

Fairground Attractions

A Genealogy of the
Pleasure Ground

Deborah Philips

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*This book is for Klaus Philips and Stanley Mitchell who loved
carnival, and for Calum and Matilda who love it still.*

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Contents

List of Figures viii

Preface ix

Introduction 1

- 1 Pleasure Gardens, Great Exhibitions and Wonderlands: A Genealogy of the Carnival Site 7
- 2 Illustrations and Innovations: The Metonymic Icons of the Carnival 31
- 3 Mickey Mouse Chivalry: Chivalric Romance 57
- 4 Fairy Tale Romance 76
- 5 Monsters, Murders and Vampires: The Gothic Tradition 101
- 6 The Riddles of the Sphinx: Egyptomania 124
- 7 Boy's Own Stories: Explorer Heroes 143
- 8 Treasure Islands and Blue Lagoons 164
- 9 Future Imperfect: Science and Technology 186
- 10 Constructing the Frontier: The Western 209
- 11 Consuming the West: Main Street, USA 233

Notes 251

Bibliography 267

Index 283

Figures

- 1.1 The Grand Orchestra at Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, 1803 8
- 1.2 Map of Alton Towers theme park 30
- 2.1 Mad Hatter's tea party, *Alice in Wonderland*, John Tenniel, 1865 31
- 2.2 Giant teacup ride, Lambeth Show, 1995 56
- 3.1 Scenes from *Richard the Third*. Published by A. Park and J. Golding, by kind permission of Pollocks Toy Theatres Limited 57
- 3.2 Guinevere, Brighton Pier, 2010 75
- 4.1 *Cinderella; or the Little Glass Slipper*, by kind permission of Pollocks Toy Theatres Limited 77
- 4.2 Excalibur Hotel complex, Las Vegas, 2008 100
- 5.1 'And I looked, and beheld a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death and Hell followed with him' (Rev. vi.8). Engraving by Gustav Doré after a work by H. Pisan, 1865 102
- 5.2 Wicked Witches Haunt, Thorpe Park, 2009 123
- 6.1 Bullock's Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, 1812 124
- 6.2 Terror Tomb, Alton Towers, 2005 141
- 7.1 'How I found Livingstone'. Illustration for French edition: 'Comment j'ai retrouvé Livingstone', *Rencontre de Livingstone*. Paris: Hachette, 1876 143
- 7.2 Explorer, Legoland, 2010 162
- 8.1 Scene III: Final tableau from characters and scenes in *Blackbeard the Pirate*, or, the Jolly Buccaneers, Pollock's (late eighteenth century) 165
- 8.2 Treasure Island Hotel, Las Vegas 185
- 9.1 The first Channel crossing by air, 1785 187
- 9.2 Balloons, Legoland, 2010 207
- 10.1 'Shooting a flume' in the Sierra Nevada, *Harper's Weekly*, 2 June 1877 210
- 10.2 Fantastische Reise (Fantastic Journey), Prater Park, Vienna 232
- 11.1 Chauncey L. Moore, opposite Court Square, on Main Street, c. 1884. Engraving from *King's Handbook of Springfield, Massachusetts* 234
- 11.2 Town Hall, Disneyland, Paris, 2009 249

Preface

This book began on Brighton Pier, where, with a colleague, I was bewailing the tendency of literary academics to denigrate popular culture. And then I looked around at the attractions of the pier – and there were statues of Launcelot and Guinevere flanking the entrance to the amusement arcade. A little further on, Dracula and Frankenstein’s monster adorned the ghost train and the tea cups of the Mad Hatter’s tea party, the Montgolfier balloon and an octopus straight out of *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* twirled on a carousel. This seaside pier was replete with literary references, which posed a set of questions: why these stories, how do they come to be there and how have they survived into the popular imagination of the twenty-first century? Many seaside piers, village fêtes, fairgrounds and theme parks later, I feel I have come to understand something about the complex history of popular pleasures. I am indebted to the pioneering work that has been done on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular publishing and theatre history (many of these are cited in the bibliography); Robert Altick and Louis James particularly had already undertaken much of the leg work needed for a project such as this.

It is in tracing back the constructions of the popular imagination and cultural memory that I have inevitably encountered the formations of my own. This book emerges out of the complicated set of cultural capital I was lucky enough to have inherited from both sides of my family: an English tradition of pantomime and Harlequinades and a European Jewish fascination with all kinds of cultural forms. My mother was an actress who gave me a lifelong appreciation of all forms of theatre; she loved Shakespeare and Chekhov, and also pantomime and music hall. My father was a real intellectual who loved Brecht and Grand Opera, and also took great pleasure in fairgrounds and carnivals. But this book emerges, paradoxically, out of a family disdain for popular culture and for theme parks in particular. I longed to go to Butlins as a child, which my parents treated as an entirely comical ambition, while Disneyland was a dreamscape that I could only read about in the *National Geographic* magazine – and I did not get there until I was well into adulthood.

I have very vivid and happy memories of all these genres – from childhood reading, from theatre, film and illustrations. My first encounter with *The Arabian Nights* was a three-volume edition given to me by my grandfather, Opi Wiener. It was far too esoteric (and valuable) to be read by me – aged five – and so it was kept on a high shelf until I was old enough to appreciate it. It was not until working on the chapter on fairy tale that I realised what a gift it was – it is a first edition of the three volumes of Lane’s translations. I have it still and wish my grandfather could have known that I really did come to appreciate

it and know what it was. And – from my father – an edition of *Les Contes de Perrault*, which being in French, was not something I could then read, but I did like the pictures. My grandmother, Lotte, took me to see *The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm*, *The Nutcracker* and the opera *Hänsel und Gretel*, and ensured that I read the grim tales of the Brothers Grimm and Hoffmann along with Perrault and Andersen.

For my mother, a celebration always involved the theatre. We went to see *Peter Pan* or a pantomime every Christmas, once with Arthur Askey as the Dame. We were regularly taken to the Player's Theatre Club, where my mother had once performed as the wicked fairy in *Sleeping Beauty* (opposite Hattie Jacques as the good fairy), and which still maintained a tradition of Victorian music hall and Harlequinades. I was given a Pollock's toy theatre and shared Robert Louis Stevenson's fascination with the details of the characters and sets, although I never managed to stage a full production (the actors kept falling over). This book owes a great deal to the library of May Harby, my maternal grandmother; her popular editions of Scott, her Edwardian illustrated books and the invaluable *Popular Encyclopedia, or Conversations Lexicon* have all found their way into this book.

A book about pleasure grounds is necessarily indebted to those who have shared the carnivalesque with me. Fairgrounds and theme parks are no fun experienced alone – as I know to my cost; walking round Disney World as an academic with a notebook is a strange experience. My thanks are due to Calum and Matilda Scott, Kate and Sam Whannel, and Kasimir McWilliam, as expert researchers; it was they who took on the scary rides and reported back – and all proved to be sharp-eyed identifiers of genre. Claudia and David did not much like Disneyland Paris, but came anyway. I am also grateful to everyone who came back with maps of theme parks, piers and fairgrounds and spoke to me about their pleasure in the carnival – including Jenny Hargreaves and especially Anne Scott.

My first academic interest in carnival sites began from the Open University course in Popular Culture, U203, which held an annual summer school in Blackpool. Alan Tomlinson and Adrian Mellor were the best sociological guides one could hope for on the pleasures and histories of Blackpool, and in part, this book was written because Cyril Critchlow promised to publish a history of Blackpool's popular entertainments with the title *Glitter and Sand* – but never did.

The staff of the British Library were unstinting in providing everything I could need for research – from chapbooks to Disney souvenir guides – and Pollock's Toy Museum in Bloomsbury remains a treasure house and is to be thanked for the use of its images. Conferences, particularly those of the Leisure Studies Association and the International Association of Media and Communications Research, provided a space to try these ideas out; I am grateful for many discussions with colleagues and have absorbed so many

ideas from papers and conversations with participants. Thanks are due also to my colleagues at the University of Brighton, who have been hearing about this book ever since I began there and have been generous with their time and support. David Crouch and Neil Ravenscroft encouraged me to publish my first tentative work in this area, and Philip Tew and Rob Shields published earlier versions of the chapters on science fiction and Main Street. Thanks are also due to Ed Buscombe for expertise on the Western, Millie Williamson on the Gothic, Janet Wasko for her generosity and knowledge of all things to Disney. Bloomsbury have been the most gracious of publishers, thank you to Caroline Wintersgill, the most considerate of editors, Chloë Shuttlewood and Jennifer Dodd for their tactful efficiency, Fiona Cairns for making the picture research such fun, Vijay and his team for being such eagle-eyed and assiduous copy-editors – and to James Curran for suggesting them as a publisher. Ian Haywood said at the start of this project that it all went back to the eighteenth century, and, irritatingly, proved to be quite right. Most importantly, I must thank Garry Whannel for his unstinting encouragement and enthusiasm; he has suffered through this book; he wandered round damp fêtes and pleasure grounds from Moscow to Winslow, took great photographs, was never short of a concept and was always interesting.

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Introduction

The pleasure ground is a space devoted to leisure, which seems to offer an infinite range of possibilities. The contemporary theme park, in its naming and marketing, suggests a limitless world of adventures, where the ‘magic never ends’. The commercial pleasure ground claims to offer an unbounded wealth of narratives and ‘timeless’ stories, but there is actually a strictly limited set of tales that it can tell.

It was Walt Disney, in 1955, who first established the practice of grouping carnival attractions into narratively themed areas with the first recognised theme park, Disneyland. The genres of that theming, and the iconography associated with them, were, however, already well established in fairgrounds across Europe and America and in the more institutionalised pleasure grounds of Coney Island, Blackpool and the World’s Fairs (which is where Disney learned his craft). Disney’s global reach means that stories that were once embedded in European culture have come to have an international recognition, as do Disney characters (see Wasko 2001). Despite Disney’s notorious litigiousness, plagiarised versions of Mickey Mouse are to be found in fairgrounds from Beijing to Blackpool to Moscow, just as many of the stories that Mickey enacts were once pirated themselves.

An analysis of theme park maps demonstrates that the stories of the theme park, and often the organisation of its space, can be broken down into a fixed lexicon of genres, which are directly referenced in the naming of the rides and in the theming of the decorations. There is a set of structural regularities that govern the genres of the theme park, which continue to be used in the theming of carousels, roller coasters, dark rides and whole areas of the holiday resort, fairground and theme park, as suggested in the accompanying table (Table I).

The table is clearly not a definitive list, but it does demonstrate that commercial pleasure grounds share, to a very large degree, a set of attractions that can be categorised into a typology of familiar literary genres. There are, of course, discontinuities and changes, but there is also a strong continuity. These genres are not always distinct; they can converge (most notably, fairy tale, chivalric romance and the Gothic are regularly conflated into attractions centred on dragons). They may be thrown together, as in the incongruous juxtaposition of the Space Pirate carousel on Brighton Pier. There are certainly geographical and cultural variations, but there is a remarkable consistency in the narrative genres that are employed across the world. As the table demonstrates, not every theme park covers every one of these genres in its named attractions, but there will inevitably be some reference to each of them in the entertainments, the decorations and the merchandise on offer. The Tivoli Gardens does not have an Egyptian attraction, but a number of its rubbish bins are decorated with

Table I The structural regularities of the theme park

	Chivalric	Fairy tale	Gothic
Tivoli Gardens, 1843, Copenhagen, Denmark	Classic Carousel	Flying Carpet	Odin Express
Disneyland, 1955, Los Angeles, USA	King Arthur Carousel	Fantasy Land	Haunted Manor
Alton Towers, 1980, Staffordshire, UK	Merrie England	Storybook Land	Gloomy Wood
Chessington World of Adventures, 1987, Chessington, Kingston upon Thames, UK	Cavalcade	Black Forest Chateau	Transylvania
Gardaland, 1975, Lake Garda, Italy	Castello Mago Merlino	Villaggio degli Elfi	Fuga da Atlantide
Drayton Manor Park, 1949, Staffordshire, UK	Dragon Roller Coaster	Toy Ride	The Haunting
Thorpe Park, 1979, Surrey, UK	Carousel Kingdom	Octopus Garden	Wicked Witches Haunt
Legoland, 1968, Billund, Denmark	Dragon Knight's Castle	Fairy Tale Brook	Wild Woods
Blackpool Pleasure Beach, 1896, Blackpool, UK	Veteran Carousel	Alice's Wonderland	Ghost Train
Las Vegas, USA	Excalibur	Circus Circus	

hieroglyphs, obelisks and sphinxes. Las Vegas guests might not choose to stay in a haunted hotel (and there is no such themed casino), but the ghosts and vampires of the Gothic are regularly to be found in the spectacles of the Strip.

These genres each represent a 'utopic space', in Louis Marin's term; each offers the possibility that things could be other, that there is a possibility of a return to a golden age of Camelot of imperial adventure or that there could be a golden tomorrow that will be provided by science and technology. The carnival

Egyptomania	Explorers	Science fiction	Western	Treasure Islands
	Camel Train	Nautilus		Galley Ships
The Temple of Peril	Adventureland	Tomorrow land (Discoveryland, Paris)	Frontier Land	Pirates of the Caribbean
Forbidden Valley	Congo River Rapids	Black Hole	Runaway Mine Train	Pirate Ship
Forbidden Kingdom	Safari Skyway	Professor Burp's Bubbleworks	Calamity Canyon	Smugglers Cove
La Valle dei Re	Safari Africano	Space Lab	Colorado	I Corsari
	Adventure Safari	Skyflyer	Cowboy Town	Pirate Cove
Nemesis Inferno	Fungle Safari	Time Voyagers	Thunder River	Fantasy Reef
	Explorers Institute	Space Tower	Goldwash	Pirate Falls
	River Caves	Flying Machines	Gold Mine	Pirate Ride
Luxor	Tropicana	Stratosphere	Golden Nugget	Treasure Island

draws on a utopianism that is based in nostalgia and also on an optimism for the future.

The categories that Richard Dyer has cited as necessary to the 'utopian sensibility' of entertainment are all very evident in the theme park: energy, abundance, intensity, transparency, community. These may be in illusory forms (the 'community' of Main Street, USA is entirely fictional), but they are still claimed. Dyer rightly argues that the forms of utopianism found in popular

entertainments cannot be dismissed as the escapism of false consciousness and, importantly, resist any universalising principle for the narratives of entertainment:

[T]he categories of the utopian sensibility are related to specific inadequacies in society ... It is not just left-overs from history, it is not just what show business, or 'they' force on the rest of us, it is not simply the expression of eternal needs – it responds to real needs *created by society*. (Dyer, p. 24)

Those 'left-overs from history', however, may be seen as more important than Dyer suggests here. The utopias of the theme park are both a search for new possibilities and a celebration of past cultural glories. The utopian fantasies of other worlds, of travel, adventure, romance and wealth, come out of a specific set of historical conjunctures; the commercial pleasure ground is an eighteenth-century phenomenon, a site at which developments in technology, imperial expansion and commerce come together. The dream of colonising new spaces, articulated in the stories of science fiction, tales of adventurer explorers and seafaring triumph, belongs to that moment. The narratives of the exotic and of the world order found in the popular spectacle of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were underpinned by a belief in Empire and an absolute faith in technological progress. The 'postmodern' collage of the contemporary theme park in fact does nothing to uncouple those stories of the justice of imperial domination and technophilia – it only serves to confirm them and to swathe them in a haze of nostalgic 'heritage'.

There is a clear historical logic that can account for the cultural potency and persistence of each of these genres. The concern of this book is to recognise the key stages in the transition of these stories and images. There is a set of processes that each genre has to survive in order to become one of the structuring narratives of the popular imagination. Popular culture consistently draws on narratives and iconography that have already proved to be successful and which have survived a series of stages.

Each genre has a basis in folk history and in an oral tradition; therefore, these stories are popular in the sense that they belong to everyone and can never be entirely owned nor authenticated. These stories take on a wider circulation when printed in ballad sheets and in chapbooks; they are then illustrated, with stock woodcuts whose elements are repeated to become the signifiers of a genre. The images associated with each genre are reproduced in spectacles such as dioramas and panoramas, and become fixtures of popular entertainment at fairgrounds and carnivals.

There is often a showman (and it has been invariably men) who takes the genre off the printed page or painted scenery and turns it into moving spectacle. The circus man and engineer Giovanni Belzoni unfurled his mummies as popular entertainment, Sir Walter Scott did not only write the chivalric romance but he also built it in his Abbotsford House, Buffalo Bill took cowboys and Indians across America and Europe. The popular success of particular stories is taken

up in theatre and in the iconography reproduced in the sets and costumes. These images are then circulated to a wider public, who may never have seen or read the original, through toy theatre sets and magazine illustrations. As the genres become more familiar they are parodied and performed in Harlequinades and pantomime. It is once a genre is thus securely embedded in the popular imagination that it is taken up by ‘high culture’ – the Romantics worked with the Gothic, and in *The Vampyre* and *Frankenstein*, reworked folk legends to create two of the most enduring icons of the genre. These popular genres also find their way into opera and ballet; Puccini developed his own versions of Egyptomania in *Aïda* and the Western in *The Girl of the Golden West*. Early cinema took up stories that had proved successful in the theatre. The film pioneers Georges Méliès and Thomas Edison were themselves showmen; both had backgrounds in spectacle and entertainment. Hollywood took over the same sets of genre and iconography, and as television threatened cinema in the 1950s, so cinema looked to the spectacular to distinguish itself. And imagery that had once wowed the crowds at panoramas and dioramas worked once again for film.

A charting of the cultural history of popular genres and icons demonstrates that there has always been a fluid relationship between the ‘highbrow’ and the popular. Opera, ballet and the visual arts regularly draw on popular forms, and popular culture will (eventually) borrow from the avant-garde (see Leslie, 2002) – ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture are not binary categories, for each draws upon and is enriched by the other.

If anything, I hope that this book demonstrates that the ‘vulgar’ worlds of the chapbook, of music hall, Butlins, Blackpool, Coney Island and Disneyland are not so far removed from the frame of ‘high art’ and aesthetics as is often supposed. In a 1990 essay Pierre Bourdieu set up a sociological distinction between the ‘sphere of legitimacy’ and the ‘sphere of the arbitrary’ (Bourdieu 1990: 96). The sphere of legitimacy is designated by academics in the humanities, who decree what is ‘good’ culturally and what is not, as the legislators for what belongs in the realm of high culture. The sphere of the arbitrary, however, is defined by what Bourdieu describes as ‘non-legitimate authorities’; these non-legitimate authorities include marketing, journalism and advertising. That is, the sphere of the arbitrary is commercial, commodified and irredeemably vulgar – and so Blackpool, Coney Island, Disneyland and theme parks belong, culturally, firmly in the sphere of the arbitrary. However, an engagement with and a historical understanding of the stories that the carnival has to tell destabilises what Bourdieu has termed a ‘Hierarchy of Legitimacies’ and demonstrates the extent to which the legitimate and the arbitrary can converge.

This book is a diachronic study of the shifts and patterns that are common to the popular iterations of these genres. I am very aware that any one of these chapters could have been a book in itself; each of these genres has a wealth of material addressing their formation at a particular historical moment. What

these more historically specific accounts cannot do, however (while they may be more thorough and more attentive to nuance and contradiction than the outlines developed here), is to trace the development of a set of stories and iconography and so come to recognise the extent to which that set is constantly reproduced in each new medium.

It is through making the links across genres, across historical periods and across media that it becomes possible to 'describe and analyse phenomena of continuity, return and repetition' (Foucault 2001: 172). From chapbooks and dioramas to digital gaming and theme parks, the genres and icons of the popular imagination have a stubborn persistence.

Pleasure Gardens, Great Exhibitions and Wonderlands

A genealogy of the carnival site

The theme park offers a version of the carnivalesque to the pleasure seeker, but it is a tightly controlled and organised form of pleasure. The theme park is distinct in its difference from the fairground or carnival in that it is (although it may sedulously disguise the fact) a bounded and contained space. The daily processions of floats through the Disneyland Main Streets and their equivalents in other theme parks appear to mimic street carnivals, but Main Street is not an open or public space but a site accessed only by payment of a (substantial) entry fee. The shopping outlets and market stalls dotted throughout the theme park give the impression of individual entrepreneurs competing for custom, but this is illusory; all the trade in a theme park is owned and controlled by the theme park company, and all the most successful contemporary theme parks are now in the hands of global corporations.

Like the shops and stalls of the theme park, what seems to be an array of competing brands and attractions are in fact in the hands of very few entertainment corporations. Alton Towers, Chessington World of Adventures and Thorpe Park (once under the control of the Tussauds Group) became part of the Merlin Entertainments Group in 2007. Merlin claims to be ‘the World’s Number Two company in the visitor attractions market’ (www.merlinentertainments.biz).¹ The Merlin Group’s ‘iconic and local brands’ include all the major theme parks in England: Alton Towers, Legoland, Chessington World of Adventures, and also Heide Park and Gardaland, the biggest in Germany and Italy. Asterix, the French theme park that challenges the Disney parks in Paris, remains French, owned by the Grévin company.²

Since Walt Disney established his WED (Walt Elias Disney) Enterprises in 1952 to manage his assets and his yet-to-be-established theme parks, the Walt Disney Company has grown incommensurately to become a ‘diversified worldwide entertainment corporation’ (in the words of their Reuters entry, www.us.reuters.com). The Company comprises four central ‘segments’: Media Networks (this includes television stations and cable networks), Studio Entertainments (the Disney production studios and other film companies acquired by Disney, including Pixar), Consumer Products (merchandising

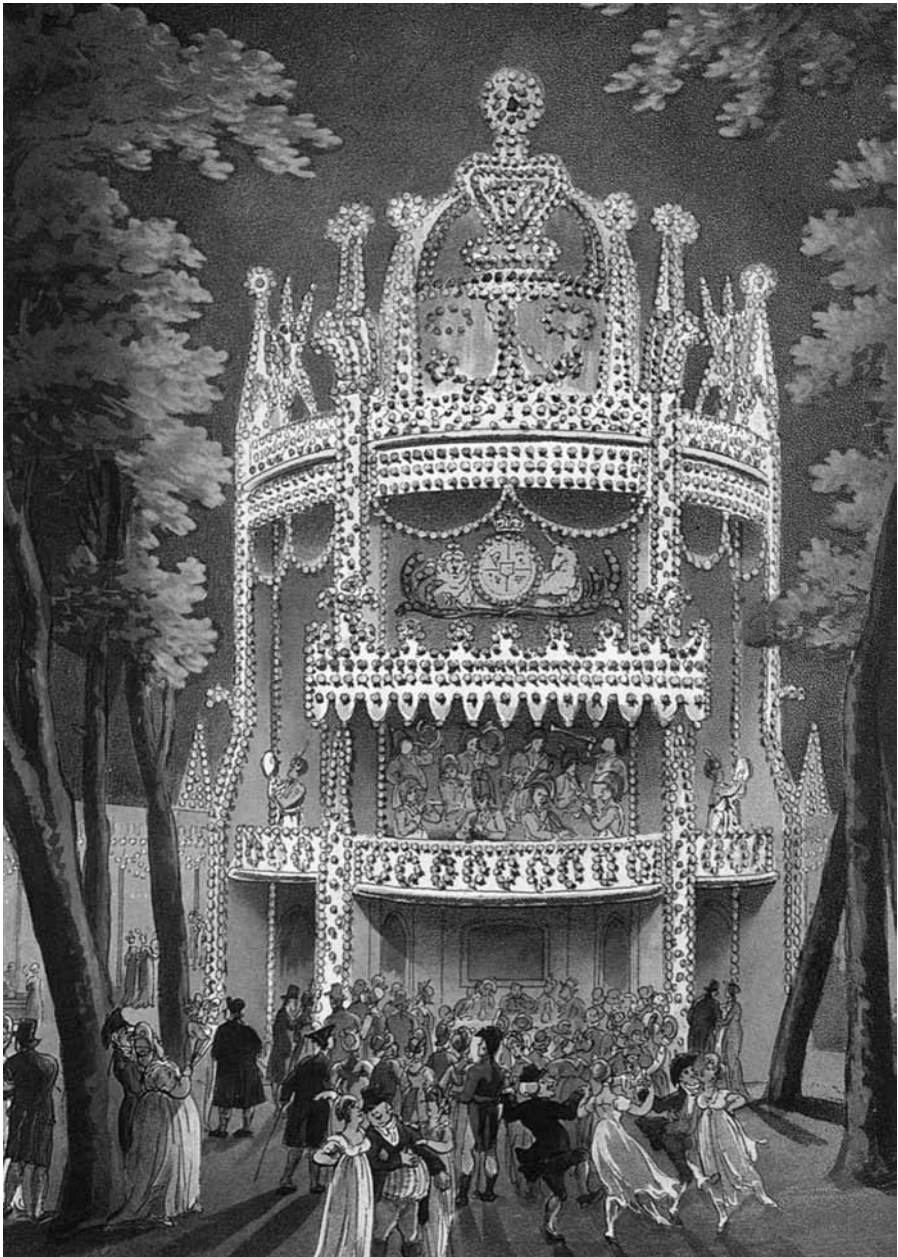


Figure 1.1 The Grand Orchestra at Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, 1803

and publishing) and Parks and Resorts (the Disney theme parks and also the various Disney Travel companies). The pleasure garden, whether owned by Disney, Time Warner or the Merlin Group, is now big and global business, but it has a long history of associations with commerce and trade.

Pleasure gardens

There have always been prescribed sites for carnival and fairgrounds, but the dedicated commercial pleasure garden is a phenomenon of the eighteenth century. The theme park is rooted in the moment of industrialism and also of Romanticism; this is the period that sees the beginnings of a tourist industry, as John Urry has noted (Urry 2002). A new-found appreciation for an untamed 'picturesque' landscape emerged in the eighteenth century in response to the growth of industrialisation and new technological developments; the 'landscape park' as a site to be visited was, as Raymond Williams points out (Williams 1975: 51), the product of industrial capitalism. The pleasure garden and the carnival (and, it can be argued, the theme park) represent an uneasy alliance of an embrace of new technologies and a picturesque setting in the landscapes of the Romantic imagination.

The 'picturesque' is a term that originally designated a category between Edmund Burke's concepts of 'sublime' and 'beautiful', but came to define a popular fashion in landscaping. What the pleasure garden offered was the Romanticism of the picturesque rather than that of the sublime. The picturesque landscape promised novelty, the framing of an 'enticing attraction' for the 'tourist gaze', in Urry's phrase (Urry 2002). The landscaped garden presents a version of nature that may appear wild (as in a Capability Brown garden), but which, while offering the thrill of apparently untrammelled nature, is in fact safely tamed and controlled. The attractions of both the pleasure garden and the theme park promise unexplored territories and exotic adventures, but are known to be unthreatening and contained environments. The sublime gives way to the picturesque in the pleasure garden – it must reassure rather than challenge.

In his three essays on 'picturesque beauty' in 1792, William Gilpin taught the eighteenth-century tourist how to gaze, and so conventionalised an aesthetic. He itemised the requirements of the picturesque landscape and defined the rules for how it should be seen. Gilpin's book of essays includes a set of illustrations which are patterns for the picturesque, and which still remain key scenes in pleasure grounds: a rural scene, a seascape, an antique tomb embellished with an epitaph. These are landscapes that show themselves as both 'natural' and as artistically contrived. Gilpin expresses this tension between artifice and nature that is intrinsic to the landscaped garden and the theme park:

Even artificial objects we admire, whether in a grand, or in a humble stile, tho' unconnected with Picturesque beauty – the palace, and the cottage – the improved garden-scene, and the neat homestall. (Gilpin 1792: ii)

The theme park, with its combination of garden and artificial (literally, in many cases) plants, continues to abide by Gilpin's paradoxical requirements of nature and culture. Gilpin did not object to the use of the picturesque in forms of popular public spectacle, and approvingly invokes theatrical design

as a model, while picturesque gardeners made use of theatrical effects. The once formal gardens of Kenwood House in London were redesigned (probably by Capability Brown) with an ornamental bridge designed to be viewed from the house, an illusion in which the bridge is a two-dimensional flat. In 1793, Humphry Repton remodelled the gardens as a circuit walk, with novelties and framed views at regular intervals, just as Gilpin required. The picturesque garden and its 'delights' in turn shaped the scenery for stage settings: towers, grottos and ruined abbeys became conventionalised theatre sets, often the focus of the pantomime transformation scene.

The pleasure garden and the theme park continue to be landscaped on Gilpin's principles; the regular pattern is a central avenue that offers vistas to uncharted landscapes, while winding walkways lead to the attainment of an object glimpsed in the distance. The theme park is designed as a series of picturesque scenes; the major architectural features are positioned at the furthest point of the parks; the view from the park entrance seems to offer distant lands awaiting exploration. The eighteenth-century stately garden was for many a tourist attraction; visitors were inspired to visit the gardens of England, both natural and cultivated, by the guides of Gilpin and others. The extent of the popular attraction of the picturesque landscape is suggested by the fact that it was the subject of one of the Dr Syntax parodies, illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson in 1812.³ As Copley and Garside have explained, the principle of the picturesque could slide between the aesthetic and commercial, and was shared by 'the tourist, the landscape gardener, the painter, the aesthetic theorist, the literary writer' (Copley and Garside 1994: 2). The picturesque landscape was itself a construct and consequence of tourism to Europe. Fashionable eighteenth-century European gardens displayed the cultural capital of their owners, showing off souvenirs and replicating scenes from their travels. Aristocratic gardens therefore referenced a wild array of different cultures and genres, as Humbert and Price explain: '[obelisks] were combined with pyramids, Japanese bridges, Chinese pagodas and Gothic ruins, all of which are usually taken today as having represented a desire for exoticism and nostalgia' (Humbert and Price 2003: 4). This cultural capital could easily be reproduced by aspiring bourgeois landowners, as commercial designs for '[g]arden buildings in every style, Gothic, Hindoo, Moorish and Classical' became widely available in pattern books (de Bay and Bolton 2000: 74); Chinoiserie, Egyptiana and Grecian pavilions were also there to be copied, the fashionable currency of imperial adventures.

The collage of Egyptian, Greek and Roman monuments, European landscapes and water features to be found in many landscaped gardens made no claim to historical or geographical accuracy. Such random displays were in keeping with Gilpin's injunction that 'the province of the picturesque is to survey

nature; not to anatomize matter'. A grand scene 'of incorrect composition' (Gilpin 1792: 49) could still delight the viewer: 'It throws its glances around in the broad-cast stile. It comprehends an extensive tract at each sweep. It examines parts but never descends to particles' (Gilpin 1792: 26). That the picturesque requires no detail but only a 'broad-cast stile' fits neatly with the showman's wish to present a spectacle of grandeur and exoticism; Gilpin's 'parts' are to be found in every carnival site, where the visitor is offered 'an extensive tract at each sweep'.

In his theorising of the picturesque, William Gilpin was in fact describing landscaping 'delights' that had already been put into practice by the owners of large parklands who had themselves travelled. The spectacle of the eighteenth-century landscaped garden was a display of cultural capital and of cultivated wealth. Charles Hamilton⁴ of Painshill was one among many aristocrats who had experienced the Grand Tour and who came back to their estates with a desire to display their newly acquired cultural references.⁵ In their parklands they recreated the temples and ruined castles (or, in Hamilton's case, the paintings of such scenes) they had encountered on their travels, and made these follies focal points for the landscaped vistas of their stately grounds. Painshill Park, in Surrey, is one of the most elaborate gardens developed in what came to be known as the 'English style'. It was devised as a pleasure garden modelled on Romantic principles and visited by Gilpin in 1765. The features of Painshill include a rustic thatched Hermitage, a tastefully 'Ruined Abbey', a Grotto complete with stalactites and artificial lake, a waterwheel and cascade, a Turkish tent and both a 'most elegant Gothic temple' and a Gothic Tower.

Painshill has been described as having 'a Disneyland effect of incongruity in all these juxtaposed scenes ... which may well strike the modern visitor' (Batey and Lambert 1990: 190). The modern visitor may experience the picturesque of Painshill through the frame of Disneyland, but the landscapes of the contemporary commercial pleasure garden were also learned from gardens such as Painshill. Painshill offers an example of a strategy that is employed in most contemporary theme parks, with the visitor being led through the landscape through a series of winding paths and concealed boundaries, which made an estate look much larger than it actually is. While the Disney parks may not have ha-has (although Alton Towers and Drayton Manor in Britain would once have had their own), they do emulate the same practice of disguising the limits of the parklands,⁶ so that the boundaries are hidden even from the highest point in the park. All the elements that Gilpin required for the landscaping of the picturesque are to be found at Disneyland. Grottos remain an intrinsic part of the theme park landscape, and the mountainous landscapes and artificial caves of Adventureland and the ruins of the Gothic Phantom Manor emulate the illustrations to Gilpin's essays.

The picturesque was shaped by tourism and associated with leisure; it was also an aesthetic that lent itself to commodification and to the production of commodities. As Ann Bermingham explains,

Unlike Edmund Burke's categories of the Beautiful and the Sublime, the Picturesque was an aesthetic uniquely constituted to serve the nascent mass-marketing needs of a developing commercial culture; one in which appearances were construed as essence and commodities were sold under the signs of art and nature. (Bermingham 1994: 81)

Public pleasure gardens commodified the picturesque landscape for a mass market and can be understood as early prototypes of the commercial pleasure ground. The Gothic ruins and garden 'delights' of the aristocratic classes were brought to a wider public through commercial pleasure grounds; as Roy Porter has said, 'Nothing could better epitomise the Georgian love of pleasure than the pleasure garden' (Porter 1996: 27).

Vauxhall Gardens was London's most lavish public pleasure garden, although it was by no means the first; Marylebone Gardens had offered a public garden and entertainments from 1650 and survived until 1778;⁷ Ranelagh Gardens in Chelsea was more expensive and therefore more fashionable than Vauxhall, but it closed in 1803 (Rogers 1896: 19). Vauxhall had been first laid out in 1661 under the name New Spring Gardens, but it was in its 1732 remodelled incarnation that it became a public sensation, which it remained until 1859. Like Painshill and other private landscaped gardens, Vauxhall Gardens offered its public a range of picturesque landscapes: a miller's cottage (not unlike Painshill's rustic Hermitage), a temple, a hermit's walk and Pavilion. To these, Vauxhall Gardens added its own Gothic orchestra and a cascade, which presented a spectacle at 9.00 every evening. A Rotunda was the site for performances and attractions, including ballets and dioramas. Admission to Spring Gardens was initially free, but from 1750, the gardens were only accessible via a six penny boat ride, so ensuring that only those of certain economic means could access the space (much like the entrance charge for the contemporary theme park). A verse of a popular song of 1737 extols the delights of the 'Spring-Gardens, Vaux-hall' in decidedly picturesque terms, happily celebrating the artistic arrangement of nature and the intermingling of classes to be found there:

See! A grand pavilion yonder rising near embow'ring shades
There, a temple strikes with wonder in full view of colonades.
Art and nature kindly lavish
Here their mingled beauties yield;
Equal here, the pleasures ravish
Of the court and of the field.

(Lockwood 1737, quoted in Rogers 1896: 3)

The commercial pleasure garden offered paying visitors the experience of lavishly landscaped environs and the thrill of new mechanical rides, a resolution of nature and industry that persists in popular tourist sites. John Urry has argued that ‘before the nineteenth century few people outside the upper classes travelled anywhere to see objects for reasons that were unconnected with work or business’ (Urry 2002: 5), but the commercial pleasure garden could bring the ‘objects’ of travel to an eighteenth-century paying public. The public pleasure grounds brought versions of the ‘picturesque’ landscapes of the aristocratic Grand Tour and the stately home to the populations of London and the industrial cities. One means of bringing the landscapes of foreign travel to those who were unable to travel was in the form of the panorama, which relied heavily on picturesque scenes and images of the Grand Tour.

The panorama had first become a form of commercial showmanship in Britain with the artist Robert Barker’s 1787 patent for ‘an entire new Contrivance or Apparatus, called by him *La Nature à Coup d’Oeil*, for the Purpose of displaying Views of Nature at large’ (Altick 1978: 129). Barker’s panorama was set up in a rotunda in the Haymarket in 1788, where it was ‘prodigiously admired’ by Sir Joshua Reynolds, guardian of the national aesthetic as President of the Royal Academy. A Leicester Square rotunda followed, then another in the Strand; in 1796, the Spring Gardens at Vauxhall acquired its own panorama. While the subjects for the panorama scenes were often of land and sea battles, many of the ‘Views of Nature at large’ were remarkably familiar from the landscaped garden. In 1832, the Colosseum in Regent’s Park offered a series of grottos, which led to a ‘Swiss Cottage’ overlooking a cascade and lake, and ‘The Stalactite Cavern’ (versions of all these features could be found at Painshill and at Spring Gardens). Poole’s ‘Grand Pictorial Tours’ was among the most successful travelling panoramas in England; established in 1840, it could claim to be Britain’s ‘most popular entertainment’ and lasted well into the late nineteenth century. Pooles’ ‘Pictorial Tours’ brought panoramas of battles and excursions (both military and leisure) to theatres and pleasure gardens across the country. Their poster promised a ‘new mastodon diorama illustrating a grand tour around the world!’ (Evanion Collection, British Library) and featured a frieze of landscapes and of characters in national dress, all in colour.

The preferred landscapes of the popular spectacle emulated those already in place in the aristocratic landscaped garden. These panoramic scenes were often painted by those who had themselves followed the path of the Grand Tour, as Richard D. Altick describes them:

[T]hese contributors to the edification of stay-at-home Londoners belonged to the numerous early nineteenth century breed of artist-travelers who, moved by the romantic passion for the remote, the sublime, the picturesque, and the antique, wandered around the continents in search of subjects. (Altick 1978: 138)

The picturesque that had been itemised by Gilpin and actualised by Humphry Repton in his mission for the English garden was now conventionalised for a mass market through tourist guides. The Reverend T.D. Fosbroke's 1826 *Tourist's Grammar: or Rules relating to the Scenery and Antiquities incident to travellers: compiled from the first authorities ...* offered readers a précis of Gilpin's principles, and had 'for its object the dissemination in a cheap form, of the Picturesque' (Fosbroke 1826: 2). Fosbroke told the traveller exactly what to look for in landscapes and gardens; the scenes that Gilpin had admired for their novelty were no longer new, but now the expected features of any pleasure ground.

Alton Towers is currently among the Merlin Group's 'brands', advertised on their website as the United Kingdom's 'leading and most extraordinary theme park' (www.merlinentertainments.com). The gardens of Alton Towers were once a model example of Humphry Repton's principle of 'Mixed Style landscaping'. Alton Towers was then so dedicated to the picturesque that it featured a blind Welsh harpist resident in a Swiss Cottage to entertain visitors on their walks around the garden. The stately home of the Shrewsbury Estate, Alton Towers garden was remodelled by Repton from 1814 to present a dizzying collage of features. To the Swiss Cottage were added an Alpine Garden, a model of 'StoneHenge', a Grecian monument, a Dutch Garden and a version of the Matterhorn. The centrepiece was a pagoda, adorned with 100 dragon fountains; the newly landscaped Alton Towers displayed many of the vistas and attractions to be seen in the public pleasure garden. J.C. Loudon⁸ scathingly reported on the multiplicity of attractions offered by Alton Towers in his 1834 *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*:

(a) labyrinth of terraces, curious architectural walls, trellis-work arbours, vases, statues, stairs, pavements, gravel and grass walks, ornamental buildings, bridges, porticoes, temples, pagodas, gates, iron railings, parterres, jets, ponds, streams, seats, fountains, caves, flower baskets, waterfalls, rocks, cottages, trees, shrubs, beds of flowers, ivied walls, rock-work, shell work, moss houses, old trunks of trees, entire dead trees etc. (Loudon 1834, quoted in Batey and Lambert 1990: 273–4)

Many of these features can be recognised in the current incarnation of Alton Towers as 'one of the World's Leading Theme Parks', if not quite in their original form. The cottages and moss houses are still to be found in the 'Merry England' and 'Storybook' sites, the fountains and waterfalls now host a log flume, while the streams and ponds have become a lake with swan-shaped boats. The trees and ivied walls form a backdrop for the 'Gloomy Wood', and The Swiss Cottage remains in the name of a restaurant. John Urry largely dismisses Alton Towers as 'mainly modern and ... predominantly inauthentic' (Urry 2002: 94), but its modernity was once the fashionability of Humphry Repton's principles, which never claimed any 'authenticity'.

The contemporary publicity for Alton Towers makes no reference to the picturesque, or to Repton. The picturesque vision of the Earl of Shrewsbury has been relegated to a footnote in the theme park's current publicity; 'The Gardens' are listed as only one among the park's attractions, and are succinctly described as follows: 'Beautiful landscapes with rock pools and thousands of plants. Built hundreds of years ago by the old owners of the Towers' (Alton Towers website 2006). Nonetheless, the spirit of Repton remains in the confusion of genres and attractions offered in the current theme park. The contemporary boasts in a promotional leaflet that claim Alton Towers as a 'unique blend of fantasy, magic and style' are not so very different from those made at the time of its landscaping.

Alton Towers was the most popular English garden for nineteenth-century garden visitors, but by 1860 the estate was running into serious financial difficulties, and opened up to a fee-paying public. The incumbent Earl of Shrewsbury tried to support the house and garden by offering a collection of 'curiosities' to the tourist, including a display of his own collection of instruments of torture (see Cross and Walton 2005: 36). This was not enough to sustain the estate, and Alton Towers was eventually sold off to a consortium of businesses; the house was converted into shops and restaurants. The estate became 'Alton Towers Limited' and was requisitioned during the Second World War. After the war, the gardens hosted fairground attractions, and a Scenic Railway was installed in 1952. From 1973, Alton Towers estate was run as a theme park, which was taken over by the Tussauds Group in 1990 and by Merlin Entertainments in 2007.

Alton Towers was not alone in this transition from landed estate to public pleasure ground. The shift from an agrarian to a mercantile economy meant that many of the aristocratic estates and the landscaped gardens of the late eighteenth century could not sustain their displays of financial capital and cultivated wealth. Without the funds or a profitable estate to support his pleasure garden, Charles Hamilton was forced to sell Painshill in 1773; from then it was in private hands and inaccessible to the public until 1980, when it was bought by the borough council. Painshill has since been painstakingly restored by a trust, and so escaped the fate of many similar stately landscapings, which could only survive through the National Trust or with some form of commercial support, in many cases to become a theme park. Like the commercial pleasure gardens of the eighteenth century (Marylebone, Cremorne and Ranelagh Gardens were all sited in the grounds of aristocratic estates), the theme park in Britain is frequently situated on the site of what was once a stately home. The contemporary theme park's former history is now, however, generally erased. The house is often obscured in the theme park map and guides; an inconvenient encumbrance to the attractions located in its gardens, as it is at Alton Towers, Drayton Manor Park and Chessington World of Adventures.

From stately home to theme park

The story of the theme park in Britain is one of the decline of the aristocratic estate, and the incursion of the leisure industry into what had once been pleasure gardens for the aristocracy. The history of Alton Towers and its transition from stately pleasure ground to a 'brand' in the portfolio of a global entertainment group is one that has been repeated to varying degrees and in different forms across landed estates in Britain. While the demise of the once private landed estate as an economically viable unit was a long process that had begun in the late eighteenth century, it was the First and Second World Wars that finally saw an end to most of the privately held stately homes and gardens of England. Most of the major estates had been requisitioned by the army during the years of the Second World War, and the post-war reconstruction saw large numbers taken over by the National Trust. Many estates still occupied by their owners were to become 'half-crown houses' (see Philips and Haywood 1998), named for the entrance fee charged to paying visitors. Government subsidies for repairs and restoration required aristocratic families to open their houses to the public; the paying tourist now had unprecedented access to the landscaped gardens of landed aristocracy. The title of a 1952 guidebook, *Open to View: English Country Houses You Can Visit and How to Find Them*, suggests the new public visibility of the landed estate. The guide suggests that the English country house is in 'a new position of prominence' (Freeman 1952: 5), and lists all the houses and gardens newly open to the post-war visitor.

The Longleat estate in Wiltshire was the first of the stately homes to open its doors to the public, in 1949. Longleat had featured in Humphry Repton's *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816) as a particularly fine example of the picturesque. The Elizabethan gardens had been refashioned in 1757 by Capability Brown, who designed a Pleasure Walk and landscaping with winding gravel paths, a river and wooded hills. Repton later added an island and a bridge to the lake in 1804. In 1966, the incumbent Marquess of Bath turned the inner section of the estate into the first Safari Park to be found outside Africa. Repton's island now houses the Safari Park's collection of gorillas, and the Pleasure Walk is only one among the attractions included in the 'Passport Ticket' to the Longleat pleasure park.

Woburn Abbey is the seat of the Dukes of Bedford. In 1970 the estate emulated Longleat by opening up as a Safari Park. Woburn and its grounds are described in the nineteenth-century guide *Picturesque England* as 'remarkably picturesque, with rolling land here and there, water trees, and great spaces of green turf' (Valentine 1891: 162). In 1802, Repton had landscaped the 3,000-acre gardens and deer park. By 1953, the house and gardens were in a state of disrepair, and death duties required the incumbent duke to open

the grounds and house to the public. Rather than hand the estate over to the National Trust, the duke relied on his own enterprise, and opened up an antiques centre. In the 1960s, the then Duke of Bedford added lions, his own collection of vintage cars and later a golf club to the attractions of the abbey and gardens.

Drayton Manor Park at Tamworth was purchased by Robert Peel in 1790, in a transaction that typified the transition from landed to industrial wealth. Peel, a mill owner, father of the future prime minister and a friend of Sir Walter Scott, had purchased the estate from the family who had owned it since the Norman Conquest. Peel rebuilt the house, church and village, and hired Gilpin to landscape the gardens. Several generations of family debts led to the estate being sold off in parcels of land, and the Manor was finally demolished (Smith 1978). In 1949 a private purchaser opened the gardens as an 'Inland Pleasure Resort'; the site became 'Drayton Manor Park and Zoo' in the 1970s and, like Alton Towers, a theme park in the 1980s. Drayton Manor Park maintains its farm, but it is as an attraction for children and very much subsidiary to the zoo and theme park.

Tivoli Gardens

The display of luxury and culture found in the landscaped gardens of the stately homes of England was to be redeployed by pleasure gardens and popular entertainments throughout the nineteenth century. The conventions of the picturesque with its attractions of the grotto, the ruined abbey, the cottage and the cascade were emulated in panoramas, fairgrounds and popular entertainment sites across Britain, and extended to become the conventions across European pleasure gardens. The Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen has regularly been cited by historians and biographers of Walt Disney as the 'inspiration' for Disneyland.⁹ The Tivoli Gardens opened in 1843, originally modelled (and named) after the Tivoli in Paris and London's Vauxhall Gardens. The architect Georg Carstensen secured a charter from Denmark's King Christian VIII, which declared that 75 per cent of the site should be open space. Within this landscaped space were a bazaar for the trading of Danish and foreign goods, a panorama and a pantomime theatre (which produced, and continues to perform, Harlequinades). The park opened with two mechanised attractions, a carousel and a roller coaster, in a celebration and display of new technology. The Tivoli's attractions of the pleasure garden, fireworks, landscaped gardens and 'oriental' buildings, shared with eighteenth-century pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall, came together with the mechanical rides of the fairground. This combination of stately pleasures and new technologies is the basis of the modern pleasure ground, a synthesis that is a model for all the Disney parks.

The Exhibition and the Egyptian Hall

The distinction between popular entertainments and educational purpose was not a clear division for audiences of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Victorian concept of rational recreation¹⁰ depended on a world in which the boundaries between work and leisure are clearly marked, and before the domination of industrialisation, they were not. The exhibition hall provided a site for the conjunction of showmanship with the revelation of new machines and new information. The exhibition hall in particular offered public ‘scientific’ and ‘anthropological’ lectures that were displays of spectacle as much as they were educational. Richard D. Altick has described the importance of the exhibition for a general public in London (largely illiterate in the generations before the 1870 Education Act), who had no other means of accessing information about other cultures and countries:

To those who could and did read, exhibitions served as a supplement to books, particularly to illustrate in tangible form some of the most popular kinds of informational literature in various periods, narratives of exploration and travel ... treatises on pseudo science ... histories ... works describing successive centers of archaeological discovery. To the uneducated, exhibitions served as surrogates for such books, telling as much about those subjects of civilized human interest as they were ever likely to know. (Altick 1978: 1)

The very thin line between rational recreation and public spectacle and voyeurism is evident in the history of London’s Egyptian Hall, which transmuted from a space of educational instruction with informative (if sensational) exhibitions of foreign artefacts to a place devoted entirely to popular entertainment.

The Egyptian Hall in London began and ended as a site for carnivalesque attractions. The Hall was built by the showman William Bullock, who had made a fortune from his touring exhibition of ‘upwards of Fifteen Thousand Natural and Foreign Curiosities, Antiquities and Productions of the Fine Arts’ (Altick 1978: 237); the display opened the Egyptian Hall in 1812. The show’s success was based less on any fascination with the antique than it was on British patriotic triumphalism over the French; the centrepiece was Napoleon’s travelling carriage, which had been seized by the British. ‘The Foreign Curiosities and Antiquities’ on display were the spoils of Napoleon’s Egyptian expedition, given up in defeat. The popular embrace of these Egyptian artefacts was more about imperial pride than historical interest.

Popular curiosity coupled with geographical and anthropological instruction was also evident in the display at the Egyptian Hall of such exotic foreigners as the Hottentot Venus and later the ‘Ojibbeway Indians’. These exhibitions of people as ‘Foreign Curiosities’ were no doubt largely about salacious public

interest, but the presence of lecturers and interpreters gave them a veneer of academic authority. The Egyptian Hall also played host to ‘biological’ spectacles; in 1838, it displayed the ‘Lancashire Prodigy ... this extraordinary male child, with two bodies and one head’ (Egyptian Hall poster 1838; Evanion Collection, British Library). Such ‘subjects of civilized human interest’ skated perilously close to the carnival of the freak show, but were presented as educationally improving exhibitions. The carnival would eventually take over from instruction, and by the late nineteenth century the Egyptian Hall was known for its shows of magicians and illusionists.

Great Exhibitions, Grands Expositions and World’s Fairs

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was the first international trade fair¹¹ to be a major public attraction, and was the most internationally prominent display of new mechanical and industrial wonders. The Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations established an international paradigm for the ‘Grand Exposition’ and the ‘World’s Fairs’ that were to become a major influence for Walt Disney. The Great Exhibition was a great popular attraction; the date of its opening was declared a national holiday, and six million visitors came on excursion trips from across Britain. Founded and organised by Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria, the Great Exhibition was an unabashed display of industry, modernity and Empire; it celebrated British technology and manufacturing alongside the innovations of its trading partners. Prince Albert opened the proceedings secure in the belief that ‘[t]he products of all the quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal’ (quoted in Blake 1995: ii). The Great Exhibition was laid out around a series of national ‘courts’, a structure that was replicated in later Grands Expositions and World’s Fairs and which continues in the pavilions of Disney World’s Epcot World. The spirit of the ‘Industry of All Nations’ remains strong in the displays of national commodities and architectures at Epcot World Showcase.

The building that housed the Great Exhibition, the architecturally innovative Crystal Palace, was itself a confident display of new developments in manufacturing and industry. The Crystal Palace became a byword for luxury and innovation in amusement resorts; it gave its name to the Assembly Rooms at Blackpool and to the central Main Street restaurant in the Magic Kingdom in Florida. The original Crystal Palace was designed by Joseph Paxton, who had been the Duke of Devonshire’s head gardener at Chatsworth, in Derbyshire. Paxton has been described as ‘the key figure in the application of science and technology to Victorian gardens’ (Batey and Lambert 1990: 246), and his design for a conservatory was the prototype for the Crystal Palace. His building was celebrated in thousands of prints and engravings sold as

Great Exhibition souvenirs and in issues of popular journals. Emulations of Paxton's use of barrel vaulting and glass cladding were to be found across Europe and America; the New York Crystal Palace for the 1853 World's Fair was modelled on the London version, and borrowed the title 'the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations'. As the Great Exhibition ended, the Crystal Palace was dismantled and moved from Hyde Park, to be rebuilt in Sydenham, South London, in 1854. The Crystal Palace Gardens in Sydenham were laid out by Paxton as a popular pleasure ground, with sites for archery, cricket and quoits, and boats and bicycles for hire. Hans Christian Andersen was one among the many travellers to the site of the Crystal Palace Gardens in 1857, which he described in his diaries as 'like a fairy city'.¹²

The pleasure resort: Blackpool and Coney Island

The excursion trains that made the Great Exhibition such a popular success were also responsible for transforming Blackpool into a major tourist attraction and made possible the 'world's first working class seaside resort' (Walton 1998: 10). The coming of the railways in the 1840s had transformed Blackpool from a provincial resort with a focus on sea bathing to the first commercial leisure resort in Britain. The Northern industrial landscape surrounding Blackpool provided it with a steady flow of holidaymakers from the local mill towns, as a 1923 historian records:

Trade unionism, obtaining higher wages and more leisure for holidays for the working masses, helped to make Blackpool by giving the artisans and their families the means to go there in thousands and tens of thousands ... the railway companies ran special trains at holiday times. It was the beginning of the cheap trip era, the day excursion. ... Blackpool developed from a tiny fishing village with a few hundred inhabitants to a glittering town of pleasure and amusements. (Clarke 1923: 174)

By 1923, Allen Clarke's story of Blackpool could report 200 special excursion trains arriving every weekend: 'as well as the ordinary service, and this does not include the tens of thousands who come by motor coach' (Clarke 1923: 166).

The commercial possibilities of Blackpool saw an early consortium of investors in a burgeoning leisure industry, a model that was emulated in investment in pleasure palaces throughout the nineteenth century. The Raikes Hall Company was formed in 1871 by a group of Blackpool entrepreneurs, who bought up the Raikes Hall mansion and estate for conversion into a public pleasure garden, which opened in 1872. The commercial 'Raikes Hall' maintained the 'classic double-arched gateway entrance for carriages' and the 'grand statuary avenue' of its aristocratic past; these now became the public entrance to its parklands, which offered the tourist the experience of aristocratic

grandeur and attractions, familiar from picturesque landscaping. Raikes Hall gave its visitors access to a skating rink and conservatory, a boating lake, pavilion theatre and concert hall, open-air dancing and firework displays.

In 1875 the rival Blackpool Winter Gardens Company bought up a plot of land and built the Blackpool Winter Gardens the next year. The Winter Gardens offered the public, as had Raikes Hall with its parklands, entry into luxurious fantasy environments. The Winter Gardens attractions were housed indoors, appropriate to the sometimes 'inclement weather' of Blackpool. It was designed with a glazed promenade, aviaries, conservatories, a skating rink and a pavilion that hosted orchestras, opera, ballet and theatre. William Holland, entertainments manager of the Winter Gardens from 1887, capitalised on the provision of upmarket luxury for all members of the public in his advertisement: 'Come to the Winter Gardens and spit on Bill Holland's 100-Guinea carpet'. The entertainment was similarly highbrow; the Winter Gardens' Alpine Hall and Indian Lounge were witness to the opera singers Enrico Caruso and Adelina Patti, and in 1882, Sarah Bernhardt (who was, by all accounts, not well received by the Blackpool audience).

Coney Island in New York had been, like Blackpool, a seaside resort that grew because of the railways. Excursion trains brought in their wake investors in hotels and attractions, so that what had once been a board walk of small independent stalls became America's largest commercial pleasure ground. The eventual electrification of the railways and the building of the Brooklyn Bridge brought day trippers to Coney Island from Manhattan. The Coney Island Amusement Park expanded into three sites, their names living on in the names of attractions and pleasure gardens around the world: Steeplechase, the site of the world's first mechanical racetrack; Luna Park (which gave its name to a World's Fair amusement ground and then for amusement parks including Sydney, Melbourne and Buenos Aires); and Dreamland, which gave its name to a fairground in Margate.

Luna Park was largely destroyed by fire in 1944, and demolished shortly thereafter. The downmarket attractions of Steeplechase Park could not finally compete with the 1964–5 New York World's Fair (although it invested in the spectacular rides after the closure of the fair) and closed in 1964. Astroland was another Coney Island fairground that emerged out of the 'home of the world famous Cyclone' (a roller coaster that dates from 1927 and is still in place at Coney Island). In 1963, it was reinvented as 'Journey to the 21st century' and featured such science-themed attractions as the Cape Canaveral Satellite. Many of these offered simulated flight conditions, much as dioramas had once offered simulations of balloon rides. Astroland, an aquarium and small amusement arcades are all that now remain of New York's pleasure resort, Coney Island.

Blackpool's Pleasure Beach was directly shaped by Coney Island, in its conception and in the attractions that it offered. The Pleasure Beach can be seen as the first commercial leisure park in Britain, in that it was an outdoor but

bounded site of attractions that, unlike the Tower or Winter Gardens, did not require an entrance fee. Alderman William George Bean founded the Pleasure Beach as a family company that continues to be run by his descendants. The founding statement (which remains the company's mission statement) situates the Pleasure Beach in the tradition of American carnival; W.G. Bean declared at its opening in 1896: 'We wanted an American Style Amusement Park, the fundamental principle of which is to make adults feel like children again and to inspire gaiety of a primarily innocent character' (quoted on www.blackpoolpleasurebeach.com). The Pleasure Beach was run on the Coney Island model, importing and operating its own purchased attractions, and letting space to other entrepreneurs to run sideshows and mechanical rides.

Bean had learned his trade in fairgrounds in Philadelphia; his admiration for American carnival and particularly for Coney Island led him to look to America for the latest mechanical rides for the Pleasure Beach at Blackpool. Bean was born a Londoner but went to Philadelphia in 1887, where he worked with the amusement machinery industry, an industry that had been promoted by the Philadelphia World's Fair eleven years earlier. On his return to Britain, he set up a bicycle railway, and then began an association with the owner of a carousel, John Outhwaite. The two men formed a syndicate that bought up 42 acres on the South Shore (a much more attractive proposition since the arrival of the electric tram, which brought visitors to the site). The site had previously housed a rickety range of individual small fairground attractions, including a mechanical ride and Gipsy stalls offering fortune telling and phrenology (the remnants of these remain on the Golden Mile at Blackpool and on seaside piers). The Gipsy camp was finally banished from the site on the grounds of 'hygiene' in 1910, and the private Pleasure Beach Company was free to take over the space (Clarke 1923: 231).

The oldest ride still functioning at the Pleasure Beach is Sir Hiram Maxim's Captive Flying Machine, imported in 1904 (its name a tribute to the American inventor). 1907 saw the introduction of a scenic railway and roller coaster, a ride that had begun in America in a disused mine. Many of the attractions at the Pleasure Beach were imported directly from Coney Island, as with the 1905 Helter Skelter (a spiral slide down the side of a replica lighthouse) and the Steeplechase. The importing of mechanical attractions from America was briefly interrupted by the First World War, but resumed in 1921. In 2007, the Pleasure Beach could continue to boast its status as Britain's most visited tourist site; its acquisition of 'The Pepsi Max' with its red, white and blue-striped regalia belongs firmly in the Blackpool tradition of importing the latest and most spectacular ride from America.

The Blackpool Tower Company was an alliance of a London syndicate and a group of Blackpool businessmen, which planned to offer 'Blackpool's most conspicuous group or agglomeration of amusements' (quoted in Clarke 1923: 224). The Tower, which opened in 1898, was built on the site of the

mansion of an aristocratic banker, in emulation of the Eiffel Tower built for the 1889 Exposition Universelle.¹³ The space beneath the Tower's legs housed a menagerie, aviary and aquarium and a circus. The Tower, with its ballroom and indoor attractions, was in direct competition with the Raikes Hall, which finally went under – the estate sold for building plots in 1899.

Coney Island and Blackpool Pleasure Beach were by no means the first commercial pleasure grounds, but they can be seen as the first permanent commercial sites devoted to the provision of mass leisure. As Cross and Walton put it,

The two seaside resorts combined popular modernity, mass consumption and a new collective experience. At the same time, they offered settings for more traditional entertainments across a broad taste spectrum: from dioramas, firework spectacles and music and dance halls. (Cross and Walton 2005: 55)

Blackpool's Pleasure Beach and Coney Island were new in that they represented the first year-round permanent sites for popular entertainments. Both sites grafted the technologies and spectacle of the World's Fairs onto the familiar attractions of the seaside and fairground, and both converted what had been a largely unregulated site associated with buskers and hawkers into a commercial leisure centre.

The attractions at Coney Island and Blackpool were closely allied to those unveiled at the trades fairs and exhibitions held across the world throughout the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Each World's Fair displayed the newest technological attractions, and these were rapidly taken up and transported to the fairgrounds of Coney Island and Blackpool. Blackpool was early in its adoption of electricity – it pioneered electric lighting on the promenade in 1879, and electric trams appeared in 1888, the first in Britain. Blackpool's motto was (and remains) 'Progress', and its appeal lies in its constant reinvention of seaside traditions while simultaneously offering the visitor the latest technological attraction. Like Coney Island, its attractions, from carousels to space pods, relied on industrial innovations.

World's Fairs

While fairgrounds swiftly responded to the potential of the mechanical devices shown at the World's Fairs and Grands Expositions, these exhibitions increasingly welcomed the public and came to more and more resemble fairgrounds. The amusement sections of the World's Fairs became increasingly significant, as the spectacle of technology diminished in its allure. The American World's Fairs are frequently directly referenced in Disneyland and Disney World, and the Paris Expositions at Disneyland Paris, and it is the World Fair that provides the clearest paradigm for the shape of the contemporary theme park.

The success of the Great Exhibition had led to a rush of nations attempting to emulate the popular success of the Crystal Palace. America held a fair in 1853 in New York, but, even with Phineas T. Barnum as a President of the Association, it was not a success. Napoleon III ordered an exhibition for Paris, which took place in 1855. The 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle was the first of the World's Fairs to open in the evening. The grounds featured an amusement park and the pavilions, while ostensibly a display of national architectural styles, were closely related to the picturesque attractions of the landscaped garden, including the familiar attractions of a Swiss chalet, an Egyptian palace and an Indian temple. Hans Christian Andersen's 1868 story 'The Dryad' gives an indication of the exposition's synthesis of the magical and technological:

We are travelling to the Paris Exposition! Now we are there! It was a flight, a rush, but quite without witchcraft; we came by steam, in a ship and on a high road. Our time is the fairy time. (Andersen 1914: 983)

The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, celebrating the anniversary of American Independence, was the biggest World's Fair to date. While still directly modelled on the Great Exhibition as 'an international exhibition of arts, manufacturers, and products of the soil and mine' (Act of Congress, 1871), the focus was on American manufacturers and innovations. Although enormously popular, 7 million visitors attended, the exhibition made heavy losses, which were covered by government subsidy. This was the first fair to feature an elevated railway to ferry visitors about the site and also to build hotels on site to house the influx of visitors, both innovations that Disneyland and subsequent theme parks were to borrow.

It is not surprising that Disney should learn from the World's Fairs; there is a direct lineage from the World's Fairs of the late nineteenth century to Walt Disney's first 1955 theme park, Disneyland. Disney's father, Elias, was commissioned to work on designs for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.¹⁴ The Chicago Columbian Exhibition strove to outdo the Paris Expositions and featured the first Ferris wheel. Designed by George Ferris, specifically to rival the scale of the Eiffel Tower, it became the fair's symbol. The Chicago Exhibition was, as Disney's Epcot Center would be some decades later, a dedicated celebration of American industry and technologies, and of American tradition.¹⁵ The main attractions were demonstrations of Edison's kinesiograph in the Electricity Hall and Buffalo Bill's Rodeo Show.¹⁶

The World's Fairs and Grands Expositions added a scale and grandeur to the ambitions of amusement parks, while amusements and popular entertainments became increasingly central to the appeal of what had once been global trade fairs. World's Fairs offered amusement parks in grand and elaborate settings, an alliance of industry and leisure, of tradition and modernity, of technology and landscaped grounds that has marked the theme park ever since. David Nasaw has described the American World's Fairs in terms that evoke both

Andersen's nineteenth-century fascination with modern technology and the current ethos of the Disney parks:

Culture and commerce joined together with the support of the state, to proclaim the arrival of a new and better future where distinctions between work and play, day and night, education and amusement, fantasy and reality, beauty and excess ... were delightfully blurred. (Nasaw 1993: 78–9)

Many of the attractions first seen at World's Fairs are now the staples of contemporary pleasure grounds – the Ferris wheel, the cowboy show, the extravagant display of electric lights. The site map and guide books, which had been central to the Grands Expositions since the Great Exhibition, became more and more conventionalised, and came to provide the model for the contemporary theme park map now presented to all visitors. The map of the 1939 New York World's Fair presented the geography outside the Flushing Meadows site in shadow; from then on, site maps made less and less reference to the location beyond the boundaries of the Fair, until the map presented the site of the exhibition as a world in itself, just as the theme park map represents a self-contained world. The pavilions built in national styles to house the world's commodities went on to inform the exoticised buildings and attractions of the theme park; the decorated ticketing booths, the firework displays, the central walkway through which patrons enter and exit the grounds are now established as common practice in commercial pleasure grounds.

The 1965 New York World's Fair represents a clear alliance of the leisure industry and of global capital. Disney was closely involved with the design of the attractions and himself designed the exhibits for Ford, General Electric and Pepsi-Cola for the Fair (attractions that would later reappear in his own parks). This involvement with large corporate sponsors was to inform the funding structures for the Epcot Center and for future Disney parks. As a director of Walt Disney Imagineering (WDI), Marty Sklaar, acknowledges, '[i]t seems clear in retrospect that Walt used the 1964 New York World's Fair as a stepping stone ... it gave Walt access to the chief executives of GE and other companies he would want to deal with in the future (quoted in Finch 2004: 463).

Disneyland was firmly established by the time of the New York Fair; the stepping stone that Sklaar describes is one towards the expansion of the Disney parks, with the building of Disney World Florida in 1971 and the Epcot Center in 1982. Both took over some of Walt Disney's initiatives from the New York Fair, notably the Carousel of Progress, now displayed as vintage Disney at Disney World, but also a structure of funding, with attractions sponsored directly by General Electric and other major American corporations. The World Showcase at Epcot can be read as a direct descendant of the World's Fair mission to assemble the products of the trading world in a single place. Epcot's claim that the hosts at the national pavilions are 'genuine natives' from

the country concerned is not far removed from the display of 'natives' at the Egyptian Hall or at World's Fairs in the nineteenth century.

Georg Simmel has referred to the 'outward unity' of the Trade Fair, which claims to present a myriad of global cultural, social and commercial phenomena:

It is a particular attraction of world fairs that they form a momentary centre of world civilization, assembling the products of the entire world in a confined space as if in a single picture. Put the other way round, a single city has broadened into the totality of cultural production. No important product is missing, and though much of the material and samples have been brought together from the whole world they have attained a conclusive form and become part of a single whole. (Simmel 1991: 120)

This 'conclusive form' is exactly what theme park emulates, and is at its most evident in Disney's Epcot World Showcase, the 'confined space' no longer a city, but a theme park.

Disneyland

Disneyland set up a paradigm on which almost all commercial theme parks are now structured. Walt Disney learned his trade and developed his theme parks from his knowledge of Coney Island, World's Fairs and the European pleasure garden. The Tivoli Gardens are credited as Disney's inspiration by his official biographers; although the design and layout of the Disney parks may owe something to the Tivoli Gardens, they are also indebted to the American Coney Island and to successive World's Fairs, and learned from them how to control crowds and to exclude undesirable elements. Disneyland began with the idea of a travelling show:

As Walt's ideas advanced, however, it became clear to him that a travelling show could never make any money. ... He turned his attention to building a 'family park' unlike any amusement park. There would be no Ferris wheel or roller coaster. Visitors wouldn't be afraid to eat the food. Admission would be charged - 'If I don't, there can be drunks and people molesting people in the dark rides' he said. (Greene and Greene 1991: 115)

Disneyland can lay claim to being the first themed pleasure ground, in that it organised its attractions into themed 'lands', a zoning that is in the tradition of the designated areas of the World's Fairs, but here is landscaped around popular genres rather than nations. The original plans for Disneyland were drawn up by Herb Ryman, a Disney artist who had spent some time with the Ringling Brothers' Circus:

The artwork showed Main Street leading up to a circular path (the hub), like spokes on a wheel, led to Holidayland, Mickey Mouse Club, Frontier County, Fantasyland, the World of Tomorrow, Recreationland. (Greene and Greene 1991: 121)

Already, the park is structured around generic categories; central to these are fairy tale, the Western, and adventure and science fiction. These zones were finally to condense into the sites that now structure each Disney park: Fantasyland, Adventureland, Frontierland and Tomorrowland. The Disneyland model was a combination of technological wizardry, American enterprise and a European romantic sensibility – just as Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves*, 1937 (the first animated feature film) had offered an alliance of European folklore and American technological innovation. The narratives and design of the Disney parks nonetheless remain resolutely American, for, as Alan Bryman has pointed out, Disneyland was set up as a 'tribute to America's past and (to) provide a vision of its future' (Bryman 1995: 11).

The Walt Disney Company, Walt Disney Incorporated, had become WED Enterprises in 1952 (with Walt Disney as the only stockholder) and took charge of designing and financing Disneyland. The park was funded through a deal with ABC television, as Bryman explains:

Disney did not own the park, but in return for its small investment and the use of its name, the company received 10 percent of admissions, 5 per cent of food and merchandise sales, and 10 per cent of corporated sponsorship deals. (Bryman 1995: 47)

Disney provided ABC with a one-hour weekly series, 'Disneyland'; this recycled Disney film and cartoons, and in its first year showed footage of the building of the park, acting as pre-publicity for its opening. The Disneyland brand was planned for expansion: Walt Disney World Florida opened in 1971, after Walt's death, Tokyo Disneyland in 1983, Disneyland Paris in 1992, Hong Kong Disneyland opened in 2005, and at the time of writing, a Disneyland is planned in Shanghai. Each of the current Disney parks has itself expanded with additional hotels, theme parks and water attractions. Unlike Coney Island or Blackpool, the Disney parks did not grow out of a location with a history or geography of tourism. The first was built as a self-enclosed space (and every park since has made vigorous attempts to ensure that the site is not encroached upon). The Disneylands have no historical architecture or roots – they are postmodern sites that can be replicated (within the bounds of copyright) anywhere.

Las Vegas

Las Vegas represents another model of the conjunction of entertainment, marketing and the tourist industry. It is a site that flourished in the same decade as the first Disneyland, and it is not coincidental that the same genres recur in the theming of Las Vegas casinos and hotels and in the Disney parks. Beside the fantasy of exotic 'Continental travel' to the sophisticated metropolitan cities

of Paris, Venice and New York, the same genres that have a long association with carnival and fairground sites are to be found in the Las Vegas casinos. The casinos include Excalibur, Treasure Island, Tropicana and Luxor. Each respectively replicates the narrative of chivalric romance, piracy, exotic adventure and Egyptology – the stories that are there in all Disney Worlds and theme parks.

As Helen Stoddart has pointed out, the publicity for the Las Vegas spectacular shows employs much the same rhetoric found in nineteenth-century advertising for spectacle and pantomime:

This rhetoric resonates with the language of nineteenth-century colonialism and there seems to be little difference between this and the advertising of nineteenth century European pantomimes with a colonial theme. ... Both Cirque du Soleil and Ringling Brothers' Barnum and Bailey's The Greatest Show on Earth have regular Las Vegas venues and the combination of earnestness and mimicry ... suggests that, rather than the circus conforming to the conventions of Vegas spectacle, it is the Vegas spectacle which is a descendant of the circus spectacular. (Stoddart 2000: 105–6)

The architecture and theming of Las Vegas spectacles are in a direct line of descent from nineteenth-century popular entertainments. The colonial tales of travel at the Tropicana, the Egyptian orientalism of the Luxor, the medievalism of the Excalibur and the picturesque of the Bellagio and Venice are all narratives that belong to a European tradition of popular entertainment and carnival, shaped for an American market, by way of the circus and Disney.

Las Vegas reconfigured itself in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a family tourist destination, and central to that strategy was the building of hotels and casinos as themed environments. The themes that figured most largely were those found already in the theme park and fairground; the Circus, Circus casino (built in 1968) is entirely themed as a carnival. Las Vegas itself is always concerned to be 'new' and to offer spectacular experience without any weight of history; as a leisure resort it has no interest in promoting its past or of acknowledging the historical forms of its entertainments. But there is also a refusal to recognise a history to the theming of Las Vegas in contemporary cultural and architectural theory – most notably in the postmodern arguments of Scott and Venturi (Venturi *et al.* 1972) who learned how the 'ducks' of Las Vegas were built, but expressed little interest in the historical derivations and intertextuality of their theming.

Heterotopias

The theme park is a privatised space that requires an entrance fee, and yet it borrows the language of the public domain: 'Main Street' at Disneyland, 'Market Square' at Alton Towers. It is promoted as a site for the family day

out, and it is also a social space in which strangers congregate. While the theme park advertises itself as a magical experience, it will frequently be situated in a utilitarian landscape. Often located on the edge of a motorway, near a city but not in it, such sites are described by Foucault as ‘heterotopic’ spaces; he identifies them as compensatory spaces for the disorder and alienation of modernity. He identifies heterotopias as ‘those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even the opposite of others’ (Foucault 1986a: 252).

The theme park is regularly cited as the quintessentially postmodern space, but for Foucault the accumulation of incompatible objects and styles in the heterotopia is not so much a symptom of postmodernism as a consequence of a nineteenth-century modernity:

The idea of accumulating everything ... of creating a sort of universal archive, the desire to enclose all times, all eras, forms and styles within a single place, the concept of making all times into one palace, and yet a place that is outside time, inaccessible to the wear and tear of the years, according to a plan of almost perpetual and unlimited accumulation within an irremovable place, all this belongs entirely to our modern outlook. (Foucault 1986b: 15)

The confusion of genres of the theme park has been taken by many as symptomatic of a postmodern bricolage – but the carnival site has always been a concatenation of different voices, stories and images; there is nonetheless a history and a logic that shapes the categories and iconography of the contemporary theme park. The pleasure garden continues to be structured on the principles of the picturesque; some theme parks have inherited their landscapes, while others reconstruct the landscaping of the aristocratic estate.

The theme park offers a simulation of the carnivalesque; it is a public space that offers the illusion of congregation and heterogeneity; it offers an apparent experience of a social throng. But the popular pleasure ground is a site that has been increasingly regulated, as global corporations have bought up and standardised what were once diverse sites and attractions. Cross and Walton describe the ‘playful crowd’ in what they term ‘palaces of pleasure’:

The playfulness of modern humanity across an astonishingly wide range of contrived and mostly commercial, but still intensely appealing, settings and experiences. ... Their pursuits were distinctly complex – seeking the novel as well as the nostalgic, the thrill of the mechanical ride as well as the majesty of the sea, both the gaudy and the sublime. (Cross and Walton 2005: 5)

This identifies the key elements of the successful tourist site. To work as a pleasure ground, a park must combine both the traditional and innovative, the spectacle of technology and of landscaped nature. The theme park presents the visitor with the picturesque – it offers reassurance rather than challenge. In writing of eighteenth-century popular pleasures, Roy Porter has argued, ‘[t]he



Figure 1.2 Map of Alton Towers theme park

notion of simple pleasure has been too often a simplification of the past and a disavowal of the complexities of which it is constituted' (Porter 1996: ix). The shape of the contemporary pleasure garden is itself a consequence of complex historical movements; the theme park is no simple pleasure and nor are the attractions that it offers. The contemporary theme park offers an embedded history of the pleasure garden and of commercially successful tourist sites that dates from the beginnings of leisure and tourism as cultural categories.

Illustrations and Innovations

The metonymic icons of the carnival

The contemporary theme park has been read as the embodiment of the postmodern site; the use of collage, the juxtaposition of narratives and images without respect for the boundaries of history and geography, is frequently invoked as the abiding feature of postmodernity. For Jameson, ‘Disneyfication’ is ‘another word for postmodernity and its simulacra’ (Jameson 2005: 215).¹ However, the cheerful borrowing and reproduction of ‘inherited’ narratives and cultural images, which Jameson identifies as defining ‘postmodernity (or late capitalism)’, may not be exclusively a postmodern phenomenon. While new technologies and a global culture have certainly broadened the speed and range of a shared cultural iconography, the repeated reproduction of familiar stories and images is not a postmodern or even a modern phenomenon but a process that dates back to the beginnings of the reproduction of visual culture.



Figure 2.1 Mad Hatter's tea party, *Alice in Wonderland*, John Tenniel, 1865

There has long been a borrowing and circulation of defining cultural icons that can be charted from the beginnings of a mass popular culture in the late eighteenth century. There is a logic, a defining historical logic, to the range of stories and images that are to be found in fairgrounds and theme parks across the world. From Brighton Pier and Blackpool Pleasure Beach to Coney Island and Disney World, the same categories dominate the pleasure ground. There is a structural regularity to the tales that signify the carnivalesque and which continue to be used to theme roundabouts, roller coasters, dark rides and whole areas of the theme park. The categories which Disneyland employs to divide the spaces of the park are those of the popular literary genres identifiable from the moment of the mass reproduction of texts and images. At all the Disney parks, the space is organised along the lines of familiar and well-loved sets of stories: Fantasyland is the space of fairy tale, Gothic horror and of chivalric romance; Adventureland of Egyptiana and 'boy's own stories' of empires and treasure islands; Frontierland and Main Street the site of the American Western; and Tomorrowland (or Discoveryland) of science fiction. Each of these genres offers the promise that there are still geographies and cultures to be conquered and that all these can be accessed from the relative safety of Main Street (see Philips 1999). Every theme park since has borrowed this generic ordering; although the textual references may vary and the imagining of Main Street may be different in different contexts, the same organising principles remain.

The stories which are told in the theme park belong to a popular culture, in the sense that they do belong to a folk tradition but they are also creatures of mass culture. To survive into a shared (and global) popular culture they must have successfully made the transition from an oral to a written form, from writing to visual culture and from illustration into moving image. The same stories which have proved a success in one medium will be replicated in another, to the point where they achieve an iconic status in popular culture. The genres which are deployed and redeployed in the theme park have directly traceable narrative and visual histories; they have appeared and reappeared across cultural forms, have circulated and recirculated. They have become a part of the popular cultural memory over a long process, until they can be widely recognised and identified through a set of metonymic icons.

Metonymic icons

The narrative groups which have established themselves as signifiers of the carnivalesque are those which have found their way through popular publishing and across media formats to become a standardised iconography. This iconography has to have been repeatedly reproduced in the mass circulation of stories, in illustration and media image, to become the conventional icons

for a narrative or set of narratives. These are metonyms which come to stand for a text or genre and are iconic both in the sense that they have become cultural icons and in C.S. Peirce's sense that they resemble the illustrated text. A set of fangs, a cloak and dripping blood are thus sufficient to evoke Dracula; a cowboy hat, lasso and gun, the Western; the skull and crossbones, the pirate romance. Often a whole novel can be invoked by an iconic representation of a defining character; the narrative sequence of *Alice in Wonderland* is invoked by the image of a young girl with long fair hair in a blue dress and apron, an icon that is derived both from Tenniel's drawings for the 1865 edition of the novel and from the 1951 Disney film. The relationship of icon to narrative can be still more metonymic and may refer to a single object. The regular fairground ride of a revolving outsized teapot and teacups references the Mad Hatter's tea party, and by extension *Alice in Wonderland*, without any need for a title or character to anchor the allusion to Lewis Carroll's text. These are icons which are widely recognised, whether or not the text itself has been read; they are iconic signs in that they have become the conventional signifiers of that narrative; they are also iconic signs in Peirce's sense of the term in that they signify through some form of resemblance to the signified text.² These signs are the condensation of a long process of illustration and mechanical reproduction in books, cartoons, theatre sets, cinema, television and digital imagery.

