONTD

1901	Concert and Cinematograph		No details		Mr Tom Mas	Charitable	
1902	Cinematograph		Life in Our Navy Cruise of the Ophir	Naval Naval	West's	Commercial	
	Edison's Pictures		No details			Commercial	
	Edison's Pictures		No details		Original Insh	Commercial	
	Living Pictures		No details		Original Insh	Commercial	
	Kinematograph Display		No details				
	Ormond's		Coronation Scenes	Royal	Ormond's	Commercial	
	Cinematograph		Coronation Procession Naval Review	Royal Military			
1903	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details				
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details				
	American Animated Pictures		No details		American Ani	Commercial	
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details				
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details				
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details				
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details				
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details			Komey Koncert Kompany	
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details			Olympian Concert Party	
Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pa		No details					
1904	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pavilion)		No details				
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pavilion)		No details				
	Concert and Biograph (Kingstown Pavilion)		No details				
	Concert and Cinematograph		No details		Mr Patnck M	Commercial	
1905	Ormond's		The Battle of the Sea of Japan Riots in Russia Buffalo Bill's Wild West Hackenschmidt Cicero Winning the Derby General Piet Cronje's Boers an	War Pictures War Pictures Narrative Sporting Sporting Actuality	Ormond's	Commercial	

# **Appendix C**



MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS

ANTRIM MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1896	Lecture	Egypt and Palestine	No details	Travelogue	Mr Lizars, Belfast	Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	Pen and Ink Sketches of the U S And Cal	No details	Travelogue		Charitable	
	Lecture	The Origin and Present Condition of the Giant's Causeway		Geology/Scenic	Herr G Wefers	Charitable	
1897	Variety Concert		No details		Messrs Carter, Morrow & Bar	Charitable	
	Lecture	India	No details	Scenic/Colonial		Charitable	
	Lecture	Mars	No details		Mr G Wefers	Charitable	Presbyterian
1898	Limeight Entertainment		Judkin's Fight Two Pictures of Slavery Dip your Roll in your Own Pot He Couldn't Get it On Brave Sergeant, Three Cheers for Campbell Killamey	Temperance Temperance Temperance Temperance Illustrated Story Illustrated Song	Mr S Cunningham and Mr W J Crawford	Charitable	Presbyterian
	Lecture	Visit to the Holy Land	No details	Travelogue	Mr R Porter and Mr A Moor	Charitable	Presbyterian
	Lecture	Ancient and Modern Ireland	No details	Historical	Mr G Wefers	Charitable	Presbyterian
1899	Lecture	The Conquest of the Soudan and the Battle of Albara and Omdurman	No details	War Pictures			Protestant
	Lecture	The Soudan Conquest	No details	War Pictures	Mr Hogan, (Mayne, Belfast)		Protestant
	Lecture	Out of the Depths (Barnardos)	No details	Barnardos		Charitable	
1900	Lecture	At the Front with Lord Roberts	The Transvaal Cabinet	Boer War Pictures	Rev John Ramsay		Presbyterian
	Lecture	Chief of the Cameron Men	No details	Boer War Pictures	Rev J Ramsay	Charitable	Presbyterian
	Cinematograph and	From Boer Ultimatum to British Victory under Lord Roberts	No details	Boer War Pictures	Mr Erskine Mayne	Charitable	Presbyterian
1901	Lecture	Ceylon and Uganda	No details	Missionary		Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	At the Front with Lord Roberts	No details	Boer War Pictures			
	Lecture	Wit and Wisdom	Sovereigns Warriors Poets Novelists Fair Women	Illustrated Lecture			

ANTRIM MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1902	Lecture	From Gibraltar to the Gates of the Sun	Gibraltar Ronda Granada Cadiz Seville Palos Cordoba Toledo Madrid	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue	Mr Wefers	Charitable	
1903	Lecture	A Visit to Palestine	No details	Travelogue		Charitable	Presbyterian
	Lecture	The Valley of the Boyne	No details	Scenic/Historical	Rev J Ramsay		
	Lecture	Ancient Ireland in Stones and Clay	No details	Historical Lecture	Mr W Halliday & Mr S Hatty	Charitable	Presbyterian
	Service of Song		Views illustrative of Indian Life	Travelogue/Missionary			
1904	Lecture	By Killarney's Lakes and Delis	Killarney	Scenic			
	Lecture	The Work that Shook the World	No details	Religious	Rev R Ussher Greer		Protestant
	Lecture	The Mission Work of the Irish Presbyterians	No details	Missionary			Presbyterian
	Lantern Exhibition		Local Views	Local Views	Mr Thomas Spiers		
	Lantern Exhibition		Local Views	Local Views	Mr Thomas Spiers		
	Lecture	The Birds We See and Hear	No details	Nature			
	Lecture	Birds Their Habits and Homes	No details	Nature		Charitable	Protestant
	Concert and Lantern	Japan and the Japanese Russo-Japanese War	No details No details	Travelogue War Pictures	Mr Eakin	Charitable	Protestant
1905	Lecture	History, Scenery and Habits of Japan	No details	Travelogue		Charitable	Protestant
	Service of Song	From Bethlehem to Olivet What Jesus Did	No details	Service of Song			Protestant
	Lecture	Bacteria and their Action	No details	Scientific	Mr Moncreff		
	Lecture	Naples, Pompeii and Vesuvius	No details	Travelogue	Rev A E Crawford		Presbyterian
	Lecture	Missionary Work (Qua Iboe Mission)	No details	Missionary	Mr R L M'Keown	Charitable	
	Lecture	Birds Their Songs, Nests and Young	No details	Nature			
	Lecture	Personal Experiences of the Russo-Japanese War	No details	War Pictures	Rev A E Crawford	Charitable	Presbyterian
	Lecture	The Evils of Betting, Gambling and Drunkenness	No details	Temperance	Rev J Ramsay		

CARLOW MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	FILMS	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1896	Lecture	The Ancient Music of Ireland			Mr R Bell		
	Lecture	Missionary Work in Madagascar		Missionary	Mr Willie Ross	Charitable	Protestant
1897	Lantern Exhibition	Frank Owen and his Sister Minnie	Illustrated American Civil War Story	Illustrated Story	Rev T Moran	Charitable	Methodist
	Lecture	The Brain and the Nervous System		Scientific			
	Lecture	The Brain and the Nervous System		Scientific			
	Lantern Exhibition	Bravo Sergeant Campbell	"The Story of an Irish Soldiers Pluck"	War Story	Rev T Moran	Charitable	Methodist
1898	Lecture	With Kitchener to Khartoum		War Account	Mr Willie Ross		
	Lantern Exhibition	Corporal Stanley and his Comrades	Domestic Troubles of the Stanely Family Enlisting of Edwn A Soldier's Life Introduction to the Soldier's Home Meeting Miss Nightingale Arrval of inheritance letter Marnage to Miss Nightingale	Illustrated Story	Mr Thomas Hinds	Charitable	Methodist
	Lantern Entertaunm	No details			Rev J Mitchell	Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	The Modern Music of Ireland		Historical/Musical			
	Lecture	The Story of the old Bible Manuscripts	Bible Manuscripts Bible Versions	Historical/Religious		Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	The Modern Music of Ireland	Illustrations of Irish Musicians Old Dublin Theatres Dublin Streets Dublin Music Halls Dublin Fashions	Historical/Musical Historical/Musical Historical/Musical Historical/Musical	Rev A I Mitchell and Mr W		
1899	Lecture	With Lord Kitchener at Khartoum		War/Colonial	Mr Willie Ross		
	Lecture	The Music of the Prayer Book		Historical/Musical	Mr Willie Ross		
	Lecture	Dr Barnardo's Homes	Photographs of the inmates in Sickness a Inmates at Work and at Play Inmates at Time of Entry and Leaving	Dr Barnardo's Dr Barnardo's Dr Barnardo's		Charitable	
	Lecture	Felix Mendelssohn	Views of Berlin Views of Frankfort [sic] Leipsic [sic] Birmingham Places associated with Mendelssohn	Biographical Scenic/Historical Scenic/Historical Scenic/Historical Scenic/Historical	Mr Young (Carlow Gas Co)		
	Lecture	The Modern Music of Ireland		Historical/Musical			

CARLOW MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1899	Lecture	Land of Gold and Diamonds or My Experience in South Africa		Travelogue/Colonial		
	Lantern Exhibition	The War in Africa	Incidents Connected with the War in Africa	War Pictures		Chartable Unionist
	Lecture	Handel and the Handel Festivals	No details	Biographical		
	Lecture	My Experience in South Africa	No details	Boer War Account		
1900	Lantern Exhibition	The Life and Passion of Our Lord	Tissot's Paintings	Passion Play		Chartable Catholic
1901	Lecture	Edison and his inventions	No details	Scientific		
	Lecture	Hymns and Hymn Writers	Portraits of Hymn Writers	Historical/Hymnology		Chartable Protestant
	Lecture	The Concert Phonograph and the Stroh V	No details	Musical		
	Lecture	Insh Humourists	Portrait of Swift Portrait of Maginn Portrait of Curran Portrait of T D Sullivan "Speranza" George Ogle Darcy Magee	Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical	Mr W H Thompson	
1902	Lecture	The Life and Passion of Our Lord	Partial Reproductions from Tissot's famous	Religious Lecture		
	Lecture	Dr Barnardo's Homes		Barnardos		Chartable
	Lecture	Comets and Shooting Stars	Telescopic Photographs of Comets Comets in their Nebulous and Final Stages The Aurora Borealis The Milky Way	Scientific Scientific Scientific Scientific	Mr Willie Young (Carlow Gas Co)	
1903	Lecture	A Camping Tour through Palestine	No details	Travelogue		Chartable Protestant
1904	Temperance Entertainment	No details	No details			
	Lecture	Japan and the War in the Far East	The Work of Japanese Artists	Travelogue/War Account		Protestant



CAVAN MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1898			Hot Chasing the Yeomen through the Sc Michael Dwyer's Escape from the Burning Arrival of the French in Killala March of the French to Ballina Arrival of the French in Ballina Midnight March of the French to Castlebar The English Fleeing from Castlebar General Luke Galloping to Tuam Robert Emmet Emmet's Trial Emmet's Execution	Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist		
	Lecture	Pictures and Jottings of '98	No details	Historical/Natio	Messrs Duffy	Charitable Nationalist
1899	Lantern Exhibition		Kingscourt Roman Catholic Church (Interi Kingscourt Roman Catholic Church (Exter Important Scenery in Ireland Portrait of Robert Emmet Portrait of John Boyle O'Reilly Capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald Vinegar Hill Fight on Vinegar Hill in 1798 1798 Commemoration Meeting in Tara Procession approaching the Gate Procession ascending the Hill Croppies Grave 98 Meeting at Drogheda 98 Meeting in Dublin National Meeting at Slane The Parnell Funeral Local Celebrities Corless Football Club Pictures of Kingscourt Picture of Baileboro	Local Views Local Views Scenic Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Actualty Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist Actualty Actualty Actualty Actualty Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views		

CAVAN MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1901	Lantern Exhibition	Lantern Exhibition	Comic and Moving Figures The Christmas Pantomime Scotch Scenery The Swanee River	Pantomime Scenic Illustrated Song	Rev Mr Killingly and Mr J Douglas	Protestant
	Lantern Exhibition		No details			Charitable
1902	Lantern Exhibition		Killarney The Old Folks at Home	Illustrated Song Illustrated Song	Mr Tighe	Charitable
1903	Lantern Exhibition		Humorous Insh Scenes	Comic		
	Lantern Exhibition		Belfast Its Public Buildings, Churches Pa Women the World Over Gossips about Ghosts The Lifeboat Christmas Story Longfellow's Wreck of the Hesperus Tuttlebury's Motor Car The Last Rose of Summer By the Fountain Darby and Joan Kathleen Mavourneen Ora Pro Nobis Come back to Enn Daddy Tit for Tat Queen of the Earth The Insh Emigrant Swanee River	Travelogue Illustrated Reading Illustrated Reading Illustrated Reading Illustrated Reading Illustrated Reading Illustrated Song Illustrated Song Illustrated Song Illustrated Song Illustrated Song Illustrated Song Illustrated Song Illustrated Song Illustrated Song		Charitable
1904	Lecture	Early Irish Art	The Book of Kells, The Cross of Cong The Domhrach Aingid Celtic Stone Crosses Ecclesiastical Remains Book of Durrow Metalwork	Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical		Nationalist/Catholic

CAVAN MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1904			Woodwork Stonework Crozier Brooches Shnnies Reliquanes Bells	Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical Art Historical			
	Magic Lantern Ent	The Life and Ministry of Chrst	No details	Religious			
	Lecture	Rome and Other Italian Cities	No details	Travelogue	Mr J P Gannon	Charitable	
	Lecture	The City of Venice	No details	Travelogue		Charitable	Catholic
	Lantern Exhibition	Various	Local Churches Local Priests	Local Views Local Portraits	Rev Hugh O'Neill & Mr James	Charitable	Catholic
1905	Lantern Exhibition	Various	The Pope Various Ecclesiastics Cardinal Logue Rev Dr Owens Local Priests Catholic Cathedrals	Portrait Portraits Portrait Portrait Local Portraits Ecclesiastical Views	Rev Hugh O'Neill	Charitable	Catholic
	Lantern Exhibition	Various	Killamey Vale of Ovoca Glasnevin Capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald Escape of Michael Dwyer	Scenic Scenic Scenic Historical/Nationalist Historical/Nationalist	Mr M'Govern, Dublin	Charitable	
	Lecture	The Present War	No details	Boer War Pictu	Messrs Joseph Smyth and P	Charitable	
	Lecture	Japan	No details	Travelogue/Colonial			Protestant
	Lantern Exhibition	Various	"I Am Sitting on the Stile, Mary"	Illustrated Song	Mr J P Gannon	Charitable	
	Lantern Exhibition	Various	"Aileen Alannah"	Illustrated Song	Mr Scollan	Charitable	
	Lecture	The Life and Times of Father Mathew		Biographical		Charitable	Catholic



**GALWAY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906**

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	DENOMINATION	
1896	Concert		No details			Catholic	
	Concert		No details				
	Lantern Exhibition	Various	Local Scenes "Kate Moloney" "The Song that Reached My Heart"	Local Pictures Illustrated Recitation Illustrated Song	Mr John Scanlon	Catholic	
1897	Lantern Exhibition		Tuam on ordinary days of the week Tuam on market days Tuam on fair days Pigs on market day Athletic Sports in Tuam Gurrans Tuam Railway Station Parnell Statue of Late Archbishop of Tuam Tuam Cathedral	Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Portrait Local Views Local Views	Mr John Scanlon & Mr P G Kelly		
	Concert		No details			Catholic	
	Lecture	On Insh Carcatunsts and Cartoonists by one of Themselves		Caricatures			
	Magic Lantern Entertainment		No details				
	Magic Lantern Entertainment		No details				
1898	Lantern Exhibition	Various	Local Views Local Celebrities "Curfew Shall Not Ring Tonight"	Local Views Local Views Illustrated Recit	Mr John Scanlon	Catholic	
	Magic Lantern Entertainment		1798 Scenes	1798 Commemoration			
	Lantern Exhibition		"The Man Hunt"	Illustrated Recit	Mr John Scanlon	Catholic	
1899	Lantern Exhibition	Various	Local Scenes "The Photographer and the Bull Dog" "The Drunkard's Return" "Mother-in-Law's Last Ride" "Girl with Thirty Nine Lovers" "Paudnkeen"	Local Views Illustrated Comic Recitation Illustrated Comic Recitation Illustrated Comic Recitation Illustrated Comic Recitation Local View		Catholic	