There is a firm set of conditions that have to be in place for stories and their associated iconography to become conventionalised into these metonymic icons of popular culture. The tales which have survived in a contemporary visual culture are those stories which were taken up at key moments in the circulation of imagery and which were reproduced across new forms of media as they appeared; what has been profitable in one form will be reproduced in others, until these stories and their associated imagery become conventionalised. Each transition into a new mode of representation is shaped by the previous conventions for the representation of a narrative. There is no straightforward continuity in the persistence of narratives and images but rather a complex set of negotiations, reproductions and plagiarisms in which the most successful popular cultural icons are redeployed in a range of different contexts. As new media emerge from new technological developments, the stories and iconography that had been a proven commercial success in one medium will reappear in the new, inflected by the possibilities and limitations of that medium.

From oral tradition to ballad sheet and chapbook

The tales that are told in the carnival site have no discernible origins, being founded in popular tradition, but can be worked and reworked for different

contexts. They have their roots in an oral culture; magic, fairy tale and the ghost story are founded in gossip and local folk tales. They therefore can have no single version and can have no owner; despite the efforts of folk historians,³ their beginnings are lost in the mists of time. The tales that circulate in carnival sites are all, in the words of a nineteenth-century storyteller, 'twice told tales'. These are stories, which as Hawthorne explains, have no copyright and which can be repeatedly remade to suit each generation:

No epoch of time can claim a copyright in these immortal fables. They seem never to have been made; and certainly, so long as man exists, they can never perish; but, by their indestructibility itself, they are legitimate subjects for every age to clothe with its own garniture of manners and sentiment, and to imbue with its own morality. (Hawthorne 1982: 163)

There is a constant trope in the writing up and popularisation of a genre, the claim that each version is closer to an original. Traditional folk stories find their literary authors, such as Madame D'Aulnoy, Perrault and the Brothers Grimm, writers who shift them from an oral into a literary context. Each claims an original source (as in the Grimm Brothers' invention of an authentic oral source, Old Grette), but there can be no original. These tales can be understood as simulacra (Baudrillard 1988); that is, they have no identifiable origins but can be endlessly replicated in any number of different versions. In one of Baudrillard's accounts of simulation, he describes the process as

the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth it is the map that precedes the territory – precession of simulacra – it is the map that engenders the territory and if we were to revive the fable today, it would be the territory whose shreds are slowly rotting across the map. (Baudrillard 1988: 166)

The origins of the Gothic, fairy tale and fantastic fables which structure the hyperreality of the theme park have precisely rotted. It may be possible to approximate a date from the first written version of an oral narrative – but this can only be an inscription of a lost cultural artefact. These stories have a very real purchase on the popular imagination; with few exceptions,⁴ the tales that belong to the carnival are those with no original author. They therefore belong to everyone, can be retold by anyone and can never be entirely owned.

Many of these stories first circulated in English in the form of ballads and chapbooks, the fictions that the poor could afford. Ballads, printed as sheets, chapbooks and in small volumes, often told their tales in rhyme; these were stories that did not require much literacy and were invariably illustrated. Ballad sheets and the stories and images that they circulated were intrinsically bound up with the carnival and fairground, sold as they were at country fairs and markets (see Altick 1978: 74). These popular tales and their accompanying images were often lurid depictions of shipwreck, gruesome murder and crime, and tales of death and hauntings, stories that would eventually transmute

into the more familiar genres of piracy, romance and Gothic horror. Neuburg describes the contents of the ballad sheet and chapbook, confirming the extent to which the same iconography survived across genres and editions:

Chapbooks may be defined as the paper-covered books offered for sale by pedlars, hawkers and other itinerant merchants known as ‘chapmen’ ... By seventeen hundred, an important part of his stock-in-trade had become a budget of small books, whose varied subjects included devils, angels, scoundrels, heroes, love, hate, fairy tales, religion, fables, shipwreck, executions, prophecies and fortune telling. Illustrated with woodcuts, they cost usually one penny each. ... The woodcuts with which they were illustrated were used over and over again, becoming more and more worn, so that by eighteen hundred the visual quality of chapbooks had declined considerably. (Neuburg 1964: 1)

There is clearly no agreement as to at what point the ballad sheet, usually containing a single story, becomes the more substantial chapbook. Neuburg uses the terms interchangeably; for him the chapbook includes

not only the little books which were hawked through this country and the American Colonies during the Eighteenth Century, but also their survivals and successors in the Nineteenth. This includes street ballads, execution sheets, ‘last dying speeches’ and other fugitive papers which achieved extraordinarily wide circulations before the days of the cheap press; also children’s books of the cheaper kind. (Neuburg 1964: i)

The ‘cheapness’ (and therefore popularity) of these texts has also troubled critics of this form of literature. Andrew Lang, in editing a collection of ballads in 1897, is unclear whether to categorise them as a ‘literary’ or ‘degraded’ popular form – a distinction that remains unresolved:

[S]ome writers have decided ... that our traditional ballads are degraded popular survivals of literary poetry. The plots and situations of some ballads are, indeed, the same as those of some literary medieval romances. Both these plots and situations, in Epic and Romance, are themselves the final literary form of *märchen*, myths and inventions originally *popular*, and still, in certain cases, extant in popular form among races which have not yet evolved, or borrowed, the ampler and more polished and complex *genres* of literature. Thus, when a literary romance and a ballad have the same theme, the ballad may be a popular degradation of the romance; or it may be the original popular shape of it, still surviving in tradition. (Lang 1897: xiv)

The tortuous sentences and arguments here suggest the difficulty of sustaining any distinction between the popular and ‘more polished and complex’ literary forms. Many of the stories and ballads remain extant (in part through the endeavours of Lang and his predecessors) among ‘races’ (including his own). The metonymic icons of popular stories certainly have evolved and borrowed from more complex forms – while many of the poets who developed the literary forms (including Shakespeare) took their stories from popular forms.

Broadside ballads were published anonymously, with rhyming texts and accompanying woodcuts. Chapbook publishers also kept stocks of images which could be used to accompany different stories and so developed a standardised set of images for particular kinds of stories, a stockpile of popular iconography associated with different genres.⁵ Anderson explains:

Like the broadside publishers, those who printed and sold chapbooks ... kept a stock of images to be used and reused ... there were groups of stories – for instance *Jack and the Giants*, *Tom Thumb*, and *Tom, Tom the Piper's Son* – each with episodes similar enough to allow publishers to interchange the same set of engraved blocks. (Anderson 1991: 28)

The illustrations were central to their popularity, but because woodcuts were expensive, publishers would buy up job lots of blocks and use them over and over again, with little care for accuracy or source; as Muir puts it, 'publishers often took their blocks where they could find them' (Muir 1967: 14). These images could often appear in wildly inappropriate contexts, 'often mixing historical periods, supplying inappropriate images or late illustrations of incidents in previous instalments' (James and Smith 1998: xvi). The illustrations and stories found in the popular market place had no copyright and could be reused indefinitely. Even with the establishment of copyright as a legal concept at the beginning of the eighteenth century,⁶ unscrupulous publishers continued to plagiarise and reuse illustrations without payment, and so they could circulate in cheap editions for decades. There was a trade in anonymous woodblocks, which changed hands well into the nineteenth century. As Celina Fox has charted (Fox 1988), the lurid and Gothic tales which were (literally) the stock in trade of the ballad sheets and chapbooks would go on to shape the illustrated stories for the later penny dreadfuls and illustrated magazines of the late nineteenth century. It was the longevity of such versions and images of popular stories that would establish a familiar set of icons and conventions for the popular recognition of genres.

The Romantic imagination and popular publishing

The popularisation of stories and images depends on technologies that enable their reproduction and circulation. The Industrial Revolution brought with it new techniques in printing and reprographics which made for a wider recognition and consumption of popular forms and cultural icons. The possibility of relatively cheap and available popular publishing allowed an unprecedented expansion of the circulation of stories, and their illustrations, from ballad sheets into magazines and journals. As Raymond Williams has argued, the modern 'idea of culture' and a distinction between art and industry (Williams 1958) are themselves products of the late eighteenth century.

The historical moment of the Romantic imagination is thus the moment of the commodification of stories. This is the period in which the genres of science fiction⁷ and the Western are developed and in which the folk tale, the chivalric and the Gothic romance begin to be distinguished as literary forms. The industrial production of reading materials takes stories into the realm of mass culture; as Leo Lowenthal has explained:

If one takes the term 'mass' media to mean marketable cultural goods produced for a substantial buying public, the eighteenth century in England is the first period in history where it can be meaningfully applied. During the first few decades of the eighteenth century, the growing industrialization and urbanization of England, together with the cheaper production of paper and improved methods for producing and distributing literary goods, made reading matter less costly and more easily accessible than it had ever been before. (Lowenthal 1961: 52)

The consumption and recognition of these 'cultural goods' was not entirely dependent on literacy, for the iconography from the stockpile images of the chapbooks reappeared as carnival decorations and in the displays of panoramas and dioramas. As Altick has argued, such visual shows reproduced very similar images for the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century popular audience as Romantic poets and painters were creating for the cultivated literati:

[T]he panoramas were an expression in popular art of the spirit which permeated much of literate English life in those decades ... In their necessarily cruder form, panoramas of romantic locales – an Alpine pass, Roman ruins, a Niagara cataract, an Irish lake, a medieval French town, a Levantine city – appealed to the same tastes that were drawn to the poetry of Wordsworth, Scott, Byron and Moore. (Altick 1978: 181)

These displays brought a romantic sensibility and the key iconographies of the romantic landscape to an audience who could not have read the poetry or fiction. Posters for panoramas and dioramas featured large coloured illustrations, and the panorama became a regular feature of theatrical spectacles, again reproducing the landscapes of the picturesque.

The distinction between popular entertainments and educational purpose is not a clear division for audiences of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Victorian concept of rational recreation depended on a world in which the boundaries between work and leisure are clearly marked, and before the domination of industrialisation, they are not. Altick has described the importance of the exhibition in London for a general public (largely illiterate in the generations before the 1870 Education Act) who had no other means of accessing information about other cultures and countries:

To those who could and did read, exhibitions served as a supplement to books, particularly to illustrate in tangible form some of the most popular kinds of informational literature in various periods, narratives of exploration and

travel ... treatises on pseudo science ... histories ... works describing successive centers of archaeological discovery. To the uneducated, exhibitions served as surrogates for such books, telling as much about those subjects of civilized human interest as they were ever likely to know. (Altick 1978: 1)

For those who could not read, carnival, travelogues, circus, panoramas and fairgrounds were all sites for a conjunction of showmanship and the revelation of new information. And those spectacles were also reproduced in the form of illustrations for the growing popular press.

Technologies and the reading public

New technologies in printing and paper production from the late eighteenth century made the circulation of imagery and stories increasingly available to wider audiences. Anderson has neatly summarised some of the key developments of the early nineteenth century that allowed for the mass production of a popular iconography:

The hallmark of a transformed and expanded popular culture was its increasingly pictorial character ... The introduction into England of mechanized paper-making (1803), the steam-powered press (1814) and multiple-cylinder stereotype printing (1827) permitted the low-cost, high-speed dissemination of the printed word. The same technological advances also made possible the profitable, high-quality mass reproduction of diverse imagery. As a result, illustrations of art, nature, technical processes, famous people, foreign lands and many other subjects for the first time became widely available and affordable. (Anderson 1991: 2)

Illustration was central to the development of this new popular culture and was made possible by a set of political and technological developments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The combination of a growth in literacy, advances in printing and publishing techniques, the gradual repeal of 'taxes on knowledge', all enabled printed matter to be cheaply produced and made widely available.⁸ These factors also shaped the medium most responsible for the mass circulation of stories and iconography: the magazine. Lowenthal has suggested the importance of the magazine form in establishing the genres of popular publishing:

The magazine, as distinct from pamphlets supported by religious or political groups, was the newest and most characteristic medium of the age. In the fifty year period between 1730 and 1780, at least one new magazine a year was presented to the London public, the majority bearing the 'something for everyone' format ... Prototypes of nearly all forms of modern magazines were introduced and for the most part flourished. (Lowenthal 1961: 52)

The major selling point of *The Penny Magazine*, first published in 1832,⁹ was its illustrations; its stated mission was to bring civilisation and culture through ‘art’. This meant regular reproductions of ‘high’ art imagery in wood engravings, largely landscapes which conformed to a Romantic notion of the ‘picturesque’, conventions now familiar to a wide audience from their recurrent reproduction. *The Illustrated London News* was founded in 1842 and pioneered a new form of journalism, as a paper in which illustrations were the priority. The first issue had sixteen pages and thirty-two engravings; it sold 26,000 copies. By 1863 the circulation was 300,000 (see Hibbert 1976: 13). *The Illustrated London News* offered its readers ‘News in Pictures’, with illustrated accounts of the great national and international events of the day. The Great Exhibition, the siting of the Obelisk in the Place de la Concorde in Paris and the building of the Suez Canal were among the illustrated features, all events and images which would go on to shape popular ideas of modernity, architecture and Egypt.¹⁰ The paper also carried (invariably illustrated) short fiction by some of the key figures in popular literary genres, among them were Robert Louis Stevenson, Arthur Conan Doyle and Rudyard Kipling. While *The Illustrated London News* was initially expensive at 6d, its success was followed by any number of cheaper imitations; *The Graphic*, *The Sketch* and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* were all titles that followed in its wake.

An American version, *The Illustrated American News*, came out in 1851¹¹ but was not a success. It was the Englishman Frank Leslie who established the illustrated magazine as a cultural phenomenon in America with the publication of *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* in 1855. Frank Leslie had begun as a wood engraver in England; his weekly *Illustrated Newspaper* was to become the most popular illustrated journal in America, its success very much reliant on its illustrations. According to Stern,

[The paper] sported just enough text to float the pictures instead of just enough pictures to float the text. Thanks to a clever and ingenious device, Leslie was able to produce his pictures – sometimes mammoth double-page engravings – with unprecedented speed. (Stern 1975: xx)

Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper launched a publishing empire of weekly and monthly illustrated magazines for adults and children.¹² These papers supplied pictorial spreads for all the established popular fictional genres and confirmed the imagery and conventions for these popular genres in America. Frank Leslie was a key figure in defining the iconography of the American West, with his commissions of Western landscapes and particularly his use of Remington’s heroic images of the cowboy as cover illustrations.¹³ Frank Leslie was also central to a popularisation of Egyptiana and the American Gothic; he was the first publisher of Louisa May Alcott’s Gothic tales, her regular contributions always appearing with illustrations.

The Illustrated London News and Frank Leslie were successful enough publishers to commission original illustrations; this was not the case for less financially secure publications. There was an interchange between America and Britain of stories and images with a disregard for copyright or authenticity, a practice that dated from the eighteenth century. As Wagner explains, '[i]n the eighteenth century ... crude woodcuts – often clumsy copies of illustrations of English children's books – were published in America' (Wagner 2000: 14). American authors also took advantage of plots that had proved successful in Britain and borrowed or rewrote works from British writers, who similarly pirated American stories. To save money, American publishers would plagiarise book illustrations from English artists by cutting new blocks, rather than commissioning original illustrations from American artists. These were images that consequently had no copyright and would be reproduced and recycled to accompany popular tales over decades.

Woodblocks and metal plates for engravings could be bought up (or borrowed) by publishers and made to accompany any number of texts. Once the investment in a set of illustrations and engraved blocks had been made, publishers would use them over and over, sometimes commissioning text to fit the illustrations. Much of the historical work on illustrated magazines is found in the compilations of bibliophiles such as Gleeson White and William Linton, both critics who declare their interest in the 'best' of early nineteenth-century illustration. It is, however, the work that they dismiss as 'crude' or 'of not good quality' that would have appeared in the cheapest periodicals – images which would have been recycled more than any others. It is through this process that the metonymic icons of the ballad sheets and chapbooks are recirculated into new techniques of reproduction.

The growth of cheap reading material and illustration did not mean the abandonment of old cultural forms. The same images that had accompanied stories in early popular publishing regularly resurfaced; Anderson terms this iconography 'pictorial survivals':

[T]he expansion of popular culture and pictorial experience between 1832 and 1860 was not only a matter of change – of the new emerging and the old disappearing. Rather, side by side with all the artefacts of a transformed popular culture – weekly newspapers, pictorial advertisements, mass-circulation magazines, and penny dreadfuls – there remained pictorial survivals with their origins in earlier popular cultural experience: for example, chapbook-style reissues of ... traditional favourites ... murder and execution sheets, religious broadsides, and ballad sheets with old stock woodcuts. (Anderson 1991: 175)

The stock images and stories of the ballad sheets and chapbooks clung on with tenacity and continued to circulate in new forms, so confirming the iconographic conventions of popular genres for a new mass market in popular culture.

Showmen and storytellers

As the novel develops as the most significant cultural form of the nineteenth century, so folk tales and legends are taken up as elements in fiction and become associated with individual writers. The same names circulate again and again as the writers who popularised key narratives – and who are generally acknowledged as the ‘fathers’ of particular genres.¹⁴ Chivalric romance is associated with Sir Walter Scott, science fiction with Mary Shelley and later Jules Verne and H.G. Wells, fairy tale with Charles Perrault, the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen. But these figures – important though they certainly were – were not alone as purveyors of these genres. They were all working with stories that already had an established oral and written tradition. Scott is reworking tales found in ballad sheets and chapbooks; Verne is writing in the tradition of the *Voyages Fantastiques*; Perrault, Anderson and the Grimms are setting down tales that had long existed in oral culture and which, in Perrault’s case certainly, had already been written by women. These are all figures who are writing at the moment of mass communication and who were happy to share their legacy with the popular market. They owe their status to the fact that their writing emerged at a historical moment when the publication and production of texts (and accompanying imagery) could reach a wide public. As popular tales were taken up by established authors, these stories entered into the realm of the ‘classic’ tale, and were simultaneously confirmed as popular, in the sense of widely recognised and enjoyed narratives.

Each had the ability to shuttle between the worlds of the literary and the popular, and each had an element of showmanship in their work and in their public persona. They were all popularisers, figures who attracted attention both from intellectuals and from popular journalism and who were happy to embrace a mass market. In America, Edgar Allan Poe, Mark Twain, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Louisa May Alcott all belonged to intellectual circles – and so were well aware of literary and aesthetic movements in Europe and America – but they were also journalists who contributed to popular magazines and so reached a wide readership.

There are also figures who were not primarily known as writers but whose exploits took them beyond the specificity of their own field and into popular culture. Giovanni Battista Belzoni was himself a fairground showman, but he was also the significant figure in the development of Egyptology as a discipline; his publicity skills ensured that his discoveries went beyond the academic confines of the British Museum. H.M. Stanley may have presented himself as an intrepid African explorer, but he was a journalist and his expeditions were funded by a newspaper. William Frederick Cody may have been a cowboy hunter, but it is as Buffalo Bill of the Wild West Show that he became famous. Each of these figures is responsible for establishing a mythology and

iconography associated with the genres of Egyptology, exploration and the Western, respectively. They were all showmen who catapulted themselves and their stories into popular memory.

Illustrated fictions

If the late eighteenth century saw the beginnings of the magazine industry and the establishment of some titles that remain familiar, it is the mid-nineteenth century that sees the explosion of stories and imagery, in what Sillars describes as a ‘flood tide’ of illustrated novels during the 1830s. To be published in an illustrated edition, a novel or set of stories must have already proved a popular success. As Muir explains, ‘illustrations were used only after a novel had proved a success ... a large and assured public was looked for before a publisher could entertain the possibility of an illustrated edition’ (Muir 1967: 1). These illustrated novels were also published in serial form, often in these same magazines. If illustrated books could be initially expensive, the part publication of books or story collections with illustrations made them accessible to a much wider audience. Those who could not afford a complete volume could buy weekly stories or chapters, issued with illustrations. These editions, most of which had at least one illustration, were widely available from the 1840s, often sold in penny parts. The more sensational cheaply bound single stories became known as ‘penny dreadfuls’ and advertised their contents with lurid front cover illustrations. The Picture Library of ‘Original Complete Novels by Favourite Authors’ priced at one penny brought illustrated editions of popular and literary novels into an affordable price range. Each penny edition in the Picture Library featured ‘A Handsome Oleography Picture’ on the front cover, images which were published with the expectation that readers would collect the series; as the advertising leaflet expressed it, ‘[t]he Picture Library will enable the public to form a magnificent Scrap-Book of highly finished Pictures’ (Evanian Collection, British Library).

The illustrations of prestigious publications were widely imitated and reproduced in such cheaply available editions. Maidment has described the wood engravings which allowed for the reproduction of these images as

both a naturalistic representational medium through which Victorians sought to describe and delineate their increasingly complex and technological world and as a shorthand non-naturalistic visual code built out of long traditions of popular illustration in broadsides, reprinted fiction, pamphlets, and tracts. (Maidment 1996: 15)

The newly available popular fiction was thus making use of long-established forms of iconography and narrative, already widely familiar. This ‘shorthand ... visual code’ used in new modes of image reproduction made use

of the same metonymic icons as had the previous wood blocks and brought them to a wider public than ever before.

After 1850, new technological developments in printing and in engraving ensured the circulation of this iconography. The developing railway network made for a wider distribution of printed materials and also provided a need for travellers to obtain cheaply available reading materials. The repeal of the British newspaper tax in 1855 allowed newsprint to reach a wider audience, and stamp duty on periodicals was gradually reduced, to be finally abolished in 1861.

Magazine titles were developed to target new consumers, and illustrated fiction was the big attraction, as Sillars puts it:

[T]he new magazines were largely composed of self-contained short stories, each of which had three, four or more illustrations, often in half-tone ... big 'names' were offered to lure readers from the competition, illustration is also an important draw. Colour plates for special numbers and supplements of paintings were designed to appeal to the tastes of each magazine's particular group of readers and the sheer quantity of illustrations was often held up as an additional feature. (Sillars 1995: 73–4)

Serial instalments of fiction, with illustrations, were what made for a best-selling title. Illustrations were crucial to the success of a title, not for the initial sales of single volumes but necessary to advertise the part publication. These serialised books, sold in weekly chapters, needed identifiable images on the cover to market them, images which appeared not only on the parts but also as advertising in booksellers and print shops. As Harvey notes,

It made little difference to the first edition of a three-volume novel whether there were illustrations or not. But with the monthly-part novel the illustrations were not merely desired, they were needed ... The illustrations mattered so much partly because they were a good advertisement. The pictures were displayed in the shop-windows as each new episode appeared. (Harvey 1970: 8)¹⁵

If novels had no illustrations when originally issued, this need not mean that subsequent editions were sold without pictures. Sillars describes the practice of 'grangerising',¹⁶ in which publishers would insert prints of vaguely appropriate subjects into already bound volumes (Sillars 1995: 11). These prints were often of landscapes and therefore not tied to any particular story. Neither printmakers nor publishers were fussy about which prints went with which texts precisely; job lots of prints of picturesque landscapes could serve as illustrations for volumes of fairy tales, chivalric romances or the works of Sir Walter Scott. Seascapes could be used interchangeably for desert island stories, tales of shipwreck and piracy. Once a commission for illustration had been fulfilled, the artist forfeited all further rights to his or her work or any control over where it was reproduced. As Muir describes,

Not only did the payment include the reproduction rights for the work immediately in hand but also the drawings themselves and the right to use them in any other

project that took the publisher's fancy ... drawings that were made to illustrate one set of texts in a periodical could be used to illustrate quite different subjects. (Muir 1967: 21)

The decade of the 1860s in Britain and America has become known as a 'golden age of illustration'. Among those to employ the term is the bibliophile Gleeson White,¹⁷ who, writing in 1897, saw the illustrator as the artist of popular modernity: 'The illustrator is the really popular artist of the period – the natural product of the newer conditions' (White 1970: 10). The 'newer conditions' saw wood engraving, as opposed to woodcuts, become the dominant means of reproducing illustration. The development of the 'stereotype' printing plate in the 1870s allowed for still cheaper reproductions. Illustrated anthologies and gift books, often luxury editions of already published stories and illustrations, became an important element in the publishing industry. The lavishly illustrated gift book was a form that proliferated in the late nineteenth century; as Muir puts it, '[i]n the eighties and nineties the output of every publisher with a general market included a high proportion of illustrated books, and this included ... gift books, children's books and travel and technical works' (Muir 1967: 202). The late nineteenth century was the period in which specific markets were becoming defined and which saw an increasingly distinct category of children's fiction.

Children's fiction

The market for penny editions of fiction was generally assumed to be adult until the middle of the nineteenth century, when a market of illustrated fiction for children emerged. According to Carpenter, this market was bifurcated according to gender:

It was in the 1850s that the moral tale began to give way to fiction of a different kind. This newly emergent juvenile fiction no longer appealed to *all* children, but to boys and girls as separate groups: girls were offered stories about decorous heroines in domestic crises; boys could now read exciting accounts of the exploits of bold young heroes in far off places. (Carpenter 1984: 11)

The genres of adventure and pirate romance (with few exceptions) were directed at boys, and fairy tale became the form most associated with femininity, a gendered division which still pertains in the theme park, where the fairy tale sites are clearly coded as feminine. These moral tales developed as Christian alternatives to the penny dreadful and their perceived dangers for young minds. An 1868 parliamentary question had directly attributed juvenile criminality to 'the spread of cheap publications and theatrical representations of an exciting and immoral character'¹⁸ (quoted in James and Smith 1998: xviii).

The adventures in ‘far off places’ in this new fiction for young Britons were intimately bound up with a celebration of Empire; this is the literature that establishes the genre that Joseph Bristow identifies in *Empire Boys*¹⁹ and which continues to shape the idea of adventure in the carnival site. Cheap weekly periodicals for boys made their imperial allegiances clear, with titles such as *Boys of England* and *Sons of Britannia*. Imperial heroes could insert themselves into any popular genre, and their exploits could take them to Africa, Egypt or the American West; they could engage in pirate battles and scientific experiments. The *Boy's Own Paper*, founded by the Religious Tract Society in 1879, was another Christian intervention; it became the title that dominated the market and came to embody the spirit of imperial adventure.²⁰ Alfred Harmsworth attempted to capitalise on this success by launching his own series of respectable ‘juvenile fiction’, priced at a halfpenny, and ensured commercial success by recycling many of the same lurid stories and images that had proved themselves so popular in the penny dreadful.

The boy’s own ‘illustrated weeklies’ were just as much a cultural phenomenon in late nineteenth-century American popular culture. An American *Boy's Own Paper* appeared in the same year as the British version. In that year, 1879, an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* outlined the phenomenon of ‘Story-Paper Literature’ (all the titles cited, however, are for boys) and indicates the range of popular genres to be found in these titles:

Boy’s Journal, Boys of New York, Boys of America, Boys of the World, Young Men of New York, Young Men of America ... The heroes are boys, and there are few departments of unusual existence in which they are not seen figuring to brilliant advantage. They are shown amply competent as the Boy Detective, the Boy Spy, the Boy Trapper, the Boy Buccaneer, the Boy Guide, the Boy Captain, the Boy Robinson Crusoe. (W.H. Bishop, quoted in Nash Smith 1967: 409)

By the 1880s, the illustrated adventure tale had become a conventionalised product in Britain and America, a ‘piece of manufactured goods’ in Carpenter’s term (Carpenter 1984: 12). The introduction of linotype in 1891, which enabled mechanical typesetting, brought in a new kind of magazine, the illustrated monthly addressed to a family audience. The most successful titles were those linked to publishers of ‘respectable’ fiction, and so the magazine became a means of promoting in-house texts and authors. *The Strand Magazine*, first published in 1891, ‘with a picture on every page’, came out of George Newnes’ publishing house; *The Windsor* (1895) was attached to Ward, Lock and Co.; and *Pearson’s Magazine* (1897) to A.C. Pearson publishers. All these companies were known for their children’s fiction and for producing popular editions of ‘classic’ texts.

These magazines and books confirmed a set of key stories and imagery for children’s fiction and illustration; these same narratives and genres can be seen as reproduced in more ‘literary’ Edwardian fiction for children. Edith Nesbit’s children’s books, first serialised in *The Strand Magazine*, demonstrate a

capacious knowledge (and assume a familiarity on the part of the contemporary young reader) with the genres of popular fiction. The children of *Five Children and It* (1902) and *The Phoenix and the Carpet* (1904) demonstrate a thorough familiarity with adventure and fairy tale, chivalric romance and Egyptology. The dreams expressed to the Psammead in *Five Children and It* are framed by illustrated popular novels and by magazine imagery; the children wish to be as ‘beautiful as the day’ as in a fairy tale and want to live in a castle ‘like the pictures Robert had so often admired in the historical romances’ (Nesbit 1902: 102).

Nesbit herself contributed Gothic tales, fairy stories, ballads and legends to magazines and later compiled them into illustrated volumes. With Andrew Lang she can be seen as a part of the late nineteenth-century movement for a literary reconfiguration of folklore which simultaneously made for its popularisation.

As Sillars has pointed out, an understanding of the significance of visual elements in the circulation and reproduction of stories challenges any neat division between high art and popular culture, and between academic disciplinary boundaries:

[T]he illustration of works of fact and fiction, the involvement of artists as illustrators in works of both ‘high’ and ‘popular’ art and the interweaving of elements of what we would now call comic-strip art with prints making serious satiric points all reveal that the new dual discourse sprawled right across a number of genres and contexts, so that the separation into categories fundamental to much traditional literary and art historical study is quite impossible when dealing with illustrated texts. (Sillars 1995: 10)

The dual discourse of stories and their associated iconographies inevitably ‘sprawled’ across other media. The iconography established in newsprint and in illustrated books would find a wider circulation in theatre sets and costumes, in toys and in children’s games.

Stage sets and toy theatres

The theatre is key in establishing the iconography for the sets and characters of popular genres. If early publishers were not overly concerned with the ownership of tales or illustrations, theatrical producers were similarly cavalier with scripts and designs for stage sets. Theatre producers would directly plagiarise from successful artists and illustrators, making use of any tale or iconography that had proven popular success. The figure of Harlequin²¹ is an embodiment of the cheerful plagiarism of text and iconography that has long been a mark of popular theatre and pantomime. Harlequin is a promiscuous character who could (just as Mickey Mouse would later) insert himself into any number of stories – and associate with whatever character or narrative was currently fashionable, whether this be King Arthur, Mother Goose or Frankenstein.

Theatrical plagiarism was inevitable given the British history of attempted controls on theatre productions. The 1737 Licensing Act allowed only the Theatres Royal to stage play texts; until 1843, the London theatres of Covent Garden and Drury Lane could claim a monopoly on spoken drama, as Royal Patent Theatres. Their patents meant that they were granted by royal decree ‘the sole and only right’ of performing ‘legitimate’ versions of play texts. This required that other theatres rely on comedy and pantomime, productions that were built on visual spectacle rather than a script. There were also a number of ways of circumventing copyright; as Broadbent describes it,

[The patents were] infringed in many ways. The means adopted was the employment of Pantomime ... These were entirely carried on by action, and when the actor could not express something that had to be explained, like the names of characters, a scroll, with the necessary details inscribed thereon, was unrolled in full view of the audience. (Broadbent 1901: 217)

With the spectacle and dumb show of pantomime, the precise character of scripts and setting could be evaded – while still clearly referencing ‘legitimate’ plays and productions. This intertextuality saw versions of original play texts mingling with other stories to produce the still very live form of ‘Pantoland’, in Angela Carter’s description:

The infinite intercouplings of possible texts which occur all the time in the promiscuity of Pantoland, one story effortlessly segues into another story, so that Mother Goose twins up with Jack and the Beanstalk. (Carter 1993: 103)

The use of visual spectacle introduced yet more elements; theatrical extravaganzas and pantomimes at non-licensed venues required fairies, water spectacles and exotic locales. Pantomime is in its very nature and history a plagiarising form that draws upon historical and contemporary popular successes and presents them back as traditional popular culture. As a pantomime historian explains, ‘Pantomime scripts have always been mobile. They are openly re-produced in different cities, or privately borrowed and cut to measure’ (Clinton-Baddeley 1963: 36).

If the stories and characters of the pantomime were mobile, so were the sets and costumes. Popular theatre productions required spectacle, and the sets and costumes could derive from a wild *mélange* of exotic styles. As Lambert and Marx note, ‘scenic design ... was luxuriating in a riot of medieval, oriental and even nautical splendour, uninhibited by historical accuracy’ (Lambert and Marx 1951: 110). This confusion of genres was compounded by the redeployment of sets for different productions. In the interests of keeping costs down, theatre producers (just like publishers) would unapologetically reuse sets and costumes from one context in another. The ‘oriental’ could be used for a range of fairy tales and their transformation scenes but also for dramas of adventure. The baronial halls required for the

numerous dramatic versions of Scott's romances could stand in for the castles and cottages required for fairy tale. The patterns of recycling are clear from the toy theatre versions which attached the same sets to a number of different playscripts. Toy theatre sets popularised and plagiarised contemporary stage productions and so 'incidentally created a visual record of the contemporary stage' (Fawdry 1980: 7).

Those who did not attend the theatre would be exposed to the sets and costumes of successful London West End productions through prints of celebrity actors and through toy theatre sets. The first identified theatre sheets were published and registered in 1811, with characters for the pantomime *Mother Goose*. The theatrical publisher William West sold souvenirs of current productions, which became the basis for his production of 'juvenile dramas', miniature versions of the sets and costumes of successful theatrical events. By 1815, West was making 10,000 copies of a single print. Other publishers, among them Hodgson, Green, Lloyds, Redington and Webb, followed with their own versions of juvenile drama, priced at 'a penny plain and twopence coloured'. From 1851 Pollock's produced copper plates of 'play books', containing play script, characters and scenery. Skelt's 'Theatrical Warehouse' produced their own cheaper versions at a 'halfpenny plain and penny coloured'; their catalogue boasted a wide range of iconography derived from circus and patriotic spectacle as well as pantomime and theatre:

LIKEWISE A GREAT VARIETY Of Favourite Horse and Foot Portraits, Fours and Sixes, Combats, Seraphs, Novelties, Soldiers, Stage Fronts, Drop Scenes, Orchestras, Set and Four Pieces, Top Drops, Large Scenes, Pantomime Tricks and Characters, Fairies, &c., which may be had either Plain or Coloured.

And a Great Variety of other things which are too numerous to mention.
(Back cover to *Skelt's Juvenile Drama* 1854)

Speaight's bibliography of toy theatre titles in Britain and America indicates the extent to which the genres of the toy theatre replicate the successes of popular fiction and are themselves replicated in the *mise en scène* of theme park attractions (Speaight 1999). Few new titles were added after 1860, but the successful plays were reissued throughout the century, and some continue to be published today.²²

These versions of popular plays could be accessed by many who would never have attended a London theatre production or have afforded more expensive illustrated books. Like the theatrical producers, the publishers of toy theatres were less concerned with accuracy than with the cost of production and were indiscriminate about the geographical and historical precision of their iconography. Backdrops became interchangeable for different plays; plates used for Shakespearean dramas could be recycled for fairy tale *mise en scène* or become the background for Arthurian sagas. Sets of characters were issued as fours or sixteen per sheet, to be used for different productions.

The stock sets and characters as described by Speaight are still familiar from contemporary pantomime and have also shaped the landscapes of the theme park: ‘costumes were Gothick, Bohemian, or Oriental; so was the scenery, there was the cottage scene and the palace scene, both interior and exterior, the landscape, the sea calm and the sea angry, the forest, the cave’ (Speaight 1946: 67).

Toy theatre publishers regularly inherited, bought and pirated plates from other publishers, so that Skelt and Pollock (the longest surviving publishers) were circulating very similar versions of stage sets and characters and covering the same productions.

Publishers of toy theatres often were also publishers of children’s books – although the dramas produced for toy theatres were not intended for children but based on contemporary theatre productions. There was a direct link between the expansion of popular publishing, the theatre and toy theatres. Theatre sets and characters and celebrity portraits were reproduced in illustrated weeklies to accompany theatrical news. Cheap popular papers were advertised with the promise of free gifts of toy theatre books; often the illustrators were the same for both the periodical and the toy theatre sheets. As James and Smith have demonstrated, the illustrations for popular stories were themselves already shaped by theatrical sets:

[I]llustrations are frequently dramatic and recall the rather stilted confrontations of the cheap contemporary theatrical prints. This is hardly surprising, since the same artists were employed on both bloods and cheap series of plays ... the early bloods were influenced in style and subject matter by the contemporary theatre, which continued to interact with popular literature throughout the nineteenth century. (James and Smith 1998: xvi–xvii)

Robert Louis Stevenson and Hans Christian Andersen were two key figures in the popularisation of adventure, romance and folk tale; both had played with toy theatres as children, and Andersen, especially, was fascinated by the theatre. In an 1884 essay Stevenson remembers the power of the toy theatre:

Every sheet we fingered was another lightning glance into obscure, delicious story; it was like wallowing in the raw stuff of story-books ... I ... acquired a gallery of scenes and characters with which, in the silent theatre of the brain, I might enact all novels and romances; and took from these rude cuts an enduring and transforming pleasure. Reader – and yourself? (Stevenson 1884: 228)

Comic books and pulp fiction

The ‘raw stuff of story books’ would come to generations of children after the late nineteenth century not through the images of toy theatres or book illustrations but through comic books. The comic book emerged out of the

penny dreadful and boy's own papers – as it became technically easier to reproduce images cheaply, so illustrations came to dominate over the text in popular periodicals. Comic book publishers were as casual about copyright as the penny dreadful editors had been, and the same material was shared and plagiarised across the Atlantic.

Initially, comic books drew on comic strips from newspapers and magazines; *Comic Cuts* was first published in the United Kingdom in 1890 and had its first colour issue in 1896. As the Depression hit, the 'Funnies' no longer seemed appropriate and comic book publishers turned to already familiar genres. Savage describes the titles of the comic strips from 1929:

[In] January ... 1929, the adventures of 'Tarzan' and 'Buck Rogers' first appeared on the newspaper comic pages, heralding the advent of what would become known as the 'adventure strip'. Following 'Tarzan' in the 1930s were 'Dick Tracy', 'Jungle Jim', 'The Phantom', 'Terry and the Pirates' and dozens of others ... They served to transport readers elsewhere – to a jungle, a desert, the Far East, a distant planet or some other atypical environment where heroes struggle against tall odds. (Savage 1990: 4–5)

The genres listed here are very familiar from the boy's own papers of the nineteenth century and also from the theme park; the 'atypical environments' of the jungle, the desert, the Far East and outer space are all mapped onto the Adventurelands and Discoverylands of the theme park.

Ten years after the advent of Tarzan, George Orwell, writing on the British popular press, identifies these same genres among the 'favourite' subjects for 'boy's weeklies': the Western, science fiction, jungle adventure, exploration and chivalric romance:

Examination of a large number of these papers shows that, putting aside school stories, the favourite subjects are Wild West, Frozen North, Foreign Legion, crime (always from the detective's angle), the Great War (Air Force or Secret Service, not the infantry), the Tarzan motif in varying forms, professional football, tropical exploration, historical romance (Robin Hood, Cavaliers and Roundheads, etc.) and scientific invention. (Orwell 1961a: 106)

Orwell demonstrates that the narratives of heroism and Empire of the late nineteenth century remain firmly in place in the twentieth century. In his description, the front covers of contemporary boy's magazines are clearly recycling images from boy's own annuals of the late nineteenth century (with added technology); the iconography would again be recycled in the film series *Indiana Jones*.

The most successful genre for the comic book in the mid-twentieth century was Gothic horror, with tales that were in a direct line from the ghosts and gore of the penny dreadful. *Eerie Comics* appeared in America in 1947, *Tales from the Crypt* in 1950, followed by *The Haunt of Fear* and *The Vault of Horror*, all published with lurid colour covers which reproduced versions of the sepulchres

and scaffolds of the chapbook woodcut for the twentieth century. In Britain, *The Eagle*, first published in 1950, was a response to the perceived corrupting influence of American comic book imports. Like the *Boy's Own Paper*, it offered a Christian variant of the comic books it set out to challenge and took over their form. Advertised as a 'strip cartoon weekly' *The Eagle* was founded by the Rev. Marcus Morris 'as a way of embodying religious and moral principles' and, at its peak, had a circulation of over a million copies. In another repeat of the nineteenth-century Christian concern about effects of the penny dreadful on young minds, American psychiatrist Frederic Wertham published *Seduction of the Innocent* in 1954, which associated the gory tales of the comic book with juvenile delinquency.²³ The ensuing public concern led to a call for the regulation of comic book culture and the establishment of the self-censoring publishers' organisation, the Comic Codes Authority, and brought sensational titles such as *Tales from the Crypt* to an end.

Comic book producers responded to the moral outrage and curtailment of their most popular titles with a line of respectable 'Classic Tales'. The 'Classics Illustrated' series had been published in America from 1941, with early titles including *Ivanhoe* and *The Last of the Mohicans*. Sir Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper were not the only familiar names to receive the classic comic treatment. Among the authors illustrated in the series are all those writers who had been sure-fire successes for the cheap editions and boy's own papers of the nineteenth century: Jules Verne, Mark Twain, Edgar Allan Poe, Robert Louis Stevenson, H. Rider Haggard and H. G. Wells. Included are all the names that typified the genres of historical romance, the Western, science fiction, Gothic, adventure and pirate romance, all now safely and cheaply out of copyright. In 1953 the 'Classic Illustrated Junior' series launched a series of fairy tales and legends, familiar from the nineteenth-century compilations by folklorists such as Andrew Lang. *Robinson Crusoe*, *Frankenstein*, *The Swiss Family Robinson*, and *The Virginian* are all titles that are regularly referenced in the landscape of the theme park, and all were illustrated as comic strips for 'Classic Tales'.

As comic books went respectable and educational, cheaply available paperback books, sold with striking colour covers, could take over their banished titles and lurid images. Penguin Books began publishing in Britain from 1935²⁴ and, in 1939, the first ten titles were published by American paperback company Pocket Books.²⁵ Paperback publishers favoured genre fiction as a proven successful format and produced cover images that clearly identified the category of a text. As new companies emerged and competed for readers, different publishers distinguished themselves by specialising in particular fields: Ace was particularly associated with the Western and science fiction, Bantam with adventure and fantasy. Competition led to more and more striking covers, and a newly confirmed iconography for the generic Western, science fiction and adventure title.

Richard Hoggart was among many British critics who bewailed the vulgarity of imported American pulp fiction as a ‘reading matter which is almost entirely sensational and fantasy producing’ (Hoggart 1957: 191). They were nonetheless very successful on both sides of the Atlantic, perhaps inevitably, given that the publishers were reproducing tried-and-tested formulae. The genres of pulp fiction were much the same as Orwell had identified as the staples of the ‘boy’s weeklies’: detective, gangster, Western, Gothic horror and science fiction stories.

Moving images

Early film was bound up with carnival attractions, particularly in America. Nickelodeon slot machines and kinoscopes were fairground attractions and displays at World’s Fairs from their first invention, and circus and carnival acts provided movies with popular material. Coney Island was itself an early subject for film-makers and fitted the requirement for spectacle, entertainment and topicality; ‘Shooting the Chutes’ was an Edison film of 1896,²⁶ documenting the attraction that had appeared a year earlier and which had appeared in news illustrations for contemporary magazines. In France, showman and film-maker Georges Méliès had begun his career as an illusionist and magician; his stage shows were full of literary references and his tricks introduced with elaborate back stories. His film work was regularly pirated by American producers, especially by Edison, despite the fact that Méliès had set up an American office in New York in 1903. Méliès used film in his stage shows, and as film developed, early cinemas in Europe and America would show vaudeville acts and ‘moving pictures’ in the same show.

The ‘movies’ regularly drew on music hall and burlesque for their subject matter, as in the 1903 comedy *Rube and Mandy at Coney Island*, featuring two vaudeville performers. Film historian John L. Fell explains that American film producers and directors went to already established forms of popular spectacle to find material for the new medium:

Delegated to find subjects for the 50 foot loops that ran through the Edison Company’s peep-show kinoscopes, W.K.L. Dickson turned to New York music halls, burlesque, travelling shows, and vaudeville to supply bits of self-contained performance. (Fell 1987: 39)

As film developed into the production of drama, cinema drew on the already proven successes of popular fictions and plays and reproduced their familiar settings. The castles and baronial halls of Sir Walter Scott and fairy tale, the picturesque landscapes of the Gothic and exoticised palaces familiar from theatre backdrops (and toy theatre reproductions) were (often literally)

borrowed for early cinema sets. McNamara has explained that cinema directors would rent, buy or borrow sets from traditional theatre stock, some of which dated from the eighteenth century:

[T]he theater became a central reference point – probably *the* central reference point for the construction and painting of many sets for the early story film. Such conventionalized utility scenery was found everywhere. A travelling tent show in the first years of the twentieth century often carried only four basic sets, called: *front room, back room, timber and town*. ... Much of this sort of stock scenery was purchased from commercial scene painters' catalogues. (McNamara 1987: 53)²⁷

These four standard sets fit all the requirements of burlesque and traditional pantomime – domestic interior (back room), a sylvan setting (timber), a street scene (town) and a 'fancy' set (front room) – and the same backdrops were reproduced for cinema. These sets had already been conventionalised by theatre prints and toy theatre sets, having come to signify both a vague location and a genre from a limited iconography. Early film sets were literally stock, in that they were from a stock of set designs; the film companies of the twentieth century, just like the theatre producers of the nineteenth century, were happy to use them for any number of different productions. A baronial hall could thus be used for *Sleeping Beauty*, *Frankenstein* and for *Ivanhoe*, a desert landscape for a Western or an oriental drama. The landscape of the theme park works with all the elements of these same sets. It could be argued that the settings for Disneyland reproduce the same four environments: Main Street, as street scene; Adventureland as woodland; Fantasyland, cottage exteriors and interiors; the fairy tale castle, a version of the pantomime palace.

Disneyland television

Television was central to the success of the Disneyland park in Los Angeles and represented a new synergy between broadcasting and the pleasure park. The building of the park was funded with financial backing from ABC (American Broadcasting Corporation), who invested and guaranteed loans for a stake in the park and a series of twenty initial programmes. The 'Disneyland' show was first broadcast by ABC in 1954, before the opening of Disneyland itself. The theme park was planned as a synergy with the television show to promote the programmes and films, and in turn, the television show would promote the theme park. Disneyland was originally planned in four separate 'lands' – Frontierland, Fantasyland, Adventureland and Tomorrowland – each of which corresponded to the format for Disneyland television shows – the Western, fantasy, adventure and science fiction.

According to Telotte, 'Disney's importance in the circulation of images and narratives on television cannot be underestimated' (Telotte 2004: 1). Telotte

points to the longevity and significance of the Disney television show for American audiences:

Over the course of twenty-nine years it [Disney] continuously occupied prime-time viewing slots for each of the major networks, offered audiences family-style programming oriented around a few basic popular themes, and won numerous Emmy and Peabody awards. It was, very simply, a fixture of American television and of family viewing habits during the pioneering decade of the 1950s and for many decades after ... the Disneyland series was indeed where the action was and a model for the institutionalization of that junction of entertainment and marketing that has become such a recognizable element of the contemporary media experience. (Telotte 2004: x)

These ‘few basic popular themes’ are very familiar. The ‘Disneyland show’ saw the first screen outing of Davy Crockett and the Frontierland Western, and ‘The World of Tomorrow’ show was based on science fiction. The Disneyland show and the park drew on all the genres and stories that had been cemented in popular publishing and reconfigured their iconographies for television and the theme park.

One of the segments of the Disneyland show was the Mickey Mouse Club, which featured a vaudevillean troupe of Mouseketeers. Mickey Mouse was familiar from short films as a character who from his earliest manifestations could insert himself into whatever story he chose. Mickey Mouse is a twentieth-century Harlequin who can traverse across narratives and genres; as Walt Disney expressed it in a 1935 memorandum,

[W]e could incorporate Mickey or Minnie or the Duck into the fantastic settings ... Mickey and Minnie might take a ride on a magic carpet and arrive in a weird land or forest, meet little elves of the forest, or be captured by an old witch or giants and ogres. They could eat some fruit that makes them grow very tall or small ... Might get into a land of shadows. (Disney quoted in Allan 1999: 32)

Here Disney is invoking a range of familiar stories and genres: ‘Aladdin’, the fairy tales ‘The Babes in the Wood’ and ‘Jack and the Beanstalk’, *Alice in Wonderland*, fantasy and the Gothic. The Main Street Parade held twice a day in every Disney park continues to present Mickey and Minnie Mouse heading a series of floats with characters from fairy tale, *Alice in Wonderland*, *The Jungle Book* and other stories familiar from Disney animations.

The Disney version

Disney, as Allan has demonstrated, had intellectual and artistic aspirations (see Allan 1999) – but he was also a showman who could recognise popular forms and an entrepreneur who knew from his early career how to protect

and copyright his own versions. Disney, as man and as corporation, has been regularly accused of the crime of 'Disneyfication', a charge made most eloquently in Ariel Dorfman's diatribe against Donald Duck (Dorfman 1975). Richard Ingram offers a less sophisticated (but nonetheless, regularly encountered) version of this argument in a newspaper article:

Of all powerful forces that have helped shape our down-market so-called culture, Disney has surely been the most harmful ... What Disney has done has been to take, or when necessary buy, the world's most famous stories and turn them all into the same slick, soulless, sentimental tripe. (Ingrams 2001: 30)

The Walt Disney Corporation, as a multimedia company with interests in cinema, television²⁸ and entertainment, is one of the few companies involved in theme parks and the leisure industry that has the economic power to buy 'the world's most famous stories' outright. Disney is largely responsible for the authored texts which have entered into the world of carnival; authored stories from the late nineteenth century remain in copyright, and it is Disney that currently owns the rights to *Peter Pan*, *Alice in Wonderland*, *Winnie the Pooh*, *The Wind in the Willows*, *The Sword in the Stone* – and to Mickey Mouse. These characters can only be reproduced illegally, and regularly are. Disney may have copyrighted Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, but their images will continue to appear in graffiti and on carousels from Moscow to Madrid. No single company or individual can hold the copyright on folk tale, and fairies and legendary figures cannot be owned. Copyright law can only be upheld on a version of words and images that can be understood as designed, and then it can only apply to that particular version of words or images. Disney may be able to copyright their own scenarios and visuals of a folk narrative, but they cannot finally be owned; familiar fairy tales such as Snow White or 'Cinderella' are genuinely popular in the sense that they belong to everyone. Disney may have been the most successful, but he is only one among a long line of showmen, from Sir Walter Scott to Buffalo Bill, who made play with and claimed for his own the genres of popular culture.

The genres of chivalric romance, fairy tale, the Western, science fiction, treasure islands and desert and jungle adventures have come to signify the carnivalesque in themselves; they are present and expected at any pleasure ground. These are the stories that have shaped the landscape of every theme park and which continue to have a powerful hold on the popular imagination. These genres have become cemented into a set of signifiers which have emerged from the illustrative conventions adapted for every new technique of reproduction and every new medium; with each technological innovation, the same stories and (literally) stock images are reproduced again. The iconographies have been established through magazine and book illustration, through theatre sets and toy theatres, as stock imagery which went on to shape early film and comics



Figure 2.2 Giant teacup ride, Lambeth Show, 1995

and become the markers of cinematic and publishing genres. With publishing conglomerates, and leisure corporations such as Disney, these images are now familiar conventions within a global media. The metonymic icons of the theme park have survived from chapbooks into comic books to become embedded as the signs of carnival attractions.

Mickey Mouse Chivalry

Chivalric romance

The Excalibur, a hotel and casino complex in Las Vegas, is themed and decorated around the stories and imagery of chivalric romance and particularly those of Arthurian legend. Among its attractions are a Roundtable Buffet, a regular evening Tournament of Kings and a Castle Shopping Walk that promises ‘all the fun of a medieval bazaar’ (Excalibur.com).

Excalibur is not alone as an entertainment site that welcomes tourists ‘back to the Middle Ages’. Similar indices of Arthurian romance are repeatedly to be found in fairgrounds; some form of heraldic iconography is invariably deployed

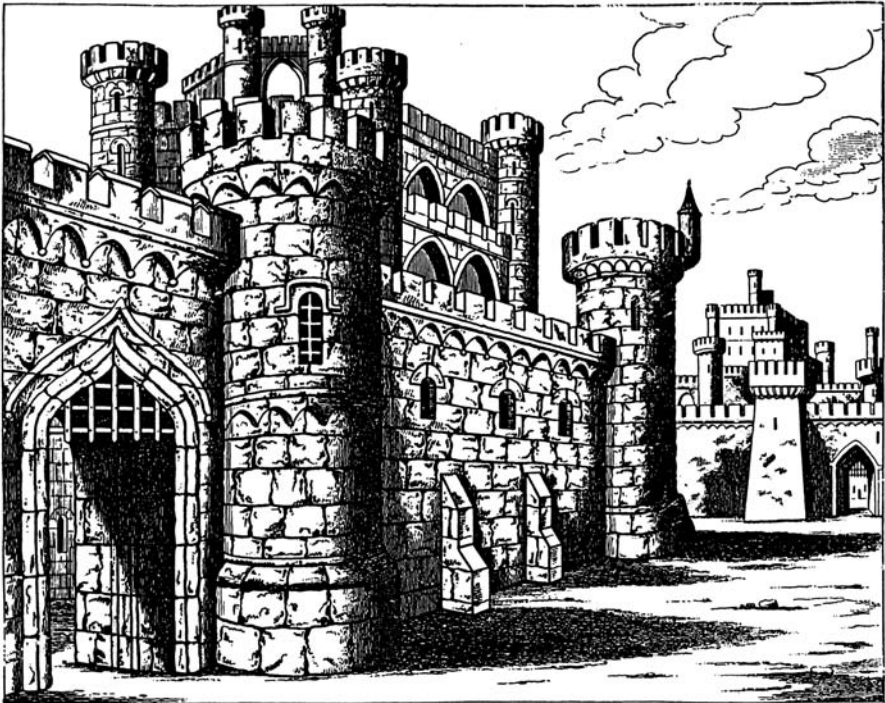


Figure 3.1 Scenes from *Richard the Third*. Published by A. Park and J. Golding, by kind permission of Pollocks Toy Theatres Limited

at the European and American carnival site. Every fairground and village fête in Britain involves some reference to heraldry; Lancashire boasts an entire theme park named Camelot, which is structured around Arthurian legends. Also in Britain, another park at Chorley is dedicated to King Arthur and his knights; 'The Magical Kingdom of Camelot' offers visitors 'a wizard day out' and attractions that include a daily jousting tournament and Merlin's School of Wizardry.¹ Bouncy castles at children's parties and events are decorated with heraldic flags and often with images of Merlin or the sword Excalibur. The figures of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere mounted on horseback greet visitors to Brighton Pier and have done so since the building of the pier in 1899. The horses on fairground carousels from Brighton Pier to Disneyland are invariably bedecked with heraldic bridlery; as historians of popular art have noted, they 'have something of the medieval knight's charger' about them (Carrington and Clarke 1945: 23).

Theme parks across Europe and America continue to circulate these metonymic icons, which evoke the stories of medieval and chivalric romance. In Britain, many of these parks were established in the grounds of the former estates of large country mansions that reference the medieval in their architecture. Drayton Manor features the 'Excalibur' attraction, which promises '[a] magical adventure through Drayton Manor's own medieval kingdom'. The carnival emulation of chivalric imagery fits neatly with the embellishments of battlements and stained glass windows of what was once a stately home and which has its own claims to chivalry and heraldry. The Alton Towers park is now centred on *Merrie England*; in the 1830s, the estate housed one of the most impressive displays of armour to be found in Britain.

North American theme parks are no less likely to deploy carnivalesque heraldic trappings than their English counterparts. The fairy tale castle that dominates each Disney theme park site is indebted to nineteenth-century illustrations of fairy tale but, like those illustrations themselves, it also derives from French medieval miniature paintings. The castle and the garden which form the centrepiece of the Disneyland Paris park directly reference the châteaux illustrated in a French fifteenth-century *Book of Hours*, with square-cut topiary and coloured turrets. The castle at the centre of Disney World Florida consciously invokes European 'medievalism'; the Walt Disney World guide describes it (with some historical and geographical vagueness) as follows: 'This enchanting 180 foot high landmark is an architectural blend of many European styles, from 13th-century French fortress to late Renaissance palaces' (Walt Disney Company 1998: 25).

These carnival references to chivalric or, more often, Arthurian romance belong to a very long tradition of reworkings of chivalric tales in European and American popular culture. The signifiers of 'medievalism' and the 'chivalric' that circulate in fairgrounds and theme parks are the legacy of a set of mediations of chivalric romance that can be traced back to the twelfth century and beyond.

The origins of such stories belong to an oral folk culture and have long since vanished, although there have been numerous attempts to claim them. What can be known is that the earliest printed account of Arthurian legends in English is found in Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, printed by Caxton in 1485. Malory compiled *Le Morte D'Arthur* from sources in French legend and English folklore; his version was in turn heavily edited by Caxton, who had himself translated French and Latin sources. It was Caxton's printed version that would go on to be repeatedly reprinted and which provided the basis for an explosion of published retellings throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The novels of Sir Walter Scott, the narrative poems of Alfred, Lord Tennyson and the illustrations of Gustave Doré and Aubrey Beardsley are key moments in the transition of Arthurian legend into the popular imagination. In the twentieth century, T.H. White's knowing reworkings of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Malory in his *The Sword in the Stone* series of novels provided the basis for the musical and film *Camelot*, and for the Disney cartoon version, texts that firmly secured Arthurian legend in the popular culture of the late twentieth century.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was among the first chroniclers of Arthurian legend in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (dated 1136), is presented in T.H. White's novels and in the *Camelot* musical and film as the character who provides a direct link between the historical truth of Arthur the King and White's subsequent tellings of the legend. The Camelot story is, however, yet another set of myths without origin. While Geoffrey of Monmouth may have claimed his chronicle as based on historical documentation, he is only one in a long European tradition of balladeers, poets and storytellers who picked up on already existing stories. These are tales that have no original author but which belong to an oral tradition that has no clear geographical or historical anchoring. The originals of Camelot and Arthur have been claimed for Britain by Cornwall, Somerset, Scotland, by the Celts for Cornwall, Wales and Brittany; France, Holland, Germany and Spain also maintain claims. Richard Wagner's operas *Tristan and Isolde* (1859) and *Parsifal* (1882) mixed elements of Arthurian romance with legends from Cornwall, Spain and Brittany and reworked them into a Teutonic claim to the chivalric.

It is Thomas Malory who has the status of the first published writer of Arthurian legend, although Malory's own origins and the provenance of his text are themselves shrouded in mystery and speculation. In his preface to the first published edition, even Caxton expresses doubts about the authenticity of the text: 'divers men hold opinion that there was no such Arthur and that all such books as been made of him be feigned and fables.' He nonetheless goes on to claim Arthur as a lineage for the Tudor dynasty (Caxton 1904: xix). With Malory and Caxton's publications of manuals of knightly etiquette (Ferguson 1986: 27), the late fifteenth century embraced a revival of chivalric stories and a fashion for the medieval. It has been argued that this was 'the point where

the chivalric tradition appeared for the last time still in its essentially medieval form' (Ferguson 1986: 19). This 'essentially' medieval form, however, as the writer himself comes to acknowledge, was a reimagining of the chivalric, in which an idealised England and monarchy were redeployed to celebrate the Elizabethan reign.

Troubadours and court entertainments made use of chivalric legends and French and English folk tales to promote the cause of courtly love and knightly heroics in what Philippa Berry has described as a 'new style of aristocratic chivalry' (Berry 1989: 86). These Renaissance versions of chivalric tales were no more authentic than later versions were to be, although almost every transcriber of the tales would follow Monmouth, Caxton and Malory in claiming historical accuracy and an authentic provenance. Tales of chivalry do have some claim to the historical. As Richard D. Altick has pointed out, their educational element allowed for an Elizabethan and Jacobean readership to read these romances with impunity: 'because the reading of history was recommended as perfectly safe and useful, it was possible to take up with a clear conscience any book, however, fantastic, that had the word 'history' displayed on its title page' (Altick 1957: 27). The versions of Arthurian legend that would be published in their thousands thereafter regularly include the word 'history' in their titles.

The question of whether 'Good King Arthur', Sir Launcelot, Galahad, Guinevere or Merlin ever existed in fact continues to be, as most contemporary folklorists would concur, 'an historical quagmire from which few escape' (Halsall 2003: 30). The Reverend James A. Campbell, one of many Victorian commentators on the use of Arthurian legend, made a similar assessment in 1863. Campbell's brisk version of the literary history of the Camelot story is as good as, and more concise than, many other accounts; he neatly references many of the most significant writers to have reworked the legends of Arthur and Camelot:

The origin of Arthur and his Round Table is lost amid the mists of pre-historic antiquity; we need not waste time discussing theories of it. It early passed into the common heroic and literary heritage of Europe ... Sir Thomas Malory embodied it in a prose poem ... Spenser seized it; Milton thought of it as an epic, Dryden considered it, Wordsworth touched it; Morris, Swinburne and Arnold all dealt with a fringe of it. (Campbell 1863: 11–12)

The earliest written versions through which the stories found their way beyond the courtly audience and into the 'common heroic heritage' were in the form of chapbooks. The knightly adventure was a popular subject for the chapbook, which regularly offered 'vulgarised versions of old chivalric tales' (Altick 1957: 28). Abridged versions of these tales found in chapbooks and ballad sheets established the basic stories and characters of popular Arthurian legend. Often illustrated with woodcuts, they also began to establish a popular lexicon for the iconography of the chivalric genre. By the late eighteenth century,

the key stories and characters were established cultural references. The figure of Merlin, as Altick has explained, has a particularly long association with popular entertainment and was early established as a figure in fairgrounds, theatre and pantomime.²

Sir Walter Scott is the key figure in the revival of a popular interest in chivalric romance and for making it the fashionable genre of the nineteenth century; more than any other writer, he inscribed a discourse for the chivalric into contemporary culture. The readership for Scott's fiction crossed class divisions,³ its popularity clear from the regularity with which the novels were constantly recycled in different editions, extracted, serialised and illustrated in cheap and de luxe versions. Louis James cites Scott as a significant figure in widening the readership for fiction beyond the middle classes:

The Waverley Novels (shilling parts, 1835–42) and ... possible others in the series (penny-issues, Edinburgh, R. Cadell, 1842) and extracts from Scott's works sometimes occurred in cheap periodicals. A number of lower-class libraries stocked them in the later 1830s. (James 1973: 102)

Scott's works and their accompanying illustrations and frontispieces were repeatedly issued and reissued in popular editions and serialised in periodicals and magazines throughout the nineteenth century. *Ivanhoe* became the first of a set of 'Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley'; published in Edinburgh in 1822, it was the forerunner to bound and illustrated sets of Scott that were continuously reprinted throughout the nineteenth century. Scott's fiction was not illustrated when first published, but the success of collected editions with plates and frontispieces persuaded him that illustrated volumes would make more money (Harvey 1970: 8). Writing in 1897, book historian Gleeson White heaved a sigh at the quantity of illustrated works of Scott and gives some indication of quite how many volumes of Scott's work had been reprinted with illustrations in the nineteenth century: 'three bulky volumes of the British Museum catalogue devoted to 'Scott (Walter) can hardly be faced with a light heart' (White 1897/1970: 104).

Scott was himself a great reader of chapbook romances; he was also well versed in the history and literature of chivalry, writing a long essay on the subject for the 1818 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. An 1876 encyclopaedia essay on Scott attributed his popular success to his ability to make the 'academic' subject of the chivalric appealing to a wide audience: 'his enthusiasm for antiquarian lore and the attractions with which he surrounded this usually dry study ... give his work charm' (*Popular Encyclopaedia* 1876: 861). Although Scott himself claimed in the preface to his most popular novel *Ivanhoe* to have the 'most respectable precedents' (Scott 1820: xv) for his versions of chivalric stories, his own construction of 'Olde Englande' owed much to the imagery and the abridged versions of popular legend and the chapbooks. Scott, as Geoffrey of Monmouth and Thomas Malory had done

before him, nonetheless claimed his chivalric romances as authenticated historical fact: 'We have no hesitation in quoting the romances of chivalry as good evidence of the laws and customs of knighthood. The authors, like the artists of their period, invented nothing' (Scott, quoted in Mills 1826: xii). Scott did, however, acknowledge that his own reworkings of the 'romances of chivalry' were historically imprecise and conceded that they were refracted through a contemporary nineteenth-century sensibility:

It is true, that I neither can, nor do pretend, to the observation of complete accuracy, even in matters of outward costume, much less in the important point of language and manners ... It is necessary, for exciting interest of any kind that the subject assumed should be, as it were, translated to the manners as well as the language of the age we live in. (Scott 1820: xvi–xvii)

The success of *Ivanhoe* had a great effect on the publication of cheap and available fiction. Scott himself clearly anticipated a wide readership; in his preface, he refers to 'the multitudes who will, I trust, devour this book with avidity' (Scott 1820: xviii). He was not disappointed, the first printing of 10,000 copies selling out in two weeks. In his preface to *Ivanhoe*, Scott describes the magpie eclecticism of his work as 'modern Gothic'. The dating and setting of *Ivanhoe* are deliberately vague; it is set in a 'pleasant district of merry England' (*Ivanhoe*, p. 1), in a period after Camelot and the Crusades but at the time of Robin Hood. Scott is thus locating his novel in a world of myth and celebrating 'traditional' values for the modern age; his version of the medieval allowed both for nostalgia for a mythical 'Olde England' and for an affirmation of contemporary mores. Scott's fiction was informed by a combination of historical knowledge and popular entertainment; his novels established a clear set of characters and landscapes for the 'medieval romance' and conventionalised them for a popular and commercial imagination. Scott was a favourite author for nineteenth-century engravers; by 1830, nearly every one of Scott's works had been published with illustrations or had been the subject of a painting. *Illustrations to Scott's Poetical Works* was published as a stand-alone portfolio of forty plates in 1834, the images later issued along with the text in four volumes.

Scott's mediations of the characters and stories of chivalric romance, and their accompanying illustrations, established an iconography for the 'chivalric'; his narratives involve all the elements that were to feature in evocations of the chivalric throughout the nineteenth century. As Mark Girouard puts it,

Scott described castles complete with drawbridges, iron-studded gates and portcullises; smoke-blackened armour hung halls, with a high table on the dais and mastiffs rooting in the rushes; Christmas feasting, with Yule logs and Lords of Misrule; Morris dancing, maypoles and the whole concept of Merry England; Richard Coeur de Lion, Robin Hood and his merry men, Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Scenes and characters such as these, once set in circulation by Scott, were copied and adapted ad nauseam in novels, poems and pictures all through the nineteenth century and beyond. (Girouard 1981: 36)

Those drawbridges, studded gates and portcullises and armour became standardised signifiers of the 'chivalric', establishing the conventions for illustrations and theatre sets of the genre. If Scott's plots and characters have now largely receded from popular memory,⁴ what remains as a reference point in popular culture are these settings and props for the 'whole concept of Merry England'. What Scott had achieved was to take tales of 'Olde England' and make them relevant to the modernity of the nineteenth century;⁵ he established a yardstick for the historical novel that would hold sway over the century and beyond.

Scott's vision of English history was disseminated further through the designs for the numerous theatrical productions of his fiction. The sets and stagings for early productions were immortalised in the toy theatre plays that swiftly followed successful stage shows. In a catalogue of nineteenth-century plays for the toy theatre (Speaight 1999), Scott is the only author, apart from Shakespeare, to merit a section of his own; eleven of the listed toy theatre productions are directly based on Scott's fiction, beginning with *The Lady in the Lake*, first published as a novel in 1811. *The Heart of Midlothian*, *Guy Mannering* and *Ivanhoe* were all published as 'juvenile dramas' by Hodgson's in 1822, the plates based on the designs for successful London theatre runs. These titles were regularly reprinted as toy theatre plays throughout the nineteenth century; *Ivanhoe* was an immediate stage success; first adapted as *Ivanhoe, or the Jew's Daughter* in 1820, it appeared as a play less than a month after the novel's publication; five more staged productions of the novel followed in that same year. Among these was a musical version, *The Knight Templar*, performed at Covent Garden, which was followed by nine operatic versions of *Ivanhoe*.

Scott was an active participant in the theatricalisation of his work, collaborating with the actor-manager Daniel Terry, who adapted the novels for the stage. Terry also contributed to Scott's own fantasy 'medieval' estate at Abbotsford.⁶ Abbotsford was itself a theatrical display, as a Scottish farmstead that Scott transformed into a fantasy 'medieval' castle, replete with armouries, tartan and invented Scottish heritage. The fake heraldry of Abbotsford became familiar to Scott's readers through the elaborate drawings that appeared in the 'Abbotsford' editions of the Waverley novels. The estate would prove responsible for Scott's financial ruin and became a tourist attraction when it opened to the public in the aftermath of Scott's death in 1832. Scott's status as the figure who defined a popular architecture for the chivalric is knowingly acknowledged at the UK set of EPCOT World Showcase at Disney World, which boasts a sixteenth-century manse 'inspired' by Abbotsford.

Scott's success was followed by a rash of popular editions of chivalric romance and 'historical' dramas, his characters and stories evoked in numerous imitations. Theatre managers were no more inhibited than publishers by literary or historical provenance and would happily employ variations of Scott's plots and characters to ride the contemporary fashion for Arthurian romance. Other chivalric dramas for the toy theatre, derived from successful London stage shows, included *Sir*

Launcelot and Guinevere and *King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table*. Figures such as Robin Hood and King Arthur regularly appeared in pantomime and Harlequinades, as in the play *Harlequin and Good King Arthur*. The scenery and costumes for these productions were enshrined in their miniaturised versions for the juvenile drama and so confirmed a clear iconography for the chivalric; the same stone castles and heraldic flags are to be found in contemporary pantomime sets and in every fairground and theme park in some form. Scott's reach into the entertainment business extended to nineteenth-century pleasure craft; leisure steamers were named 'Lancelot' and 'Guinevere', 'Ivanhoe' and 'Waverley' (see Paterson Collection, National Library of Scotland).⁷

Scott's popular success was imitated in a flood of 'historical' works and 'scholarly editions' of Arthurian legend. Typical of these numerous illustrated works is the 1823 *The Tournament or Days of Chivalry*, a rhyming narrative accompanied by 'Twenty Four Engravings'. Charles Mills's *History of the Crusades* was another popular success, first published in 1820, going into four editions by 1828. Mills' 1825 *History of Chivalry* acknowledges the influence of Scott in bringing these tales to contemporary attention and refers to 'the numberless works on the Troubadour and every other description of literature during the middle ages which have been published within the last few years' (Mills 1825: vi). Illustrated volumes of 'chivalric' tales inflected by Scott appeared throughout the century and established a nineteenth-century iconography of chivalric costumes, characters and landscapes. These established a precedent for illustrations of later nineteenth-century ballads on chivalric themes, such as Tennyson's 1833 *The Lady of Shalott* and his later *Idylls of the King*.

G.P.R. James was another chivalric populariser;⁸ in his 1830 *The History of Chivalry*, James allies the 'Spirit of Chivalry' with the contemporary nineteenth-century 'gentleman'. He approvingly asserts that the principles of the chivalric code continue to survive in the Victorian period and celebrates the 'medieval' as a golden age of fixed gender difference, so reconfiguring chivalric romance to fit current constructs of masculinity and femininity. Chivalric imagery fitted neatly with Victoria and Albert's vision of marriage and the monarchy, and their public espousal of the style gave the 'chivalric' a regal endorsement. The royal couple were painted by Landseer in chivalric costume, the queen's robing room was used as the backdrop for a series of paintings of the Round Table and a royal costumed ball featured dancers dressed as characters from Scott's *Waverley* novels. The rebuilding of Balmoral in Baronial style confirmed the royal family's allegiance to the medievalism of Scott. The 'return to Camelot' remerged with force in Victorian England in a form that shifted the focus of the stories away from the magic of Merlin and back towards the regal figure of Arthur in a celebration of the monarchy and of 'Britishness'.

The royal endorsement of 'Arthurian' themes confirmed their prevalence across a wide range of popular forms and entertainments; according to Girouard, by the 1850s, 'images of chivalry were absorbed into the pattern of everyday life' (Girouard 1981: 146). These images of chivalric and Arthurian romance

transmuted into a more generalised celebration of a historically vague ‘Merrie England of Olden Days’, which frequently referenced chivalric and Arthurian legend, but not always. With the advent of a more accessible illustrated press and of cheap magazines and books for children, ballads and nursery rhymes regularly used ‘Merrie England’ as a theme around which to hang a collection of rhymes, stories or verses. The 1858–9 *Merrie Days of England, Sketches of Olden Times*, lavishly illustrated by twenty different artists, is typical of these collections. Such illustrations further confirmed the standardised iconography of the chivalric, which extended widely beyond the covers of books. ‘Merrie Days’ became a standard theme in popular entertainments; strolling minstrels and jousting were now established and expected elements in pleasure gardens. The Cremorne Gardens in the Kings Road, Chelsea (only one among many English pleasure gardens offering such entertainments) regularly featured medieval tournaments. *The Illustrated London News* advertised one held in 1843:

MOCK TOURNAMENT!
 RACING, OLD ENGLISH SPORTS,
 MINSTRELSY, MUSIC, DANCING
 (Cremorne Gardens flyer, 1843, quoted in Rogers 1896: 60)

The Victorian period saw a widespread popular circulation of chivalric imagery alongside a resurgence of the Arthurian in literature and aesthetics. As Poet Laureate from 1850, Alfred, Lord Tennyson officially confirmed the Victorian embrace of chivalric literature. *Idylls of the King*, Tennyson’s major poem, began with the ‘Morte d’Arthur’ (broadly based on Malory’s version) and, according to Alan Lupack, ‘occupied Tennyson for most of his creative life’ (Lupack 1991: 135). Tennyson and the chivalric acquired further royal approval when, in 1862, he dedicated a new edition of *Idylls of the King* to Prince Albert, who had died the year before. Tennyson himself did not always take the chivalric this seriously; his spoof version of Arthurian romance, *Arthur, or the Hididdle-Diddles of the King* (written in 1860), was published in 1895 as an ‘original travestie in three Acts, written expressly for the private dramatic performance ... by our own Poet Laureate’. The chivalric solemnity of *Idylls of the King* was, however, a huge popular success for the Victorians; by 1869 there were already eleven editions, and new editions continued to appear at least every other year, well into the twentieth century. Sections of the *Idylls* also appeared as printed ‘Songs’, with illustrations and music. In 1896, the Reverend Campbell pointed to the ‘English’ attractions of the Arthurian romance for Tennyson, acknowledging the art of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in the promotion of the ‘medieval’:

Nor ... was Tennyson uninfluenced by the Pre-Raphaelite movement, which with its delighted return to Mediaevalism, has left its mark in so many subtle ways on English art and religion. To a poet with his wonderful capacity for decorative art in graphic description of architecture, heraldic device, and all the blazonry of chivalry, this mediaeval charm was irresistible. (Campbell 1863: 12)

The association of the Pre-Raphaelite movement with Tennyson and chivalric illustration established a relationship between ‘fine art’, the poetic and the medieval that was expressed in artist-illustrated volumes of Arthurian legend throughout the nineteenth century. William Morris, whose early poems included the 1858 ‘King Arthur’s Tomb’ and ‘The Defence of Guenevere’ (in which Guenevere answers her critics back), regularly used Arthurian settings and characters in his art and craft.

The success of the poetic and artistic chivalric was replicated in illustrated popular versions of chivalric romance for adults and for children. Among the many later nineteenth-century illustrated volumes of ‘tales of chivalry’ written for children was David Murray Smith’s 1869 *Tales of Chivalry and Romance*. In his introduction, Murray Smith acknowledges he is only one among many to reproduce these ‘twice-told tales’ but aims to present them ‘in a form appreciable by the young people of the present time’ (Smith 1869: i). He includes ‘suitable’ tales from Shakespeare and Chaucer alongside those from ‘Froissart’ and the ‘Morte D’Arthur’, demonstrating that ‘chivalry’ and ‘romance’ were fluid categories and had become synonymous with the historically vague ‘Merry England’ that Scott had constructed (even while some of these tales are French).

Arthur B. Ferguson has identified the centrality of the chivalric to the Victorian imagination and charts some of the key moments in its dissemination across popular and high art forms:

Victorian chivalry ... From Sir Walter Scott’s fictionalised version of the newly explored medieval past to Tennyson’s evocation of Arthurian romance. To the misty-eyed Pre-Raphaelite vision of knighthood, to the ‘Knights’ of the Primrose league, and the quasi knight-errantry of the *Boy’s Own Magazine*, the mystique of a highly romanticised chivalry shaped the values of English gentlemen. (Ferguson 1986: 11)

The Pre-Raphaelite movement was central in the circulation of visual forms of this ‘highly romanticised chivalry’; their enthusiasm for all things medieval meant that Arthurian legend was an inevitable and regular subject for their poetry, painting and illustration. Publisher Edward Moxon published an illustrated edition of Tennyson in 1857, to which Holman Hunt, Rossetti and Millais all contributed. A gift book of illustrations without the text appeared in 1868, along with an illustrated edition of the poems; Moxon issued parts of the poem separately with accompanying plates. Moxon also commissioned thirty-seven drawings from Gustave Doré to illustrate *Idylls of the King*.⁹ Aubrey Beardsley illustrated Malory from 1893¹⁰ for publisher J.M. Dent, with 350 drawings and decorations, which were issued in monthly parts. The Pre-Raphaelite preoccupation with the Camelot stories was such a cultural phenomenon that it became the butt of jokes; in 1866 *Punch* published a series of George Du Maurier’s cartoons of the *Legend of Camelot*, later published as a book (Du Maurier 1898).

If Scott, Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites had claimed the chivalric romance for England, it was not by any means a genre restricted to Britain.

Scott's status as a fashionable celebrity had extended to Europe and America, and his work was read by any writer with claims to the literary. By 1860, Scott had become the most borrowed writer from American libraries; as Andrew E. Mathis has said, 'King Arthur arrived early on America's shores, and dwells here still' (Mathis 2002: 5). Mathis has dated the first American reference to Arthurian legend to Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1843 story 'The Antique Ring', concerning a ring that once belonged to Merlin, 'the British wizard'. If this may be the first 'literary' reference, it is impossible to date precisely the impact of Arthurian legend on American popular culture, which must go back further than this. Hawthorne was only one among a number of American literati who would make use of Arthuriana. Emerson wrote three poems with Arthurian themes – 'Merlin I', 'Merlin II' and 'Merlin's Song' – in which Merlin becomes an emblem of a Welsh bardic tradition.

The Pre-Raphaelite writers and artists were another conduit for 'all the blaxony of chivalry' that was to influence taste in America. The 1869 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition prompted a popular interest in Pre-Raphaelite painting in America; Russell Lynes cites the significance of this exhibition for American fashions:

[T]he repercussions on American taste were tremendous. Mrs M. E. Sherwood, an influential American journalist and arbiter of aesthetics and taste promoted the Pre-Raphaelite movement as 'good and moral art'. (Lynes 1980: 114)

The 'good and moral art' of the chivalric was also circulated through popular American collections of chivalric legend, of which Thomas Bulfinch's 1858 *The Age of Chivalry* is a typical example. Published in Britain and America, *The Age of Chivalry* was followed by several other collections of retold fables and legend which were published throughout the 1860s. For Bulfinch, Arthurian legend represented a heritage and tradition that American audiences had as much right to claim as the British. As he says in his introduction, '[w]e are entitled to our full share in the glories and recollections of the land of our forefathers, down to the time of colonisation thence' (Bulfinch: iv). Bulfinch was concerned to rescue these stories from a (presumably European) 'drapery of verse' and so rewrote them in 'plain' English. Although his 'plain' retellings clearly draw from Tennyson, and he himself claims Malory as his authority, Bulfinch is here attempting a democratisation and reworking of Arthurian legend for an American audience.

Mark Twain went still further in using Arthurian legends to promote a progressive American egalitarianism against the decaying traditions of the English class system. For Twain, the chivalric represents an archaic antiquity, which he counterposes against Yankee modernity. His 1870 short story 'A Medieval Romance', set in a 'grand old feudal castle' in the year 1222, parodies all the excesses of Scott and the contemporary conventions of chivalric romance and knightliness, and uses the conceit to lampoon contemporary American society. Twain regularly revisited and satirised the historical

romance. *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), set in the Tudor court of 1547, lampooned British snobbery and subservience to an archaic aristocracy. The 1889 *A Connecticut Yankee in the Court of King Arthur*¹¹ (first published in Britain as *A Yankee in the Court of King Arthur*) has a contemporary American narrator casting a jaundiced eye on Arthurian England, successfully wiping out ‘the whole chivalry of England’ with electricity, and finally concluding, ‘Knight-errantry was a doomed institution’ (Twain 1957: 300).

In his travelogue *Life on the Mississippi*, Twain is particularly withering about Scott, whom he perceives as a baleful influence on contemporary American culture:

Then comes Sir Walter Scott with his enchantments and by his single might checks this wave of progress, and even turns it back; sets the world in love with dreams and phantoms; with decayed and swinish forms of religion, with decayed and degraded systems of government; with the sillinesses and emptiness, sham grandeurs, sham gauds, and sham chivalries of a brainless and worthless long-vanished society. He did measureless harm; more real and lasting harm, perhaps, than any other individual that ever wrote. (Twain 1981: 219)

For all Twain’s scathing accounts of the dusty archaism of chivalric legend, his tales demonstrate a fascination with and a certain boyish pleasure in Arthurian romances. His *Connecticut Yankee* begins his tale with Malory: ‘I dipped into old Sir Thomas Malory’s enchanting book, and fed at its rich feast of prodigies and adventures’ (Twain 1957: 1). Twain’s first description of Camelot in the novel is clearly informed by nineteenth-century illustrations and by Pre-Raphaelite paintings:¹²

[A] noble cavalcade wound into view, glorious with plumed helmets and flashing mail and flaunting banners and rich doublets and horse-cloths and gilded spear-heads ... the great gates were flung open, the drawbridge was lowered and, we following, soon found ourselves in a great paved court, with towers and turrets stretching up into the blue air on all the four sides. (Twain 1957: 9–10)

Twain’s clear familiarity with the conventions and imagery of chivalric romance (and his assumption that his readers share this familiarity) is an indication of how well entrenched these had become across the Atlantic, so familiar indeed that they could be assumed for parodic versions. While Twain dismissed the antiquity of the chivalric in favour of American modernity, the ‘knightly code’ as a model of virtuous masculinity was a widespread phenomenon. ‘The fine manliness ... loftiness and sweetness’ (Twain 1957: 17) that Twain gives his comic Arthurian knights had become a Victorian cultural ideal of masculinity in Britain and America.

The ‘muscular Christianity’ promoted in an association between the education of young men and chivalry was to permeate public school education and popular culture for boys well into the twentieth century (and continues to linger). In 1822, Henry Kenelm Digby anonymously published *The Broad Stone of Honour: or,*

Rules for the Gentlemen of England. It was reprinted in 1823, expanded into four volumes in 1828, into five by 1877, and was reprinted three times in the 1920s. Digby's advocacy of the chivalric as a model for the young gentleman was very influential in contemporary public schools, and widely approved; Ruskin, William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones were all admirers (Girouard 1981: 64). Popular boy's magazines and annuals consistently disseminated a chivalric and Christian code for young men and the knight as a model of masculinity for the young men of the British Empire and America. Many of the new illustrated magazines were addressed specifically to boys, and made great use of chivalric themes and images. From 1863, the *Boy's Own Paper* published images of jousting knights as frontispiece illustrations. *The Boy's Own Magazine* regularly published stories with 'medieval subjects' (White 1897/1970: 85) with illustrations by R. Dudley, a specialist in historical romance (now a firmly established popular genre). *Every Boy's Magazine* was rebranded as *The Young Gentleman's Magazine* in 1867, when it reappeared with a front cover of heraldic shields.¹³

Throughout the later nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, chroniclers of the chivalric romance used the tales as models for the education of young men. Lavishly illustrated volumes such as Sidney Lanier's *The Boy's King Arthur* (1880), yet another children's version of Malory, continued to be published in Britain and America. Howard Pyle, the Republican Governor of Arizona, illustrated numerous British folk tales, among them 'Robin Hood' and 'The Story of King Arthur and his Knights' (based again on Malory), which were published as a series in *St Nicholas Magazine* from 1902, before being issued in four volumes. Pyle's art school 'Brandywine' instilled these principles and the chivalric as a painterly subject for a generation of artists in America.¹⁴ His versions of the tales of Arthur and Launcelot assumed an equivalence of the chivalric code and the education of the young American man. Howard Pyle did for American boyhood what Hall had done for British youth with the *Boy's Book of Chivalry*, and reworked Camelot for the 'Spirit of America' (the title of his one of his collections).

Mark Girouard begins his comprehensive study of the revival of chivalric romance (Girouard 1981) from 1912, and cites this as a year in which several defining events came to characterise a British 'chivalric spirit' in the early twentieth century. The sinking of the *Titanic* and the deaths of Scott and Oates at the South Pole in the same year were championed in the popular press as evidence of British gallantry and written about in chivalric terms. Popular culture in the early twentieth century continued to evoke a form of chivalric heroism that was directed particularly at young men. As Girouard explains,

All gentlemen knew that they must be brave, show no sign of panic or cowardice, be courteous and protective to women and children. ... They knew it because they had learnt the code of the gentleman in a multitude of different ways ... through endless stories of chivalry, daring, knights, gentlemen and gallantry which they had read or been told by way of history books, ballads, poems, plays, pictures and novels. (Girouard 1981: 7)

The 1910 *The Boy's Book of Chivalry* (Hall 1910) is only one among these myriad collections of 'stories of chivalry' that brought the stories and images of the chivalric code into the popular mainstream. Hall's book is a collection of tales of masculine courage and addresses the reader as a young man who should parallel his own education with that of a young knight. Hall claims to present the details of a knightly training with historical accuracy; it is, however, Scott who is invoked as the authority on chivalric history, and *Ivanhoe* is presented as the recommended text for insight into the 'realities' of the medieval:

If you want to know what the pageant was like – if you want to see the ladies in the galleries, the heralds in the lists, to hear the clash of arms and to feel the excitement of the hour – you must read 'Ivanhoe'. (Hall 1910: 103)

The Christian version of the chivalric ideal saw a resurgence in the early twentieth century, not least in Robert Baden-Powell's Scouting movement (Baden-Powell was another admirer of *The Broad Stone of Honour*). A profusion of pamphlets, annuals and magazines recommended chivalry as a code of conduct for young men, in which chivalric romance and Christian values are inseparable. The 1913 *Chivalry in Modern Life* argued that 'he who craves to be a true Christian knight of modern days must enter into the invisible Armoury of the Church, to be harnessed from head to foot and made ready for the Holy War' (Brailsford 1913: 43). The chivalric code of honour moved from popularisations in texts such as this to become the guiding principle for organisations for young men, and was a major influence on the language of the Scout movement in Britain and in America. The Reverend William Forbush,¹⁵ much influenced by Tennyson, was the author of *The Boy Problem* (1901) and looked to the chivalric as a solution. He set up an organisation, the 'Knights of King Arthur' in which thousands of young American boys joined a 'castle' club and were given Merlin as a mentor figure and drilled in the rules of the chivalric (Lupack 1991: 301).

The ubiquity of the chivalric in British and American culture meant that it was inevitable that it should be an early subject for cinema. Kevin J. Harty's bibliography of Arthurian film (Harty 1991) cites the Edison film of a stage version of Wagner's *Parsifal* as the earliest use of the chivalric in film. The year 1909 saw *Launcelot and Elaine* (dir. Charles Kent), based on a section of *Idylls of the King*. By 1923, 'Merrie England' had come to Hollywood with a lavish production of *Robin Hood* (dir. Allan Dwan), starring Douglas Fairbanks. The film boasted a showpiece set, which was then the largest ever built; it featured an enormous baronial castle, stone arches, heraldic flags and battlements, the metonymic icons of the chivalric that could have come straight from one of Skelt's toy theatre sets. With the conventions for illustrated versions of the chivalric now codified in cinematic imagery, the visual signifiers of Arthurian legend were confirmed.

It is the book *The Sword in the Stone*, and Disney's later acquisition of the title, that cemented the place of Arthuriana in the late twentieth century. The title

The Sword in the Stone had first appeared as a 1914 play (Sproston 1914), but it is T.H. White who is the key figure in the mediation of academic scholarship of chivalric romance into popular culture, and who made Arthurian legend familiar to every British and American family. The characters of White's novel are very close to those of Sproston's play; like Sproston, White focuses on the relationship between Merlin and the young Arthur, and turns the legend into a *bildungsroman* of royal worthiness and destiny. As an English public school man, as boy and master,¹⁶ White would have been thoroughly familiar with the variants on Arthurian legends for the schoolboy, and was of a generation to have grown up with such texts as *The Boy's Book of Chivalry*. As a student he had written a thesis on Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* and declared himself an authority on the chivalric; in his novels he claimed to be 'packed with accurate historical knowledge and good allusive criticism' (Warner 1967: 199). White's sequence of Arthurian novels begin with the 1938 *The Sword in the Stone*; *The Queen of Air and Darkness* (flagged in Latin as the second book of the series), *The Illmade Knight* and *The Candle in the Wind* were published together as the 1958 *The Once and Future King - 'Incipit Liber Secundus'*. *The Sword in the Stone* makes White's medieval scholarship very visible; it is prefaced with a quotation from the *Le Morte D'Arthur* and is dedicated to 'Sir Thomas Maleore, Knight'. This academic pedantry is sustained in the archaic spelling of the names of the familiar figures of Merlyn, Launcelot and Guenever.

White's version of Camelot has a wit and scholarly knowingness lacking in the earlier earnest collections of knightly training and in Sproston's play. As in those versions, White's boy hero Wart undergoes an education in the knightly mode from Merlin, which precisely matches the lessons for young gentlemen advocated in such texts as the *Boy's Book of Chivalry*. The novel's extended joke is, as it was for Twain, the juxtaposition of the medieval fantastic and the contemporary prosaic; Arthur cannot attend Eton because a giant is in the way, and so is schooled by Merlin. White punctures the solemnity of the chivalric as a bored Wart undergoes lessons in the knightly code, in the context of schoolboy timetable.¹⁷ For all its contemporary gloss, the descriptions of Camelot in White's texts are redolent of nineteenth-century illustrations and of Pre-Raphaelite paintings, as in this description of a tournament: 'The wooden grandstands were painted in scarlet and white. The silk pavilions ... were azure and green and saffron and chequered' (White 1938: 327).

White has a self-conscious awareness of the many refractions of the Arthurian tales, and was well aware of his own (and Malory's) nostalgic reconstruction of an imaginary England, as he wrote in a letter to a friend:

I am trying to write of *an imaginary world which was imagined in the 15th century*. ... Malory and I are both dreaming. We care very little for exact dates, and he says I am to tell you I am after the spirit of the *Morte D'Arthur* (just as he was after the spirit of those sources he collated) seen through the eyes of 1939. (Quoted in Warner 1967: 133–4)

The Sword in the Stone was published in the month of the Munich crisis, at a time when an 'imaginary world' was an attractive proposition. It was an immediate popular success, as a book and on the radio; the novel was run as a BBC Radio Sunday afternoon serial the next year, which brought White and his work to worldwide media notice. The title became an American Book of the Month in 1939 and so came to the attention of the Disney Studio, who bought up the screen rights for an animated version.

The 1950s saw yet another revival of interest in and fashion for the heraldic, with *Ivanhoe* a major Hollywood production in 1952. The 1951 Festival of Britain was a post-war celebration of British heritage and enterprise, which, despite its claims to modernity, refashioned heraldic flags and motifs in its publicity and named the pavilion devoted to heritage 'The Lion and the Unicorn'. The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 (the first occasion in Britain that saw television become the dominant means of experiencing news) prompted a lavish display of royal pageantry and a rash of celebratory heraldic flags in popular newspapers and magazines.¹⁸ The 'New Elizabethan Age' made use of the chivalric to celebrate the monarchy and English tradition as the Victorians had done, but revised it for the post-war Brave New World of the 1950s.

For the writer and publisher Roger Lancelyn Green, King Arthur offered an image of the hopes for the post-war reconstruction and for the new Queen. Camelot is for him 'that brief twilight of civilisation before the night of the Dark Ages was remembered and recounted for generations' (Green 1965b: 4). Green was a prolific compiler of myth, legends and fairy tales throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and brought new versions of Arthurian romance to several generations of children as the associate editor of Dent's 'Children's Illustrated Classics' series. Green was another disseminator and populariser of Arthurian legend who was himself a medieval scholar, and just like White and his nineteenth-century predecessors, he invokes Malory as the original and authoritative source of the legends. Unlike White, however, Green uses anglicised and modern spellings for the characters of Merlin and Guinevere, a gesture towards the modernity of the 1960s.

White's title *The Once and Future King* was used as the basis for the 1960 musical (and later film) *Camelot*, a show that reconfigured the Arthurian legend for the late twentieth century and for a new American president. The connotations of 'Camelot' had a particular resonance at the moment of the Kennedy administration. Alan Lerner, *Camelot's* lyricist, saw Arthur as an emblem of idealism and modernity:

I believe it is the idealism expressed in the concept of the Round Table that accounts for the indestructibility of the Arthurian legend ... there lies buried in its heart the aspirations of mankind, and, if Arthur lived at all, he was a light in the Dark Ages. ... Camelot had suddenly become the symbol of those thousand days when people the world over saw a bright new light of hope shining from the White House. (Lerner 1978: 222)

With *Camelot*, the Arthurian legend was to become a tale of the 1960s, and indelibly associated with the Kennedy administration. *Camelot* was among the defining musicals of the decade: it ran for two years on Broadway and for a further two years on tour in America; it played in London for over two years, and even longer in Australia (Lerner 1978: 217). The film rights were sold for a million dollars and the film version came out in 1967 (dir. Joshua Logan); it won Academy Awards for its lavish costumes and art direction (although these owed rather more to a 1960s version of the Renaissance than to any medieval style).

Disney only took up its rights to *The Sword in the Stone* twenty years after its original option, prompted by the news of Lerner and Loewe's interest in *The Once and Future King*. Disney Studio's animated version of the novel came out in 1963, and provided Disney with its own (copyrightable) set of images and characters for the chivalric, which would become the models for attractions in the Disney parks. The Disney film owed much to the studio's original animation, *Snow White*. With its cute cottages and scenes of anthropomorphised animals and domestic objects, *The Sword in the Stone* capitalised on those elements that White had scornfully dismissed as the 'swinish Milne-ish parts' (quoted in Warner 1967: 99).¹⁹

The Sword in the Stone was not Disney's first venture into the chivalric; heraldic flags and trappings were part of the landscape of Disneyland from its inception. When Disneyland first opened in 1955, the Fantasyland site was not yet open for lack of funding, and the site was disguised with '100 foot industrial sheds decorated to resemble tournament pavilions at a medieval joust' (Marling 1997: 70). Among the first attractions was the King Arthur Carrousel, opened in 1955. Heraldic references abound at the Disneyland sites; the Peter Pan ride façade is decorated with turrets and banners, evoking the setting for a medieval joust. In Disney World's Epcot version of England, 'World Showcase Players' perform stories of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. The castle at the centre of each park doubles as fairy tale castle and as chivalric fortress. These castles owe much to eighteenth-century fairy tale illustrations, but they also reference, in their scale and turreting, Doré's illustrations for *Idylls of the King*. The castle is the venue for the daily ritual of the 'Sword in the Stone ceremony' overseen by Merlin, in which children are invited, like Wart, to pull Excalibur from a stone and to become king or queen for the day.

The main space for chivalric imagery at the Disney parks (as in most theme parks) is the Fantasyland area, the site devoted to fairy tale. Stephen M. Fjellman has described Fantasyland as 'suggesting simultaneously the timelessness of fairy tales and children's stories and the romanticized medieval castles of central Europe with a bit of King Arthur thrown in' (Fjellman 1992: 61). He has characterised the chivalric theme at the Disneyland sites as a 'timeless, a-historical world' (Fjellman 1992: 23); however, there are very precise pragmatic and historical reasons for the emphasis on the chivalric in the contemporary Disney sites. Disneyland Paris needed to reconstruct Disney's

dominant American themes for a European audience (especially in the face of cultural opposition from French intellectuals), and the iconography of chivalry and Arthurian legend neatly fitted that requirement. The tales of Fantasyland are inflected by European tales and legend in all the Disney parks, but it is at Disneyland Paris that the French ‘origins’ of these tales is emphasised. In siting an American cultural icon in a European context, Perrault’s versions of fairy tale were a useful device to glocalise an American Fantasyland. Chivalric romance similarly has a French association in the twelfth-century versions of Chrétien de Troyes and is used, as are illustrations to the *Book of Hours*, in much the same way.

The invocation of chivalric romance, with an emphasis on its French roots, is a central feature of Disneyland Paris. The illuminated manuscripts of the fifteenth century that flourished and traded in Paris (Meiss 1968: 4) are clear models for the gardens and architecture of the central castle and Fantasyland area. The park benches in Fantasyland feature ironwork with images of gardeners and farming that are derived directly from the *Book of Hours* imagery. However, while these references are invoked by Disney publicity as a mark of historical ‘authenticity’, the *Book of Hours* artists were no more historically accurate in their representation of chivalry than Disney’s imagineers; as Meiss notes, ‘Heraldry runs riot in the Boucicault Hours’ (Meiss 1968: 9). Like Disney’s Mickey Mouse, these artists happily represented their patrons encountering any legendary figure, regardless of historical or geographical probability. Mickey Mouse himself is recruited to Arthurian legend at Disneyland Paris; ‘Sir Mickey’s Carousel’ references many of the artistic conventions of chivalric illustration, and is decorated with references to Pre-Raphaelite paintings, to the Crusaders, to Camelot and to Merlin; the horses are the traditional ‘chivalric chargers’ of the travelling fair. Sir Mickey Launcelot attaches a long history of the chivalric in European culture to the American mouse.

Disneyland reworks chivalric and heraldic iconography and stories that have been regularly featured in fairgrounds and entertainments since at least the eighteenth century in Europe and America. The ‘chivalric’ has connoted culture, civilisation, history and gentlemanly behaviour, and is deployed in a perpetually nostalgic construction of a mythic heritage. The chivalric is used to invoke a historically unspecified ‘good old days’ of masculine heroism and loyalty to crown and country, which can be turned to any context. The comic strip hero of ‘Prince Valiant in the Days of King Arthur’ was first developed in 1937. Prince Valiant was a royal Nordic knight who was initially pitted against the Nazis and who has continued to battle contemporary villains in American newspapers. Prince Valiant offers a neat illustration of the way in which chivalric codes can be reshaped to defend whatever might be historically required.

The meanings attached to ‘chivalric romance’ shift according to context, both geographical and historical. The use of the chivalric has its own long history, a history that is based on mystification, speculation, plagiarism and



Figure 3.2 Guinevere, Brighton Pier, 2010

historical confusion. The chivalric legend has been variously used to support the monarchy, imperial power, public school masculinity and the American presidency. It is invoked as an essentially ‘English’ tradition at British festivals and fairgrounds; at Disneyland Paris, it signifies a vaguely ‘European’ tradition. Chivalry has also regularly emerged as a signifier of gallantry and gentlemanliness. Each of these constructions is weighted by a history of reinscriptions of the tales to fit different historical and ideological frames. To neglect that history is to accept unchallenged the claims of chivalric mythology of a fixed national identity and an essential masculinity.

The ‘authenticity’ of chivalric romance has been repeatedly invoked by literary and art historians, and in popular culture, as a means of claiming an eternal heritage and unchallenged historical truth. The legends of the chivalric romance and of King Arthur and Camelot remain, however, stories that have no means of authentication and therefore can be invoked in support of a wide range of different constructions of heritage and tradition.

Fairy Tale Romance

The fairy tale is the essential genre of the theme park. Fairies and magic dust have long been used in the selling of the pleasure ground and are invoked in advertising that recurrently frames a visit as a ‘magical experience’. The theme park space dedicated to the fairy tale genre is one of the few sites in a park that signals its appropriateness to young children and particularly to girls. The rides are coded as appropriate to young children but are also allied with the ‘feminine’ genre of romance. The page in the Disney guidebooks devoted to Fantasyland is vividly pink; it is also the only space in which attractions are named after women, as in ‘Snow White’s Scary Adventures’ and ‘Cinderella’s Castle’. The fairy tale is one of the few popular narrative genres that allow for a heroine as the chief actant of the narrative; unlike the Western, adventure stories or science fiction, the heroine of fairy tale is not an accessory to the male protagonist but the focus of the genre. Romance – the one popular fictional genre written entirely by and for women – is mapped on to the fairy tale in the theme park, and is the only site at which it is to be found.

Fairy tale is the popular genre most associated with childhood, and it is the fairy tale site in any theme park that has attractions that are addressed to small children; miniature versions of rides and children’s playgrounds are located at Fantasyland in Disney, at the Land of Make Believe at Alton Towers and at Chessington’s Toytown. There is a paradox in the representation of femininity in the theme park, as these sites situate the feminine simultaneously as infantilised and as the subject of romance. The merchandising in Fantasyland and associated sites is clearly directed at girls and offers all the trappings necessary to a princess: jewellery, tiaras and miniature ball gowns.

The association of fairy tale with the feminine (and the maternal) has been the case since the publication of the first written versions of these stories.¹ As men (most famously Charles Perrault in France and the Grimm Brothers in Germany) took up the writing of fairy tale and turned popular stories into a literary genre, they regularly claimed an older woman as a direct source. This invented female narrator enabled scholarly and aristocratic transcribers of folk tales to distance themselves from the class and superstitious connotations of folk tale, and allowed them to claim a popular authority.

It is hardly necessary to say that the ‘happy ever after’ adaptations of fairy tale offered in Disneylands and other theme parks present a sanitised and defanged version² of the often violent and brutal tales written by Andersen,

“A Penny Plain and Twopence Coloured”



Figure 4.1 *Cinderella; or the Little Glass Slipper*, by kind permission of Pollocks Toy Theatres Limited

the Grimm Brothers and Perrault. Jack Zipes, perhaps the most prolific scholar and historian of the genre, is among the many critics³ to bewail the sentimentalisation of the ‘Disney version’ of fairy tales; Zipes argues that ‘readers have been “Disneyized” – that is subjected to the saccharine, sexist and illusionary stereotypes of the Disney culture industry’ (Zipes 1991: xxvii). It would, however, be mistaken to suggest that traditional fairy tales have simply been bowdlerised in a process of Disneyfication; Disney is only one among a long line of tellers of these tales to have reworked traditional stories to fit prevailing mores. As Zipes’ own research demonstrates,⁴ there are no authentic versions of these stories, and Disney is by no means the first reteller to use them to promote particular constructions of morality and of gender.

Of all the popular genres, it is fairy tale that most evidently has no discernible origin. Fairy tales share the quality of the uncanny with the Gothic genre and, like Gothic tales, are grounded in folklore and superstition. The form of the fairy tale, with its traditional opening line ‘Once upon a time ...’ (a phrase regularly invoked in the theme park to signify the genre), places the fairy tale in a nostalgic and dehistoricised realm. Disney cannot be seen simply as a figure who has appropriated and sanitised ‘authentic’ stories, but rather as yet another stage in a process of transformations of tales that have no means of authentication. The perceived need to protect children from the edgier and bloody elements of fairy tale is a consequence of a long history of the editing

and reworking of traditional stories. The status of that 'tradition', however, is more complicated than it appears: the history of fairy tale is one of recurrent claims to authenticity, but these are all tales that have no discernible first teller. As Andrew Lang, one of the key compilers and historians of fairy tale, recognised in 1889, the origins of traditional tales are lost in the mists of time, and cannot be either dated or located: 'We are still repeating to the boys and girls of each generation the stories that were old before Homer sang, and the adventures that have wandered, like the wandering Psyche, over all the world' (Lang 1889: xii).

Every chronicler of fairy tale (including Lang himself) has nonetheless claimed their own versions to be faithful to an 'original', even while that source is an invention. The derivations of fairy stories have been the subject of scholarly speculation since long before the Grimm brothers took them as an object of academic study and folk tale became an academic discipline.⁵ Feminist scholars, most notably Angela Carter, Alison Lurie and Marina Warner, have done much to re-evaluate the significance of women writers in the formation of the literary fairy tale, but it is Perrault, the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen who continue to be credited in popular culture as the originators of the most familiar fairy tales.

Perrault's stories are attributed to the fictional Mother Goose, in the title of his 1697 collection *Contes de ma Mère l'Oye*, although his sources were rather closer to the Paris salon than to the farmyard. As Angela Carter has explained,

When Charles Perrault first wrote down these fairy tales in the last years of the seventeenth century, they had already existed, in one form or another, for years, some for centuries, part of the unwritten tradition of folk-lore handed down by word of mouth from one generation to another. In France at that time, nursery tales like these were called 'Mother Goose Tales' ... though Mother Goose herself bore no relation to any real person, but was a collective name for every granny, nanny or old wife who ever kept children content with stories about unfortunate princesses, talking beasts or seven league boots. (Carter 1977: 9)

This 'collective' Granny is a recurrent figure in the telling of fairy tale, a device used to claim authenticity. One of the earliest published collections in England was the 1773 *Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales*,⁶ which has no discernible author but the invented Mother Bunch. 'Gammer Gurton' is ostensibly the author of the 1810 *Gammer Gurton's Garland* but is a fictional character who originally had nothing to do with fairy tale. Gammer Gurton first appeared as a comedy character, an early form of pantomime dame, who was most associated with a drinking song.⁷ Nonetheless, she gave her name to collections of 'Pleasant Stories' for children throughout the nineteenth century. The scholarly Grimm brothers invented an honest farmer's wife, 'Gammer Grethel', to tell the stories they had collected from a range of sources in their linguistic research. Despite their consistent claims to an originating voice and insistence on authenticity,

all these writers or transcribers edited and embellished these oral stories and presented them for their own purposes.

The seventeenth-century folklorist John Aubrey was among those who collected magical folk tales,⁸ but unlike later folklorists, he firmly believed in the fairies, magic and spells that he chronicled. Aubrey noted in 1686,

Before printing, Old Wives Tales were ingeniose: and since Printing came in fashion, till a little before the Civil Warres, the ordinary sort of People were not taught to reade; now-a-dayes Bookes are common and most of the poor people understand letters; and the many good Bookes and variety of Turnes of Affaires have put all the old Fables out of doors: and the divine art of Printing and Gunpowder have frightened away Robin-Goodfellow and the Fayries. (Aubrey 1881: 67–8)

In fact, the Fayries and the old Fables were to flourish with the ‘divine art of Printing’ and Robin-Goodfellow would long survive in the written word and beyond. The stories that had survived in the popular memory through shared rhymes and songs were preserved in ballad sheets and chapbooks, just as subject to variations and reworkings in their written versions as they had been in their oral form.

Gammer Gurton’s Garland, published as an illustrated volume for children (as one of a series in Lumsden & Son’s Juvenile Library), gives some insight into the range of sources for English folk tales. It is a collection of ballads and songs, traces of which have survived into pantomime and nursery rhyme.⁹ The collection demonstrates the extent to which the fairy tale is a hybrid form, drawing local legend, popular superstition, songs and sometimes historical characters into its purview. Figures such as Dick Whittington¹⁰ and Robin Hood regularly appear in collections of fairy stories for children, aligned to the genre through their appearances in pantomime. Chapbooks and collections of rhyme and fairy tale published their own pirated translations of French and oriental fairy tales and printed them alongside English stories familiar from ballads. Richardson’s Juvenile Library republished ballad sheets and chapbooks in volumes priced at threepence each, their titles including ‘Children in the Wood’, ‘Cinderella’, ‘Jack the Giant Killer’ and ‘Dick Whittington’. In a subtitle, Benjamin Tabart’s 1818¹¹ illustrated collection attributes his stories to a fanciful range of sources, claiming them to be written ‘by those Renowned Personages King Oberon, Queen Mab, Mother Goose, Mother Bunch, Master Puck and other Distinguished Personages at the Court of the Fairies’ (Tabart 1818: frontispiece).

Tabart reassures the early nineteenth-century reader that his book is appropriate for ‘every family where there are children and young persons’ and sternly regrets (as Andrew Lang was to at end of the century) the vulgarity of earlier versions of these tales:

Many collections of such stories have within the last century appeared in the English language; but many of them are so obsolete in their style, so gross in their

morals, and so vulgar in their details, as to be altogether unfit for the purposes to which they seem to have been adapted. Of this fact, every tender mother, and every intelligent tutor, must be so sensible, that they will hail with satisfaction the appearance of a selection of the most interesting of these stories, in which an attempt is made to elevate the language and sentiments to a level with the refined manners of the present age. (Tabart 1818: iii)

In here declaring the ‘elevating’ changes he has made to old stories, Tabart is acknowledging his own part in a process of their editing and retelling. As Zipes has explained, such editing and the transcription of folk tales established a set of conventions for the genre, which would lead to the fairy tale becoming a literary form:

As more and more wonder tales were written down in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they constituted the genre of the literary fairy tale, which began establishing its own conventions, motifs, topoi, characters and plots, based to a large extent on those developed in the oral tradition but altered to address a reading public formed by the aristocracy and the middle classes. (Zipes 1991: xii)

Aubrey had attributed oral folk tales to ‘old wives’, and it was largely women who were responsible for the conversion of this oral tradition into a published and acceptable literary form. Marina Warner (1994a) has comprehensively charted the emergence of the literary fairy tale in the culture of the French salon and in the conversation of aristocratic women.¹² Despite their claims to ‘authentic’ sources, these women chroniclers mixed oral folklore with literary sources and with a medieval courtly tradition. Warner describes the wide range of popular and literary discourses that can be traced in the refashioning of these tales:

D’Aulnoy drew on Greek romances, medieval legends of Mélusin, on Tristan and on Merlin, on fableaux and the Lais of Marie de France, on her contemporary La Fontaine, as well as finding plots and much narrative incident in the down-to-earth and vigorous fantasies of story collections. L’Héritier, too, for all her protestations about her beloved childhood nurse also drew on printed literature. (Warner 1994b: 13)

This complex intertextuality blurred any clear attribution for the stories; while the *salonistes* claimed authenticity for their tales, their versions were subject to their own sophisticated gloss of literary reference and aristocratic wit. If Marina Warner (1994a), Jack Zipes (1991) and others have reclaimed the women writers in the history of fairy tale, they are firmly written out of the history of fairy tale at the theme park. At the Disneyland parks, fairy tale is entirely subsumed into the work of Charles Perrault, who is celebrated as the ‘author’ of fairy tales in the Disneylands of America and France; he features particularly large at Disneyland Paris. There is no acknowledgement that the ‘classic text’ (according to Iona and Peter Opie 1974) of ‘Beauty and the Beast’, currently staged daily at the Disney parks, was popularised (although not

originated) by Madame Le Prince de Beaumont. As a member of the literary establishment and as a man, Perrault is the popularly remembered collector of French fairy tales. Perrault's versions of 'Cinderella', 'The Sleeping Beauty', 'Puss in Boots' and 'Little Red Riding Hood' have become the standardised versions for these stories, reproduced in pantomime, drama and film.

The Victorian Andrew Lang is the significant figure in establishing Perrault (and his own translations) as the authoritative versions of French fairy tales. While Lang does acknowledge that he, like Perrault, has considerably revised and edited these stories, he nonetheless claims them as the 'true' tales. Perrault's use of Mother Goose claimed an affinity with an authentic folk culture, but he, like the salon women writers, extensively rewrote and expurgated his sources. For Lang this was not so much a form of censorship as a form of refinement, in which Perrault 'rescues' traditional tales from their 'degraded' origins in popular culture: 'Perrault in 1697, borrowed ... from tradition and gave them literary and courtly shape' (Lang 1897: xiv). Lang celebrates Perrault's versions of the tales over those of d'Aulnoy and other French women writers because he sees Perrault as closer to an 'original'. While he claims to be aware that there can be no 'pure' versions, Lang dismisses the retellings of 'these clever ladies' on the basis that the women 'embroidered on them ... nothing but the tissue into which they stitched their flowers of gold and silver thread was traditional. The long descriptions ... were pure Louis Quinze' (Lang 1897: xviii). Lang is here unwilling to recognise that Perrault's versions were no less of their 'Louis Quinze' moment, and that his own translations and edits are themselves pure Queen Victoria. Instead he claims Perrault as both faithful to a popular tradition and as an elegant embellisher:

Of all the old friends of the *Märchen* he clung most closely to tradition, giving often the very words of his boy's nurse, though he added a quip or a gentle piece of satire or a veiled *gauloiserie*, here and there. (Lang 1897: xix)

As Zipes has pointed out (1991), the fact that so many French writers of fairy tale were women did not necessarily imply a feminist sensibility in their stories. The romance and magic of the literary fairy tale were regularly marshalled to the proper education of young women. A central figure in the formulation of the fairy tale as a didactic tool for the education of young women was Jeanne Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, who used fairy tale as a means of educating her readers into appropriate codes of femininity. Le Prince de Beaumont was a governess and a successful and prolific author of moral fables for children. Her *Magasin des Enfants, ou Dialogues entre une sage Gouvernante et plusieurs de ses Elèves*¹³ set out to blend 'the useful' with 'the agreeable' in the form of a collection of moral fables. This was among the first French fairy tale collections to be translated into English, printed in London in 1756¹⁴ and later in *The Young Misses Magazine* in 1761. English translations of subsequent collections of fairy tale sustained de Beaumont's didacticism, with *Mother*

Bunch's Fairy Tales, a 1773 collection based on D'Aulnoy's tales (although attributed to the English Mother Bunch) and dedicated to

The AMUSEMENT

Of all those LITTLE MASTERS and MISSES,

WHO,

By duty to their Parents and Obedience

to their Superiors,

Aim At Becoming

GREAT LORDS AND LADIES.

(*Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales 1773: frontispiece*)

The fictional Gammer Gurton's 1810 English collection of rhymes and stories continues in this spirit of moral injunction. It is presented as 'The Good Child's Reward' and is clearly conceived as a bribe for good behaviour. Gammer's 'Advice to All Good Children' is 'Come pretty Master – pretty Miss, Be good and gain a book like this' (*Gammer Gurton's Garland* 1810: 32).

By the mid-nineteenth century, new editions of Gammer Gurton's story books had lost the riddles and nursery rhymes of earlier versions, in favour of tales of an English nationalist bent. The 1845 edition is full of stories of the British monarchy and aristocracy; these tales owe much to Scott and to the chivalric romance, as in 'The Famous History of Guy, Earl of Warwick' and 'The Gallant History of Bevis of Southampton'. The folk tales, such as 'The True History of Robin Hood', are drawn from a distinctly English folklore and are claimed as historical fact. This shift in Gammer Gurton's stories coincides with a Victorian idea of 'folk tale' as a form that could be deployed to instruct children in moral behaviour and also in patriotic spirit. As Angela Carter has noted,

[T]he great impulse towards collecting oral material in the nineteenth century came out of the growth of nationalism and the concept of the nation-state with its own, exclusive culture; with its exclusive affinity to the people who dwelt therein. The word 'folklore' itself was not coined until 1846, when William J. Thomas invented the 'good Saxon compound' to replace imprecise and vague terms such as 'popular literature' and 'popular antiquities'. (Carter 1990: xv)

It is the Grimm Brothers whose commitment to fairy tale most clearly demonstrates a nationalist agenda, their academic collection of folklore being, as Carter puts it, explicitly a pursuit of 'the authentic German *Geist*' (Carter 1990: xv). Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm represented the first systematic attempt to collect European folk tales; although it is their fairy tales that were translated and remembered, their larger enterprise was to track an authentic German popular culture. This project meant that they were less pious (if more pedantic) than other collectors, as Lurie notes:

The great distinction of the Grimm brothers was that though they altered their tales, they did not pick and choose, they printed almost everything they heard ...

a mixed bag of jokes, fables, legends, comic anecdotes and ghost stories ... passed down orally through many generations but still full of the half-animal gods and familiar spirits of pre-Christian Europe, – the haunted wells and forests, the elves and witches, the ancient superstitions and rituals. (Lurie 1990: 26–7)

The Grimm Brothers converted these tales of comedy and superstition into a high German literary genre. Jack Zipes (2002) has painstakingly charted and contextualised the Grimm Brothers' pursuit of 'Naturpoesie' (as they characterised folk tale). The first published edition of their collected tales in 1812 clearly announced its scholarly intent and was issued with separate volumes of footnotes.¹⁵ While this edition stressed the authenticity of their sources, it went to considerable lengths to deny the considerable editing and revisions made by the Grimms. The collection was presented with a frontispiece portrait of the fictional Gammer Grethel, which Edgar Taylor (their English translator) claimed was drawn from life (Taylor 1888: vii). This invention of an 'honest Farmer's wife', who is emphatically of Germanic and Aryan stock, is an aspect of the Grimm's affirmation of an authentic Germanic folk culture.¹⁶

The Grimm's tales were first translated into English in 1823 as *German Popular Stories* (in an edition for children that was a selection taken from an already selected edition by the Grimm Brothers) by Edgar Taylor, who maintained a didactic moral tone and directly addressed his readers as 'young friends'. This first English edition was illustrated with a title page and eleven etchings by George Cruickshank, illustrations that were reproduced in new editions until at least 1902. Cruickshank's frontispiece featured a group in a bar listening as a bar stool reader reads aloud, an image that celebrates these stories as popular tales while also moralising against the dangers of drink.¹⁷ Taylor's preface presents the tales as derived from an authentic oral culture while also recognising the Grimm's substantial editing. He suggests that their omissions are for the protection of young people:

There were also many stories of great merit, and tending highly to the elucidation of ancient mythology, customs, and opinions, which the fastidiousness of modern taste, especially in works likely to attract the attention of youth, warned them to pass by. (Taylor 1888: vi)

Taylor's translations sustain the fiction of a single originator of the tales and build upon the Grimm's construction of an 'authentic' peasant source. The 1888 edition of *German Popular Stories* is subtitled 'As Told by Gammer Grethel' and reproduces her portrait (Taylor may here be claiming a kinship with the English Gammer). In yet another preface, Taylor even claims to have personally witnessed Gammer's storytelling sessions:

GAMMER GRETHEL
WHO SHE WAS AND WHAT SHE DID

Gammer Grethel was an honest, good-humoured farmer's wife, who, a while ago, lived far off in Germany.

She knew all the good stories that were told in that country; and every evening about Christmas time the boys and girls of the neighbourhood gathered round her to hear her tell them some of her budget of strange stories.

One Christmas, being in that part of the world, I joined the party; and begged her to let me write down what I heard, for the benefit of my young friends in England. (Taylor 1888: xii)

Taylor was the first of many subsequent English translators and editors of the Grimm's work. Cruickshank's illustrations to the 1823 edition had been central to the volume's success, and were repeatedly reproduced and imitated. The 1876 edition had illustrations 'from designs by George Cruickshank', and the 1888 offered wood engravings 'By Byfield' based on 'old designs by Geo. Cruickshank'. Cruickshank was not alone as a successful illustrator of the Grimm tales. In 1846, a new edition of Grimm's tales, *The Fairy Ring*, was illustrated by Richard Doyle, who would become a regular illustrator of popular fairy tales.¹⁸ By 1902, Taylor's translation was accompanied by illustrations by 'Cruickshank and Others', and in this edition Gammer has become the main focus of the title: *Gammer Grethel's Fairy Tales: From the Popular Stories of the Brothers Grimm*. This more popular edition omitted Taylor's academically inclined first Preface, but does include his account of 'Gammer Grethel, Who She Was and What She Did' unaltered from the first edition, and maintains the portrait of Gammer Grethel, here titled 'The True Portrait of Gammer Grethel'. This authenticating myth was sustained by the character of an old woman storyteller in a 1962 film (derided by Zipes as a 'god-awful, kitschy film') *The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm* (1962, dir. Harry Levin). The film promoted an opposition between the dry study of academic linguistics and the magic of fairy tale, characterising each position in the characters of Jakob and Wilhelm, setting them against one another in the narrative arc of the movie. Like the 1952 cinematic version of Hans Christian Andersen's life (*Hans Christian Andersen*, dir. Charles Vidor), the film presented the tales as the products of both creative genius and an authentic folk culture.

'Bohn's Library', a series promoted by a bookseller who issued worthy titles in affordable editions from 1841, published a cheap version of Taylor's translations of the Grimm Brothers for the 'Standard' library. In line with Bohn's ethos, this volume is addressed to those of a scholarly bent and to adults rather than to children. Taylor's Preface assures the reader of the folkloric significance of the tales and of the authenticity of his own translations. He adds extensive accompanying notes and includes a letter from Sir Walter Scott that endorses the edition. Less highbrow volumes of the stories, produced for an audience of children, were later published in cheap editions with accompanying illustrations, among them *Grimms' Goblins*: 'a collection of Fairy Tales and Goblin Lore Fairy books for boys and girls ... illustrated by a new process of

chromoxylography' was published as single tales in forty-two parts from 1875 onwards (Barry Ono Collection, British Library).

While the Grimm Brothers' collection of folk tale was a self-conscious academic enterprise that took pride in the authentic sourcing of German popular culture, Hans Christian Andersen has generally been seen as the original author of imaginative tales for children. Andersen was promoted across Europe and America as an originator of a new kind of fairy tale, and has been hailed as the 'inventor of children's literature'. Brian Alderson has argued that Andersen's writing distinguishes his work from folk tale: 'Andersen has wrested folk motifs from their traditional roots and adapted them to his unique storytelling manner. ... These elements in Andersen's handling of 'the tradition' are integral to his own version of the story in a way that does not occur with folk tale proper (Alderson 2005: xiii). Alison Lurie is another among the many critics to claim Andersen as an original writer:

Unlike the Grimms and Wirthner ... Andersen did not just write down the stories he heard as a child from his mother and Grandmother; he went on to compose new tales of his own and when he retold an existing story, he made dramatic changes. (Lurie 2003: 4)

There is, however, no way of knowing if those 'dramatic changes' were any more substantial than those made by the Grimm Brothers or by Perrault and his predecessors, or if his handling of the folk 'tradition' was any more distinctive. There is also no means of distinguishing between those tales that Andersen 'heard as a child' (and which thus would have their roots in folk tales from his home town, Odense), and those that were his own invention. French, English and German were languages in which the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie were keen to demonstrate their competence, but because Danish was much less read, Andersen's tales tended not to be recognised as having predecessors and influences. Danish folk tales, unlike those from France and Germany, went largely untranslated and untranscribed and so were neglected by folklorists¹⁹ (Sands and Massengale 1990); their traces in Andersen are less apparent than his French and German counterparts. Andersen was not innocent of literary genres either, and it is clear from his autobiography that he was widely read in romance literature; he was immersed as a boy in the tales of Hoffmann, *The Arabian Nights* and Walter Scott. In 1845 he met Jakob Grimm in Berlin. Andersen was a self-mythologiser, who romanticised his own life (as the title of his 1847 autobiography *My Life as a Fairy Tale* suggests) and was not averse to promoting himself as an inspired *naïf*.

Whatever their origins, Andersen's tales were subject to revisions as soon as they were translated. His first English translator, Mary Howitt, reworked them second hand from the German, and idealised and domesticated them for the English-speaking market, as did subsequent translators. Mrs H.B. Paull, introducing a 'new translation' for the affordable 'Chandos Classics' edition

in England, makes it clear that substantial editing and selection has gone into the volume:

A complete collection of the *Fairy Tales of Hans Christian Andersen* which are considered suitable for young people, carefully translated and revised, with all obscure passages rendered intelligible to the English reader. (Paull 1888: iii)

In a period before international copyright, Andersen had little control over his work, and pirated versions, adaptations and translations in English regularly appeared unlicensed in the British and American press.²⁰ Andersen's popularity in America was such that the edition of his autobiography in 1868 contained a 'Greeting to American Readers' (Andersen 1975: 411). Andersen's 'rags to riches' story had a particular resonance in America: it was turned into a musical, and in 1952 a Technicolor film spectacle, *Hans Christian Andersen* (dir. Vidor), in which a number of the stories were framed by a biographical narrative. Along with the publication of complete American editions of his work, variations of Andersen's tales regularly appeared across a range of American magazines and journals. 'The Little Match Girl', a story first written to accompany a magazine illustration of a street urchin, was subsequently published in a collection of tales, then pirated and adapted in popular versions of the tale, until the character became a free agent who was inserted into any number of variations of the story.

Andersen's stories were illustrated from their first translations; illustrations by the German Franz Pocci were used to accompany the volumes of the English text of Andersen's *Wonderful Stories for Children* in 1846, and later editions in 1847 and 1848. Also in 1846, 'The Little Mermaid' appeared in *Bentley's* magazine, with an accompanying illustration, and in 1847, Chapman & Hall (Dickens's publisher) published a volume of Andersen tales containing twenty drawings. As with translations, there was an international traffic in illustration at the time, with Danish illustrations used for German and English editions of Andersen, and full-page illustrations by Vilhelm Pedersen for the 1853 translated volume *Danish Fairy Tales*. As Alderson has demonstrated, Andersen's tales were a draw for magazine and book illustration throughout the nineteenth century:

Over thirty different illustrators can be counted on the title-pages of selections published in England up to 1900 ... and something like the same quantity can be found illustrating single stories as picture books ('The Ugly Duckling' predominating) or within periodicals. (Alderson 2005: xviii)

Andersen had explicitly directed his work towards child readers (while also making claims to status in adult literature): 'I had called my first volume "Stories told for Children" ... with the expressions in which I had myself related them, by word of mouth, to the little ones' (Andersen 1975: 204). The 'young reader' represented a new cultural phenomenon in the latter half of the nineteenth century and a new audience for illustrated fiction. New technologies

allowed for the mass production of coloured illustration, and these books could now be targeted at a children's market. The fairy tale neatly fitted publishers' requirements; it was a form appropriate to a younger audience (Perrault, *Le Prince de Beaumont* and the English translators of Grimm and Andersen had all ensured their moral probity), and eminently visual. Collected fairy tales drawn from Perrault, Andersen and the Grimms were published in the form of illustrated gift books, treasuries and in cheap editions. Among the most successful of these was 'The Toy Books' series of illustrated (in colour) titles – often of a single fairy tale, priced at 6d or 1s a volume, which were published from 1878. According to their publisher, 'they sold before I could get another edition printed' (quoted in Muir 1989: 168). The blocks for the Toy Books went into print runs of 100,000 and continued to be used until 1885, the stories and their illustrations published both as separate issues and in collected editions. The mass production of images of fairies and Fairylands established a set of conventions for the iconography of magical fairy tale spectacle.

While written versions of the tales of Perrault, the Grimm Brothers and Andersen vacillated between scholarly translations and popular plagiarism, standardised versions of familiar fairy tales were to be found regularly reproduced in the theatre, in pantomimes and extravaganzas. The spectacle of fairies and magical tricks also found their way into circus. The circus particularly relished the exotic connotations of *The Arabian Nights* tales, which provided opportunities for the display of elephants, tigers and horsemanship. It was through circus acts that fairy tales flourished as theatrical spectacle in America, as Helen Stoddart explains:

Just as the European hippodramas had an orientalist tendency to look to the eastern cultures for subject matter, as well as to fairy tale ... so too did the spectacles or 'specs', which opened and/or closed the three-ring circuses in the United States, reinvent and mix together the categories of history, myth and culture. (Stoddart 2000: 103)

Fairy tale scenarios also demanded the spectacular effects and transformations that were so central to pantomime extravaganzas and Harlequinades.²¹ These productions regularly lifted their plots from literary sources and mixed them with popular contemporary and traditional allusions. Harlequinades would take fairy tale stories and insert Harlequin and Columbine as protagonists, as in *Harlequin and Cinderella*, which appeared in 1807, or *Harlequin and Bluebeard* in 1811. Like Gammer Gurton's and Mother Bunch's story books, English pantomime and their accompanying Harlequinades were forms that depended on a wholesale borrowing of popular cultural references. They happily made use of tales derived from regional folklore, chivalric romance, fairy tale and classical mythologies. Folkloric characters with some basis in history (such as Dick Whittington and Robin Hood) would regularly cross paths with fairy tale heroes and heroines.

Harlequin Mother Goose; or, The Golden Egg (a borrowing of Perrault's *Mère l'Oie*) was staged in 1806 at Covent Garden. *Sleeping Beauty* was produced as a melodrama in 1806 and as a pantomime and Harlequinade at Covent Garden in 1822, and featured an appearance by 'Mother Bunch'. This staging of *Harlequin and the Ogress; or, the Sleeping Beauty in the Wood* gives an indication of the cheerful collisions of elements of story, character and settings that were to be found in nineteenth-century popular theatre. The production brought together elements of both literary and folk tale, myth and legend, and employed burlesque, Harlequinade and pantomime. A contemporary review describes the wild range of characters and stories brought together under the umbrella title of 'Harlequin and the Ogress':

The introductory story is taken from the well-known tale of 'The Sleeping Beauty' in 'Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales' which had before been 'Melodramatised' but had not hitherto been taken for the groundwork of a Harlequinade ... the three fatal sisters of Mother Bunch's Mythology are seen spinning and winding a ball of golden thread. ... The Prince Azoff, with his Squire Abnab, straying from a hunting party into the enchanted cedar grove, encounters the Fairy Blue-bell. ... The whole of the persons engaged in the scene now undergo the prescriptive Pantomimic changes and the ordinary succession of Harlequinade adventures, tricks, and transformations ensue. (*The Drama* 1822, quoted in Broadbent 1901: 174)

'Aladdin' was one of the earliest subjects of pantomime, performed in 1788 at Covent Garden; with 'Cinderella', it remains the most produced pantomime story. 'Aladdin' is a tale that allowed for Orientalist spectacle and which played into the contemporary fashion for chinoiserie. 'Chinese' pagodas were regular features of late eighteenth-century pleasure gardens and stately homes; the Prince of Wales had begun to build the Royal Pavilion in Brighton in 1787. The set for the Pollock's juvenile drama version has a backdrop reading 'Royal Bath' – a reference to the fashionable Regency Bath, but also to the public laundry, a standard feature of pantomime, in which the Dame is often a laundress.²² Like the Brighton Pavilion, the stylistic orientalism for illustrations and productions of *Aladdin and the Forty Thieves* was geographically vague. The first production featured a wildly eclectic range of 'exotic' sets and references (a tradition that continues in productions and representations of 'Aladdin'):

The costumes, we are told, were inspired by a variety of national dress – Chinese, Japanese and Persian – and that was to become the norm. Even today, the names of the characters, their costumes and even the settings are a strange mixture of Arab and Chinese. (Lathan 2004: 110)

The use of stories from *The Arabian Nights* in theatre productions represented a popular cooption of this most fashionable style, as George Speaight has explained: 'there was a crop of Oriental pieces that were immensely popular; *Aladdin*, *Bluebeard* and *The Forty Thieves* ... straight exciting Eastern spectacles' (Speaight 1946: 70). These 'Eastern spectacles'

were hugely successful as plays for toy theatres; *Aladdin: or, The Wonderful Lamp* first appeared for the toy theatre along with *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* published by Hodgson's Juvenile Drama in 1822. *Ali Baba* was issued by twenty-two different publishers (Fawdry 1980: 45). There is a geographical confusion about the location of the 'East' in these early versions, with the characters all given Arabic names, while Aladdin and his mother inhabit the 'suburbs of a Chinese City'. Abanezer is transported across continents by magic: 'Tis but one moment since we were in Africa, and now we are close to one of the greatest cities in China' (*Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* 1822: 4). Spectacle was much more important than geographical probability; an 1830 production of 'Aladdin' (which was regularly revived) offered a 'gorgeous Melo-Dramatic Tale of Enchantment' and featured horses and a tiger hunt.

While pantomime historians and folklorists have recurrently attempted to trace the 'origins' of *The Arabian Nights*, these stories were no more 'authentic' than the French and German folk tales written up by Perrault or the Grimm Brothers, and similarly were constantly subject to reworkings and translators' embellishments. R.J. Broadbent, writing in 1901, ponders the origin of the Aladdin story but can come to no conclusions:

In our common English version of 'Aladdin' in 'The Arabian Nights', which was taken from Galland's French version, it is doubtless an Eastern picture. It does not occur, however, in any known Arabian text. (Broadbent 1901: 197)

Antoine Galland was knowingly writing to the French tradition of *Féeries* and may well have invented his stories – there are, as Broadbent notes, no known Arabic manuscripts for the tales of Aladdin or Ali Baba. Galland claimed to have 'translated' the stories to produce a 'definitive' text in 1704 that was taken as the authentic version for over a century. English translations of Galland's texts added their own layers of reinterpretation to the stories, while claiming to be more 'authentic' than the French versions. Among the first English translators was Edward Lane, who claimed an orientalist knowledge and scholarship, which he argued made his 1838 version closer to an 'original' than previous versions. Lane nonetheless took it upon himself to expurgate any unsuitable eroticism from the tales. The introduction (itself appended with twenty-nine 'Academic notes') is scathing about Galland; the title page of Lane's three-volume 'new translation' announces the authority of the text – and its author's credentials:

The Thousand and One Nights
Commonly called, in England,
The Arabian Nights' Entertainments.
A New Translation from the Arabic, with copious notes
by Edward William Lane, author of 'The Modern Egyptians'. (Lane 1883)

Lane firmly expunged any suggestion of the 'vulgar' or the erotic from his *Arabian Nights*, and it was these translations that popularised the stories and

laid the basis for Aladdin, Sinbad and Ali Baba as characters in children's stories and in Victorian pantomime. Lane's versions were published with several hundred commissioned illustrations from forty different engravers and issued in monthly parts between 1838 and 1840.²³ Other translations and illustrated editions abounded and cheap abridged versions of the tales were repeatedly published. An unauthored 1847 version, printed in thirty-nine parts, was clearly an unauthorised copy of the Lane translation, its title emulating Lane's claim to geographical and historical accuracy: '*The Arabian Nights' Entertainments; Or, The Thousand and One Nights: Accurately Describing the Manners, Laws and Religion of the Eastern Nations*'. The explorer Richard Burton used his knowledge of languages to write an 'unexpurgated' version, which wrote back (or quite possibly wrote in) the eroticism that Lane had repudiated.

The orientalist exoticism (and sensuality) of *The Arabian Nights* was particularly attractive to Victorian poets and artists. Fairy tale became an established genre of Victorian painting; the period between 1840 and 1870 has been described as a 'Golden Age of Fairy Paintings' (Maas 1997: 11), a period that coincides with popular editions of the Grimm Brothers and with English translations of Andersen.

Tennyson's poem 'Recollections of *The Arabian Nights*' was published in a Moxon collection with Pre-Raphaelite illustrations in 1857. An 'artistic' edition of *The Arabian Nights* was published in 1865 and issued in weekly parts, each with large engravings from a range of artists including Millais and Tenniel. Gustave Doré provided illustrations for the 1868 English version of *Les Mille et Une Nuits* published in Paris in 1865. Doré also provided illustrations to *Fairy Tales: A Collection of Favourite Old Tales Told in Verse by Tom Hood* published in 1865 and for an edition of Perrault's *Fairy Tales*, originally published in France in 1862 and reprinted for English editions in 1865 and 1866. These were later used to illustrate a pantomime book published to accompany a Drury Lane production.

The magical spectacle of fairylands could shuttle between high art and burlesque. Dancing fairies were as comfortable in circus and pantomime as in the romanticism of the respectable ballet and opera. Rossini's 1817 opera *La Cenerentola*, based on 'Cinderella', established the convention of the Ugly Sisters, now essential characters in contemporary pantomime and ballet productions. In Harlequinades, the figure of Columbine was regularly played by a ballerina, and early ballet costume was close to Columbine's ankle-length skirts. 'Cinderella' was first translated into ballet in 1822, *Cendrillon*, which ran in repertory in Paris and London and opened the new Bolshoi Petrovsky Theatre in 1825. The introduction of the pointe shoe gave the dancer the illusion of weightlessness and flight, and the fairy was the most appropriate character to assume. Marie Taglioni gave the first entire performance *en pointe* in *La Sylphide* in 1832, and made the fairy ballet fashionable in London, Paris and St Petersburg. The romantic Gothic of ballets such as *Giselle* shared

Andersen's²⁴ preoccupation with the figure of a tragic sprite, while the Scots setting and legend of *La Sylphide* paid homage to Scott. The Russian Imperial Ballet turned the spectacle of fairy tale into an established balletic tradition; Petipa's *Sleeping Beauty* (1890) and *Cinderella* (1889) remain in the repertoire of ballet companies across the world. Petipa also took German folk tales written up by the Romantic E.T.A. Hoffmann and turned them into ballets, with *The Nutcracker* and *Coppélia*. *Coppélia* was one of the tales to be popularised through Offenbach's operetta, *The Tales of Hoffman*; Offenbach's music provides much of the soundtrack to the Fantasylands of the Disney parks.

The 'fairy ballet' was an integral element of nineteenth-century pantomime productions. The figure most responsible for Victorian theatrical extravaganzas was producer and translator John Robinson Planché, who made his name staging fairy tale spectacles. Planché was a major conduit for the transition of fairy tales into British popular culture. Both a scholar and a showman, he was once connected with P.T. Barnum (he promoted Barnum's client General Tom Thumb in England) and was also the author of plays, opera libretti and numerous translations of folk tales. Planché was also involved in book production; he was commissioned to produce a version of *Sleeping Beauty* to accompany illustrations by the Punch contributor Richard Doyle; *An Old Fairy Tale Told Anew in Pictures and Verse* was published in 1865. Planché's own translations of French fairy tales were published as collections, among them *Four and Twenty Fairy Tales, Selected from Those of Perrault and Countess D'Aulnoy's Fairy Tales*. He turned many of his translations into pantomime scenarios, including *Beauty and the Beast*, *The Nutcracker* and *Sleeping Beauty*. Planché died in 1880, by which time he had written over twenty-five pantomimes and 'fairy tale extravaganzas' for the London stage, many based on stories he had translated from d'Aulnoy. These were republished and performed throughout the century, and shaped the traditions for the contemporary pantomime.

The magical tricks and transformations of theatrical fairy tales had a life beyond the Christmas and Easter pantomime seasons. The conventionalised sets for pantomime productions required three basic scene changes: an opening domestic interior or street scene, a mysterious forest or cavern and a final spectacle of a transformation scene, which generally took the form of a palace. These became the stock theatre sets recycled for any production with a fairy tale theme (later to become the standardised scenery for early film sets). These three sets were the stock in trade for toy theatre sheets,²⁵ reprinted to fit a range of different fairy tale scenarios drawn from *The Arabian Nights*, Perrault, Grimm and Andersen. The settings and characters of fairy tale thus became entirely familiar and conventionalised in children's games. The genre and conventions of 'fairy tale' were by now firmly entrenched in the popular imagination and carried with them an expectation of magical spectacle and transformation.

By the late nineteenth century a sentimental awareness of childhood promoted forms of publishing specifically for children, and fairy tales, with their potential for illustration, fitted this new market. A canon of traditional tales and a standard set of fairy tale images were now so firmly established that a new genre of the invented 'fairy story' could emerge, a category of authored tales that do have an original author²⁶ but draw heavily on the traditions and form of fairy tale. As Lancelyn Green defines the distinction, 'several writers in England decided that there were enough translations and retellings of the fairy-tales of Perrault and Grimm and began inventing stories of their own: fairy-stories, which are not quite the same as fairy tales' (Green 1955: xiii). George MacDonald's *The Princess and the Goblin* (1872) and *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871) are typical of these 'fairy-stories', in their use of contemporary language while drawing on legend, ballads and traditional tales. *Peter Pan* and *Alice in Wonderland* also belong in this category; both texts were of long-standing interest to Disney, who finally acquired the rights to *Peter Pan* in 1939 and to Tenniel's drawings for the Alice books in 1946. Peter Pan and Alice now share the mythical status of fairy tale characters such as Cinderella and the Sleeping Beauty in Fantasyland, their authors erased as they become creatures of the Disney canon.

The 'never never land' of fairy tale, along with chivalric romance, provided a suitably nostalgic subject for Victorian illustration and painting, and neatly matched the Pre-Raphaelite aversion to modernity. Walter Crane (who had illustrated a collection of nursery rhymes entitled *The Baby's Opera* (1876)) was one of the artists commissioned to illustrate a series of sixpenny 'Toy Books'. Among the titles he illustrated were many that were already or would become the staple titles of children's collections: 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves', 'Cinderella', 'Puss in Boots', 'Little Red Riding Hood', 'Beauty and the Beast' and 'The Sleeping Beauty'. He also illustrated 'The Sleeping Beauty' for *Household Stories*, a collection of tales from Grimm and illustrations for Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales*.

The introduction of colour printing technology led to a rush of illustrated magazines and cheap editions of illustrated versions of 'classic tales' for children. Folk and fairy tales, generally out of copyright and already expurgated by numerous editors and translators, were the most appropriate form for the mass production of a popular children's literature. By the late nineteenth century, fairy tale had become a specialised form of illustration, a field, because of its associations of childhood, that was, unusually, open to women artists. The great majority of women illustrators cited in a survey of illustrators are associated entirely with children's, and especially, fairy tale books (Reed and Reed 1984). Illustration was one form of professional work that was open to middle-class American women in this period, as Margaret E. Wagner explains:

Art, and particularly the art of illustration, became one area in which women were not only accepted but often acclaimed ... although they still faced implied or overt strictures on the subjects appropriate for women artists to depict. (Wagner 2000: 18)

Children's books, and especially fairy tale, were perfectly appropriate as a subject, and women artists such as Ethel Franklin Betts, Sarah Stilwell Weber and Jessie Wilcox Smith became familiar names in magazine and book illustration. These women artists provided illustrations for collections of fairy tales and for single stories in family and women's illustrated magazines in America. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Wilcox Smith illustrated versions of Grimm, collections of fairy and folk tale and provided fairy tale images for a range of journals including *Collier's Weekly*, *McClure's*, *Harper's Bazaar* and *Good Housekeeping*. Such illustrations were reproduced as calendar illustrations, and many were likely to have been framed as domestic decoration.

The most prominent American artist for fairy tale was Maxfield Parrish,²⁷ who has been described as 'the greatest creator of children's fantasy art ... the most successful and best-known illustrator of the early twentieth century' (Wagner 2000: 6). Parrish like Stevenson and Andersen, was fascinated with toy theatres as a child; his first commissions were illustrations for a version of *Mother Goose* (by L. Frank Baum, author of *The Wizard of Oz*) and *The Arabian Nights*. The publishing tycoon William Randolph Hearst commissioned a series of illustrations from Parrish around the theme of 'Once Upon a Time' in 1912, and these were used as front covers for *Hearst's Magazine*. These covers and other Parrish illustrations were also published as images for calendars and as colour prints sold for framing. The original paintings to a 1925 collection of nursery rhymes, *Knave of Hearts*, were sold to commercial buyers, who reproduced them as cheap prints, puzzles and posters. Parrish's vivid colours and strong shapes have a clear influence on the colouring and design of the landscapes and attractions of Fantasyland in the Disney parks.

Scribner's American edition of the 1903 *Arabian Nights*, published in 1909, featured illustrations by Maxfield Parrish. The introduction to the Scribner's edition, written by Kate Douglas Wiggin (author of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*), gives fulsome expression to the location of these Orientalist geographies in a mythical fairy tale land:

The scene is Indian, Egyptian, Arabian, Persian, but Bagdad and Balsora, Grand Cairo, the silver Tigris, and the blooming gardens of Damascus, though they can be found indeed on the map, live much more truly in that enchanted realm that rises o'er the foam of perilous seas in fairy lands ... make yourself at home in the golden palaces, the gem-studded caves, the bewildering fountains, hear the plash of its gleaming cascades, unearth its magic lamps and talismans, behold its ensorcelled princes and princesses. (Kate Douglas Wiggin, quoted in Wagner 2000: 36)²⁸

Douglas Wiggin here lists almost every one of the signs that continue to evoke the landscape of the 'Oriental' in popular culture. The gateway between Fantasyland and Adventureland at the Disney sites features just such a confusion of Orientalist references; 'gem-studded' lamps and talismans are on sale in the bazaars and souk, which are themselves housed in golden palaces, furnished with fountains.

The illustrations to Andrew Lang's series of 'coloured' fairy tale collections also provided a template for 'fairy tale land'. H.J. Ford's images picked up on the iconography of the Victorian 'fairy paintings' and reworked them for several generations. Lang is an important figure in that he is an expression of a late nineteenth-century preoccupation with folklore and legend and is also writing at the moment that a mass culture is escalating, when the possibilities for illustration and cheap reproductions expanded tremendously. In England, the Folklore Society had been founded in 1878 and led to a revival of scholarly interest in the fairy tale. Lang was one of its founders; a 'Mythologist and Classical Scholar' (in the words of his admiring biographer: Green 1946: 68), he was responsible for establishing a canon of fairy tales for the twentieth century in his volumes of compilations, particularly from *The Blue Fairy Book* of 1889 to *The Lilac Fairy Book* in 1910. Lang's collections were part of a process by which the standard fairy tale stories became frozen into a 'traditional' set and represented as the established versions. As Lurie neatly explains,

For nearly two hundred years tales have been omitted and unacknowledged changes made in the original texts. The stories we know best today reflect the taste of the literary men who edited the first popular collections of fairy stories for children during the nineteenth century. ... By the late nineteenth century a canon had been established, and the dozen or so tales these editors had liked best were reprinted again and again. (Lurie 1990: 20–1)

Lang's fashionable and insistent²⁹ scholastic involvement with folk tale and legend was directed towards children in these collections; as he writes in the Preface to *The Blue Fairy Book*, '[t]he Tales in this volume are intended for children, who will like, it is hoped, the old stories that have pleased so many generations'. In fact, the 'old stories' did not go back through many generations at all, the collection being largely based on adaptations and translations of fairy and folk tale, most deriving from Perrault, Grimm and *The Arabian Nights*. Many of the stories were already firmly established as the standard tales of pantomime and children's books (among them 'Little Red Riding Hood', 'The Sleeping Beauty', 'Babes in the Wood', 'Cinderella', 'Aladdin', 'Beauty and the Beast', and 'Dick Whittington').

Lang is emphatically a scholar and an editor who scrupulously acknowledges his sources and translators in his introduction. He does recognise chapbooks as the written source for English folk tales but is as scathing about the crudity of their early versions as was his predecessor Benjamin Tabart. Like Tabart, Lang is concerned to rescue these stories from their own 'gross' popular character and to reclaim them for the respectable nineteenth century: 'The English tales are so scanty, and have been so flattened and stupefied, and crammed with gross rural jests, in the chap books, that we can only give a decent if a dull version' (Lang 1889: xxi). While Lang does concede that his own versions cannot be absolutely authentic, he continues to insist on a folkloric tradition: 'I doubt if

any of our tales are absolutely pure from literary handling, absolutely set down as they drop from the lips of tradition' (Lang 1889: xiv). Lang's Introduction nonetheless insists that some 'literary' handlings are more authentic than others. His assessment of the various versions of *The Arabian Nights* gets tangled between a recognition of their myriad rewritings and 'translations' and a belief in their 'originals':

The originals may be found by English readers in Sir Richard Burton's literal translation. As rendered there, the Märchen have been modified and amplified to suit Oriental literary taste, which has moments of cruelty and lust, as well as hours of florid tedium. For general readers the best Arabian Nights will always be, not Mr Lane's not Mr. John Payne's, not Sir Richard Burton's, but the old English translation of Galland's old adaptation ... the true and literary forms of the tales have thus dwindled down into something probably more like the Märchen which must have been their source. These processes have constantly been going on in the course of time. (Lang 1889: xv)

While Lang was reclaiming fairy tale for a literary folkloric tradition at the beginnings of the twentieth century, early film-makers were drawn to the genre's associations with extravaganza and pantomime. George Méliès had begun his career as a showman by performing as a stage magician, and the spectacular transformations of the fairy tale were central to his act. *Cinderella* was one of his first films in 1899, and he made a version of *Bluebeard* in 1901. Méliès's most commercially successful productions were a series of 'féeries', retellings of fairy stories. *The Kingdom of the Fairies*, in 1903 (based on a stage play originally produced in 1845), coupled a variant of *Sleeping Beauty* with cinematic transformation scenes. In 1905 Méliès produced a version of the 'Arabian Nights',³⁰ *Le Palais des mille et une Nuits*, populated by Méliès's regular dancing skeletons and dancers from the Folies Bergère. The Edison company kept a close watch on what Méliès was up to in cinema, and regularly pirated or reproduced his work. One of their earliest fictional films made use of fairy tale; the 1907 'Teddy' Bears combined the Goldilocks story with a topical reference to 'Teddy' Roosevelt's encounter with a bear cub. Andersen's 'The Little Match Girl' was another early subject for European and American cinema, filmed as the 'Little Match Seller' in 1902 for the Williamson Kinematograph Company in England and as 'A Mid-Winter's Night Dream' for the American Vitagraph in 1906. Mary Pickford appeared in an American silent film version of 'Cinderella' in 1914.

Commercial fairgrounds had fast picked up on the spectacle and fantasy of the fairy tale – inevitably, as their market was close to that of pantomime. Coney Island made early use of the appeal of fairy tale for adults and children, and the exoticism and romance of *The Arabian Nights* were incorporated into the first designs for the site. The architect of Luna Park, Frederic Thompson, made abundant use of turrets, domes and minarets in his designs and promised visitors (in a sentiment that could have come from Walt Disney)

'Fairy Picture-Books – Toy-Lands elaborated by adult hands' (quoted in Cross and Walton 2005: 76). Another Coney Island site, Dreamland, opened in 1904 with a city named 'Lilliputia'; while this referenced *Gulliver's Travels*, it was landscaped in line with fairy tale illustrations. It has been described as 'a half-sized ersatz Nuremberg of the fifteenth century, complete with red-peaked roofs' (Cross and Walton 2005: 89). Like Fantasyland, Lilliputia was addressed to children; the Fantasyland site in all the Disney parks has a similarly scaled-down, vaguely 'European' village with red-tiled roofs, familiar from illustrations to children's books and also from the stylised versions of Germany, France and England to be seen at Epcot World Showcase.

Walt Disney's debt to European fairy tale collections and to their illustrators has been comprehensively mapped by Robin Allan (1999). Allan's research shows that Disney did indeed bring back volumes of illustrated fairy tales from his travels in England, France, Italy and Switzerland in 1935, and housed them as a library resource at the Disney Studios. While Allan claims European writers and painters as having shaped the imagination and imagery of Walt Disney and his films, it is difficult to demonstrate direct artistic and literary influences. It is rather important to recognise that by the time Walt Disney came upon these illustrations and stories they were already deeply embedded in European (and American) popular culture, through children's books, games and toys. Grimm, Perrault and Andersen had already demonstrated an appeal to the scholarly and the commercial, and all had had their work transposed into cinema.

The success of the Disney Empire was founded on Walt Disney's versions of fairy tales; Disney chose *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* as the subject for the first full-length animation film in 1937. By the time of *Snow White* the studio had already made a number of animations based on folk and fairy tale, including *The Ugly Duckling*, *Babes in the Wood*, and *The Pied Piper* (the listings of planned Disney projects are dominated by fairy tale and nursery rhyme titles³¹). Disney's early animations, the 'Silly Symphonies', had taken on a similar range of stories to those of Gammer Gurton's collections, with animated American animals taking part in European fables and nursery rhymes. In 1938, European folk tale met American cinema face-on in Disney's *Mother Goose Goes to Hollywood*. These short films were also inflected, according to Allan, by '[i]llustrative art ... the popular picture books and magazines of nineteenth and early twentieth century engravings become increasingly a visual source ... for the Silly Symphonies' (Allan 1999: 25). *Rip Van Winkle* and *Alice in Wonderland* were among the titles considered by Disney for his first feature-length animation, but Walt Disney was not unaware of the significance of longer-standing folk tales. It is clear from the many accounts of the making of the film that he did research *Snow White* thoroughly; planning began as early as 1934. Disney ensured that the animators were sensitive to different versions and illustrations of the story, and employed European folklorists to lecture to the 'imagineers'. The Disney *Snow White* was largely based on the Grimm

version, but was already filtered through the play script of a successful 1912 stage production, written by Winthrop Ames (see Allan 1999: 38). This script was filmed as a spectacle in 1916 (dir. J. Searle Rowley) and, as in Méliès's fairy tale films, incorporated trick photography; Disney reportedly attended a free screening in Kansas City as a boy. The Disney version does depart from Grimm in excising two attempts by the Wicked Queen to kill Snow White – and rather than dancing to death in red-hot shoes, she falls off a precipice. These amendments aside, Disney did not dodge the frightening and Gothic elements of the tale; the Wicked Queen and Snow White's flight into the woods are notoriously scary.

By the time *Snow White* appeared, the Disney company was already well versed in the licensing and copyrighting of its images and was in a strong position to circulate and to promote its own versions of popular fairy tale, as Telotte explains:

Disney already had a complete merchandising campaign in place when *Snow White* opened, involving arrangements with over seventy companies for such goods as records, books, cutlery, toys and a range of clothing items including hats, dresses and underwear. (Telotte 2004: xii)

This licensing and the merchandising is significant when attached to a fairy tale such as 'Snow White', which has no discernible author, and so could not, as a tale, be copyrighted, although the images produced by Disney could. *Snow White* is the film that has acquired an iconic status in Disney history; its international success allowed for the production of more feature films and won Walt Disney an Oscar Special Award for 'a significant screen innovation'. Fairy tale stories stayed central to the Disney Studios' output, and their most famous icon, Mickey Mouse, appeared, like Harlequin, as the hero of a range of fairy tales. *Cinderella* was the next 'classic' fairy tale Disney feature film, in 1950, followed by the 1959 *Sleeping Beauty*. Neither of these productions were as carefully planned or researched as *Snow White*, but each took their cue from the Perrault versions of the stories and were firmly framed by imagery from European art and illustration. Disney would go on to acquire the rights to key authored fairy tales of the late nineteenth century – *Peter Pan* and *Alice in Wonderland* – and with those rights could copyright his own iconography and versions. The fairy tale genre was used to reinvigorate the flagging fortunes of the Disney company in the last decade of the twentieth century, with *Beauty and the Beast* in 1991 and *Aladdin* in 1992, and revitalised the Disney company's reputation for the 'classic' retelling of fairy tale.

Magic and fantasy answered to the need for cinema to counter the challenge of television with spectacle; fairy tale was thus deployed in the battle of Hollywood against the encroachment of television, and made full use of new technologies in film. The 1951 Powell and Pressburger film *The Tales of Hoffmann* told three of Hoffmann's stories in full Technicolor, with the

accompaniment of the Royal Philharmonic, lavish sets and a host of stars of opera and ballet. The 1964 Disney version of *Mary Poppins* (another ‘authored’ fairy story) employed animated fairy tale characters dancing alongside live-action human actors. In a clear claim for fairy tale as a genre that belonged to cinema, the first feature film in Cinerama chose *The Magical World of the Brothers Grimm* as its subject in 1962. The film was advertised as ‘motion picture history’:

[T]he first dramatic, story-telling motion picture to be filmed in the breath-taking realism of the Cinerama process for audiences everywhere ... what motion picture technique could do justice to such a world of fact and fancy?

Indeed the only answer was – CINERAMA. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer 1962: 3)

The genre of fairy tale is as intrinsic to the Disney parks as it was to their film productions, and it is a genre that bleeds across the designated lands; Peter Pan and Aladdin belong to both Fantasyland and Adventureland. The Disneyland Parades are dominated by fairy tale characters, and Tinkerbell signals the closure of the park each night. A fairy tale castle is the focal point of each park: Disney World features Cinderella’s Castle and Disneyland Paris, Sleeping Beauty’s. Inside the Florida castle, a mural of Italian glass mosaic depicts the Perrault version of ‘Cinderella’, while in Paris, pastiche tapestries tell the story of Sleeping Beauty, clearly signalling the status of these stories as ‘classic’ tales, a status that is confirmed by the copious references to European art and architecture. The association of fairy tales with France and particularly the figure of Perrault (who is commemorated in a plaque on the site of Fantasyland) is exploited to the full at Disneyland Paris: the water ride through Le Pays de Contes de Fées is titled in French, even in the English-language guidebooks, while Sleeping Beauty’s Castle is known as Le Chateau de la Belle au Bois Dormant.

‘Cinderella’, ‘Snow White’, ‘The Sleeping Beauty’, ‘The Little Mermaid’ and ‘Beauty and the Beast’ are the narratives that dominate the attractions at Fantasyland, folk tales that have been mediated through a series of transcribers, Perrault, Grimm and through the Disney animated cartoon versions of these tales. Fantasyland is described in Disney-speak as ‘a timeless land of entertainment’, but it draws its narratives from fairy tale and from ‘classic’ tales that are best known in their nineteenth-century tellings. It is in the realm of fairy tale that the Disney Corporation makes the most insistent claims of authenticity to European literary and aesthetic traditions, a claim endorsed by the 2006 *Il était une fois Walt Disney* exhibition held at the Galeries Nationales du Palais-Royal in Paris (based around Allan’s book). But through all these claims to the tradition and adherence to the ‘original’ texts, it is important to remember that there are no original texts to be honoured. Fairy tales belong to

a genuinely popular ‘folk culture’ – they have their roots in oral narratives and have been retold and rewritten ever since.

While the ‘Disney version’ may dominate the market in visual versions of the ‘classic’ fairy tale, Disney cannot claim ownership of these tales. Disney may own the literary rights to the fairy stories of *Peter Pan*, *Alice in Wonderland* and *Winnie the Pooh*, and is able to copyright its own iconography for familiar fairy tale characters, but the fairy tale continues to resonate and thrive in contemporary carnival. Despite Disney’s notorious protection of its copyright, fairgrounds, fêtes and pantomimes continue to play with the imagery and characters of fairy tale, as popular cultural forms have always plagiarised and appropriated folk culture. The Disney Corporation’s versions of ‘Snow White’ and ‘Cinderella’ are no more immune to that appropriation than the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century folklorists and illustrators whose stories and iconographies were raided for pantomime and spectacle. The ‘Snow White’ of contemporary pantomime now tends to look like the Disney version, as one pantomime historian explains:

[A]lmost every production is based not on the original but on the Disney film of 1937. And deviations from *this* ‘original’ – especially the costume of Snow White herself – are almost inconceivable. (Lathan 2004: 102)

Disney cannot be held entirely responsible for the sanitised versions of familiar fairy stories that now dominate in children’s books and film. The ‘gross morals’ (in Tabart’s phrase) and rough edges of the folk tale versions have always been edited and smoothed out for new audiences; any authentic version is long lost and forgotten.

From Gammer Gurton and Gammer Grethel, the editors of the fairy tale have insisted on their authenticity and invented a point of origin. Disney may acknowledge a debt to Perrault, but he erases the salon women who themselves invoked their nursemaids as the original tellers. The history of the publication and illustration of fairy tale is one of a consistent invention of origins, an insistence of authenticity that is academicised throughout the nineteenth century. However, according to Linda Dégh,

We cannot speak of authenticity in our sense before the 1840s. The general public did not distinguish between oral narrator and tale writer and regarded published stories as common property free for anyone to change. Scholarly recording of oral tales from the folk, at the same time, meant notation of a skeleton content of stories judged to be genuine. Style editing along the lines of existing models then embellished the tales to reflect more of the style of the collector than of the raconteur. Texts the scholars regarded as folk-alien, non-authentic, corrupt, or retold from a book were omitted. Small wonder that most published collections reflect the wishful thinking of folklorists, not the real folk repertoire. (Dégh 1988: 5)

This ‘scholarly recording’ reached its height in the late nineteenth century; the work of Andrew Lang and the Folklore Society was central in defining



Figure 4.2 Excalibur Hotel complex, Las Vegas, 2008

a canon of acceptable ‘twice-told’ tales and did so at the precise moment of the mass production of children’s books. It is the editors, their retellings and collections who selected and embedded the ‘traditional’ tales, and each of those mediators, including Disney, is in search of an authentic original that does not exist.