**GALWAY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD**

1901	Lantern Exhibition	The War in the Transvaal	No details	Boer War Pictu	Messrs Lawrence, Dublin		
	Lecture	Insh Antiquities	Ancient Cromlechs Ruins of Clonmacnoise Glendalough High Cross of Tuam Cross of Cong	Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Local View Historical/Scenic			Gaelic League
1902	Lecture	Abbeyknockmoy	No details	Historical	Mr John Scanlon		
1903	Concert	Various	Raftery Fels Scenes	Actualty	Mr Joe Cogavin, Ballinasloe		
1905	Concert	No details	Mr Tom Higgins, Chairman of the District	Local Portrait	Messrs Conroy and Tannian		

KERRY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1896	Lecture	The Ancient Music of Ireland	Old Irish Harps Old Insh Harpers Ancient Musical Instruments Famous Insh Composers	Historical/Music Historical/Musical Historical/Musical Historical Portraits	Mr Parkes		
1898	Lecture	A Tour through the Highlands	No details	Travelogue	Mr T Adam (U S Cable Com)	Charitable	
	Lecture	Rambles Through Rome	No details	Travelogue	Mr T Mayne, Dublin (Supplier only)		Catholic
	Lecture	"For the Old Land, or the Story of '98"	No details	Historical/Nationalist		Charitable	Nationalist
	Concert	No details	No details		Mr W L Fitzgerald, Listowel	Charitable	Catholic
	Lecture	1798	Robert Emmet Wolfe Tone Napper Tandy The Brothers Sheares 1798 Battle Scenes	Historical Portraits Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical	Mr W L Fitzgerald	Charitable	Nationalist
	Lecture	1798	No details				Nationalist
	Lecture	"Glimpses of '98"	No details				Nationalist
	Lecture	"Glimpses of '98"	No details				Nationalist
	Lecture	Canada	Scenes of Winnipeg Machinery Labourers Crops Grapes	Scenic Emigration Emigration Emigration Emigration	Canadian Commissioners		
1899	Concert		Voyage from Liverpool to New York (White Star Line) HMS Eastern (Exterior) HMS Oceanic (Exterior) HMS Eastern (Interior) HMS Oceanic (Interior) British House of Parliament Canadian House of Parliament U S House of Parliament Harbour of New York City of New York Niagara Falls Chicago Exhibition of 1893	Travelogue/Promotional Maritime/Promotional Maritime/Promotional Maritime/Promotional Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Actualty	Mr T W Wren (White Star Line)		

KERRY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1899			Quebec Montreal San Francisco Yosemite Valley Canyons of British Columbia	Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic			
	Lecture	Canada PC	PC				
1900	Lecture	The Antiquities of Kerry	Slea Head Teampal Gael Ogam Stone marking St Monachan's Gra Gallerus Oratory Clochans (Ancient Stone Dwellings) Kilmakedar Hiberno-Romanesque Church St Brendan's Oratory Caherconree Fort Staigue Fort St Finian's Cell Ballinskelligs Abbey Ogam Stone and Tomb on Valentia Island Ardfert Cathedral and Abbey	Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic Historical/Scenic		Chartable	
1901	Lecture	Life in India	No details	Travelogue	Mr T J Wilmot Superintende	Chartable	Catholic
1903	Lecture	Some Aspects of Irish History	The Chapel of Cormac McCarthy Book of Kells Book of Durrow Book of Armagh High Cross of Cong Metalwork of Cong Ardagh Chalice Series of Maps Ruins of Mellifont	Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical			Gaelic League
	Concert		No details				
	Lecture	Oberammergau	No details		Mr John Foley		
1904	Lecture	Some Interesting Places in France and Ita	No details	Travelogue	Mr John Foley & Mr C Nolan		Catholic
	Sgoruidheacht	Not given	The Liberator, Daniel O'Connell	Portrait			
1905	Lecture	America		Travelogue			

LONGFORD MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1896	Service of Song	Two Golden Lillies	Two Golden Lillies Bingen of the Rhine	Service of Song Illustrated Recit	Mr Leslie Fleming Mr Leslie Fleming	Charitable Charitable	Methodist
	Concert		Russo-Turkish War Poor Janmy Bingen of the Rhine The Girl with Thirty Nine Lovers Lord Mayor's Show	War Pictures Comic Slide Comic Slide Comic Slide Comic Slide			Protestant
	Concert		No details		Mr Leslie Fleming		
	Concert		No details		Mr Leslie Fleming		
	Service of Song	The Little Captain	No details Humorous Slides	Comic Slide	Mr Leslie Fleming		
	Illustrated Service		The Pilgrm's Progress	Religious			Presbytenan
	Illustrated Lecture	The Life of Christ	No details	Religious	Mr Leslie Fleming		Presbyterian
	Illustrated Lecture		No details	Religious	Mr Leslie Fleming		Presbytenan
	Illustrated Lecture	The Life and Travels of St Paul	No details	Religious	Mr Leslie Fleming		Presbytenan
	Illustrated Lecture	The Life and Travels of St. Paul Part Two	No details	Religious	Mr Leslie Fleming		Presbyterian
	Concert		Ride of Dr Jameson into the Transvaal Lady Bicycle Riders Lord Mayor's Show Kimberley Compound Mr Cecil Rhodes Dr Jameson President Kruger Dr Jameson and his Troopers crossing th Surrender of Dr Jameson Incarceration of Dr Jameson	Boer War Pictu Comic Slide Actuality Boer War Pictures Portrait Portrait Portrait War Pictures War Pictures War Pictures	Mr Leslie Fleming		
	Limelight Exhibition		Jessie's Dream, or the Relief of Lucknow Representations of Irish Life and Wit Portrait of the Queen	Illustrated Read Travelogue/Scenic Royal	Mr Leslie Fleming	Charitable	Protestant
	Illustrated Service		No details	Religious	Mr Leslie Fleming		Presbytenan
	Lecture	"Drnk Its Costs and its Evils"	No details	Temperance			

LONGFORD MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1896	Lantern Service	The Story of the English Bible	Archbishop of Canterbury Lambeth Palace, with group at Lambeth C Canterbury Cathedral Garden Party at Old Connaught House	Portrait Actualty Actualty Actualty	Mr Leslie Fleming	Charitable	Protestant
	Christmas Limelight Service		Nativity Scenes from Rubens, Gundo Ren	Religious	Mr Leslie Fleming		Presbyterian
1897	Concert		No details				
	Limelight Lantern Service		No details		Mr Leslie Fleming		Presbyterian
	Concert		Town of Longford Ancient Churches of Co Longford Ancient Abbeys of Co Longford Ancient Castles of Co Longford Islands in the Shannon Lough Gowna	Local View Local View Local View Local View Local View Local View			
1898	Lecture	Missionaries and their Friends	Motto and Charter of the SPG	Missionary/Travel		Charitable	Protestant
			College of St Augustine, Canterbury	Missionary/Travel			
			Narcessius Marsh	Portrait/Missionary			
			Labours of Bishop Berkeley	Historical/Religious			
			Cloyne Cathedral	Scenic			
			Bishop Berkeley Memonal	Scenic			
			The Life and Times of Charles Inglis dunn	Historical			
			Rector of Labrador	Portrait/Missionary			
			Dean Carmichael's Labours in Montreal	Missionary/Travel			
			Archdeacon Cooper's Son in Omaha	Portrait/Missionary			
			Canada	Missionary/Travel			
			Barbados	Missionary/Travel			
			St Helena	Missionary/Travel			
			Kaffir College in South Afrca	Missionary/Travel			
Bloomfontein Cathedral	Missionary/Travel						
Bishop Gauls and Mr J T Darragh's labo	Missionary/Travel						
Dr Kenneth Kennedy	Portrait/Missionary						
Bishop Pakenham-Wallace's Son	Portrait/Missionary						
Rev George Lefroy	Portrait/Missionary						
Miss Emily Pilkington	Portrait/Missionary						
Group of Indians	Portrait/Missionary						



LONGFORD MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1898		David's Well Hebron Convent of Narsala Shore of the Dead Sea River Jordan Land of Bethel	Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic			
	Illustrated Scripture	Passion Play (from Tissot's Paintings)	Raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain Garden of Gethsemane Via Dolorosa Crucifixion Scene Little Red Riding Hood Blue Beard	Passion Play Passion Play Passion Play Passion Play Illustrated Fairy Tale Illustrated Fairy Tale	Mr Leslie Fleming	Charitable
	Illustrated Service	Nan	No details	Temperance Se	Mr H Youell, Ballinamore	Methodist
	Lecture	Palestine	No details			
	Limelight Exhibition	Spanish-American War	Portrait of Admiral Cervera Admiral Dewey Admiral Sampsons President McKinley The Irish Emigrant's Lament	War Portrait War Portrait War Portrait War Portrait Illustrated Song	Messrs Reid and Sargauson	
	Limelight, Cinematc Lantern Service	Conquest of the Soudan Passion Play	No details No details	War Pictures Passion Play	Mr Leslie Fleming	Charitable Methodist
	1900	Limelight Exhibition		Temperance Stories (Illustrated) The Absent Minded Beggar	Temperance Illustrated Poem	
Limelight Exhibition		The War in the Transvaal	No details	War Pictures	Mr Leslie Fleming	
Limelight Exhibition		No details	No details		Mr Gibson and Mr Thompson	
1901	Lecture	Canada	No details	Emigrations	Rev A McClenaghan	
	Lecture	Canada	No details	Emigrations		



**LONGFORD MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD**

1902	Lecture	The Royal Navy	H M Battleship Magnificent Bows on a Training Ship Whitehead Torpedo The King in Admiral's Uniform Draft Bullock at Lough Rynn Upper end of Main Street, Mohill Mohill Railway Station Lough Rynn Castle Cavan and Letnm Railway Train Parochial Hall Farnaught Church Crane at Mohill	Military Military Military Military Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views	Mr W C Smith, Manager, Northern Bank		
	Lantern Exhibition		Boer War Pictures	Boer War Pictures			
1903	Limelight Exhibition		No details		Mr W C Smith	Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	A Tour in the Holy Land	No details	Travel/Religious			Protestant
1904	Lecture	A Tnp to Palestine	No details	Travel/Religious			

LOUTH MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1896	Lecture	"Spiders Their Work and their Wisdom	Various sections of the Spider Working of the Silk Glands Silk Bags Silk Tubes	Scientific Scientific Scientific Scientific			
	Lecture	Waves of Water and Waves of Light	No details	Scientific	Mr Gartland		
	Lecture	Coral, Coral Makers and Coral Reefs	Illustration of chalk animalcules the species of chalk dredged up in the No Stomach and Digestion of Sea Anemones Magnified Coral Polype	Scientific Scientific Scientific			
1897	Lecture	Who Fears to Speak of '98	Irish Flag Sarsfield Treaty Stone of Limerick King William King James Massacre of Drogheda Mass in the Penal Days Presentation to Queen Victoria on her Dia Jubilee/Enn Depositing Wreath on Grave Edward Fitzgerald Tone, Russell and Neilson forming United Rev H Jackson's Tomb Father Matthew Hall, Dublin Thomas A Emmet Theobald Wolfe Tone The Two Shears Brothers Captain Armstrong Moirs House Battles of Oulart Hill, Tubbermeerng and Enniscorthy Castle Father Murphy's Well	Historical Historical Portrait Historical Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical Historical Historical Historical Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical Historical Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical Historical Historical Historical	Mr Young		

**LOUTH MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1898-1906 CONTD**

1897		Who Fears to Speak of '98?	Robert Emmet Lord Edward Boonavogue Croppy Hole Anne Devlin	Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Historical Historical Historical Portrait		
1898	Concert		Local Historical Scenes	Local /Historical	Messrs Duffy	Charitable
1899	Lecture	The NSPCC Its Work and its Triumphs	Few details	NSPCC		Charitable
1900	Variety Entertainment		No details		Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence	Charitable
	Lecture	Travels in Australia	Hotel in Australia Newcastle Railway Station City of Bendigo Miners Eagle Hawk Convict Settlement	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Portraits Travelogue		Catholic
1901	Lecture	Travels in Japan	Nara Deerpark Statue of Buddha The Grounds of a Japanese Temple The Great Bell of Kyoto Japanese Gardening Two Japanese ladies Japanese Toy Shops Porcelain Ships Japanese Hawker Japanese Fruit Shops Japanese Basket Makers Japanese Umbrella Makers Japanese Fire Brigade	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue	Mr J Burke	Charitable Catholic
	Lecture	Rome, Ancient and Modern	The Arch of Titus Augustus Casear The Nile The Statue of Laocoon The Aurora The Apollo of Belvedere	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue	Mr Duffy	Charitable Catholic

LOUTH MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1901	Lecture	The Passion Play	Theatre in Oberammergau Angel expelling Adam and Eve from Paradise People Kneeling around the Cross Entry of Our Lord into Jerusalem Judas Iscariot Taking Jesus down from the Cross The Entombment The Resurrection The Ascension The Shadow of the Cross Killarney	Religious/Travel Religious/Travel Religious/Travel Religious Religious Religious Religious Religious Religious Illustrated Hymn Scenic		Catholic
1902	Magic Lantern Entertainment		Humorous Pictures The Curse of Drunk Irish Scenery Foreign Scenery	Humorous Temperance Scenic Scenic	Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence	Charitable
	Concert		Clogherhead Fishermen Clogherhead Lifeboat Village of Clogherhead	Local View Local View Local View	Mr Duffy	Charitable
	Concert		Irish and Foreign Scenery	Scenic		
	Concert		Views of Slane The Boyne from Trim to Drogheda Bar Killarney Paris Rome Ora Pro Nobis	Local View Local View Scenic Travelogue Travelogue Illustrated Hymn	Mr Peter Duffy	Charitable
	Lecture	Irish Pilgrimage to the Eternal City	Ship on which the Pilgrims travelled Rock of Gibraltar Algieras The Catholic Cathedral of Gibraltar Christian Brothers' Home, Gibraltar Excavations at Pompeii Catacombs	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue	Mr J J Kenny	Catholic