Monsters, Murders and Vampires

The Gothic tradition

With all its associations of mortality and decay, it might be thought that the Gothic genre would be absent in the theme park, as being inappropriate to a family leisure experience. Other popular fictional genres, which similarly deal in death and violence, such as the detective novel or spy fiction, are not there, but Gothic superstition and horror is very much present. Spy fiction has political ramifications, which the theme park is anxious to avoid, while the detective novel is a form that is largely predicated on an urban environment. The Gothic genre relies on an isolated and unpredictable environment; the pleasures of the theme park include the frisson of an unfamiliar locale and the anticipation of the unexpected; the themes of the horror genre belong to the fairground. The images and stories of the Gothic are always present in the pleasure ground in some form; a ghost train or haunted house is a necessary attraction in the smallest fairground. The theme park frequently has an entire section devoted to Gothic themes. In Britain, Chessington offers 'Transylvania' and Alton Towers a 'Haunted House' situated in a 'Gloomy Wood'. Death and the supernatural are similarly present throughout the Disney parks, most visibly in the American Gothic of the 'Haunted Mansion'¹ (one of the original attractions at Disneyland), but many other rides use the mechanics and panoramas of the ghost train and, like 'Pirates of the Caribbean', end with a *memento mori* tableau. In Fantasyland, the Snow White ride has all the trappings of the traditional ghost train, including skeletons, witches, bats, tombs and trailing cobwebs.

Freud's description of the 'uncanny' comes close to the qualities to be found in any ghost train or its variants, which employ mirrors and darkness to disorientate the visitor:

The uncanny would always, as it were, be something one does not know one's way about in. The better orientated in his environment a person is, the less readily will he get the impression of something uncanny in regard to the objects and events in it. (Freud 1985: 341)

The 'uncanny'² is allied in the theme park garden with a historic 'Gothic' past, and it is most often situated in areas landscaped as wild and untamed, in the tradition of the picturesque. The attractions of both the eighteenth-century

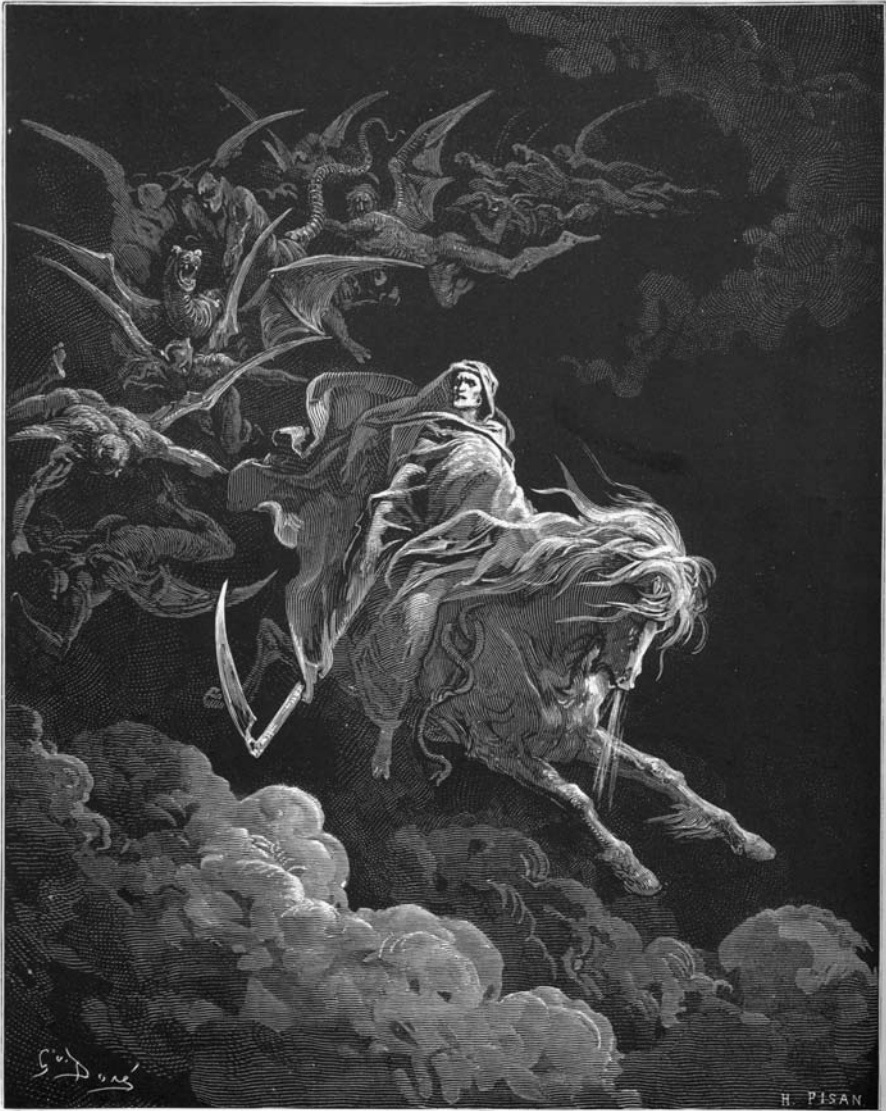


Figure 5.1 'And I looked, and beheld a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death and Hell followed with him' (Rev. vi.8). Engraving by Gustav Doré after a work by H. Pisan, 1865

pleasure garden and the theme park promise unfamiliar territory and exotic adventure, but are known to be unthreatening and contained environments. In many British theme parks, the park is situated in what was once a country house estate with extensive grounds; the ruined abbeys, caverns and forests that were key elements for the 'picturesque' garden have been turned to Gothic attractions in the new landscaping of the theme park. The ghosts of

aristocratic families linger on at Alton Towers, where the Gloomy Wood is situated in the shadow of the elaborate pleasure grounds of the Shrewsbury Estate. Chessington³ is built on the site of Burnt Stub Manor; the Zoo, which once was a private collection, has been reinvented as a horror attraction with a Creepy Crawlies display of snakes and insects.

The Gothic manifests many of the defining characteristics of the carnivalesque, particularly in its inversion of the imaginative over the rational. Fred Botting has described the features of Gothic fiction in terms that are closely allied to those of the carnival:

Associated with wildness, Gothic signified an over-abundance of imaginative frenzy, untamed by reason and unrestrained by conventional eighteenth century demands for simplicity, realism or probability. The boundlessness as well as the over-ornamentation of Gothic styles were part of a move away from strictly neo-classical aesthetic rules which insisted on clarity and symmetry. (Botting 1996: 3)

The theme park is similarly associated with ‘imaginative frenzy’; it claims boundlessness, excitement and sensation. The ghost train replicates experiences that produce anxiety, in removing the participants from the light and populated world of the theme park. The carnival Gothic suggests transgression and danger while remaining entirely safe; the dark space of the ghost train arrives back into the bright lights of the fairground – theme park horror always returns its visitor back from the frightening to the familiar. Disney World’s Haunted Mansion⁴ presents the contemporary as triumphing over the anxieties of the past; visitors are reassured that its dust and cobwebs are not really old but are regularly renewed. Its attractions similarly offer a strange reconciliation of life and death, of fear and pleasure:

The Haunted Mansion’s happy haunts include ghostly dancers twirling to an eerie waltz, a spectral organist who sits at a cobweb-draped pipe organ, a creepy king whose crown is tipsy and a mournful bride whose heart still beats true for her long-lost love. (Walt Disney Company 1986: 53)

Disneyland’s haunted houses and ghost rides promise visitors the sensation of ‘hair-raising terror’, but the disturbing tales of Fantasyland are situated in a satellite site that is first seen from the position of Main Street, and it is to Main Street that the visitor returns. The fantastic and the uncanny are framed at the Disney sites and other theme parks by the space of commerce and consumption.

For Freud, a sense of the familiar is integral to the quality of the uncanny:

[A]ll those properties of persons, things, sense-impressions, experiences and situations which arouse in us the feeling of uncanniness ... the uncanny is that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar. (Freud 1985: 340)

Among the elements that ‘lead back’ to the familiar are traditional stories, their familiarity framing and protecting the experience of terror. Theme parks

recurrently reference a 'literary Gothic'. If the key figures of the Gothic novel – Horace Walpole, Ann Radcliffe, 'Monk' Lewis, Mary Shelley, Edgar Allan Poe and Bram Stoker – are rarely named, the characters of monks, fainting maidens, the monstrous suits of armour and the castles, dungeons and caverns that theme a fairground space as 'Gothic' are those of their imaginative worlds. Their monstrous creations are regularly invoked indirectly, as in Chessington's Transylvania space, which boasts The Vampire ride and a mad professor's laboratory. Icons denoting Frankenstein (a green monster sporting nuts and bolts) and Dracula (vampire teeth and a batwing cloak) are the most frequent and recognisable decorations for ghost trains and haunted houses.

Tzvetan Todorov makes a distinction between the categories of the 'supernatural', 'uncanny' and the 'fantastic' as literary genres. For Todorov,

The 'fantastic' is defined by a certain hesitation: a hesitation common to reader and character, who must decide whether or not what they perceive derives from 'reality' as it exists in the common opinion. ... The fantastic ... seems to be located on the frontier of two genres, the marvellous and the uncanny, rather than to be an autonomous genre. (Todorov 1975: 41)

While this defines the fantastic in terms of a reading experience, and Todorov has little to say about the visual signifiers of the fantastic, a fascination in the inability to work out what is 'real' is a characteristic theme park experience. The hesitancy that Todorov describes is written into the disorientation of the rides, and in the mapping of the Disneyland sites, the location on the borders of genres is literal. The Gothic Haunted Mansion is literally balanced on the frontier of two genres between the borders of the Western-themed Adventureland and the fairy tales of Fantasyland.

Horror tales, like fairy stories, belong to popular legend and oral tradition, and it is difficult to make a firm distinction between the two forms, which regularly bleed into one another.⁵ The fairy tales of the Grimm Brothers are notoriously gory and frightening, and Disney's *Snow White* consciously employs Gothic elements.⁶ Fairy tales, like horror stories, act as a means of teaching moral acquiescence and are a means of exercising discipline. While the fairy tale allows the dead to awaken, in *Snow White*'s case to marry her Prince, in the Gothic and the horror tale, the undead body remains decayed and a source of terror; an invasion of 'the phenomenal domain (which) disturbs its causal order', in Žižek's phrase (Žižek 1991: 220). As Žižek discusses, the 'living dead' represent a disruption of the order of things, not only to the cycle of life and death but also to the symbolic and moral order. Stories of ghosts and supernatural events are a means by which communities have defined themselves; tales of murder and violence, sin and retribution are oral histories handed down from generation to generation and circulate as moral warnings.

The 'Spectacle of Death' was a regular popular entertainment in Britain. Until 1783, the London execution site of Tyburn was a public space for the

witnessing of executions with an accompanying spirit of carnival. When hangings were moved to Newgate prison and were no longer a public spectacle, the *Newgate Calendar* continued to publish the details of heinous criminals, with accompanying illustrations of their crimes and executions (James 1973: 182). What Foucault has described as the ‘Spectacle of the Scaffold’ was a means of instilling fear, but also relied upon popular spectacle for its effect:

The ceremony of punishment ... is an exercise of ‘terror’. ... Its ruthlessness, its spectacle, its physical violence, its unbalanced play of forces, its meticulous ceremonial, its entire apparatus were inscribed in the political functioning of the penal system. (Foucault 1979: 49)

As Foucault points out, the effects of the execution as popular ceremony were equivocal, and while punitive violence did present the condemned prisoner as a terrible warning to potential criminals, it could also give them the status of a folk hero or heroine. The *Newgate Calendar* was only one among many similar publications that presented criminal histories for a popular readership. Murder, executions and suicide were frequent subjects for illustration in ballads, broadsides and chapbooks. Illustrations of hangings were so frequently replicated that the image of a body hanging from a scaffold became a stock image for woodcuts, recycled and attached to all manner of murders and public executions. As Patricia Anderson describes these images, ‘[i]n the starkness of their style and the finality of their content, stock images of the gallows must have aroused at least a small *frisson* of pleasurable dread in many viewers’ (Anderson 1991: 23).

When the spectacle of ‘punitive power’ (Foucault 1979: 59) was no longer live once executions were no longer public, the spectacle continued on in tableaux and waxwork models of notorious felons displayed at fairgrounds, where their function remained much the same. The images of wicked criminality and violent executions illustrated in broadside and ballad sheets found a three-dimensional expression in waxwork and ‘Freak’ shows. These had moral fables attached to their displays; the horrors of sexual transgression were graphically displayed. The ‘Chamber of Horrors’ still often attached to wax museums presented replicas of famous criminals, their crimes and executions.

The term ‘Chamber of Horrors’ was first applied by *Punch* magazine to Marie Tussaud’s Waxwork Museum, but the criminal waxwork was not her invention. Madame Tussaud’s first waxwork museum,⁷ opened in eighteenth-century Paris, included a ‘Caverne des Grands Voleurs’. With the French Revolution, Marie Tussaud fled to England, where she became a travelling show-woman, displaying her figures across Britain, ending with a permanent museum in Baker Street in London. Her travelling displays now included the horrors inflicted on aristocrats by French revolutionaries, and the Chamber of Horrors became a permanent fixture, which still survives. The Tussaud Group became a significant player in the leisure industry;⁸ Madame Tussaud’s waxwork museum

now collaborates with Disney on its displays, and makes use of animatronics in its figures.

Almost every fairground or leisure centre now has some version of a Chamber of Horrors, which offers a potent spectacle of famous historical murders and violent executions. The more gruesomely explicit medical horrors and tableaux of moral panic once found in fairgrounds survive still in Blackpool's Louis Tussaud's Wax Museum, which has had a Chamber of Horrors since it was established in 1901 (Louis Tussaud's waxworks is emphatically not to be confused with Madame Tussaud's more celebrity-focused wax museum⁹). Louis Tussaud's museums are sited in the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen and at Blackpool, and are allied with several of the Ripley's 'Believe it or Not' sites, including Niagara Falls, confirming a continuation of the association of holiday with displays of violence and terror. The Chamber of Horrors has become an attraction in its own right, its contents remarkably unchanged; the London Dungeon¹⁰ declares its displays to be 'full of the most grisly punishments and unbelievably evil villains'. The lettering, iconography and language of the Dungeon map reiterate the images of dying maidens and the headlines of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular press.

While murder and violence are the focus of the Chamber of Horrors, extreme villainy was (and continues to be) accounted for in demonic terms. Superstition continued to be a significant part of everyday life, and particularly rural life, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as Louis James has explained:

[I]t is important to realize that, for the majority of the lower class, sectarian Christians and for many Anglicans, spirits and witchcraft were accepted as being authorised by the Bible. ... So horseshoes were nailed over doors. ... Sprigs of rowan, rabbits' paws and 'witch stones' (circular pebbles) were kept in the pocket to defeat evil spells. The future was read in a flight of magpies, a guttering candle, or a random opening of the Bible. ... This superstitious consciousness was to continue in rural areas through the century, and to some extent has never died out. (James 1973: 19)

Such folk tales of magic and superstition belonged to an oral tradition, and were the stuff of local legend. There continue to be local attractions based on such superstitious traditions, as in Somerset's Wookey Hole, which boasts the strange rock formation, the 'Witch of Wookey', reputedly turned to stone by a monk. This local legend, which has survived for centuries, has been repackaged as the 'Witch's Magic Cavern', with associated heritage attractions. The mythological power and local resonances of the legend have now been dissipated into a 'spellbinding new attraction ... a pleasant, safe environment for children' (Wookey Hole promotional flyer 2001).

The 'Gothic' was the best-selling genre of the eighteenth century, in the novel and in the short stories of the cheap periodical press. Horror and the supernatural were the popular sensations of the late eighteenth century,

the fashionable style in the visual arts and architectural style and in popular entertainments, as E.J. Clery has suggested: 'In the 1790s, the production of artificial terror becomes an industry' (Clery 1996: 165). Foucault directly associates the popular literature of villainy with the development of the Gothic novel in the late eighteenth century:

[A] whole new literature of crime developed: a literature in which crime is glorified, because it is one of the fine arts, because it can be the work only of exceptional natures, because it reveals the monstrousness of the strong and powerful, because villainy is yet another mode of privilege: from the adventure story to de Quincey, or from the *Castle of Otranto* to Baudelaire, there is a whole aesthetic rewriting of crime. (Foucault 1979: 68)

Horace Walpole's 1764 romance *The Castle of Otranto* is generally cited as the first Gothic novel. A 1765 letter, however, indicates that his tale is already framed by a familiarity with the genre: 'I waked one morning from a dream ... that I had thought myself in an ancient castle (a very natural dream for a head filled like mine with Gothic story)' (Walpole, letter to Rev. Cole (1765), in Walpole 1840: 4). *The Castle of Otranto* nonetheless established the conventions for the literary Gothic romance, with its castle setting, aristocratic families and (gigantic) suits of armour. Walpole, like the writers of chivalric romance, claimed historical authenticity for his Gothic romance. The Preface to the first edition claims the novel to be a translation of a text printed in Naples in 1529, while the events are vaguely set in the 'darkest ages of Christianity', which is dated (with deliberate pedantry) at any year between '1095 and 1243'. Although Walpole acknowledged authorship in the Preface to the second edition, his displacement of the claimed 'origin' of the text has an uncanny effect, confusing the reader in any attempt to distinguish between historical truth and supernatural fiction.¹¹

Sir Walter Scott was lavish in his praise for *The Castle of Otranto*, and wrote an introduction to the 1811 edition, an endorsement that guaranteed the novel's popular success. Scott claims the novel for the chivalric romance, but also heralds it as an originator of a new genre. Simultaneously, however, he relegates it to the status of 'lighter' literature:

This romance has been justly considered not only as the original and model of a peculiar species of composition, attempted and successfully executed by a man of great genius, but as one of the standard works of our lighter literature. (Quoted in Summers 1976: 22)

Walpole's 'light' romance was appropriate for the stage and for toy theatres. *The Castle of Otranto, or, Manfredi* was adapted from a stage production for the toy theatre in 1815, and a later toy theatre production featured Harlequin in *The Great Helmet – or the Castle of Otranto*.

By the time Walpole wrote *The Castle of Otranto* he was already immersed in the Gothic as an architectural style and setting, which he had emulated in his extravagant folly, Strawberry Hill in Twickenham. From 1749, Walpole

decorated Strawberry Hill by adding castellations, faux stonework and all the required accoutrements of a Gothic castle, including stained glass windows and disguised doorways and staircases.¹² He also landscaped the grounds in accordance with 'picturesque' principles. Gilpin's description of picturesque beauty included all the tropes of the Gothic landscape, artfully constructed ruins, grottos and caverns, and his illustrations include a very Gothic antique tomb embellished with an epitaph.¹³

Unlike Walpole, Ann Radcliffe's novels eschewed the supernatural in favour of (extraordinarily convoluted) rational explanations for their strange events, but her settings reproduced the same mountainous landscapes and remote castles, with winding corridors and suits of armour playing large roles in the plots. Radcliffe's fiction was hugely successful and widely imitated in magazine stories and cheap editions. Most popular were her novels *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1797); both were set in wild European Romantic landscapes (although she herself never left England), and Radcliffe reiterated all the conventions of the Gothic. The pervasiveness of the Gothic setting and characters is evident in Jane Austen's parody of Radcliffe and her followers, *Northanger Abbey*, written in 1798, in which Catherine Morland, an ardent reader of Gothic romances, misreads the very English and respectable abbey as a sinister location, and casts herself in the role of a Gothic heroine. Catherine's misconception suggests the extent to which the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century imagination, and house and garden styles, now drew on the fantasies of Gothic fiction, while the Gothic novel adapted and exaggerated the settings of the picturesque in its monumental castles and landscapes.

The successes of Walpole, 'Monk' Lewis and Radcliffe were emulated in a host of imitations for the popular press, many of which came close to plagiarism. Printed on cheap paper and sold as penny issue magazines or blue book,¹⁴ cheaply bound novelettes, the popular romance favoured the literature of sensation, as a survey of the 'penny dreadful' explains:

The gothic craze, begun by Horace Walpole with *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and encompassing *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) by Ann Radcliffe, and *The Monk* (1796) by M.G. Lewis, inspired a host of cheap imitations, full of castles, dungeons, ghosts, brigands and villainous monks in tales of terror and mystery. Some of the first manifestations of the Penny Dreadful were collections of such stories. (James and Smith 1998: xi)

These cheap imitations, with their castles, dark corridors and fainting heroines, were very often illustrated with woodcut images. The extremes of dark and light required for the shadows and apparitions of the horror tale were entirely appropriate to contemporary printing techniques and their limitations. These images of sinister dungeons and abbeys, of villainous monks, counts and fleeing maidens conventionalised a visual vocabulary and established the landscapes and character set of the Gothic romance.

Fashionable entertainments of the period reproduced the same sets of images of ruined abbeys, castles and mountainous landscapes. The follies of the picturesque gardens of the wealthy were conventionalised for a mass market in the scenes of panoramas and dioramas, and in pleasure gardens. Vauxhall Gardens offered its public picturesque landscapes and Gothic entertainments, including a Gothic temple, a Gothic Orchestra and a Grand Walk, which wound through a panorama that switched between the illusion of Picturesque Ruins and a Gothic temple. In 1832, the Colosseum in Regent's Park offered a series of grottos, which led to 'a cascade and lake' and 'The Stalactite Cavern'. As the 'grotto' and 'ruined abbey' were stock images in illustrations for popular romances, they also became conventional settings for pantomime scenes, regularly written into the scripts as a mysterious space from which the heroine must be rescued.

The supernatural had always been an intrinsic element in magic shows, and scientific displays drew on superstition to promote their magical effects. Ruined castles and abbeys, thunder and lightning were regular sets and special effects for stage shows and displays, reproducing images from the landscaped aristocratic and pleasure garden for a popular audience. A French invention, the 'Phantasmagoria', used the technology of the magic lantern to project bat-winged demons on clouds of smoke for the salons of Paris; graveyards, abbeys, skeletons and ghosts featured among the regular slides. The Phantasmagoria machine was displayed by a French showman at the Lyceum in 1801 (see Altick 1978: 217), and played in London for over two decades, eventually becoming a standard item on variety bills.

The production of terror was also a profitable spectacle in the theatre; the villainous monks who haunted the ruined abbeys of popular fiction were regular characters in contemporary melodramas. The medievalism of Walpole and the faux Europe of Radcliffe were inflected in the naming of the characters and in their stagings. Typical of such productions is the 'New Dramatic Spectacle' of *Julia of Louvain or, Monkish Cruelty* 'performed for the first time at the Royal Circus, May 15, 1797'. While the play's author claimed *Julia of Louvain* to be based on a story 'found in a paragraph in a Newspaper during the French Revolution' (Cross 1809: viii), the drama is very close to Radcliffe's plots of fainting heroines and villains. With its clanking chains and wicked Catholics, the play also owes much to Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*, which had been published the year before. The most successful stage productions with Gothic themes and sets were reproduced in toy theatres, as in the 1811 *One O'clock, or, the Knight and the Wood Dæmon* by 'Monk' Lewis. The most theatrically successful productions of the early nineteenth century were adaptations of Vampire tales, based on John William Polidori's *The Vampyre* or versions of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein: or, the Modern Prometheus*.

The story of the 'origins' of the two most notorious Gothic creations, the aristocratic vampire and the monster created from the dead, was in itself a work

of the Gothic sensibility. Frankenstein's monster and the vampiric Lord Ruthven were developed, in the most romantic of circumstances, during thunderous weather on an 1818 holiday in the Swiss mountains. By the time Byron, Percy and Mary Shelley, and Polidori shared their fireside tales, the tale of the undead creature (which structures both *The Vampyre* and *Frankenstein*) was a familiar theme in Romantic writings across Europe; vampires were established horrors in European folklore, and Coleridge and Byron had both penned versions. The Romantic travellers were reading a collection of German ghost tales, which had been translated into English and French, a measure of their popularity. Mary Shelley tells the story of the origins of her tale in distinctly Romantic terms, both in her original Preface and in a later introduction to *Frankenstein*. She also acknowledges that her own fictional creation has precedents in *The Tempest* and in *Paradise Lost* (a text that the monster reads in the novel). She recognises that her tale belongs to a European tradition of the supernatural, now fashionably discovered by the Romantic movement:

I passed the summer of 1816 in the environs of Geneva. The season was cold and rainy, and in the evenings we crowded around a blazing wood fire and occasionally amused ourselves with some German stories of ghosts which happened to fall into our hands. These tales excited in us a playful desire of imitation. (Shelley 1971: 7)

Both Polidori's *The Vampyre* and Shelley's *Frankenstein* were immediate popular successes, although neither author received due credit at the time of publication; *The Vampyre* was first published in 1819 under Byron's name, while *Frankenstein* was initially published anonymously and widely assumed to have been written by Percy Bysshe Shelley. Both texts were taken up for translation and for stage productions; by 1820, there were three Vampire plays on the London stage, of which the most successful was J.R. Planché's *The Vampire, or, the Bride of the Isles* (adapted as a toy theatre version for Hodson's Juvenile Drama in 1822).

Frankenstein's monster similarly found theatrical success. The first production was staged in 1823 at the Theatre Royal in London as *Presumption; or the Fate of Frankenstein* and led to a renewed interest in the novel, and to a second edition. As Mary Shelley herself reported,

But lo and behold! I found myself famous. Frankenstein had prodigious success as a drama, and was about to be repeated, for the twenty-third night, at the English Opera House. ... I was much amused and it appeared to excite a breathless eagerness in the audience. (Mary Shelley, letter to Leigh Hunt, 9 September 1823, quoted in Haining 1977: 15)

Frankenstein was indeed a 'prodigious success' on the stage; in 1824, *Presumption* was revived five times in London, and it was performed into the 1830s. Within three years of the first performance of *Presumption*, there were fourteen other English and French dramatisations of the Frankenstein story.

The production inspired versions that put the monster into the contexts of melodrama, burlesque, pantomime and musical extravaganzas; as Steven Earl Forry explains, '[i]n the course of three years, from 1823 to 1826, at least fifteen dramas employed characters and themes from Shelley's novel. Whether in burlesque or melodrama, things Frankensteinian were all the rage on stages in England and France' (Forry 1990: 34). In Paris, a version opened with the title *Le Monstre et le Magicien*, which featured spectacular special effects; a newspaper review noted, '[t]he success of *Monstre* is as monstrous as he is himself' (quoted in Forry 1990: 11). The production was a success too in America where the play opened in New York in 1825; it was still being performed in 1843.

Frankenstein was now indelibly associated with entertainment and the monster far removed from the 'exhibition of the amiableness of domestic affection, and the excellence of universal virtue' that Shelley had claimed for her creation. The early theatrical melodramas based on Shelley's creature made use of the established successes of Walpole and Radcliffe's fictions, and situated Frankenstein's monster not as a 'modern Prometheus' but in a popular tradition of horror.

These popular productions also drew on established pantomime and burlesque conventions, often adding comic characters and scenes. The incompetent assistant who would become a key feature in film versions of *Frankenstein* (and who is so central to Mel Brooks's affectionate 1974 spoof, *Young Frankenstein*) was an imported stock character from contemporary melodramas. Melodrama and pantomime productions of versions of *Frankenstein* also succeeded in reducing the complexities of Shelley's text to a simple confrontation, in which the scientist and the monster become stock typologies of good and evil. The slippage between the monster and the creator that is now almost complete in contemporary popular culture, in which 'Frankenstein' has come to denote the monster, was already in place in these early theatrical performances. The condensation of the tale into a mythic battle between the human and the monstrous was established in the staged melodramas and continued into film versions.

Forry gives a comprehensive account of these numerous stagings and charts the progression of *Frankenstein* from novel to Gothic melodrama to burlesque. He notes the increasingly iconic status of the monster in popular culture, and traces

three movements in the dissemination of the myth: 1823 to 1832 are years of transformation and proliferation during which fifteen dramatisations were performed and the myth was mutated for popular consumption; 1832–1900 are years of diffusion during which the myth spread among the populace and began appearing regularly in various media; and 1900 to 1930 are years of transition during which dramatic and cinematic interpretations vied for popularity. (Forry 1990: ix–x)

The iconography and settings associated with *Frankenstein* derive largely from the sets for stage productions rather than from illustrations to the novel. Forry identifies only two nineteenth-century illustrated editions, the revised

version of 1831 and another in 1849. Sets and characters from printed sheets for toy theatres was one means through which the monster and Frankenstein's laboratory would become familiar cultural images, to the extent that these incarnations of the 'monster' and his inventor were sufficiently recognisable to appear in cartoons – an 1832 issue of *McLean's Monthly Sheet of Characters* presented 'Frankenstein Creating Peers', a *Punch* cartoonist drew 'The Irish Frankenstein' in 1843 and both Cruickshank and Tenniel produced versions. The conventions of the Gothic scene and accoutrements were parodied by Cruickshank in his 1841 illustrations 'Ghosts', which depicts a family of ghosts that is close to the ghostly family of Disney's Haunted Mansion.¹⁵

Popular publishers added borrowings from the successes of *The Vampyre* and *Frankenstein* to their imitations of Walpole, Radcliffe and Lewis. The 1847 *Varney the Vampire*, written by James Malcolm Rymer, was among the most widely circulated of these, and so successful that it continued for over forty instalments. The vampiric Sir Frederic Varney is clearly derived from Polidori's Lord Ruthven, but the serial introduced many of the narrative devices later found in *Dracula*, with a string of beautiful female victims, nefarious deeds on Hampstead Heath and a vampiric chase. Gothic tales, illustrated with engravings, were among the earliest popular part-published novels, their titles clearly owing much to the Gothic tradition of Walpole, Radcliffe and Monk Lewis. Among the many serial editions published from the 1840s and into the 1860s were *The Black Monk; or the Secret of the Grey Turret* (1844), *The Apparition: A Romance* (1846), *Angelina; or the Mystery of St. Mark's Abbey, published in 25 parts* (1849), *The Blighted Heart; or the Old Priory Ruins: A Romance* (1851) and *The Ghost's Secret: A Tale of Terror* (1863). Tales of horror, ghosts and Gothic melodrama were also available in cheaply available single volumes; Louis James's list of Gothic stories published as penny issue novels includes fiction from Byron, Monk Lewis, Ann Radcliffe, F. Sheridan and Mary Shelley.

The cheap periodicals of the 1840s and 1850s continued to rely heavily on the supernatural story and the proven successes of Gothic fiction, refashioning the wicked aristocrats, Catholics and imperilled maidens of Walpole, Radcliffe and Lewis in their own versions. George Reynolds, founder of *Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Interest, Science and Art* (in which the Romance featured as the most significant fictional genre) and editor of many other popular periodicals, was himself a prolific author. He was a notorious pirate and author of 'sensation' fiction, and ensured that the illustrations that accompanied his romantic serialised sagas were 'sensational' too. In 1840 'T. Paine, of 22 Bride Lane, Fleet Street' issued *Angela the Orphan: or, the Bandit Monk of Italy*, which grafted melodrama on to a story reminiscent of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. This was declared as '[t]he most successful Romance ever published', with a weekly sale of 14,000 (James 1973: 33). The illustrations and stories found in such periodicals as *The London Journal*

and *Reynolds's Miscellany* were similarly indebted to Walpole, Radcliffe and Lewis; their titles include 'The Haunted Mirror', 'Tower of Terror', 'The Living Corpse' and 'The Drugged Chalice'. *Lloyds Newspaper* was another family magazine that regularly published Gothic horrors, its titles including more Radcliffe- and Lewis-inspired fiction, such as 'The Black Monk; or the Secret of the Grey Turret' and 'Almira's Curse'.

The horror novel was the favoured genre of working-class libraries, according to the 1858 *Scenes from My Life*: 'trashy romances of the Minerva Press, or Radcliffe, or Monk Lewish School' were the most borrowed volumes (quoted in James 1973: 6). E.S. Turner devotes an entire chapter in his 1948 study of 'Boy's Own Fiction' to what he terms the 'Gothic Hangover'; he suggests the extent to which popular horror stories depended upon a recycling of the Gothic romance derived from Walpole, Radcliffe and Monk Lewis:

[T]here were plenty of pens ready to imitate, translate, paraphrase or purloin for the benefit of the literate fringe of the working classes. In rising spate, and at even cheaper cost, came romances set in clammy castles in the German forests or in convents ruled by degenerate nuns. (Turner 1976: 19)

As the market for the popular press developed, tales that clearly belong to the Gothic genre were the most popular feature of the penny magazines, as Anderson explains:

Week after week through the 1840s and 1850s, these magazines captured the collective imagination of their readers with an array of short stories expressly conceived to titillate, intrigue, or pleasurably horrify all those who made up the ever-growing market for entertaining fiction. (Anderson 1991: 98)

These illustrated magazines were increasingly known as the 'penny dreadful' throughout the 1860s; also described as 'Bloods' (as their name implies), these cheaply available periodicals specialised in tales of horror, of both the supernatural and gory kind. Penny dreadfuls regularly pirated their images and stories – and so continued to recycle the iconography and characters that had already proved commercially successful. Joseph Bristow has argued that the popularised Gothic romance provided the foundation for the 'penny dreadful':

Bizarre and fantastic events prevailed in these eight-page publications, usually made attractive by a sensational engraving on the cover. Some of these stories sold not by the thousand but by the million. They were the first kind of truly mass reading. (Bristow 1991: 11)

The 'Bloods' included violent crimes along with ghosts and vampires as subjects for stories and illustrations. With their reports of criminal cases and executions, such journals as *Cleave's Penny Police Gazette* filled their pages with tales of murder and retribution along with those of the supernatural. As

Anderson puts it, '[a]stute publishers of such illustrated fiction were well aware of the popular appetite for graphic images of violence and horror' (Anderson 1991: 162). The stories and their illustrations recycled the chapbook and broadsheet themes, with stock images of gruesome crime. They also continued the tradition of the Chamber of Horrors in creating folk villains for the popular imagination. The tale of *Sweeney Todd* (the demon barber who sold his customers as sausage meat) was purportedly based on a real crime; it appeared in various versions in broadsheets, and as a Gothic shocker in *Lloyds Magazine*, where it outdid sales of *Varney the Vampire*. Its appearance in *The People's Periodical* as 'The String of Pearls' was dramatised in a version at the Hoxton Theatre, London in 1847 (see James 1973: 190), and Sweeney Todd became such a standard horror character that he was recycled in music hall song, cartoons and early cinema.¹⁶

George Reynolds was among the many publishers who pirated and translated tales of superstition from Europe. His series of urban Gothic tales, *Mysteries of London*, was a variation on Eugène Sue's popular success, *Les Mystères de Paris*. As Louis James has explained, there was a constant traffic of popular fictions between France, London and America, particularly in the literature of sensation. Baudelaire had a fascination with Gothic writers, and from 1846, began to read and translate Edgar Allan Poe, whose tales were published in France as *Histoires Extraordinaires* in 1852. Washington Irving and Poe were already familiar to British readers of the popular periodical press, but Baudelaire's interest in the American Gothic also claimed it for French decadence.¹⁷

Washington Irving was well travelled in Europe, and remade folk tales he encountered there into American legends; the headless horseman of 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow' is a recurrent figure in British and European legend (associated with fallen cavalry soldiers), while 'Rip Van Winkle' owes something to the Grimm Brothers and to European folk tale. The headless horseman in Irving's tale has lost his head in the American War of Independence, while Rip Van Winkle's tale becomes an assertion of how outdated it is for an American to assert loyalty to the British crown. Irving became in his lifetime an American hero and continues to be celebrated as an originator of American folklore. Rip Van Winkle and Ichabod Crane rapidly entered American popular culture, repeatedly reproduced in print and stage versions; a theatre script for *Rip Van Winkle* was published in 1826 under the title 'A National Drama'. Don Boucicault worked on a stage version for London in 1864, which transferred to New York. The lead actor went on to feature as Rip Van Winkle in a series of short films produced for the nickelodeon from 1896.

*The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*¹⁸ inevitably became part of Disney's animation history, in a compendium children's cartoon that strangely brought Irving's American Gothic together with Kenneth Grahame's very English Mr Toad in the 1949 *The Adventures of Ichabod and Mr Toad*. It is, however, largely as

an American folklorist that Irving is remembered at the Disney parks. The Haunted Mansion in Florida is situated beside the celebration of America of Liberty Square, and the attraction directly references Irving in its tableaux. Disney's guide book description of the Haunted Mansion conflates the writings of Washington Irving and Edgar Allan Poe, presenting the writers as American legends in themselves:

[A] residence designed to scare up some early American fantasy and folklore ... the stone faced Haunted Mansion presents the ominous specter of a Dutch manor house from the Hudson River Valley. It's an architectural style perhaps best described as early Edgar Allan Poe ... one might well imagine Ichabod Crane riding this way on his fateful journey through Sleepy Hollow. (Walt Disney Company 1986: 52)

Poe was himself a journalist for periodical fictions, as an editor of *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*; like Irving, he would have known versions of the Gothic tales that were proving so successful in the British and European market. His 1839 collection *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, with tales such as 'The Fall of the House of Usher', echoed the Gothic of Walpole and Radcliffe in their narratives of ruined houses and families. Poe's *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* is in the mode of the urban mysteries of Eugène Sue and George Reynolds. Angela Carter has articulated the particularity of the American Gothic tradition in which Poe wrote; her description evokes the exaggerated characters and scenarios of popular sensation tales and also Freud's concept of the uncanny:

The Gothic tradition in which Poe writes ... deals entirely with the profane. ... Character and events are exaggerated beyond reality, to become symbols, ideas, passions. Its style will tend to be ornate, unnatural – and thus operate against the perennial human desire to believe the word as fact. Its only humour is black humour. It retains a singular moral function – that of provoking unease. (Carter 1974: 122)

Poe's stories were published in cheap periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic; *The People's Periodical* first published 'The Cask of Amontillado' in England in 1847. His work was also issued in lavishly illustrated editions; Gustave Doré published fifty full-page illustrations for 'The Raven' in a French edition in 1854, which were reproduced in an English translation of 1883 and in an American edition in 1884. In 1857, *The Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe* was published in an English edition with illustrations by Tenniel, among other artists. Poe's 'The Tell-Tale Heart' became an early silent film, renamed *The Avenging Conscience*, directed by D.W. Griffith in 1914.

If Poe's stories owed much to a European Gothic tradition, America had its own history of witchcraft and supernatural traditions. For nineteenth-century American writers and especially the many in Massachusetts, the 1692 witch trials of Salem were still a vivid history and source of superstition. Nathaniel

Hawthorne worked in the Customs House at Salem from 1846 until 1849, and Salem provides the setting for the beginning of *The Scarlet Letter*. Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables* is based on an actual house (still standing) in Salem, and centres on the legend of a witch's curse. Hawthorne originally published many of his tales anonymously in magazines, and was himself an avid reader of periodical fiction and penny dreadfuls. Stories in the collection *Twice Told Tales* made use of plots and characters that are close to those of Scott, as in 'The Maypole of Merry Mount', and relocate them to a New England context.

Louisa May Alcott (whose father wrote a poem celebrating Hawthorne) also began her writing career in periodical fiction; publishing sensation tales regularly in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspapers* and *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine*, she also wrote regular novelettes for the pulp fiction publishers Elliott, Thomas & Talbot of Boston (Stern 1975: xxi). Jo's 'blood and thunder' plays and stories in *Little Women* (Alcott 1868) are clearly indebted to Walpole and Radcliffe; like Alcott's own tales, they demonstrate the familiarity of American readers with the conventions of the literary Gothic. Alcott's suspense stories are largely set in 'English' Gothic settings, and have all the accoutrements of the English Gothic tradition, with ghostly monks, ruined abbeys and castles and medieval armour, as in 'The Abbot's Ghost'.

Louisa May Alcott and her character Jo demonstrate a familiarity with the figure of the vampire, a myth familiar to American readers of sensation tales. While Polidori has regularly (if mistakenly) been credited as author of the first English vampire story, it was a convenient literary and Romantic myth to date the birth of the vampire at the same moment as that of the Frankenstein monster. The vampire had a long history in global folklore, repeatedly reproduced in localised versions across Europe. An 1876 English encyclopaedia entry describes vampires as if they were real, but safely contained within Eastern Europe (*Popular Encyclopaedia* 1876: 640). Bram Stoker, who created the most notorious incarnation of the vampire in his Count Dracula (whose name is reputedly Romanian), uses the same device to good effect in his 1897 novel *Dracula*. Stoker had an academic interest in vampires¹⁹ and researched Transylvania (as his hero Jonathan Harker does in the British Museum). Stoker largely derives his uncanny effects from the disconcerting relocation of the Count from Transylvania to Whitby, where the vampire wreaks his destruction on British victims. As Fred Botting has pointed out, while the vampire has its origins in ancient superstition, *Dracula* represents a thoroughly modern encounter with the vampire myth in which the Count is defeated through contemporary technology.

The vampire is a creature of legend who fast became a stock figure in popular culture, a creature who balanced the possibility of historical reality with superstition and folklore. David J. Skal has charted the transformations of the Dracula character across a range of media (in book that does for *Dracula*

what Forry's study does for *Frankenstein*). He suggests that the Count has been repeatedly made to fit different cultural and historical contexts:

Without knowing anything of the myth's origins, most of us can recite without prompting the salient characteristics of the vampire. ... We have received this information by a curious cultural transfusion, not by direct experience. ... Ever adaptable, Dracula has been a literary Victorian sex nightmare, a stock figure of theatrical melodrama, a movie icon, a trademark. ... Dracula and vampire stories in general have found their greatest expression in the popular media, be they Penny Dreadful novels, stage melodramas or movies. (Skal 1992: 4)

The signifiers of *Dracula*, the top hat, the cloak and the fangs, have developed from these representations across the popular media to become so familiar that they now connote the novel in a single image. Various combinations of these repeatedly appear in carnival attractions, from the backcloths of fairground Ghost Trains to the more sophisticated variants such as 'Transylvania' and the Vampire ride at Chessington. Bram Stoker was himself a showman and deeply involved in theatre, acting as business manager of the Lyceum Theatre in London for twenty-seven years. There was a theatrical meeting of vampire and monster in a comic burlesque, *Frankenstein, or the Vampire's Victim*, produced in 1887 at London's Gaiety Theatre, a lampooning of a successful Adelphi melodrama. A dramatised version of *Dracula* toured Britain with a company run by Hamilton Deane (who also produced a stage adaptation of *Frankenstein*); this version of *Dracula* was to become the basis for the Bela Lugosi film.

Peter Haining has charted the process by which Frankenstein's monster became a popular culture icon, and describes a very similar trajectory to that outlined in Skal's account of *Dracula*. Haining's is one of many popular accounts of the Frankenstein tale and its impact on popular culture. He describes the range of media that have exploited the image of the monster in terms that apply equally to the circulation of *Dracula* across fiction, film and comic books:

Endless reprints of the original novel by Mary Shelley have poured from the presses (in just about any language you care to name), and hardly a year has passed recently without some new variation on the old theme being presented as a film ... the scientist and his creation are now to be found in virtually all the media of entertainment: in literature, children's comics, records, advertising and promotion, besides their use as posters, T-shirt emblems, toys, games, rubber masks. (Haining 1977: 6)

It was not until the 1930s that the Frankenstein monster assumed his familiar form in illustration, after the success of the 1931 Universal film. It was this cinematic version that established the current metonymic icons of the demonic laboratory and the monster that continue to be reworked across forms of popular culture.

There is a direct relationship between the supernatural story and cinema. The phantasmagoria of the eighteenth century had relied on ghostly effects; the

medium of film first made its appearance in magic shows and made use of all the trappings of the occult to produce its sensations. George Méliès began his career as a stage magician with vanishing tricks, which were often hung around a 'Gothic' theme, and his films were first shown as part of magic shows. His 1896 *Le Manoir du Diable* has the claim to being the first horror film; it makes use of all the tropes of popular Gothic fiction, featuring a medieval castle, a vampiric bat (who vanishes at the sight of a crucifix), ghosts and witches. By the 1920s, 'The Vamp' had become a synonym for the fatal temptress, embodied in the silent screen star Theda Bara.

Thomas Edison's early films reproduced magic tricks with a supernatural gloss in films such as the 1899 *A Visit to the Spiritualist*, which employed animated ghosts. The Edison studios produced the first film version of *Frankenstein*, in 1910. The text's play with technology, science and the supernatural, coupled with a spectacle in which the inanimate creature becomes animated, made *Frankenstein* a key text for early cinema. A feature-length version followed in 1915, *Life Without Soul*, directed by Joseph W. Smiley. F.W. Murnau's²⁰ 1922 version of *Dracula*, *Nosferatu: Eine Symphonie Des Grauens* (*Symphony of Horrors*) was the production that had the greatest effect on the *mise en scène* of the horror film, and especially *Dracula*. Murnau's Expressionist shadows, as early woodcuts had done for illustrations of the Gothic genre, established a new set of conventions for the representation of horror in cinema. The style was a direct influence on Tod Browning, the director of the big Universal Studio feature film *Dracula*. *Nosferatu* set up many of the tropes now expected in cinematic versions of the novel (and lampooned in Mel Brooks's *Young Frankenstein*): the gypsy inn, the coach journey to the castle, the suspicious local people.

Both *Dracula* and *Frankenstein* have produced an enormous number of film versions, independently and together as characters in Gothic compilations and in comedy horror. Skal has suggested that 'Dracula has been depicted in film more times than almost any fictional being' (Skal 1992: 7); Frankenstein's monster has a similar claim, and both characters have had a similar career trajectory in film. The early silent versions shaped the two films that established the dominant iconography for Count Dracula and Frankenstein's monster, which continue to pertain in contemporary popular culture. Universal Studios produced two black-and-white feature films of *Dracula* and *Frankenstein* in 1931 as part of their Universal Horror series. The series also featured three films based on Edgar Allan Poe tales, starring Bela Lugosi, who had become a contract player with Universal.

The director of Universal's *Dracula*, Tod Browning, had a track record in vampire films (he also had a background in carnival and circus). The silent *London After Midnight* with Lon Chaney came out in 1927, and was remade in 1935 in a sound version, *The Vampires of Prague*²¹ with Lugosi as the Dracula figure. A Spanish version was made at the same time as Browning's 1931 *Dracula* for Universal. In the silent movie era, Universal had made half its revenue from foreign sales, but had not done so well with talking pictures, and so began to

make foreign-language versions of its American successes. Browning's *Dracula* was also dubbed into French and German. Carl Laemmle Jr was the producer for both Universal's *Dracula* and *Frankenstein*, and reportedly acquired all the rights to the Frankenstein characters. Bram Stoker's widow had proved litigious over the rights to her husband's creation for *Nosferatu*, but in 1933, Florence Stoker sold the film rights to David O. Selznick, who produced a 1936 sequel to *Dracula*, in *Dracula's Daughter*. Universal now effectively owned the rights to both novels, and capitalised on them in a long series of sequels to the initial films, and later in their theme park.

The screenplay for the first Universal *Frankenstein* (dir. James Whale) was based on the John Balderston²² melodrama, produced by Hamilton Deane in England. Walt Disney's short film *The Mad Doctor* emulates scenes from Whale's 1931 film frame by frame, with Mickey Mouse in the role of the monster. Universal's *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* were lavish productions, made with much the same teams involved, and both confirmed their leading actors as stars. Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula and Boris Karloff as the monster were never to escape their associations with their roles. Lugosi played the role of the Count repeatedly on stage in England and America. From 1932, he performed on the vaudeville circuit and established himself as an icon of the horror genre.

The films were released with great media furor; *Dracula* was promoted with department store window displays of the novel (which had been reissued as a tie-in publication) and advertising billboards in Times Square. After a slow beginning, the film was Universal's top money maker of the year, and the novel was hailed as a classic. *Dracula* and *Frankenstein* were issued together as a 'classic' cinema double bill by Universal in 1947, and again in the 1950s. Both later appeared on television as the 'Shock Theatre' programming of vintage horror films (see Skal 1992: 190). In 1944, Universal brought their monsters together in a compilation of Universal horrors in *House of Frankenstein*, successful enough to be followed in 1945 by *House of Dracula*. By 1952 Lugosi was taking 'The Bela Lugosi Revue' to Las Vegas; the 'classic' horror of *Dracula* had become camp. Lugosi's last appearance as the Count was in the 1948 comedy *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* (Abbot and Costello, like *Frankenstein* and Lugosi, were owned by Universal); the film also featured Lon Chaney and other players and characters from Universal's cast. The cinema was now producing spoofs of its own monster and horror movies, lampooning them as nineteenth-century burlesques and cartoons had sent up the sensational melodrama.

The role of major producer of the horror genre in cinema was taken over in the 1960s and 1970s by the low-budget companies Hammer Film Productions and American International Productions (AIP). The British Hammer Horror factory produced *The Curse of Frankenstein* in 1957, and filmed its first *Dracula* in 1958, *Horror of Dracula* with Christopher Lee. Roger Corman, a director for AIP, specialised in horror and filmed a number of Edgar Allan Poe titles, including *The House of Usher* (1960), *The Pit and the Pendulum*

(1961) and *The Raven* (1963). Hammer and Corman made Christopher Lee, Peter Cushing and Vincent Price into iconic figures of the horror genre; Price provided the voice for the original narration in Disney's Haunted Mansion.

The commercial successes of the Universal and Hammer Horror series were replicated in comic books devoted to horror. There was a long tradition of horror comics in Europe and America (variations on the penny dreadful, now illustrated in full colour), which in the 1920s and 1930s were closely aligned to and often produced by the same publishers as the science fiction genre. The 1923 *Weird Tales* published tales that, like *Frankenstein*, balanced between scientific fantasy and horror, and specialised in ghost stories, many clearly inflected by Edgar Allan Poe. The period from the 1930s to the 1950s in America has been described as the 'Golden Age' of the comic book (see Ashley 2005); this was the period of the height of the Universal Horror series and it also saw a proliferation of comics with 'terror', 'phantoms' and 'spectres' in their titles.

The horror genre was such an integral part of American and European popular culture that it could not be avoided at the time of the planning for Disneyland. Cross and Walton have claimed, '[a]bsent from Disneyland was any encounter with the fears and fascinations of adult life, disasters, death, and the hereafter' (2005: 177). However, Disney himself had a predilection for the Gothic, and Disney Studios had always had a line in comic ghosts and graveyards. The first of Disney's *Silly Symphonies* deployed a Gothic theme, with 'The Skeleton Dance' in 1929. The dancing skeleton probably owes something to Edison's comic ghosts, but Disney's animated film also draws on a long-standing set of Gothic iconography, as Robin Allan has explained:

The imagery of 'The Skeleton Dance' is taken from nineteenth century gothic melodrama. ... A howling dog, cat, bats and dancing skeletons are in a graveyard with a chapel, tombstones, the moon and waving branches. The film uses imagery of the ghost train or spook house of the fairground where skeletons rise from tombs and cobwebs brush the visitor. (Allan 1999: 25)

The ghost train and 'spook house' are integral to the fairground and continue to be part of the theme park. The carnival ground has always relied on superstition; both Coney Island and Blackpool had been the site of magic and fortune telling from their beginnings.

Coney Island featured a spectacle 'Night and Morning', which had its roots in panoramas and as an attraction at World's Fairs, here described by Cross and Walton:

[A] dark oblong room that turned out to represent a huge coffin. Through a glass ceiling, guests saw weeping willows and flowers and had the sensation that the 'coffin' was sinking into a grave. A lid appeared to close over the glass ceiling and the sound of dirt above could be heard dropping onto the 'coffin'. This dramatic anticipation of one's own funeral was followed by a tour of Hell and images of the resurrection. (Cross and Walton 2005: 86)

Although Cross and Walton insist that Disneyland ‘stayed away from controversial themes of death and the afterlife’ (Cross and Walton 2005: 171), this account of a ‘dark’ room and ‘sinking’ sensation is very close to the experience of Disney’s Haunted Mansion. The ride similarly features a descent into hell, and ends with a *memento mori* tableau. The Haunted Mansion is by no means the only horror themed attraction in the Disney parks; in 1994 the ‘Twilight Zone of Terror’ was added to the Disney MGM Studios park in Florida, a physical thrill ride with a clear narrative of ghosts and death.

Disney’s fascination with European folk and fairy tale inevitably involved an encounter with Gothic themes and style. His first feature-length animation, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), has distinctly Gothic elements, not only in the uncanny elements of the story but also in the use of landscape and shadow. One of the animators who worked on the film recalls the production team being required to watch German Expressionist cinema: ‘The Cabinet of Dr Caligari, Nosferatu were things that we saw. I remember Metropolis’ (Marc Davis, quoted in Allan 1999: 45). *Snow White* represents an alliance of European folklore, Expressionist styling and Hollywood. The wicked queen, while looking like Joan Crawford, transforms into a witch in a setting that is indebted to Doré backgrounds. This scene also evokes Dr Jekyll’s dramatic transformation into Mr Hyde,²³ which had been successful as a silent film in 1920 and in a sound version in 1931. As Allan points out, ‘[a]t this early stage Disney was ... absorbing the gothic tradition from Europe via the German expressionist cinema as well as the rise in popularity of the horror film’ (Allan 1999: 51). The Gothic elements of *Snow White* represent not only a conscious appropriation of a European style but also demonstrate the extent to which the tropes of horror had become conventionalised and familiar in cinema.

While the film *Snow White* incorporates elements of a European tradition (which are replicated in the ‘Snow White’s Scary Adventures’ ghost train), the settings for most explicit gothically themed attraction in the Disney parks, the Haunted Mansion of Disney World and Phantom Manor in Paris, are emphatically American. The Ghost Houses of the Disneylands owe nothing to Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill or to the European Gothic in architecture, but belong to vernacular American architectural styles. Phantom Manor in Paris owes much to the styling of the Bates house in Hitchcock’s 1960 *Psycho*. The Haunted Mansion of the American Disney parks is in the ‘Queen Anne’ style, which had been a popular ‘Gothic style’ in American architecture; by the 1860s, according to Russell Lynes, ‘Gothic had turned from dignity to inexpensive jigsaw fussiness ... and had become what we now think of as “pure Charles Addams”’ (Lynes 1980: 98). That ‘pure Charles Addams’ has become the architecture associated with the Gothic in the American theme park.

The Haunted Mansion may derive from a World’s Fair and Coney Island attraction, and draw on a distinctly American style, but it still works with the long heritage of European Gothic. Disney imagineers have constructed an

elaborate backstory for the Haunted Mansions, which is clearly modelled on Washington Irving and Edgar Allan Poe, but like Irving and Poe, it continues to draw on a European literary tradition. While the American Gothic is prominent in the ride in tableaux of Poe's raven and ghostly tales from the Gold Rush, visual images from European literature and folklore abound. The abandoned bride references Miss Havisham from Dickens's *Great Expectations*, the Phantom Manor in Disneyland Paris borrows from Gaston Leroux's 1910 novel *Phantom of the Opera*.²⁴ The paintings on the walls of the Haunted Mansion derive from legends including the Flying Dutchman, while the suits of armour evoke *The Castle of Otranto* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. The figure of Madame Leona with her crystal ball is a throwback to the fortune tellers of Coney Island and Blackpool.

E.S. Turner's description of the iconography of horror for the early nineteenth-century 'penny dreadful' is just as applicable to the imagery used in the Haunted Mansion:

Spectres gliding in a green phosphorescence, hags picking over the bones of charnel houses, deaths heads in closets, heirs to great estates chained in dungeons, forests stuffed with robbers and werewolves, graves creaking open in the moonlight to let the vampires out – these were the stock-in-trade of the Gothic, and bogus Gothic, novelist. (Turner 1976: 19)

All these images and sounds are still to be found in the haunted houses and ghost trains of the contemporary fairground and theme park. They no longer need a novelist to sustain them, but survive in the iconic metonyms of the Gothic: the pair of fangs, the batwing cloak of Count Dracula, the stitching and nuts and bolts of Frankenstein's monster. Radcliffe's picturesque monks and Walpole's suits of armour continue to haunt carnival attractions from the Haunted Mansion to Prater Park in Vienna.

The images and stories of the horror genre were filtered by Gothic writers (both hack storytellers and literary novelists) from folk tales and popular superstition, and have always had a place in the fairground. The iconography associated with popular horror was mediated through the woodcuts, illustrations and waxworks of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These same images and stories found their way into twentieth-century comic and film imagery to become the hypersigns of the Gothic.

The Haunted Mansion (or Phantom Manor) is currently the only Disney attraction to have a version in all of its parks, an indication of how intrinsic the Gothic genre is to the carnival site, whether theme park or fairground. The Haunted Mansions are, however, sited in a different 'land' in each Disney Park, evidence of the pervasiveness of the Gothic and of its generic instability. At Disney World Florida, it is claimed for Americana, in the tradition of the American Gothic of Washington Irving and Edgar Allan Poe; at Disneyland Paris, it belongs to the Western; in Tokyo it is situated in Fantasyland, in an acknowledgement of the neighbourliness of the fairy tale and folk superstition.



Figure 5.2 Wicked Witches Haunt, Thorpe Park, 2009

Slavoj Žižek has described the persistence of the vampire and other monstrous bodies in popular culture in terms of their embodiment of the persistence of the pleasure principle. For Žižek these popular monsters represent

a desperate resistance of the Thing, of enjoyment fighting not to be evacuated from the body. ... One of the usual phrases about the Thing in the gothic novel is the horrified exclamation: 'It's alive!' – that is to say, the substance of enjoyment is not yet mortified, quartered by the transcendental symbolic network. (Žižek 1991: 221)

The same exclamation can be heard in the Doom Buggies of Disney's Haunted Mansions and in the carriages of ghost trains; that enjoyment becomes a physical experience in the trailing cobwebs, ghostly fingers and animatronic figures of the horror ride. The Gothic is the genre of sensation and excess, which allows for an acknowledgement of transgression and monstrosity. If its stories are tamed and rendered antique for the theme park, they still allow for a frisson of the remembered pleasures of wickedness.

6

The Riddles of the Sphinx

Egyptomania

In 2006 the Seoul theme park Lotte World displayed an exhibition of Egyptian artefacts in its Adventure section. The *Korean Times* reported, ‘A crowded theme park is not usually a place for getting in touch with ancient Egyptian culture’ (*Korean Times*, ‘Seoul Theme Park Displays Egyptian Artefacts’, 19 March 2006). There is, in fact, a long history of association between ancient Egyptian culture and popular entertainment, and it is not so surprising that a theme park should be a site for ‘getting in touch with ancient Egyptian culture’. Lotte World is not alone as an entertainment space with a fascination for Egyptiana.

The Luxor Hotel in Las Vegas, built in 1993, is another testament to the conjunction between the worlds of entertainment and ancient Egyptian culture. The main building of the Luxor Casino is shaped as a pyramid, the frontage features a Sphinx and an obelisk bears the name of the hotel in a



Figure 6.1 Bullock's Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, 1812

script that evokes ancient hieroglyphics. The Luxor Hotel here recycles the key signifiers of Egyptiana that are repeatedly found in fairgrounds and carnival sites. The theming of the Luxor is one of the many Las Vegas spectacles that in their architecture and theming are in a direct line of descent from nineteenth-century popular entertainments. The invariable signifiers of exotic exploration into unknown territory are the figures and pyramids of 'ancient Egypt', which established tropes of Egyptiana that have continued over three centuries. The architecture and design of the Luxor Hotel replicates a fascination with the exoticism of the 'East' and a set of imagery that dates back to the period of European expansionism and to the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798.

A contemporary fascination with the Egyptian extends throughout European and American carnival and fairground sites. In Britain, Chessington World of Adventures offers the Mystic East and the Forbidden Kingdom, two spaces in the park that reference archaeological expeditions to Egypt, with the attractions of Rameses' Revenge and the Terror Tomb. At Alton Towers there is an Egyptian-themed Forbidden Valley. In Italy, the theme park Gardaland has 'La Valle dei Re', which promises 'a great adventure into the mysterious Valley of the Kings: a reproduction of the temple of Abu Simbel'.

Egypt is recurrently deployed in the European and American theme park as a signifier of mystery, ancient history, adventure and exploration. Edward Said has argued that 'Egypt' carries connotations of 'long ago and far away' for Western audiences, and that it represents an Orientalist fairy tale quality of the exotic and unknown:

Much of what we associate with or even know about such periods as 'long ago' or 'the beginning' or 'at the end of time' is poetic – made up. For a historian of Middle Kingdom Egypt, 'long ago' will have a very clear sort of meaning, but even this meaning does not totally dissipate the imaginative, quasi-fictional quality one senses lurking in a time very different and distant from our own. For there is no doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away. (Said 1978: 55)

The imaginative geography of Egypt to be found in the theme park emerges from a curious combination of 'historical' accounts, news stories and tales of superstition and legend. A mixture of the 'quasi-fictional', imaginative and historical has combined to create a set of potent cultural myths of Egypt. 'Ancient Egypt' is a construction that has claims to historical authenticity, which evokes geographical and historical knowledges, but simultaneously allows for imaginative speculation and fantasy. Like Robin Hood or King Arthur, the Egyptian sphinx and mummy are figures that have a basis in fact, but have become shrouded in the mist of 'Ancient History', myth and legend inextricable from any known history. The European adventurers who uncovered these archaeological artefacts were prone themselves to perpetuate mythological heroic tales of their exploits. The figures of 'Ancient Egypt'

therefore become signs that can be deployed in a variety of different contexts and made to fit into any number of different narratives, as they were to do throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

'Egyptomania' is a phrase coined by the French archaeologist Humbert (1989) to describe the phenomenon that followed Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798. The Battle of the Pyramids was regularly illustrated and Egyptian landscapes, the Sphinx and the pyramid became images of French imperial triumph. Napoleon took a commission of academics with him on his imperial campaign, including artists and printers to illustrate his endeavours. It was this commission of scholars who produced the first key texts and images, which served to promote an academic and popular fascination with 'Ancient Egypt' in France and to introduce the West to the artefacts and designs of Egypt. These texts were published as lavishly illustrated accounts; the most popular was Dominique Vivant Denon's 1802 *Voyages dans la Basse et la Haut Égypte*. This was followed from 1809 to 1829 by Denon's *Description de l'Égypte*, which was issued with eleven volumes of illustrations. Said has described Denon's volumes as a 'great collective monument of erudition ... [which] provided a scene or setting for Orientalism' (Said 1978: 42–3). Vivant Denon's status as Director General of the Museums of France and as the first director of the Louvre Museum put him in a strong position to promote Egyptology in France. Denon's volumes were hugely successful, and prompted a fashion for all things Egyptian in France. His work was translated and published in England and Italy, and had a wide readership in Britain, which had its own imperial eye on Egypt.

In London, The African Association (originally titled the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa) had been founded in 1788, with a mission to promote Egypt as a source of geographical and historical knowledge. The African Association was the patron for the traveller Mungo Park, who published *Travel in the Interior Districts of Africa* in 1799 under the auspices of the association. The Scots-born independent traveller James Bruce was another explorer and enthusiastic self-promoter, whose adventures in Egypt included the disinterring of the Tomb of Rameses III. In 1790 Bruce published five illustrated volumes of his adventures, titled, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1772 and 1773*. Bruce's travelogues cast himself as an intrepid hero exploring unknown and dangerous territories; his narrative has been described as 'a confusion of voices. ... It combines *Boy's Own* adventure story with erotic fantasy, geological survey with military history' (Whale 1994: 183). An 1874 encyclopaedia entry implies that Bruce's traveller's tales are overstated; it describes his claims as written in 'magniloquent language ... His exultation was extreme, and he records it with singular strength of expression' (*Popular Encyclopaedia* 1874: 795).

The published successes of Bruce and Denon are evidence of the late eighteenth-century fascination with 'Egyptian' style and objects. The fashion for the 'Egyptian' put Egypt on the itinerary of the Grand Tour and made

archaeological souvenirs objects of desire for private collectors. This taste for the exotic often had little to do with the consumers' interest in specific colonial or archaeological missions, but was more a matter of style and conspicuous consumption. The vogue for *exotisme égyptienne*, however, extended beyond French and British archaeologists and the literati to become part of the popular and public domain, literally so in the streets of Paris where 'Egyptianised architecture' and the *style égyptienne* became popular architectural motifs in Paris buildings in the 1820s (see Humbert 1998); the Place du Caire in Paris features friezes of 'Egyptian' masks produced in 1828. The irresistible combination of romantic locations, exotic travels, imperial expeditions and showmanship established Egyptian architecture and style as markers of both entertainment and imperial authority.

The Battle of the Nile in 1798 and the defeat of the French army in Egypt in 1801 became widely circulated images of imperial triumph, regularly illustrated for the British press, as Egyptian campaigns had once been for Napoleon. These battles were to be re-enacted in British panoramas and dioramas throughout the nineteenth century. The French commission members were allowed to keep their plans and notes from the campaign, but the British laid claim to their major archaeological finds. The Rosetta Stone, uncovered by French troops in 1799, was transported to the British Museum along with other artefacts (where they remain) in a display of triumph over the French and provided the basis for the British Museum's current splendid collection of Egyptian relics. The arrival of the head of Rameses in the Egyptian collection was a much-illustrated news story, and prompted Shelley's 1817 poem 'Ozymandias'.

The traveller and showman William Bullock mounted a touring exhibition of Egyptian artefacts, and cannily included Napoleon's travelling carriage, which had been seized by the British. In the context of the British defeat of the French, this was a display of triumphalism over Napoleon; the show was an enormous popular success and became a *cause célèbre* for the British press. The success of the touring display allowed Bullock to build an 'Egyptian Hall' in London's Piccadilly. Designed by the man responsible for Brighton Pavilion, Peter Robinson (who had never seen Egypt), the Egyptian Hall was no more authentic than the chinoiserie of the Brighton Pavilion. The design for the hall was 'freely' based on Denon's drawings and featured all the tropes of Egyptiana to be found in illustrated accounts of European expeditions, including hieroglyphs, statues and sphinxes. The show that opened the Egyptian Hall in 1812 displayed Bullock's collection of 'upwards of Fifteen Thousand Natural and Foreign Curiosities, Antiquities and Productions of the Fine Arts' (see Altick 1978: 237) and was hugely popular. Galleries around the hall displayed similar exhibitions and sold Egyptiana souvenirs and prints,¹ while the hall and its visitors became a regular subject for contemporary cartoonists.

In 1821 the Egyptian Hall housed an exhibition of Egyptian art and artefacts collected by the Italian Giovanni Battista Belzoni, who had been a

fairground giant, magician and strong man in England, and the first European to find the Valley of the Kings. Belzoni opened the exhibition with the flourish of public unwrappings of a human and a monkey mummy. Belzoni was an adventurer in the Bruce mould, and he was a showman who had appeared with the clown Joseph Grimaldi in Harlequinades, at circuses and fairgrounds. Belzoni had trained in hydraulics, which he turned into an entertainment: a ‘curious exhibition of Hydraulicks’. It was the opportunity to market a waterwheel that led him to Egypt; there, with his wife Sarah, according to his memoirs, ‘we remained from 1815–1819. Here I had the good fortune to be the discoverer of many remains of antiquity of that primitive nation’ (Belzoni 1820: viii). With the approval of the British consul, Belzoni uncovered and excavated the Abu Simbel temple, along with the tomb of Rameses II in the Valley of the Kings (sites that are recreated in the Italian theme park, so reclaiming Belzoni for Italy), sending the spoils back to England and the British Museum; one sarcophagus eventually ended up in Sir John Soane’s collection of curiosities. In 1820 Belzoni published his *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia ...* (Belzoni 1820), adorned with a noble portrait of Belzoni in a turban. Belzoni’s wife’s rather interesting account of her encounters with local women – ‘Mrs Belzoni’s Trifling Account of the Women of Egypt, Nubia, and Syria’ – is appended as an afterword to what Belzoni clearly sees as the main story of his adventures in rifling tombs. Belzoni’s account is that of the showman, with flamboyant descriptions of mummies, scarabs, statuary, the tombs, their colours and decoration. A description of a site at Karnak, like Bruce’s account of his travels in Egypt, is written in ‘magniloquent’ and vividly pictorial language:

... the towering prophyllaea, high portals, and obelisks which project above the various groups of lofty palm-trees, and even at a distance announce magnificence. On approaching the avenue of sphinxes, which leads to the great temple, the visitor is inspired with devotion and piety: their enormous size strikes him with wonder and respect. (Belzoni 1820: 152)

The combination of Belzoni’s showmanship and the context of the Egyptian Hall introduced an established ‘Egyptian’ iconography into British popular culture. In 1822, ‘one of the fabled grand caverns under the Pyramids of Egypt’ (Broadbent 1901: 174) featured as a pantomime set. Following the enormous success of the exhibition of Belzoni’s findings, Bullock travelled to Mexico and brought back a collection of Mexican archaeological artefacts. In 1824 ‘Ancient and Modern Mexico’ was another of his successful and popular exhibitions, which was put on display in the ‘Great Egyptian Room’ of the Egyptian Hall. The exhibition was fronted by a panorama of Mexico City, and the catalogue compared the ‘ancient culture’ of the Aztecs with that of the Egyptians. Bullock was an exponent of a far-fetched and now discredited ‘diffusionist’ theory of

archaeology, arguing that Egypt was the origin and source of Aztec culture. Nonetheless, the theory had its adherents at the British Museum and University of London and was to continue throughout the nineteenth century, not least because the British Museum acquired the bulk of Bullock's Mexican collections. The British Museum, like Bullock, displayed their collection of Mexican artefacts in an Egyptian Room and so implicitly endorsed Bullock's confused archaeology and misplaced alliance of Egyptian and Mexican styles. Bullock thus established a conflation of 'Ancient' Egypt and Mexico in popular displays of their artefacts, and compounded a confusion between their architecture and monuments that continues to survive in popular representations of the foreign and exotic. This generalised conflation of 'ancient cultures' is perpetuated in contemporary constructions of Egyptology and archaeology; Mexican and Egyptian sets have been used interchangeably in Hollywood films since the beginnings of cinema. Indiana Jones, George Lucas' star adventurer hero, is also an archaeologist, but his expertise lurches between Egyptian and South American archaeological knowledge and travels; Disney's Magic Kingdom Parks feature a 'race through the ruins of the Lost City', a geographically and historically unspecified archaeological site.

William Bullock promoted an association of showmanship and the archaeological; the success of his Egyptian Hall was to be an influence on the design of theatres and later cinemas. Bullock went to America;² on his retirement, the Hall became a venue for magicians and other vaudeville acts, willing to display anything that would draw a crowd. As Altick puts it, '[n]othing that appeared on the London exhibition scene in the nineteenth century was alien to it ... the Egyptian Hall served in effect as a cluster of speculative showcases for the miscellaneous entertainers that worked the London circuit' (Altick 1978: 250). The Egyptian Hall confirmed a long-standing (and continuing) association between Egyptiana and popular entertainments. As Helen Stoddart has pointed out, circus and spectacle were central to the development of Western Orientalism:

The role of the circus in the consolidation of Orientalist discourses in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century has rarely been mentioned, and yet the circus's involvement, not only in the representation and dramatisation of so-called oriental cultures, but also in the accumulation of (human and animal) performers from the East is extensive and complex. (Stoddart 2000: 102)

European museums were also central to the construction of an Orientalised Egypt; both the Louvre and British Museum sent expeditions to catalogue Egyptian antiquities. As the market and Western desire for Egyptian 'curios' expanded, the Egyptian Service moved to issue licences for excavations and permission to take findings out of Egypt. An assistant at the Egyptian Department of the Louvre, Auguste Mariette, uncovered an avenue of Sphinxes and the burial site of the sacred bulls; on the back of these findings he became the Director of an Egyptian Service of Antiquities and was responsible for

the establishment of the museum in Cairo. The resurgence of the French in Egyptology saw a revival of Egyptiana in French culture.

Egypt held a fascination for French Romanticism, as it had for Shelley. The novelist Flaubert visited the pyramids, and Theophile Gautier's 'The Mummy's Foot' was published in 1832, with his 'Romance of a Mummy' in 1856. These tales were responses to the fashion for the public and private acquisition of Egyptian antiquities; 'The Mummy's Foot' concerned the importing of an archaeological relic from Egypt back to France. These were tales that had an influence on the work of Edgar Allan Poe and Louisa M. Alcott, both of whom wrote American versions of the imported mummy tale. 'Some Words with a Mummy', Edgar Allan Poe's 1845 spoof of the mummy horror story, is an indication of the prevalence of the mummy myth in American popular culture. Poe's story demonstrates some unease with the importing of Egyptian artefacts – it deals with the arrival of a mummy in a Baltimore museum who, rising from the dead, convinces the assembled academicians of the superiority of Egyptian culture.³

The popular success of the Egyptian Hall and the collections of the British Museum reinvigorated the fashion for the Egyptian in Britain. As more and more tombs were uncovered by museum expeditions, the figure of the mummy became a focus of Egyptiana. In 1833, the surgeon Thomas Joseph Pettigrew published an illustrated *History of Egyptian Mummies*, its popular success compounded by Pettigrew's public performances of unfurling a mummy from its shroud, a trick learned from Belzoni. The fascination with sarcophagi and their contents straddled the cultural gap between museums and wealthy private collectors, on one hand, and popular theatre and entertainments, on the other; *The Mummy* was a farce produced on the London stage in 1833. Robert Hay's 1834 Egyptian expedition gave rise to a set of drawings that became the basis for a Panorama entertainment displayed in Leicester Square between 1835 and 1836 and which went on to tour American cities.

If museums and private collectors were fast acquiring mummies, statues and antiquities, the obelisks that flanked the temples in which they were found were huge objects that were to become part of the cityscapes of London, Paris and eventually New York. Their journey and arrival were big news stories in the European and American press. Paris had acquired their first obelisk in 1831, when the Viceroy of Egypt presented France with two granite obelisks. The perilous journey of the Luxor obelisk to the Place de la Concorde in Paris was a long-running news story, and the arrival of the 'needle' in 1836 was front-page news. London's obelisk, Cleopatra's Needle, came to the city transported by the Crystal Palace Company, and was originally intended for the Great Exhibition. The hazardous journey of the needle from Alexandria was a regular news story for *The Illustrated London News*, and its final arrival in 1878 at a ceremony featuring Queen Victoria, the Khedive of Egypt and cheering crowds was a newsworthy story for the front page. Stripped of any historical or religious significance (Cleopatra's Needle had no connection at

all with Cleopatra), the spoils of Egyptian tombs and temples had become a popular public spectacle that made little reference to their source of origin. Decorated with hieroglyphics that were incomprehensible but intriguing to a Western audience, Egyptian obelisks were status symbols for a city, signalling not so much ‘Egyptianness’ as the wealth and international influence of a Western city. In 1881, *The New York Herald* asserted that every city with any claim to world status should have its own obelisk:

[I]t would be absurd for the people of any great city to hope to be happy without an Egyptian obelisk. Rome has had them this great while and so has Constantinople. Paris has one. London has one. If New York was without one, all those great cities might point the finger of scorn at us and intimate that we could never rise to any real moral grandeur until we had our obelisk. (Quoted in Hassan 2003: 64)

Egypt was by now officially on the European and American tourist trail, no longer a journey restricted to the adventurous traveller. The Prince and Princess of Wales had travelled to Egypt in 1862, and Thomas Cook organised the first tourist trip down the Nile in 1869; Egyptian souvenirs were objects of desire for nations and collectors. Mark Twain (who figures large at Disneyland) was among those who went on the first American organised grand tour of ‘Europe, the Near East and the Holy Land’ in 1867, writing reports for the American press. These reports were collected in 1869 as *The Innocents Abroad*; by 1879 the book had sold over 125,000 copies. Twain quotes the excursion advertisement, which makes archaeology its central attraction: ‘The ruins of Caesar’s Palace, Pompey’s Pillar, Cleopatra’s Needle, the Catacombs and ruins of ancient Alexandria, will be found worth the visit’ (Twain 2002: 8). Twain’s description of the pyramids in *The Innocents Abroad* has the same awe that Belzoni expressed, and is one that is evoked in the mountains and pyramids of the theme park’s Forbidden Valleys and Kingdoms:

Above the date-plumes in the middle distance, swelled a domed and pinnacled mass, glimmering through a tinted, exquisite mist; away toward the horizon a dozen shapely pyramids watched over ruined Memphis; and at our feet the bland impassive Sphynx looked out upon the picture from her throne in the sands as placidly and pensively as she had looked upon its like full fifty lagging centuries ago. (Twain 2002: 475)

In the context of Britain, the dynasties and kingdoms of the Pharaohs offered an attractive and authenticating model for the Victorians of their own monarchy and Empire; Egypt featured large at Prince Albert’s celebration of Victorian Empire and commerce, the Great Exhibition of 1851 (see Philips 2004). The Crystal Palace built to house the exhibition was decorated with Egyptian statuary and sphinxes, by then fashionable accoutrements for the gardens of country house estates.⁴ The Crystal Palace floor plan included an Egyptian Avenue, which led to the Egyptian Court, and Victoria and Albert

appeared as icons over the three entrances to the Egyptian Court, which displayed replicas of Egyptian statuary. The monumentalism of these replicas proved a good background for illustrated magazine reports of the exhibition, as in *The Illustrated London News*. Magazines promoted popular lithographs of the exhibition; the visually dramatic sphinx, obelisk and pyramid were recurrently used as image of the 'exoticism' promised by the exhibition, and so became firmly established in the British popular imagination.

While Egyptian souvenirs had long been desirable for wealthy collectors, the Crystal Palace saw a trade in reproduction artefacts and in 'Egyptianized products' (Rice and MacDonald 2003: 8), which brought decorative and household objects embellished with 'Egyptian' designs into the everyday domestic life of the thousands of visitors. The widespread popular fashion for Egyptiana in Victorian Britain was not only associated with the mysteries of an ancient past but also had connotations of a brave new world of engineering and transportation. The scale and the skills required for building the pyramids were a source of fascination; in 1859, John Taylor published *The Great Pyramid: Why Was It Built and Who Built It?* This was followed in 1866 by the best-seller *The Great Pyramid: Its Secrets and Mysteries Revealed* and by *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid* in 1867, both by Charles Piazzi Smyth, the Astronomer Royal for Scotland. Smyth's theory that the pyramids had been built by a lost race under a divine influence did much to fuel an association of Egyptian artefacts with religious superstition (Tyldesley 2005: 116). The fascination with Egyptian architecture extended beyond Britain; the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris featured an Egyptian Pavilion, with a temple that was hailed as 'an example of the essence of archaeology' (quoted in Delamaire 2003: 128). The pavilion housed a display of plans for the Suez Canal project.

The conjunction of Egypt and engineering centred in 1869 on the completion of the Suez Canal, an undertaking that Napoleon had once planned, and which was, in the event, largely financed and engineered by the French. The ten-year process of construction was regularly reported and illustrated in the press in Europe and America. The 1869 first edition of *The Graphic*, 'An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper' in Britain, demonstrates the ubiquity of references to 'Egypt': the title page has an engraving titled 'Egyptian Girl', and the main features include a series of images of the newly constructed Suez Canal and of the Khedive of Egypt. The opening, with a 'Procession of Ships in the Canal', was a major story; H.M. Stanley, a reporter for *The New York Herald*, was sent to cover the opening of the Suez Canal for American readers; he was instructed by his editor to travel the Nile and to report back on 'Whatever is worth seeing' in Egypt (de Vries 1973: 54). *The Illustrated London News* reported the event as a marker of contemporary progress and technology:

It is impossible not to contemplate this magnificent achievement without emotion. Not only does it excite our sense of admiration, but it suggests thoughts and stirs

feelings, and awakens hopes all of which carry us into the far future, and connect themselves with the progressive development of the human race. (Quoted in de Vries 1973: 23)

The Khedive of Egypt set out to capitalise on such ‘admiration’ and so commissioned an Egyptian-themed opera to mark the opening of the Suez Canal. Although it was commissioned from Cairo and apparently authenticated by Egyptologists, the designs and libretto owed much more to French tastes than to any Egyptian style. The original synopsis was written by a French Egyptologist, who also supervised the costumes and sets, which were designed in Paris, while the music was by Giuseppe Verdi, who dismissively referred to ‘Egyptian business’ (Osborne 1971: 155). Despite the Viceroy’s concern that the opera should be ‘authentic’, *Aïda*’s Egyptian setting has proved to be less significant than its status as an embodiment of European grand opera. One opera critic assesses its place in operatic tradition as entirely European: ‘*Aïda* is, indeed, the very type of grand opera. It is the last and greatest example of that species created by the reaction of the Parisian taste of the Second Empire upon the romantic drama of the nineteenth century’ (Hussey 1973: 184–5). Significantly, it was the Siege of Paris rather than any delays from Egypt that postponed the production’s premiere in Cairo in 1871, two years late. *Aïda* was very much a product of a set of European imaginations constructing their own Egypt, but the opera established a long-standing sound and setting for grand Egyptiana.⁵

Aïda established a set of conventions for the theatrical display of monumental Egyptian architecture, but itself drew on established European images of Egypt; Egyptiana was now regularly referenced across high art and popular culture. Jules Verne’s hugely popular novel *Around the World in 80 Days* was published in 1872, the year *Aïda* premiered in Europe, and is a response to the new possibilities for travel. Phileas Fogg begins his journey by travelling from London to Suez, and takes the P&O steamer through the Suez Canal. A backdrop of the canal was designed for a toy theatre version of Verne’s novel. Egyptology now had a conventionalised iconography in both scholarship and popular entertainments, and was an international phenomenon.