**LOUTH MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD**

1902	Lecture	Insh Pilgrimage to the Eternal City	Gates of Rome Bridges of Rome The Tiber The Colisseum The Vatican Palace St Peters Pope Leo XIII	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue				
	1903 Magic Lantern Entertainment		The Making of a Pudding	Comic	Mr Mason, Dublin			
	Concert		No details		Mr Duffy	Chartable		
	1904 Concert			Gordon Bennet Motor Race	Actuality			
	Lecture	A Trip to Rome	No details	Travelogue		Chartable		
	Concert	Local Celebrities and Places	No details	Local Views	Mr Duffy		Catholic	
1904	Concert	A Trip to Mandand Ireland's Famous Beauty Spots	No details Killarney Glendalough Bray Head	Travelogue Scenic Scenic Scenic	Mr Michael Collins	Chartable		
	Lecture	The Holy Land	Cairo Pyramids Sphinx Alexandria Damascus and Environs Church of St John Damascene The Ruins of Baalbex Nazareth Mount Carmel Sea of Galilee Caphernaum Cave in Galilee Tiberias Jencho	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue	Mr Kenny		Catholic	

LOUTH MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1904		Dead Sea	Travelogue			
		River Jordan	Travelogue			
		Mount of Temptation	Travelogue			
		Bethlehem and Neighbourhood	Travelogue			
		Jerusalem	Travelogue			
		Garden of Gethsemane	Travelogue			
		Mount of Olives	Travelogue			
		Pilate's House	Travelogue			
		Via Dolorosa	Travelogue			
		Church of the Holy Sepulchre Exterior	Travelogue			
		Church of the Holy Sepulchre Interior	Travelogue			
		Valley of Jehosophat	Travelogue			
		Tarrent Cedar	Travelogue			
		Ramleh and Jaffa	Travelogue			
	Simon the Tanner's House	Travelogue				
	The Holy Land from the Sea	Travelogue				
Lecture	The Nile Valley	No details	Scenic	Fr Ryan	Charitable	
Lecture	Celestial Lights Near and Far	No details	Astronomy Lecture			
Lecture	Beauty Spots of the North and West	Boyne Viaduct	Scenic	Mr Barry		
		Monasterboice Round Tower	Scenic			
		Monasterboice Cross	Scenic			
		Ruins of Mellifont Abbey	Scenic			
		Cong Monastery	Scenic			
		Boyle Monastery	Scenic			
		Dundalk	Scenic			
		Warrenpoint	Scenic			
		Rostrevor	Scenic			
		Carlingford Lough	Scenic			
		Cardinal's Palace	Scenic			
		Lough Neagh	Scenic			
		Fishermen	Scenic			
		Views of Belfast	Scenic			

LOUTH MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1904		Derry and its Walls City of the Tribes Grant's Causeway Shane's Castle The Shannon Killaloe Limerick The Aran Isles Lisdoonvara "Retaliation"	Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic Comic slide			
	Concert	Scenes of Dublin Scenes of Wicklow Scenes of Cork Scenes of Killarney	Scenic Scenic Scenic Scenic			
	Lecture	Electricity	No details	Scientific		
	Magic Lantern Ent	A Trip to Mandand	No details	Travelogue		
	Lecture	Lourdes and its History	No details	Historical/Religious		
	Lecture	The Nile Valley	No details	Travelogue	Father Ryan	Chartable
	1905	Lecture	Ireland Past and Present	No details	Archaeological	Messrs J J Burke and P Duffy
Magic Lantern Ent		Views of Irish Rural Life	Houses of Farmers Houses of Labourers Evictions Battering Ram Portraits of Gaelic League Leaders Gaelic League Procession in Dublin in 1900 "In the Signal Cabin"	Historical Historical Historical Historical Actuality Actuality Illustrated Recitation		
Lecture		Irish Speaking Ireland and her People	St Columcille The Dark Daughter's Flight Red Hugh's Capture Queen Elizabeth Owen Roe	Historical Portrait Historical Historical Historical Portrait Historical Portrait		
Lecture		Japan The Land of the Rising Sun	Japanese Street Scene Japanese Home Scene Magdalene Tower	Travelogue Travelogue Local View		Chartable
Lecture		Germany Its History, Religion and Const	No details	Travelogue	Mr Duffy	Chartable Catholic

SLIGO MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1897	Concert		"To St Patrick"	Illustrated Song	Mr H J Sweeney		
	Concert Lecture	Edisonia	No details	Scientific	Mr C C McCarthy		
	Concert Lecture	Edisonia	No details	Scientific	Mr William Lynd		
	Concert & Lecture	A Trip to the Americas	Teutonic Leaving Liverpool and Queenstown Engine Room Library Drawing Room Ship in Heavy Weather Entrance to Sandy Hook The Capital Fifth Avenue Central Hotel, California The Chicago Exhibition Niagara Falls The Rapids	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue	Mr J J Golden	Commercial	
1898	Lecture	Ireland's Historical Men and Historical Places	Ireland in 1798 Group of United Irishmen Hunted to Death Hugh O'Neill Prayer and Mourning - Erin Weeping over Irishmen of Different Ages Dublin Castle Hugh O'Donnell Roe O'Neill Kilkenny Castle at the Time of Confederation Duke of Ormonde Maiden Cite [Londonderry] Wexford Waterford New Ross Grattan	Historical Portrait Historical Portrait Nationalist Historical Scenic Portrait Portrait Historical Portrait Historical Scenic Scenic Scenic Portrait	Messrs Sweeney, Golden & Higgins		



SLIGO MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1898			Joe M'Cracken College Green Wolfe Tone Emmet Napper Tandy Lord Edward Fitzgerald	Portrait Scenic Portrait Portrait Portrait			
	Lecture	Canada	Canadian Cattle Ranches Cities of Canada	Emigration Emigration	Rev Father Hannon		
	Lecture	Tonic Sol-Fa Method	No details	Musical	Rev Father Shannon		
	Lecture	Life in Coral Lands	No details	Travelogue			
1900	Lecture	Canada	Niagara Falls Ottawa Toronto Rocky Mountains	Emigration Emigration Emigration Emigration			
	Magic Lantern Show		No details		Rev W J Walker		
	Lecture	Life in Australia, or the New Commonwealth	No details	Travelogue			
1902	Fels		Irish Cities Irish Antiquities Irish Scenery Comic Slipping Scenes Kilmerney The Holy City	Scenic Scenic Scenic Comic Illustrated Song Illustrated Song			
	Magic Lantern Exhibition		Irish Language Revival Kilmerney Western Highlands	Actuality Scenic Scenic	Rev M Harte	Chantable	
	Lecture	Canada	Canadian Buildings Canadian Cities Canadian Country Life	Emigration Emigration Emigration	Canadian Commissioners		
1903	Magic Lantern Exhibition		No details				
	Lecture	Canada	No details	Emigration	Canadian Commissioners		
	Concert		No details			Chantable	
1904	Concert		No details			Chantable	
1905	Variety Entertainment		No details		Mr C G Wallace		

TIPPERARY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1907

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1896	Lecture	Dr Barnardo's Homes	"Babies Castle" (Home for Orphaned Babies) Dr Barnardo's Farm in Manitoba	Charity Charity	Mr James B Wookey		
	Lecture	On the Eastern Question	Mount Olivet Jerusalem Bethany Garden of Gethsemane The Well of Sychar Lake of Galilee The Street called Straight, Damascus Map of Armenia	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue	Mr Neill, Limerick	Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	Egypt Its Rivers, Cities Villages and People	No details	Travelogue			
1897	Magic Lantern Exhibition		Views of Clonmel Views of Killarney "Curfew Must not Ring Tonight" Dickens' "Christmas Carol" Rock of Cashel "The Lifeboat"	Local Views Scenic Illustrated Poem Illustrated Story Local Views Illustrated Recitation	Mr A J Webster		
	Concert		No details		Mr Ffrench and Mr O'Reilly, (Lawrence's, Dublin)		
	Lecture	Queensland her Present Condition and Future	No details	Emigration			
1898	Conversations		Queen's Jubilee Procession Great Naval Review	Royal Royal	Archdeacon Warren	Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	Dr Jameson's Raid on the Transvaal	Dr Jameson's Camp at Pitaani Battle at Doorkop Surrender Dr Jim	Boer War Pictures Boer War Pictures Boer War Pictures Boer War Portrait	Archdeacon of Lismore and Mr J B Cooke		
	Illustrated Story	Corporal Stanley and his Comrades	No details	Illustrated Story			Methodist
1899	Lecture	A Tour Along the Coasts of Cork and Kerry	No details	Travelogue	The Rev J Gilmont, M A Bly	Charitable	Presbyterian
	Lecture	The Ancient Music of Ireland	No details	Historical/Musical			
	Lecture	The NSPCC Its Work and its Triumphs	No details	Charity		Charitable	

TIPPERARY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1899	Concert		Tour along the Rhine Tour of Switzerland Tour of the Lakes of Killarney Killarney The Lifeboat The Women of Mumbles Head	Travelogue Travelogue Travelogue Illustrated Song Illustrated Recitation Illustrated Recitation	Mr A J Webster	Charitable		
	Lantern Entertainment	"Bravo Sergeant Campbell"	No details	Illustrated Story				
	Lecture	Handel and the Handel Festivals	No details	Musical/Historical				
	Lecture	Dr Barnardo's Homes	Buildings of Dr Barnardo's Homes Views of Waifs and Strays upon Admission Improved Appearance of Waifs and Strays	Dr Barnardo's Dr Barnardo's Dr Barnardo's		Charitable Charitable		
	Lecture	Dr Barnardo's Homes	No details	Dr Barnardo's		Charitable		
	Lecture	The Evils of Opium Traffic in China	How the Poppy is Grown in India The Manufacture of Opium Auction of Opium to Merchant Demoralised State of opium Users	Travel/Mission Travel/Mission Travel/Mission Travel/Mission		Charitable	Protestant	
	Concert and Lecture	South Africa	South African Scenery Castle Line Steamers Capetown Table Mountain Karoo Veldt Durban Pietermantsberg Hower Falls Ladysmith Boer and Native Life President Kruger	Boer War Pictures Travel Travel/War Travel/War Travel/War Travel/War Travel/War Travel/War Travel/War Travel/War Boer War Pictures Boer War Portrait	Mr J Smithwhite	Charitable	Unionist	
	Lecture	Out of the Depths	No details	Barnardos		Charitable		
	1900	Magic Lantern Entertainment	Scenes from the Front	General Joubert President Kruger English Generals	Boer War Portrait Boer War Portrait Boer War Portrait	Mr Frank Mulcahy	Charitable	
		Lecture	Canada	No details	Emigration		Charitable	
Lecture		'The First Parliament of Man'	Hague Conference Pictures	Actuality		Charitable		

TIPPERARY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1900	Boer War Pictures Exhibition		No details	Boer War Pictures							
	Lecture	Oxford and the Universities	No details			Protestant					
	Lecture	The Holy Land Palestine	No details	Travelogue		Charitable					
	Lecture	The Navy of Great Britain	No details	Military							
	Lecture	Technical Instruction Its Aims, Methods and	No details	Scientific							
	Service of Song	The Musical Emigrants	Rule Britannia	Service of Song	Archdeacon Warren and Mr	Charitable					
			God Save the Queen	Illustrated Song			Protestant				
1901	Lecture	Canadian Life and Industries	St Lawrence River	Travel/Emigration	Mr J B Cooke	Charitable					
			Quebec	Travel/Emigration							
			Montreal	Travel/Emigration							
			Rocky Mountains	Travel/Emigration							
			Prairie Land	Travel/Emigration							
			Settlers' Life and Industries	Travel/Emigration							
			Sir Wilfred Laurier	Portrait							
Lord Strathcoral	Portrait										
1902	Lecture	The Holy Land	No details	Travelogue							
1903	Concert	The Life of Our Lord	No details	Religious	Mr A J Webster	Charitable					
	Illustrated Allegory	Pilgrim's Progress	No details	Illustrated Allegory		Charitable Quaker					
1904	Lecture	Canadian Life and Industries	Quebec	Travel/Emigration		Charitable					
			Montreal	Travel/Emigration							
			Winnipeg	Travel/Emigration							
			Ottawa	Travel/Emigration							
			Victoria	Travel/Emigration							
			The Great Lakes	Travel/Emigration							
			Rocky Mountains	Travel/Emigration							
			Prairies	Travel/Emigration							
			Vancouver Island	Travel/Emigration							
			Great Lifting Machines in Use at Montreal	Travel/Emigration							
			Sir Wilfred Laurier	Portrait							
			Lecture	Missionary Work in Nigeria and the Soudan			Middle and Lower Niger	Travel/Missionary		Charitable	Protestant
							Mission Stations	Travel/Missionary			
							Mission Churches	Travel/Missionary			
			Groups of Native Converts and their Relig	Travel/Missionary							
		Mohammedan Towns	Travel/Missionary								
		Pagan Towns	Travel/Missionary								

TIPPERARY MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1904	Lecture	Mission Work In West Africa	General Scenery of West Africa	Travel/Missionary		
1905	Lecture	Japan	Map of Japan Views of Japanese Scenery Japanese People Japanese Religious Customs Japanese Domestic Habits	Travel/Missionary Travel/Missionary Travel/Missionary Travel/Missionary Travel/Missionary	Charitable	Protestant
	Concert		Trip down the Suir from Waterford to Dun Queenstown to Killarney	Travel/Scenic Travel/Scenic	Charitable	

WICKLOW MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

DATE	EVENT	TITLE	SLIDES	TYPE	OPERATOR	PROCEEDS	DENOMINATION
1896	Lecture	Beauties of Irish Scenery	No details	Scenic	Mr Hempenstall	Charitable	
	Magic Lantern Entert	Temperance	No details	Temperance		Charitable	
	Lecture	An Easter Holiday in Rome	No details	Travelogue	Mr Robert Lees	Charitable	Methodist
	Lecture	Horse Training by Scientific Principles	No details	Scientific			
	Lecture	Missionary Experience in West India	No details	Missionary	Rev W T Stokes		Protestant
	Lecture	General Booth's Darkest England Scheme	No details	Salvation Army			
1897	Magic Lantern Entertainment		No details		Mr Sharpe		
	Service of Song	Two Golden Lilies	No details	Service of Song		Charitable	Methodist
	Lecture	The Uganda Mission	No details	Missionary		Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	Behind the Scenes of Popular Journalism	No details	Personal Account		Charitable	Methodist
	Lantern Exhibition	A Tour in the South of Ireland and a Visit to	No details	Travelogue/Scenic			
	Dissolving Views	A Trip Around the World	No details				
	Lecture	Local Views	Ballycurry House, Residence of Col Totten Birdseye View of Wicklow The Charman Black Castle by Moonlight Yacht 'Kathleen' at Breakwater View Looking Towards Lakes Rathnew Wesley's Tree in Tighe Avenue Ardeen House Arklow Shillelagh a Misty Morning Shillelagh Station Shillelagh Church Newtownbarry On the Banks of the Slaney	Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views Local Views	Mr Robert Lees, T C	Charitable	
	Lecture	Edisonia	No details	Scientific			

WICKLOW MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1898	Service of Song	Rhoda, or the Gipsy Girl's Mission of Love	No details	Service of Song	Mr R Lees		
	Lecture	Out of the Depths	Dr Barnardo's	Dr Barnardo's		Chartable	
	Lecture	London to New York via Liverpool and then	No details	Travelogue	Mr R Lees	Chartable	
	Magic Lantern Entertainment		Cordite Works in Arlow	Local Views	Mr R Lees		
			A Tnp Around the World	Travelogue			
	Lecture	Japan	No details	Travelogue		Chartable	Protestant
Variety Entertainment		Scenes of the Soudan War	War Pictures				
		Cuba and the Cubans	War Pictures				
		Spanish-American War	War Pictures				
1899	Lecture	A Tnp through Edinburgh	No details	Travelogue	Mr Mathew Hodgson	Chartable	Methodist
	Lecture	Canada	No details	Emigration	C R Devlin and J Webster (Canadian Commissioners)		
	Lecture	From Liverpool to the Rocky Mountains	No details	Travelogue	Mr R Lees		
	Lecture	Out of the Depths	No details	Dr Barnardo's	Mr James B Wookey	Chartable	
	Lecture	Two Hours in Canada	No details	Travelogue		Chartable	Protestant
	Lecture	General Gordon, the Hero of Khartoum	No details	War Pictures			Methodist
			Local Views	Local Views			
Lecture	Missionary Work in the Dominion of Canada	No details	Missionary		Chartable		
1900	Magic Lantern Ent	The War in South Africa	No details	Boer War Pictures	Messrs Thompson and Findlay	Chartable	
	Magic Lantern Exh	The South African War	No details	Boer War Pictures	Mr R Lees	Chartable	
	Concert	Boer War Pictures	No details	Boer War Pictures	Rev P S Irwin	Chartable	
	Lecture	Palestine and its People	No details	Travelogue		Chartable	Protestant
	Lecture	Boer War Pictures	No details	Boer War Pictures		Chartable	Protestant
	Temperance Meeting		Keeping His Word	Temperance Story			Methodist
		Our Father's Care	Temperance Story				
		The Heroes of the Transvaal War	Boer War Pictures	Mr R Lees			
1901	Lecture	Dalkey to Naples A Limelight Tour	No details	Travelogue			Catholic
	Concert		Rene Bull, War Correspondent	War Pictures	Mr B Barrett		
			Paigue Stricken Bombay	Actuality			
		War Scenes in China	War Pictures				
		The Bedfords on the March	War Pictures				
		Scenes of Japan	Travelogue				
Lantern Lecture	South Africa	No details	War Pictures	Mr G A Stuart		Presbyterian	
		Queen Victoria	Royal				

WICKLOW MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1896 CONTD

1901	Lantern Exhibition		Pans Exposition Powerscourt The Dargle Bray Head	Travelogue Local Views Local Views Local Views			Methodist
	Concert	Dublin to Cork via Wicklow, Wexford and	No details	Travelogue	Master O'Hanlon		
	Lecture	NSPCC		NSPCC		Charitable	
	Magic Lantern Exhibition		No details				
	Lecture	From Capetown to Pretoria	No details	Boer War Pictures		Charitable	
1902	Concert		Queen Victoria's Visit to Dublin Boer War and South Africa China War and the Chinese Funeral Obsequies at Cowes Funeral Obsequies at London Funeral Obsequies at Windsor	Royal Boer War Pictures War Pictures Royal Royal Royal			
	Lecture	A Tour in Palestine	No details	Travelogue		Charitable	Protestant
	Lecture	Ireland for Christ	No details	Religious			Methodist
	Lecture	The Boer War and its Causes	Spion Kop after the Battle Spion Kop after the Bursting of a Shell fire	Boer War Pictu Boer War Pictures	Mr Greenwood Pim		
	Lecture	Egypt A Land of Paradoxes	No details				
1903	Lecture	Canada	No details	Travelogue		Charitable	Methodist
	Magic Lantern Exhi	Tissot's Scenes from the Life of Our Lord	No details	Passion Play			Protestant
	Lecture	The Work of the YWCA					
	Lecture	Old Irish Country Life in County Wicklow	Places Associated with the Flight of King	Local Views	Mr Charles Seagrave	Charitable	
	1904	Lecture	Palestine and the East	No details	Religious/Travelogue		Charitable
Service of Song		Two Golden Lillies	No details	Service of Song		Charitable	
Lecture		Egypt A Land of Paradoxes	No details	Travelogue		Charitable	Presbyterian
Lecture		The Birth of the Solar System	No details	Scientific			
Lecture		Missionary Work	No details	Missionary			
Lecture		Palestine	No details	Travelogue			
1905	Lecture	Palm and Southern Pine	Sierra Nevada Mountains	Travelogue	Mr B Killick		Methodist
	Lecture	Missionary Work	No details	Missionary		Charitable	
	Sacred Magic Lantern Display		No details	Illustrated Hymns			
	Illustrated Allegory	The Pilgrim's Progress	No details	Illustrated Allegory			



WICKLOW MAGIC LANTERN EXHIBITIONS 1896-1906 CONTD

1905	Lantern Mission		The Prodigal Son The Marriage Supper The Life of Daniel The Story of Hamaan	Illustrated Parable Illustrated Parable Illustrated Parable Illustrated Parable		
	Lecture	Through the Gates of Hercules	No details	Travelogue	Mr John Foley	
	Sims' Lantern Mission		No details	Lantern Mission	Mr Sims	
	Lantern Mission		No details	Lantern Mission	Mr Sims	
	Lecture	The Solar System	No details	Scientific		Methodist
	Lecture	The Gateways of Knowledge	No details	Scientific		

# **Appendix D**

## CINEMATOGRAPH VENUES 1896-1906

ANTRIM	
1896	No Listings
1897	New Town Hall Ballymoney
1898	Terrace Row Lecture Hall Coleraine Portglenone Town Hall Town Hall Ballymoney Hamil Memorial Hall Bushmills
1899	Craigatimpin Bellintoy Hamil Memorial Hall Bushmills Masonic Hall Ballycastle
1900	1st Ballymoney Presbyterian Hall Town Hall Ballymoney
1901	No Listings
1902	Town Hall Ballymoney
1903	Coleraine Town Hall
1904	Hamil Hall Bushmills
1905	No Listings

CARLOW	
1896	No Listings
1897	No Listings
1898	Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow
1899	No Listings
1900	Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow
1901	Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow
1902	Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Neas Town Hall Athy Town Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow
1903	Town Hall Carlow
1904	Burn Street Hall Carlow Town Hall Carlow
1905	Town Hall Carlow

<b>CAVAN</b>	
<b>1896</b>	No Listings
<b>1897</b>	No Listings
<b>1898</b>	Town Hall Coothill The Hall Cavan
<b>1899</b>	Town Hall Coothill
<b>1900</b>	No Listings
<b>1901</b>	Town Hall Belturbet
<b>1902</b>	The Hall Farnham Street
<b>1903</b>	The Old College Farnham Street
<b>1904</b>	Cavan Total Abstinence Hall Arva Total Abstinence Hall The Hall Cavan Kilmore National School
<b>1905</b>	Forester's Hall Cavan Protestant Hall Cavan Market Hall Ballyamesduff Arva Total Abstinence Hall

<b>GALWAY</b>	
<b>1896</b>	No Listings
<b>1897</b>	No Listings
<b>1898</b>	Town Hall Tuam
<b>1899</b>	No Listings
<b>1900</b>	Town Hall Tuam
<b>1901</b>	No Listings
<b>1902</b>	Town Hall Tuam Town Hall Tuam
<b>1903</b>	No Listings
<b>1904</b>	No Listings
<b>1905</b>	No Listings

## CINEMATOGRAPH VENUES 1896-1906

KERRY	
1896	No Listings
1897	No Listings
1898	No Listings
1899	No Listings
1900	Listowel Concert Hall Tralee Concert Hall Tralee Fisherman's Hall Valentia Club Hall Castleisland Concert Hall Tralee
1901	No Listings
1902	Concert Hall Tralee
1903	Concert Hall Tralee Concert Hall Tralee
1904	No Listings
1905	No Listings

LONGFORD	
1896	No Listings
1897	Church Street Hall Longford
1898	Church Street Hall Longford
1899	No Listings
1900	Dining Hall Mohill Workhouse
1901	Mr Fleming's Hall Cartron
1902	Church Street Hall Longford
1903	Longford Church Street Hall Longford Protestant Hall Longford
1904	Church Street Hall Longford
1905	Longford

LOUTH	
1896	No Listings
1897	No Listings
1898	Whitworth Hall Drogheda Whitworth Hall Drogheda Whitworth Hall Drogheda
1899	Whitworth Hall Drogheda Schoolhouse Colton
1900	Whitworth Hall Drogheda Whitworth Hall, Drogheda Whitworth Hall Drogheda Whitworth Hall Drogheda
1901	Whitworth Hall Drogheda
1902	Whitworth Hall Drogheda Dunleer Flax Mill Whitworth Hall Drogheda
1903	No Listings
1904	The Hall Ardee Tullyallen School Whitworth Hall Drogheda
1905	Whitworth Hall Drogheda Kilsaran Schoolhouse Ardee Young Men's Society Hall Whitworth Hall Drogheda Kilsaran Catholic Church Whitworth Hall Drogheda Kilsaran Schoolhouse

SLIGO	
1896	No Listings
1897	Town Hall Sligo
1898	Town Hall Sligo
1899	
1900	Town Hall Sligo
1901	Town Hall Sligo St. Mary's Hall Ballaghaderreen Town Hall Sligo Town Hall Sligo
1902	Town Hall Sligo Town Hall Sligo Town Hall Sligo Ballinacarrow National School Town Hall Sligo Town Hall Sligo Bellina Castlebar Sligo
1903	Glassdrummon School Manorhamilton National School Glencar Kilrushleighter National School Ballintogher Ballinacarrow Schoolhouse Town Hall Sligo Rossee Point School Town Hall Sligo
1904	Market Yard Sligo Town Hall Sligo
1905	Town Hall Sligo Town Hall Sligo

## CINEMATOGRAPH VENUES 1896-1906

TIPPERARY	
1896	No Listings
1897	Town Hall Clonmel
1898	No Listings
1899	No Listings
1900	No Listings Literary Institute Clonmel Theatrical Town Hall Clonmel
1901	Literary Institute Clonmel Town Hall Cahir Town Hall Cashel Town Hall Templemore Schoolhouse Dundrum
1902	Town Hall Clonmel Town Hall Clonmel Town Hall Clonmel Town Hall Clonmel
1903	No Listings
1904	No Listings
1905	No Listings

WICKLOW	
1896	No Listings
1897	Assembly Hall Wicklow Assembly Hall Wicklow
1898	Assembly Hall Wicklow Kynoch Hall Arklow Dining Hall Cordite Works Arklow Kynoch Hall Arklow Kynoch Hall Arklow
1899	No Listings
1900	Marlborough Hall Arklow (Th) Assembly Hall Wicklow (Fr)
1901	Assembly Hall Bray Assembly Hall Wicklow Schoolroom Dunlavin Assembly Rooms Bray Kingstown Town Hall Assembly Hall Wicklow Schoolhouse Greystones Parochial Hall Dunganstown
1902	Kingstown Town Hall Parochial Grounds Roundwood Assembly Hall Wicklow Marlborough Hall Arklow Assembly Hall Wicklow Dunganstown Parochial Hall
1903	Kingstown Pavilion Kingstown Pavilion Kingstown Pavilion Assembly Hall Wicklow Marlborough Hall Arklow Kingstown Pavilion Kingstown Pavilion





**MAGIC LANTERN VENUES 1896-1906**

ANTRIM	
1896	No Listings
1897	Pittrush Town Hall New Row Presb. Lecture Hall, Coleraine
1898	Terrace Row Presb. Lecture Hall, Coleraine Macosquin Presbyterian Church Harris Memorial Hall, Bushmills
1899	Craiglinpin Hall New Row Presb. Lecture Hall, Coleraine Quay Road Schoolroom
1899	1st Ballymoney Presbyterian Hall
1900	1st Ballymoney Presbyterian Hall 1st Ballymoney Presbyterian Hall 2nd Ballymoney Presbyterian Church
1901	Town Hall, Ballymoney
1902	Old Schoolroom, Ramcain, Ballycastle Meeting House, Ballymoney
1903	Craiglinpin Hall 2nd Ballymoney Presbyterian Church New Town Hall, Ballymoney Ballymoney Lecture Hall Harris Memorial Hall, Bushmills
1904	Y.M.C.A. Hall, Ballymoney Y.M.C.A. Hall, Ballymoney Town Hall, Ballymoney Boveys Lecture Hall Feeny Episcopal Church Fincalm National School Coleraine Parochial School Y.M.C.A. Hall, Ballymoney Y.M.C.A. Hall, Ballymoney
1906	Ogilby School, Limavady Y.M.C.A. Hall, Ballymoney Dunluce School Deroyck Presbyterian Church Town Hall, Kitea Y.M.C.A. Hall, Ballymoney Town Hall, Ballymoney Coleraine Town Hall 1st Ballycastle Presbyterian Church

CARLOW	
1896	Courthouse, Tubow Penny Reading Room, Borris Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Westeyn Chapel, Bagenalstown Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Bagenalstown Methodist Chapel Westeyn Chapel, Bagenalstown Town Hall, Athy Balcloyler Schoolhouse Town Hall, Carlow Town Hall, Athy
1899	Town Hall, Athy Town Hall, Carlow Nass Town Hall Town Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Town Hall, Carlow The Lecture Hall, Carlow Town Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow Burnin Street Hall, Carlow No Listings

CAVAN	
1896	No Listings
1897	No Listings
1898	No Listings
1899	Corless Catholic Church Headfort Schoolroom
1900	No Listings
1901	No Listings
1902	Ballyjamesduff Courthouse, Ballinagh Ballyjamesduff Town Hall, Clones Christian Schools, Monaghan Mr Fox's Loft, Cross Total Abstinence Hall, Cavan Catholic Schools, Monaghan Drumacoon National School Ballinaglera Cavan Total Abstinence Hall Darby School, Cootehill Total Abstinence Hall, Cavan Cavan Total Abstinence Hall Christian Brothers School, Monaghan

GALLOWAY	
1896	Tuam Catholic Temperance Society Town Hall, Tuam
1897	Tuam Ancient Concert Rooms Town Hall, Tuam
1898	Town Hall, Tuam Ballina Town Hall, Tuam
1899	Town Hall, Tuam
1900	National School, Athney
1901	Tuam
1902	Abbeyknockmoy
1903	Loughrea Convent School
1904	No Listings
1905	Garra National School, Kilskeith Barnadrig National School, Kilskeith

## MAGIC LANTERN VENUES 1896-1906

KERRY	
1896	No Listings
1897	No Listings
1898	Fisherman's Hall Valentia Island Tralee Catholic Literary Society Rooms Mr Boland's Property Farnastack Drumclough Concert Hall Tralee Concert Hall Tralee Abbeyfeale Temperance Rooms Old Land League Rooms Listowel Listowel GS Club Rooms
1899	Concert Hall Tralee Castel Island Club Rooms
1900	Catholic Literary Institute
1901	No Listings
1902	No Listings
1903	Concert Hall Tralee Concert Hall Tralee
1904	Tralee Catholic Literary Society Knockeens National Schools, Cahirciveen
1905	Kenmare Commercial & Workingmens Club