While Egypt was a site of struggle for British and French colonial exploits, it does not have quite the same resonance for American popular memory. There was nonetheless a prevalence of Egyptian mummy stories in nineteenth-century American popular culture, which, like Gauthier’s story, centre on archaeological artefacts transported from Egypt to Britain and America. Popular interest in archaeology was fuelled by international news stories, and later by the expeditions and acquisitions of Egyptian artefacts by American museums. Louisa May Alcott’s ‘Lost in a Pyramid; or the Mummy’s Curse’ appeared in the popular *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Magazine* in 1869, the year the Suez Canal opened.⁶

In 1881, New York City finally acquired its own obelisk, which was placed in Central Park with great pomp and publicity. A huge number of tickets were

sold for the opening ceremony, at which the first president of the Metropolitan Museum urged the city to enlarge its collection of Egyptian artefacts. The ceremony for the siting of the needle was a media event, which extended beyond the news pages to become part of the iconography of everyday life. Images of the American obelisk regularly appeared in advertisements for all manner of commodities; one brand of cotton claimed itself as strong enough to pull the newly acquired needle (Hassan 2003: 65). The same year, an American tourist to Luxor was involved in uncovering the mummies of Seti and Rameses II. An American team of Egyptologists, led by George Reisner,⁷ was given permission to work on one of the pyramids at Giza. America now had its own acquisitions, and American archaeologists were now significant players in the Egyptology market.

The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, the first international exhibition held in America, had featured an Egyptian Court, largely in homage to the one at the Great Exhibition. By 1893, the Chicago University Museum could show off its own Egyptian holdings at the Chicago World Columbian Exhibition. Egyptiana also featured at the exhibition as popular entertainment; the midway was designed as the Streets of Cairo, where the attractions included Little Egypt (a dancer performing a belly dance) and a Syrian troupe performing a 'Wild East' show, a variation on the Wild West display of Buffalo Bill and his troupe. Little Egypt, with its combination of the salacious and the exotic, was to become an established attraction for travelling carnivals and state fairs. Luna Park in Coney Island later borrowed the Streets of Cairo from the Chicago Fair. Its creator, Frederick Thompson, designed it as an 'electric Baghdad' of spires and domes, neatly combining the modernity of electricity with a mythology of the ancient East.

In 1909, Luna Park in Paris followed suit with an attraction named 'La Crypte des Pharaons', a ride lavishly decorated with Egyptian sphinxes. Egyptiana appeared on the London stage, in dramas and farces, such as the 1904 *The Maid and the Mummy*. Blackpool, Britain's seaside resort, also rushed to embrace the Egyptian:

Oriental motifs, evoking imperial otherness, were prevalent everywhere in Blackpool's pleasure palaces in the decades either side of the turn of the century, with minarets and onion domes in glorious profusion on the North Pier pavilion. (Cross and Walton 2005: 76)

The Battle of Tel-el-Kebir in 1882 provided a potent set of news images of 'imperial otherness' for the British. Popularly known as the 'War in Egypt', the battle was a repression of an uprising against Anglo-French rule in Egypt. The battle became a popular and long-lived icon of British military triumph (not least because it excluded the French from the Nile valley), which was reproduced in news images, in paintings and as entertainment. Melton Prior, 'Special War Artist' of *The Illustrated London News*, presented a lecture that

included panoramas of the naval and military operations; the lecture was reviewed as 'a most entertaining soirée' (quoted in de Vries 1973: 95) and transferred to the Crystal Palace. Prior's lecture was the first of a series of commercial dioramas and panoramas that travelled across the country. Poole's Grand Pictorial Tours poster advertised its central attraction in 1885:

A Grand Entirely New Mastodon Diorama. ... A Great Myriorama of the EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN. ... JUST ADDED ANOTHER SPLENDID NEW SCENE OF THE NILE EXPEDITION AT THE SECOND CATARACT OR RAPIDS OF THE NILE. (Evanion Collection, British Library)

The popular novelists of the British Empire were inevitably drawn to Egypt, with its potential for stories of adventure, the occult and British triumph. Following the success of *She*, Rudyard Kipling suggested a mummy story plot to Sir Henry Rider Haggard. Haggard was fascinated by Egyptology; his first visit (of four) was in 1887.⁸ He was clearly uneasy about the excavation and public display of mummy figures, and in 1904 wrote an article for the *Daily Mail* arguing against what he called 'The Trade in the Dead'. Haggard's 1912 story 'Smith and the Pharaohs' was another 'plea on behalf of the long-deceased Egyptians to be left in peace' (Lupton 2003: 30).

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, like Haggard a regular contributor to the widely read *Boy's Own Paper*, travelled up the Nile in 1895. His interest in Egypt came from his position as both a writer of adventure and as a serious advocate of the occult. Conan Doyle's 1892 story 'Lot No. 249' makes claims to 'authentic' academic Egyptology and, like Haggard's story, has distinct echoes of Gauthier, Poe and Alcott in its Gothic tale of a mummy restored by an Oxford student's knowledge of Egyptology. Bram Stoker published a similar conjunction of Egyptology and horror in 1903, *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, which would provide the scenario for a number of later films. Such stories were republished and regularly imitated in the boy's illustrated weeklies of Britain and America. The imperial tone of the magazine stories invariably represents the figure of the archaeologist as a scholar removing the artefacts of Egypt for the benefit of Western knowledge, a benign image of the adventurer as rational and benevolent. Nonetheless, the frequency with which mummies and other archaeological figures turn nasty when transported suggests, as in the tales of Poe, Alcott, Haggard and Doyle, more than a little disquiet at the appropriation of archaeological excavations.

The prevalence of Egyptiana in Edwardian fiction and architecture is indicated in Edith Nesbit's 1904 children's novel *The Phoenix and the Carpet*; the Phoenix, uncovered by a family of contemporary children, repeatedly references 'Ancient Egypt'; he approvingly recognises the contemporary architecture of the Phoenix Fire Insurance Office and takes it for his own temple. The ubiquity of small Egyptian souvenirs is evident in Nesbit's 1906 *The Story of the Amulet*, in which the children of the story are easily able to

acquire an ancient amulet through whose magical powers they are transported to the lost city of Atlantis and get to meet a Pharaoh.

By the early twentieth century, Egyptiana was an established field for pulp fiction and had joined fantasy and Gothic fiction as a genre for illustrated short stories in popular magazines for adults. These stories had a prolonged life in paperback anthologies of mystery stories, which came with luridly illustrated covers. A historian of Egyptomania explains,

Dozens, if not hundreds, of mummy stories were featured in many of these pulps, particularly those dedicated to fantasy, science fiction, mystery and the occult. ... Modern paperback books have continued the trends of the pulps with anthologies of mummy stories collecting both older and newly written tales. (Lupton 2003: 39)

Among the most prolific and enduring writers of these popular stories was ‘Sax Rohmer’,⁹ author of the Fu Manchu series, the first of which appeared in 1911. These stories, later adapted for a long-running film series, regularly used Egyptian settings and characters; the oriental criminal mastermind Fu Manchu is himself described as having features like those of a mummy. For over forty years Rohmer contributed versions of the ‘mummy’ supernatural tale to illustrated popular magazines across Britain and America. These stories appeared with illustrations that themselves drew on conventions established in popular imagery, and confirmed a set of signs that still obtains for representations of the dangerous exotic in illustration and film.¹⁰

The Fu Manchu franchise began in silent film in the 1920s, and ran in British and American productions until 1970. Early cinema had long made use of Egyptiana; silent film pioneer George Méliès had included ‘La Resurrection de Cleopatre’ as an illusion in his magic shows. *Aïda* was an early Edison film in 1911, and Edison produced a travelogue, *Ancient Temples of Egypt*, in 1912. On the same trip to Egypt and Palestine the Edison company filmed *From the Manger to the Cross*, one of the first feature-length films. The mummy was a favourite subject for early silent films, the monumental size of Egyptian statuary and architecture proving very appropriate to the new cinema industry.

Just as it had for tourists in the nineteenth century, Egypt offered both biblical settings and exoticism for film productions. Directors were concerned to underline respectability for the new medium, and Egypt could supply piety along with the spectacle. D.W. Griffiths’ 1916 *Intolerance* featured enormous sets of temples – complete with sphinxes, lions and eagles, Babylonian dancing girls and elephants. Film stars themselves were inflected by Egyptiana; Theda Bara’s early parts included Cleopatra and Salome. Her persona as screen ‘vamp’ was bound up with Arab and Egyptian connotations; her screen name was reputed to be an anagram of ‘Arab death’, and her film biography gave her an Egyptian mother and a French father, although she was actually Jewish. Cinemas themselves were often themed as Egyptian, with ‘Egyptian’ friezes and architectural flourishes.¹¹

The opening of the Tutankhamun tomb and the surrounding fictional and news stories it engendered provoked a new wave of Egyptomania. The discovery of the tomb in 1922 by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon, funded by the American Theodore Monroe Davis, was a huge and long-running news story. While the 'official' story of the excavation and its findings was exclusive to the London *Times*, other newspapers had to find their own way into the story, and without the official sanction of the excavation, were happy to tie the archaeological dig into the sensationalist associations of the now well-established myths of Egyptiana. The superstition was fuelled by the death of the excavator and sponsor Lord Carnarvon, and the story of the archaeological dig began much more of a news event than it otherwise might have been. The expedition compounded a construction of the archaeologist as 'hero' and confirmed the association of Egyptian excavations with the occult. Journalism's fascination with the apparent 'curse' of the tomb, and the death of the few ill-fated archaeologists, gave the vogue for all things 'Egyptian' a supernatural and mystical edge. The popular romance novelist Marie Corelli was among the many occultists happy to fan the flames of the rumour of an ancient curse, as was Conan Doyle, whose earlier fears seemed to be confirmed.

The publicity engendered by the Carter expedition extended into all aspects of popular imagery, particularly advertising. Tobacco, as an 'exotic' product, derived from outside Europe, was particularly associated with images of Egypt. One of the most enduring images of 1920s Egyptiana in London is the Arcadia Works cigarette factory, originally built in 1928 for the manufacture of Craven 'A' cigarettes, then one of the most popular brands, packaged with a logo of an 'Egyptian' cat figure. The factory was opened with a lavish ceremony, which involved laying sand to turn Mornington Crescent into a desert and the cast of *Aïda* performing alongside chariot races.¹² In France, the logo for 'Laurens' cigarettes used a sphinx as an advertising logo, while another brand was named 'Nefertiti and Cleopatra'. Throughout the 1920s, images of sphinxes, obelisks and pyramids were used in European advertisements to signify the endurance, luxury and style of an enormously wide range of products. In 1928, a French perfume was bottled in a scale model of the obelisk in Place de la Concorde (see Schnitzler 2003: 168).

Ten years after the initial expedition, Howard Carter's completion of the excavation of the tomb in 1932 revived a public discourse and popular interest in Egypt and archaeology. The 1933 Chicago Exposition once again featured the Streets of Cairo. The Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques appliqués à la Vie Moderne held in Paris in 1937 was full of Egyptian-inflected art deco designs, and boasted an Egyptian pavilion complete with ancient Egyptian artefacts. With art deco as the fashionable architectural style of the period, new theatres and cinemas almost inevitably quoted Egypt in some aspect of their decoration: in Paris, the Luxor Palais du Cinema was Egyptian-themed; in London, another Luxor was celebrated as 'Twickenham's

Egyptian Palace' (Elliott *et al.* 2003: 111), and Grauman's Egyptian Theatre in Hollywood rapidly relocated from Morocco in response to the overriding fashion for Egyptiana.

The first sound feature film version of the mummy tales, *The Mummy*,¹³ was released in the same year as Howard Carter's final excavation. The film has been described as 'the horror classic that spawned a genre' (Lupton 2003: 37), although the genre was already firmly established in popular theatre and fiction. The illustrations for pulp magazines had established a clear popular iconography for the 'Egyptian', which shaped the *mise en scène* of film versions. *The Mummy* capitalised on the popular success of mummy horror tales and engendered a series of film sequels. In a confirmation of the collapse of the boundary between Egyptology and the occult, the screenwriter responsible for Universal's hit versions of *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* was redeployed to write the screenplay.¹⁴ Gothic comic book series such as *Tales from the Crypt* reproduced versions of the mummy tale from earlier illustrated magazines, and gave them a wide circulation among new generations of young people.

Film producers, like theatrical producers and magazine publishers, were more concerned with cost than with historical or geographical accuracy in the representation of the 'Egyptian', and would use the same set for any film that required an exoticised location. The confusion between the Aztec and Egyptian that Bullock had promoted was confirmed in backdrops and props that were used interchangeably to stand for Egypt, South America or 'Darkest Africa'. British company Hammer was not known for the lavishness of its production values or for the historical accuracy and copyright of its film scenarios. Hammer found the 'Egyptian' horror genre fitted its requirements neatly and made variants until 1972. Its own version of *The Mummy*, made in 1959, featured replicas of objects found in Tutankhamun's tomb and a mummy based on one held in the British Museum. Throughout the 1950s, Universal horror films were broadcast on American television as 'Shock Theatre', and were responsible for 'a major wave of "Mummymania" aimed at juveniles' (Lupton 2003: 40), producing 'Egyptian'-themed merchandise to accompany the series.

The 'Egyptian' had become such a familiar set of conventions that it could be lampooned; it now easily slid between the genres of exotic horror and the comic. Egyptiana had been regularly used as a setting for music hall and pantomime in the nineteenth century; the comedy troupe Wilson, Keppel and Betty kept the music hall tradition going with their long-lived act purportedly based on an Egyptian sand dance. The Three Stooges were featured in mummy films in 1939 and 1948, and Abbot and Costello made a series of comedies with Egyptian themes, ending with *Abbott and Costello Meet the Mummy* in 1955.

Contemporary theme park versions of Egyptiana continue to work within this combination of horror and comedy. At Chessington, the Terror Tomb has an uneasily comic ghost train in which a greedy Arab figure is subjected to a series of grizzly punitive revenges for his trespass into a mummy's tomb (a variant of the stereotypical Arab grave robber that dates back to published reports of the first European excavations in Egypt).

The threat of the television screen prompted film producers to look for lavish and spectacular sets. As it had for their silent cinema predecessors, the monumentalism of 'Egyptian' architecture provided the exotic and impressive, while also supplying an edge of educational ancient history. The 1950s saw a number of 'epic' Egyptian-based movies, of which the 1954 *The Egyptian* and Howard Hawks's 1956 *Land of the Pharaohs* were among the most elaborate. The 1963 *Cleopatra* featuring the media couple Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton was the most expensive film ever produced at the time, but its critical failure made it the last of its kind. The film came out as the 1960s exhibition of artefacts from the Tutankhamun tomb toured the world. Popularly known as the 'Tutankhamun' exhibition, the showcase of the Cairo Museum's holdings was a global event, which toured America, Russian, Canada, Japan, France and England over the course of eighteen years, until 1979.

While twentieth-century Western popular culture embraced Egyptiana, 'academic' Egyptology and museum collections strove to distance themselves from all forms of occult and showmanship, conveniently erasing showmen such as Bullock and Belzoni who had first promoted popular interest in the Egyptian.¹⁵ While the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston were enormously proud of their collections of Egyptian artefacts, their provenance and how they came to America are conspicuously absent in the museum records (see Stevenson Smith 1942; Hayes 1953). The Department of Egyptian Art was created at the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1906 when the Metropolitan acquired a collection of jewellery excavated by the British archaeologist William Petrie, first offered to the British Museum but turned down by them.

William Hayes, curator of the collections, used the 1953 Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian guide to berate

barnstorming, archaeological charlatans, members of various 'oriental' cults and journalists with a flair for sensationalism – to attribute to the farmer people of ancient Egypt mysterious and sinister funds of hidden lore and all manner of supernatural powers has led to the growth of a series of absurd superstitions regarding them, their possessions and the excavators of their tombs and temples. (Hayes 1953: vi)

Here Hayes is repudiating the history of Egyptology and its long alliance with showmanship and sensationalism; world museums were originally

reliant on ‘barnstorming, archaeological charlatans’ (like Belzoni) for their collections. This scholarly silence allowed ‘absurd superstitions’ to flourish and contributed to the ‘imaginative quasi-fictional quality’ that Said describes in the Orientalising of the Egyptian.

While the museum scholars distanced themselves from the more burlesque aspects of Egyptology, Egyptiana was firmly ensconced in popular culture. As a significant presence in cinema, television and the World’s Fairs, it was inevitable that Disney would embrace the Egyptian in his theme parks. Disney had learned his craft at World’s Fairs, and would have been familiar with the Streets of Cairo and Little Egypt. It has been claimed that at Disneyland there are

no Little Egypt girlie shows at Disneyland. Middle-class discomfort at the sight of gypsies, Egyptian Fakirs and Indian snake charmers, and other ‘exotic’ show people finally had won the day. (Cross and Walton 2005: 171)

If there are no explicit ‘girlie shows’, the costumes for *Aladdin* referenced in Adventureland do evoke the dancing women of Little Egypt. A version of the Streets of Cairo is in place in Adventureland’s bazaars, bedecked with Egyptian motifs. At Disney World, the Jungle Cruise includes the Nile, and shares its river with the Mark Twain paddle steamer. Egyptian motifs and architecture exist throughout the Disney parks in a geographical confusion that offers the same association of the Egyptian with the Aztec that Bullock and the British Museum had promoted.

Indiana Jones is the most visible contemporary fiction of the archaeologist. In a knowing postmodern collage of a hero, he is the inheritor of a set of myths of the adventurer Egyptologist. The adventurers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had presented themselves in their own accounts as both adventurers and scholars. The European and American archaeologist hero persists in contemporary popular accounts of archaeological excavation. A popular book published in French and English is titled *The Search for Ancient Egypt* (Vercoutter 1992) and includes a chapter ‘Archaeologists to the Rescue’, in which the expeditions and grand tours to Egyptian sites are promoted as heroic operations.

Indiana Jones is a generic ‘archaeologist’ who clearly belongs to academia, but he is also a heroic action man. Like the ‘symbolist’ hero of *The Da Vinci Code*, his scholarship encompasses a wild range of ‘ancient’ arts. The settings for Indiana Jones are Aztec rather than Egyptian – a site more resonant for an American audience.¹⁶ The Temple of Peril, which features in the attractions at the Disney parks, is deliberately vague in its geographical locations, as the Disneyland guide puts it: ‘Archaeologists combing the site of Indiana Jones™ are said to be stumped by the origin of the unusual idols that mark this exceptional discovery’ (Walt Disney Company 1994: 31).

The Luxor Casino in Las Vegas reiterates the confusion between Aztec and Egyptian archaeology. Although the Egyptian dominates, a pre-Columbian

temple is offered as among the remains of a fictional ‘Luxor Archaeological Site’. As Fazzini and McKercher have identified, the Luxor knowingly draws on a range of largely nineteenth-century sources for its version of the Egyptian:

On one level, the Luxor Hotel/Casino can be viewed as ‘Egyptland’. ... While some areas blend carefully rendered scenes from monuments such as the tomb of Nakht at Thebes or a painting from the Theban tomb of Nebamun now in the British Museum, other areas reveal the influence of nineteenth century paintings. The entrance to ‘Pharaoh’s Pheast’ ... incorporates three-dimensional versions of elements from paintings by David Roberts and Elihu Vedder. The cafeteria itself imitates an archaeological site, with half-excavated coffins, tomb entrances. (Fazzini and McKercher 2003: 155)

‘Egyptland’ has been a perpetual source of academic and popular interest in Europe and America since the eighteenth century; it is as comfortable in Las Vegas and the Egyptian Hall as it is in the British, the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museums. The vogue for Egyptiana was fuelled by imperial campaigns that had little to do with any interest in Egyptian history and cultures. It was imperial interests that prompted the expeditions of figures such as Bruce and Belzoni, and they were showmen who promoted themselves as travellers to a dangerous and exoticised Orient. The exoticism of the Egyptian is not a fixed category, however, and the connotations of Egyptiana shift in different historical contexts: Egypt has been variously constructed as threatening and



Figure 6.2 Terror Tomb, Alton Towers, 2005

as seductively attractive, as a Christian holy land and as a dangerously pagan world. The metonyms of Egyptomania that have come to signify mystery and 'exoticism' are there not because, as MacDonald and Rice have suggested, the Egyptians were 'the first to give expression to' Jungian archetypes (Rice and MacDonald 2003: 4) but because there is a long history of ideological frames into which the 'Egyptian' was made to fit.

Egyptology has three dominant narrative strands: the ancient stories of the Pharaohs, a history of imperial campaigns (subsequently taken up in museum acquisition of Egyptian artefacts) and the self-promoting tales of the adventurer archaeologists. These stories have been mixed in with the occult (an association promoted by Conan Doyle and others), with patriotic pride (particularly from Britain, France, America and Italy) and with fable. Egyptiana offers an irresistible mix of nationalism, myth, heroic adventure and superstition, which has persisted from the eighteenth century to become an inevitable element in the iconography of contemporary carnival.

Boy's Own Stories

Explorer heroes

The contemporary theme park presents itself as uncharted territory, a land without boundaries, offering spaces that invite exploration. Each theme park provides the visitor with a map, positioning them as an adventurer and inviting them into a site that is explicitly coded as a landscape waiting to be explored. The language of theme park advertising constructs the carnival site as exotic and mysterious territory: 'You are going to explore a land full of mystery and obstacles where each step is a new feat' (Walt Disney Company 1992: 55). The Disney Magic Kingdom guidebook promises 'Adventures in Far Off Lands' and offers a Jungle Cruise. Alton Towers has the Congo River Rapids, while Chessington World of Adventures addresses its visitors as 'adventurers'. Even Cadbury World draws the adventure genre into the promotion of chocolate, with its Aztec Secrets attraction, in which you are invited to 'stroll through Central American Rainforests' (Cadbury World, brochure).

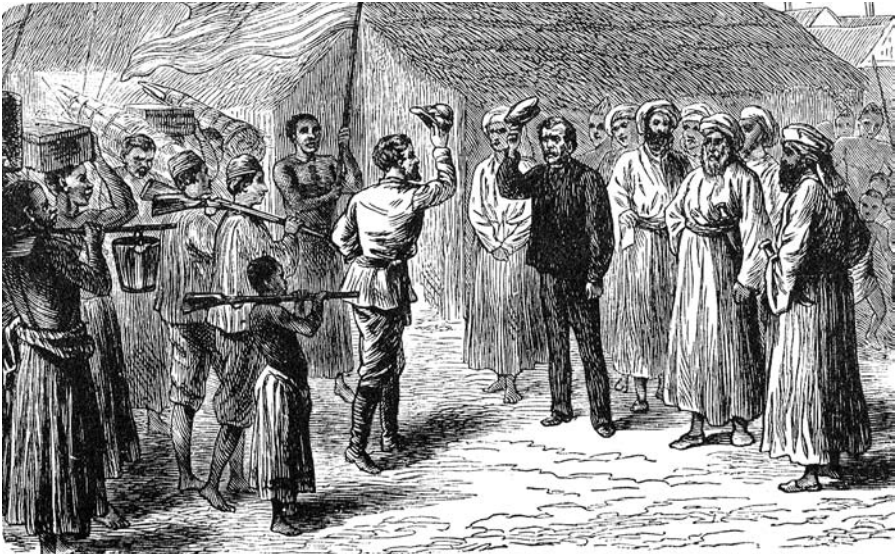


Figure 7.1 'How I found Livingstone'. Illustration for French edition: 'Comment j'ai retrouvé Livingstone', *Rencontre de Livingstone*. Paris: Hachette, 1876

Each theme park has a dedicated site for 'Adventure', a space for 'boy's own' stories of adventure and exploration. This is named Adventureland at all the Disneyland parks; in Britain, Alton Towers borrows its name from the Disney site, and asks the visitor to '[p]repare to travel to worlds you've only visited in your dreams'. Adventureland is the space that celebrates what Said has defined as 'colonialism': 'the implanting of settlements on distant territory' (Said 1993: 8). At the Disney Adventurelands, the attractions explicitly celebrate the building of settlements, most visibly in the Swiss Family Robinson Tree house.¹ The retail outlets at Adventureland offer the tourist commodities from all the corners of the globe. The Disneyland Adventureland Bazaar carries shop titles that connote an imperial past when products were 'Empire made'; their names evoke the shipping and trading companies of a Jules Verne novel: Zanzibar Shell Company, Traders of Timbuktu and Island Supply are some of the sales outlets at the site. Adventureland restaurants are similarly themed, with the invocation of colonial outposts in the Sunshine Tree Terrace and the Adventureland Veranda. In Britain, Chessington has the Raffles Gift Shop and Alton Towers boasts the Cargo Company Gift Shop.

The 'adventure' area of a theme park is invariably signalled by a map, suggesting that while the visitor may actually be within a carefully managed parkland in Florida, Paris, Tokyo or Britain, these are in fact uncharted areas that require courage and resourcefulness to enter. Pierre Macherey has described the map as an image of a journey of conquest: 'By means of a map the journey is a conquest of the same sort as a scientific adventure. It recreates nature, in so far as it imposes its own norms upon it' (Macherey 1978: 183).²

The 'norms' and the mapping imposed in the theme park are those of the masculine imperial explorer. The pith-helmeted adventurer is an unapologetically colonial figure who constantly reappears in the carnival site in a range of guises, most familiarly in the contemporary context as Indiana Jones. A parody of a parody, Indiana Jones traces his lineage back through Saturday morning cinema matinées, cartoon strips, radio and comic book serials, children's adventure stories and the novels of Kipling and Rider Haggard. Indiana Jones is a postmodern variant of the explorer hero; Fredric Jameson has cited the Indiana Jones film *Raiders of the Lost Ark* as an example of postmodern pastiche:

[O]n some level it is about the 1930s and 1940s, but in reality it too conveys that period metonymically through its own characteristic adventure stories (which are no longer ours). (Jameson 1998: 8)

If the Saturday matinée film narratives may no longer be 'ours', it nonetheless remains the case that the stories, novels, films and imagery of the explorer hero are very much with us. The stories of foreign territories in the theme park continue to promote what Said has termed an 'imperialist world view' – a version of the world that declares the white man's right to explore 'uncharted'

territories and to claim them as Adventurelands. The Adventurelands of the theme park are the spaces where the most elaborate attractions and the biggest white-knuckle rides are situated, and offer a world of adventure that is particularly addressed to boys.

Louis Marin has cited Adventureland as the space in which Disneyland most engages with narratives of geography:

Adventureland is the representation of scenes of wildlife in exotic countries, viewed during a boat trip on a tropical river. If Frontierland signifies the temporal distance of the past history of the American nation, Adventureland signifies the spatial distance of the outside geographical world, the world of natural savagery. It represents the next possible fields of action, because adventure is also a frontier; the primitive cannibals rising on the riverbanks seem to repeat the gestures that the Indians made in Frontierland. (Marin 1984: 250)

The geographical narratives of the theme park consistently construct Adventureland as 'a frontier' in which 'primitive' dangers lurk. The narratives of the boy's own stories of the Empire continue in this representation of a world of 'natural savagery'. The metonymic icons that connote stories of imperial adventure continue to circulate in the carnival site, as does an iconography of 'savage' races. Blackpool Pleasure Beach still has a smiling black 'native' waving the explorers' boats into the River Caves; at Thorpe Park, the 'Fungle Safari' carries visitors in jeeps, which pass panoramas of smiling black cannibals waving bones around a cauldron.

Joseph Bristow has characterised the Victorian 'boy's own' adventure story as one 'of fearless endeavour in a world populated by savage races, dangerous pirates and related manifestations of the "other" to be encountered on voyages towards dark and unexplored continents' (Bristow 1991: 1). Dark and unexplored continents are also central to the sites of the Wild West and space exploration; both Marin and Macherey have pointed to the close association of the 'geographical' narrative with the genres of the Western and science fiction. The adventure story can, however, be identified as a specific genre and a particularly British form, in which the territories to be explored are regularly mapped onto those of the British Empire.

Robert Louis Stevenson, writing of adventure stories, has said of their pleasures: 'Eloquence and thought, character and conversation, were but obstacles to brush aside as we dug blithely after a certain kind of incident, like a pig for truffles' (Stevenson, quoted in Turner 1976: 12). Adventure stories in the theme park are presented as already stripped of any such obstacles: their attractions offer synecdoches of adventure narratives. Any hermeneutic or character development is absent, the narratives signified by metonymic icons of adventure: the pith helmet, the jeep, the travelling trunk, the rope bridge. Theme park attractions are organised around a distillation of the exciting incidents, in which the visitor is positioned as the explorer hero, to become Indiana Jones entering the Temple of Peril, to follow Allan Quatermain entering King Solomon's

Mines. Disneyland Paris invites you 'to follow in the footsteps of our intrepid hero Indiana Jones' (Disneyland Paris guidebook: 7).

A Western popular fascination with intrepid heroes and unexplored territories has a long history; the illustrated book of travel and foreign adventures dates back to the Crusades and beyond. The fifteenth-century *Merveilles du Monde* was a compendium of illustrations of travel to 'exotic' lands, produced for the French nobility. The images of the 'foreign' found in such manuscripts were already based on a standard set of signifiers that connoted the exotic, and they were also marked by geographical and historical confusions. Similar conflations of territories and landscapes are to be found in contemporary theme park versions of 'foreign' peoples and places.

The exhibition of exotic cultures and images of 'native' peoples was, from the late eighteenth century, a spectacle for both education and titillation. Images of the exotic and the foreign regularly appeared in panoramas and travelogues, which offered displays of peoples and landscapes in which geographical instruction was coupled with imperial pride. Images of intrepid travel also regularly appeared in theatre sets: a Harlequinade production in London set Harlequin among the 'Seven Wonders of the World'³ in 1812. Theatrical images of exotic landscapes and architecture from successful productions were reproduced as prints for toy theatres: Pollock's toy theatre catalogue includes titles such as *The Cataract of the Ganges*, *The Elephant of Siam*, *Timour the Tartar* and *The Dervise of Baghdad*, productions that allowed for exoticism but were not particular about their historical and geographical accuracy. Toy theatres happily offered backdrops that could stand in for Egypt, South Africa, the Far East or India, in a generalised exotica of the 'foreign'.

As mercantile interests took European speculators to Africa, so they began to bring back artefacts and trophies to Europe. A Romantic construction of the 'Noble Savage' informed displays across Britain and Europe of ethnic practices,⁴ costumes and of people themselves. Among such displays in early nineteenth-century London, the exhibitions of 'materials relating to Africa' were the 'most numerous', according to Richard D. Altick (1978: 290). The most notorious of these exhibitions was that of the South African Saartje Barrtman, who was displayed (apparently with her concurrence⁵) as the 'Hottentot Venus' across pubs, fairgrounds and museum spaces in Britain and France from 1810. While the display claimed to be educational, there was clearly a fine line between voyeurism and anthropological interest. Public and journalistic interest in the African female body was clearly largely salacious, but the presence of lecturers and interpreters at the exhibition lent an instructional authority. This voyeuristic fascination with the racial body was to inform nineteenth-century educational accounts of Africa and its people; an entry on Africa in the *Popular Encyclopaedia* of 1874 is clearly framed by accounts of the 'Hottentot Venus':

HOTTENTOTS: a peculiar African race. ... They are when young of remarkable symmetry; but their faces are ugly, and this ugliness increases with age. ... The

women in early life are often models of proportion, and their gait by no means deficient in grace. Their bloom, however, is transient ... after the first child they lose their grace and proportion, and soon become hideous. (*Popular Encyclopaedia* 1874: 190)

The judgement on the African body here is coupled with a pride in Western and Aryan superiority; a similar pride in the conquests of the British Empire is evident in later displays of artefacts gathered by adventurers in the 'colonies'. As British trade in Africa developed, stuffed animals and birds were brought back from travels across Africa and displayed in museums, fairgrounds and popular exhibitions. Exhibitions of this kind, in which London's Egyptian Hall specialised (see Altick 1978), were later to be taken up by the American World's Fairs, which featured streetscapes populated by 'native' peoples with displays of cooking and staged 'tribal ceremonies'. Dioramas and displays of 'native cultures' continued on in the Commonwealth Institute and the Museum of Mankind in London well into the late twentieth century.

One of the most notorious of the nineteenth-century adventurers in South Africa was the professional big game hunter Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming, the self-styled 'Lion Hunter', who published his account of encounters with the people and animals in South Africa in 1850 under the title *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa. With Notices of the Native Tribes, and Anecdotes of the Chase of the Lion, Elephant, Hippopotamus, Giraffe, Rhinoceros, &c.* His anecdotes of 'Native Tribes' people are hardly distinguished from those of native animals. A reviewer wrote at the time of Cumming's approach to Africa in terms that could apply to a contemporary Safari park: 'The whole country figures in his narrative like an immense zoological garden, with all the dens broken up and all the menagerie set free' (quoted in Altick 1978: 290). To promote his narrative of Africa, Gordon-Cumming exhibited a display of his hunting spoils in Hyde Park in 1850, and his trophies were shown at the Great Exhibition a year later. His collections were finally sold to P.T. Barnum, who had himself begun his career as a showman with the exhibition of an African American slave woman.

Among Gordon-Cumming's admirers was the Welsh journalist and explorer H.M. Stanley. Stanley was a reporter for *The New York Herald* and achieved notoriety for his expedition to Zanzibar and Lake Tanganyika in search of the missing explorer David Livingstone in 1871. Livingstone, funded by the British government, was on the Zambezi Expedition, undertaken to investigate the resources of the region and to develop a commercial route into south-east Africa. Stanley's apparent feat of heroic exploration was in fact a publicity stunt, undertaken at the behest of the newspaper's proprietor, James Gordon Bennett, and funded by the newspaper. Stanley's own version of his exploits was published in news reports and in a book: *How I Found Livingstone* was published with over fifty engravings and maps and went on into several editions (De Vries 1973: 54). The famous meeting and Stanley's (probably invented)

pronouncement ‘Doctor Livingstone, I presume?’ came to embody Stanley’s sanguine heroism, and would circulate as a newspaper story and image across Europe and America. The story of the meeting and of both men’s expeditions was written up in *The Illustrated London News*, in a narrative of the daring colonial adventurer overcoming both the hazards of the African jungle and ‘the cowardice and treachery of his native servants’: ‘The route taken by Mr Stanley has hitherto been untravelled by white men, and lay among tribes of uncouth and barbarous names, which it is hardly possible to fix in the memory’ (De Vries 1973: 54). Such stories made both Stanley and Livingstone iconic ‘explorers’ and images of them were reproduced in illustrations and in cartoons throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. In 1872 *The Illustrated London News* carried a report of the expedition and published prints of ‘Mr. Stanley and His Retinue in Africa’. One image, ‘Supplies in Jeopardy’, featured a pith-helmeted Stanley pointing a gun at a frightened African carrying a trunk of supplies across a river.

These newspaper reports and particularly their illustrations provided a standard set of tropes for the explorer narrative – the ‘native’ retinue, perilous rivers and swamps, the ‘barbarous’ place names – that would go on to feature in fictional adventure stories throughout the nineteenth century. The images also constructed the style and accoutrements of the adventurer hero: the pith helmet, safari suit and boots became the signifiers of the white gentleman explorer.⁶ Stanley’s exploits embodied the narrative arc and the figure of the heroic explorer; his story appeared to confirm the principle of what Bristow has termed the ‘Empire Boys’ genre: ‘the adventure story which would take the boy into areas of history and geography that placed him at the top of the racial ladder and at the helm of all the world’ (Bristow 1991: 20).

While Stanley and Livingstone provided popular images of the white man in Africa, reports and illustrations of British royal visits to the territories of the East India Company were another means of promoting popular images of the Empire abroad. The Prince of Wales’s ‘Visit to India and Ceylon’ in 1876 was an opportunity for *The Illustrated London News* to illustrate the ‘zoology’ and jungles of Asia. The magazine featured a full engraving of the prince’s hunting party (all, like Stanley, sporting pith helmets and boots): shooting at tigers, surrounded by elephants and a retinue of turbaned ‘natives’. Such stories also served to promote an association of exotic sexuality with the dark continents of Empire, with illustrations of the prince surrounded by dusky maidens. With the expansion of British colonialism across the globe, and British trading supremacy apparently sealed with the 1875 strategic acquisition of a major shareholding in the Suez Canal, large portions of the world were now the stage for the adventuring of British heroes. Distinctions between different territories in Africa and Asia – or between Africa and India and South East Asia – were not significant in the popular imagination: they were all ‘colonies’, conflated into the British Empire.

The proliferation of illustrated magazines in Britain and America saw a number of new titles addressed specifically to boys, in which narratives of exploration were standard features and the adventurer a regular hero. The British Library's collection of Victorian popular literature counts eighteen separate titles of illustrated magazines for young boys, all with a clear patriotic agenda. Titles include *Boys of the Empire*, 'A journal in colours of fun, instruction and romance', and *Boys of the Nation*, 'The standard journal for all boys where the English language is spoken' (Barry Ono Collection, British Library). The most successful of them all, the *Boy's Own Paper* (whose title has become a metonym for the genre), was published from 1879 to 1967, weekly until 1914, after which it became a monthly magazine. Its advertising offered boy readers 'pure and entertaining reading ... full of rousing patriotic stories' (Warner 1977: 1).

The colonial adventure narrative was, as Bristow has explained,⁷ deeply imbricated in discourses of education and literacy in the nineteenth century: 'When imperialism came to be known by that name in the late 1880s, the Sunday schools had already contributed greatly to the formation of this type of adventure narrative' (Bristow 1991: 21). Christian organisations borrowed from and promoted the formation of the boys' adventure genre; in attempting to counter the spread of less respectable adventure they also produced their own versions. The *Boy's Own Paper* was funded by the Religious Tract Society in a mission to promote Christian values through the adventure genre. The paper was set up as a Christian alternative to what the Religious Tract Society had characterised as 'penny dreadfuls'; the *Boy's Own Paper* was similarly priced at a penny, and each copy contained vivid illustrations. Jules Verne was a regular contributor, as were novelists R.M. Ballantyne, Conan Doyle and G.A. Henty – all writers whose fiction celebrated imperial conquest and masculine prowess.

The stories and imagery in the Muscular Christian answer to the 'penny dreadful' were actually no less violent than their despised predecessors. The violence was nonetheless seen as justifiable because of the paper's Christian and colonial message, as Philip Warner points out:

[W]hen the B.O.P. arrived on the scene it too abounded in violence, but this time it was good men who were defeating bad men, the British defeating hostile foreigners, and, safest of all, besting the lion, tiger, alligator, cobra, swamp, Jungle, mountain, blizzard or drought. The lesson it preached, although unobtrusively, was that if you wished to improve your lot it was better to go to the colonies than to take to the road as a footpad. (Warner 1977: 13)

The boys of Britain as presented in these magazines could be relied upon to serve the patriotic cause in any geographical context. As George Orwell noted in 1939, boy's own adventures, still in the twentieth century, always took place in a generalised 'ends of the earth', far from England: 'in papers of this

type it is always taken for granted that adventures only happen at the ends of the earth, in tropical forests, in Arctic wastes, in African deserts, on Western prairies' (Orwell 1961a: 109). Two boy heroes who began life in magazine stories went on to be the protagonists of series that took them around the world. Jack Harkaway originally featured as a serial adventurer (after his public school and Oxford education) in *Boys of England* from 1871, and later in its American counterpart (published by Frank Leslie), *Boys of America*. His adventures were published in separate volumes and as part serials from 1873 to 1900; in his long career Jack contended with Malay pirates, buccaneers and brigands, and travelled to Australia, China and America. Ned Nimble was a later serial adventurer in *Boys of England*, from 1895 to 1900. Ned was educated at the English public school 'Pickleton Priory', and encountered and fought off bushrangers in Australia, Mormons, pirates, Tartars and the 'Chinese'; the common factor of the enemy was invariably that they were not British.

Among the enduring legacies of these periodicals are their illustrations in the form of engravings; a striking image of a boy bravely confronting a foreign threat regularly featured on the front cover. It is these images that have produced sets of conventions for the representation of adventure; the illustrations, later mediated through comic book images, were to cement the young male adventurer and the landscapes of the exotic in the popular imagination, and would go on to inform the *mise en scène* of adventure films. Such images circulated beyond the pages of the magazines, and *Boys of England* also produced plays and sheets of characters for use in the toy theatre. These sheets were also distributed in America, as 'Seltz's American Boy's theatre', although the plays and sets were identical to those issued in England. The boy's 'illustrated weekly' was just as successful a cultural phenomenon in late nineteenth-century American popular culture. The English-born American illustrator and publisher Frank Leslie (who had begun his career at *The Illustrated London News*) reproduced stories and illustrations wholesale from British papers for his *Boys of America* magazine. Stories from *Boy's Own Paper* authors, especially those by Rider Haggard, Kipling and Verne, were regularly reprinted in penny-issue novels with illustrated front covers that reproduced similar images of masculine adventure. In 1939, Orwell testified to the survival, in colour, of the 'boy's weekly' illustration and counted ten boys' 'vilely printed two penny papers, most of them with lurid cover-illustrations in three colours' (Orwell 1961a: 88).

While there were a number of enterprising women explorers in the Victorian period⁸ (among them Isabella Bird, the first woman elected to the Royal Geographical Society, whose travels included excursions across North Africa, the Far East, China and India), women are entirely absent as adventurers in these boy's own stories, present only as mothers and sisters to be returned to in the safe world of the English home. Graham Dawson has described

the 'flight from domesticity' in popular boys' stories of the late nineteenth century:

'Masculine romance' ... became exclusively concerned with adventure scenarios of 'male camaraderie, rivalry and contest' in an imagined world quite distinct from that of 'domestic femininity' constituted by feminine romance. (Dawson 1994: 63)

Women remain absent from the adventures in the contemporary theme park; while the Fairy Tale outlets at carnival sites sell ball gowns and tiaras to the aspirant young princess, the equivalent Adventureland shops sell safari suits tailored for boys. The adventure that is evoked in the theme park continues to be coded as a masculine colonial enterprise, a world in which, as Rider Haggard's Allan Quatermain put it, 'there is not a petticoat in the whole history' (Rider Haggard 1985: 51).

It is perhaps Rider Haggard who is most responsible for establishing the paradigm of the adventure hero in his invention of the 'great white hunter', Quatermain, the adult embodiment of the values of the boy's own young heroes. The *Boy's Own Paper* fictional adventures were often presented as purportedly true life experiences, in the tradition of *Robinson Crusoe*; Rider Haggard's *Allan Quatermain* is also written as if by a 'real' adventurer, and the novel was first published with a signed frontispiece portrait of the fictional hero. Quatermain first appeared in *King Solomon's Mines* in 1885 and went on to feature in *She* (1887), in *Allan Quatermain* (1887) and in a number of short stories published in illustrated periodicals, cheap editions and as collected short stories. He is an emblematic hero explorer who has all the characteristics that were to inform the hero of film versions of the novels, and later, the characterisation of Indiana Jones. Here he is described in the opening to a short story:

Most of you will have heard of Allan Quatermain, who was one of the party that discovered King Solomon's mines some little time ago, and who afterwards came to live in England near his friend Sir Henry Curtis. He went back to the wilderness again, as these old hunters almost invariably do, on one pretext or another. They cannot endure civilization for very long, its noise and racket and the omnipresence of clothed humanity proving more trying to their nerves than the dangers of the desert. (Rider Haggard 1951: 51)

Quatermain is thus presented as an exceptional man who transgresses boundaries, but simultaneously reconfirms them. He is a man of nature, and yet civilised; classless, but comfortable with the aristocracy; very English, yet familiar with the custom and languages of other ethnic groups; courageous, yet sensitive. He offered the perfect image of the English gentleman explorer, which would have a resonance beyond the years of British imperial expansion, and would survive beyond two World Wars. While Haggard had known Africa from his experiences in the Boer Wars, the complications of tribal difference and of the 'white man's' interaction with Africa and its peoples are in popular

renditions of his fiction reduced to a heroic Englishman confronted by ‘restless natives’.

Illustrations of Quatermain in boy’s magazines and cheap editions of the novels portrayed him in the already established conventions of the heroic adventurer. He is always attired in the pith helmet, boots and safari suit that Stanley had sported in the images in *The Illustrated London News* – this had now become the standard wardrobe for aspiring explorers, and was to be replicated in film versions of Haggard’s work.

King Solomon’s Mines was first filmed in a British version in 1937, but it was the Hollywood 1951 Technicolor version (Metro Goldwyn Mayer), starring the English leading actor Stewart Granger, that established Allan Quatermain as an international cinematic hero. The landscape of the novel’s version of Africa is filmed as a wildlife safari; it was shot in Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya and the Belgian Congo, which become in the film conflated into a generalised ‘Africa’. The film introduces a white romantic heroine (who does not figure in the novel) and so neatly avoids the original’s narrative potential for any interracial relationship. Quatermain becomes a romantic hero, his superior knowledge of the local culture highlighted by the heroine’s (Deborah Kerr) ignorance of life on the adventure trail. The film was successful enough to inspire a souvenir book of the film, which provided a further condensation of the novel and promoted key images of Quatermain and of Africa. Haggard’s hero Quatermain and Hollywood’s safari version of Africa were to become central elements of a host of Saturday morning adventure films, and to feature as significant elements in the later composite pastiche of Indiana Jones.

Graham Greene, writing in 1951, remembered Haggard’s purchase on the popular imagination, a hold that survived several generations after the heyday of British imperial pride:

Rider Haggard was perhaps the greatest of all the writers who enchanted us when we were young. Enchantment was just what he exercised; he fixed pictures in our minds that thirty years have been unable to wear away. (Greene 1951: 209)

Greene may have thought Haggard the greatest, but Kipling and Conan Doyle exercised a similar enchantment for several generations of young explorers, as the three most prominent of the many Victorian and Edwardian novelists who charted the excitement and ‘adventure’ of the white man’s encounter with otherness. Rudyard Kipling is, for Said, the writer who most articulated and naturalised the style of a superior white masculinity:

[B]eing a White Man, for Kipling and for those whose perceptions and rhetoric he influenced, was a self-confirming business. One became a White Man because one *was* a White Man ... being a White Man, in short, was a very concrete manner of being-in-the world, a way of taking hold of reality, language, and thought. It made a specific style possible. (Said 1987: 227)

Kipling became part of boy's everyday lives not only through his fiction, but as a leading inspiration for the Boy Scout movement.⁹ Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scouts, was an almost exact contemporary of Kipling's, and first approached him for permission to include games from *The Jungle Book* in Scouting activities. Animal characters from *The Jungle Book* became the names for figures in the Wolf Cub junior wing of the Boy Scouts. As Orwell noted, the moral universe of the Boy Scout movement was very closely allied to that of the boy's own papers: 'In their moral atmosphere the *Gem* and *Magnet* have a great deal in common with the Boy Scout movement, which started at about the same time' (Orwell 1961a: 94). Orwell identifies some of the many points at which Kipling's writings intersected with popular culture and indicates how far Kipling's influence extended, beyond those who had read him:

In his own lifetime some of his poems travelled far beyond the bounds of the reading public, beyond the world of school prize-days, Boy Scout songs, limp-leather editions, poker-work and calendars, and out into the yet vaster world of the music halls. (Orwell 1961b: 192)

Kipling's writings thus became part of the English popular view of itself; beyond popular reprints and imitations of his stories,¹⁰ Kipling's own work was widely taught in schools and he himself was the subject of numerous biographies. In 1965, Roger Lancelyn Green could write:

So many books have been written about the life and works of Rudyard Kipling, and in this the centenary year of his birth so many more are likely to appear, that some excuse is necessary for the present addition to the throng ... Kipling's stories for children retained their fame and popularity, continued to sell in vast numbers – literally in millions. (Green 1965b: 9)

If Kipling was the imperial writer of India, the inventor of Sherlock Holmes, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, was also a writer of patriotic and historical romances who became a public figure through his support for the British army in the Boer Wars. Conan Doyle shared some knowledge of Africa with Haggard,¹¹ and was particularly involved in the Congo as a member of the Congo Reform Association. Conan Doyle was, like Kipling, no simple imperial writer,¹² although his faith in the British Empire was unwavering. His document of atrocities in the Belgian Congo, *The Crime of the Congo*, published in 1909, is a forceful expression of imperial anxiety, albeit at arm's length. It is a stern indictment of Belgian colonialists but will not venture into any critique of the British presence in Africa.

Conan Doyle was steeped in the novels of Sir Walter Scott and was clearly himself a reader of boy's own adventure stories. Professor Challenger, the hero of his 1912 novel *The Lost World*, owes something to Allan Quatermain, as a man of both nature and culture, a well-informed explorer. Doyle locates his hero in Brazil rather than Africa, where Challenger encounters dinosaurs

rather than any indigenous wildlife. Of Doyle's many writings, it is *The Lost World* that is most regularly referenced in the theme park, if only in its title and use of dinosaurs.¹³ While his Sherlock Holmes stories were published in *The Strand Magazine*, Conan Doyle regularly contributed stories of exploration and adventure to the *Boy's Own Paper*, their illustrations again confirming the iconography for the intrepid British explorer in Africa, India or South America. In America, *The Lost World* was serialised and issued with illustrations by Joseph Clement Coll, the illustrator for the Sax Rohmer series of stories.

Conan Doyle, Kipling and Haggard can be understood as embodiments of what Said has termed 'the authorized monuments of nineteenth-century European culture' (Said 1987: 30). These are the three most prominent novelists of the late nineteenth century who charted the excitement and 'adventure' of the British Empire. They may not have been straightforward imperial thinkers, but as Said points out, as men of their generation, they took the superiority of white Western men for granted:

[T]he inferiority of non-white races, the necessity for them to be ruled by a superior civilization, and the absolutely unchanging essence of Orientals, blacks, primitives, women, were more or less undebatable, unquestioned axioms of modern life. (Said 1987: 30).

All three novelists were respected establishment figures (all but Kipling were knighted, and he was offered a knighthood), and their work extended well beyond national classrooms and into popular culture. They represent 'authorities who embody the process of imperialism', which Said describes as working

by predisposition, by the authority of recognizable cultural formations, by continuing consolidation within education, literature and the visual and musical arts ... manifest at another very significant level ... that of the national culture. (Said 1987: 12)

Their novels may have addressed problems and anxieties of Empire, but the short stories published in the context of the *Boy's Own Paper* inevitably compressed any complexity into basic imperialist adventure, a condensation that would be further extended by the countless imitators of their work. The specificities of African and Indian regions that had so preoccupied Haggard and Kipling become conflated in boy's own stories into an exoticised landscape that has no geographical specificity – an othering and mystification that continues in contemporary carnival representations of adventuring abroad. By the late 1880s, the boy's own colonial adventure had become entirely conventionalised, and carried with it the reassurance of familiar generic conventions. As Bristow explains,

[T]his kind of writing assuredly belongs to an identifiable genre with fairly predictable features, it is also the case that for all the anticipated fights, massacres and incredible feats of courage that can and must ensue, the plots that keep

hurtling from one heart-stopping moment to another are, in structural terms, more than a little familiar. There is, then, nothing that is truly unnerving about even the most hazardous of adventures. For we know that, in these stories, our moral universe will ultimately remain intact. (Bristow 1995: xxi)

Western 'national cultures' continued to express their global superiority in the form of World's Fairs throughout the nineteenth century. In Britain, the early twentieth century saw national exhibitions that were even more determined celebrations of monarch and country, with the Coronation Exhibition of 1911, the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 and the Empire Exhibition (held in Glasgow) in 1938. Although every World's Fair since the Great Exhibition had been a direct celebration of Empire, the 1883 Amsterdam Exhibition was the first to be organised around a 'colonial' theme. The pavilions at this World's Fair moved beyond national architectural displays to the building of 'native' villages, complete with 'savage' inhabitants, displays that can be seen as a legacy of such exhibitions as those of the Egyptian Hall, offering visitors much the same combination of education and sensational excitement. The 1889 Paris Exposition featured a 'Colonial Exhibition', again with dwellings arranged in a picturesque village and inhabited by 'native peoples'.

Such displays of 'native tribes' were three-dimensional extensions of the travelogue landscapes of panoramas and dioramas, and were similarly used to celebrate imperial power. They were taken up as a form of visitor attraction for Blackpool and Coney Island; their combination of educative ethnography and ethnic voyeurism was not markedly different from shows of fairground freaks, but had an added edge of imperial pride. Cross and Walton describe

[e]nchantment with headhunters, wild men or geeks ... all reinforced the ideology of European superiority. Of course, the reassuring message of racial hierarchy was clothed in the language of science and discovery. (Cross and Walton 2005: 93)

'Ethnological' exhibits, similarly presented with 'the language of science and discovery', were intrinsic to the Centennial International Exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876. As America's own imperial map extended, so did a popular fascination with foreign peoples and places, as David Nasaw explains:

In the long decade between the opening of the Chicago and St Louis world's fairs, the United States became an imperial power, augmenting its considerable overseas economic expansion with formal and informal colonies in the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the Philippine Islands, half a world away ...

The world's fairs provided Americans with the opportunity to celebrate in public their nation's recent accomplishments in the international arena. (Nasaw 1993: 74)

The American World's Fairs disseminated contemporary ideas in anthropology, geography and ethnography, both through populist displays of other cultures and also in conjunction with academics and museologists. The ethnographers and anthropologists of the Smithsonian Institute were involved in mounting

displays of Native American artefacts for the 1876 Philadelphia Fair; these 'educational' displays were supplemented by the more populist attractions of 'The Men of Borneo' and 'The Man Eating Feejees'. The 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition made anthropology central to its attractions, appointing an ethnographic department and promising visitors 'living anthropological exhibits of other cultures'. The displays were curated by the anthropologists Frederic Ward Putnam and Franz Boas from Harvard University; their academic credentials validated the educational claims of 'living' ethnic exhibitions. The Columbian Exhibition was held in celebration of the discovery of America, and it offered its own version of 'colonial' themes, with displays affirming the conquest of territories and peoples in the United States. Significant attractions were an 'Esquimaux Village' and a Native American show.

At the Chicago Fair, the pavilion displays of 'native' households and villages were now expanded into 'Streets'. The World's Columbian Exposition was the first fair to sanction the Midway – a site of popular entertainments that had previously been separate from, and therefore could not be controlled by, the main exhibition area. The Midway entertainments were ostensibly managed by the exhibition's self-appointed Department of Ethnography and they continued the main exhibition's message of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. Robert W. Rydell describes the Midway offerings as follows:

[A]n array of exotic shows from faraway places, including Algerian women doing the *danse du ventre*, or belly dance, and some native villages, where the mostly white fairgoers could take comfort in observing the so-called primitive and savage races work and play in a social Darwinian setting that was deemed to validate current ideas about racial hierarchies. ... On much of the Midway, visitors saw ethnic and racial diversity meant to entertain, titillate and educate. The distinctions often blurred however. (Rydell *et al.* 2000: 38)

Despite the educational pretensions, the Midway attractions were actually run by Sol Bloom, 'a 22 year old impresario' (Cross and Walton 2005: 38). The Midway exaggerated still further the alliance of prurience and instruction that marked the more official displays of ethnic groups, with less academic but rather more salacious shows (this was the first American appearance of Little Egypt). There was a dizzying variety of peoples and cultures on show; they were displayed in much the same way as the Egyptian Hall had offered its 'native' villages, and a range of geographical reference that outdoes the current Epcot World Showcase at Disney World. As Cross and Walton describe the Midway attractions,

The Midway of the Chicago Fair featured an Oriental village, an Irish village, Algerian and Tunisian villages ... and was where Little Egypt made its first appearance. ... In addition to romantic reproductions of a Square of Old Vienna and an Irish Village with a 'Blarney Castle' were exotic scenes of Algerian and Tunisian Villages complete with Bedouin tents. There were African mud-dabbed huts displayed with 'native warriors', a South Sea village featured supposedly cannibalistic Samoans, and the Streets of Cairo. (Cross and Walton 2005: 38)

The displays of the official fair and the Midway outlived the Columbian Exposition, and many transferred to the San Francisco Midwinter International Exposition; the attractions of the Midway were to reappear at later American and European World's Fairs, some to become fixtures at Coney Island, which inevitably took over the Little Egypt belly dancers.¹⁴ The Luna Park site of Coney Island, developed in 1903 by entrepreneurs with experience of World's Fairs, displayed Irish, Hindu and Eskimo Villages, and in 1904 offered a display of the 'most savage nation of our Western Island, the Igarotes'.

Images of exotic tribes and cultures were also familiar to American audiences through the images of the *National Geographic* magazine, which had been founded in 1888 to promote 'the diffusion of geographical knowledge'. This was a forum in which the combination of voyeurism and respectable knowledge was more clearly educational, but the magazine could (and still does) feature illustrations of naked 'tribal' peoples that would not be acceptable practice for images of white men and women.

Versions of the 'human zoos' and the exoticisation of cultures and places of the World's Fairs survive in the pavilions of the Epcot World Showcase at Disney World. As a number of commentators have noted, the Epcot World Showcase is in a direct line of tradition from the World's Fairs exhibitions, and particularly the 1893 Chicago Exhibition (see Bryman 1995: 149–51). The villages, pavilions and streets of the world found at Epcot World Showcase offer an unthreatening experience of foreign travel to those who may never venture beyond the boundaries of the United States, just as the World's Fairs, dioramas and panoramas did for visitors in the nineteenth century. The pride of the Disney guidebook in bringing the 'many countries of the world' together and the claim that the 'cast' members really are from the represented nation has the ring of the World's Fair ethos:

It would take a lifetime of vacations to explore the many countries of the world. For travelers to Epcot Center's World Showcase, however, the dream of world travel comes true. ...

Here, amid nations standing in friendship beside a broad lagoon, we meet gaily costumed young people who have actually come from the World Showcase country. (Walt Disney Company, 1986: 94)

Like the Great Exhibition and World's Fairs, Epcot World Showcase celebrates trading partnerships and shows off the products available from each featured nation. The foreign and exotic are presented in the form of commodities; the souvenir guidebook carefully itemises all the food and merchandise available for sale on site and their countries of origin. 'Industry', however, is less evident in the contemporary World Showcase than it was in the nineteenth century; countries are represented by craft and cuisine rather than industrial production: Mexican spices, Moroccan leather, Japanese lanterns, Waterford Crystal and Royal Doulton China. National and cultural

differences are here reduced to stylistic flourishes for the Western consumer: 'Each shop is stocked with its own pleasant surprises and every restaurant and lounge is flavored with distinctive design accents' (Walt Disney Company 1992: 135).

There are more shopping outlets at the Adventureland site (with the exception of Main Street) than at any other space at Walt Disney World and Disneyland Los Angeles. At Disneyland Paris, the entranceway to Adventureland takes the form of a souk, the Adventureland Bazaar: 'at this ancient marketplace, you'll be enthralled by the traders' frenzied activity' (Walt Disney Company 2002: 82). The commodities on sale invite the visitor to don the accoutrements and the attitudes of the imperial adventurer; Sam's Jungle Boutique presents an individualised narrative of colonial bartering, as if global trade remains still a matter of the enterprising traveller:

Sam is an explorer who has spent his life bartering in all corners of the globe, and his weird and wonderful collection is right here in this small shack. Everything from a stuffed alligator to an old canoe ... trinkets, seashells from the Pacific, explorer accessories and compasses. (Walt Disney Company 1998: 84)

Epcot World Showcase offers a world that has been rendered manageable and unthreatening, and which is unequivocally dominated by the American world view. 'The American Adventure' is foregrounded, literally, in the landscaping of the site and in its place as the first nation in the souvenir book, which claims America as the unifying principle of global difference: 'The American Adventure stands as the unification of World Showcase' (Walt Disney Company 1998: 96). This is a mapping of a colonial view of the globe that can be understood in terms of Anthony Giddens's concept of 'empty space', literally so, in that the Florida landscape on which World Showcase was built was originally an empty space of swampland; it is an entirely imagined world that makes no reference at all to its locale. The World Showcase also embodies the 'distinct vantage-point', which Giddens (among others) understands to be a product of an imperial history:

The development of 'empty space' is linked above all to two sets of factors: those allowing for the representation of space without reference to a privileged locale which forms a distinct vantage-point; and those making possible the substitutability of different spatial units. The 'discovery' of 'remote' regions of the world by Western travellers and explorers was the necessary basis of both of these. The progressive charting of the globe that led to the creation of universal maps, in which perspective played little part in the representation of geographical position and form, established space as 'independent' of any particular place or region. (Giddens 1990: 19)

If Epcot World Showcase celebrates the Empire of trade, the Adventureland sites of the Disney parks reference the 'discoveries of remote regions' by the imperial explorer. It is in these spaces that the potential dangers of the

foreign are suggested, an anxiety about the alien that is relatively lacking at the World Showcase. The guide book for Disneyland Paris proudly addresses the Adventureland visitor as an explorer with a host of exotic sites to explore. There is, however, no distinction made between nations or continents; Africa, the Orient, the Far East are conflated into a common foreign exotica:

Tropical sunshine attracts you into the center of the old Oriental town. ... You can discover the universe of 'the Arabian Nights'. ... Further on, there is the abandoned jeep of an explorer seeking hidden treasure in the sand of the Sahara desert. The insistent rhythm of African tam-tams, the shouts of pirates in battle on the Caribbean sea, the thought of finding lost civilizations in the heart of the Far Eastern jungle, all these are signs that you are about to set out on a long trip full of adventures and discoveries. (Walt Disney Company 2002: 53)

'Adventure' had been an integral part of the Disneyland project from its beginning, with the success of the *True Life Adventures* nature films for television. The Jungle Cruise was one of the first and most ambitious of the attractions in the original Los Angeles Disneyland, when the park opened in 1955. The boats of the attraction were based on those of the 1951 film *The African Queen*, and the ride was landscaped with an instant jungle:

No attraction that made it into the park was more ambitious than the Jungle Cruise. A River had to be built in the middle of Anaheim and populated with animals and exotic vegetation. Landscaper Bill Evans was faced with the task of building the jungle; there wasn't the time to grow one. He drove around the area, searching for 'character' trees that were particularly interesting. He even created whole new life forms, by turning trees upside down so that their roots were up in the air. (Greene and Greene 1991: 125)

The 'Jungle' at Disneyland is thus caught between the foliage of California, the India of Kipling and the Africa of C.S. Forester's 1935 novel (on which *The African Queen* was based). It thus constructs a geographically unspecific 'wilderness'. Adventureland, like the set designers of the nineteenth century, has little regard for any geographical accuracy or proximity, happily allowing the visitor to cross through continents with no transition between landscapes and cultures. As Stephen M. Fjellman points out,

[In the Disney Worlds] Geography is mixed up. The Jungle Cruise in Adventureland connects the Congo River to the Zambezi, the Amazon and the Irrawaddy without a break.

Adventureland itself is a pastiche of what visitors may take to be a reasonable evocation of tropical lands. (Fjellman 1992: 32)

While it may offer a 'reasonable evocation' of tropical lands, Adventureland can also give visitors the frisson of potential danger while reassuring them of their safety. 'Otherness' and danger are clearly connoted in the naming of attractions at Disneyland and other theme park sites, but if the names signify

threat, the experience of travel and adventure is rendered entirely safe. A Disney planner has described the menaces of Adventureland as follows:

[O]ld-fashioned. ... They're part of the safe past. Nobody worries about the past. ... What we do here is to throw a challenge at you – not a real menace, but a pseudo-menace, a theatricalized menace – and we allow you to win. (Quoted in Wallace 1985: 37)

The stories that those attractions draw upon are old-fashioned too, and very much part of an imperial past. These are 'pseudo-menaces' largely because they are nineteenth-century and quaint, rather than threatening: the 'you', the theme park visitor, is interpellated here and in the attractions as an American or European hero. The challenges of Adventureland have already been met – by Allan Quatermain; by British, French and American archaeologists and explorers; and by Indiana Jones.

The Jungle Cruise allows the tourist explorer instant and convenient global travel, without any discomfort. As Bristow noted of the conventionalised adventure romance, there is 'nothing that is truly unnerving' about the adventures in the theme park Adventureland. As the Disney World guidebook puts it,

The Jungle Cruise takes you through a Southeast Asian jungle, the Nile Valley, the African plains and the rain forests of the Amazon River. ... The Jungle Cruise is a favorite of armchair explorers because it compresses weeks of safari travel into ten minutes of fun, without mosquitoes, monsoons or misadventures. (Walt Disney Company 1998: 34)

The Disney Corporation is represented here as in control of the weather, and entirely in command of the jungle. There are no human dangers identified; the armchair explorer can be, as was the colonial explorer, convinced of his (and the explorer in both contexts is invariably addressed as male) invincibility. The Disney Adventureland 'threats', like those of Frontierland, are a compilation derived from boy's own annuals, as Mike Wallace explains:

At Frontiertown and Adventureland we go on rides that travel to the distant and benighted places which once threatened Civilization. In the Wild West, Darkest Africa and the Caribbean, we are in the domain of dangerous opponents – Indians, pygmy headhunters, pirates. But there is no real danger in these realms. (Wallace 1985: 37)

The realms of exotic exploration have become increasingly significant for tourism and have increased their presence in the Disney Empire from the late twentieth century. In 1995, the 'Indiana Jones Adventure' was established as a feature of Adventureland, and in 1998, the fourth theme park, Animal Kingdom, opened on the Florida site of Walt Disney World. In the contemporary theme park the white male explorer – concerned as he is with 'natural' unexplored wilderness – has been coded with an ecological tinge. While the nineteenth- or early twentieth-century adventurer was likely to find himself in the tropical

jungle or the Congo, a contemporary version is more likely to be lost in an Amazonian rain forest or similarly ecologically threatened landscape. The colonisation of wild native tribes and exotic cultures has become displaced onto the natural and animal kingdoms.

Pleasure gardens (both private and public) had long involved the displays of animals, and many theme parks such as Chessington in Britain and Busch Gardens in America had begun as zoos, but the Animal Kingdom was, on a 500-acre site, on a much grander scale. The theming of Animal Kingdom is dependent on the 1994 Disney animation *The Lion King* (and later musical¹⁵), which is itself (in its tale of a boy coming of age with the support of animals) much influenced by *The Jungle Book*. While *The Lion King* (unlike *The Jungle Book*'s Indian context) is firmly set in Africa, the Animal Kingdom redeploys nineteenth-century notions of the Western traveller in its representation of the wilds of the 'African Savannah' and 'Asian Jungle'. The exoticism and foreignness of the Africa and Asia found in Animal Kingdom may now be filtered through a language of conservation and ecology – but the metonymic icons of the jungle explorer and imperial adventure remain. Visitors travel through the jungle in safari trucks, and the themed village of 'Harambe' (apparently built by Zulu people from South Africa) harks back to the native villages of the World's Fairs.

A 'jungle' attraction has become a regular fixture of the contemporary theme park. The dominant narrative of these spaces and attractions is that of Western heroes conquering hostile environs and peoples; the exploration that the theme park can offer can only be bound by a colonial frame – a frame that shifts according to the imperial past of the host country. In the British context, adventure sites tend to be coded as 'Egyptian' or central African; Alton Towers offers Katanga Canyon and the Congo River Rapids, names that could have come from a Rider Haggard or Kipling novel. At Thorpe Park's Jungle Safari, Mr Rabbit may not physically resemble Allan Quatermain, but his outfit is much the same. Garbed in a pith helmet and safari suit, Mr Rabbit merrily colonises the animals of the jungle, removing them from their distant habitat and relocating them to Thorpe Park, where they appear in Thorpe Park uniforms.

In Disneyland Paris, great care was taken to reconfigure imperial adventure in the French context; the Paris Adventureland has an emphasis on the North African French colonial territories. A Disney imagineer explains the planning:

In France, Disney Imagineers went to great lengths to emphasize the special intrigue of this region. They swept back the thick canopies of other Adventurelands and replaced them with the arid landscapes of French North Africa; for safari-style huts made of bamboo they substituted the thick stone walls and onion domes of desert architecture; and they revamped the look of cast member costumes, trading khaki explorer outfits and pith helmets for brightly colored turbans, veils and the billowing fashions of not-too-faraway 'foreign' lands. We took our cue from Moroccan and North African styles ... but then we layered on pure Hollywood. (Quoted in Lainsbury 2000: 64)

The theme park Adventurelands are the lands of Western colonial territories and as such are represented by the spoils of imperial conquest. The foreign and faraway is located variously as the ‘tropical’, the ‘mystic east’, the ‘jungle’ or ‘safari’; there is no differentiation between continents or landscapes, and no concern for historical or geographical accuracy (despite such claims from the Disney imagineers). The Tropical Travels boat ride at Britain’s Thorpe Park takes the visitor past signifiers of an Orientalised Other, which are decontextualised and rendered simply as exotically different: North American totem poles, Latin American statues, Easter Island rock faces, African masks and spears are all thrown together into an exotic ‘foreign’ stew.

The metonymic icons that now connote adventure in the carnival site – the pith helmet, safari suit and cannibal pot – remain those of the nineteenth-century boy’s own adventure tale. In a global culture, British and American versions of nineteenth-century imperial adventure and adventurers continue to dominate the theme park’s construction of world geographies. Edward Said has discussed the importance of narrative in the maintaining of imperial ideologies:

[S]tories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world; they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history. The main battle in imperialism is



Figure 7.2 Explorer, Legoland, 2010

over land, of course, but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back and who now plans its future – these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time, decided in narrative ... nations themselves are narrations. The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism. (Said 1993: xiii)

The explorer stories that are told at the theme park continue to give the West, and America in particular, the power to narrate. The theme park stories of adventure remain, still, as unquestioning as were Kipling, Haggard and Conan Doyle of the West's cultural supremacy and of the Western man's right to exist in a world without petticoats.

Treasure Islands and Blue Lagoons

The theme park map is itself designed as an island, with blue and limitless boundaries that blend into an outside world that is at a remote distance. The island and the map are recurrent motifs within the boundaries of the carnival site; the theme park holds out the prospect of an uncharted and self-contained space of adventure, and within the park space, the island represents yet another zone of utopian possibility. A recurrent signifier of the ‘unknown territory’ is the map; it is often presented as antique and always surrounded by sea, suggesting that this is an environment that visitors have discovered for themselves, and that they have had to journey across the water to find. The motifs of the lagoon, the palm tree and the skull and crossbones have long been associated with sites of pleasure; they are the signifiers of daring and adventure associated with the sea. The titles ‘Treasure Island’ and ‘Blue Lagoon’ are still resonant in the naming of cafés and attractions of seaside resorts. The seafaring adventure and the Treasure Island, however, have had a presence in popular culture that long precedes Robert Louis Stevenson’s 1883 novel *Treasure Island*, which in the late nineteenth century was already recycling long-standing characters and stories of piracy and island adventure.

The dedicated space for the island fantasy at the Disney parks is Adventureland, a site that is structured into the park as the most wild and unexplored of all its territories, even more so than the claimed ‘wilderness’ of Frontierland. Adventureland is signified at Disneyland by a literal mapping, the site announced by a mock pirate chart. It is nonetheless (apparently) the most inaccessible space; at the Disneyland Paris site, it is presented as a perilous place to find: ‘To get on to Adventure Island you first have to cross a long bridge very carefully, swaying dangerously above cold and deep water’ (Walt Disney Company 2002: 55). In each of the Disney parks, Adventureland is sited at the far left corner – the furthest point from the known world of Main Street – and it is the only ‘land’ that does not have its designated ‘railroad’ station. It is thus the space most distanced from the world of commerce and civilisation, and the one most associated with nature. Adventureland, according to the guide to Walt Disney World, is ‘the most lushly planted of all the Magic Kingdom’s ... realms’ (Walt Disney Company 1998: 32). Adventureland is thus presented as a ‘natural’ environment that remains to be mapped by the theme park visitor. The island also represents the most ‘lawless’ of all the lands in the theme park because it suggests the ‘threats’ of piracy and smuggling. The most significant



Figure 8.1 Scene III: Final tableau from characters and scenes in *Blackbeard the Pirate, or, the Jolly Buccaneers*, Pollock's (late eighteenth century)

attraction at Adventureland is the 'Pirates of the Caribbean' ride, and the road to Adventureland is marked by a leering skull and crossbones motif apparently carved from the (concrete) rocks. At Disney World Florida, Adventureland is approached by way of the Jungle Cruise; at other parks it is reached by a rope bridge, suggesting swirling rapids beneath.

That most unnatural of environments, Las Vegas, surrounded by desert, is no less enthusiastic in theming its attractions with sea and island iconography. Water is such a precious commodity in the Nevada desert that a lavish display of water features becomes a display of conspicuous consumption. The Bellagio (to date Las Vegas's most sumptuous and extravagant hotel) features a nightly display of dancing fountains, while the Mirage complex is themed as a tropical island. A public spectacle outside the Treasure Island casino and hotel presents a show of warring pirate ships where pirates wage battle throughout the day. These extravagant displays and warring ships are resonant of the theatrical water spectacles that were so popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

At a time when Britannia really did seem to 'rule the waves' and the British Empire was reliant on its seafaring prowess, patriotic displays of the exploits of the navy regularly featured in panoramas and dioramas. Battles at

sea, reproduced with model ships, were fairground attractions and regularly featured in theatre productions. Sea storms and shipwrecks were recurrent themes of eighteenth-century shows of all kinds, from pantomime to early forms of cinemascope. Richard D. Altick describes the Eidophusikon, a device combining shadow, mechanics and transparencies that was displayed in London and Paris with 'the celebrated Scene, The STORM & SHIPWRECK' (Altick 1978: 124). The Eidophusikon was developed by Philippe de Loutherbourg, a specialist in paintings of ships and the sea.

British trade and shipping was not only threatened by storm and by shipwreck but also by the illicit trading of pirates and smugglers. Pirate tales, like the Western or chivalric romance, are myths that have no direct source, but do have some basis in historical fact. Each coastal region and community has its tales of smugglers, sailors, ships lost at sea and of maritime heroes, which are handed down from generation to generation. The sea shanty is a form of ballad, an oral form that told tales of sailors, shipwrecks and notable pirates; some were entirely fictional, some based on historical fact, and the two were often indistinguishable. These tales of ships and seafarers became standard forms for ballads, broadsheets and chapbooks, and were regularly illustrated with images of sailing ships and shipwrecks. The ship in full sail or the storm at sea were standardised woodcuts taken from stock blocks for use as illustrations for seafaring stories of all kinds. As the print historian Patricia Anderson explains,

The stock image of a sailing ship illustrated everything from tales of shipwreck, sailors, and military victories (not necessarily naval) to love ballads, murderers; confessions and stories of religious conversion. (Anderson 1991: 43)

British seaside locations have developed their own superstitions and myths of smugglers and pirates. Ailing seaside towns in Britain have capitalised on real histories of smuggling and adventuring, and converted their caves into tourist attractions and their historical smugglers into dashing pirates. 'Smugglers' Adventure' in Hastings was once the site of battles between customs and smugglers, and the publicity invites the visitor to 'relive the dangers and excitement that faced the smugglers and Customs officers' when some '40,000 men were involved in this illicit, profitable but dangerous trade' (www.smugglersadventure.co.uk). The Hastings caves are real, with caverns and tunnels that genuinely did witness the 'illicit trade' of smuggling. The 'themed experience', however, owes more to the Disney attraction Pirates of the Caribbean than it does to its own history, with its animatronic figures and props of oak casks, muskets and galleon ships. Littlehampton Harbour Park, also on the British South Coast, not far from Hastings, has erased its harbour history entirely in favour of piracy; its promotional leaflet is adorned with the skull and crossbones and features smiling children dressed in the eye patches, headscarves and stripy tee shirts that are the iconic pirate uniform.

Such images suggest the extent to which the pirate is a paradoxical figure, at once engaged in illegal and aggressive acts and a popular hero. The folk hero pirate is a figure safely relegated to the past, far removed from any contemporary acts of piracy. The pirate, like variants of the cowboy figure, conforms to Eric Hobsbawm's definition of bandits as 'kinds of robbers, namely those who are *not* regarded as simple criminals by public opinion' (Hobsbawm 1969: 13). The confusion in the naming of the pirate figure also suggests ambiguity; the pirate, buccaneer and corsair are all forms of sea adventurer, and while the names are often used interchangeably, they represent different histories and differing degrees of legality. While pirates committed illegal acts of robbery, the buccaneers were privateers, sometimes sanctioned by their governments, and the corsairs represented a semi-legitimised form of sea attack. All, however, fit into Hobsbawm's category of bandits, along with Robin Hood and the cowboy.¹ Like cowboys and explorers, pirates are maverick figures in search of their fortunes in uncharted territories,² although pirates, unlike the cowboy, who is most often envisaged as a lone spirit, assert their power collectively. While some buccaneers might have had some form of legitimacy, other seafarers are lawless characters who profit from their misdeeds, but all are still celebrated as carnival folk heroes. Depending on patriotic allegiance, a seafaring adventurer can become either a naval hero or a blackguard pirate in the popular imagination.

The pirate is the obverse of the explorer figure; while equally a product of Empire, piracy represents a criminalised side of global trading. The pirate is a figure of both impoverishment and luxury, with no regular income but with access to exotic goods and possible treasure. The pirate's combination of excess and poverty is embodied in the ragged velvets and silks that parody the clothes of a wealthy eighteenth-century gentleman and, fitting for carnival, have a degree of camp.³ Like the Western hero Leatherstocking, the pirate's costume demonstrates that this is a figure who belongs in two worlds, a creature of social and economic ambiguity:

He is an outsider and a rebel, a poor man who refuses to accept the normal roles of poverty, and establishes his freedom by means of the only resources within reach of the poor, strength, bravery, cunning and determination. It sets him in opposition to the hierarchy of power, wealth and influence, he is not one of them. ... The more successful he is as a bandit, the more he is *both* a representative and champion of the poor *and* a part of the system of the rich. (Hobsbawm 1969: 76)

The pirate expresses too the pleasures of overindulgence, particularly rum and women, as celebrated in song and in the Disney attraction *Pirates of the Caribbean*.⁴ The popular image of the pirate is masculine although, as Jo Stanley has demonstrated, women were very significant figures on pirate ships and also featured large in maritime stories (see Stanley 1995). Historically, there were certainly women pirates – the English pirate Ann Bonney is an equivalent figure

in popular mythology to the cowgirl Annie Oakley – but they are rendered entirely absent in the theme park. The popular tale of the woman kidnapped by pirates (re-enacted in the *Pirates of the Caribbean* feature films) had a similar currency to the Western ‘captivity’ narratives of women abducted by Indians. Women in the popular genre of the pirate tale are present only as marginal figures, as objects of barter and acquisition. In the Disneylands’ *Pirates of the Caribbean* attraction, women are objects of consumption, chased by marauding male pirates.⁵

The urtext of shipwreck and desert island survival is, of course, Daniel Defoe’s *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner*, first published in 1719 (with a sequel the following year). Defoe’s novel entirely refuses the spirit of rebellion of the seafaring voyager but chooses instead, as Marx pointed out, to celebrate bourgeois enterprise (see Rogers 1972). *Robinson Crusoe* makes use of many of the already standard tropes of chapbook tales of shipwreck and piracy, and confirmed them in a parable of the castaway. The sea storm, the pirates and the noble native savage, which are the currency of the genre, all make an appearance in the novel – as do the coves, lagoons and creeks of the theme park pirate landscape. Defoe was a singularly patriotic Englishman, and his island-stranded hero will not surrender the accoutrements and values of the English gentleman. Crusoe is raised in a ‘good family’ and runs away to sea, a sin for which he sees his subsequent trials as just and godly punishment. He fights pirates, is shipwrecked and discovers not just Man Friday but a tribe of noble savages on the island, and overcomes all to be reunited with his wife, fortune and God.