LOUTH	
1896	Whitworth Hall Drogheda Whitworth Hall Drogheda Whitworth Hall Drogheda Whitworth Hall Drogheda
1897	Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda
1898	Whitworth Hall Drogheda
1899	Whitworth Hall Drogheda Schoolhouse Colton
1900	Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda
1901	Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda
1902	Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda Clogherhead National School Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Hall Slane Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda
1903	Tenure National School
1904	Bairriggan Town Hall Bairriggan Whitworth Hall Drogheda Kilsaran School House Monasterboice Church Schoolhouse Kilsaran Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda Jullianstown Town Hall Bairriggan Jullianstown National School Bairriggan
1905	Schoolhouse Kilsaran Whitworth Hall Drogheda Oliver Plunkett Total Abstinence Hall Drogheda

LONGFORD	
1898	Methodist Church Longford Protestant Hall Church Street Edgeworthstown The Hall Church Street, Longford The Hall Church Street, Longford Presbyterian Church Longford Presbyterian Church Longford Presbyterian Church Longford Presbyterian Church Longford Presbyterian Church Longford Lecture Hall Carrickboy Presbyterian Church Longford Lisnaboe School-House Schoolhouse, Cloonageeher Presbyterian Church Longford Presbyterian Church Longford
1897	Mr John Crowe's Lakeview Presbyterian Church Longford Church Street Hall Longford Church Street Hall Longford
1898	Parochial Hall Mohill Parochial Hall Mohill Riding School Military Barracks Longford Methodist Church, Carrick-on-Shannon Methodist Church Mohill Fenagh Schoolhouse Church Street Hall Longford Church Street Hall Longford
1899	No Listings
1900	Tabernacle Battery Road Longford Cartron Abbey Hall Longford Cartron Abbey Hall Longford

1900	Lisnaboe Schoolhouse Courthouse Granard Outeragh Schoolroom Bellinamore
1901	No Listings
1902	Parochial Hall Mohill Currycahill Schoolhouse Ballinalee
1903	Aughavas Board Room Mohill Workhouse
1904	Church Street Hall
1905	No Listings

SLIGO	
1896	No Listings
1897	Town Hall Sligo Temperance Hall Temple Street, Sligo Town Hall Sligo Sligo Catholic Institute
1898	Curry Town Hall Sligo Temperance Hall Temple Street Hall of Catholic Temperance League
1899	No Listings
1900	Sligo Catholic Institute Killaville School Town Hall Sligo
1901	No Listings
1902	Creevelea
1903	Market House Collooney Bawnboy Kilrushtighter National School
1904	Creevelea
1905	Sooy

## MAGIC LANTERN VENUES 1896-1906

TIPPERARY	
1896	Parochial School House Tramore Waterford Friends Meeting House
1897	Theatre Town Hall, Clonmel Town Hall, Cashel Town Hall, Cahir
1898	Parochial Hall, Clonmel Wesleyan Church Parochial Hall, Clonmel
1899	Theatrical Town Hall, Clonmel Presbyterian Church, Clonmel Literary Institute Clonmel Town Hall, Clonmel Parochial Hall, Clonmel Clonmel Cahir Friends Meeting House Clonmel Parochial Hall, Clonmel Town Hall, Carrick-On-Suir Theatrical Town Hall Clonmel
1900	Theatrical Town Hall, Clonmel Ardinnan Presbyterian Church, Clonmel Theatrical Town Hall, Clonmel Parochial Hall, Clonmel Theatrical Town Hall, Clonmel YMCA Rooms Literary Institute Clonmel Parochial Hall, Clonmel
1901	Parochial Hall, Clonmel Cahir Castle
1902	Town Hall, Nenagh
1903	Friends Meeting House Clonmel Theatrical Town Hall, Clonmel

1904	Parochial Hall, Clonmel Parochial Hall, Clonmel Town Hall, Clonmel
1905	Parochial Hall, Clonmel Malcolmson Hall, Dummora

WICKLOW	
1896	Assembly Hall, Wicklow Marlborough Hall, Arklow Assembly Hall, Wicklow Arnamoë Rectory Assembly Hall, Wicklow
1897	Methodist Church, Wicklow Assembly Hall, Wicklow Methodist Church, Rathdrum Methodist Church, Wicklow Assembly Hall, Wicklow
1898	Kynoch Hall, Arklow Ashford Schoolroom Schoolhouse Greystones Assembly Hall, Wicklow Assembly Hall, Wicklow Marlborough Hall, Arklow Assembly Hall, Wicklow Kynoch Hall, Arklow
1899	Methodist Church, Wicklow Assembly Hall, Wicklow Redcross Schoolhouse Three-mile-water Schoolhouse Assembly Hall, Wicklow Marlboro' Hall, Arklow Castlemacadam School, Ovoca Methodist Church, Wicklow Marlboro Hall, Arklow
1900	Rathnew Schoolroom Assembly Hall, Wicklow Newtown Rathdrum Schoolhouse Schoolhouse Redcross Three-mile-water Schoolhouse Methodist Church, Wicklow

1901	Roman Catholic Chapel Dalkey (Town Hall?) St. Andrew's Schoolroom, Bray Madeley Hall, Bray Kingstown Town Hall Marlborough Hall, Arklow National Hospital for Consumption, Newcastle Assembly Hall, Wicklow
1902	Rathdrum Schoolhouse Bray Methodist Church Bray Bray
1903	Y.W.C.A. Institute Kingstown Parochial School-house Newcastle
1904	Assembly Hall, Wicklow Christian Union Buildings Greystones Presbyterian Church Town Hall, Blackrock Men's Christian Institute Kingstown Wicklow Assembly Hall Parochial Hall, Dunganstown
1905	Assembly Rooms Bray St. Andrew's Schoolroom Town Hall, Kingstown Assembly Rooms Bray Assembly Rooms Bray Assembly Hall, Wicklow Assembly Hall, Wicklow Wicklow Methodist Church

# **Appendix E**

MAGIC LANTERN SOCIETY SLIDE READINGS LIBRARY

# LANTERN LECTURE.

## BOER WAR OF 1900.

### CHAPTER I.

#### The Boer Invasion.

(1) **President Kruger and his Lions.** Once more the British flag floats at Pretoria, and the Boer Republics belong to the history of the past. Such is the result of the great war of 1900, and President Kruger has gone along with them. We see him here sitting between the pair of marble lions presented to him by the African millionaire, Mr. Barney Barnato. He has been a bitter opponent of the British ever since he left Cape Colony with his father in the great trek of 1839. Like all the Boers he knows how to use a rifle. On one occasion his rifle burst and shattered his thumb, mortification set in and the doctor said his arm must be amputated. But Oom Paul said "no," and cut off his own thumb with his jack-knife. He is six feet high, very fat, wears ill-fitting clothes and a shocking bad hat; and is an inveterate smoker.

(2) **General Buller leaving Southampton.** The war broke out on October 11th, 1899, and General Sir Redvers Buller, v.c., was appointed to command the British forces in South Africa. He left Southampton on October 14th by the "Dunottar Castle," and arrived at the front on November 25th. He was born in 1839, and has fought in China, Ashantee, Zululand—where he won his Victoria Cross—and Egypt. He is a born leader of men, and possesses great determination of character. An amusing story is told of him and Lord Charles Beresford. When they were serving together in Egypt they differed as to which was the proper channel of the Nile to advance by, and Buller's opinion carried the day. Afterwards he said to Beresford, "You see I was right, mine was the proper channel." To which Beresford replied, "It was mine, too, I only recommended the other because I knew you would go against anything I said."

(3) **Yule's Retreat.** The first fighting took place at Kraaipan, 40 miles south of Mafeking, where an armoured train was shelled and derailed by the Boers. Then the Boer invasion began. Through Laing's Nek by Majuba Hill and through the passes of the Drakensburg, the Boer commandos came pouring into Natal under the leadership of General Joubert. The British gained a dearly-bought victory at Glencoe on October 20th, in which General Symons was killed, but his successor, General Yule, was compelled to fall back from Dundee and join General White at Ladysmith. The retreat was successfully accomplished under most depressing conditions, in torrents of rain and through a very difficult country, and on the 25th the two generals joined hands.

(4) **Gordons and Boers at Elandslaagte.** On October 21st, at Elandslaagte, a village an hour's ride from historic Ladysmith, a brilliant victory was gained by General Buller, the dashing cavalry leader who has so greatly distinguished himself during the war. The Boers were driven from a very strong position on a chain of hills by the gallant Gordons



and the Devonshire Regiment, and after a desperate struggle at close quarters, as shown in our picture, they broke and fled, hotly pursued by the British cavalry. Two guns and a number of prisoners were taken.

**(5) Bugler Sherlock** During the pursuit of the retreating Boers after the battle of Elandslaagte, the young bugler of the 5th Lancers, Sherlock, distinguished himself by shooting three of them with his revolver. The names of Bugler Sherlock and of another brave lad, Bugler Dunne, who was wounded at the battle of Colenso, invalided home and presented to the Queen at Windsor, have become two of the best known names in connection with the war. But the Boers were not to be defeated in one or two sharp fights. For a time the tide of successes set strongly in their favour, and disaster after disaster taught the British the folly of entering upon the war unprepared. Several severe fights took place around Ladysmith, the Aldershot of Natal, in which General White and his forces attempted to beat off the encircling enemy. In one of these, the affair at Nicholson's Nek, about 1,000 men of the Irish Fusiliers and the Gloucester regiment were taken prisoners, whilst on November 2nd the telegraph wires were cut and the town completely isolated. General Trench escaped by the last train, and the famous siege of Ladysmith began.

**(6) Attack on Armoured Train** Whilst British troops were being dispatched in all haste to cope with this serious state of affairs, and on the very day when General Buller arrived at the front, November 25th, the incident shown in this picture took place. At Chieveley, near Estcourt, where the relieving army was assembling, an armoured train was attacked by the Boers, the trucks and engine derailed, and the British force captured. In this affair Mr Winston Churchill, who was acting as correspondent to the "Morning Post," was also taken prisoner, and sent to Pretoria, from which place he escaped after some exciting adventures.

**(7) Advance of the Surreys at Colenso** Lord Methuen was meanwhile advancing in the west to the relief of Kimberley, also besieged by the enemy, but here again a series of dearly bought victories only led up to the disastrous affair of Magersfontein on December 11th. On the day before this, December 10th, General Gatacre had met with a serious reverse at Stormberg, and on December 15th came the crowning misfortune, General Buller was defeated at Colenso and lost 11 guns. The Boers had lined the river banks with their trenches, and our brave fellows were powerless to advance against the pitiless storm of bullets that fell around them. In our picture the Royal West Surrey Regiment (the Queen's) are seen advancing to the attack.

**(8) Lieutenant Roberts trying to save the Guns** Several gallant attempts were made to save the guns, and in one of these Lieutenant Roberts, Lord Roberts' only son, was mortally wounded. The Victoria Cross was awarded to him, as well as to several other officers for the bravery and heroism displayed in these plucky but futile attempts. These accumulated disasters, following so closely one on another, caused a profound sensation at home. The fighting instincts of the Briton were aroused, and a wave of patriotic enthusiasm swept over the length and breadth of the Empire. From every colony came offers of help, and an army of some 250,000 men under the able leadership of Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as his Chief of Staff, was sent over sea to uphold British supremacy in South Africa.

Handwritten scribbles and marks along the left margin, including a vertical line and some illegible characters.

## Lantern Lecture. BOER WAR OF 1900.

## CHAPTER II The Siege of Ladysmith

(9) **Building the Pontoon Bridge** General Buller's failure to force the passage of the Tugela at Colenso by a direct frontal attack had convinced him of the immense strength of the Boer defences, and he set to work to find, if possible, "a way round" For some three weeks there was a general lull at the front, but on January 10th, the second attempt to relieve Ladysmith began Lord Dundonald with the cavalry marched out to Springfield, about 15 miles to the north west, and the ferry at Potgeiter's Drift was seized, thanks to the bravery of a party of volunteers of the South African Light Horse, who swam across and got possession of the pont or boat, despite a heavy fire from the Boers The main body of the army, with its miles of transport waggons, followed, and at this point, on January 16th, Gen Lyttelton's Brigade crossed safely to the north bank of the Tugela Sir Charles Warren's force moved five miles farther to the west, and effected a crossing by means of a pontoon bridge, about 85 yards long, which the Royal Engineers threw across the river in a few hours

(10) **Boer Invisibility** The Boer method of fighting is well shown in our next picture, where we have a group of Boer marksmen firing from behind the shelter of the big boulders which everywhere strew the sides of the hills or kopjes of the Transvaal A lad is handing cartridges to the old Boer who makes so prominent a figure Constantly do we read in accounts of the fighting of the "invisible enemy," and soldiers tell how they have been through battle after battle without seeing a single Boer, though their bullets may have fallen thick as hail Such was their experience at Colenso, and now again, as they attempted to reach Ladysmith from Potgeiter's Drift Our men adopted, the same tactics, and took advantage of every stone that could afford them cover, but when opportunity offered charged the enemy with a courage which nothing could withstand During the next three days ridge after ridge was taken, sometimes at the point of the bayonet But it was slow work, and entailed heavy sacrifices upon the infantry

(11) **Shelling the Boers at Potgeiter's Drift** After crossing the Tugela, General Lyttelton got his guns into position on the north bank, and shelled the Boers out of the dongas or shallow depressions in the veldt in which they lay hid, assisted by the 47 naval guns that had been got into position on Mount Alice, a commanding height south of the river Our picture illustrates in a striking manner the effect of a well placed shell upon one of these groups of Boers But as the troops advanced it was found impossible to get guns up into positions to command the enemy's entrenchments, and it was determined to attempt the capture of Spion Kop, which was believed to be the key of the position At two o'clock on the morning of January 24th, when heavy clouds rested on the kopjes, the hill was stormed and captured by the infantry under General Woodgate But the place upon which so many hopes had been fixed proved to be a mere death trap As morning broke, the Boers opened a withering fire upon our men from surrounding and higher elevations, and terrible slaughter ensued Reinforcements were sent up, but this did not improve matters, for the men had no shelter from the pitiless hail of lead coming from all directions

(12) **Thorneycroft at Spion Kop** General Woodgate was down, mortally wounded, and the command devolved upon Colonel Thorneycroft The Boers sent an emissary with a white flag to demand surrender, but Thorneycroft said, "I am commander here, there's no surrender!" the incident illustrated in our picture It was half past eight in the evening Preparations were going on below to send up guns and engineers to constrict trenches, but Thorneycroft was unaware of this, and surrounded by dead and dying men, his force fast being decimated, he recognised that it was impossible to hold the hill, and ordered the retirement, which was conducted

in perfect order. General Buller entirely exonerated the gallant officer of all blame, stating in his despatch that "under the loss of at least 40 per cent, he conducted the defence with conspicuous courage and ability throughout the day." But the second attempt at relief had failed, and after this disastrous week's fighting, ending in the abandonment of Spion Kop and the loss of nearly 300 killed and 1100 wounded, General Buller recrossed with his army to the south of the Lugela. A third time, on February 5th, the river was crossed at two points, and Van Krans seized. But the position was no more tenable than Spion Kop, not *that* way lay the road to the besieged city, and once more the army was withdrawn. The dogged determination of Gen Buller was, however, to succeed at last, and his fourth attempt brought the long looked for relief to the beleaguered garrison.

(13) **Inniskillings at Pieter's Hill** This time the attack was directed at the enemy's left, Hlangwane Hill being taken and Colenso reoccupied on February 19th, the Lugela once more crossed on the 21st, and Pieter's Hill stormed on the 27th. Here the Inniskillings distinguished themselves by their gallant and steady charge up the hill under a terrific fire. It was in special allusion to this incident that the Queen sent the message in which she thanked "Her brave Irish soldiers," and expressed her sympathy for their heavy losses and her admiration for their splendid fighting qualities. She further showed her appreciation by her timely visit to Ireland, and her command that the Irish regiments should wear the shamrock on St Patrick's Day, probably one of the wisest and kindest acts of her long and beneficent reign.

(14) **Sailors at the Front with 47 Gun** We have here some of the gallant defenders of Ladysmith, sailors from the "Powerful" with their guns mounted on the special carriage designed by Captain Percy Scott. They were hurried up to the front at the commencement of the war, and badly might it have gone with the town but for the help of these gallant Jack Tars.

(15) **The Fight for the Trenches** - And what had been happening in Ladysmith itself during these weary months of waiting? There had been some very heavy fighting on several occasions, notably on January 6th, when the Boers made a most determined attempt to bring the siege to an end by storming the British defences. For sixteen hours they maintained the assault, often at such close quarters that the defenders relied entirely on the bayonet, but finally they were repulsed with heavy loss. "Some of the entrenchments were three times taken by the enemy and retaken by us," to quote Sir G. White's despatch, "and one point in our position was occupied by the enemy the whole of the day, but at dusk, in a very heavy rain storm, they were turned out of this position at the point of the bayonet in the most gallant manner by the Devon regiment, led by Colonel Park." After this failure the Boers confined themselves to bombarding the town, whilst the besieged, beginning to feel the pinch of reduced rations and attacked by enteric fever and dysentery, watched eagerly for the long delayed relief.

(16) **The Relief of Ladysmith** Lord Dundonald with a small column of mounted infantry entered Ladysmith on the night of the 28th, and it is needless to describe the joy with which they were received. The garrison had long been fed on horseflesh, and there were 800 sick and wounded in hospital. Famine prices ruled, and at an auction, held a week before relief arrived, the following were the sums realized for articles of food—a tin of condensed milk 10s, a pound of fat beef 11s, a pound of coffee 17s, eggs £2 8s per dozen, a fowl 18s, a plate of potatoes 19s, a marrow £1 8s, a pound of marmalade £1 1s, a dozen matches 13s 6d, a packet of cigarettes £1 5s, and so on. With the entry of General Buller and his army on the following day the memorable siege of Ladysmith came to an end. From first to last it had cost upwards of 5,000 casualties in a force of only 25,000 men, but the words of the gallant General Sir George White, "Thank God we have kept the flag flying," found a heartfelt response throughout the length and breadth of the Empire.

90000000

## Lantern Lecture. BOER WAR OF 1900.

### CHAPTER III The Relief of Kimberley

(17) **New South Wales Lancers Under Fire** From the commencement of the war the colonies have shown the greatest eagerness to help the mother country, but it was not till after the disastrous operations of December that the value of the gallant Colonial contingents was fully understood, and then they responded loyally and liberally to the general "call to arms." In the advance to relieve Kimberley under Lord Methuen, the New South Wales Lancers first came under fire, and proved themselves true soldiers of the Queen. Kimberley, the diamond city, was invested by the middle of October, and here Colonel Kekewich with a force of some 4,500 men and 45,000 civilians, Mr Cecil Rhodes amongst them, were besieged until finally relieved by General French on the 15th of February following.

(18) **Belmont—Charge of the Guards** Lord Methuen's tactics in advancing to the relief of Kimberley were the very reverse of those since adopted by Lord Roberts. He seems to have believed in delivering a direct frontal attack upon the enemy, and overcoming them by sheer fighting strength at close quarters. But this policy was radically wrong with an enemy like the Boers, armed as they were, and trained to the most skilful use of the rifle, and his first successes were only gained at a terrible loss of life. His first blow was struck at Belmont, and here the Brigade of Guards carried off the honours of the day. Three ridges were successfully cleared by them at the point of the bayonet, the Boers clinging to their positions with the most stubborn pluck, and pouring in a terrible fire upon our men as they went up. The losses were heavy upon both sides, but 50 prisoners were captured by the British, and a large quantity of stores.

(19) **Graspan—The Naval Brigade** Two days later came the fight at Graspan or Ensin, five miles to the north. Here the enemy held a row of five kopjes, and the Boers were entrenched behind ribs of rock that girdled an almost inaccessible hill. Our soldiers tried to storm the heights at the bayonet's point, but were shot down or driven back again and again. At last the men of the Naval Brigade advanced to the attack. Upwards, always upwards, the sailors pressed in broken and irregular line, until out of a little band scores had fallen dead or disabled. Their attack was followed up by the Yorkshire Light Infantry, until finally the hill was won, the blood stained rocks and splintered boulders of the summit bearing witness to the terrific nature of the British fire.

(20) **Modder River—The Fight at the Farm** The battle of Modder River was fought on November 28th, and was described by Lord Methuen himself as "one of the hardest and most trying in the annals of the British Army." The enemy's position extended for about five miles along the bank of the river, and was immensely strengthened by carefully constructed trenches and rifle pits. Our men got within 700 yards of the enemy's trenches with hardly a shot, when suddenly the whole front became alive with Boers, who poured in a perfect hail of fire, lasting perhaps a quarter of an hour. Cover was extremely scarce, and our men, lying down, had to make the most of such scrub and ant hills as were about. The artillery was handled with great skill and quickness, and the Naval Brigade rendered great assistance from the railway. A small party succeeded in crossing the river, and maintained their position on the Boer flank. Sharp fighting took place for the possession of a farm near Modder Village, which the British captured and burnt, and this incident is strikingly shown in our picture. Next morning the Boers, who numbered 8,000, with a quantity of heavy guns, were found to have evacuated the position during the night, and during the following week the engineers, by dint of continuous exertions,

(21) **Magersfontein—Piper MacKay** The Boers proceeded to strongly entrench themselves at Magersfontein, and here on December 10th Lord Methuen met with the disastrous check and defeat to which we have already referred. The gallant Highland Brigade—Black Watch, Seaforths and Gordons—suffered most terrible losses, and their brave commandant, General Wauchope, was mortally wounded. Twenty three officers and 148 men were killed, 45 officers and 647 men were wounded, whilst over a 100 were reported missing. A notable incident occurred during the fight which reminds us of the brave Piper Hindlater's conduct at Dargun. When the noise of the battle became too great for the officers' voices to be heard, Corporal Mackay, of the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, stepped out amid a perfect storm of bullets, and made the kopjes ring with the stirring strains of "The Campbells are Coming," in order to get the men together again.

(22) **Prince of Wales and Imperial Yeomanry** No worse news had reached England since the terrible days of the Indian Mutiny than came over the wires during the black week ending December 15th. But when adversity is upon him the Englishman, to quote a foreign critic, "sets his teeth and squares his shoulders." The government awoke to the serious nature of the task before them, and the nation responded nobly to their call for help. A strong force of Imperial Yeomanry was formed, and quickly dispatched for service in South Africa, after being inspected by the Prince of Wales. Our picture shows 600 of the men on parade at the Albany Barracks on January 26th, Lord Chesham calling for cheers for the Prince. Other strong mounted contingents were furnished by the Colonies, and further local corps raised in Cape Colony and Natal, for we had found out by this time that cavalry were the men needed to cope with the mobile forces of the Boers.

(23) **CIV's Scouting** But the Volunteers were also to the front. The government asked for about 9,000 men for active service, and they were immediately forthcoming. In London a special corps was raised by the city, the corporation contributing £2,500 towards its equipment, and called the City Imperial Volunteers or "Lord Mayor's Own." The C I V's, a body of 1,400 men, 600 of whom were mounted, have since proved themselves brave and gallant soldiers in many a fight with the Boer. We show on the screen a party of them scouting for the enemy, and the picture also gives a vivid impression of the scenery amidst which the campaign has been conducted.

(24) **Lancer Patrol Under Fire** Almost exactly two months elapsed after the battle of Magersfontein ere Lord Roberts' arrival at Modder River Camp, and during that time but little change had taken place in the position of the opposing forces. But now there came a sudden change, and within a week from the time when the army began to move, Sunday, February 11th, England was electrified by the news that Kimberley had been relieved. Leaving Magersfontein, which the Boers had converted into a veritable Gibraltar, severely alone, Lord Roberts sent three divisions forward into the Orange Free State, the sixth and seventh under Major General Kelly Kenny and Major General Tucker, and the cavalry under General French, and the magnificent and dashing march of the latter across the Riet and Modder Rivers to Kimberley will ever rank amongst the great achievements of the British Army. We show one of French's Lancer Patrols under a cross fire from the Boers, as well as a portrait of the gallant general. He entered Kimberley none too soon. The people were being fed on horseflesh, and during the last week of the siege the town had suffered greatly from the heavy bombardment, over 3,000 women and children having taken refuge in the mines. Lord Roberts' brilliant stratagem thus met with its first striking success, to be followed by a long series of victories, which changed the whole complexion of the war.

~~3000~~ Complete Book of Reading, price 6d

## LANTERN LECTURE.

# BOER WAR OF 1900.

### CHAPTER IV

#### Cronje and Bloemfontein

(25) **Portrait of Lord Roberts** Lord Roberts of Candahar and Waterford, to give him his full title—though he is fully as well known by the affectionate diminutive "Bobs," conferred upon him by the army of which he is the idol—was appointed to the supreme command in South Africa immediately after the battle of Colenso, "the campaign in Natal being, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, likely to require the presence and undivided attention of Sir Redvers Buller." Lord Kitchener was appointed Chief of the Staff. The appointment was received with general enthusiasm. The nation trusts "Bobs," the army loves him. He was once asked why he travelled third class. "What's good enough for my men is good enough for me" was the reply, whilst Tommy Atkins' opinion of him was tersely expressed by one of his men thus "Bobs looks after your grub and treats yer like a Christian." Moreover, Lord Roberts had been recalled from the Cape in 1881 when on his way to put down the Boer rising, and it was regarded as peculiarly fitting that he should be now chosen to redeem the prestige of the Empire in the eyes of a hostile world.

(26) **"Bobs' Eyes"—British Scouts** No doubt many of the British reverses in the early stages of the war were to be directly attributed to lack of knowledge of the enemy's movements—bad scouting, in short. But with a large increase in the number of mounted men, especially of men used to the rough outdoor life of the colonial settler, this defect has been very largely remedied, and "Bobs' Eyes," the British scouts, have served the army well, whilst the improved system has no doubt immensely helped our successful advance into the hostile states. Our picture shows a party of scouts at work.

(27) **Boers retreating from a Farmhouse** This picture of Boers retreating from a farmhouse as the mounted infantry appear in view may be taken as typical to a great extent of the progress of the campaign since Lord Roberts assumed the command. Their policy has been largely one of "scuttle," and the sanguinary fighting of the first months of the war has been succeeded by a series of brilliant outflanking marches on the part of the British, and of hurried retreats on the part of the enemy.

(28) **The Fight at Paardeberg** But there was some terrible fighting at Paardeberg, the scene of the surrender of Cronje, one of the most dramatic incidents of the war. Cronje at first refused to believe the news of the British advance, but when at last General French's presence to the north could no longer be doubted, it was hurriedly decided to abandon the positions so long held and to retreat to the east in the hope of gaining the Bloemfontein road and putting a barrier between the British army and the Free State capital. But the Boers were overtaken and surrounded after some desperate fighting, in which Generals Hector Macdonald and Knox were wounded, near Koodoosrand Drift, on the Modder River. The general scene of operations is well shown in our picture as seen from the British

position Lord Roberts decided that it would be impossible to take the enemy's position by assault except with heavy loss, and dispositions were made to shell him into surrender. A terrific fire was opened upon the Boer laager and entrenchments from six field batteries, a howitzer battery, and five heavy naval guns. At night the laager was a mass of flames, the lyddite shells raised clouds of green smoke which filled the bed of the river, whilst shrapnel burst along the edge of each bank and searched every bush or other likely place of shelter. Meanwhile the enemy were burrowing under the banks, finding there shelter from the deadly rain of fire which must otherwise have annihilated them.

**(29) In Cronje's Laager after Surrender** For over a week the Boers held out, but the British crept closer and closer, there was no hope of reinforcements reaching them, and on February 27th General Cronje surrendered unconditionally. Our picture shows him leaving his laager for the British camp, where he was received by Lord Roberts, who shook hands with him and said, "You have made a gallant defence, sir," and assured him that he and his family would be kindly treated. The Boer army which surrendered with Cronje numbered 4,000 men, of whom about 1,500 were Free Staters. Coming on the anniversary of Majuba Day, this victory created unbounded enthusiasm at home. It was felt that the tide of fortune had at last turned, and was now running full to the ultimate triumph of the British arms.

**(30) Roberts at Dreifontein** From Paardeberg to Bloemfontein Lord Roberts' progress formed an unbroken series of triumphs. Several times the Boers took up strong positions, only to find their plans outwitted by the brilliant strategy of the British commander. At Dreifontein, however, there was some heavy fighting, and here Lord Roberts himself, who is seen in our picture watching the fight, was witness to one of those flagrant abuses of the use of the white flag which have undoubtedly occurred many times during the war, however strenuously the fact may have been denied by the Boer leaders.

**(31) Kruger Appealing to the Burghers** The efforts of Presidents Kruger and Steyn to rally the Boers were unavailing, they visited the camp for this purpose, and narrowly escaped capture at the hands of the advancing British forces. At Bloemfontein Oom Paul made a final appeal to the Free Staters to defend their capital, this forms the subject of our picture, which gives a most characteristic portrait of the President addressing a circle of despondent burghers, who are evidently indisposed to make any further attempt to stay the progress of the victorious British. Kruger went back to Pretoria, there to meditate on his future plans, whilst Steyn fled to Kroonstad, whither the seat of government had been removed.

**(32) Lord Roberts' State Entry into Bloemfontein** On Tuesday, March 13th, Lord Roberts was met two miles from Bloemfontein by officials of the late Executive Government and of the town, and before night the Union Jack was flying over the Free State capital. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the inhabitants in their welcome of the British troops. When Lord Roberts made his formal entry into the town his arrival was hailed with wild cheering, whilst the begrimed and unshaven soldiers, sun-burnt, battle worn and weary, were greeted with the strains of "God Save the Queen," to be followed by "Tommy Atkins" and "Soldiers of the Queen." And thus, with the occupation of Bloemfontein, ended the first great stage of the war.