Robinson Crusoe is a key text in the history of the novel form, in its claim to be historical truth rather than fiction. As Walpole does in *The Castle of Otranto*, Defoe claims that he is the editor of a found manuscript. Defoe presents *Robinson Crusoe* as an authentic account of a shipwreck survivor, and he would also claim authenticity for his 1725 *New Voyage Round the World*, which charts an entirely fictional voyage. He chooses the form of an apparent autobiography, a form that was regularly used in faked narratives of exploration and in stories of the American West. As in tales of the chapbooks, ballads and superstition, there is some basis of fact in the narrative of a sailor who is washed up on an island, but there is no fixed point origin to be found. Pierre Macherey has cited *Robinson Crusoe* as a tale that is preoccupied with origins:

In 1719, that is to say before his time, Defoe, that brilliant journalist, initiates – in all senses of the word, dynamic, ludic, publicising – the theme of the man on an island. ... He made the island the indispensable setting, the scene for an ideological motif which was only beginning to emerge: the meditation on origins. (Macherey 1978: 240)

The text of *Robinson Crusoe* has itself been the subject of many myths of origin. R.J. Broadbent is among the critics who have attempted to trace the

origins of Crusoe's story, and one of many (see Rogers 1972) who claims the case of Alexander Selkirk as the source: 'Defoe, it has been stated, derived his idea for this story from the adventures of one Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman who had been a castaway on the Island of Juan Fernandez' (Broadbent 1901: 213). Philip Edwards is among those⁶ who have firmly debunked this derivation; he instead argues that the narrative of *Robinson Crusoe*, along with other Defoe's fictions, represents a collage of elements from seafaring histories and fictions; as he puts it, 'Defoe (was) ruthlessly pillaging genuine accounts of life at sea to create his wholly inauthentic Robinson Crusoe and Captain Singleton' (Edwards 1994: 187).

Defoe was a journalist who is known to have read numerous travellers' tales, many of them involving shipwreck and marooned sailors. The folk tale of the notorious Jack Avery, familiar from pamphlets and legend variously as the 'King of the Pirates' and 'of Madagascar', clearly shaped Defoe's *Captain Singleton* (1720) and must be an element in the story of Crusoe. Avery's story had been published in several claimed biographies and autobiographies; one version, *The Life and Adventures of Captain John Avery, the Famous English Pirate (rais'd from a Cabbin-Boy to a King) Now in Possession of Madagascar*, was published in 1709. Avery appeared in chapbook woodcuts, striding across 'his' island, shaded by a palm parasol carried by a black 'native'. This is an image that would be regularly imitated in illustrations to *Robinson Crusoe*, to the extent that it has become a metonymic icon of the narrative. A flag with crossbones, a galleon in the distance and a palm tree are other elements in these images of Avery that would become the stock signifiers of pirate and desert island tales.

Illustrations were not initially a significant element to *Robinson Crusoe*; in its first edition, it appeared with only a 'portrait' of Crusoe and a single map. The novel's subsequent success meant that it was rapidly reproduced in numerous abridged versions for adults and children, which did feature illustrations. Thomas Stothard was commissioned to produce engravings for a 1790 edition of Defoe's text, which 'changed hands many times and were still in use 100 years later' (Muir 1989: 21). It is through these illustrations and subsequent theatre and pantomime versions of *Robinson Crusoe* that Defoe's narrative came to be condensed into a set of key characters and events: Man Friday, the island, the shipwreck and the discovery of the footprint. These popular versions served to establish Crusoe as a Western Everyman who settles and colonises an exotic territory (and man) and reasserts Christian order. As Patrick Parrinder puts it,

The mythical Crusoe is an English pragmatist and a universal man; it is his achievements as a settler, colonist, and mentor of Friday that are remembered, not his religious visions or his destiny as a wanderer. (Parrinder 2006: 77)

This 'mythical' Crusoe was abridged, parodied and copied from its first publication; the novel spawned an entire genre of imitations, which came to be

known as ‘Robinsonades’, a title that described a wide range of variants of the original. As Kevin Carpenter⁷ explains,

[The Robinsonade was] a term current in France and Germany around a decade after the appearance of *Robinson Crusoe*. ... It was coined to characterize the dozens of French and German imitations which announced their derivation by including Crusoe’s Christian name in their titles. ... Robinsonades proliferated rapidly in Germany, an ‘epidemic’ as one contemporary called it, reaching its peak around 1760, by which time some forty two had appeared. (Carpenter 1984: 14–15)

As *Robinson Crusoe* proliferated in Europe, it became an iconic text for English popular culture, the subject of satires and of commentaries from every nineteenth-century notable writer, from Sir Walter Scott to Karl Marx (see Rogers 1972). The emphasis in the original novel on Christian values and the focus on Crusoe’s mission to cultivate his island translated very neatly into Victorian and imperial values. According to Peter Hulme, *Robinson Crusoe* is a key text in that it both references past histories of seafaring and shapes future forms of the genre.⁸ It is a novel that both celebrates a heritage of British trading and looks forward to the height of the British Empire:

By looking back beyond the great merchant companies to the age of Raleigh, Defoe could endow Robinson Crusoe with something of the heroism of the adventurer who risked life and limb as well as capital, therefore, adventitiously, providing a link between the Elizabethan era and the true age of adventure in the second half of the nineteenth century – an age which, through Ballantyne, Marryat and many others, sought the purity of adventure precisely through rewriting the story of Robinson Crusoe. (Hulme 1986: 184)

The Crusoe story was rewritten, imitated and plagiarised throughout the nineteenth century; some versions, like the Robinsonades, only made use of Crusoe’s name and the island setting. The original text continued to be published by the significant publishers of nineteenth-century popular illustrated editions: Longmans, Cassell, Routledge, Blackie and Macmillan. Editions of *Robinson Crusoe* appeared with more and more illustrations; Cruickshank produced an edition in 1831 with thirty-eight wood engravings. The novel was reproduced in simpler versions for children, as in an 1838 reprint for ‘The Children’s Library’. There were penny abridgements, with pictorial frontispieces. Variants of the novel were often published both as an illustrated volume and in penny serial issues. By the late nineteenth century, the name ‘Crusoe’ was enough to signify a tale of adventure and moral piety. There was even a female version of Crusoe: ‘Robina Crusoe and her Lonely Island Home’ appeared in the *Girl’s Own Paper* in 1883. Other titles that clearly owe more than a debt to Defoe include the following: *The Sailor Crusoe* (1866) by Percy B. St John and George Emmett’s *Crusoe Jack, the King of the Thousand Islands*, published in thirty-eight illustrated parts (1870). *The Rival Crusoes* was published as a novel in

1881 and issued as a part-work in 1895; *Three Boy Crusoes; or Perseverance & Indolence* appeared in 1905 (Barry Ono Collection, British Library).

The reproduction of the same elements in illustrations for *Robinson Crusoe* (many already familiar from chapbook and ballad woodcuts) established a clear iconography for *Robinson Crusoe*, for Robinsonades and for all such tales of shipwreck and desert islands. The condensation of the narrative into key scenes, sets and characters made it ripe for theatre, and particularly for pantomime. *Robinson Crusoe; or Harlequin Man Friday* was one of the earliest pantomime productions; first produced at Drury Lane in 1781, it brought together the basic plot of the novel with figures from the Harlequinade. *Robinson Crusoe* is one of the few pantomime stories that can be identified as an ‘authored’ text. The pantomime historian R.J. Broadbent has claimed it as a product of the English imagination: ‘Of all our Pantomime subjects, “Robinson Crusoe” ... we can properly lay claim to as being “of our own make” so to speak, and written by Daniel De Foe, and, in the main, from the imagination’ (Broadbent 1901: 212). *Robinson Crusoe* would survive as a subject for pantomime well into the twentieth century and beyond (elements of the plot continue to figure in popular theatre and entertainments). Crusoe was the subject of an operetta with music by Offenbach, first performed in Paris in 1867, the scenario shaped by pantomime versions of the novel. The figure of Crusoe was often used as a hook to exploit the drama and popular imagery of the shipwreck and island, and as a means of theming a Harlequinade.

If Robinson Crusoe is the most iconic of island adventurers, he is part of a well-established and growing genre; Crusoe’s shipwreck and survival belong in a long tradition of seafaring adventure and the *voyage imaginaire*. *Robinson Crusoe* has been claimed for the genre of the ‘imaginary voyage’, a form of adventure tale that flourished in the eighteenth century and that Jules Verne would popularise for the nineteenth.⁹ Philip Gove has defined the genre as a ‘combination of travellers’ tales, real or imagined, and interest in distant lands, known or unknown’ (Gove 1941: 16). Edwards demonstrates that there was a ‘flood tide’ of eighteenth-century ‘voyage literature’; this literature included ‘official’ reports, accounts of voyages written up by journalists or publishers’ hacks, romanticised autobiographies and passenger tales and fictions, which like Defoe, often laid claim to authenticity. Tobias Smollett was another populariser of the sea voyage genre, which the Victorian writers R.M. Ballantyne and Captain Frederick Marryat would later emulate. Unlike Defoe, Smollett did have some experience of the sea, as a naval surgeon’s mate (the basis for his 1748 novel *Roderick Random*), but his sea tales were no less focused than Defoe’s on adventure and romance. The preface to his *Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages* (1756) promised to cut out ‘dry descriptions’ of naval technicalities, but instead to give the reader the excitement and drama of life at sea.

The British explorer and navigator Captain James Cook was a real-life seafaring adventurer, whose voyages had a wide following in the press. Triumphant accounts of his excursions were necessary to secure funding

(Edwards 1994: 126), and published accounts of his travels were written for *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Cook's 'journals' being actually authored by several different hands. Like Napoleon in Egypt, Cook was accompanied in his travels by artists. His own (and only) version of his exploits, *A Journey towards the South Pole*, was published in 1777: 'illustrated with maps, charts and a variety of portraits and views'. Cook's ship and his landings in exotic climes were also the subject of numerous paintings. These images of Cook's ships would go on to shape the image of the galleon that is now familiar from children's picture books and actualised in the pirate ships of the pantomime and theme park. Cook's adventures became a standard subject for popular biographies published throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; an 1874 version is titled *The Adventures and Vicissitudes of Captain Cook, Mariner: Showing How by Honesty, Truth and Perseverance a Poor, Friendless Orphan Boy Became a Great Man. With Illustrations*. Cook's popular image as a self-made hero was confirmed in Europe by the writing of Jules Verne; Captain Cook features large in his history of *The Great Navigators of the XVIII Century*. Published by Hetzel in 1886, Verne's history was profusely illustrated with engravings of islands, natives and maps. Cook as a subject combined education and adventure: he could be used to instruct on geography, naval and imperial history, cartography and seafaring. His dramatic death (reputedly stabbed by a Hawaiian chieftain) was the subject of numerous paintings, many reproduced in popular prints. Cook was a natural subject for boy's own stories, and he would feature in boy's magazines and comics well into the twentieth century.

The iconography and popular histories of sea adventurers neatly fitted with a patriotic celebration of British seafaring triumph. The British Empire was dependent on shipping, and so shipping news was significant in the press and in illustrated journals, as was patriotic triumph in the destruction of alien fleets. Images of ships and island landscapes, familiar from illustrations of Cook's voyages, made spectacular backdrops for the panoramas and dioramas that were the current fashion. Sea battles in which the English were victorious were a favourite subject for early nineteenth-century spectacles and magazine illustration; the first issue of *The Illustrated London News* advertised its special feature 'View of the Battle of Waterloo' at the Panorama, Leicester Square. The Napoleonic Wars provided opportunity for triumphal popular celebration; sea battles featured prominently in shows and displays. Sadler's Wells Theatre in London used its proximity to a river to its advantage, and specialised in sea battle extravaganzas, as George Speaight explains:

Sadler's Wells Theatre ... was assured of a plentiful water supply, and used it to the full in reproducing a series of most elaborate aquatic dramas; a receptacle for water, measuring 100 feet by 40 feet, was installed on the stage, in which mimic naval engagements of every kind were freely represented. A whole series of dramatic aquatic spectacles can be traced to this stage and to other theatres which copied its example. (Speaight 1946: 30)

The aquatic spectacle survives in the contemporary theme park, and not only in the extravagant displays of fountains and water chutes. In a display that would not have shamed Sadler's Wells, Epcot World has featured an Electrical Water Pageant, starring King Neptune and an assortment of mermaids and sea creatures.

The battle or sea storm made for extravagant stage sets; rolling screens that provided the illusion of a ship in full sail were a popular sequence in pantomimes and spectacles. Pirates featured regularly as characters in popular theatre; John Gay's sequel to *The Beggar's Opera* was *Polly* (1728), in which Macheath is recast as a buccaneer and Polly pursues him to the West Indies. The sea battle as popular entertainment continued well into the late nineteenth century; 'Our Naval Victories' was a patriotic display at the International Universal Exhibition held at Earl's Court in 1898, which featured large models of ships and explosives (Glanfield 2003: 72). Patriotic pride also fuelled a fashion for shipwreck melodramas in the early nineteenth century, a form of theatre described by Martin Meisel:

Nautical melodrama and its descendants continued to provide opportunity for scenes of shipwreck. ... Every actual nautical disaster to capture the popular imagination was re-created in the theatre, with means that were sometimes as remarkable pictorially as mechanically. (Meisel 1983: 197)

Among these many nautical dramas was *Sir Francis Drake and Iron Arm*, 'A New Naval Spectacle, as performed for the first time, on Monday, August 4, 1800'. This was another case of a story of a sea adventure that claimed to be based on historical truth, 'on the Life of Sir Francis Drake' (Cross 1809: 2), but which came encrusted with myth and enhanced theatricality. The performance was indeed a spectacle, requiring a cast of Spaniards, mules and a crew of sailors. The sets offer a strange combination of the picturesque and patriotic fervour; the backdrop for much of the play is 'a romantic View ... a wild bridge over a waterfall', while the climatic scene is of Spanish and English fleets in battle, with the curtain falling 'to the huzzas of the gallant and victorious British Fleet' (Cross 1809: 32).

The shipwreck and sea battle continued to be a strong presence in carnival sites throughout the nineteenth century. 'Sea-on-land amusement' was a popular fairground attraction; the seascapes and battles of the earlier dioramas were here extended into three-dimensional panoramas and augmented with mechanical displays. The Paris Exhibition of 1894 displayed the 'Ocean Wave'; the same attraction was later installed at Manchester's Belle Vue pleasure gardens. The cumulative effect of these stage shows and spectacles was to develop a set of synecdoches associated with the genre: the galleon in full sail, the shipwreck, the swirling sea. Toy theatre plays reproduced the same iconography in sheets printed as souvenirs of the successes of the London stage, and nautical plays inevitably found their way into juvenile drama. *Black Eyed Susan*; or, *Pirates Ashore* is an

example of a pirate narrative that began in oral culture and that crossed over into a range of media. What had once been a sea shanty became a popular song (John Gay contributed one version); it became a stage nautical melodrama in 1867, and was among the most successful of toy theatre productions a year later.¹⁰ *Black Eyed Susan* was written up as a nautical romance and appeared as a serial in popular magazines, with accompanying toy theatre plates.

Patriotic re-enactments of sea battles were also produced for the toy theatre; *The Battle of the Alma* was published as a set of sheets for toy theatres in 1854, within a few weeks of the battle itself. The success of *Robinson Crusoe* as a pantomime and drama also ensured its appearance in toy theatre versions (one version is still in print as a Pollock's toy theatre set), where Defoe's text came together with the vogue for nautical melodrama and patriotic display. *Robinson Crusoe or the Bold Buccaneers* was published as a Hodgson's Juvenile Drama in 1822, based on an 1817 production at Covent Garden. Skelt's Juvenile Drama later produced another version in which Crusoe was accompanied on his island by a wife, and develops a thriving farm in a backdrop of palm trees. The play climaxes with the appearance of a ship in full sail sporting the Union Jack. Shipwrecks, bandits and pirates were the most popular scenarios for toy theatre dramas. In Speaight's catalogue of juvenile drama, plays of buccaneers, brigands, corsairs and pirates are the dominant category, with over twenty plays with such terms in their title. Plays such as *Blackbeard the Pirate*, *The Brigand* and *The Brigand's Son* far outnumber dramas with fairy tale and Gothic themes. The shipwreck could be borrowed for a range of genres, as it is with the Gothic and the fantastic in the 1827 toy theatre play *The Flying Dutchman or the Phantom Ship*.¹¹

As the set for *Sir Francis Drake* had suggested in 1800, the spectacle of sea voyages and shipwrecks could combine aspects of both the romantic picturesque and of popular patriotism. The wildness of a stormy sea and the battle against the elements that were central to the nautical drama would also be attractive subjects for the Romantics. Both Wordsworth and Coleridge reconfigured Crusoe as a Romantic hero.¹² Coleridge wrote his own version of the shipwreck drama in *The Ancient Mariner*, which was badly reviewed at the time (perhaps because its subject was so close to the genre of popular nautical melodramas). It nonetheless went into several editions, one illustrated by Gustave Doré in 1876, with appropriately romantic images of storm and battling waves and a shipwreck, not far removed from those of theatrical sets.

It is Byron, however, who made the most use of the erotic and legendary qualities of the pirate and the potential of the remote island. *The Corsair* was published in 1814, sold out its first 10,000 copies in a single day and by 1818 had gone into ten editions. Written in the already archaic form of heroic couplets, Conrad, Byron's pirate hero, served to confirm and to further romanticise a popular construction of life on the ocean wave. A contemporary reviewer recognised the extent to which Byron was working within an already

established genre of pirate poems: ‘We have, in our popular poetry, the exploits of buccaneers, freebooters and savages – and pictures to shudder at, of remorse, revenge and insanity’ (*Edinburgh Review* 1814, quoted in Rutherford 1970: 56). The success of *The Corsair* extended beyond the readership of poetry; it was to be the subject of five ballets between 1826 and 1856; the 1856 version performed at the Paris Opera remains in the ballet repertoire.¹³ *The Corsair* as poem and ballet is working with tropes of the pirate genre that are still in use; the dashing hero, the Pirate Isle and swashbuckling are all familiar from Hollywood, and the narrative of *The Corsair* was taken up by early cinema, filmed in 1914 by the Eclectic Film Company. Byron himself made use of the pirate’s dangerous charm in his own celebrity persona, posing for a portrait in a headscarf and cutlass.

Celebrity writers known for their success in other genres also turned their attention to tales of smuggling and shipwreck. Scott, never one to shun a proven popular form, had touched on piracy in 1817 with his narrative poem *Harold the Dauntless*. He went on to publish *The Pirate* in 1821 in a lavishly illustrated edition with chapter illustrations and plates; it was to last for over a century as another iconic text of the genre. This novel was subject to much the same process of secondary circulation as *Robinson Crusoe* had been, if not quite to the same degree. As Andrew Wawn explains,

[C]ountless readers all over the English-speaking world ... read and enjoyed Sir Walter Scott’s novel ... the work remained readily available for a hundred years, either as an individual novel or in successive Victorian and Edwardian reprintings and repackagings. *The Pirate* was also imitated, illustrated, epitomised, excerpted for children, set to music, dramatised on the London stage within three weeks of publication. (Wawn 1996: 1)

Scott’s *Redgauntlet*, a tale of Cumberland smugglers set in the eighteenth century, also went into theatrical form; it was dramatised in 1825 and turned into an opera in 1834. Fenimore Cooper, claimed by many as the American Scott, also wrote pirate genre novels. His *The Red Rover* (1829) was a tale of a noble seamanship and wicked piracy in the American Revolution, and a favourite of Robert Louis Stevenson. *The Red Rover* was also staged as a play, and was another successful production that was reproduced for the toy theatre.

At the Disney parks, Adventureland, like Frontierland, is presented as a set of wild sites in need of cultivation. The ‘Swiss Family Treehouse’ is the tallest and most noticeable of the attractions in the area, and is an image of the triumph of Christian enterprise and domesticity. The attraction is based on the 1812 novel *Swiss Family Robinson*, by Swiss missionary Johann David Wyss, and makes use of the sets from the 1960 Walt Disney film. The Treehouse maintains the illusion that it is sited in an inaccessible place, far from the trappings of civilisation. The 90-foot high Treehouse is of architectural interest as the highest point in the park and resembles the fashionable observatories

of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscaped garden (see de Bay and Bolton 2000: 276). The Treehouse gives an apparently panoramic view of the collage of geographies and landscapes offered in Adventureland, but the boundaries and workings of the park remain disguised even from that high vantage point. The 'New Guinea' island on which the original Swiss Family Robinson were shipwrecked was described by Wyss as a 'botanical garden'; as contemporary critics pointed out, the flora and fauna described included more species than could possibly exist in a single geographical location; the planting of Adventureland uses a similarly improbable range of flora. Wyss's novel was another narrative of the taming of nature and of natives; it directly references *Robinson Crusoe* but adds the dimension of family values through the device of washing an entire family overboard. The novel was first published in English in 1814 by the Juvenile Library under the title *The Family Robinson Crusoe: or, Journal of a Father Shipwrecked with His Wife and Children on an Uninhabited Island*.

As in the English publication of Perrault and Grimm's fairy tales, Wyss's text was subject to translations and revisions that took considerable liberties with the original. The novel was abridged and adapted for children, and the more tedious of Wyss's (lengthy) pieties excised, to become a popular success, illustrated and issued in various forms throughout the nineteenth century; versions of Wyss's tale continue to have a life as 'classic' children's books. Cassell produced an edition in six monthly parts between 1869 and 1870, the translator freely admitting to his considerable corrections and describing his translation as 'an entirely remodelled edition'. The novel appeared in France as *The New Swiss Family Robinson* and, like the English translations, toned down some of the more verbose Christian sentiments of the original. Nonetheless, the novel was seen as a parable of Christian settlement in Europe and America; it was revised for an American audience by the Western writer Owen Wister in 1882. The French edition was edited by Hetzel, Verne's publisher, who specialised in elaborate illustrated editions; he printed an introduction that emphasised the educational potential of the novel's botanical and geographical details. A condensed English edition with the title *The Swiss Family Robinson* was published with '300 illustrations' by different artists in 1870; Frederick Warne published an equally lavishly illustrated edition in 1877, later reissued as a cheaper 'Chandos Classic'. The variations and reworkings of the text continued into film versions of the novel; RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum) Pictures first produced a film version in 1940. In 1960 Disney brought the novel to the screen in the relatively new and exciting formats of colour and widescreen, its elaborate sets ensuring the novel's presence in the Disney parks.

A key figure at Disneyland Paris, Jules Verne is another novelist who would inevitably turn his hand to tales of piracy and shipwreck. Verne was clearly very familiar with sea voyage writings of the eighteenth century, as the second volume of his history of great travellers devoted to the 'Great Navigators'

demonstrates. Verne was to make much use of this knowledge in his fiction, which regularly features seafaring voyages. In the 1873 *Around the World in Eighty Days*, Phileas Fogg travels by pack boats from Suez to Bombay and from Calcutta to Hong Kong and Japan. Unsurprisingly (in terms of the novel's cheerful pillaging of scenes from popular culture), he experiences storms at sea. The illustrations to Verne's novel evoke the conventions of the stock shipwrecks and storms in chapbook woodcuts and theatre sets. Verne was also a writer of the pirate romance; *Facing the Flag* (1896) features a pirate villain, while *The Mysterious Island* (1875) has echoes of both Defoe and Wyss, and features a ragged ship's crew that would later become very familiar from *Treasure Island*. Verne's use of the pirate and island motifs demonstrates the extent to which the maritime romance (with or without pirates) had become a standardised genre with its own narrative and pictorial conventions.

A horde of popular nautical novels appeared throughout the nineteenth century, some written out of seafaring experience but many others reworking the established plots and settings of the pirate or island romance. Pirates and buccaneers were regularly featured in illustrated papers as the subjects of serial fictions. The 1835 *History of the Pirates, Smugglers, etc. of All Nations* was among the first titles produced for the popular publisher Edward Lloyd (James 1974: 29). Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta *The Pirates of Penzance, or the Slave of Duty* (1879) testifies to the popularity of the pirate romance on the stage and its place in popular culture, now such a firmly established genre that it could be spoofed.¹⁴

The patriotic story of seafaring adventure and Christian instruction fitted the Victorian imperial frame neatly and was a significant element in a burgeoning fiction for young people, especially boys. *Robinson Crusoe* continued to be reconfigured throughout the nineteenth century, now as a tale of Victorian enterprise, in a process that Peter Hulme has described as 'the imperial production of *Robinson Crusoe* as a boy's adventure' (Hulme 1986: 222). One of the key figures in the 'imperial production' of the maritime adventure was Captain Frederick Marryat (his title important in invoking the authenticity of his fiction).¹⁵ Marryat was instrumental in turning the nautical romance into a form for juvenile readers, writing his own variant of *The Swiss Family Robinson* in *Masterman Ready, or the Wreck of the Pacific* (1842). Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855) evoked the glory days of Sir Francis Drake in his fictional marine adventurer, Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight. *The Coral Island*,¹⁶ R.M. Ballantyne's 1858 novel of three young boys shipwrecked on an island (where they meet with pirates and cannibals before being rescued by a Christian missionary), fitted all the established tropes of sea and island adventure into an imperial and moral fable and was the 'most popular boys' story of the century' (Sutherland 1989: 147). These are some of the key titles and authors among a flood of seafaring adventures published and republished in increasingly cheaply available and illustrated editions throughout the nineteenth century.

As Cook's voyages and Verne's imaginary journeys had been, the nautical romance was swiftly taken up by popular publishing in magazines and serials addressed to boys. *The Boy Pirate; or Life on the Ocean, A novel. Illustrated with Numerous Engravings* was one such title published in ninety-two weekly parts from 1865. Tales written by Ballantyne and Marryat were regularly serialised in the *Boy's Own Paper* and in *Every Boy's Annual*. A regular contributor to the *Boy's Own Paper*, G.A. Henty, wrote a series focused on piracy, *Among Malay Pirates*. According to Philip Warner, '[t]he perils and hardships of maritime life were never glossed over by the B.O.P, possibly because the paper wished to discourage boys from running away to sea' (Warner 1977: 93), a position supported by such titles as 'A Terrible Tale of the Sea' and 'Wrested from the Deep'. These fictions of piracy and island adventure were supported elsewhere in the papers with educational features and images: sea storms and islands were regular inclusions in 'miscellanies', and were used as illustrations to articles on marine history and travel. *Boy's Own Paper* published regular pictures of shipwrecks and stories of brave boys confronted by piracy; 'Great Shipwrecks of the World' was another regular feature. The boy's own papers also published stories with illustrations intended to be cut out and used as toys or in toy theatre sets.¹⁷ 'Jack Rushton: or, Alone in the Pirate's Lair' is one example of the magazine story circulating across popular forms, being reprinted as a book from a serial in the *Boys of England* magazine in 1866, and issued as a play for toy theatres in 1870.

Accounts of seafaring voyages at one level could be edifying and educational; at another, nautical and pirate tales were also about perilous adventure and violent death. The nautical melodrama and the pirate romance were consistent elements in both the penny dreadful and the more instructional boy's own papers; both regularly featured illustrated stories concerned with doomed ships and sea storms with titles such as 'The Death Ship' or 'The Pirate's Bride'. Thomas Wright bewailed the vulgar 'garbage' of the contemporary boys' 'dreadful' magazines, and it is noticeable that the titles he cites are dominated by tales of piracy and banditry: 'the existing race of dreadfuls – *The Boy Highwayman, The Boy Brigand, The Boy Pirate, The Boy King of the Outlaws, &c.*, are modern inventions' ('On a Possible Popular Culture' 1881, quoted in Bristow 1991: 10). Wright was mistaken in seeing these tales as 'modern inventions', for many were not far removed from chapbook accounts of piracy and banditry, while others reproduced stories familiar from the Robinsonades and toy theatre. The island adventure could, despite Wright's distaste, be educational and used to serve the purposes of rational recreation; it imparted lessons in geography, botany and natural history (as well as promoting Christian and family values), as it had in *Swiss Family Robinson*.

The emblematic boy's story of islands and piracy, *Treasure Island*, emerged from a context in which the combination of the boy hero, the island and piracy was a very familiar narrative across a range of forms of popular culture.

The novel is, in Bristow's phrase, the 'perfection of a tried-and-tested genre' (Bristow 1991: 95); by the time Stevenson wrote his nautical romance in 1885 both he and his audience were saturated in images and stories of piracy and seafaring adventure, particularly those of the toy theatre. Stevenson's essay 'Random Memories' (Stevenson 1922) repeatedly refers to his immersion in the popular press and charts his own intertextuality, particularly with *Robinson Crusoe* and the plays of the toy theatre. In another essay, 'Popular Authors', Stevenson uses a representative writer of penny fiction who is, significantly, a writer of naval and shipping adventure. Stevenson nonetheless describes the genesis of *Treasure Island* as deriving from his own boyhood imagining of an island map:

I made the map of an island; it was elaborately and (I thought) beautifully coloured, the shape of it took my fancy beyond expression; it contained harbours that pleased me like sonnets. ... As I pored upon my map of 'Treasure Island' the future characters of the book began to appear there visibly among imaginary woods. (Stevenson 2005: 237)

These characters and 'imaginary woods' owed a great deal (as he acknowledges elsewhere) to Stevenson's pleasure in the toy theatre and his familiarity with 'sheets of characters such as "Skelt's New Smugglers"'.¹⁸ Another essay, 'Memoirs of an Islet', frames Stevenson's remembrance explicitly in terms of a toy theatre set: 'little coloured memories of men and scenes, rigging up (it may be) some especial friend in the attire of a buccaneer' (Stevenson 1922: 94). *Treasure Island* followed the pattern of earlier serialised illustrated pirate adventures; it was first issued as a serial in *Young Folks* in 1881, under the title 'Treasure Island or the Mutiny of the Hispaniola', apparently authored by a 'Captain George North' (in emulation of Marryat). The first book edition appeared in 1883, with a frontispiece 'facsimile' antique map that evokes the sea voyages of the eighteenth century and which is a clear model for the Adventureland maps of the theme park. *Kidnapped* followed *Treasure Island* as a serial in *Young Folks* in 1886, and was published the same year in book form. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* would go through much the same process as *Robinson Crusoe* and *The Pirate* in the rush to abridgements and adaptations. The circulation, however, was even faster because the novel appeared in the period of the mass production of popular texts. Like *Crusoe*, the characters and settings of *Treasure Island* would appear as a narrative and set of images across a range of media. Songs were composed, with sheet music covers echoing the palm trees and sand of theatre sets. A school edition appeared in 1903, a musical drama in 1909. Theatrical and pantomime versions continue on into the twenty-first century (Laurel and Hardy, Sooty the Bear, the Muppets and Spike Milligan are among the many cultural icons to have inhabited versions of 'Treasure Island'). At least one new illustrated edition appeared in every year of the twentieth century.¹⁹ The novel that had been so shaped by the toy theatre was itself to become one of the longest-serving juvenile drama titles.

It is, however, the pirates and shipwrecks of *Peter Pan* that are most closely associated with children and theatre, and J.M. Barrie's play was a regular Christmas event throughout the twentieth century. *Peter Pan* was first performed in 1904 at the Duke of York's Theatre in London, produced there for the next ten years and then became a standard seasonal production in the West End. It was a great success on the American stage in 1905, a year after the British version. Although ostensibly a straight drama, the play incorporates many of the familiar elements of pantomime, with fairies, flying and exotic sets. *Peter Pan*, like *Treasure Island*, emerged from a popular culture saturated in the fables and imagery of piracy; the pirate and the treasure island were by now established as essential ingredients in boys' games. It has been well documented that the writing of *Peter Pan* evolved out of pirate adventures that Barrie played in his own childhood and later with the Llewellyn-Davies boys²⁰ (see Lurie 2003: 125; Green, 1954). Photographs of their holiday games were published as *The Boy Castaways of Black Lake Island* in 1901, a privately printed book of photographs with captions, with a binding designed to resemble that of *Treasure Island*. The boys' games are themselves derived from *Treasure Island*, *Coral Island* and *The Swiss Family Robinson*. Barrie's captions borrow the form and parody the chapter headings of the pirate and island genres, in phrases that are still resonant as place names in theme park sites: 'Black Lake Island ... Primeval Forests ... Dead Men's Point' (see Green 1963: 24). Barrie's imagination, like that of Robert Louis Stevenson before him, was shaped by boy's own stories of shipwreck and maritime adventure, as Barrie was to remember: 'I spent much of my time staring reflectively at the titles of the boys' stories in the booksellers' windows' (quoted in Green 1963: 117). *Peter Pan* did not take long to join the titles in the bookseller's window and to become a repeatedly illustrated children's book. *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, with illustrations by the noted fairy painter Arthur Rackham, appeared in 1906.

Peter Pan cheerfully slings together all the key elements of late nineteenth-century boy's own popular culture, with a smattering of fairy tale romance. It incorporates eighteenth-century sea voyages (Captain Hook sports Captain Cook's wig and frock coat and mimics his name); the galleon ship and rigging are familiar from eighteenth-century panoramas and patriotic spectacles; the first stage productions of *Peter Pan* even included a 'Napoleonic Tableau'. There are 'redskins' and coonskin hats derived from Fenimore Cooper and his imitators, a crocodile from travel and explorer narratives, mermaids and Tinkerbell from fairy tale, while Peter himself owes something to Robin Goodfellow (he is described in the stage directions as 'an elfish looking boy in woodland garments').²¹ *Peter Pan*, with its encounters of fairies, pirates, Indians and redskins, works across a range of genres. At the Disney parks it is not clear which 'land' it belongs in, and it traverses both Fantasyland and Adventureland.

The success of the stage play in London and in New York (where it ran for seven months)²² meant that it was inevitable that it would become a Hollywood film; *Peter Pan* was first filmed in 1924, scheduled for the Christmas season. The film was made in consultation with Barrie, and *The New York Times* enthused: ‘a brilliant and entrancing production of this fantasy. ... It is not a movie, but a pictorial masterpiece’ (quoted in Parish 1995: 113). Subsequent stagings in the West End and on Broadway were showcases for the theatre and screen stars of the day. In 1950 Boris Karloff appeared in New York as Captain Hook and Mr Darling, with Jean Arthur as Peter. Mary Martin recreated her success in the 1954 Broadway musical version in television specials broadcast in 1955, 1956 and 1960. The film was remade for RKO in 1953, as an animation (which, unlike the female Peter Pans of the stage versions, used a male voice). Disney had been interested in animating Peter Pan from as early as 1935 and negotiated for the rights to the novel and play in 1939; by 1954, he is cited as ‘Mr. Walt Disney, present owner of all film rights in *Peter Pan*’ (Green 1954: viii). The Disney version of *Peter Pan* was promoted in a Disney television special in 1951, to advertise Disneyland, and Tinkerbell became a corporate sign for the Disney parks (which she remains). Barrie’s admirer, Roger Lancelyn Green, grudgingly accepted the limitations of the 1953 animated film, but bemoaned its departures from the original novel (the Disney film abandoned the stage script entirely). He astutely noted, ‘[t]his *Peter Pan* is a splendid proof of the complete acceptance of Peter and his adventures into the realms of legend: Barrie the author may not be very evident in the film, but Barrie the myth-maker is there throughout’ (Green 1954: 167). *Peter Pan* is one of the few authored texts to appear among the genres of the theme park, but his status there is as a legendary character who is positioned in the realm of myth rather than literature.

If J.M. Barrie’s character Peter Pan eschewed the feminine and celebrated the shipwreck and the island as boy’s own adventures, Henry De Vere Stacpoole’s novel *The Blue Lagoon* gave the Crusoe narrative an erotic charge and reimaged *The Swiss Family Robinson* in terms of Rousseauesque innocents discovering their sexuality. De Vere Stacpoole was a regular contributor to the *Boy’s Own Paper* and a prolific author of romances, historical and maritime. He had been a ship’s doctor and had acquired expertise in the geography and landscapes of the South Sea Islands, knowledge that he puts to use in his island romance, in the tradition of the lavish settings of *The Swiss Family Robinson*. First published in 1908, *The Blue Lagoon: A Romance* (one volume in a trilogy) was a huge popular success with its combination of prurience and morality. It rapidly went into sixpenny and sevenpenny editions, with coloured paper covers showing romantic views of a desert island. By 1947 the novel had been published in twenty-one editions, and the title, like *Treasure Island* before it, was borrowed for popular songs and attached to a range of products (often with remote relevance to the novel). In a preface to the 1947

volume, De Vere Stacpoole himself notes the proliferation of his title, which, he says,

almost at once began to travel the world, leaving behind it all sorts of things other than its readers: Blue Lagoon swimming pools, canoe lakes, bathing beaches, inns and crockery ware. Paris scented itself with a perfume Blue Lagoon. (De Vere Stacpoole 1947: vi)

De Vere Stacpoole was particularly proud of the play version of his novel, first staged by Basil Dean in 1920, which ran for nine months in the West End. Dean's lavish production involved a cast of thirty sailors, the deck of a large sailing ship and a staged shipwreck, all elements in the tradition of marine spectacles and pantomime. The stage directions describe the essential signifiers of the desert island drama, familiar from illustrations and stage productions of *Robinson Crusoe*: 'A rough half-wigwam, half tent stands. ... At R. are coconut and palm trees ... a waterfall and rock-pool ... and Down L are wonderful tropical plants and flowers and trees' (MacCowan and Mann 1920: 35). These conventions for the island romance continue to shape the landscaping of theme park 'island' spaces and the *mise en scène* of film versions. The success of the stage production and the opportunity it offered for exotic landscapes saw the scenario move into cinema; *The Blue Lagoon* was first filmed in a British version in 1923, remade in 1949, but its adolescent nudity was most fully exploited in the 1980 Hollywood version. The original text is nonetheless now long forgotten; while the naming of seaside restaurants and cafés in the 1940s and 1950s might still have had some frisson of the text's eroticism, this is entirely gone in theme park references. 'The Blue Lagoon' at Thorpe Park offers a space for children to swim; the Disneylands' Blue Lagoon restaurant resituates the Blue Lagoon in the Caribbean. The menu is printed on an 'antique' map of the Atlantic Ocean and features all the signifiers of the pirate romance, with images of a parrot, casks of rum and a galleon ship in full sail.

Early cinema was drawn to spectacles of disaster at sea (which had been regular features in magic lantern shows) and reproduced the popular iconography and tales of shipwreck, treasure islands, lagoons and piracy²³ found in theatre and illustration. The proven popular successes of water spectacles and sea storms were clear attractions for the special effects showman Georges Méliès. Méliès filmed a version of *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* in 1902, based on an 1899 theatre production in Paris, which Edison pirated for the American market. *Treasure Island* was another popular subject for early film, as it had been in theatre, with silent versions appearing in 1908, 1912, 1918 and 1920. The pull of the island story that was such a staple ingredient of the boy's own papers was replicated in the comic book stories that supplanted them. Variants on the adventures of Robinson Crusoe, the Swiss Family Robinson and Jim Hawkins were created in comic strip form. Their travels could be updated to embrace new elements in twentieth-century popular culture (as the boy's own stories had updated them for the late nineteenth century), and could now

encompass the new world of outer space. Kevin Carpenter has charted some of the many pirate and desert island titles that appeared from the 1930s:

[C]omics have seen Black Pirates, Yellow Pirates, Reluctant Pirates, Sky Pirates and Space Pirates, Pirate Islands, Tiger Islands, Shark Islands, Cannibal Islands, Sinister Islands, Horror Islands and Islands in Space; Curly Crusoes, Girl Crusoes, numerous shipwrecked schools, at least one Shipwrecked Circus, a Space Family Robinson and a Football Family Robinson. (Carpenter 1984: 92)

Combinations of these titles and elements continue to appear in fairground and seaside attractions; ‘Space Pirates’ is a mechanical coin-operated ride at Brighton Pier. By 1938, the elements of the pirate adventure were so iconic that they could be reproduced as the pieces of a board game, in Waddington’s *Buccaneer*. The playing board is a chart mapping the routes to a treasure island, the cards are a pirate crew and the ships carry treasure and bottles of rum, an indication of quite how condensed and widespread these metonymic icons had become. The title ‘Treasure Island’ was now detached from any text and had become a signifier of any exotically planted location; in 1939 it referred to an artificial island on the site of the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco.

As it had been for Byron, the wicked charm of the pirate made for an attractive role for male film celebrities. Errol Flynn’s star persona was bound up with seafaring adventure; before becoming an actor he had worked for an Australian shipping company and sailed his own boat to New Guinea in search of gold.²⁴ Flynn was known for his swashbuckling in historical romances;²⁵ his first starring role was as Fletcher Christian in *In the Wake of the Bounty*, and in 1935 he embodied *Captain Blood* in Michael Curtiz’s film (in a remake of a 1924 version). His star persona as a maverick pirate hero was confirmed in the image of the buccaneer fighting from the ship’s rigging in the 1940 *The Sea Hawk*. Flynn went on to star as variants of the pirate figure, including a 1948 version of *The Adventures of Don Juan*. The posters, sets and costumes for these movies replicate the motifs of stage sets and magazine illustrations, the galleon, the skull and crossbones, and the boots, tricorne hat and striped shirt of the pirate.

Like the Western, the island and seascape narrative offered vistas and adventure, and were shown to their best advantage on the wide screen. If the pirate and treasure island narrative did not appear in quite the numbers of the Western (perhaps because of its relative expense), the 1950s did see a surge of pirate films (Jaeger 1989: 78). Pirate tales provided Hollywood with another genre that allowed it to assert its superiority over television in the 1950s; the television screen could not give the space that was required for spectacular ships. Pirates were also icons of nonconformity – and particularly welcome in American popular culture of the post-war era.

Some of the best-loved directors and stars contributed to Hollywood versions of the genre in this period. Jacques Tourneur, Raoul Walsh and especially Michael Curtiz all made their contributions to the genre, and all replicated the narratives and settings of the boy’s own pirate adventure

and the sea storms and battles of the patriotic water spectacle. A director most associated with the musical, Vincent Minnelli, directed Judy Garland in the 1948 *The Pirate*, along with Gene Kelly – who danced as a pirate with another American icon, the animated Jerry mouse. The pirate was now reclaimed as an American figure, and *Yankee Buccaneer* appeared in 1952. For Hollywood cinema, buccaneering tended to be situated away from the seas that European and Chinese pirates had sailed (in history and film) and was largely located in the Caribbean (where the Disney attraction is firmly set).

Treasure Island was the basis for the first Disney live-action feature without any animation; filmed on location in England²⁶ in 1950, it was featured as a two-part broadcast on Disneyland TV in 1955, to promote both the park and the film. *The Swiss Family Robinson* feature film in 1960 was another example of the synergy of the corporation, which made use of the film sets as an attraction for the theme park and brought its stars, Hayley and John Mills, to the opening of ‘The Swiss Family Treehouse’ at Disneyland. The Disney version provided a further condensation of what was already a long line of adaptations and abridgments of Wyss’s text. According to the film’s director, Walt Disney instructed the producer to compress the novel into its basic elements:

[L]et’s throw the whole book out the window! Let’s just keep the idea of a Swiss family emigrating, trying to emigrate to America. They get shipwrecked. ... Then they make a life on an idyllic island. ... Let’s make it a wonderful show for the whole family. (Quoted in Parish 1995: 172)

The Disney organisation took the theming of the island and the seafaring adventure to its logical conclusions with their own ‘Treasure Island’²⁷ made out of the Florida swamp lands of Disney World in 1974. In 1998, the Disney Magic and Wonder Cruise Ships launched, to ferry families to another Disney ‘deserted island’, the holiday resort, Castaway Bay. Captain Hook features large in the on-board entertainments while the logo for the cruises features Mickey Mouse in pirate attire.

The theme park Adventureland emerges out of a long history of the mapping of the world by imperial interests, a mapping that produced countless images of galleons, pirates and heroic maritime explorers. The narratives of Treasure Islands and Blue Lagoons found in the theme park are configurations of a voyage literature that has been central in European popular culture. Such travel literature has informed the terrain of adventure stories and popular spectacle to become an integral genre of the carnival site, inevitably signified by a map. Macherey has described the ideological importance of this sign and of what he calls the ‘geographical novel’:

By means of a map the journey is a conquest of the same sort as a scientific adventure. It recreates nature, in so far as it imposes its own norms upon it. The inventory is a form of organisation, and thus of invention. This is the meaning of the geographical novel. (Macherey 1978: 183)



Figure 8.2 Treasure Island Hotel, Las Vegas

The undiscovered islands where Robinson Crusoe and the Swiss Family Robinson are washed up are initially geographically unspecified places, which remain to be mapped by Western settlers. The theme park literally recreates nature and asks its visitors to map a space that has already been mapped.²⁸ Adventureland may be geographically unspecific, but less because it is unexplored than because it is a conflation of geographies that have already been colonised. The histories of the British, Spanish and French Empires are hauled into the service of a celebration of global trading at the Disney parks: 'Adventureland bears the mark of all those who have come, conquered and passed on' (Walt Disney Company 1994: 25). Contemporary commerce is positioned as a global good, in contrast to the lawlessness of the pirates and smugglers of the 'bad old days'. Although Adventureland may be coded and landscaped as a wild space, it has as many retail outlets and restaurants as other sites in the park. Hurricanes and pirates may threaten, but the Treasure Island and the Blue Lagoon suggest the possibility of solitude and the abundance of nature; both qualities are notably absent, and therefore particularly desirable, in the carnival or theme park site. The desert island, the water features and the lavish plantings of the Adventureland site give an illusion of freedom from constraint and seem to allow the illicit pleasures of the buccaneer. But the way back from the Treasure Islands and Blue Lagoons of Adventureland must always be through Main Street; there is always a return to regulation.

Future Imperfect

Science and technology

The theme park itself is a product of technology, many of its rides a tribute to and celebration of mechanisation, in which the machinery of what was once an industrial working landscape is turned to ludic effect. Mechanical rides at fairgrounds came out of mechanisms originally devised for industrial purposes, and were a source of wonder; roller coasters, water chutes and Ferris wheels all have their roots in industrial technologies. 'Science' has been employed as a signifier of magic and of modernity and progress from the first commercial leisure sites. Science fiction as a genre manifests many of the defining characteristics of the carnivalesque, in its promise of new sensations and extremes, its challenging of the boundaries of time and space, and in its literal inversions of the body.

There is a recurrent use of science fiction narratives in the iconography of the theme park and, more often than not, a specific space devoted to the theme of 'scientific progress'. The biggest white-knuckle rides are most often situated in scientifically themed sites, and named in terms that evoke technology or space travel; in Britain Alton Towers offers 'Oblivion' and the 'Black Hole', Thorpe Park 'X:\No Way Out' and 'Depth Charge'. Almost every theme park site has a futuristic monorail (a regular feature of late twentieth-century World's Fairs); Legoland offers a 'Sky Rider' and 'Space Tower'. Disney parks have the scientifically themed lands 'Tomorrowland' in Los Angeles and Florida and 'Discoveryland' in Paris. Epcot, an 'Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow', at Disney World Florida, is an entire park devoted to a 'Futureworld', although its version of the future is hardly new. Victorian ideas of progress, science and technology continue to circulate and to connote the 'modern' in the contemporary carnival site.

The spirit of rational recreation, that leisure should be an educational experience, promoted a congruence of science and entertainment throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which informed the Great Exhibition and World's Fairs and which still lingers at Epcot. In the Romantic period, the scientific and the magical could be conflated, in literature and in popular entertainments. Mary Shelley's 1818 novel, *Frankenstein, or, the Modern Prometheus*, is a tale of scientific experimentation and has a claim to be the first novel in the science fiction genre; Shelley claims in her preface that Erasmus Darwin and other

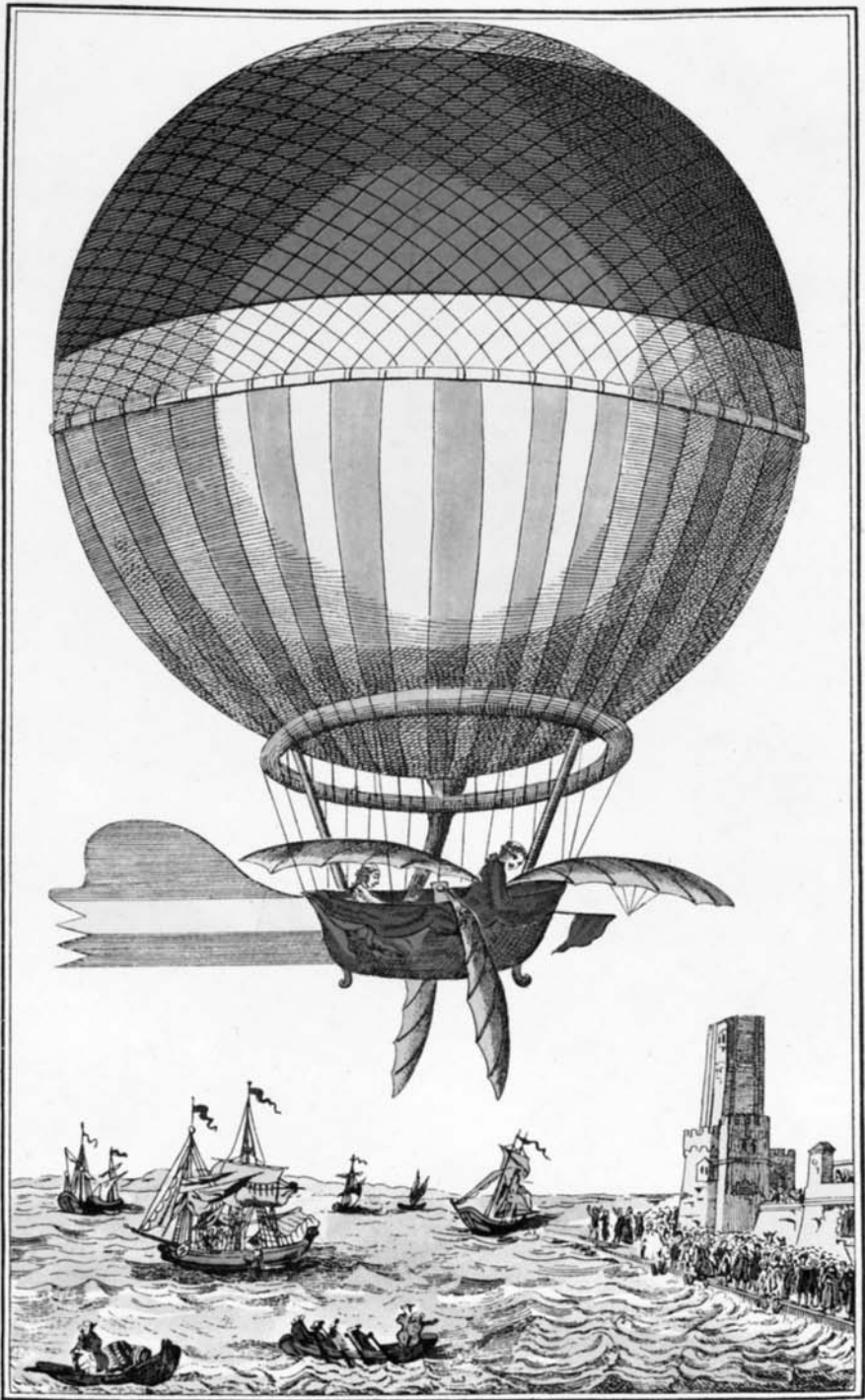


Figure 9.1 The first Channel crossing by air, 1785

scientists approved the possibility of its scientific claims. The character of Victor Frankenstein is a paradigm of the mad scientist, a perennial figure in the horror genre,¹ but as the monster increasingly became the focus of the story in popular culture, the scientist's name became conflated with his creation. *Frankenstein* came to be positioned as a Gothic novel, in which its discourses about science became less important than the elements of the fantastic.

Displays of technology held the same wonder as conjuring tricks for Romanticism; Wordsworth refers to 'Clock-work, all the marvellous craft/Of modern Merlins' at the fairground in *The Prelude*. Scientific experiments were performed both for magic shows at fairgrounds and as lectures in Mechanics' Institutes, as McCalman and Perkins explain:

Scientific and folk cosmologies could thus find themselves in unlikely couplings. ... New wonders of science claiming to be able to galvanize a body into life with electricity, or magnetize away blockages in the invisible and incorporeal ether, were conveyed throughout the provinces during the early nineteenth century by itinerant lecturers of humble origin. (McCalman and Perkins 1999: 215)

There was a genuine excitement at the novelty of these 'wonders of science', and at the potential of mechanisation, which was shared by both popular entertainments and scientific research; as Richard D. Altick describes it, 'magical and spectacular effects from chemical reactions, gas and rudimentary electrical phenomena' (Altick 1978: 363) were used for the purpose of both scientific lectures and of carnival. The proprietor of the *Mechanics' Magazine* (first published in 1823), John Passmore Edwards, established lecture rooms and reading rooms all over Britain, to bring scientific advances to audiences of working people. The first dedicated Mechanics' Institute was founded in London in 1829, and by 1860 there were over 600 across the country. Displays of technical and scientific progress were brought to public attention in these lecture halls, in exhibitions and in popular publishing. *The Penny Magazine* and *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* were among the many widely read papers that carried accessible articles on engineering and mechanics.

Mechanics' Magazine was the most successful of these early illustrated magazines for working people; dedicated to the instruction of working men and artisans, the magazine offered illustrated feature articles on contemporary science along with inspirational biographies of inventors. Priced at an affordable threepence, it was published weekly until 1858. The many illustrations included diagrams of new mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries; a regular feature was titled 'New Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements', another, 'Practical Applications of Mineralogy and Chemistry' (quoted in Andersen 1991: 47). *Mechanics' Magazine* offered readers a range of features and articles that it would not be unusual to find in the comic *Eagle*

over a century later. America had its equivalent popular science magazine in *Scientific American*, published (first weekly and later monthly) from 1845; like *Mechanics' Magazine*, it was addressed to a public with no professional scientific expertise.

It is not easy to make a clear distinction between educational purpose and popular entertainment in terms of a popular interest in 'science' in the early nineteenth century. The widespread popular fascination with technology and the mechanical extended beyond dedicated publications, and was a regular feature of pleasure grounds and carnivals. In 1826, the White Conduit House, a London pleasure garden, proudly advertised the 'EXTRAORDINARY AND WONDERFUL PERFORMANCE of entering a HOT OVEN'. While this event, involving fireworks, chemistry and 'natural philosophy' is located in a pleasure garden and clearly an entertainment, the language of the advertisement is framed in 'scientific' terms:

Monsieur CHABERT

The celebrated Phenomenon of Nature, and Skilful Performer of
Unparalleled Experiments
in

Natural Philosophy

Chemistry, Pyrotechnics, &c.

Has the honour to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and Public in general, that he will perform the above Unparalleled Experiment for the Second Time ...

With a Variety of other Extraordinary and Amazing Experiments,
Swallow Phosphorus, Boiling Oil &c. &c. (Flyer for the White Conduit House,
1826, quoted in Rogers 1896: 55)

Showmen, like Monsieur Chabert, who gave demonstrations of escapology, sword swallowing, fire-eating and phrenology were popular public entertainers at fairgrounds, but their skills were frequently articulated in terms of scientific experiment.

The Montgolfier brothers' display of the first hot-air balloon in 1783 was another demonstration of scientific invention and also of showmanship; in Paris, in the presence of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, the brothers flew a cockerel, duck and sheep in their new invention. This display was widely illustrated and circulated in magazines and prints; balloons became a standard feature of pleasure gardens across Europe, and are still to be found in carousels. In 1843, Cremorne House in Chelsea advertised:

MR GREEN, THE CELEBRATED ÆRONAUT,

Will ascend from the Lawn, in his

MAJESTIC BALLOON

Taking up with him, and liberating a experimentally, an extensive

ÆRIAL TRANSIT SHIP. (Cremorne Gardens flyer, 1843, quoted in Rogers 1896: 60)

The flying balloon came to be a regular feature of popular entertainments; aerial dioramas and mechanical backcloths that simulated flight appeared in Harlequinades and in pantomimes. The 1814 *Harlequin Whittington* featured a child ascending in a balloon, while the 1823 production *Harlequin and Poor Robin* at Covent Garden included an 'Æronautic excursion' to Paris (Frow 1985: 143). The Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen continues to have a ride that simulates balloon flights.

The Adelaide Gallery in London was the site of the 'National Gallery of Practical Science', which mounted displays of ballooning, among other scientific displays, from 1832. This formal title, however, belied its entertainment value; the advertising for the gallery announced its purpose as 'Blending Instruction with Amusement'. Although Altick has described the Adelaide Gallery as 'the first direct English progenitor of the modern science and technology museum' (Altick 1978: 379), it went on to become not a museum, but an amusement hall. William Bullock's Egyptian Hall was another London exhibition hall that balanced its displays between instruction and amusement, often claiming educational purpose to justify exhibitions that would otherwise skirt the boundaries of respectability. In 1842, the Egyptian Hall presented the 'Flying Railway', a mechanical device that could turn a lady or gentleman upside down. The promotional leaflet explains the engineering in great detail. 'The Flying Railway' is a clear forerunner of the loop-the-loop mechanical attractions later found in Coney Island and at Blackpool Pleasure Beach; like them, its pleasures were more to do with the upending of one's companion than with any interest in engineering.

Developments in engineering were also the stuff of shows and spectacle; hydraulic water theatrical displays were a regular feature of the pantomime transformation scene. Sadler's Wells, limited until 1843 by the Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres' monopoly on spoken drama, had to develop its own specialism. Sadler's Wells became known for its water ballets and spectacles enabled by hydraulic technology, with onstage water tanks. Mechanical innovations were turned to magic across London theatres and to popular spectacle at exhibition halls. The year 1872 saw a display of early robots at the Egyptian Hall; known as 'Automata', they consisted of 'four ingenious mechanical figures, apparently self-acting or automatic', which were widely reported and illustrated in *The Illustrated London News*.

The display of the medical 'freak' at fairgrounds and exhibitions represented another encounter between the scientific and spectacle. Displays of 'native' tribes people had been claimed from the eighteenth century as instructional for ethnographic and geographical purposes; the exhibition of 'freaks of nature' (in Wordsworth's term) made similar claims to 'scientificity'. In Britain and America 'scientific exhibitions' of medical curiosities skated a fine line between scientific curiosity and salacious interest throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The 'freak' sideshow has a history as long as that of

carnival, but in the early nineteenth century, ‘science’ was invoked to justify the display of biological freaks and fantasies; as Altick explains:

Aware as the showmen were of the value of the English temper placed upon knowledge, if only by way of lip service, at no time did their publicity wholly lack some promise of instruction; ‘scientific’ interest was attributed even to exhibitions of palpably contrived mermaids. (Altick 1978: 3)

It was not only the ‘English temper’ that was fascinated by biological and medical curiosities; in America the conjoined twins Chang and Eng were displayed as the ‘original Siamese twins’ from 1829. P.T. Barnum established his ‘American Museum’ in 1841 (the original source of his considerable capital), which was stocked with biological curiosities, both animal and human. Among Barnum’s most successful exhibits was Charles Stratton – General ‘Tom Thumb’ – who was toured around Europe, and performed for Queen Victoria. Barnum’s was the first of many ‘Dime’ museums that offered the public a strange combination of medicine and magic, and which were to flourish across America into the twentieth century. The confusion of science and showmanship² that marked the freak show continued at Coney Island and Blackpool Pleasure Beach into the late nineteenth century and beyond. Blackpool (which itself had become a destination for excursions because of the arrival of the railway) had a flourishing trade in ‘freak’ shows along the Golden Mile; these were sideshows that had been displaced from the approved sites of the Pleasure Beach and the Winter Gardens (Turner and Palmer 1981: 56).

Into the twentieth century, as medicine developed, the ‘freak’ show could no longer be the tourist draw that it once had been; as Cross and Walton point out (2005: 125), improved understanding of biology and of genetics made it an uneasy entertainment to marvel at physical malformations. Nonetheless, the freak show continues, if not directly in the theme park, in museums of oddities that are, as their predecessors were in the nineteenth century, situated outside the official sites of entertainment.³ Ripley’s ‘Believe It or Not!’ franchise began as a cartoon strip of ‘oddities’ in 1918; a Ripley’s display was a huge success at the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair, and went on to be a regular feature of American State Fairs. Ripley’s ‘Believe It or Not!’ developed into an international group of museums, comic books and now websites, all of which are still going strong.

Ripley’s current museums are sited close to theme parks and tourist attractions; Niagara Falls, Atlantic City, the Disney parks in Florida and California, and Blackpool all have a ‘Believe It or Not!’ ‘Odditorium’, but it is always sited outside the bounds of the official pleasure grounds. The freak show was always a sideshow, and from the nineteenth century it was the trade of hucksters, sited on the midway at World’s Fairs and barred from official and respectable sites of entertainment at Blackpool and Coney Island. It was the

mechanical rides that were the sanctioned attractions at fairgrounds and that were the main draw of World's Fairs. The celebration of mechanics was integral to the Great Exhibition and to the ensuing World's Fairs; these expositions were trade fairs, designed to demonstrate industry and to promote new technologies. The Great Exhibition was flagged as 'The Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations'; promoting manufacture and industrial technology was at the heart of Prince Albert's mission, and, as he put it in his opening speech, the exhibition was a celebration of the 'means that modern science has placed at our command' (quoted in Harvie *et al.* 1970: 237).

The Victorian journalist Henry Mayhew described the fascination of visitors to the Great Exhibition on shilling days (the day of the reduced rate), with mechanical exhibits, the mechanisms in themselves enough to produce awe:

But if the other parts of the Great Exhibition are curious and instructive, the machinery, which has been from the first the grand focus of attraction, is, on the 'shilling days' the most peculiar sight of the whole ... round every object more wonderful than the rest, the people press, two and three deep, with their heads stretched out, watching intently the operations of the moving mechanism. (Quoted in Harvie *et al.* 1970: 247)

This fascination with 'moving mechanisms' was also evident at the Paris Exposition Universelle, sixteen years later in 1867. The exposition featured a sea water tank and diving bells, and displays of gas lighting and mechanical engines. Hans Christian Andersen's 1868 tale 'The Dryad' presents an encounter between an ethereal fairy and the material world of the Grand Exposition, and gives a good indication of the sheer excitement of new technologies. At the centre of the exposition and of the tale is an anthropomorphic machine that can reproduce the wonders of nature; a mechanical engine which could produce waterfalls: 'Master Bloodless moves his steel and iron limbs in the great machinery hall' (Andersen 1914: 987). The story tells of a rural tree spirit drawn to the city by the apparently magical wonders of the exposition. A child of nature, the dryad is drawn to a world of artificial lights, scents and textures in the modern city, in a convergence of scientific invention and the magical. Paris in the tale is a city 'shimmering' with gas lights; the exhibition is a fairy tale palace made accessible by the coming of the trains, able to collect the 'new wonders' of the world together because of the fact of new transport systems and technologies:

[T]hrough the whole of the daytime came the trains, and from every one and into every one crowded people from all the countries in the world, a new wonder of the world had called them to Paris. ... An Aladdin's Palace of industry and art. (Andersen 1914: 986-7)

Harper's Weekly was among the many international publications to cover the 1867 Paris Exposition and to devote an article to the experimental submarine floated in a giant aquarium. The exposition celebrated new marine

technologies and engineering with displays of diving suits, a submarine (the first of the French Navy) and plans for the Suez Canal project.

All these elements are to be found in Verne's 1869 novel *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, written in the year after the Paris Exposition. The mysterious Captain Nemo owns a version of a diving suit originally developed for the French Navy. The then unfeasibly technologically sophisticated submarine, Nautilus, owes much to the advertising for new submarine technologies then undergoing trials in Europe and America. The submarine's huge windows (which were repeatedly used in illustrations for the novel) are variations on the shape of the great aquarium displayed at the exposition. Published in serial form, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* was immediately translated, and has never been out of print since. It is the first science fiction film made by Walt Disney; the sets were used to construct one of the earliest attractions at Disneyland, and the attraction and the film were featured in the first episode of the Disneyland television show. Nemo's submarine remains an attraction at Discoveryland in Disneyland Paris, where Verne is particularly celebrated.

Jules Verne has been credited with the invention of the new genre of scientific romance, but as Pierre Macherey notes, his fiction was by no means original, but drew on a stock set of popular stories and images:

We would ask how far these images have been produced by Verne himself ... how far he has taken them from the fund of images which the long history of the narrative of the fantastic placed at his disposal, that reserve from which the language of fiction has progressively elaborated: that general history which has never been written. ... The general project had to be embodied in images which were not original. (Macherey 1978: 168)

If, as Macherey points out, the fantastic voyage and scientific adventure were already well-established romantic genres (especially in France), Verne was the central figure in bringing them together in a popular science fiction. Lofficier and Lofficier have also argued that Verne was reworking a long tradition of scientifically inflected romance, but that he brought it into the cultural mainstream:

It is impossible to overestimate the impact of Jules Verne on modern science fiction ... many of the classic themes had already appeared sporadically in genre literature before Verne started writing; he did not so much create as reshape ... it was Verne who reached the masses, who popularized the concepts of science fiction and gave them their modern form. (Lofficier and Lofficier 2000: 339)

Verne had grown up in the French tradition of *voyages imaginaires*, a particularly French genre of utopian fiction that flourished in the eighteenth century. The unknown islands, flying balloons, sky rockets and sailing craft that were regular features of these romances are reconfigured in Verne's writing with a gloss of scientific explanation. Encouraged in his writing by the Romantic novelist George Sand (who shared the same publisher, Hetzel), Verne would

have been immersed in this fiction, and familiar with other writers who made use of the tropes of the *voyages imaginaires*. Verne was a great admirer of Edgar Allan Poe,⁴ who had in 1844 written ‘The Balloon Hoax’, a pseudo-scientific front-page story; it was a clear influence on Verne’s 1851 tale, *Un Voyage en Ballon*. Verne’s 1865 tale, *From the Earth to the Moon*, also indicates Poe’s influence; a group of American industrialists attempt to fire a cannon shell from ‘Stony Hill’, a narrative directly referenced in the gun club and gunpowder details of the Space Mountain ride at Disneyland Paris.⁵ Victor Hugo was also published by Hetzel; his 1860 novel *Les Travailleurs de la Mer* features an encounter with a giant octopus that is much like that in *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*. Alexander Dumas, best known for the historical romances *The Three Musketeers* and *The Count of Monte Cristo*, also wrote a novella, *Voyage à la Lune*, that involved spacecraft. Verne’s preoccupation with scientific expeditions and with the machinery of travel, air balloons, submarines and space rockets firmly belongs in this tradition of the fantastic voyage.

From 1867, the publisher Hetzel gave Verne his own imprint, which directly referenced the tradition of the *voyages imaginaires*: ‘Voyages Extraordinaires’ became the title of his collected works. Hetzel produced Verne’s tales between 1867 and 1910, first in cheap serialised magazine versions and then as illustrated special edition volumes. Their success led to a series of imprints based on adventure and ‘scientific’ expeditions. Hetzel was a canny promoter, publishing coloured posters for bookshop displays, and issuing Verne’s fiction in several differently priced editions. English translations followed suit; ‘Jules Verne’s STARTLING STORIES, with Charming Coloured Pictures’ were published in shilling and two-shilling volumes in ‘The Youths’ Library of Wonder and Adventure’ by London publishers Ward, Lock & Tyler (*A List of Ward, Lock & Co.’s Illustrated Gift Books, Standard Works and Popular Volumes for Children*, London, 1879). Verne fast acquired a reputation and a set of visuals associated with his fiction that extended beyond the readers of his novels. Hetzel’s elaborate covers for the illustrated editions of ‘Voyages Extraordinaires’ were reconfigured in abridged and pirate versions of the novels; images from Verne appeared on collectors’ cards, as children’s toys and games and were enacted in panoramas. The Nautilus submarine and the flying balloon became familiar icons of French popular culture.

Verne had first made his living in Paris through journalism and by writing librettos for operettas and short plays. It was inevitable that the success of his fiction would move on to the stage and later find its place in film. Offenbach invited Verne to stage a musical at his theatre Les Bouffes Parisiens,⁶ and later based his 1875 operetta *Voyage à la Lune* on a Verne story. *Around the World in Eighty Days* was first written as a play, and was already a best-selling novel by the time it was staged in Paris in 1874. The production was spectacular, boasting exotic landscapes (including Egyptian pyramids), live animals and mechanical stage effects. It was a huge success, which turned Verne into a

celebrity author, and led to further stage productions of Verne tales. Images of the sets were reproduced as three-dimensional *vues stéréotypiques*, an early form of the Viewmaster.⁷ The lavishness of these sets introduced a style of theatre that was to influence the early film spectacles of Georges Méliès.

Méliès' most famous film, *Le Voyage dans la Lune* (1902), was loosely based on Verne's novel, and owed much to the sets of the Parisian theatre production. This film, pirated and distributed by Edison across America, produced some of the most enduring images of imagined space travel and rockets, faithfully reproduced in the Space Mountain rocket at Disneyland Paris. Méliès produced *Two Hundred Thousand Leagues Under the Sea; or the Nightmare of a Fisherman Who Saw a Sea Monster* in 1906; as the title implies, this took some liberties with the text, in introducing scenes with young women posing as mermaids and octopi. A later silent film was produced in 1916 with an accompanying book of stills; it included the novel's sequel, *The Mysterious Island*. The novel has since been turned into a number of film and television versions, of which the most familiar is the 1954 Disney version. *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* was filmed by Disney in Cinemascope and Technicolor in 1954. Verne's success in spectacular fictions was proven; the film was released in a period when the spectacular was required as cinema was threatened with declining audiences. The film was lavishly produced, and won an award for its special effects and art direction. The designs were redeployed as the 'Submarine Voyage' at the first Disneyland and later appeared at Disney World and at Disneyland Paris.⁸

For all his popular success, Verne himself was anxious not to be seen as a writer of fiction for children, despite the fact that his publisher, Hetzel, had based his success on publications for children. Verne insisted that his fiction was based on extensive scientific research; *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* begins with much use of technological language, and a first-person narrator with an impeccable academic biography of research into mineralogy, botany and zoology embarks on an expedition that is apparently backed by (real) international scientific institutions. Verne distanced himself from H.G. Wells, whose work he disdained as scientific 'romance' – although it was Wells who was the trained scientist. Verne claimed a 'scientific truth' for his work; his much-vaunted research, however, was based less on scientific knowledge than it was derived from encyclopaedia entries and popular scientific journals. The novels were themselves popularisations of a 'science' that had been filtered through second-hand sources and other researchers, as Michel De Certeau has explained:

According to the terms of the contract drafted by the publisher J.P. Hetzel ... a geographer in the service of the National Library is 'charged with assembling the documents and texts necessary for the publication of Jules Verne's book, *Les Grand Voyages* and *Les Grands Voyageurs*, already begun'; Verne is to 'revise' this preparatory work, and 'modify it to make it his own'. (De Certeau 1986: 137)

The 'science' of Verne's fiction, then, consisted in mediations of scientific developments that he himself only half understood and that were based on a science that was already antiquated. As De Certeau points out, the science in the texts and documents collated for Verne to turn into fictions were not so much contemporary innovations, but dated from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Roland Barthes includes Verne's *Nautilus* as one of his cultural 'myths'. According to Barthes, the journey or expedition in Verne is inevitably a journey of colonisation:

Verne belongs to the progressive lineage of the bourgeoisie: his work proclaims that nothing can escape man, that the world, even its most distant part, is like an object in his hand and that, all told, property is but a dialectical moment in the general enslavement of Nature. (Barthes 1972: 65)

This is a version of Verne that fits neatly with the idea of progress articulated in the World's Fairs, and with their displays of a tamed natural world. The conquest of nature by technology continues in the Disney version of Jules Verne. The Living Seas Pavilion at Epcot (corporate sponsorship provided by United Technologies, a company specialising in technology and aerospace) includes a display of early diving suits, just as in the Paris Exposition. What was once exhibited as cutting-edge science has here become a nostalgic heritage of technological progress; the Living Seas attraction features the diving suit developed for the Disney *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*, and a model of the *Nautilus* used in the film is also on display. These fictional and cinematic inventions are presented as having the same historical status as exhibits at the nineteenth-century World's Fairs.

The interweaving of Verne with the World's Fairs, theatrical spectacle and early film would be enough to draw him into the Disney project. But he was also a particularly useful figure for the Disney Corporation to reference when the siting of Disneyland outside Paris required Disney to acknowledge French and European cultural traditions. According to one Disney spokesman,

One way we tried to do this ... was to replace Tomorrowland with something called Discoveryland, which was based around the idea of Jules Verne's Discovery Bay. Verne's idea of the future had influenced Walt, yet it remained very European, very French. (Quoted in Finch 2004: 155)

The myth of Verne is used across Discoveryland to magically resolve the tensions between European and American versions of the future and between their different traditions: the Disneyland Paris guidebook invites you to (simultaneously) '[g]o back in time, travel forward to the future' (Walt Disney Company, 2002, p. 69).

Verne appears at the Disneyland Paris sites with the same respectful aura that Perrault occupies at Fantasyland; he is the presiding spirit of the Discoveryland space, and a monument, resonant of the architecture of the Paris 1900 Exposition, stands at its centre, inscribed with Verne's words in

French: 'Tout ce qui est dans la limite du possible doit être et sera accompli'.⁹ Verne is promoted in the site as a scientific visionary and as an entirely uncritical supporter of progress and technology.¹⁰ When the Disneyland park in Paris first opened, it featured a video of Verne and H.G. Wells as Victorian figures admiring the wonders of current technologies at the Grand Palais (built for the 1900 Exposition Universelle). Verne and Wells are both invoked as central and authoritative narrators of 'science' in the Disney parks, although both were markedly equivocal in their writings about the social benefits of scientific progress. The Wells and Verne found in the 'Time Traveller' attraction at Discoveryland, however, have no qualms about the potentials of new technology and enthusiastically embrace the innovations of corporate sponsors Renault and Sony. The Disney version of Wells and Verne presents them as visionaries for whom travel and adventure in time and space would arrive through the commercial development of new consumer products.¹¹

The complexities of Wells's and Verne's fictions are compressed in Disneyland into an unambiguous celebration of new technologies. In the context of Discoveryland, their status as 'classic' writers allows them to be encoded as 'timeless' supporters of a nineteenth-century conviction in the excitement of technology, and the belief that progress could only continue. The referencing to their fiction in the iconography and naming of the attractions, however, owes less to the novels than to the metonymic icons that now connote these stories: the balloon of *Around the World in Eighty Days*, the submarine of *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*. The most significant feature of the Nautilus attraction is the giant octopus appearing outside the porthole of the submarine; this is the key image that appeared in the first publicity for the novel, and which has recurred in frontispieces, illustrations, cartoon versions and film posters for the novel ever since. The versions of Verne and Wells found in contemporary popular culture and at the Disney sites have been produced by sets of mediations of their fiction in popular illustration, theatre and film that have now become detached from their writings.

Verne and Wells have competing claims to being the founder of contemporary science fiction; while Verne rejected the phrase, Wells was happy to identify himself with the 'scientific Romance'. Wells clearly acknowledges the appropriation of technological knowledge for the fairground and recognises the alliance of science and carnival. In his *The Time Machine* (1895) the inventor is well aware of the entertainment potential for his machine, and fully expects 'the distinguished honour of an offer from Mr. Barnum to exhibit him ... in all the principal cities in the United States!' (Wells 1976: 184). The Time Traveller's journey offers the reader an intensification of experience and sensation, and evokes in its description the intense colours and shapes of a carnival attraction. It is described as 'a kind of hysterical exhilaration', and explicitly in terms of a fairground ride:

I cannot convey the peculiar sensations of time travelling. They are excessively unpleasant. There is a feeling exactly like that one has upon a switchback – of a helpless headlong motion! (Wells 1976: 24)

Raymond Williams has cited Wells as an example of a Victorian science fiction writer who does not offer a sentimentally utopian vision of progress. He argues that Wells's constructions of a technological future are a means of articulating a social critique, rather than an unquestioning endorsement of scientific advance. Like the 1898 *The War of the Worlds*, *The Time Machine* is a Darwinian moral fable, a dystopian warning of the consequences of inequality. George Orwell has described his own excitement at the discovery of Wells's science fiction, and suggests what a subversive writer he was:

Back in the nineteen-hundreds it was a wonderful experience for a boy to discover H.G. Wells ... here was this wonderful man who could tell you about the inhabitants of the planets and the bottom of the sea, and who *knew* that the future was not going to be what respectable people imagined. (Orwell 1961c: 165)

The Wellsian future, however, is presented at Disneyland as entirely what respectable people imagine. H.G. Wells, like Verne, is safely relegated to the past, and his version of the future constructed as quaint. Verne and Wells are no longer seen as relevant to discussions of scientific progress, but have become 'heritage' authors, known largely through images and abridgements.¹²

Both Wells and Verne were widely published as short stories in European and American journals. While Wells's radicalism and atheism did not endear him to the Christian founders of the *Boy's Own Paper*, many of Verne's stories were first read in English there. Verne's combination of adventure and rational recreation made him entirely fitted to the paper's moral purpose; presented to readers as a heroic figure, he featured as a portrait of '[b]oys who became famous' in 1880. Verne published in the *Boy's Own Paper* from its beginning, contributing stories and then a serial each year, illustrated with full-page prints. *Boy's Own Paper* was keen to demonstrate its modernity not only through fiction but also with educational articles to keep readers up with contemporary inventions. In the spirit of *Mechanics' Magazine* and of rational recreation it regularly published articles on the construction of gadgets, featuring the latest innovations. From the 1890s, electricity featured in instructions for the construction of bells and home telephones; the 1920s saw a series on building wireless sets. In 1897, readers were instructed on 'How to Take a Photograph of the Moon'. Verne's story 'The Master of the World' (which featured a flying saucer) was published in 1914 with spectacular illustrations of flying machines, and his work was continually republished in the paper well into the twentieth century.

While imaginative fiction and popular science in magazines speculated about and illustrated fantasies of new scientific innovation, the potential was actualised in mechanical inventions at the World's Fairs. 'Progress' was affirmed in architectural innovation at the sites; the Great Exhibition had stressed new industrial technologies, and subsequent host cities were keen to display their national inventiveness. A 'Machinery Hall' was a standard element of the World's Fair, displaying new technologies; the mechanics for many now

familiar theme park rides were first seen at World's Fairs.¹³ The Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 featured an elevated railway, the forerunner of the monorail that has become an established attraction of amusement parks. The 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition was largely organised around the new excitement of electricity and lighting; it featured an Electricity Hall, which housed demonstrations of Edison's kinetoscope.¹⁴ The 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris displayed cutting-edge engineering with the specially built and controversial Eiffel Tower.