Complete Book of Reading, price 6d.



## LANTERN LECTURE.

## BOER WAR OF 1900.

## CHAPTER V

## Mafeking and Pretoria.

(33) **Colonel Baden-Powell** After the occupation of Bloemfontein there was a long pause ere Lord Roberts resumed his advance, and we may now turn our attention to Mafeking, the gallant little town on the western border, which held out against the Boers from the early days of October, 1899, until relieved by Colonel Mahon on May 17th, 1900. Colonel, now Major General, Baden Powell, whose portrait we give, is the hero of the siege of Mafeking, and it was mainly due to his pluck and never failing resourcefulness and courage that the town was enabled to hold out so long and make for itself a name that will for ever endure in the annals of England's history. He has seen active service in India and Afghanistan, in Ashantee, and Matabeleland, and is a man of versatile gifts, keenly devoted to sport. He is a yachtsman, a mighty hunter, and a polo player, and is moreover a brilliant writer and clever artist. He is ambidextrous, and he has two favourite mottoes "Don't flurry, patience gains the day," and "A smile and a stick will carry you through any difficulty in the world."

(34) **A Sortie from Mafeking** Mafeking is merely a small town on an open plain, with nothing but trenches for defence, but it is the headquarters of the Bechuanaland Borderland Police, and these men, enlisted in Cape Colony itself, and eminently fitted for the task before them, formed the main body of the defenders. They made many sorties, and had some severe fighting with their enemy, especially on December 26th, when they attempted to surprise Game Tree Fort to the north of the town, but found it impregnable, the Boers no doubt having been apprised of their intention. The little force suffered heavy loss—21 killed, including 3 officers, and 33 wounded—it was indeed a "Black Boxing Day" for the besieged town. But there was no despondency, no thoughts of yielding, or any relaxation of the efforts to keep the enemy at arms length. There were heavy bombardments, short rations—"four weevily biscuits and a piece of horse flesh"—and much sickness, especially amongst the women and children, and as month after month went by the brave defenders looked eagerly for the relief which they knew their comrades and their countrymen were just as eager to send to them.

(35) **The Relief of Mafeking** Relief came at last, but not as expected from the north, for Colonel Plumer, who had long been trying to advance by the railway from Fort Tuli, was compelled to fall back. A flying column, every man of which was carefully selected and most carefully equipped, was sent north from Kimberley, and by a series of brilliant forced marches was enabled to relieve the town, as we have already said, on May 17th. The news was received at home with unbounded enthusiasm, and the rejoicings of "Mafeking Day" will be long remembered by all patriotic Britons. As for "B.P." himself, he at once made a dash for the enemy—as you see him in our picture—and captured one of their guns and almost captured Commandant Snyman himself.

(36) **Boers Firing the Veldt** The tactics of the Boers since the occupation of Bloemfontein have partaken largely of the nature of Guerilla warfare, and several times they have been able to score successes, unimportant in themselves, but galling to the British commanders. A favourite plan with them has been to set fire to the dry grass of the veldt as they

retreated, thus subjecting the British troops to terrible discomfort, and, in the case of the wounded, to a lingering and shocking death

(37) **The Dorsets at Almond's Nek** After the relief of Ladysmith, plenty of work remained for General Buller in North Natal. The Boers occupied the mountain range of the Biggarsberg in strong force, as well as the passes leading into the Free State. By an outflanking movement, extending over several days, he was able to take these positions on May 14th, and on the 15th occupied Dundee and Glencoe. On the 19th Dundonald moved to Laing's Nek. Of course all this was not accomplished without fighting, and in our picture we show the brilliant charge of the Dorset Regiment which resulted in the defeat of the Boers at Almond's Nek, in the immediate neighbourhood of Majuba Hill. General Buller has since been enabled to communicate with and visit Lord Roberts at Pretoria via Standerton.

(38) **Q Battery at Koorn Spruit** Whilst Lord Roberts was still at Bloemfontein resting his men, organizing his communications southwards, and receiving surrenders from the Free Staters, a somewhat serious disaster befel the British at Koorn Spruit, near the Bloemfontein Waterworks, where a convoy and five guns under Colonel Broadwood fell into a Boer ambush and were captured. Q Battery, however, managed to withdraw from the confused mêlée, and, wheeling into action, under a tremendous fire, gallantly covered the retreat of the British force. For their heroic conduct on this occasion some of the gunners have been awarded the Victoria Cross.

(39) **The Guards Marching through Kroonstad** We do not attempt to describe the rather confusing operations conducted to the east of Bloemfontein, which had for their object the relief of Wepener and the capture of Ollivier's force, retreating northwards from Cape Colony, but pass on to point out briefly the steps of the main advance on Pretoria. Brandfort, 35 miles north, was occupied on May 2nd. On the 10th Lord Roberts forced the passage on the Zand River, and on the 12th he entered Kroonstad without opposition, Steyn proclaiming Heilbron the new capital before flying. Our picture shows the Brigade of Guards marching through Kroonstad before Lord Roberts and his staff, *en route* for Pretoria.

(40) **Lord Roberts enters Pretoria** There was no long stay at Kroonstad, the advance was resumed on the 22nd, and on the 27th Lord Roberts crossed the Vaal, and encamped at Vereeniging. On the 28th, after issuing a proclamation, by which the Free State was annexed under the title of the Orange River Colony, he reached the Klip River, eighteen miles from Johannesburg. On the 30th President Kruger fled northwards, and Pretoria was reported as prepared to surrender. Johannesburg, the city of the gold mines, the commercial capital of the Transvaal, was occupied on the 31st, and on June 5th Lord Roberts made his state entry into Pretoria, accompanied by Lord Kitchener and the members of his staff. And here we conclude these brief notes. Much has of necessity been left unsaid, many important matters passed over. But with the raising of the British flag at Pretoria the war is virtually over, its ends accomplished, British prestige restored, and British supremacy in South Africa firmly established. May the blessings of peace be soon restored to the sadly-tried Colonists, and may brighter and more prosperous days once more dawn upon the land.

God Save the Queen.

THE END

91363/2

Complete Book of Reading, price 6d.

# The Life of Queen Victoria.

## Chapter II—WEDDED AND PUBLIC LIFE.

(9) **Queen and Prince Consort Riding** The wedded life of the Queen was a very happy one, and her published diaries bear witness both to the devoted love which she bore to "her dear Albert," and to the happy domestic relations which existed between parents and children in this royal household. Our picture shows the Queen and Prince Consort riding, attended by Lord Melbourne. She was exceedingly fond of this exercise in her early days, and there is an amusing story in illustration of this. There was to be a big review in Hyde Park, and the Queen wished to attend on horseback, but Lord Melbourne took exception to the arrangement, and urged that it would not be proper for Her Majesty to appear except in one of the royal carriages. "Very well," said the Queen, "no horse, no review." And there was none that summer.

~~(10) Christening of the Princess Royal.~~ The Queen's first baby was born November 21st, 1840. The little Princess Royal—later to become the Empress Frederick of Germany—was christened in the private chapel at Buckingham Palace, the subject of our picture. In a letter written by her father we are told that the princess behaved with great propriety, and like a Christian—she was awake, but did not cry at all, and seemed to crow with immense satisfaction at the lights and brilliant uniforms, "for she is very intelligent and observing." The prince was evidently very much like all fathers, whether royal or plebeian, and the first baby was a marvel, although he was rather disappointed that it was a girl instead of a boy. But the boy came in due time on the 9th of the following November, when the Prince of Wales was born.

(11) **A Family Group, 1848** We have in our next picture a very pretty family group, painted in 1848. The Prince of Wales stands at his mother's side, and the second boy is the little Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh. The Princess Royal and the Princess Alice are playing with their baby sister, Helena—the latest addition to the Royal Family. "The Queen," to quote the remark of a Welsh nurse who had been in the Royal service, "is a good woman, quite fit to have been a poor man's wife as well as a Queen." She was also a wise mother. "Make a bow, sir, make a bow," she said to the little Prince of Wales before a group of visitors at Windsor. Amusing stories are told of the Princess Royal—a young lady who had a very decided will of her own, but we can only instance one. One of the royal yachtsmen carried her on board the yacht, and sat her down with a friendly "There you are, my little lady!" But "lucky's" dignity was affronted, and she exclaimed "I'm not a little lady, I'm a princess," which the Queen overheard. "You had better," said Her Majesty, "tell the kind sailor who carried you that you are not a little lady yet, though you hope to be one some day."

(12) **Sketching in the Highlands** It was in 1848 that the Highland home at Balmoral was acquired. The Queen was fond of art, and our picture shows an amusing incident of one of her sketching expeditions, where an old Highlander has unexpectedly intruded upon the presence of the Royal artist. The happiest part of her life was spent in Scotland. In the early days of their wedded life she and the Prince Consort would go on wild expeditions over the hills, sleeping for the night at some little inn on the braeside, where the people would not recognize them. The Queen would sometimes be on her pony for hours at a time, and would ride over all places and in all weathers.

(13) **A Royal Progress on the Thames** In 1848 the Queen was to have opened the new Coal Exchange in London, but as she was ill at the time, the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales accompanied by their

And so on.

father were sent to represent Her Majesty. The Royal party went in state from Westminster in the royal barge, rowed by twenty six watermen, and this picturesque scene is shown in our next slide. This was the first public duty performed by the Prince of Wales, but it is to be feared that the boy of eight did not attach much meaning to the speeches of the city fathers, one of whom pompously addressed him as 'the pledge and promise of a long line of kings.'

(14) **State Procession to Open Parliament.** We need say little about the public life of the Queen and her duties as head of the Government. The state functions, which were carried out with lavish splendour during the lifetime of the Prince Consort, and of which we give an example in our picture—the state procession to open Parliament in 1857—became very distasteful to her in her later life. But though her people were sometimes inclined to complain that they saw too little of their Queen, she never neglected her duties, but she performed several notable public functions during the later years of her reign—the opening of the New Law Courts, of the Municipal Buildings at Glasgow, of the People's Palace at Bethnal Green, the inauguration of the Manchester Ship Canal, and the dedication of Epping Forest to the use of the people—these are a few of the many occasions when the Queen showed by her presence the living interest which she took in the affairs of all classes of her subjects.

(15) **The Secret of England's Greatness.** Victoria was a good woman, a great queen, and the secret of both her goodness and her greatness lay in the fact that she was practically religious all her life through. She declared that the Bible was the secret of England's greatness, a theme graphically illustrated in our picture, in which we see her presenting a copy of the Scriptures to an African chief, and she found her rule of life in the same good old Book, the golden rule of doing to others as you would have them do to you. As an instance. She was, of course, the head of the Church of England but she was broadly and conscientiously tolerant and charitable to other forms of faith. "I would never," she wrote, 'say anything which breathed a spirit of intolerance. I cannot bear to hear the violent abuse of the Catholic religion, which is so painful and so cruel towards the many good and innocent Roman Catholics. On another occasion she expressed the greatest sympathy with the work of the Salvation Army, and she gave practical effect to these broad views when two Wesleyans, belonging to one of the royal bands of music, were dismissed for refusing to attend rehearsals when they were held on Sunday. She insisted on their instant reinstatement, and declared "I will have no persecution in my service for conscience sake, and I will have no more Sunday rehearsals."

(16) **A Cottage Bedside—Osborne.** The Queen's religion found a very practical outlet in the friendly visits which she paid to her humble neighbours in the Highlands and at Balmoral. One such occasion is represented in our picture. A clergyman of the Isle of Wight went to visit one of his parishioners who was aged and ill. He found a lady, heavily dressed in mourning, at the bedside and reading the Bible to the occupant. So he would have left, but the lady addressed him. "Pray remain, I should not wish the invalid to lose the comfort which a clergyman might afford." It was the Queen. On another occasion at Balmoral, the Queen visited a bed-ridden old man, whose folks were, as he said "all away seeing the Queen." On leaving, she gave him a five pound note saying, "When your people come back, tell them that while they have been to see the Queen the Queen has been to see you." The Highlanders regarding these little kindly acts many of which are on record called the Queen 'a motherly soul', and what might be said in compliment could they have paid to her? No Queen, however great her regal dignity, can perform a higher role than to be in very deed "The Mother of her people." [This picture is reproduced by permission of Messrs. Histrup & Jenkin, of the Dore Gallery, who are now publishing the engraving in memory of her late Majesty.]

90400/2

## TRAVELS IN THE HOLY LAND.

For Price of Slides see Catalogue of Lanterns.

Our Land and one alone, possesses an absorbing interest for people of all races, in all parts of the world who profess the name of Christ. How deeply interesting it must be to any Christian to wander throughout the country which was the subject of God's gracious promise to his chosen people. We propose commencing by directing your attention to

Hebron. (*No 1 Picture*)

The world after the flood, must have been young, when Hebron was founded. Scripture tells us that it was built seven years before Zoroaster was born in Egypt; but who can tell when that was? for Zoroaster has disappeared, leaving no trace. All that we know for certain is, that it was a well-known city when Abraham's tent was pitched in Mamre. It was from Hebron that Jacob sent Joseph to his brethren, and lost and mourned him for many long years, until in old age, the Patriarch descended from his life.

habitation to meet his son in the Valley of the Mills. At a short distance from Hebron are situated the far-famed

#### Pools of Solomon (No 2 Picture)

Which were constructed by the great and wise King Solomon. They are hewn and carved in the rock, and partly of hewn stone. From the source which supplies them an equidistant wind through hill and dale to Jerusalem, and ends in the Haraz, where of old the Temple stood. We now arrive at the Holy City.

#### Jerusalem, (No 3 Picture)

The aspect that Jerusalem presents to the majority of travellers approaching her walls is anything but striking and impressive. But though the first sight of Jerusalem may not be so awe inspiring, as anticipated, yet when calmly and quietly surveyed no Christian could help but ponder upon the scene of those sufferings, and that death which consummated the divine work of redemption without a deep and lasting impression being made upon the mind. The present walls around Jerusalem were built, or probably more correctly repaired by Sultan Seliman, in 1542, A. H. 948. They are from 10 to 15 feet thick, and from 25 to 40 feet high. At the foot of the Mount of Olives is situated

#### The Garden of Gethsemane (No 4 Picture)

What a picture most present itself to the mind of the visitor when he reflects that here Peter, James, and John, outworned with their sorrow, slept whilst their Lord seeking a more secluded spot went onward along the base of the hill and was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast and knelt down and prayed. That the trees that stood of yore within the high white wall, heard our Saviour's words on that memorable night. Their pale boughs flashed red in the blaze of the torches as the rabbi profaned their shades. They saw the disciples just roused from slumber forsake their Lord and fly, and through them to the bridge of Kedron, the captors led their prize to the High Priest's house.