The Eiffel Tower inspired plans for a series of similar towers at British seaside resorts, of which Blackpool's Tower was the only one to be built. Along with the tower itself, Blackpool Tower featured many other technological innovations seen at World's Fairs, including a hydraulic lift, an aquarium and spectacular water effects. The tower also housed the 'Dome of Discovery', an early 'scientific' playground (and precursor of Disney's Tomorrowland) that has been there since the tower was first built in 1894. Blackpool's Pleasure Beach also invested in spectacular mechanical rides (often based on American technology) and trumpeted their 'scientific' and technological claims; 'Sir Hiram Maxim's Captive Flying Machine' was built in 1904 (and is the oldest surviving carnival attraction in Britain).¹⁵

The most extravagant rides at Blackpool's Pleasure Beach came from a financial arrangement with America and largely from Coney Island. The latest attractions at Coney Island had themselves often first been seen at World's Fairs. There was a constant exchange between the new technologies displayed at World's Fairs and the showmen skills of carnival entrepreneurs. Frederic Thompson (who went on to develop Luna Park on Coney Island), like Disney, learned his trade as a carnival showman at World's Fairs, beginning as a demonstrator at the 1893 Chicago Fair. Thompson designed an elaborate 'Trip to the Moon' attraction for the 1901 Buffalo Fair, which was later taken to Luna Park.

It was claimed that 'Trip to the Moon' was inspired by an H.G. Wells short story (recently published in America), but it is also clearly inflected by Verne; it was much admired by visitors, including Thomas Edison. The attraction featured some devices that derived from eighteenth-century panoramas and others that Disney and other theme parks now continue to use. 'Trip to the Moon' was based on a cyclorama, which produced the effect of flying through space towards the moon, an illusion that contemporary flight simulator attractions replicate with film. Visitors were welcomed by a guide who claimed professional expertise from the Aerial Navigation Company and who used cod-scientific language to talk them through the experience (see Cross and Walton 2005: 86). This is a device that continues in 'scientific' attractions across theme parks, from the 'Star Tours' attraction¹⁶ at Disney parks to the Blackpool 'Space Invader' ride. The 'Trip to the Moon' was later replaced at Luna Park by 'A Trip to Mars by Aeroplane' and a submarine ride, 'Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea', more directly based on Verne and a precursor of the

Disney attraction. 'Under and Over the Sea' was another Thompson attraction developed for the 1904 St Louis Fair, which managed to make use of several Verne plots and icons; it featured a submarine that travelled to Paris and then returned its passengers to the fair by airship.

The wonders of mechanical engineering, the airship and submarine could not be upheld as images of scientific progress for long into the twentieth century. Although these would all survive as nostalgic icons of a nineteenth-century faith in technology and science, they had become an iconography of a historical science as twentieth-century modernity looked to the future. The 1933 Chicago Exposition was titled 'A Century of Progress'; in celebrating the centennial of the city, it was concerned to demonstrate how far technology had come since the nineteenth century. Determinedly modernist in its displays and architecture, the attractions continued to feature fantastic voyages, but now in streamlined versions; an elevated tram system, the Sky Ride, ferried passengers in 'rocket cars'. While insisting on contemporaneity, the exposition could still present the entirely optimistic view of technology and science of its nineteenth-century counterparts.

The New York World's Fair of 1939 followed the modernist principles of the Chicago fair with a futuristic theme: 'Building the World of Tomorrow'. Science and technology were central to the vision of 'Tomorrow'; attractions featured a time capsule holding writings by Einstein, and a planetarium was at the centre of the site. The emblems of the fair were the futuristic Geometric Trylon and Perisphere, and it was the first to exhibit the new medium of television. The advertising poster for the New York Fair, featuring skyscrapers and geometric modernity, clearly borrowed from contemporary science fiction covers. The Blackpool Pleasure Beach was also redesigned in the 1930s in modernist guise, with architecture from the Modern Movement.¹⁷ The sleek lines of modernism were now the style that connoted 'science' in entertainment sites. The newly modelled Pleasure Beach was one of many contemporary amusement parks to resemble illustrations in contemporary science fiction magazines.

The American *Amazing Stories*, published from 1926 onwards, was the first dedicated science fiction magazine. Its publisher Hugo Gernsback has been claimed as 'the father of modern American science fiction' (Lofficier and Lofficier 2000: 339). Gernsback, however, was born in Luxemburg and so had been brought up on Verne, and his publishing empire began with translations of Verne; his first published magazine, *Modern Electrics* (1908) was in the tradition of *Mechanics' Magazine*. Gernsback described the fiction in *Amazing Stories* as 'The Jules Verne, H.G. Wells and Edgar Allan Poe type of story – a charming romance intermingled with scientific fact and prophetic vision. ... They supply knowledge in a very palatable form (quoted in Martin 1981: 37). The 'palatable' scientific education came in the form of comic book illustrations and luridly coloured covers, images that gave the science fiction genre its own distinctive look. These in turn went on to inform the conventions for the *mise*

en scène for versions of Wells's and Verne's fiction and other popular science fiction films, and so shaped an iconography of the 'scientific' for twentieth-century popular culture.

Writing in 1939, George Orwell identified science fiction as a new theme in boy's weeklies: 'The one theme that is really new is the scientific one. Death-rays, Martians, invisible men, robots, helicopters and interplanetary rockets figure largely' (Orwell 1961a: 106). By 1953, there were almost forty science fiction magazines published in America alone. According to Mike Ashley,

If ever there was a real Golden Age of science fiction it was 1950–54, when *Galaxy*, *Astounding Science Fiction*, *If*, *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, *Startling Stories*, *Amazing Stories*, *Fantastic* and a dozen or more magazines published some of the best work ever seen. (Ashley 2005: viii)

Like Gernsback, many of these magazine publishers made their profits by printing tales from the science fiction archives (including Verne and Wells), so avoiding copyright fees. Paperback novels emulated the same lurid covers and illustrations of the magazines; the 1942 publisher Popular Books was founded by the management of the magazines *Thrilling Wonder Stories* and *Startling Stories*. Popular science is one of the categories that Richard Hoggart explores in *The Uses of Literacy*. While he cannot acknowledge that 'the newer mass art' of paperbacks and magazines was just as likely to publish 'literary' as pulp fiction,¹⁸ he does recognise the combination of magic and science that characterised the genre:

Science. Here the titles ring the changes on, 'Science', 'Space Science' and 'Spaceways' with adjectival support from 'Startling', 'Weird', 'Future', 'Astounding', 'Fantastic', 'Super', 'Thrilling' and 'Authentic'. ... This is the sort of science fiction which preceded, and presumably goes on unaffected by, the elevation of some writing on similar themes into a subject for serious discussion in the literary weeklies. (Hoggart 1957: 206)

Contemporary comic book heroes featured these same adjectives in their names and are clearly shaped by the language and iconography of the science fiction genre. Superman first appeared in America in 1938 in the first issue of *Action Comics*. Superman may have worn the costume of a circus strongman, but his superpowers had a (vague) scientific explanation, which became more pronounced in the 1950s. 'Dan Dare: Pilot of the Future' was a British answer to Superman, the leading serial in the British children's comic strip magazine *Eagle*, first published in 1950. Dan Dare's exploits were not unrelated to the heroic adventures found in nineteenth-century magazines such as the *Boy's Own Paper*. *Eagle* was developed as a Christian alternative to the perceived corrupting influence of the American comic, and Dan Dare offered a twentieth-century version of muscular Christianity. If Dan Dare was a reconfiguration of a nineteenth-century muscular Christian hero, his environment was emphatically modern. The futuristic settings of Dan Dare's adventures were,

like Blackpool's Pleasure Beach, modelled on modernist architecture. Dan Dare's illustrator, *Eagle's* art editor Frank Hampson, used model sets for the regular backgrounds, in order that they could be drawn from many angles. The style was easily adaptable for the *mise en scène* of cinema science fiction, and could be recreated for three-dimensional attractions.

Dan Dare was a moral anchor and an acceptable conduit into the strange new world of science and technology that was becoming increasingly alarming in a Cold War context of atomic science. *Eagle's* features supported Dan Dare in his moral confidence and optimism about the new Space Age. *Eagle's* centre spread was devoted to diagrams showing the workings of machinery, both historical and contemporary, which assumed that readers would be as amazed and impressed at the new mechanical inventions as visitors had once been at the Great Exhibition and World's Fairs. In the spirit of rational recreation and the pages of *Mechanics' Magazine*, models of steam engines, trains, cars and space machines were illustrated in heavily captioned diagrams.

In response to the domestic technology of the television screen in the 1950s, Hollywood developed innovative techniques for cinema screens, such as Cinemascope, first shown in 1953. The fantastic sets required by the science fiction genre fitted the new widescreen formats, and answered the cinema's need for spectacle that the small screen could not reproduce. The 1956 film *Forbidden Planet* introduced 'Robby the Robot'.¹⁹ The poster, and the *mise en scène* of the film, owed a great deal to the lurid front covers of *Amazing Stories* (an association that is confirmed by the inclusion of the word 'amazing' before the title) in its use of acidic colours and the array of astronomical planets and stars. With Disneyland's origins in the World's Fairs, and with the ubiquity of the science fiction genre in America in the 1950s, it was inevitable that 'Tomorrow' should be one of its central themes.

'Tomorrow' is, however, a difficult concept to visualise and to actualise in theme park attractions, as the Disney World souvenir guide acknowledges:

Simply by definition, Tomorrowland poses one of the Magic Kingdom's greatest challenges to designers. Because the future is a moving target, Tomorrowland must undergo continual updating. (Walt Disney Company 1986: 54)

The history of the designs, however, suggests less a 'continual updating' than a return to the past in Tomorrowland. Tomorrowland was the last of the Disneyland 'lands' to be built, but it appears in the early drawings for Disneyland under the title 'Land of Tomorrow', a reference to the New York Exposition of 1939. Walt Disney's 'Academy Award-winning film' *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* had come out the year before, and became one of the earliest attractions of the site, based on the very expensive set designs for the film. 'Jules Verne's science-fiction classic' (in the words of the Disney advertisement for the film) remains still the dominant representation of science in Tomorrowland.

Disney was not prepared to take on board the dystopian features of much of the science fiction that was contemporary to his theme park, and so took refuge in the much safer view of technology found in nineteenth-century fiction and in the World's Fairs. Another attraction in the first Disneyland was 'Rocket to the Moon', an improved version of the 'Trip to the Moon', first seen in 1901, now updated with advice from NASA. Tomorrowland did make some concessions to the 1950s, and the celebration of the motor car in 'Autopia' was another of the earliest attractions. But even the contemporary attractions referred back to earlier World's Fairs; the 'StarJets' recall the 'rocket' cars of the 1933 Chicago Fair, as does the monorail train.

Tomorrowland in its first incarnation also recycled the modernist architecture of the 1933 and 1939 American fairs. In 1966 Tomorrowland was remodelled to make use of the gleaming technology of contemporary innovations. The Florida 'Space Mountain' is a sleek modernist version of travel, which opened in 1975, the year before Concorde first took flight. The 'Tomorrowland' sites were reconfigured again in 1998, in a 'retro-future' style (closely based on the modelling of the space at Disneyland Paris), and once again, relied heavily on Verne and Wells for the representation of 'science'.

If the American Disney parks did make some use of twentieth-century technology and design and referenced the modernist World Exhibitions of Chicago, New York and Brussels, in the plans for their counterpart space in Paris, 'Discoveryland', the 'future' is coded almost exclusively as nineteenth century. The architecture of Discoveryland evokes the Grand Palais built for the 1900 Paris Exposition, and the Crystal Palace of the Great Exhibition, with monumental verdigris ironwork and visible engineering. The promotional material for the Paris 'Space Mountain' invites the visitor to '[b]race yourself as you're blasted to the moon on Space Mountain. This high speed thrill at Disneyland Paris is light years from anything you've ever known!' (Walt Disney Company 1997: 11).

In fact, while Space Mountain may be the most visible attraction at the Disneyland Paris site, unlike its modernist American equivalents, the Paris attraction is entirely familiar and antique. The space rocket directly references Méliès' 1902 film *Voyage to the Moon*; the ride's narrative is drawn from a Verne tale, and the mechanics of the ride are derived from Thompson's 1901 'Trip to the Moon' attraction. The vision of the future world at Discoveryland is entirely contingent on ideas and images of science that come from the past.

The Disneyland Paris brochure presents its Discoveryland site as a 'land of the future', but simultaneously situates that future as envisioned from the past. Verne (along with Leonardo da Vinci who is also cited) here becomes a visionary thinker, written into Disney's history in much the same terms as Walt:

Well before his contemporaries imagined it could be possible, Jules Verne dreamed ... that man could defy the laws of gravity, free himself from the atmosphere, travel beyond the galaxy. ... Go back in time, travel forward to the future. (Walt Disney Company 2002: 69)

Disney's version of science and the future is in Discoveryland, like the park itself, presented as one of boundless possibility, but while Discoveryland and Tomorrowland claim to envision the future, their attractions are rooted in the technology of the past and offer a version of science and progress that belongs to the nineteenth century. 'Tomorrowland' is much less about tomorrow than it is about the yesterday of Verne, Wells and the World's Fairs.

The World's Fairs of the 1950s and early 1960s, like Disney, had to negotiate the fact that science and technology, in the context of two world wars and of the Cold War, were less a source of wonder than of fear and anxiety. Nonetheless, the World's Fairs located in Brussels, Seattle and New York continued to promote a determinedly optimistic version of the future of science. The 1958 Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles featured at its centre the Atomium, a steel molecule magnified 150 billion times, which became the symbol of the fair, and still stands on the site.²⁰ The Atomium embodied a firm endorsement of atomic energy and power; the same unequivocal embrace for the atom had been found in Walt Disney's *Our Friend the Atom*, an animated film issued as a book in 1956.

The Seattle Century 21 Exposition of 1962 moved away from the atomic age into the Space Age with the theme 'Man's Life in the Space Age' and attractions that centred on space travel. NASA had its own pavilion, and displayed the Friendship 7 space capsule that had launched astronaut John Glenn. The attractions of earlier fairs were still present, but now Space Age-themed, as in a monorail with rocket capsules. 'The Bubbleator' took visitor through panoramas, 'Man's Past Futures', 'Century 21 City' and 'Your Future Today', which made use of the technology of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rides, while their narratives denigrated the past in an affirmation of the contemporary. 'The Carousel of Progress' has the same story of quaint technologies superseded by progress, and employs the same panoramic devices. The Carousel was designed by Disney for the General Electric Pavilion at the 1964 New York Fair and is now to be found in Tomorrowland in Florida, where it is displayed as a 'heritage' attraction.

'The Bubbleator' and its panoramas are direct forerunners of the rides to be found at the Epcot Center at Disney World. 'Spaceship Earth', 'The Living Seas' and 'Journey to Imagination' (all titles that owe something to Verne) transport visitors through panoramic displays designed to tell a story of progress. Epcot is in a direct line of descent from nineteenth-century World's Fairs. Epcot is the Disneyland site that is most given over to a celebration of science and technology, being dedicated to 'dreams for better tomorrows', but those dreams are less those of late modernity than they are those of a Victorian past. The 'World Village', with pavilions from around the world, is derived from the ethnological displays that exhibited ethnic groups in 'Native Villages' at nineteenth-century World's Fairs. The shopping outlets at Epcot display goods from the exhibiting nations in much the same way that the Great Exhibition

exhibited the products of its trading partners. The Epcot site also boasts spectacular architecture, designed to show off its innovative engineering. The Geodesic dome is a version of the dome designed by Buckminster Fuller for the 1967 Montreal Universal and International Exhibition (it also evokes the Geometric Trylon of the 1939 New York Fair), but at Epcot it is renamed 'Spaceship Earth'. As in the Great Exhibition and every World's Fair since, the promotional material for Epcot is filled with statistics and figures claiming its attractions as the largest, the newest and at the cutting edge of technology.

Epcot is presented in Disney promotional literature without any reference to this history of World's Fairs (with the exception of the 'Carousel of Progress', which is constructed as part of Walt's heritage). Instead, Walt Disney's 'greatest dream' is presented as a 'Future World', and its displays are governed by the trade and technologies of global corporations. As one of the Disney designers explains, 'it had to keep its foundations rooted in Walt Disney's goal of marrying the technological know-how of American free enterprise (that is, corporate sponsors) with Disney storytelling' (Sklar 1997: 16). An alliance of corporate capital and 'imagineering' is structured into the financing and attractions of the Disney sites. The Epcot Center was financed, and continues to be funded, through the sponsorship of multinational corporations. It was the New York Trade Fair of 1964 that secured Disney's relationship with corporate sponsors, as Alan Bryman has explained:

[T]he Fair acted as a catalyst since he persuaded major corporations to sponsor attractions for the Fair. These attractions were subsequently incorporated into Disneyland. The attractions and their sponsors were: Progressland (General Electric); It's a Small World (Pepsi-Cola); Magic Skyway (Ford); and Great Moments with Mr Lincoln (the Worlds Fair Committee). (Bryman 1995: 13)

Like the Great Exhibition, Epcot's vision of the future was explicitly coded with commerce and technology, in its planning and its realisation. It can be understood as the first permanent World's Fair, although it was originally designed to be inhabited. Disney originally planned Epcot as a place for people to live, an 'Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow', in a utopian future that would be funded by and promote American corporate technology.

Epcot was designed to display the products and inventions of consumer capitalism, in an affirmation of newly available technologies, as Walt declared: 'EPCOT will be a showcase to the world for the ingenuity and imagination of American free enterprise' (quoted in Walt Disney Company 1986: 11). Walt Disney's official biographers explain Walt's vision of a 'Futureworld':

Twenty Thousand people would rent homes in EPCOT. Everyone would work. ... Large companies would have the opportunity to try out their latest inventions. In exchange for acting as guinea pigs, residents of EPCOT could experience the newest and most exciting creations before anyone else. Walt and his small band toured the usually classified research departments of major corporations like General Motors, General Electric and Xerox. (Greene and Greene 1991: 158)

Epcot's 'Future World' reassures the visitor that the multinational corporations who have sponsored the exhibits are responsible guardians of the planet's future. The attractions of Epcot promote a version of the future in which capital, technology and science are working together towards a future that will have tamed and controlled the environment. Epcot, more than any other Disneyland attraction, attempts to reconcile cultural and historical difference into a hegemonic account of 'progress'. By the late twentieth century it was becoming more and more difficult for the large corporations who control new technologies to present their products to an audience as protecting the environment and as entirely beneficent.

The optimism and faith in the progress of industrial technologies displayed at the Great Exhibition, at the World's Fairs and in Disney's Epcot became difficult to sustain in a late modern world increasingly suspicious of science and technology. It is no coincidence that Tomorrowland was redesigned in 1966, and that the contemporary refashioning was unsuccessful. According to Mike Ashley, 'around 1960 science fiction lost its way' (Ashley 2005: viii). The wonder of technology that had fuelled the science fiction magazines of the 1950s had given way to anxiety about its potential for destruction, and most of the successful science fiction comics and magazines closed.

J.G. Ballard, the writer who has perhaps problematised the science fiction genre more than any other, dates this mistrust to the 1960s, and has argued that any contemporary version of the future is now too frightening to contemplate:

Sadly, at some point in the 1960s our sense of the future seemed to atrophy and die. Over-population and the threat of nuclear war, environmentalist concerns for our ravaged planet and unease at an increasingly wayward science together made everyone fearful of the future. Like passengers on a ship blown towards a rocky coast, we retreated to our cabins and drew the curtains over the portals. (Ballard 1982: 3)

It was at that 'point' in the 1960s when Epcot was first conceived and planned by Disney and his 'imagineers'. Epcot finally gave up the project of a futuristic community, and instead modelled itself on the Great Exhibition and the World's Fairs. Like Discoveryland, and Tomorrowland, it took refuge in a nineteenth-century past.

The nostalgic construction of science in the theme park can be understood as one of Ballard's *Myths of the Near Future*, in its emptying out of any history, conflict or damage. The theme park version of science fiction now depends on two historical moments when an undisguised celebration of science and technology seemed possible; the 1850s and 1950s were periods when technological innovation could be seen as a source of wonder and excitement, rather than fear. Disney's Tomorrowlands shroud 'science' in a safe nostalgia for those times when scientific progress was felt to be unassailable. Science is

represented in the contemporary theme park in terms of what Fredric Jameson has called the 'nostalgia mode'. Jameson, like Ballard, sees the retreat into nostalgia as a symptom of an inability to confront contemporary experience:

[A]s though, for some reason, we were unable today to focus our own present, as though we had become incapable of achieving aesthetic representations of our own current experience. But if that is so, then it is a terrible indictment of consumer capitalism itself – or at the very least, an alarming and pathological symptom of a society that has become incapable of dealing with time and history. (Jameson 1985: 117)

It is no coincidence that Jameson uses the 1977 film *Star Wars* as the text to explore his concept of pastiche; science fiction is the genre that now most depends on nostalgia, and *Star Wars* is a film that knowingly makes great use of traditional genres. George Lucas (as befits a scholar of myth and legend) employs all the genres embedded in the popular imagination in his film: elements of chivalric romance, the Western, fairy tale, adventure and Gothic horror are all contained within a framework of an ostensibly futuristic science fiction package. Disney was quick to harness the success of the *Star Wars* franchise, with its 1987 attraction 'Star Tours', designed by Lucas; while it



Figure 9.2 Balloons, Legoland, 2010

uses film rather than painted scenery, it is based on the same mechanics as the panoramic simulated rides of the nineteenth-century World's Fairs.

Tomorrowland has notoriously been the most difficult area for the Disney Corporation to manage; it remained unfinished at Disneyland's opening in 1955, and is the themed land that has most frequently been redesigned. Cross and Walton have argued,

The Disney package worked especially well for evoking the imagined 'past' and 'timelessness' but less so for the future, as witnessed by the need to renovate Tomorrowland numerous times and then to increasingly stress science fiction fantasy rather than future technology. (Cross and Walton 2005: 184)

Tomorrow could not be perpetually displaced at Disneyland and other theme parks, and so has settled in a nineteenth-century version of science fiction fantasy. To be magical, 'science' depends on a lack of technical understanding, and to preserve its mystique it has to be unfamiliar. While visitors to the Great Exhibition and the World's Fairs could marvel and celebrate at the power and magic of new technology, by the late twentieth century innovations that would once have amazed are now available at home. The London Millennium Dome also attempted to show its visitors the excitements of new technology, which most could access through their home computer. In the twentieth-first century, 'science' has become both dangerous and domesticated. The science fiction of the theme park continues to promote technology, but can only preserve an optimism in progress by retreating into a historical past when scientific invention was not potentially terrifying, but could be wonderful.

Constructing the Frontier

The Western

The Western is the most quintessentially American of genres, the one set of narratives at the carnival site that is indigenously American. While other narratives of adventure, such the jungle explorer and the archaeologist in Egypt, largely belong to European imperial histories, the Western is entirely the story of American conquest. Inevitably, it figures particularly large at the Disney parks, where it is unique as the only genre that takes up two of the Disney ‘lands’: ‘Frontierland’ and ‘Main Street, USA’. As Louis Marin (1984: 247) has pointed out, Main Street and Frontierland are in close proximity and structured together at Disney parks as two elements of the Western narrative. While Main Street’s rationale and architecture can be understood as the ‘town’ of the Hollywood Western *mise en scène*, Frontierland represents an imagined ‘wilderness’ (see Kitses 1969: 11–12). A celebration of the American West extends well beyond American carnival; Americana has long signified modernity and excitement in commercial pleasure sites across Europe, ‘Americanness’ often connoted simply by the presence of the stars and stripes and of red white and blue rosettes.

Associated with Americana is a long-established set of metonymic icons that have come to signify the Western genre. The cowboy hat, the feathered headdress, the runaway mine train and the saloon bar are in themselves signifiers of the carnivalesque, and are present in every theme park in the world. The Danish Legoland theme park embodies all these signifiers of the Western genre in its corporate description of its ‘Western’ space, Legoredo Town¹:

The ‘Wild West’ has always set the imagination aglow. Cowboys. Red Indians. Horses. Gold-diggers. ... They’re all here. ... right in LEGOREDO® Town, the playground of all ages in the LEGOLAND park. ... At LEGOLDMINE® small adventurers pan gold nuggets from the river’s sand. (Legoland Guide: 8)

This guidebook description recycles all the narratives and iconography of the American West that are to be found in the contemporary fairground. An entire theme park in Cornwall, ‘Spirit of the West’, is dedicated to the myths of the American West and offers live-action versions of the Lego attractions: panning for gold; a mining camp and a frontier town, populated by ‘authentic dressed characters’; sheriffs, saloon bar girls; cowboys; and North American



Figure 10.1 'Shooting a flume' in the Sierra Nevada, *Harper's Weekly*, 2 June 1877

Indians. Images of these figures and locations were among the widely circulated representations of the American West that reached across Europe and America through news stories, book and journal illustrations and heroic paintings of the conquest of the Western frontier and of the Native American peoples.

The constructions of the American cowboy and Indian,² now conventionalised in the Western genre, have a long history, which extends back to both American and European romanticisations of the American peoples and landscapes.

The European public would have been fascinated by, but familiar with, the popular spectacle of the Native American Indian from the late eighteenth century. Traces of a combination of fear and fascination survive into contemporary representations of the American Indian, as Edward Buscombe explains: 'The view of Indians that was laid down at the time the (Western) genre was formed is still embedded deep within its structure' (Buscombe 2006: 30). A romantic construct of the 'noble savage' saw a celebration of the 'natural' and authentic Native American not only in poetry and painting but also in displays of Indian people at exhibitions across Britain, Europe and later America. In 1762, London taverns and pleasure gardens hosted an exhibition of three 'Cherokee' Indian chiefs. Their display was a public sensation – celebrated in popular songs, cartoons³ and entertainments. There was some public and official unease at the commercial display of American citizens, and in 1765, a law was passed by the House of Lords 'to prevent any free Indian ... from being carried by Sea from any of his Majesty's Colonies in America, without a proper License for that purpose' (quoted in Altick 1978: 47). Nonetheless, as the Hottentot Venus would later demonstrate, there were any number of 'free' citizens who were willing to be displayed for a fee; the popular success of the Cherokee spectacle ensured a series of similar displays.⁴

The image of the Indian became an established feature of British popular culture; in 1794 *The Cherokee* was the title of a comic opera produced at the Drury Lane Theatre Royal in London, and one of many theatrical pieces concerned with the figure of the Indian. By 1818, the 'Indian' and the American West as images and concepts were cemented into contemporary European popular culture, as indicated in this Leeds poster:

WILD INDIAN
SAVAGES

From the Borders of Lake Eerie,
In the Western Wilds of North-America, who arrived at Liverpool in the Brig
Sally, on the 31st Day of January, 1818;

THE CHIEF & SIX WARRIORS

Of the Seneca Nation, will continue to exhibit their interesting Performances ...
The Performances will consist of a Faithful and Correct Representation of their
Native Manners and Customs.

For Particulars see Hand-Bills. (Contemporary broadsheet, reprinted in Foreman
1943: 121)

The group agreed to 'exhibit their interesting Performances' for one year; the troupe travelled across England from Liverpool, and were on show at London's Drury Lane and then in Europe, beginning from Paris (a trajectory that Buffalo Bill's show would later follow).

The image of the ‘savage’ warrior was one version of the Native American Indian to cross into Europe, apparently confirmed by the lurid story of the murder of Jane McCrea, the American fiancée of a soldier loyal to the British crown, who was purportedly ‘scalped’ by Indians. The image of Jane McCrea offered a potent symbol of the innocent white (and female) victim preyed upon by ‘savages’ in the American wilderness for both English and American publics. Jane McCrea’s fate was embodied in John Vanderlyn’s 1802 painting ‘The Murder of Jane McCrea’, a representation that was to be repeatedly reproduced and adapted in engravings and illustrations.⁵ The perceived threatening eroticism of Native American men was also suggested in ‘captivity narratives’ of European and American women abducted to live in Indian communities, some purportedly written by the women themselves; these stories regularly appeared in the form of chapbooks and pamphlets (see Buscombe 2006: 40–2).

A representation of the Indian as a threat to women, home and civilisation was long-lived; American World’s Fairs and Buffalo Bill were later to be instrumental in mounting scenarios that featured the savage Native American attacking white settlers. The Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 intentionally promoted this version of the Indian, as Rydell *et al.* have explained:

For the Centennial Exhibition, the Smithsonian, under the direction of its secretary, Joseph Henry, decided to focus its efforts on American Indian exhibits that would represent the Indians as primitive or savage counterpoints to forward-looking, so-called civilized white Americans. (Rydell *et al.* 2000: 21)

A long-standing counterpoint to such representations of native aggression appears in the figure of the noble ‘Indian’. The ‘noble savage’ represented an ostensibly less offensive version of the Indian, but was not much less derogatory in its vision of the native untainted by civilisation.⁶ This configuration of the Indian was established as high art iconography in paintings by Benjamin West, whose painting of a mournful Indian in ‘The Death of General Wolfe’ (1770) became an iconic representation of the ‘noble savage’; the painting was exhibited in America and in Britain. As a founding member of London’s Royal Academy and as its second president after Joshua Reynolds, West’s epic paintings were both embraced by the art establishment and familiar to a wide public through repeated reproductions. West produced reassuring versions of the white man’s conquest of America, as in his ‘William Penn’s Treaty with the Indians, when he founded the Province of Pennsylvania in North America’, first exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1772 (see Parry 1974: 37). Such images offered a comforting myth of the civilised white man engaging in non-violent negotiations with noble but nonetheless compliant Indians, and are referenced in the murals of Disney World’s Liberty Square.

The story of Pocahontas was another conciliatory (and feminised) founding American myth, and she became a Disney heroine in 1995. Pocahontas' relocation to Britain in 1616 (one of the few identifiable facts of her story) meant that she became a legendary figure on both sides of the Atlantic. She was the subject of a musical play, *The Indian Princess; or, La Belle Sauvage*, first produced in America in 1808 and then in London; its success ensured a series of plays about her and other tales of American Indians.⁷ Aspects of Pocahontas' story, her face and figure were repeatedly represented; her conversion to Christianity was inevitably a particularly popular subject for nineteenth-century painting. John Gadsby Chapman's 1840 painting 'The Baptism of Pocahontas' was commissioned for the Capitol building in Washington and became the subject of a government pamphlet extolling the virtues of the Christian faith as a means of dealing with 'native' savagery.

Such a fascination with the 'native' was often apparently from the best motives. George Catlin was a painter of the American West who prided himself on his knowledge and understanding of the Indian. He was a collector of North American Indian artefacts and published *Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the North American Indians* in 1841 and *Notes of Eight Years' Travels amongst Forty-Eight Different Tribes of Indians in America* in 1848. Both titles were replete with numerous engravings, which were repeatedly reproduced and served to popularise an iconography for the Indian in a romantic Western landscape. Catlin was a self-promoter and a showman; his exhibition of artefacts and paintings also involved displays of Indian 'tribes'; these were forerunners of the Wild West Show, later to be rendered entirely carnivalesque by Buffalo Bill. Catlin was nonetheless a firm believer in the Native American Indian as 'noble savage'. His claim was that he was recording a vanishing civilisation and culture, in his words 'to rescue from oblivion their primitive looks and customs' (Catlin, quoted on the Smithsonian, American Art website). As part of this project, in 1854 he took his displays and Indians⁸ to London's Egyptian Hall, where he built a wigwam and, for three evenings a week, put on a performance of 'Tableaux Vivants Indiennes', advertised as 'Landscapes of the Indian Country, the Beautiful Prairie Scenes of the Upper Missouri, Views of Indian Villages, Indian Dances, Buffalo Hunts, Ball-plays &c &c' (see Foreman 1943: 194). The rent of the Egyptian Hall proved to cost more than the show could bring in, and so Catlin took his exhibition across England to Liverpool and Manchester. There he encountered Arthur Rankin, another showman touring with a group of 'Ojibbeway' Indians. Together they took Catlin's exhibition and Rankin's spectacle of performing Ojibbeways back to the Egyptian Hall, where it was an enormous success. Catlin went on to take his troupe to Paris, where they met King Louis Philippe and the King of Belgium.

Catlin's success established the travelling Indian show as a feature of European popular entertainment and led to many more such shows crossing the Atlantic to Britain and Europe, as Richard D. Altick puts it:

Catlin's charges proved to be the advance guard of a veritable invasion of savages, overlapping and then succeeding the influx of other American curiosities (General Tom Thumb, the monster-mile panoramas) that was the other chief exhibition phenomenon of the forties. (Altick 1978: 279)

If Catlin's concern for the traditions of the American Indians in effect popularised an image of the Native American as savage, his romanticisation of their culture was later to be personified in literature (and illustrations) in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. In *The Song of Hiawatha*, Longfellow took it upon himself, as he expressed it in a journal, to write 'a poem on the Indians ... to weave together their beautiful traditions into a whole' (Longfellow, quoted in Hilen 1972: 406). Like Catlin, Longfellow claimed authenticity and scholarship for his account of the American Indian; he had researched Henry R. Schoolcraft's then four-volume *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospect of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, published by the authority of Congress, from 1851. *The Song of Hiawatha* was first published in 1855, but reached a much larger audience through staged readings, as Longfellow was to put it in a letter: "Hiawatha" rushes onward in readings, recitations and the like. ... Thirty thousand have been printed, and five more are going to press immediately' (Longfellow, letter, 4 April 1856, quoted in Hilen 1972: 534). The poem was set to music and presented at the Boston Theater; Edgar Allan Poe and Tennyson were admirers. Longfellow's most popular poem was copied, parodied, illustrated and taught to schoolchildren throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. The insistent pattern of the poem's rhyme scheme remains a signifier in sound for the approach of 'Indians', still used for the introduction of the American Indians in panoramas, pantomimes and children's games, in Hollywood films and in theme park rides.

Longfellow mythologised the Native American for the mid-nineteenth century; in *Hiawatha* he produced another version of the noble savage that fitted neatly with a contemporary taste for a picturesque American landscape. Such a vision of the authentic native, exempt from the ravages of white civilisation and commerce, belonged to a Romantic landscape. Nineteenth-century conventions for American landscape painters of the American West were framed by a European and Romantic sensibility and by a taste for the mountainous, as Buscombe explains:

[I]t was the Rocky Mountains which first captured the imagination both of painters trained in European traditions of high art and of those working in a more popular idiom. By the 1860s, mountains in general and the Rockies in particular had become established as what Western landscape was all about. (Buscombe 1995: 88)

Such images of American beauty spots were used to promote tourism and simultaneously presented an idealisation of the American landscape, an idealisation that owed much to the English William Gilpin's specifications for the picturesque. The picturesque had crossed from England to America through popular entertainments such as panoramas and dioramas and, by the mid-nineteenth century, had become a firmly established aesthetic in America. The English painter Thomas Cole was the first practitioner of the 'Hudson River School' and was responsible for developing a tradition of American landscape painting. Cole's illustrations for *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1826 self-consciously abided by all the conventions of the picturesque.

The American West was thus claimed for the picturesque rather than for the sublime, a principle that was to shape the representation of American landscape from the mid-nineteenth century. The picturesque aesthetic was not confined to high art, but was widely seen as the correct way to view American scenery. *The Home Book of the Picturesque, or, American Scenery, Art and Literature, Etc*, published in 1852, was a 'presentation book'; designed (as the name implies) for domestic use, it was dedicated to 'illustrating the picturesque beauties of the American landscape' (*The Home Book of the Picturesque* 1852: 7). The volume of engraved images also included essays by Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper and Susan Fenimore Cooper among others, all of which echo the language of Gilpin and replicate his regulations for the admiration of the picturesque. This was no short-lived fashion, and twenty years later, *Picturesque America* was published between 1872 and 1874 in monthly parts with full-page engravings, which could be framed and used as household decoration. Its full title stressed the picturesque qualities in the representation of American landscapes:

Picturesque America – A Delineation by Pen and Pencil of

THE MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, LAKES, FORESTS, WATERFALLS, SHORES, CANYONS, VALLEYS, CITIES AND OTHER PICTURESQUE FEATURES OF THE UNITED STATES. (Bryant 1872: title page)

William Cullen Bryant's essays and engravings of landscapes and cities across the continent were also issued in a two-volume edition and reprinted throughout the nineteenth century, its images becoming familiar to a wide audience in Britain and America. The volume was described as 'the most important book of landscape that has appeared in this country' (Linton 1882: 37). *Picturesque America* lists a sequence of attractions in terms that somewhat underplay the scale of the American landscape, but which would have been familiar to picturesque tourists in Europe:

[P]rimitive forests, in which the huge trunks of a past generation of trees lie mouldering in the shade of their aged descendants; mountains and valleys, gorges and rivers, and tracts of sea-coast, which the foot of the artist has never told; and glens murmuring with waterfalls which his ear has never heard. Thousands of charming nooks are waiting to yield their beauty. (Bryant 1872: v)

The 'primitive forests' and mountains, and the picturesque conventions that framed them, were also made familiar to audiences through dioramas and cycloramas of American monumental landscapes that toured across American cities. These tropes and conventions were to repeatedly appear in illustrations to the fiction of the American West.

Early nineteenth-century American illustrators were directly influenced by or unabashedly copied from English sources, or might well themselves be English. Without copyright protection, American publishers could simply cut blocks from British illustrators and reuse their work; this was cheaper than the commissioning of new work from American artists. Felix Octavious Carr Darley was seen as 'the first truly accomplished U.S. illustrator' (Wagner 2000: 14) and as an initiator of a new school of American illustration. Darley came to prominence as an illustrator of tales by Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe and especially those of Fenimore Cooper. Fenimore Cooper's hero, Natty Bumppo, was a white pioneer to match the noble savage, and he belonged to picturesque America.⁹ Natty Bumppo was a key figure in establishing an American mythology of the white settler in harmony with the landscape. He was illustrated by Darley (followed up by many imitators), garbed in a coonskin hat and leather breeches, an outfit that would become familiar to twentieth-century audiences, as worn by Davy Crockett. Various known through the series of novels as Pathfinder, Deerslayer and Hawkeye, Natty Bumppo's heroic titles continue to resonate in the naming of Western-inflected restaurants and souvenir shops and in the characters of film and television cowboys. This frontiersman character allowed for a slippage between the cultures of the Indians and the pioneer settlers; in his first appearance in *The Pioneers* in 1823, Natty Bumppo wears both a check shirt and 'moccasins, ornamented with porcupine quills after the manner of the Indians' (Cooper 1969: 553). Like the later explorer hero, Allan Quartermain, he is capable of moving between two worlds; he is, as Haywood puts it, 'a hybrid figure who polices the border between the civilized and the "savage", and whose *raison d'être* is the continuing conquest of the mythic American wilderness' (Haywood 2006: 174). Disney's Frontierland is styled as just such a border between the civilised and the 'savage'. The guidebook positions the visitor as a cowboy: 'Put on your Stetson and set out to conquer the Wild West! Cowboys, Indians, fur traders and gold miners mingle in this frontier town, a wild place full of adventures' (Walt Disney Company 2002).

The Leatherstocking Tales have been taken as the first Western pioneer fiction and as articulating 'the national experience of the easily imagined frontier' (Fussell 1965: 27). The romantic wilderness of Natty Bumppo's American West is, however, a mythological construction that owes much to European Romanticism and also to Sir Walter Scott. Fenimore Cooper's introductions to his novels, like Catlin and Longfellow before him, make much of his scholarship on Indian cultures and claim an intimate knowledge of the landscape and peoples. As the series progressed, Natty Bumppo and Fenimore

Cooper both withdrew into nostalgia, as Margaret Atwood has noted: 'In subsequent Leatherstocking books Natty was to grow younger and younger as he receded further and further into the pristine, unspoiled wilderness of an earlier time' (Atwood 2006: 60).

Fenimore Cooper's nostalgia and Natty Bumppo's straddling of two cultures proved an enormously successful 'consoling historical fiction' (Haywood 2006: 173). In 1824 a joke appeared in the *Atlantic Magazine* about Fenimore Cooper's numerous imitators, which neatly itemises the key elements of the frontier narrative: 'Imitations of Mr. Cooper's novels ... all these writers have thought that they might be equally successful, with the help of the backwoods, an Indian, a panther and a squatter' (quoted in Dekker and McWilliams 1973: 1). As a sure indication that Cooper had regularised the conventions of the frontier genre, the Leatherstocking tales were parodied by both Bret Harte and Mark Twain. Illustrations to their work were similarly copied, imitated and pirated. Darley's illustrations for a collected edition of Fenimore Cooper issued between 1859 and 1861 were so admired that they were issued as a separate edition without the text, to adorn the walls of American domestic interiors. An image of Natty Bumppo and his wilderness was embedded in the popular imagination, extending to those who had never read the novels.

Cheap serialisations (and pirated versions) of almost all Fenimore Cooper's fiction appeared in British and French periodicals. Fenimore Cooper was also brought to British and American audiences through theatre. *The Pilot* ran as a successful play in London in 1825, only a year after its publication as a novel. Fenimore Cooper's fiction was to be continually published and republished with new illustrations well into the twentieth century in America and Europe,¹⁰ his landscapes and characters considered a particularly appropriate subject for American artists. The success of Fenimore Cooper's novels promoted a European taste for American fiction, according to Altick: 'British interest in the American Indian had been stimulated by Cooper's novels, which were best sellers in pirated London editions' (Altick 1978: 275).

If Fenimore Cooper was the most visible literary chronicler of the American frontier, he was only one among many American writers popular with European readers. The Wild West and the Indian were not the only American narratives to enter into British popular culture either; 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was the first private leisure site established at Blackpool. The exact dating of the site is unclear,¹¹ but the naming suggests that it must post-date Harriet Beecher Stowe's best-selling novel of 1852. Beecher Stowe had travelled to Britain in 1853 and subsequently toured in 1856 and 1859; these visits, with her anti-slavery agenda, were newsworthy stories in the popular press. The 'Uncle Tom's Cabin amusement resort' in Blackpool was decorated and themed with American memorabilia and offered customers shooting galleries along with drinking and dancing. America and the

West were by now familiar landscapes for British readers, as Louis James explains:

A good deal of American fiction was published in cheap periodicals. These were often published anonymously, and are only recognizable because they have American settings and assume an American reader. In 1847, however, it was claimed that the work of thirty-seven American authors had been published in *Lloyd's Miscellany*. ... Many full-length American novels also were published in cheap form. (James 1973: 154)

While Fenimore Cooper offered a romantic image of the pioneer in the wilderness, Bret Harte's fiction dealt with the establishment of communities and commerce in the West. Both versions of the 'West' are represented in the theme park, Frontierland associated with the wild and Main Street with pre-industrial commerce. Harte had learned his trade as a writer by imitating successful authors, Fenimore Cooper among them, for the San Francisco newspaper *The Golden Era*. He was another New Yorker transplanted to California; a brief visit to mining camps earned him a reputation as an authentic voice of the Western Frontier. *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1868), published in *Overland Monthly* (which Harte edited), and 'The Outcasts of Poker Flat' (1869) were immediate successes. Like Fenimore Cooper, Harte's fiction was not initially illustrated in America, but was later produced in popular illustrated versions: *Condensed Novels* (1871), *The Heathen Chinee* (1871) and *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1872). These and later tales were published and illustrated in magazines such as *Harper's Weekly*, which reproduced engraved versions of paintings based on Harte's stories. *The Luck of Roaring Camp* embodied the kind of writing that Whitman was later to disparage in a remark in 1874: 'the scene often laid in the West, especially in California, where ruffians, rum-drinkers, and trulls only are depicted' (Whitman, quoted in Fussell 1965: 429). Harte's vision of the pioneer establishing a community in the wilderness was a recurrent subject for nineteenth-century painting and illustration. Scenes from *The Luck of Roaring Camp* were regular subjects for American artists, painted by Henry Bacon in 1880 and by W.L. Taylor, a popular illustrator for *The Ladies' Home Journal*. Both Fenimore Cooper and Harte's versions of the frontier were regular subjects for artists and for theatre, the most popular productions reproduced in the form of toy theatre sets. These established the standardised conventions for the Western in theatre, and the stock sets and characters of the genre would shape the conventions for the *mise en scène* of the early cinema Western. Versions of Fenimore Cooper and Harte's fiction were repeatedly filmed; *Leatherstocking* was a 1909 short film, *The Last of the Mohicans* was filmed in 1920 and *The Luck of Roaring Camp* went into three filmed versions between 1910 and 1917. John Ford filmed *The Outcasts of Poker Flat* in 1919, with much emphasis on the scenery, a point noted by contemporary critics (see Fenin and Everson 1973: 129).

The landscape and characters of the American West also became familiar to European audiences through news images of gold rushes. The 'gold mine'

became a long-standing signifier of the Western genre in the fairground; New York's Coney Island, a long way from the rugged landscapes of the West, nonetheless featured a 'Far West Mining Camp' from its beginning. The 1849 California Gold Rush was a major news story that was covered by *Harper's Weekly* and *The Illustrated London News*. News illustrations of mines and panhandlers became widely circulated images of the American West throughout Europe and America. The penetration of this iconography of the Gold Rush and the rapidity with which it became a set of popular images and stories are evident in the staging of the pantomime *Harlequin and the Wild Fiend of California, or the Demon of the Diggings* in London in 1849. *The Illustrated London News* sent a special reporter, J.D. Borthwick, to America for coverage of the Gold Rush. The magazine also dispatched a staff artist, R. Caton Woodville, to travel through the Western states and Canada to record the events around the Wounded Knee Massacre; Woodville also provided hunting scenes and images of cattle roundups for magazine readers. While purportedly illustrations for news stories, such images were inflected by the mythologies of Western fiction writers, as John Grafton puts it: 'Easterners viewed the life of Western mining camps and towns through a haze of sentimentality that originated in the writings of Bret Harte and others' (Grafton 1992: 24).

A range of nineteenth-century contemporary fairground attractions was directly derived from mining technologies, and these have survived into the theme park. In 1870, an abandoned railroad built for mines in Pennsylvania was converted into a roller-coaster attraction. Almost every theme park will now include a log flume in its Western-themed space; the log flume was originally developed as a device to transport the logs and lumberjacks necessary to shore up tunnels and mineshafts. The technology and the lumberjacks were depicted in a mountainous and forested landscape and used to illustrate news stories of the development of the West.¹² The guide to the German theme park PhantasiaLand is one of the few to acknowledge the historical origin of their log flume ride:

Canadian woodcutters have invented it – the wild water ride. In order to carry themselves and the logs from the Rocky Mountains down into the valleys as fast as possible – a terrific and adventurous business. The Mountain and Grand Canyon Railway climbs up to a height of 30 metres. (PhantasiaLand 1997: 16)

The Runaway Mine Train is another standard attraction of the theme park; the building of the railways and their penetration into the West were recurrent news and magazine stories (as were images of train crashes). The vintage train of the Disneyland Express and the Frontierland station at Disney parks are clearly modelled on nineteenth-century magazine illustrations of stations and railroads. The coming of the railroad was to become a regular trope in the Hollywood Western, a narrative that marked the 'civilising' of the Wild West.¹³ In 1862, the Pacific Railroad Act had authorised the Central Pacific

Railroad to build tracks from Sacramento and the Union Pacific company to build west from Omaha, Nebraska; the two lines were to meet in the first railway to cross America. Building began in 1863; when the two lines finally joined up on 10 May 1869 this major achievement was celebrated in a ceremony of mutual congratulation that was widely reported and illustrated. Joseph Becker, a staff artist for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, was sent to make the rail trip across America in October 1869, and published several drawings based on his travels. The publisher Frank Leslie himself took a trainload of Easterners and artists on a cross-country tour on the transcontinental railway in 1878, a source of numerous illustrations for the paper. Images of the Chinese workers who built the railroad have resonances of illustrations to Harte's *The Heathen Chinee*.¹⁴ Harte's poem had been issued in an illustrated edition published in loose pages, suitable for framing, in 1870, and was again illustrated in 1871 by the noted illustrator S. Etyinge. Like Natty Bumppo, the 'Heathen Chinee' was a character familiar to those who had never read the original text. Railroad companies themselves commissioned painters and later photographers to produce promotional images of the attractions of the American West, which were also to be found in lantern slides for use in talks for potential tourists.

A familiarity with such images and a knowledge of the American railroads across Europe is evident from Jules Verne's 1872 novel *Around the World in Eighty Days*, which reproduces many of the tropes of the Western novel and magazine story. Although much of Phileas Fogg's journey is through the reaches of the British Empire, there is a significant chunk that is set in the United States. Fogg lands by steamer in San Francisco, from where he crosses through the West by train: 'Between Omaha and the Pacific the railroad crosses a country still inhabited by Indians and wild beasts' (Verne 1879: 102). Verne demonstrates a significant knowledge of the Pacific Railroad derived from press reports; his description of the train and of its route owes much to engraved illustrations of the building of the railway and its inauguration. The narrative too displays a thorough understanding of the images and conventions of the Western genre; Fogg's train is delayed by a herd of buffalos and is attacked by Native American Indians (as Passepartout, his servant, who is more attuned to popular culture, anticipates). These are scenarios later played out in Buffalo Bill's show, and would become standard tropes of the 'Wild West'.¹⁵

The railroads in effect had marked the beginning of the end for Fenimore Cooper's pioneer and for the wilderness of picturesque America; the moment of the wagon trains and of the American cowboy was in fact very short-lived. The cowboy was nonetheless to become a potent icon of American masculinity as cattle ranching developed into a major industry. Cattle drives and cattle markets were all news items, and were regularly accompanied by illustrations. In the early 1870s, *Harper's Weekly* artists Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tavernier accompanied a group of Texas ranchers and duly reported back with illustrations. The artist W.A. Rogers went West in 1879 on behalf

of *Harper's Weekly* to produce a series of illustrations of the cowboys and ranches of Colorado. Later, early photographs were reproduced in the form of engravings for magazine illustration; C.D. Kirkland of Wyoming was a pioneer photographer who took pictures of cowhands that were engraved for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. The conventions for the representation of the cowboy were by now so well established that they could be produced with little knowledge of the environment or person of the cowboy; W.M. Cary drew cattle rustlers on a Texas cattle range in 1874 and published a series of illustrations of the Texas cattle industry, although there is no record that he ever visited Texas (Grafton 1992: 124). It was *Harper's Weekly* that had first used the term 'cowboy'; previously cattlehands had been referred to as 'stock farmers' and 'stock-drivers'.

The promotion of the West as an attractive site for investment and for new settlers contributed to the mythologies of the cowboy and an imagined American frontier, which was by now becoming self-conscious. The artists Remington and Russell provided visual models for the idealised heroic cowboy, as Grafton explains:

[T]o the Eastern press, the exploits of the American cowboy when blowing off steam fed the myth that he was the personification of Western wilderness ... a theme later developed by Zogbaum, Remington, Charles M. Russell and many other Western artists. ... It is safe to say that when cowboys let off steam in this way they were often just living up to their press notices and their dime-novel image, of which by the 1880s they were well aware. (Grafton 1992: 130)

It is in their illustrations for illustrated news journals that Remington and Russell created the 'dime novel image' of the American cowboy. While their versions of the West were hailed at the time as authentic representations, these were already nostalgic images of an idealised past, as even their admiring biographer acknowledges: 'both worked at a time when much of what was regarded as the West was already gone and the rest vanishing rapidly' (Ketchum 1997: 4).

The American Charles Marion Russell began as an artist by producing herding scenes and cowboy camps as bar paintings for saloons in the West, images that contributed to the West's mythologising of itself. He was commissioned in 1891 by *Nature's Realm*, a natural history magazine published in New York, and became known as an animal painter. Exhibitions in New York, London and across America led to Russell becoming known as 'the most important living American illustrator of the West' (Ketchum 1997: 22). Russell made claims (as had Catlin and Fenimore Cooper before him) to a sensitivity and knowledge of American Indian culture; he asserted that he had spent a year with the 'Blood Tribe', learning their language and culture. Such knowledge is not readily evident in his most remembered images, which are largely of cowboys and horses. These paintings were regularly reproduced as a series of illustrations for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in 1889 and remain familiar heroic

depictions of the American cowboy. Russell was to directly contribute to the Western pulp genre with his pen and ink drawings for *Rawhide Rawlins Stories*, a series of folk tales of the American West attributed to a fictitious cowboy, which first appeared from 1921. Russell's images were also well known to Hollywood; he spent winters in California, where he socialised with Tom Mix and William S. Hart, the first stars of the Western genre in film. Both actors claimed historical accuracy for their sets and costumes, but their personas are directly shaped by Russell's cowboys.

While Russell did have some claims to representing the West from the front line and had worked as cowboy himself, Remington was hardly a cowboy figure, nor a Westerner. He lived and worked in New York City for most of his life and travelled the world as an illustrator; the son of an owner and publisher of several Northern newspapers, he was born into publishing. Remington established himself as an illustrator by working for Harper and Brothers, and soon did covers for *Harper's Weekly*, eventually becoming 'Special Correspondent', contributing regular illustrated articles on the Southwest. His first illustration for *Harper's Weekly* was of a group of cowboys, to accompany an article on cattle rustling in Arizona, although Remington had then never been to Arizona (see Grafton 1992: 132). He was then commissioned by *Harper's Weekly* to sketch the life and tribes of the Canadian Northwest, which ran as a weekly illustration. Remington's images were also reproduced in the form of postcards; he published illustrated articles for *Century* magazine and *Collier's Weekly*, and became known as a leading authority on the American bronco. Remington and Russell's cowboys regularly appeared on the front covers of illustrated journals throughout Britain and America. Remington's painting 'In from the Night Herd', which was first published as an engraving on the front cover of *Harper's Weekly* in 1886, exhibits many of the signifiers of the cowboy character, the landscape and the Western genre that would go on to inform the Hollywood Western and to establish the essential accoutrements of the cowboy in the carnival site. The water bottle, the cowboy hat, the kerchief and gun sling are all artefacts that can be purchased at outlets associated with the genre in the theme park.

Remington collaborated with the novelist Owen Wister, who has been claimed as responsible for the formula of the 'modern Western' (Cawelti 1984: 30). Remington illustrated his Western stories for *Harper's* and other publications, while Wister wrote the introduction for a collection of Remington's drawings in 1887. Wister's *The Virginian* had first appeared as a character in stories in *Harper's Weekly* and *Saturday Evening Post*, between 1893 and 1902. When these were incorporated into a novel in 1902, it became a best-seller. *The Virginian* was turned into a stage play in 1907 and filmed by Cecil B. De Mille in 1914; it was filmed again in 1925. With each new technological development in film, *The Virginian* was made again. The sound version appeared in 1929 with Gary Cooper, and a colour version appeared in 1946. The long-running television series *The Virginian*, which was shown in America from 1962 to

1971, and sold to Europe, was notable as the first Western series in colour television and the first to be broadcast in 90-minute instalments.

The new market in magazine and children's books in the late nineteenth century saw a proliferation of Western stories and of new illustrations for the 'classic' Western in America. Among the most admired illustrators were N.C. Wyeth and Frank E. Schoonover, who went on sketching trips to the American West. Wyeth provided colour illustrations for *The Last of the Mohicans* while Schoonover created hundreds of illustrations for magazines and illustrated over 200 classics and children's books, specialising in scenes of the American West and the Canadian Northwest. These landscapes also appeared on commercial calendars, 'such as those for the Dupont Company and the Provident Life Insurance Company' (Wagner 2000: 35), so ensuring that these frontier scenes appeared on walls in homes and offices across America.

The heroic cowboy and the Western frontier were also hauled into the cause of muscular Christianity. The *Boy's Own Paper* (which had featured Verne's fiction) regularly published tales of the American West in Britain, with titles such as 'A Frontier Story' and 'Adventures of a Boston Boy amongst Savages'. Algernon Blackwood's 'The Vanishing Redskins' was first published in the *Boy's Own Paper*, as was Ballantyne's 'Red Man's Revenge', a story of settlers, with 'details of the life of a Buffalo Hunter'. That most imperial of all the boy's own writers, G.A. Henty, also turned his attention to the American West with his novels *The Young Settlers* (1870) and *Redskin and Cowboy* (1892). With the exception of Ballantyne, who had worked for the Hudson's Bay Trading Company, these British writers based their Western fictions less on any direct knowledge of North America than on a familiarity with magazine stories and illustrations. In borrowing the intrepid settlers and the wilderness from Fenimore Cooper and Harte and the heroic cowboy figure from Remington, Russell and Wister, the stories and illustrations for cheaply available magazines and penny dreadfuls further conventionalised the cowboy, the Indian and the Western landscape for a European audience.

It was the showman Buffalo Bill who did most to commodify the American idea of the West and who took it across Europe. William Frederick Cody, known as Buffalo Bill, brought together all the narratives and iconographies of the Wild West in his Rodeo Shows. Cody really had been a hunter of buffalos and of Indians, a rifleman who found that more money could be made from the display of horsemanship and gun slinging. He first devised a 'prairie pageant' show and exhibition for Nebraska in 1883. The 'Wild West' show was taken to London in 1887 to appear in the American Exhibition at Earls Court. A fairground in the Western Gardens of the site held a switchback railway and a helter-skelter, and so confirmed an association of the carnival with the Western. In the tradition of eighteenth-century displays of Native American Indians, Cody hired one hundred Indians (released on licence from the American government, none of whom had left their reservations before) to enact a display

of 'Indian life on the plains'. In the tradition of the captivity narratives, however, the Indians were structured into the show's narrative as savage and threatening; the most spectacular act featured an Indian attack on a white settlers' homestead and a display of 'ancient wagons and their burden of families and household goods ... attacked by a tribe of redskins' (contemporary news report, quoted in Glanfield 2003: 15).

The Buffalo Bill troupe was housed in an encampment, with the Indians accommodated in tepees and the cowboys and cowgirls (the cast included the sharpshooters Annie Oakley and Lillian Smith) in log cabins. The show contained 'assorted cowboys, cattle herders and ... prairie riders with 170 bronco horses, Indian ponies and fearsome "buckers" ... buffaloes, wild Texas steers, mules, elk, deer, a dozen "prairie schooner" wagons and ... the famous Deadwood stagecoach' (Glanfield 2003: 12–13). The show was played out on a painted set that featured the very familiar landscapes of the Western plains and Rocky Mountains. Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West' thus combined the displays of horsemanship and gun slinging of Remington and Russell and elements of the picturesque wilderness. That the show contained all the elements that were by now intrinsic to the Western genre is confirmed in a popular song of the time:

We hear that the cowboys are wonders
And do what rough riders dare,
So wherever the 'pitch' is in London
Its wild horses will drag us there
O fancy the scene of excitement!
O fancy five acres of thrill.
The cowboys and Injuns and horses,
And the far-famed Buffalo Bill!
(‘The Referee’ 1887, quoted in Glanfield 2003: 6)

The Wild West Show was attended by the Prince and Princess of Wales with their children and entourage before it was opened to the public, and they were suitably impressed. They were followed by Gladstone, then Prime Minister, and assorted Crown Heads of Europe (see Glanfield 2003: 19). A command performance was patronised by Queen Victoria (significant as this was her first public appearance since Albert's death); later, in 1891, she requested a command performance at Windsor. This royal imprimatur made Buffalo Bill and his show a *cause célèbre*; *The Illustrated London News* carried a two-page illustrated article, and the show went on to tour Birmingham, Manchester, the racecourse at Salford (where it played for five months) and Hull, all to sell-out audiences, before departing for New York. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Circus appeared at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889; it returned to Earls Court in 1892 after a tour across Europe, and then went on to the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. A later show, 'Congress of Rough Riders of the World',

came to Olympia Kensington in 1903, the last spectacle to be staged there. Buffalo Bill's show was not alone, his success ensuring a number of imitators and followers. Another Wild West Show was run by Gordon W. Lillie, known as Pawnee Bill. In 1894 a troupe of thirty-five Indians were brought from South Dakota to be shown at the Antwerp Exposition. A British version led by 'Texas' Bill Shufflebottom toured fairgrounds until his death in 1916.

Buffalo Bill and his troupe lived on beyond the live shows, embodied as toys, as souvenir cardboard stand-up figures and as a set of prints for toy theatres (Speaight 1946: 14). The legacy of Buffalo Bill remains in the 'Spirit of the West', an American-themed site in Cornwall which owes much to the circus rings and horse riding skills of the rodeo shows. 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show' is staged nightly at a dinner show in Disneyland Paris (sponsored by American Express), offering attractions not far removed from those of the original: 'Cavalcades, bison hunts and stagecoach hold-ups follow one after the other in this amazing show!' (Disneyland Resort Park Map 2004).

The success of Buffalo Bill's spectacular shows and the proximity of his international triumph to the development of early cinema ensured that the Wild West would be a central genre in film. Cowboy tricks and acts familiar from rodeo shows were early subjects for short films, and Indians from Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show were subjects for the Edison Company's peep-show kinetoscopes. The excitement of the new technology of cinema had a carnivalesque aspect that fitted with the circus of the rodeo show. Early cinemas in America would regularly show travelling acts and 'moving pictures' together; the 'Wild West' was a regular feature of both. The Western was among the earliest of the genres to make an appearance in narrative cinema. Early Hollywood Westerns made much of the landscaping of the genre, harking back to the mountains of *Picturesque America*. According to Buscombe,

The first recognizably Western films to be shot in a recognizably western landscape did not appear until 1907, when the Selig Company ventured to Colorado. The company went out of its way to publicize the magnificent scenic effects of its productions. ... So successful were the resulting films that many of the established film companies such as Biograph, Edison, Lubin, Vitagraph and Kalem attempted to exploit the popularity of the emergent genre by producing their own Westerns back east. (Buscombe 1995: 87)

By 1910, 20 per cent of American pictures were Westerns. William S. Hart, who had appeared in a 1907 production of Owen Wister's *The Virginian*, was, with Tom Mix, among the first Western cowboy stars; the 1914 *The Bargain* was his first feature film in what would become a string of Westerns. Hart established the studio 'Hartsville', with open-air stages to house sets of ranches and towns, in a bid to make 'authentic' Westerns. With these films he established many of the cinematic conventions for the Western film genre. The settings for the Hartsville Western were stock scenarios that had already

been fixed in news stories and magazine and book illustration: the frontier town, the homestead, the cattle train (all vulnerable to Indian attack). As Buscombe acknowledges (and demonstrates in his studies of the genre), the film Western was making use of already very familiar characters and settings: 'The cinema inherited and already predetermined set of ideas and images ... the generic forms of the Western were fixed from the outset' (Buscombe 2006: 19).

The French showman and film-maker Georges Méliès, who had been influenced by the showmanship and spectacle of the rodeo shows, attempted to capitalise on the popularity and success of the genre. Gaston Méliès (Georges' brother) turned to America to establish a film business, inevitably choosing Western themes for his early films. In 1908, he set up a production company in Chicago, making cowboy films, and turned out a reel a week for the Edison Trust. By 1911, the Méliès' productions were advertised under the title 'American Wild West', and adopted the trademark of a horse's head. According to Gaston's son,

These cowboy films sold like hot cakes, and made a lot of money for us. It was excellent business, we regularly sold between fifty and sixty copies. Each film cost 900 to 1000 dollars, never a penny more. We produced a reel and a half every week. (Quoted in Robinson 1993: 49)

The 'West' was now such an established cultural idea that it could be commandeered for both high and popular culture and could be claimed for European versions of America and by America as a home-grown art form. The word was enough to connote a landscape and a genre, as the title of Puccini's opera *La Fanciulla del West* suggests. *The Girl of the Golden West*, set in a Californian mining camp, was first performed in Italian in New York in 1910, as the first world premiere at the Metropolitan Opera House.¹⁶ The choreographer Agnes de Mille staged *Rodeo* for the Ballet Russes de Monte Carlo in 1942, in an attempt to use the Western as a basis for a distinctively American dance form. She went on to develop this American choreography in *Oklahoma*, which was staged in 1943 and filmed in 1955. The spectacle of the Western was to be attached to that other inherently American form, the musical, in theatre and in film throughout the 1940s. Among the most successful was *Annie Get Your Gun*, first seen on Broadway in 1946, a romance based (loosely) on the life of Annie Oakley of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. With a book by Herbert and Dorothy Fields and music by Irving Berlin, and starring Ethel Merman as Annie, it was one of the top three hit musicals of the 1940s and was filmed in 1950 (with Betty Hutton). *Calamity Jane* in 1953 cast Doris Day as another real-life cowgirl heroine and gave her a romance with Wild Bill Hickok (although there is little evidence that this ever happened).

The formula of the cowboy, the Indian and the frontier landscape of the Western film continued to appear in popular fiction. Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill Hickok were among the many part mythological, part historical characters

found in Western novelettes. The Western was a key genre for the cheap novels that came to be known as 'dime novels' because of their original 10 cent cover price. Frank Gruber, who contributed more than a few titles to the pulp Western in the 1930s and 1940s, itemises some of the many Western imprints: Dime Western, Ace Western, Western Trails and Thrilling Western among them. These tales were produced as weekly and as monthly titles and as cheap 'novelettes'; Gruber describes being commissioned to write Westerns of 10,000 words at \$85 a title.¹⁷ Many of the dime novel writers would go on to develop Western television series, such as *Tales of West Fargo* and *The Texan*. These cheaply produced Westerns found success across the Atlantic; novels with Western settings and versions of their illustrations and characters were imitated and pirated by British publishers as 'single issue stories with attractive bright covers' (James and Smith 1998: xiii). In his essay on 'Boys' Weeklies' (1939) George Orwell points to the Wild West as a favourite subject: 'The Wild West still leads, at any rate as a setting.' He refers to 'the long series of "Yank Mags" (*Fight Stories*, *Action Stories*, *Western Short Stories*, etc.) which are imported shop-soiled from America and sold at twopence halfpenny or threepence' (Orwell 1961a: 88). Orwell notes that the genre's nostalgia for the lawless frontier had survived into the twentieth century: 'The Wild West Story, ... with its cattle rustlers, lynch-law and other paraphernalia belonging to the eighties, is a curiously archaic thing' (Orwell 1961a: 109). The Western might have appeared archaic to the English Orwell, but it was by now firmly established as the genre of American popular culture for Americans and for Europeans. As Buscombe puts it, 'American producers had found a type of film they could call their own, a truly national genre which proved a continuing hit with the public and for which foreign imports could not substitute' (Buscombe 1995: 88).

The dime novel characterised the Western as a genre of cheap and popular thrills, its plots and characters by now entirely standardised. These conventions, and the dime novel writers, moved smoothly into cinema, to shape what came to be known as the 'classic' Western. The 1930s was the period of the cowboy B movie. Among the many series produced as second features for cinema programmes was RKO's, using their star Tom Keene; the first was *Renegades of the West* in 1932. The poster displays Keene wearing a cowboy hat and lariat on a rearing black horse, in an image that directly references Remington. The Western was the standard product for Republic Studios, who developed series with Gene Autry and Roy Rogers. Founded in 1935, Republic films, according to Phil Hardy, 'brought to a fine art many of the stock convention shots of the series Western – the running insert, the general use of camera trucks to intensify chases and the like' (Hardy 1983: xv). Among these stock conventions was the use of the American landscape. An abiding image of the Western, which reappears in various guises in theme park sites (as Big Thunder Mountain in the Disney parks), is Monument Valley.

This, according to Buscombe, is the responsibility of John Ford (still among the most respected of the genre's directors):

Monument Valley was placed on the cultural map by John Ford, who first went there in 1938 to make *Stagecoach* and subsequently shot seven more Westerns there. Over a period of about ten or fifteen years that one location became almost exclusively identified with Ford's films. ... Monument Valley has now come to signify Ford, Ford has come to be synonymous with the Western, the Western signifies Hollywood cinema, and Hollywood stands for America. (Buscombe 1995: 92–3)

The spectacular (and picturesque) locations of the Western were significant for American cinema in the 1950s; responding to the challenge of television, Hollywood turned to its 'national genre'. The Western provided both panoramic vistas and a proven popular form that could work on both the silver and the small screen. This was the heyday of the American Western as a genre in fiction, film and television, as Cawelti describes:

Expressed in terms of numbers of book titles published, Westerns constituted 10.76% of the works of fiction published in 1958 and 1.76% of all books published. In 1959 eight of the top ten shows on television, as measured by Nielsen ratings, were Westerns and thirty of the prime-time shows were horse operas. At least 54 Western feature films were made in 1956. (Cawelti 1984: 30)

The late 1950s was the period in which the Western was attached to the musical. It was also the era of big-screen, panoramic Westerns that made use of new film technologies such as Cinerama and Cinemascope. There were few major Hollywood figures who did not turn their hands to the Western; the Viennese Otto Preminger directed Marilyn Monroe in *River of No Return* in 1954. Set roughly at the period of the Gold Rush, the opening sequence could be a landscape from *Picturesque America*, and features Robert Mitchum as a settler who displays the values of Leatherstocking and the shooting skills of Buffalo Bill.

By the 1960s, the cinema Western was clearly not an exclusively American form (in fact it had never been so; Méliès was only one of many European filmmakers to emulate the genre in silent cinema). The iconic big-screen Western *The Magnificent Seven* was a version of Kurosawa's 1952 *Seven Samurai* and heralded the Italian 'spaghetti' Western. Spaghetti and Japanese versions of the Western only served to confirm the American myth of the wild frontier, and reproduced the images and characters familiar from dime novels and from Hollywood. Sergio Leone made a sequence of films with Clint Eastwood as another version of the strong, silent cowboy. A key film in confirming the Hollywood mythology of the heroic cowboy and the 'winning of the West' is the 1962 *How the West Was Won*, filmed in Cinerama and advertised as 'the biggest, most exciting outdoor adventure story ever filmed ... the story of

America's westward expansion from the 1830s to the 1880s as experienced by three generations of a pioneer family'. The cast featured many stars who had already made their names in Western films, including John Wayne and Walter Brennan, and others, such as Lee J. Cobb, who would go on to feature in television series such as *The Virginian*. The film reconfigures the central moments of American frontier history as established through news stories and illustrations in the popular press. A promotional leaflet concentrates the narrative into key scenes, all of which were reported events in nineteenth-century illustrated magazines:

How the West Was Won opens with the movement of Steelers down the Erie Canal to the sprawling Ohio River Valley frontier, then moves in succession through the California Gold Rush, the Civil War in the West, the building of the first trans-continental railroad and, finally, the triumph of law and order over the outlawry that plagued the great Southwest. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc. 1962)

Disney's Frontierland, with its emphasis on gold mining, had a precedent in the California Knott's Berry Farm in Southern California, which claims to be the first American theme park. Berry Farm's promotional leaflet reproduces the precarious balance between myth and history that characterises the Western genre:

Established on the site of a berry farm, the Depression saw the farm extend to selling pies, jams and fried chicken. In 1940 the proprietor began to import abandoned buildings, and set up what was advertised as an – 'authentic Old West Ghost Town' ... with REAL buildings transported from mining towns throughout the West ... this boisterous mining camp as it was in the early 1880s. (Knott's Berry Farm advertising leaflet, quoted in Cross and Walton 2005: 210)

The 'Old West Ghost Town' makes an appearance in the Gothic Haunted Mansions of the Disneyland parks. Frontierland reproduces the iconography of newspaper and magazine coverage of the American West; the 'Legends of the Wild West' attraction recycles all the stock figures of Gold Rush journalism – the outlaw, the lawman and the frontiersman.

As the genre of America, it was inevitable that the Western should figure large for Disney. Early Mickey Mouse films showed Mickey as a quintessentially American mouse, who makes use of all the mythologies of the American West; he appears as a pioneer in the 1928 *Steamboat Willie* and as a cowboy in *The Cactus Kid*, 1930. Frontierland was directly linked to the Westerns that Disney was producing for Disneyland Television, which included the screen appearance of Davy Crockett. It was with Davy Crockett that Disney firmly established his own styling of the Western genre. Davy Crockett, like Leatherstocking, Buffalo Bill and Wild Bill Hickok, was a character who had some basis in fact but whose history was surrounded by popular myths. He had appeared in several fictional 'biographies' and romances, as a character in melodramas and in early Western films; he was already an entrenched figure

in American popular culture by the time Disney came to make him the iconic frontiersman for the twentieth century. Davy Crockett was significant in being the first human character to feature on Disney television and in providing the structure for the narratives and landscaping of Frontierland. Davy Crockett originated as a three-part television series to launch the Disneyland Television show, first aired in 1954 as 'Davy Crockett – Indian Fighter'. The three 1954 episodes were edited together as a feature-length film for cinema distribution, *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier* (1955). The poster features Crockett in coonskin hat and moccasins, very reminiscent of images of Leatherstocking, while his bearing owes something to the cowboys of Remington and Russell. Both film and television series were huge popular successes and launched two cultural phenomena: the theme song (still remembered by those brought up in the 1950s and 1960s) and the coonskin hat. 'The Ballad of Davy Crockett' was written in 1954, and by 1955 there were over 200 different recorded versions, while the hat became a national craze in Europe and America.

The *mise en scène* for the Davy Crockett shows would go on to shape the Disneyland use of the Western genre in Frontierland, literally so, in that the film sets provided the basis for its landscaping. Frontierland offers an image of the American West that derives from the ghost town of Berry Farm, and was entirely modelled on movies. The Frontierland saloon was commissioned to look like the saloon in the film *Calamity Jane* and designed by the same set designer. Big Thunder Mountain directly references John Ford's use of Monument Valley. Disney's Frontierland established the pattern for the American West in theme parks across the world, and with it Frontierland's celebration of the pioneer spirit and the conquest of the Indians. As Marin describes,

Frontierland is the representation of scenes of the final conquest of the West. Here narratives of how the West was won illustrate the ever-increasing American appropriation of land and resources. The frontier has no limit: it is itself transgression. ... It is quite amazing that most of the stories in Frontierland involve rides of conquest or exploitation. ... These all involve penetration into and victory over the lands of the first inhabitants, the Indians. (Marin 1984: 250)

In fact, it is not at all amazing that the stories and images of Frontierland are of the 'final conquest of the West' because its styling and narratives are drawn from a long history of images and tales of brave pioneers and threatening Indians. Frontierland recycles all the metonymic signifiers of the Western as genre that date from the nineteenth century: the plainsman of Fenimore Cooper, the speculators of Bret Harte, the heroic cowboys of Remington and Russell, the noble savage of the human zoos of the World's Fairs. The settings of the mountains and the Gold Rush camps were found in illustrated news magazines before they became the stock motifs of the dime novel and Western movie. Frontierland conforms to the narrative of exploration and conquest over alien territories that is common to all the Disney 'lands', but here it has an added

resonance because it is the American genre, and an American foundational myth.

The motifs of the 'Wild West' at Disneyland Paris entered into a French culture that was already imbued with the cinematic signifiers of the Western – *Cahiers du Cinéma* had championed the Western throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The architecture and landscaping of Frontierland for Europe were therefore designed to deliberately emphasise iconic images from classic American Westerns. A Disney imagineer explains that the Frontierland design for Paris was calculatedly inflected through cinema:

We noticed the intrigue that the American Southwest had for the French and for other Europeans; the Grand Canyon or Monument Valley, the images that have become familiar through John Wayne westerns are symbolic for Europeans of the entire American West, even if we feel that in reality these regions are as varied and diverse as Europe is diverse. (Tony Baxter, quoted in Lainsbury 2000: 59)

What is absent from the Disneylands of Paris, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Tokyo is Liberty Square, where American patriotism is celebrated in the shape of a 'Liberty Tree', surrounded by red, white and blue rosettes and the Stars and Stripes. The animatronic Hall of Presidents is decorated with monumental paintings of pioneers and the Western frontier. Liberty Square embodies Cawelti's understanding of the imagined Wild West:

... the idea that the frontier experience was the true source of American democracy. The popular imagination in the nineteenth century had already revelled in the fantasy of the Wild West with its lawlessness and violent individualism. This fantasy made the frontier into the true source of violence in America, conveniently averting the public gaze from one of the most important causes of American violence – racism – and its true locus – the cities. (Cawelti 1984: 3)

That frontier experience as 'the true source of American democracy' is written into the geography of Frontierland at Disney World, sited as it is next to Liberty Square, so that the visitor returns to Liberty Square after the experience of the Wild West. There is no clear boundary between the two sites.

In his account of his travels across Death Valley, Jean Baudrillard notes that it is impossible to experience the landscapes of the American West except through the prism of the Western movie:

It is useless to seek to strip the desert of its cinematic essence in order to restore its original essence; those features are thoroughly superimposed upon it and will not go away. The cinema has absorbed everything – Indians, mesas, canyons, skies. (Baudrillard 1988: 69)

Those metonymic icons of the Western genre were already 'thoroughly superimposed' on the cinema, and have a long history, which predates film. The cinematic signs of the cowboy, the Indian and the Western landscape were already circulating in the European and American popular imagination



Figure 10.2 Fantastische Reise (Fantastic Journey), Prater Park, Vienna

through fiction and magazine stories, through engravings and illustrations from *Picturesque America*, through Buffalo Bill to the covers of the dime novel. The signifiers of the Wild West have been distributed again through the stock landscapes of the Western movie, and then through the theme park to become an integral genre of the carnival site that continues to promote an 'essence' of America.

Consuming the West

Main Street, USA

Disney is unavoidable in any discussion of the contemporary theme park or of the narrativisation of the tourist experience. The Disney parks are themselves a global phenomenon, with two sites in America, one outside Paris (and easily accessible from most of Europe), one in Tokyo, one in Hong Kong and another in Shanghai; Disney, as Simon During has put it, belongs to the ‘global popular’ (During 1993: 22). The success of the Disney Corporation is inescapable in the leisure industry.¹ The organisation of the theme park into generic ‘lands’ and the geography of a ‘Main Street’ as an entrance into the fantasylands may have borrowed from the structure of the World’s Fairs, but this precise theming was a Disneyland innovation.

The success of the Disney Corporation has led to the borrowing of the formula for Disneyland by leisure companies and commercial pleasure grounds across the world. It is not just that the Disney parks are globally the most successful tourist attractions; they have also shaped the structure of attractions in theme parks and fairgrounds internationally. Disney himself may have claimed inspiration from the European pleasure garden and to have shaped his parks after the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen, but the Disney parks are very much the product of an American imagination, and it is that American imagination that has shaped the global model of the theme park. Theme parks across the world may inflect their own cultural and geographical specificity, so the Astérix Parc in Paris celebrates a Gallic culture, and Gardaland in Italy reminds Egyptologists that the archaeologist Belzoni was originally an Italian. But the success of Disney is unavoidable; what the Disney Corporation takes up, so will other theme parks across the world. The division into ‘lands’, the management of visitors and the siting of attractions conforms globally to the same organising principles found in Disneyland.