#### The Mount of Olives. (No 5 Picture)

It was from here that the compassionate Jesus beheld the City of Jerusalem and wept over it, saying "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thy eyes." It was here that he retired to pray on that doleful night, when "His sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground" and this favoured Mount witnessed the glorious out-coming and consummation of this mystery of sorrow and suffering. It had been watered by his tears, had drunk his bloody sweat, and it must also behold his triumphant and glorious ascension to the right hand of the majesty on high.

#### The Valley of Jehoshaphat. (No 6 Picture)

This deep Valley is situated to the East of Jerusalem. The word Jehoshaphat signifies "Jehovah judgeth," and there is an idea prevalent amongst the Jews and Mohammedans, that this valley will be the scene of the last judgment. Along the left bank of the ravine and up the sides of Olivet white tombstones are so thickly planted as in many places to resemble a pavement of thick and broad flagstones shaken asunder and disjointed by some convulsion. Among the most remarkable tombs, is that which tradition relates to be

#### Absalom's Tomb (No 7 Picture)

The entire height of this very striking monument cannot be less than 40 feet, the lower part is not a little encumbered with stones and rubbish caused by the natives having from time immemorial thrown stones against and spat upon it as they pass by to mark their detestation of Absalom's parricidal rebellion. The Jews also bring their children here and tell them the story of Absalom's doom as a warning to them to avoid his sin.

#### The Pool of Siloam. (No 8 Picture)

It was here that the "Light of the World" performed the marvellous miracle of anointing the blind man's eyes, and saying, "Go, wash in the Pool of Siloam," upon doing which his sight was restored to him. How marvellous to reflect that at this very pool the blind man washed from his eyes the clay placed there by the finger of his Saviour. The Pool of Siloam is about 55 feet long and 20 feet deep.

#### Exterior of the Holy Sepulchre. (No 9 Picture)

What an interesting locality is this around which have clustered the hopes and affections of the great Christian world for sixteen centuries at least! The courtyard, at the entrance, is paved with the common flagstones of Jerusalem, and is about 90 feet long and 70 wide. Certain parts of the church seem to be ancient—the two outer doorways are elaborately ornamented with architectural devices, the whole, however, is much dilapidated and disfigured by additions and patchwork of every conceivable degree of barbarism.

#### Interior of the Holy Sepulchre (No 10 Picture)

Entering by the west door we come upon the "Stons of Unction," on which, tradition relates, our Lord's body was laid when taken down from the Cross. Turning westward, along the aisle, and then north, we enter the grand rotunda, between two huge square columns. This is striking and impressive. The height of the dome is about 100 feet, and the circular opening at the top for light is about 16 feet in diameter. "The Sepulchre" is, of course, the great object of attraction to visitors. It stands quite alone, directly under the aperture in the centre of the dome; it is about 26 feet long, 18 broad, and 20 feet high. Externally it looks very much like a small marble house. A blaze of light from forty or fifty gold and silver lamps, hung in rows, perpetually shines upon the Sepulchre.

#### Bethany (No 11 Picture)

Three paths lead to this village from Jerusalem, and every one of them has often been trodden by our Lord and his disciples. The name of "Bethany" has disappeared for ages; its modern name is El Anzariyah. Every incident in the history of Bethany is closely connected with Christ—his private life, his domestic affections, his miracles, and his teaching. This was the village in which Jesus lodged during the last few days of his life on earth. Here with a mortal sorrow, he wept with grieving relatives over his dead friend Lazarus; and here, by his divine power, he restored that lost friend to life and brotherly love. We will now bid farewell to the interesting sites and neighbourhood round about the Holy City of Jerusalem, and direct your attention to

#### Bethlehem (No 12 Picture)

Though mentioned by Jacob, Bethlehem remained for many ages small and unimportant, as its name does not appear in the list of villages assigned to Judah by Joshua, nor is it mentioned again until the 17th chapter of Judges, where it is stated that the young Levite, who subsequently became the first idolatrous priest in Micah's house of God, was of Bethlehem, Judah. It is not until the time of Boaz and Ruth that anything pleasant occurs in the history of Bethlehem, but after that it rose to great celebrity as the birth-place of David, and finally it was rendered far ever illustrious by the advent there of David's greater son and Lord.

#### River Jordan (No 13 Picture)

The River Jordan is undoubtedly the most interesting river on earth here our blessed Saviour was baptised. Among the stupendous miracles that have rendered this neighbourhood illustrious, the most wonderful and the most suggestive was the passage of the Hebrew nation through the Jordan to their promised inheritance. The river Jordan is deep, narrow, very muddy, and hurries away to the sea with great velocity.

#### Samaria (No 14 Picture)

Ahab built a temple to Baal in Samaria. This city was anciently of great splendour. Ahab was brought to the city in his chariot when dead, and the dogs licked up the monarch's blood in accordance with Elijah's prophecy. In the year B. C. 720 the Assyrians took the city and colonised it. In later times Phillip preached at Samaria, with success.

#### Beirut. (No 15 Picture)

This city is not mentioned in the Bible, but it is supposed that the Berothai of 2 Samuel viii, 8, from which David took "exceeding much brass," was Beirut. Though the Apostles seem never to have visited Beirut, yet Christianity was early planted here, and so flourishing that it soon became the seat of a Bishopric. Beirut is accounted by tradition to have been the scene of the encounter between St. George and the Dragon.

#### The Cedars of Lebanon (No 16 Picture)

The scenery around Beirut is most romantic, including the Mountains of Lebanon, famous for the cedars. The platform where the cedars stand is more than six thousand feet above the Mediterranean, the forest is not large, containing not more than five hundred trees, great and small, grouped irregularly on the sides of shallow ravines. The space covered by them does not exceed half a dozen acres, yet when fairly within the grove and beneath the giant arms of these old patriarchs of a hundred generations, a solemn hush comes upon the soul of the thoughtful visitor as if of enchantment.

#### Sidon. (No 17 Picture)

It is difficult for the traveller from Beirut to realize that the little city he is now approaching is Sidon, the great Zidon of Joshua. Sidon, owing to her maritime position, was anciently of great importance; her merchant ships sailed over every sea, her harbour was crowded with mariners from every coast, and caravans filled her magazines with treasures and luxuries of the distant east—her strength and importance were such that none dared molest her—even Joshua ventured not to attack her, but a long and sad decline was her fate—the streams of her prosperity were dried up or diverted. The proud Pharaohs from the Nile, the stern Assyrians from distant Nineveh, the cruel Chaldeans and Persians, all helped to lay poor Sidon in the dust.

#### Tyre (No 18 Picture)

Journeying along the coast the traveller arrives at Tyre, from which place the far famed Tyrian purple was obtained. This Tyrian purple was celebrated in Greece even in the remote age of Homer, who sings of

That, rich with Tyrian dye, resplendent glowed."

The ancient prophecy of Jehovah, "Behold I am against thee O Tyre, and will cause many nations to come up against thee," has indeed been fulfilled in the present unimportance of this anciently great, populous, and powerful city.

#### Baalbec (No 19 Picture)

Along the slopes of Anti Lebanon are situated many remnants of ancient temples. Amongst the most famous are the "Ruins of Baalbec." These marvellous ruins are adequate to meet the demands of any history, and some of them may claim an antiquity equal to any thing that even Egypt can boast. The substructures of the great temple can scarcely be of a later age than that of Solomon. The colossal size of some of the blocks of stone is marvellous, some of them being more than sixty three feet long—the largest blocks that were ever placed in a wall by man. How such blocks could be transported a mile over uneven ground to the temple and elevated to their position on its platform is yet an unsolved problem in the science of mechanical forces.

#### Sea of Galilee (No 20 Picture)

Let us now divert our attention to Galilee, where Emmanuel the God Man lived and toiled for thirty years. Round about the neighbourhood are "The Cities wherein most of his mighty works were done." On the smooth beach, Peter, Andrew, James and John heard the gracious call of him whom the winds and storm obeyed; here Jesus landed and embarked; here the multitude was gathered while he taught them out of a ship, here the multitude was reproved who followed him for the sake of the perishable food and not for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life; and here the glorified Son of Man, after having perfected our salvation, again appeared to his Apostles, bared with their work as of yore, and ere they knew him he did one more miracle akin to his mighty works of old. In Galilee, not far from hence, Christ wrought his first recorded miracle, and this shore of Galilee's holy sea saw the last.

#### Capernaum. (No 21 Picture)

It is supposed that round about Capernaum was the locale of Christ's marvellous miracle of feeding five thousand persons when only five loaves and two small fishes were at hand wherewith to feed them.

#### Lake of Tiberias. (No 22 Picture)

John is the only Evangelist who mentions Tiberias, he not only speaks of the city, but calls the lake by this name more than once. It is supposed that Jesus never visited the City of Tiberias, as he could not enter

the City will not become ceremonially unclean on account of its being built upon ancient Sepulchres which according to the ancient laws of the Jews, rendered all persons entering such a city unclean for seven days. The lake itself is an irregular oval with the large end to the north.

#### **Nazareth. (No. 23 Picture)**

This spot must always be sacred to the whole Christian world, for here our blessed Saviour passed the greater part of his life while on earth. Nazareth is situated in a pretty vale, which is small, but the different swellings of the surrounding hills give the idea of repose and protection. It is remarkable that this place, dearest to the Christian heart of all on earth, except Jerusalem, is not mentioned in the Old Testament nor even by Josephus. Amongst the memorable sites of this neighbourhood is

#### **Mount Tabor (No 24 Picture)**

Which was the scene of that stupendous event, the Transfiguration. No more noble or appropriate theatre for such a glorious manifestation could be found or desired. The entire elevation of this mount is not far from 1,800 feet. There was a town here, and it was no doubt fortified at or before the time of Joshua.

#### **Mount Ebal. (No 25 Picture)**

It was in the vale near the eastern part of Mount Ebal that the Tribes of Israel assembled to hear the "blessings and the curses" read by the Levites, as we read in the 27th and 28th chapters of Deuteronomy. This was beyond question and comparison the most august assembly the sun has ever shone upon. One can imagine by shouting and hearing the echo on this Mount how great must have been the effect when the loud voiced Levites proclaimed from its naked cliffs of Ebal, "Cursed be the man who maketh any graven image, an abomination unto Jehovah. And when the tremendous Amen! tenfold louder, from the mighty congregation, rising and swelling and re-echoing from Ebal to Gerizim, and from Gerizim to Ebal—Amen! even so let him be accursed. No, there never was an assembly to compare with this.

#### **Mount Carmel. (No 26 Picture)**

It was upon Mount Carmel that the people of Israel were called upon by Elijah to decide whether they would follow the Lord God or Baal. To compel a choice the test of sacrifice was proposed. The Priests of Baal offered sacrifices upon the altar, and prayed their god, Baal, to consume it with fire—their prayers were ineffectual, but upon Elijah calling upon the Lord, the fire of the Lord fell and consumed all the burnt sacrifices—upon which the whole multitude fell on their faces, crying out "Jehovah he is the God! Jehovah he is the God!"

#### **Gaza. (No 27 Picture)**

Gaza is among the very oldest cities in the world. In the distribution of the land it was assigned to Judah, and after the death of Joshua it was actually conquered by that tribe, but they did not long keep possession of it, for when it again appears in sacred history, it was as a city of the Philistines, in connection with the romantic adventures and exploits of Samson. To what an abject condition that renowned champion of Israel was reduced—"To grind in brazen fetters, under task, eyeless, in Gaza, at the mill with alavers."

#### **Samson. (No. 28 Picture)**

This slide is a beautifully executed "Photographic Slide taken from the statue of Samson in the Crystal Palace." In showing it a beautiful effect will be produced by inserting a piece of Coloured glass in front of it when placed in the Magic Lantern, thus producing the effect of tinted statuary on the screen.

#### **The Dead Sea. (No 29 Picture)**

The water of this memorable lake is very remarkable; it is perfectly clear and transparent; the taste is bitter and far beyond that of the ocean. It acts upon the tongue like alum; smarts in the eye like camphor; produces a burning, pricking sensation, and it stiffens the hair of the head much like pomatum.

#### **Mount Zion. (No 30 Picture)**

In visiting Mount Zion, one cannot but be struck with the fulfilment of the prophecies of Jeremiah and Micah, that Zion should be ploughed as a field. Its situation is admirably adapted to be the platform of a magnificent citadel, and the full force of the prophecy is not reached unless we remember what Zion was—a stronghold by nature and by art almost impregnable. David made it the capital of his kingdom, and greatly strengthened the fortifications. That such a place should become a common wheat field, was indeed a most daring prediction, and yet it has long since been most literally fulfilled. And now, my friends, having introduced to your notice some of the most interesting sights and cities connected with Biblical History, let us trust that we have enjoyed mutual satisfaction and instruction during this short sketch of TRAVELS IN THE HOLY LAND.

Lecturers desirous of adding to this Lecture on the "Holy Land" will find every information in "The Land and the Book," by W. M. THOMPSON, D.D., published by T. NELSON AND SON, Paternoster Row.

SET No 27

---

PASSION PLAY.

1—Oberammagau —Quietly nestled in the valley, encircled with lofty mountains, lies the peaceful village of Oberammagau, celebrated for the production of the Passion Play, which is enacted every 10 years. Tradition says that the plague was ravaging the district when the priests made a vow, that should the scourge cease, a repre-



sentation of the life and passion of our Lord should be enacted at a regular period

2—**The Christus**—The principal character in the play is, of course, the Christus Many months of study and practice are spent before the play is put before the public

3—**John**—We have the representation of St John, the beloved Much time has been spent in search into the manners and customs contemporary with the period of our Lord's life on earth, to ensure the correct style of dress being worn

4—**Pilate**—The character before us is that of Pilate, before whom the Saviour was brought

5—**The Virgin Mary**—And now a portrait of the woman who took the exalted character of Mary the Mother of Jesus, is shown

6—**Christ Parting with His Mother**—Having seen the principal actors in the play, we shall see a few of the tableaux, the first being Christ parting with His Mother The disciples are gathered in the open country, and the Christus is bidding His Mother farewell

7—**Christ sending forth His Disciples**—The next scene is the sending forth of the disciples to preach the Gospel of the good news of God's love, and shows us Christ giving instructions to the eager disciples, before their departure into the villages of the county around

8—**The Sanhedrin**—This ecclesiastical court sitting, in a semi-circle, to deliberate upon the weighty affairs of the temple and law, have been considering the momentous matter concerning the lowly Nazarene Judas is receiving the pieces of silver for the betrayal of his Master

9—**Ordering the Supper**—According to instruction the disciples have entered the village, and at the fountain in the street have met the owner of the house where the Passover is to be kept

10—**The Last Supper**—The next scene is the room where Christ and his disciples are celebrating the Last Supper Here was enacted the pitiful tragedy of Judas's betrayal

11—**The Scourging**—Christ having appeared before the judges is sentenced first to be scourged and then to be taken to Calvary to be crucified The scene of the scourging is laid in the crypt beneath the Judgment Hall

12—**The Ascent**—Passing over the terrible scene on Calvary we have the last tableau of the Ascent of the glorified Lord into the Spiritual world, from amid the astonished groups of those who were left to propagate the gospel of the Grace of God