Disney promises visitors ‘Magic’; Tinkerbell is employed as a Disneyland logo, and it is she who closes the park at night as visitors are sent out of the gates of Main Street, USA. While the ‘Magic of Disney’ is much celebrated by fans, it also has been roundly denigrated by those who see the Mouse as responsible for a process of the ‘Disneyfication’ (see Schickel 1986) of the world’s favourite stories. There is no doubt that the Disney parks are extremely good at what they do; as Christopher Finch’s celebration of the *Art of Walt*

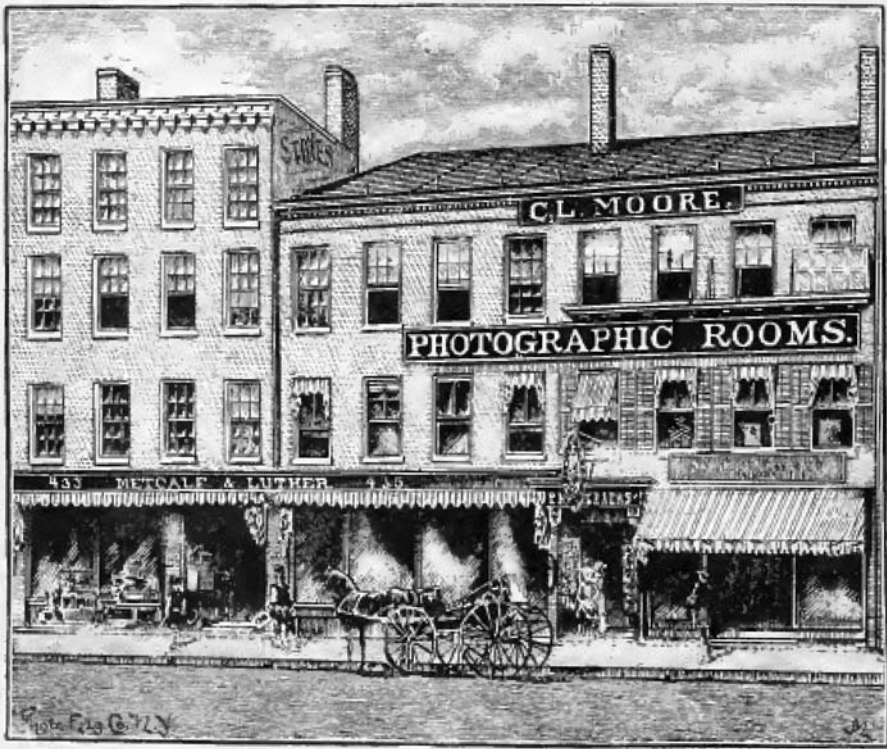


Figure 11.1 Chauncey L. Moore, opposite Court Square, on Main Street, c. 1884.
Engraving from *King's Handbook of Springfield, Massachusetts*

Disney (Finch 1978, 2004) demonstrates, the attention to detail in the theming of the parks' *mise en scènes* is remarkable. The fencing, the litter bins and the signage are decorated according to each land's theming, and the ambient music is appropriate to each. The 'imagineers' of the Disney Company are professional mythmakers, trained in the creation of fantasy environments. As Janet Wasko reminds us, Walt Disney Enterprises is a major global corporation, and the pleasures and fantasies that it offers are highly crafted:

It cannot simply be magic, as portrayed in the Disney Stories, or as the company would like us to believe. For even though Disney provides an important source of pleasure and entertainment for children and adults, it is also necessary to understand the process by which Disney's magic and fantasy are deliberately manufactured – they are produced by one of the largest media and entertainment corporations in the world. (Wasko 2001: 1)

This reconciliation of magic and corporate capital is the logic that structures Main Street, and it is a reconciliation that is achieved through an elision of tradition and modernity. Like the once-loved holiday destinations of Blackpool and Coney Island, visitors to the world of Disney expect that

their fantasy should be at once familiar and contemporary, that their holiday experience should recapture old memories and also be suitably up to date. This reconciliation of past and future is one that Disney personally promises in the bronze plaque that was dedicated at the first Disneyland park in 1955. It is still there, and reads (with no small ambition),

To all who come to this happy place, welcome. Disneyland is your land. Here age relives fond memories of the past and here youth may savor the challenge and promise of the future. Disneyland is dedicated to the ideals, the dreams and the hard facts that have created America – with the hope that it will be a joy and inspiration to all the world.

‘Disneyization’, in Bryman’s (2004) term, is a process by which consumer experience is increasingly organised along the lines of the Disney theme parks, in much the same way as George Ritzer has argued that contemporary work has been shaped by the practices of the McDonalds organisation (Ritzer 1993). Ritzer and Allan Liska have pointed to the mid-1950s as the moment of both ‘McDonaldization’ and ‘Disneyization’:

[I]f McDonald’s has been the paradigm of rationality for society as a whole, Disney has certainly been the model for the tourist industry ... the tourist industry in general, and virtually every theme and amusement park in particular, has been McDisneyized ... cruise ships, theme parks and casinos, shopping malls have been McDisneyized, coming to look more and more like amusement parks. (Ritzer and Liska 1997: 97–8)

The first Disney theme park in America is also a phenomenon of the 1950s, and the nostalgia that it offers is of that period. Disneyland appeared at this moment of post-war conformity, and the fantasies it offers are of escape into a lawless and unregulated world – the Wild West, outer space, the jungle or the fantastic worlds of fairy tale and the Gothic. Disneyland made it possible for the theme park tourist to become a pirate, an explorer, a cowboy or an astronaut.² The excitement of those uncharted worlds can be experienced in a safely contained environment; these fantasylands are framed by the relatively familiar space of Main Street, USA, a land in the park that is reassuringly and emphatically American.

The official Disney biographies (see Greene and Greene 1991) and guidebooks regularly claim that Disney’s hometown of Marceline is the model for Main Street, USA. There is a consistent emphasis in such Disney promotional publications of the authenticity of Main Street as based in a real place; it is repeatedly stated that Main Street, USA, is based upon Walt Disney’s boyhood memories of his hometown Marceline, at the turn of the twentieth century (as most of the biographies put it, rather vaguely). Christopher Finch, one of the official chroniclers of Disney, has said,

The symbolic values of Main Street are at the centre of the Disney aesthetic. He had an imagination which could stretch itself to cover much of the world and many periods of history, but Marceline, circa 1909, always remained home base. (Finch 1978: 49)

This 'circa' 1909 is an improbably precise dating; the Walt Disney World guidebook places Main Street between '1890 and 1910', a vague designation between two centuries. Main Street is itself a 1950s reinvention of American small-town life, and its 'aesthetic' is shared and filtered through Hollywood recreations of late nineteenth-century Americana.

The intertextuality of Main Street does reference mid-nineteenth-century news images of the American Western town, but it also draws upon post-war cinematic representations of small-town life, such as *Meet Me in St Louis* (MGM, prod. Arthur Freed, 1944), *On Moonlight Bay* (Warner, prod. William Jacobs, 1951) and *By the Light of the Silvery Moon* (Warner, prod. William Jacobs, 1953). Such films, popular just before the building of Disneyland, were to establish a set of conventions for the imagining of American small-town life (see Francaviglia 1996). Like Main Street, USA, these Judy Garland and Doris Day films are located in a mythical 'turn of the century', at the point of expanding urbanisation and corporate capitalism. If Main Street is frozen in nostalgic mode, it is nostalgia for a very particular moment; the guidebook asserts that this is a world of nostalgia and progress. Main Street celebrates the coming of new technologies and simultaneously cherishes vintage artefacts. Early Ford motor cars and horse-drawn carriages cruise together along Main Street, the transports of the past and the future magically reconciled.³

The architecture, iconography and technology all situate Main Street as on the cusp between the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at a point of historical transition:

Main Street U.S.A. is a nostalgic tour of an enduring symbol of American life – a turn-of-the-century small town. Main Street gives us a tantalizing look at the best of the 'good old days' ... when a burgeoning technology was replacing real horsepower with mechanical horsepower, and the telephone, telegraph, phonograph, radio and cheap, available hydroelectric power were revolutionizing daily life. (Walt Disney Company 1998: 16)

This 'enduring symbol' of American life is structured into all the Disney parks as the dominant and anchoring narrative. Main Street, USA, is the access point to all the Disneyland sites, the first area in the park that the visitor encounters. It is also the space that is most dedicated to consumption; in its idealised construction of a 'turn-of-the-century' American street, it is lined with consumer outlets for food and souvenirs. Although these outlets are present in every land of the park, it is at Main Street that they are at their most concentrated.

In his structuralist account of the 'utopic' spaces of Disneyland, Louis Marin explains that Main Street represents the hub of Disneyland, and is the point that marks the transition from the familiar world of the everyday into the 'magical' worlds of the theme park:

Disneyland is a centered space. Main Street, USA leads the visitor to the center. But this route toward the center plaza is also the way toward Fantasyland, one of

the four districts of Disneyland. So the most obvious axis of Disney's utopia leads the visitor not only from the circular limit or perimeter to the core of the closed space, but also from reality to fantasy. (Marin 1990: 245)

Main Street, USA, originally designed for the first Disneyland park in Los Angeles, has become the paradigm for the organisation of space at the theme park entrance. All contemporary theme parks now have a similar walkway, which leads the visitor from the entrance into the attractions of the theme park, and which is lined with consumer outlets and customer services; in the United Kingdom, Alton Towers has 'Towers Street', Chessington World of Adventures has 'Market Square' and Drayton Manor has its 'Entrance Plaza'. At all the Disney sites, Main Street is the space that channels visitors from the ordinary spaces of their car and the company car park (invisible from inside the site) to the fantasylands of the theme park. It is Main Street that marks the beginning and end of all visits; it is the space where people gather for the daily and evening parades, and is the optimum point from which to watch the fireworks that bring the visitor's experience of the park to a close. Main Street, USA, may be a focal point that gathers people together, but it is also the space in the park from which people can most easily be led to the exit.

Main Street is a place that promises both the ordinary and the extraordinary; it is simultaneously the space that offers the visitor picturesque vistas to exciting other worlds and a reference point that marks the exit from which to return to the familiar. The landscape combines the fantastical with the reassuring; at one end of the street are the gates that mark the site off from the outside world and the car park, while the view from the entrance at the end of the street is of the centrepiece fairy tale castle. The paths from Main Street lead to the spaces of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fairy tales in Fantasyland and to the futuristic fantasy of Tomorrowland; framed glimpses of these worlds can be seen from Main Street. In the words of one Disney souvenir book, 'the view down a gingerbread Victorian city street toward an 18 storey fairy-tale castle seems as natural as if the castle were a magnificent town library or civic hall' (Kurtti 1996: 45).

Visitors are thus positioned from their first entrance into the park in a world that integrates and celebrates modernity and tradition in the same space, as one guidebook puts it: 'The America of Yesteryear comes to life' (Walt Disney Company 1998: 10). Main Street Station is one of the few spaces in the park at which the generically themed lands of the park coincide; both the Disneyland Express (a nostalgic reconstruction of the nineteenth-century railway) and the futuristic monorail stop at and are clearly visible from Main Street; the past is unproblematically reconciled with the present. This reconciliation of opposites is central to Marin's designation of Disneyland as a 'utopic space':

Disney's utopian operation can be found in the name 'Main Street USA' itself ... through America's self-contained potential the reconciliation of opposites is

performed, but within representation, of course. The past and future, time and space, the playfulness and serious determination to be found on the market, the real and imaginary – all are brought together. (Marin 1990: 248)

The architecture of the Main Street buildings is relatively familiar, eschewing the modernist fantasies of Tomorrowland and the Gothic extremes of Fantasyland, although it is no less idealised. The styling draws heavily on a particularly American popular nostalgia, as Richard Francaviglia and Sharon Zukin (Francaviglia 1996; Zukin 1991) have noted, which relies on Hollywood film and television representations of an imaginary urban community. A Disney-sponsored book celebrates ‘Walt Disney’s America’ in these terms:

Disneyland and Walt Disney World bring ... us face-to-face with Disney’s essentially American character. (The symbolism is quite clear. In both theme parks an exquisite reproduction of an American small town Main Street leads to Disney’s romanticized versions of the past and the future.) (Finch 1978: 46)

While Christopher Finch acknowledges that other spaces in the site are ‘romanticised’, Main Street is nonetheless claimed here as a ‘reproduction’, rather than another romanticised construction of Americana. Finch’s book is one of those officially sanctioned accounts that has promoted the Disney-authorized myth of Main Street as a ‘representation’ of small-town America, and attaches that to a mythologising of Walt Disney himself:

In the theme parks, the Main Street areas are virtually a statement of Walt Disney’s cultural credo ... he evidently grew up with an enduring passion for the street life of Middle America. As a small boy, in the years that his parents operated the farm in Linn County, Missouri, we can be sure that he often visited the nearby town of Marceline. Such early experiences have a way of staying with a man and of taking on a mellow glow with the passage of time. (Finch 1978: 47)

The ‘mellow glow’ of Main Street, however, is rather more than Walt’s nostalgic memories of Marceline, its *mise en scène* being a version of community that was already well established in the popular American memory, and which also extends beyond Walt’s personal history. As Zukin notes, the version of America that Main Street draws upon is a very selective nostalgia:

Disney’s peculiar vision was based on a highly selective consumption of the American landscape. Anchored by a castle and a railroad station, Disneyland evoked the fantasies of domesticity and implicit mobility that were found in the vernacular architecture of Southern California. The castle and station were joined on an axis by ‘Main Street USA’, an ensemble of archaic commercial facades. This mock-up in fact idealized the vernacular architecture Disney remembered from his childhood in Marceline, Missouri, before World War I. ... Disney designed Disneyland by abstracting a promise of security from the vernacular. Disney’s fantasy both restored and invented collective memory. (Zukin 1991: 222)

Main Street, USA, is neither a reproduction nor a representation of a memory; it is a simulacrum. Main Streets may have existed across America,

and the architecture of Main Street, USA, clearly derives from nineteenth-century engravings and news images of the building of town high streets, but the America of Disney's Main Street is entirely one of nostalgic fantasy. Its naming evokes Sinclair Lewis's 1921 novel, and with that, a paradigm of American small-town life, as Lewis put it:

Main Street is the continuation of Main Streets everywhere. The story would be the same in Ohio or Montana, in Kansas or Kentucky or Illinois, and not very differently would it be told Up York State or in the Carolina Hills. (Lewis 1921: 6)

The Disney Main Street, however, is not 'the continuation' of any recognisable geography or history, but rather an idealised construction of a small-town America that never was. It has no roots in any particular locale, nor any relationship to the geography outside the gates of the park, but can be endlessly replicated beyond Los Angeles, in Florida, Paris, Hong Kong or Tokyo. Sinclair's introduction to the novel that challenged the American dream cites brand names, shopping and rail travel as central to the concept of the Main Street:

Main Street is the climax of civilization. That this Ford car might stand in front of the Bon Ton Store. ... Our railway station is the final aspiration of architecture. ... Such is our comfortable tradition and sure faith. Would he not betray himself an alien cynic who should otherwise portray Main Street, or distress the citizens by speculating whether there may not be other faiths? (Lewis 1921: 6)

While representing itself as a quintessentially American mode of consumption, the outlets of Main Street stock all the commodities of the global markets; it is a Main Street that could never have existed at the 'turn of the century'. It is a site that mythologically resolves contradictions and contemporary anxieties about modernity: while the architecture simulates antique American styles, the buildings have the cleanliness and shine of the brand new. The outlets for consumption are presented as 'traditional', a tradition invariably connoted as Victorian and Edwardian; Main Street restaurants in Disneyland Paris offer 'The Gibson Girl Ice-Cream Parlour'⁴ and 'Victoria's Home-Style Restaurant'. Both restaurants are poised at the moment of transition from small-town restaurants to the beginnings of mass catering.

These titles confirm that Main Street is the space of the domestic and the feminine; Main Street is conceived as the space in which women wait and shop while children and men return from their adventures as pirates, spacemen, explorers or cowboys. Main Street is one of the few sites in the park that sells trinkets for adults and caters explicitly for the home beyond the park. Main Street Motors sells not cars but a range of adult clothing, Market House sells tea, Main Street Confectionery offers old-style sweets and biscuits. The goods on sale, despite the recurrent insistence on their qualities as 'traditional' and 'home-made', are unequivocally modern and supplied by global corporations.

The ice cream is by Nestlé, the soda at Casey's corner is 'hosted by' Coca-Cola. Main Street celebrates the moment of the brand, of mass consumption and transport, before these were to become sources of social anxiety. The classic vintage cars seem far removed from any concern about pollution and global warming, and remote from the concrete car parks and motorways that lie outside the boundaries of the park. The forms of transport in Main Street are those that deny the dominance of the private car: double-decker buses and trolley cars. Private transport is horse-drawn, and the guidebook offers a fantasy of a Main Street as attached to a farming community: 'The ... horses who pull the trolleys ... work two or three hours a day, three or four days a week, and when they're not working, they doze and munch sweet green hay at their barn in Fort Wilderness' (Walt Disney Company 1998: 17).

While the shopping parade of Main Street suggests a street of competing traders, that competition is itself illusory. It is not the boardwalk hucksterism of World's Fairs or of the freeway outside the original Los Angeles Disneyland, but a carefully managed retail environment. There is an apparent diversity of small businesses, which are in fact rigorously controlled by the single agent, Disney. Consumers can be seen to be comparing prices in different outlets, but prices are controlled across the site and different parks. 'On property' (as Disney salespeople put it), all the businesses are either owned or licensed by the Disney Corporation. The branded goods are those of Disney's corporate partners.⁵ While the shopfronts present a façade of individual small shops, the street is in fact built as a warehouse that can be walked through the length of Main Street. As one of the official Disney publications explains,

[The architecture of] Main Street USA is actually constructed as four individual buildings of 'blocks' (Northwest, Northeast, Southwest and Southeast) bisected in the center by a crossroads (Center Street, appropriately). Each of these four main buildings is cleverly designed to appear as a grouping of individual and distinctive structures. Inside, each shop or attraction is treated with different decor, ornament and materials as appropriate to the function and story being told. Disney Imagineers are ever vigilant in avoiding visual contradictions and intrusions that might interfere with the basic story telling in each project. (Kurtti 1996: 45)

The 'basic storytelling' of Main Street, USA, is that this is a high street located in a community, but this is an 'imagined community', in Benedict Anderson's phrase (Anderson 1983). The Disney theme park, wherever it may be located, is a privatised space, but Main Street, in each site, masquerades as a public space. At one end of Main Street are the booths at the entrance to the park where visitors are charged a fee, but the architecture and its naming borrow from the language of civil society and the public sphere. The spaces of Main Street, USA, are titled as though they were communal – 'Town Square', 'City Hall' (apparently inaugurated in 1879), 'The Plaza' – as though the warehouses, shops and offices that lie behind the façades are actually sites for

public use. A publicity book for Walt Disney World describes Main Street as the centre of a community:

At the South End of Main Street is Town Square, the civic center, with Main Street Railroad Station, City Hall and a municipal park complete with flagpole. At the north end of Main Street is the Plaza, known colloquially as the 'hub'. It is from this point that most of the other realms of the Magic Kingdom may be entered. (Kurtti 1996: 45)

The 'colloquialism' of the 'hub' is, however, one that can only be shared by Disney employees; for visitors, the 'community' of Disneyland is one that exists only for the space of a day. The 'civic centre' has no civilians, and operates only as an information centre.⁶ The City Hall, the park and the civic centre may appear 'municipal', but all are empty, while the Railroad Station transports people only across the site of the park and, in Florida, to the Disney hotels. As Michael Sorkin puts it,

Disney invokes an urbanism without producing a city. Rather, it produces a kind of aura-stripped hypercity, a city with billions of citizens (all who would consume) but no residents. Physicalized yet conceptual, it's the utopia of transience, a place where everyone is just passing through. (Sorkin 1992: 231)

The utopia invoked in Main Street is a particularly American dream, but it is important to recognise that it is the point of transition into the 'lands' of adventure and fantasy, and that it also marks the anchoring logic of the fantasylands. An American 'townscape' constructed from nostalgia (whether personal or cultural) becomes the dominant narrative of the park, with the majority of its 'lands' devoted to telling the stories of American history. At Walt Disney World Florida, this is extended further, with the celebration of American democracy at 'Liberty Square' ('Colonial History and Frontier Fun', the guidebook explains) providing a transitional space between Frontierland and Main Street. Marin does not develop the correspondence between the two sites further, but Main Street's architecture can be read as the 'town' of the Hollywood Western *mise en scène*, while Frontierland represents the 'Wild West'. Frontierland references the American West of Fenimore Cooper, of Bret Harte and of Remington and Russell, while Main Street represents the civilising effects of femininity and commerce. The design of another Main Street catering outlet, 'The Home-Style Restaurant', suggests Judy Garland in the 1945 *The Harvey Girls* (dir. George Sidney, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer), serving at the railway restaurant and taming the rugged frontiersmen to proper civility.

The death of the Western as a contemporary genre has been a regular cry of film historians; Phil Hardy's introduction to his encyclopedia of the genre was claiming in 1985: 'The Western ... has been dethroned; it is no longer the all powerful genre that it was. Hollywood and audiences no longer seem interested in the last days of the frontier' (Hardy 1985: xv). It is important, however, to

remember that the Western has always been a nostalgic form, and was so long before cinema. The archaism that Orwell noted of the 'dime novel Western' (Orwell 1961a) has always been a feature of the form: 'The Western Frontier' has been a mythological landscape since Fenimore Cooper's novels. Cooper's construction of the American West was already nostalgic for the wilderness of the plainsman and suspicious of the taming power of femininity. Bret Harte was looking back to a time when the whisky and the good-time girls were fresh off the newly built railways, before they had become institutionalised as Harvey or Gibson girls. Remington and Russell were celebrating a rugged masculinity away from the incursion of commerce, in which women could only be marginal. The nostalgia for an old-fashioned Americana and American masculinity survives into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the 1995 children's cartoon film, *Toy Story* (dir. John Lasseter, Pixar),⁷ the cowboy hero, once a favourite toy, is seen as old-fashioned in contrast with the novelty and new technology represented by a space man. The film ends by reasserting the rugged and independent spirit of the American pioneer, still seen as necessary in a postmodern and technological world. The Western continues to hold its place as the American genre, a form that contemporary children will recognise and for which they still feel an affection.

Main Street is a version of the Western adapted for women and for children. It represents the end of the frontier – literally so, as the space from which the fantasies of the Disneylands must be left behind, the last view of the Magic Kingdom. It is also the site where representatives of the social movements that would eradicate Fenimore Cooper's wild frontier are to be found. Commerce in the form of shops, early modes of transport and the invasion of femininity are seen in Bret Harte as threats to the wildness of the West. Main Street represents the form of the genre that would be most successful in the domestic environment: the television Western. *Little House on the Prairie* based on the autobiography of the daughter of a settler family,⁸ would successfully run on television for years from 1974 across Europe and America; it features a local store that is close to the 'emporia' of Main Street. The structural opposition between the domestic and the wild frontier is a structuring narrative of the Western genre, in fiction and in film. Jim Kitses' 1969 study of Western film directors offers a neat structuralist analysis in which he identifies the genre as defined through a 'series of antinomies' headed by the opposition between 'THE WILDERNESS' and 'CIVILIZATION' (Kitses 1969: 11–12). If this neat binary opposition has been challenged by more recent Western films and by contemporary film critics, it is nonetheless one that continues to be sustained in the Disney parks, and which is physically inscribed into the landscape. This grid can be used to directly map the distinction between Main Street and Frontierland; while both employ the stories and the iconography of the Western in film and literature, Main Street is the site of the community, of institutions (City Hall and Town Square are located there), whereas Frontierland promises individual adventure and the experience of the American cowboy.

Main Street thus becomes a gendered site, the place that the aspirant male cowboy leaves and will return to, a feminised space of domesticity. Frontierland addresses a male adventurer, while the site of consumption and refreshment represented in Main Street has been traditionally associated with femininity (Bowlby 1985). The everyday experience of shopping is framed at Main Street as a nostalgic fantasy of American consumption. As Marin explains,

Main Street, USA is the place where the visitor can buy, in a nineteenth century American decor, actual and real commodities with his real actual money. Locus of exchange of meanings and symbols in the imaginary land of Disney, Main Street USA is also the real place of exchange, money and commodity. It is the locus of the societal truth – consumption – that is the truth for all Disneyland. (Marin 1990: 247)

Main Street is the space where the familiar experience of exchanging money for goods is most foregrounded; the use of paper money is largely absent elsewhere; the entrance gates encourage the use of credit cards, rides are not paid for, and for those staying in a Disney hotel, most restaurants and accommodation bills will be settled with a final credit card payment. But if the commodities, exchange and money of Main Street are real, the context in which they take place is an imaginary one, which offers itself as a version of American small-town life as a ‘knowable community’ (Williams 1973). Within the structure of Disneyland, Main Street is positioned as the other of ‘Fantasyland’, ‘Adventureland’, ‘Frontierland’ and ‘Discoveryland’; it is presented as a ‘reality’⁹ from which the dreams of the rest of the park are perceived, the commercial centre from which all other possibilities open up. Main Street, however, is no less of a fantasy than Fantasyland. As Wayne Franklin has put it,

Disney’s genius lay in his ability to tap (and shape) the fantasies of his audiences; in developing the Main Street area of Disneyland, he likewise gave concrete expression to the longing of his fellow citizens for a simpler, more cohesive sense of community than their malls and shopping strips, attenuated by the libertarian automobile, could provide. That his Main Street is the epitome of commercialism – one has to pay, after all, even to walk down it, and it is full of sites for further spending and consumption – makes it the ideal, supersaturated archetype of the cultural landscape it seeks at the same time to cast as a good-old-days antidote to modern alienation. Ironically, Disney has it both ways, preaching against the present and charging the audience for the sermon. (Franklin 1996: xii–xiii)

Disney relocates the global map of consumption in a less alienating and threatening ‘good old days’, and while Main Street employs all the techniques of contemporary consumer outlets, it presents its shopping experience as one in which local and familiar shopkeepers are plying their trade.

Central to the conceit of Main Street as the centre of a traditional community is the sustained illusion that the shopkeepers are personally known to the consumers. In a world of global commerce, the names on the shop frontages might be familiar because they are those of multinational corporations, but

they are here personalised and located in a time before their global reach was established. The Main Street shops present branded goods as marketed by traders before these suppliers have become faceless corporations. The proprietor of the old-fashioned soda fountain becomes Mr Nestlé, the camera shop is 'Mr Kodak's Emporium',¹⁰ the 'Main Street Vehicles' garage that displays vintage cars is, at Disneyland Paris, presented by Mr Hertz, who promises 'personal service'. There is an uneasy mythical resolution here of the local and the global, of standardisation and individuality, in which Main Street presents itself as in a position to offer simultaneously the assurance of traditional personal service with the familiarity of contemporary and global brand names.

If Main Street claims itself as a nostalgic experience, it nonetheless manifests all the characteristics of contemporary sites of consumption, identified here by Rob Shields:

[There exists an] interdependence of the private spaces of subjectivity, media and commodity consumption, and the changing spatial contexts of everyday public life. This includes shopping malls which have developed as privately owned 'public' spaces for retailing, traditional public spaces such as markets, public buildings ... as well as the ephemeral 'public' space of the mass media. (Shields 1992: 1)

Disneyland is a site that can cohere all these demands to a remarkable degree: the theme park is a space that deploys fantasy to enter into the private spaces of subjectivity; Disneyland is part of a media corporation that can mobilise the cinemagoing and childhood television experiences of its consumers. If Main Street is not a shopping mall as such, it is certainly a privately owned space that makes reference to the public sphere, and if it is not a heritage site, Main Street is the space in the park that most explicitly expresses a nostalgia for a past America. It is also the space where Disney most visibly celebrates its own history; among the attractions of Main Street is the 'Walt Disney Story', which 'follows Walt Disney from his boyhood through the creation of the Walt Disney World Resort' (Walt Disney Company 1998).

Fredric Jameson has described 'the insensible colonization of the present by the nostalgia mode' in the Hollywood film, and his points hold for the reconstruction of a mythical past in Main Street:

[T]he nostalgia film was never a matter of some old-fashioned 'representation' of historical content, but instead approached the 'past' through stylistic connotation, conveying 'pastments' by the glossy qualities of the image ... we are now ... in 'intertextuality' as a deliberate, built-in feature of the aesthetic effect and as the operator of a new connotation of 'pastness'; and pseudohistorical depth, in which the history of aesthetic styles displaces 'real' history. (Jameson 1991: 19–20)

Main Street takes its aesthetic styles from two distinct historical periods – the 1950s (the decade of the first Disneyland) and, most prominently, the late nineteenth century (the period of the major American World's Fairs and

supposedly of Walt Disney's own childhood memories). 'History' is thus largely coded as Victoriana and 'pastness' connoted through reference to quaint and old-fashioned technologies, such as vintage cars or early silent film, which serve to confirm the 'progress' of contemporary life. Like the Epcot Center, Main Street references the Great Exhibition¹¹ and the late nineteenth-century World's Fairs; it also emulates their celebration and belief in commerce, culture and technology. Main Street is thus positioned as if poised on the brink of modernity; it refers to a period before the mass production of a global economy, while simultaneously looking forward to and embracing the possibilities of contemporary technology. Disney is reported to have said of his vision of Main Street:

Here is America from 1890 to 1910, at the crossroads of an era ... the gas lamp is giving way to the electric lamp, and a newcomer, the sputtering 'horseless carriage' has challenged Old Dobbin for the streetcar right of way. ... America was in transition. (Walt Disney, quoted in Francaviglia 1996: 153)

The significance of this transitional moment – the 'crossroads of an era' – to the Disney ideology is evident from the extent to which the same phrases are repeated verbatim in a Disney World guidebook, sponsored by the Disney Corporation:

Main Street lives up to its description as the 'crossroads of an era'. The gas lamp giving way to electric light, the sputtering 'horseless carriage' challenging Old Dobbin for the streetcar right of way. Throughout the day it is alive with vehicles. A quaint horse-drawn streetcar plods along its leisurely rail-track route from north to south and back again, while more modern, motorized jitneys (with special mufflers to create the appropriate sputtering sound) and even a fire engine add to the bustle. (Kurti 1996: 47)

Main Street is thus presented in the discourse of Disney as a site that celebrates the development of urbanisation and the moment of the beginnings of the mass production and circulation of goods. These historical shifts are firmly located in a nostalgic frame, and denied as a transition into modernity. Franklin has suggested that Main Street, USA, and the notion of 'Main Street' that it draws upon are themselves products of modernity, and mark the moment of the beginnings of consumer capitalism:

What we now think of as Main Street itself was ... the creature of the commercial culture of the nineteenth century. Although it has been loaded with all kinds of ... antique meanings, the Main Street shopping district is structured around not only the imperatives of material systems (things such as proximity, concentration, the movement of goods across the counter and across town) but also, and one might say more importantly, the commercial assumptions of modern consumer culture. It is an apparatus of the modern cash/credit economy and presumes fairly high income levels, intensive levels of exchange, and a spatially focused population indoctrinated in the virtues of consumption. (Franklin 1996: xii)

The visitor to a Disney theme park is more spatially focused than any other kind of consumer; in a bounded space, the 'virtues of consumption' and

consumer choice are limited to and embodied in commodities produced or licensed by the Disney Corporation.

The department stores and arcades of the late nineteenth century (which are emulated in the arcades of the Main Street shops) were the precursors of the shopping mall. Main Street directly references the designs of the new metropolitan arcades of the late nineteenth century in its construction of late Victorian architectural styles and in the naming of the outlets. Shops at Main Street include 'Uptown Jewellers', 'The Chapeau' and 'The Emporium', names that suggest urban department stores that can offer luxury commodities from across the world. The late nineteenth-century growth of Main Streets across America and the social impacts of the shopping arcade and mall are condensed at the Disneyland sites into a mythological construct of progress, commerce and community, in which the local shopping street remains unaffected by the emergence of a corporate capitalist culture.

Shields has also argued that the development of the consumer arcade in the late nineteenth century is a consequence of new technologies and of new forms of consumption:

The genealogy of the mall has two roots, the luxurious arcades built for the European bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century ... and the emporia or department stores in which mass produced household commodities and clothing became available in settings designed as palaces of consumption. Cast-iron engineering allowed new architectural effects such as multi-storey atria which amplified the effect of a spectacular, simultaneous display of a vast quantity of goods on offer. ... To this background one might add a darker touch of the Foucauldian panopticon prison where visibility and surveillance reigned supreme. (Shields 1992: 3)

Main Street explicitly echoes these palaces of consumption, with architectural flourishes, imitation cast-iron atria and bountiful displays of commodities. The emphasis is on luxury, with Main Street offering shops selling crystal, jewellery and 'Disneyana Collectibles'; goods are piled high in a carnivalesque display of conspicuous consumption. And there is no question that it is Main Street that is one of the few sites at Disneyland at which a Foucauldian discipline is made apparent; the guards at the entrance gates may be dressed as fairy tale soldiers but are nonetheless there to police and marshal visitors (see Philips 1998). It is Main Street that is rumoured to have been the site of Walt Disney's own personal panopticon. As Francaviglia reports, in terms that disconcertingly evoke an image of Walt Disney as God,

It has been said that Disney's favourite place in the theme park was an apartment above the firehouse which looked right down into the public square to observe the activity. Using this commanding location, Disney could observe the public interacting with the environment that he had created, and by all accounts, Disney was reassured by what he saw. (Francaviglia 1996: 154)

The 'Main Street shopping district' blurs its relationships with commodities and material systems, to provide the consumer with a magical resolution of

many of the perceived crises of late capitalism and of postmodern globalisation. Jameson has cited the impact of colonialism on consumption as one of the determinants of modernity:

[C]olonialism means that a significant structural segment of the economic system as a whole is now located elsewhere, beyond the metropolis, outside of the daily life and existential experience of the home country, in colonies over the water whose own life experience and life world – very different from that of the imperial power – remains unknown and unimaginable for the subjects of the imperial power. (Jameson 1988: 11)

Main Street, USA, domesticates and naturalises the moment at which the economics of consumption shifted into a global market. In bringing together the fruits of world commerce in a nostalgic urban setting, it reassures that global markets and production can be domesticated, and simultaneously asserts that a corporate American economy can be relied upon to provide consumers with the best that the world can offer. Main Street offers the visitor a quaint and antique setting, but all the commodities of the new technologies; it is (apparently) a localised place, but reaps all the advantages of a global market. The market of Main Street has all the assurances of multinational brand names, while presenting itself as individual and humanised. Main Street is about consuming it all. While the Disney aesthetic might in itself seem insubstantial, its impact has stretched beyond the confines of the cinema and the theme park to exist as a recognised and much-imitated architectural style that has become a part of the urban and suburban landscape. As Ritzer has noted, '[t]he line between the mall and the amusement park has almost been obliterated' (Ritzer 1999: 135).

Mike Davis (1990) and Sharon Zukin (1991) are among those who have charted the extent to which public spaces of late modernity have become increasingly subject to private and corporate interests, while Michael Sorkin (1992) has pointed to the impact of the theme park on the American urban landscape. An award-winning casino and hotel at Las Vegas is named Main Street; themed in the style of the Disneyland Express, it is built on the site of what was once Las Vegas's railway station. This is an image found in shopping malls and leisure zones across America and Europe – a commercial and privatised leisure space that has taken over what was once a publicly owned and used site. Shopping malls across America and Europe require the narratives of nostalgia and community and reference the civic language, the Victorian flourishes and architecture of Main Street, USA, in an attempt to render an alienated environment familiar and attractive to consumers. Foucault describes the heterotopia in terms that articulate the reassurance and orderliness of Main Street, USA. For Foucault,

[Heterotopias] have the function of forming another space, another real space, as perfect, meticulous and well-arranged as ours is disordered, ill-conceived and in a sketchy state. This heterotopia is not one of illusion, but of compensation. (Foucault 1986: 17)

The discourses of Main Street, USA, extend beyond the shopping mall and themed environments of leisure and consumption, and have now become an urban landscape in their own right. Disney's own development, Celebration, in Florida, is a logical extension of Main Street, a walled inhabited suburb designed by the Disney imagineers. It may be owned and designed by the Disney Corporation, but it is only one among thousands of gated communities and housing estates in Europe and America that invoke the nostalgia for the local and for community that is embodied in Main Street, USA. The Main Streets of suburbia are designed as a 'new urbanism', but are simulations of the simulacrum that is Disney's Main Street, USA.

Baudrillard has famously claimed that Disneyland is no more real than its Los Angeles context:

Disneyland is there to conceal the fact that it is the 'real country', all of 'real' America, which *is* Disneyland. ... Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation. (Baudrillard 1988: 172)

It is less, as Baudrillard suggests, that it is Disneyland that makes America feel real about itself, than America and other consumer market sites want to recreate themselves as Main Street. The Disneyland stores and merchandise that fill the frontages of Main Street are to be found in Main Streets and shopping centres all over the world. The aesthetics, the nostalgia and the organisation of space promoted in Disney's Main Street, USA, now inform shopping malls and town centres, spaces of consumption, across the globe.

The theme park promises the visitor the experience of the lawlessness of piracy and frontier cowboys, the vertigo of space travel and the romance and horror of the fantastic, but it is to the commercial and embryonic corporate world of Main Street that they must always return. Marin has argued that

Disneyland is the representation realized in a geographical space of the imaginary relationship that the dominant groups of American society maintain with their real conditions of existence, with the real history of the United States, and with the space outside of its borders. Disneyland is a fantasmatic projection of the history of the American nation, of the way in which this history was conceived with regard to other peoples and to the natural world. Disneyland is an immense and displaced metaphor of the system of representations and values unique to American society. (Marin 1990: 240)

In his Althusserian analysis, Marin suggests that the ideology of Disney is one of imperialist exploitation. Disneyland is a 'fantasmatic' projection, but it is one that is integrally tied to the global market and to an unproblematic celebration of industrial technologies. There is some ambiguity throughout the Disney parks, expressed in the recurrent nostalgia that is true of all the lands, but it is at its most evident in Main Street. Main Street is an ideological narrative in that it allows for a magical resolution of the contradictions of commerce and



Figure 11.2 Town Hall, Disneyland, Paris, 2009

progress with nostalgia and tradition. In its nostalgia Main Street erases the threat that modernity presented to imagined traditions and communities. It is the space in which Americans are encouraged to celebrate the American versions of tradition and innovation, and they are invited to do so daily (on the hour) at Liberty Square. The stories of the Disney park may draw on European art and culture in other spaces, Fantasyland, Tomorrowland and Adventureland, but in Main Street, the story is one entirely of an American imagination, and it is Main Street, USA, that structures the landscape of the theme park.

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Notes

Chapter 1 Pleasure gardens, Great Exhibitions and wonderlands: A genealogy of the carnival site

- 1 The Merlin Entertainments promotional material claims that it is second only to the Walt Disney Company as a global entertainments company.
- 2 The major investor in Parc Astérix and the Paris Grévin wax museum is the Group Caisse des Dépôts, a state investor that invests through government bonds.
- 3 Dr Syntax was a mythical figure written by William Combe, used to lampoon contemporary fashions; he was sent on three 'tours': 'The Tour of Dr Syntax in Search of the Picturesque', 'in Search of Consolation' and 'in Search of a Wife'. The 'Picturesque' tour proved so successful that it went into five editions by 1813.
- 4 Charles Hamilton was the youngest son of an aristocratic family and therefore not supported by funds or his own estate, a situation that led to the forced sale of Painshill in 1773.
- 5 At Disney World Florida's Epcot Centre, the visitor can undertake the Grand Tour in a day by visiting metonymic icons of the major tourist attractions: the Eiffel Tower, St Mark's Square and an English pub embody the cities of Paris, Venice and London, respectively.
- 6 The Swiss Family Robinson Tree house is the highest visitor vantage point of the Disney parks, but no boundaries can be seen from there.
- 7 Marylebone Gardens was among the first public sites to display 'The Modern Magic Lantern', in 1775 (Rogers 1896: 31).
- 8 Loudon had once described Repton as a 'tinsel kind of talent' (quoted in Daniels 1999: 4), but he did concede that the Alton Towers garden was 'peculiarly adapted for grand and Picturesque effects' (Loudon, quoted in Batey and Lambert 1990: 270).
- 9 See for example, Finch (2004) and Greene and Greene (1991).
- 10 For a detailed account of rational recreation, see Bailey (1978).
- 11 The Great Exhibition was by no means the first international trade fair. Paris lays claim to 'the first public exhibition of industry and agriculture in 1798 as the first Exposition Universelle' (see Ageorges 2006: 12), and this was retrospectively recognised by the Bureau of International Exhibitions.
- 12 The Crystal Palace Gardens were used as the site for the 1911 Festival of Empire, but finally burned down in 1936.
- 13 The Blackpool Tower was the only one of a planned series of towers to be built.
- 14 The pavilions for the Columbian Exhibition were painted in a white plaster, which gave the site the name of the White City, a name that Wembley Stadium in London would later take over.

- 15 See Mattie (1998) for a listing of the new technologies and attractions presented at each World's Fair.
- 16 A version of Buffalo Bill's Rodeo Show is still to be found at Disneyland Paris and at Disney World Florida as an evening attraction located outside the main gates of the park.

Chapter 2 Illustrations and innovations: The metonymic icons of the carnival

- 1 See Bryman (1995) for an account of the number of postmodern critics who have concerned themselves with the Disney parks.
- 2 For a discussion of the term 'icon', see Eco (1977: 191–6).
- 3 The Grimm Brothers, Madame d'Aulnoy, Andrew Lang and Roger Lancelyn Green are among the many compilers of folk tales to claim their own versions as 'authentic' to an original.
- 4 *Peter Pan*, *Alice in Wonderland*, *Treasure Island*, *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* are among the recurrent fairground and theme park narratives that do have a recognised author, but these too all contain strong elements of folk tale.
- 5 As illustrative methods developed, the same process would apply to wood engravings, steel engravings and lithographs.
- 6 The British Statute of Anne, 1709, arguably provides the first legal definition of intellectual property and introduces a legal concept of copyright.
- 7 *Frankenstein* is regularly cited as the first science fiction novel; it is very much a product of the Romantic imagination. While the narrative does express anxiety about the potential destruction of new scientific advances, it offers a monster who can be tamed by the power of reason.
- 8 An important technological development that enabled the mass circulation of images and stories was the introduction of the Fourdrinier paper-making machine in 1820, which could produce large sheets for printing, later used in steam-driven printing presses. Government duties on paper and printing were lifted in 1833.
- 9 *The Penny Magazine* was also circulated in the United States.
- 10 See Chapter 1 for an account of the importance of images of the Crystal Palace in establishing a prototype for the architecture of the World's Fairs and subsequent pleasure palaces. Chapter 6 gives more details on the significance of the obelisk in the European and American fashion for Egyptiana.
- 11 Although *The Illustrated American News* was taken over by the showman Barnum (of Barnum and Bailey), it ceased publishing in 1853. More successful were the American Harper's group of periodicals: *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, first published in 1850, *Harper's Weekly* in 1856 and *Harper's Weekly Journal of Civilization*, 1857.

- 12 These included *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine* and *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner*.
- 13 For more detail on Frank Leslie's commissioned illustrators, see Chapter 10.
- 14 It is in the work of folklore revivalists, such as Andrew Lang and later Roger Lancelyn Green, that these figures become canonised as the inventors of a genre.
- 15 Anderson makes a similar point:

[T]he illustrations accompanying serial fiction frequently occupied a conspicuous position on the front pages of the various issues in which they appeared ... these pictures were apparently meant to attract the notice of those who browsed at the windows and stands of booksellers and news-vendors. And without doubt they did so. (Anderson 1991: 102)

- 16 'Grangerising' is a term derived from the most notorious proponents of this practice (see Sillars 1995: 11).
- 17 See Gleeson White (1970) for an account of the proliferation of titles in illustrated magazines in England in this period.
- 18 This form of moral panic later re-emerges in the 1950s in America, this time focusing on the comic book.
- 19 See also Tosh (2005). For more details on boy's own publications, see Chapter 7.
- 20 By the decade of the 1890s, the circulation of *Boy's Own Paper* was 665,000 copies a week.
- 21 Harlequin is a figure who, as with popular tales, has no specific origins, although he is generally thought to have derived from the *Commedia dell'Arte* in Italy; he also appears in French, German and British versions.
- 22 The most popular toy theatre plays, *Cinderella* and *Aladdin*, continue to be produced by Pollock's Toy Theatres, the one toy theatre publisher that survives.
- 23 In Britain, a similar concern was expressed in the 1955 Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act.
- 24 Penguin Books began publishing in 1935 in Britain, and the New American Library operated in America as the US branch of Penguin Books from 1939, but Penguin had a very respectable list and eschewed the lurid covers of pulp novels and magazines.
- 25 Pocket Books' 'Kangaroo' logo was redesigned by Walt Disney Studios in 1943, suggesting a working association between the companies, and implies some knowledge on Disney's part of Pocket Books' titles and publishing strategy.
- 26 'Coney Island at Night' was a later Edison film of 1905.
- 27 McNamara quotes a showman who recalls the details of these stock sets:

The *town* set consisted mainly of a drop showing a street scene; *timber* was a woodland setting, and *back room* was a plain chamber that usually swerved for a kitchen set. *Front room* really was two

sets. One represented a parlor in an ordinary home and the other, known as a *center door fancy*, represented a rich man's drawing room. (McNamara 1987: 53)

- 28 Ironically, ABC television is now part of the Disney Entertainment division.

Chapter 3 Mickey Mouse chivalry: Chivalric romance

- 1 These references to 'wizards' at children's attractions also capitalise on the enormous success of J.K. Rowling's series of Harry Potter novels, which began in 1997.
- 2 In 1735, 'Merlin's Cave' in Richmond displayed a wax figure of Merlin among other 'historical' figures. The garden gave rise to a number of taverns and coffee houses that displayed figurines of Merlin. Merlin also gave his name and an element of magic to the technological inventions and mechanical toys displayed in 'Merlin's Mechanical Museum' in London in the late eighteenth century (see Altick 1978: 73–6).
- 3 Altick retells the tale of a London workman awestruck at recognising the great author in the street (Altick 1957: 2).
- 4 Scott's name is still enough to evoke chivalric associations; a current attraction at Chessington World of Adventures in the Land of the Dragons is named 'Sir Walter Squirtalot'.
- 5 The fact that Tony Blair, then British prime minister, chose *Ivanhoe* as his favourite book on the radio programme *Desert Island Discs* in 1996 suggests that Scott's imagining of Britain still had a resonance in the late twentieth century.
- 6 Terry was instructed by Scott to purchase a 'good set of real tilting armour' from Bullocks' sale of effects from the Egyptian Hall for Abbotsford.
- 7 This association of Scott's characters with boats and the sea is probably what accounts for the presence of Lancelot and Guinevere on Brighton Pier.
- 8 G.P.R. James, like Mills, attaches the title 'Esquire' to his authorship, so signalling his class status as a gentleman.
- 9 In 1867, the 'Guinevere' section of the poem was published with illustrations by Doré, and the whole volume was issued with Doré illustrations in 1869.
- 10 Beardsley's illustrations appeared at two prices, an 'edition de luxe of Malory's Morte D'Arthur', and a cheaper version, to ensure a wider market; it was later published in bound volumes in 1894.
- 11 *A Connecticut Yankee in the Court of King Arthur* was filmed first in 1921, directed by Emmett J. Flynn, and had over a dozen film versions. The novel became a Rodgers and Hart musical in 1929. In 1995, a Disney film, *A Kid in King Arthur's Court*, conflated the two novels *The Prince and the Pauper* and *A Connecticut Yankee in the Court of King Arthur*.

- 12 Twain's description here invokes the same signifiers of the chivalric found in the wooden horses of the fairground and in the castles of the Disney parks.
- 13 Chivalric iconography was also a regular feature in American illustrated magazines for adults, the 1906 cover of *Collier's Weekly* featuring a painting 'The Knight' by Walter Appleton Clark.
- 14 Among Pyle's students at Brandywine were N.C. Wyeth, Maxfield Parrish and Jesse Wilcox, all of whom went on to become popular children's illustrators, particularly in the field of folk tale and fairy tale, and who regularly used heraldic trappings in their images.
- 15 Rev. William Forbush was an alumnus of Dartmouth College, which had boasted a fraternity modelled on the *Idylls of the King*.
- 16 T.H. White was head of English at Stowe public school.
- 17 The same trope of the incongruity of the magic of wizardry and the tedium of school life is found in J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter novels.
- 18 Heraldic devices and flags were again heavily deployed at the investiture of Charles as Prince of Wales in 1969 at Caernarfon Castle in Wales.
- 19 A reference to the author of *Winnie the Pooh*, A.A. Milne.

Chapter 4 Fairy tale romance

- 1 See Warner (1994a) for a thorough account of European female tellers of fairy tale.
- 2 The violence in many fairy tales does survive, even in the Disney versions, in elements of the tale. Disney feature films are notorious for their frightening scenes, such as Snow White's escape into the forest.
- 3 See also Lurie (2003: 163).
- 4 See especially Zipes (1983).
- 5 This is often dated from the establishment of the Folklore Society in 1878.
- 6 Mother Bunch is an invented woman narrator, despite the fact that the stories are attributed to a woman writer, the Countess d'Aulnoy (who is entirely erased in the English translation). Class here, rather than gender, is the motivation for the disclaimer of authorship.
- 7 Gammer Gurton appears as a character in *Gammer Gurton's Needle: A Right Pithy, Pleasant and Merie Comedie*, first published in 1575. This edition refers to earlier performances of the comedy.
- 8 An interest in John Aubrey was part of a late nineteenth-century resurgence of folklore; his work was edited and collected for the Folklore Society in 1881.
- 9 'The Haymaker' rhyme includes the couplet 'Fee, Faw, Fum, I smell the blood of an earthly man', a couplet that is still familiar from the story and pantomime *Jack and the Beanstalk* (*Gammer Gurton's Garland* 1810: 6).
- 10 Dick Whittington, whose fortunes were told in popular ballads, was a real mayor of London although there is no evidence that he had a cat.

- 11 Tabart's tales were published in the same year as Thomas Bowdler's *Family Shakespeare*.
- 12 Warner explains that women dominated as writers of fairy tale in France in this period:

Le Cabinet des fées (The Fairy Library), a series of forty-one volumes which published hundreds of the tales of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ... included more than twenty authors: of these over half are women. (Warner 1994a: xiii)

- 13 Dialogues between a wise governess and several of her pupils.
- 14 Le Prince De Beaumont herself moved to London.
- 15 It was not until the editions after 1819 that a *Kleine Ausgabe*, a selection of tales, were specifically chosen and edited for children (see Zipes 2002: 46). The emphasis in this volume was less on folkloric scholarship than on moral education.
- 16 The stories included (as did the early English translations) the now largely forgotten anti-Semitic story, which has long been omitted from collections, 'The Jew in the Bush' – a tale in which a Jew cheats the hero of the tale, is forced to dance in a thorn bush and then hanged.
- 17 Cruickshank joined the Temperance movement in 1847, and from 1853 published and illustrated a *Fairy Library* collection of tales, rewriting familiar stories such as 'Cinderella', as temperance tracts.
- 18 Doyle was very involved with theatre, pantomime and ballet, and collaborated with J.R. Planché. In 1864 they produced together *An Old Fairy Tale (The Sleeping Beauty) Told Anew in Pictures and in Verse*.
- 19 Matthias Winther had published *Danske Folkeeventyr* in 1823, which was a direct influence on Andersen.
- 20 In order to avoid pirated versions, Andersen eventually published his work in English translation before publication in Danish.
- 21 'Cinderella' first appeared as a pantomime in 1804, 'A new Grand Allegorical Pantomimic Spectacle' at Drury Lane.
- 22 The use of laundry is a convention that dates back to Commedia del Arte. In the pantomime 'Aladdin' the dame traditionally runs the imperial laundry.
- 23 These engraved illustrated editions were later made available in three bound volumes sold at £4 4s (see Muir 1989: 30).
- 24 Andersen had himself been an aspiring dancer and was a friend of the Danish ballet master Bournonville. *The Little Mermaid* was turned into a ballet at the Royal Danish Theatre in 1909, and the statue of the mermaid, which is still in place at a Copenhagen quayside, was modelled on the ballerina Ellen Price.
- 25 A toy theatre production is a sure indication of a successful run in the commercial theatre; the sheets of sets and actors would be based on popular stagings. Other fairy tale titles produced for Pollock's

- include: *Aladdin*, *Babes in the Wood*, *Bluebeard*, *Ali-Baba*, *The Sleeping Beauty*, *Cinderella*, *Tom Thumb*, *Beauty and the Beast*, *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Puss in Boots*.
- 26 Juliana Horatia Ewing, Oscar Wilde and Edith Nesbit are among the other writers in this period to write their own 'fairy-stories'. *Toad of Toad Hall* and *Winnie the Pooh* can also be included as literary versions of anthropomorphic folk tale.
 - 27 Parrish's illustrations had already appeared (without the texts of the stories) in *Collier's* magazine, in another example of an iconographic set having a resonance beyond the readers of the tales.
 - 28 The same confused geographical collage and signifiers of Oriental 'fairylands' are to be found in Hollywood films such as *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924 and 1940) and *Sinbad the Sailor* (1947), and continue in Disney's 1992 *Aladdin*.
 - 29 Lang had contributed the Preface to 'Mrs Hunt's translations of Grimm's "Kinder-und Hausmärchen"' and to the Clarendon Press edition of Perrault, as he is at pains to point out in the introduction to *The Blue Fairy Book*.
 - 30 A version of *Ali Baba et les 40 Voleurs* had already been produced in France in 1902 (dir. Ferdinand Zeca).
 - 31 See Allan (1999: 268–70).

Chapter 5 Monsters, murders and vampires: The Gothic tradition

- 1 In a neat postmodern twist, like *Pirates of the Caribbean*, the Haunted Mansion attraction provided the basis for a film, released in 2003, and for a board game.
- 2 Freud's original German term for the uncanny is '*unheimlich*', which translates literally as 'unhomely'.
- 3 Both Alton Towers and Chessington World of Adventures were once owned by the Tussaud's entertainment group.
- 4 At Disneyland Paris the same attraction is titled 'Phantom Manor'.
- 5 As Freud points out in his essay 'The Uncanny', the fairy tale frequently offers a simulation of physical death; 'Sleeping Beauty' and 'Snow White' both subject their heroines to a living death, and are central Disneyland stories:

Apparent death and the re-animation of the dead have been represented as most uncanny themes. But things of this sort too are very common in fairy stories. Who would be so bold as to call it uncanny, for instance, when Snow White opens her eyes once more? (Freud 1985: 369)

- 6 The animated doll is a figure that belongs to both fairy tale and to horror. Freud discusses the fairy tales of Hoffmann in his essay on the uncanny, and particularly the tale of the doll Olympia. He suggests that the living doll is an uncanny object: 'because these excite in the

- spectator the impression of automatic, mechanical processes at work behind the ordinary appearance of mental activity' (Freud 1985: 347). The same point could be applied to the animatronic figures of the Disney parks.
- 7 Like Ripley's Believe It or Not (another contemporary survival of the 'freak' show and the wax museum), Madame Tussaud's has become a franchise with sites including Las Vegas and Times Square in New York.
 - 8 The Tussaud Group once counted Alton Towers, Thorpe Park and Chessington theme parks in Britain among its holdings, but these have now been taken over by the Merlin Group (see Chapter 2).
 - 9 While Louis Tussaud's claims its founder to be related to Madame Tussaud, this is not a relationship acknowledged by the Tussaud Group.
 - 10 The London Dungeon has also become a franchise, with sites including York, Edinburgh, Hamburg and Amsterdam.
 - 11 The use of letters in *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* produces a similarly uncanny effect, in that the 'truth' of events is recounted by a range of different voices.
 - 12 Walpole, as an eighteenth-century gentleman, used Strawberry Hill to display antiques and souvenirs gleaned from his Grand Tour travels.
 - 13 A gravestone in the grounds of Disney World's Haunted Mansion is remarkably similar to Gilpin's illustration.
 - 14 Louis James describes the 'blue books' of the early nineteenth century as 'chubby, blue bound novelettes selling at sixpence or a shilling' (James 1973: 83).
 - 15 Cruickshank's ghost family is a clear influence on the macabre cartoons of American Edward Gorey. His figures are also close to the models for Tim Burton's 2005 Gothic film *Corpse Bride* (which is indebted to Gorey).
 - 16 *Sweeney Todd* enjoyed a revival with Stephen Sondheim's musical in 1979 (the libretto based on a 1973 stage play) and again with Tim Burton's 2007 film of Sondheim's *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*.
 - 17 Poe was later to be embraced in England by late nineteenth-century writers including Oscar Wilde and Algernon Swinburne.
 - 18 Tim Burton also directed a version of *Sleepy Hollow* in 1999.
 - 19 As a student Stoker was president of the University Philosophical Society at Trinity College, Dublin, and delivered a paper on 'Sensationalism in Fiction and Society', demonstrating an early familiarity with popular horror fictions.
 - 20 Murnau worked with theatrical producer Max Reinhardt, who had developed innovative lighting and sets for the stage. *Nosferatu* was produced by Prana Film, and was the only film the company ever made.
 - 21 The film was also issued under the title *Mark of the Vampire*.
 - 22 Balderston collaborated on the script of *Bride of Frankenstein* in 1935 but sued Universal in the 1950s on the grounds that the studio had exploited his version of the monster in subsequent sequels (see Skal 1992: 183).

- 23 Robert Louis Stevenson's 1886 novella *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* had been a successful stage play, and was first filmed in 1912. The most influential version was the 1920 film starring John Barrymore and directed by John S. Robertson.
- 24 *Phantom of the Opera* was itself the subject of numerous film and stage productions from its first magazine serialisation. It was revived spectacularly with the enormous worldwide success of Andrew Lloyd Webber's 1986 musical opera, which was itself in a long line of operatic and theatrical versions of the story.

Chapter 6 The riddles of the Sphinx: Egyptomania

- 1 Street merchants continue to sell cheap 'Egyptian' souvenirs outside the gates of the British Museum.
- 2 Bullock planned to establish a retirement home set in pleasure gardens in Cincinnati, but this never got off the ground.
- 3 Jules Verne wrote a sequel to Poe's tale, 'Le Sphinx des Glaces', in 1897.
- 4 The aristocratic archaeologist William Bankes erected his own obelisk on his estate in Kingston Lacy, Dorset, in 1839.
- 5 Disney was to issue a record of *Famous Arias from Aida (and other Operas)* in 1965.
- 6 One of the editors for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine* at the time of Alcott's contributions, E.G. Squier, was himself an enthusiastic scholar archaeologist, familiar with developments in Egyptology and who commissioned a number of mummy and other Egypt-related tales and articles.
- 7 George Reisner would later excavate the sites of Napata and Meroe between 1916 and 1923, and so develop Meroitic archaeology.
- 8 Rider Haggard's first trip to Egypt was to view the mummies at the Cairo Museum; in 1904 he was among the first to see the newly discovered tomb of Nefertiti.
- 9 Sax Rohmer was the pen name of Arthur Henry Sarsfield Ward.
- 10 The opening scene of an oriental shopkeeper in Joe Dante's 1984 film *Gremlins* knowingly references Fu Manchu, and its tale of an uninformed Western purchase of exotica reproduces many nineteenth-century tales of the dangers of the Egyptian souvenir.
- 11 Ironically, William Bullock's Egyptian Hall itself became a cinema in 1896.
- 12 The ceremony was re-enacted in Knightsbridge for the 1995 opening of Harrods department store under the new ownership of Egyptian Mohammed Al Fayed.
- 13 *The Mummy* was produced by Universal Studios, which had filmed the classic Gothic novels *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* in 1931. Boris Karloff was the studio star who had had a great hit as Frankenstein, and the studio needed a similar vehicle for him.
- 14 The same screenwriter also wrote a treatment for Rider Haggard's *She*.

- 15 The British Museum display and catalogues still make no reference to either Bullock or Belzoni.
- 16 The Disneyland attraction and later film *Pirates of the Caribbean* features Aztec treasure as the motor for the drama.

Chapter 7 Boy's own stories: Explorer heroes

- 1 *Swiss Family Robinson* is a text in the tradition of the shipwreck romance: see Chapter 8, 'Treasure Islands and Blue Lagoons', for an account of the novel.
- 2 Macherey is not alone in citing the map as an emblem of colonisation; among others, Marin (1984) discusses the ideological function of mapping, as does McClintock (1995).
- 3 The Seven Wonders of the World have been a regular subject of panoramas, dioramas and attractions; Blackpool Pleasure Beach still has a boat ride attraction called 'The Seven Wonders of the World'.
- 4 The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, founded in 1787, with the mission to promote the anti-slavery movement, circulated images of African people and toured British cities with illustrated leaflets, posters and prints.
- 5 The African Association took the promoters of the exhibition of the Hottentot Venus to court, concerned that the woman, Saartje Baartman, was being exploited. She declared her consent, but doubts remain as to the extent of her willingness. For an account of the case, see Holmes (2006).
- 6 These images were recycled and confirmed in the 1939 film version of the story; the Twentieth Century Fox *Stanley and Livingstone* (starring Spencer Tracy) was based on Stanley's own account of his adventures, and advertised with the slogan: 'THE MOST HEROIC EXPLOIT THE WORLD HAS KNOWN! Into the perilous wilderness of unknown Africa ... one white man ventured to seek another!'
- 7 Bristow (1991), James (1973), Tosh (2005) and Turner (1976) are among those who have charted the circulation of boy's own stories of the Empire in popular fiction of the late nineteenth century. There are also a number of popular collections that reprint tales and illustrations from these magazines, such as Warner (1977). Conn and Hal Iggulden's *The Dangerous Book for Boys* is a twenty-first century compilation of features of the kind found in the *Boy's Own Paper* (London: HarperCollins, 2007).
- 8 For a feminist account and reclamation of these women explorers, see Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (1989).
- 9 See Rosenthal (1986) for an account of Kipling's association with the Boy Scout movement.
- 10 The most familiar Kipling story currently is *The Jungle Book*, largely because it was animated as a jazzy 1960s romp by Disney in 1967.
- 11 As a young surgeon, Conan Doyle worked on a cargo ship that travelled to Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast.

- 12 See Coren (1995) for an account of the complexities of Conan Doyle's political and imperial views.
- 13 *Jurassic Park* (1993), a Stephen Spielberg film based on Michael Crichton's 1990 novel, borrowed Conan Doyle's plot of extant dinosaurs and relocated it to a theme park; the sequel, filmed in 1997, borrowed Conan Doyle's title *The Lost World*. Both films firmly established the dinosaur as an icon of popular culture in Britain and America.
- 14 See Cross and Walton (2005: 38) for a full account of the 'native' attractions that Coney Island took over from the Chicago Fair.
- 15 The stage version of *The Lion King* followed the animated film in 1997 and currently continues to tour around the world.

Chapter 8 Treasure Islands and Blue Lagoons

- 1 To confirm Hobsbawm's point, the narratives of the cowboy and the pirate are often closely aligned in the theme park: Legoland's pirates exist in a space devoted to the Gold Rush, and their pirate map marks the Black Hills and Indian territories of the Western genre. Tokyo's Disneyland situates its island adventures in 'Westernland'.
- 2 This is a fantasy that the theme park exploits by positioning the tourist as an adventurer and providing them with a map.
- 3 A story cited in Turley's (1999) account of pirates tells of a pirate ship that had damaged sails after a sea storm; the crew had to raid their stolen loot to replace them, and sailed out of harbour with bright pink silk sails.
- 4 In 1997 it was reported that the Pirates of the Caribbean attraction at the Disney parks would no longer feature male pirates chasing young women, but instead would express their taste for excess in terms of gluttony. The male pirates, however, continue to chase young women: 'the mechanical swashbucklers will still pillage and guzzle rum, but they will no longer chase skirts. Instead, park officials said, they will run after women who carry trays of food' (*The Observer*, 5 January 1997).
- 5 Ann Bonney was represented as a character in some of the Hollywood pirate films of the 1950s and 1960s, and featured as the heroine in Jacques Tourneur's 1951 *Ann of the Indies*. More recently, although the sequence begins with the abduction of the heroine, the Disney *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series has allowed for women pirates to be members of the crew; by the 2007 third film of the sequence the film's heroine is recruited as a pirate herself. This does not, however, feature in the theme park attraction.
- 6 See also West (1997).
- 7 Carpenter has compiled a comprehensive search of the pirate theme in popular fiction for young readers in the nineteenth century. He argues that '[i]f one could isolate one single theme which exemplifies the historical development of nineteenth century English juvenile fiction, it would have to be the island story' (Carpenter 1984: 7).

- 8 The same ability to simultaneously cherish the past and to look forward to the future is found in Wyeth's *Swiss Family Robinson*, another popular success that would survive throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
- 9 Macherey claims *Robinson Crusoe* as a 'thematic ancestor' to the novels of Jules Verne.
- 10 *Black Eyed Susan* was reissued in 1885, 'Profusely illustrated by eminent artists', and continued to appear as a character in popular songs throughout the nineteenth century.
- 11 The Flying Dutchman features as a tableau in Disney's Pirates of the Caribbean attraction.
- 12 Coleridge delivered a lecture on *Robinson Crusoe* in 1818.
- 13 The 1856 *Le Corsaire*, choreographed by Joseph Mazitier, was revived in Russia in 1858 and by Petipa in 1868. Petipa added a *pas de deux*, which has been a showcase for male dancers ever since.
- 14 Gilbert had himself already written a one-act operetta, *Our Island Home*, in 1870, whose hero is a discontented pirate.
- 15 Marryat, like Fenimore Cooper, wrote both tales of North American settlers and of the sea, but did have a real claim to naval experience.
- 16 *Coral Island* would give its name to a penny arcade on Blackpool's seafront in the twentieth century, its name conveniently matching the name of the Coral bookmaking company.
- 17 Pirate titles for the juvenile drama in this period include: *Adrift on the Spanish Main: A Story of the Old Buccaneers*, 1885; *The Pirates' Isle*, 1885; and *Morgan the Buccaneer; or the Terror of the Seas*, 1890 (see Speaight 1999).
- 18 In the recorded memory of Mr Benjamin Pollock, Stevenson was particularly fascinated by plays about pirates and highwaymen (see Speaight 1999: 27).
- 19 Among the many illustrators of *Treasure Island* in twentieth-century editions were the American N.C. Wyeth (1911) and the fairy tale artist Dulac (1927).
- 20 The Llewellyn Davies boys are credited as 'co-authors' in J.M. Barrie's dedication to *Peter Pan*, which recounts the holiday games of pirates and treasure islands.
- 21 The original costumes for Peter Pan and Wendy were designed by the illustrator of Andrew Lang's Fairy Book series.
- 22 See Green (1954) for a history of stage productions of Peter Pan and the draft scenario of the Disney film.
- 23 Parish (1995) has painstakingly charted the output of Hollywood screen versions of pirate tales, from the 1914 *The Corsair* (based on Byron's poem) to *Hook*, Spielberg's version of *Peter Pan*, in 1992.
- 24 Flynn wrote his own account of his seafaring adventures in *Beam Ends: On a Voyage from Sydney to Papua* (1937).
- 25 Flynn was also known for his role as another mythical swashbuckler who steals from the rich; he starred in *The Adventures of Robin Hood* in 1938.

- 26 The Disney Company had funds locked in England because of post-war currency regulations and used the money to finance *Treasure Island*.
- 27 'Treasure Island' did not survive as a separate attraction; it was renamed 'Discovery Island' in 1978 and closed entirely in 1999.
- 28 The antique maps of the theme park are pure simulation, in Baudrillard's term, in that they map no territory at all.

Chapter 9 Future imperfect: Science and technology

- 1 Other important texts featuring the 'mad' scientific inventor include Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* and H.G. Wells's *The Island of Dr Moreau*; the figure is a means of articulating unease at the potential of scientific invention.
- 2 Dr Martin Arthur Couney's 'Infant Incubators' were displayed at Coney Island in the late nineteenth century, after a tour of Berlin, Moscow and Buffalo, a display that funded his medical research: 'Because his research into the treatment of babies in the 1890s was not supported by the European medical hierarchy, he funded his research and treatment by displaying his incubators at international exhibitions. ... Despite his scientific and philanthropic purposes, the display also involved the "magic" of folk tradition' (Cross and Walton 2005: 94).
- 3 The 'freak' show, however, was still sufficiently accepted in 1933 that at the Chicago World's Fair, Ripley's 'Odditorium' was among the most popular attractions.
- 4 Verne's admiration for Poe is indicated in the fact that in 1897 he wrote a sequel, *The Sphinx of the Ice-Fields*, to Poe's 1841 *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*.
- 5 *From the Earth to the Moon* was a convenient narrative for Disneyland Paris in having an American setting for a tale written by a Frenchman. It also allowed for the Space Mountain attraction to be reconfigured from its American Space Age modernity in Disney World Florida to a French-styled, nineteenth-century rocket based on a Méliès design.
- 6 Verne's operetta was an evolutionary comedy, titled *Monsieur Le Chimpanzé*.
- 7 The Viewmaster is a gadget that Disney would later market with images from his animated films.
- 8 At Disneyland Paris the same attraction is titled 'Les Mystères de Nautilus'.
- 9 'All that is at the limit of possibility must and shall be achieved.'
- 10 While Verne's work is used widely at Disney parks to promote the wonders of science and technology, there is no reference at all to his dystopian novel *Paris in the Twentieth Century*, which was discovered in 1994 (a year after the opening of Disneyland Paris).
- 11 The café Hyperion (in a reference to *Around the World in Eighty Days*) is decorated with 'vintage' luggage labels and maps, so coding international travel as one of the perceived benefits of scientific advance.

- 12 *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* was published in 1948 as a comic book by Classics Illustrated comic books.
- 13 These displays are referenced in Disneyland's Discovery Arcade.
- 14 The Chicago Fair also introduced the steam-powered Ferris wheel.
- 15 Sir Hiram Maxim was an American inventor who had aspirations to develop a steam-powered flying machine, but lacking the money, turned his aviation skills to entertainment.
- 16 The 'Star Tours' attraction begins and ends with a video of a futurist flight attendant issuing instructions to 'passengers', who are required to put on a safety belt and stow their bags as in aeroplane flight instructions.
- 17 The modernist designs included a fun house designed by a Bauhaus architect, which is still in place.
- 18 Authors published in 'pulp' science fiction magazines included not only H.G. Wells and Jules Verne but also H.P. Lovecraft, Ray Bradbury and, later, Isaac Asimov, Robert A. Heinlein and Kurt Vonnegut.
- 19 Robby the Robot is a friendly looking machine, who owes something to the Michelin man. He is posed on the film poster carrying a nubile blonde woman in the manner of King Kong carrying Fay Wray, in another instance of science fiction grafted on to other genres. A space station in the background to the poster is architecturally very close to the buildings of Tomorrowland in Florida.
- 20 The sculpture is echoed in the entrance to Discoveryland at Disneyland Paris.

Chapter 10 Constructing the frontier: The Western

- 1 Legerodo Town is not only a themed site in Legoland but can also be purchased as an individually themed Lego kit.
- 2 As Buscombe and others have pointed out (see Buscombe 2006: 10), the indigenous peoples of North America became identified as a single racial category by white settlers, their ethnic and cultural differences conflated into a generic construct of the 'Indian'. Buscombe chooses to use the term 'Injuns' to designate this construction. For the purposes of this chapter, 'Indian' is used to indicate the representations and display of Native American peoples by white Europeans and Americans.
- 3 It has been suggested that the figure of Punch in the British Punch and Judy show, also familiar as a logo for the magazine *Punch* (first published in London in 1841), is based on cartoon figures of these 'Cherokee' Indians (see Altick 1978).
- 4 See Foreman (1943) for a historical account of Indian displays in Europe and America from the fifteenth century into the twentieth. An exhibition of indigenous people at the 'Crittter Country' site at Disneyland continued well into the twentieth century.
- 5 Ian Haywood has charted the many and various permutations of the image of Jane McCrea in the early nineteenth century (see Haywood 2006: 157–65).

- 6 Both these versions of the Indian still survive in contemporary popular culture; 'Injuns' are structured as a threat to the visitor in Frontierland and Wild West shows, while Disney's 1995 film *Pocahontas* recycles all the mythology of the 'natural' Indian native.
- 7 See Buscombe (2006: 30–4) for an account of other successful plays devoted to the American Indian. Pocahontas' story was first filmed in 1925.
- 8 According to Altick, it is more than likely that the claimed Native Americans were in fact Londoners 'decked out in feathers and war paint' (Altick 1978: 276).
- 9 William Cullen Bryant, editor of *Picturesque America*, wrote an admiring 'Discourse on the Life, Character and Genius of James Fenimore Cooper' in 1852 (see Dekker and McWilliams 1973: 246).
- 10 Fenimore Cooper's work had not been initially illustrated in America; illustrations first appeared for French editions in 1827–30; the first American illustrated edition appears in instalments between 1835 and 1836.
- 11 The dating of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' varies but, according to local historians, is some time in 'the 1860s'. The name, if not the statues of Uncle Tom and Aunt Sally which once adorned the building, survives in the name of a hostelry rebuilt on a nearby site. This is a public house and music hall that continues to be themed as 'American', with Wild West accoutrements.
- 12 The full-page illustration (Fig. 10.1), 'Shooting a Flume in the Sierra Nevada', in *Harper's Weekly*, 1877, is one such image.
- 13 This narrative finds its most sophisticated expression in Sergio Leone's Western *Once Upon a Time in America*, but it was by then a well-established convention across a wide range of Hollywood films of the West. Judy Garland in the 1945 *The Harvey Girls* embodies the recurrent trope of the young woman delivered by railroad to bring civilised manners to the rugged men and towns of the West (a narrative already found in Bret Harte).
- 14 See, for example, the 1878 illustration 'Central Pacific train on a transcontinental tour' in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*; this image has resonances of the Disneyland Express and also of Hollywood and theme park characterisations of the 'Chinaman'.
- 15 Indians attacking a railroad train was to become a stock element in the Western film and continues to be reproduced in popular culture, recently used in cinema and television advertisements for Virgin Mobile networks.
- 16 John Ford was asked to direct a production of *The Girl of the Golden West* at the Metropolitan, but declined, irritated at being so closely associated with the Western genre.
- 17 Frank Gruber suggests that there is a limited number of variations of the Western plot, and outlines his account of the stock scenarios – see Gruber (1967: 184–6).

Chapter 11 Consuming the West: Main Street, USA

- 1 Janet Wasko describes a flight from Singapore in which she is surrounded by Disney merchandise (Wasko 2001).
- 2 These fantasies are almost entirely gendered as male, and opportunities for women and girls are more limited – they are invited to become princesses and not much else.
- 3 The horse-drawn carriages and vintage cars are apparently supplied by a fictional ‘Main Street Transportation Company’, dated 1883.
- 4 ‘The Gibson Girl Ice Cream Parlour’ evokes in its styling the saloon bars familiar from any number of Western films.
- 5 A plaque on the City Hall at Disneyland Paris thanks and identifies the corporate sponsors:

Disneyland Resort Paris proudly recognises and thanks its Official Participants: Coca-Cola, Danone, Dole, Ford, Hasbro, Hertz, IBM, Kellogg’s, Kodak, Nestlé, Orange, Unilever.

All these companies’ products are promoted in Main Street and elsewhere in the park.

- 6 Main Street houses the offices of the entirely fictional newspaper, the *Main Street Gazette*.
- 7 Pixar Animation Studios, which made the *Toy Story* series of films, was bought by the Walt Disney Company in 2006. The characters appear in the Disneyland parade and are featured attractions in the Disney parks.
- 8 Laura Ingalls Wilder’s series of fictional autobiographies were published from 1932. The television series was first broadcast in 1974 and has been shown across the world ever since.
- 9 Main Street is the site where the details of visitor experience are managed and contained, where wheelchairs and buggies can be hired, lost children sought and purchases stored.
- 10 ‘Town Square Photography’ carries the legend ‘Proprietor George Eastman’ (the founder of Kodak) in Victorian script, and sells nothing but Kodak products.
- 11 The Main Street Restaurant at Disney World Florida is named ‘The Crystal Palace’.

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Index

- Abanezer 89
Abbotsford House 4, 63
Abbott and Costello Meet the Mummy 138
A Connecticut Yankee in the Court of King Arthur 68
Action Comics 201
Adelaide Gallery, London 190
Adventureland 27, 50
The Adventures and Vicissitudes of Captain Cook, Mariner 172
The Adventures of Don Juan 183
Aerial Navigation Company 199
The African Association 129
The African Queen 159
The Age of Chivalry 67
Aida 5, 133, 136, 137
A Journey towards the South Pole 172
Aladdin 88, 89, 140
Albert, Prince 19
Alcott, Louisa May 39, 41, 116, 130, 133
Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves 89
Alice in Wonderland 31, 33, 54, 55, 92, 97, 99
Allan, Robin 96
Althusser, Louis 248
Altick, Richard D. 18, 37, 60, 146, 166, 214
Alton Towers 15–17, 28–29, 58, 144
Amazing Stories 200
'A Medieval Romance' 67–68
Americana 209
American Museum (1841) 191
American State Fairs 191
American Wild West 226
Among Malay Pirates 178
Amsterdam Exhibition 155
The Ancient Mariner 174
Ancient Temples of Egypt 136
Andersen, Hans Christian 20, 85, 86, 192
Anderson, Patricia 166
Anderson, Benedict 240
Angela the Orphan: or, the Bandit Monk of Italy 112
Animal Kingdom 161
Annie Get Your Gun 226
Antwerp Exposition 225
Arabesque 115
The Arabian Nights 88–90
Æronautic excursion 190
Around the World in Eighty Days 133, 177, 194, 197, 220
Arthur, King 72
Arthur, or the Hididdle-Diddles of the King 65
Arthurian romance 65
Art of Walt Disney 235–236
Ashley, Mike 201, 206
Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa 126
Atlantic Magazine 217
Atlantic Monthly 45
At the Back of the North Wind 92
Atwood, Margaret 217
Aubrey, John 79, 80
Aulnoy, Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baronne d' 34, 80
Austen, Jane 108
Automata 190
Autopia 203
Autry, Gene 227
The Avenging Conscience 115
Avery, Jack 169
A Visit to the Spiritualist 118
Babes in the Wood 94, 96
The Baby's Opera 92
Baden-Powell, Robert 153
Ballantyne, R.M. 149, 170, 171, 177
Ballard, J.G. 206
bandits 167
Bara, Theda 118, 136
The Bargain 225
Barker, Robert 13
Barnum, Phineas T. 24, 91, 147, 191
Barrie, J.M. 180, 181
Barthes, Roland 196
The Battle of the Alma 174
Baudelaire, Charles 114
Baudrillard, Jean 34, 231, 248
Baum, Frank L. 93
Bean, Alderman William George 22
Beardsley, Aubrey 59, 66
Beaumont, Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de 81, 87
Beauty and the Beast 91
Becker, Joseph 220
The Beggar's Opera 173
Bellagio 165
Belzoni, Giovanni Battista 4, 41–42, 127–128
Bennett, James Gordon 147
Bentley 86
Bermingham, Ann 12

- Bernhardt, Sarah 21
 Berry, Philippa 60
 Bird, Isabella 150
Blackbeard the Pirate 165, 174
Black Eyed Susan 174
 Blackpool 20–23
 Blackpool Tower Company 22
 Blackpool Winter Gardens Company 21
 Blackwood, Algernon 223
 ‘Bloods’ 113–114
Bluebeard 95
The Blue Fairy Book 94
The Blue Lagoon: A Romance 181
Blue Lagoon (film) 182
 Bohn’s Library 84
 Bonaparte, Napoleon 18, 126–27, 132
 Bonney, Ann 167
Book of Hours 58, 74
 Borthwick, J.D. 219
 Botting, Fred 103, 116
 Boucicault, Don 114
 Bourdieu, Pierre 5
The Boy Castaways of Black Lake Island 180
The Boy Pirate 178
The Boy Problem 70
Boy’s Book of Chivalry 69, 71
 Boy Scout movement 153
The Boy’s King Arthur 69
Boys of America 150
Boys of England 150, 178
Boys of England and Sons of Britannia 45
Boys of the Empire 149
Boys of the Nation 149
Boy’s Own Paper 45, 50, 51, 69, 135, 149, 150, 151, 153, 178, 181, 198, 201, 223
 Brennan, Walter 229
The Brigand 174
The Brigand’s Son 174
 Brighton Pier 1, 32, 58
 Bristow, Joseph 45, 113, 145
 British Museum 41, 61, 116, 127, 128, 129, 138, 139
 Broadbent, R.J. 47, 89, 168–169, 171
The Broad Stone of Chivalry: Rules for the Gentlemen of England 68–69
 Brooks, Mel 111, 118
 Browning, Tod 118–119
 Bruce, James 126
 Bryant, William Cullen 215
 Bryman, Alan 205
 Buffalo Bill 212, 213, 223–224
 Bulfinch, Thomas 67
 Bullock, William 127, 129, 190, 198
 Burke, Edmund 9, 12
 Burton, Richard 90
Burton’s Gentleman’s Magazine 115
 Buscombe, Edward 211
 Butlins 5
 Byron, George Gordon, Lord 110, 112, 174–175, 183
Cabinet des fées (fairy library) 256
The Cactus Kid 229
Calamity Jane (1953) 226
Camelot 59, 72–73
 Campbell, James A. 60–61, 65
The Candle in the Wind 71
 Capability Brown 9, 16
 Cape Canaveral 21
Captain Blood 183
 Captain Nemo 193
 Carousel of Progress, The 204, 205
 Carpenter, Kevin 44–45, 170, 183
 Carstensen, Georg 17
 Carter, Angela 47, 78, 82, 115
 Carter, Howard 137, 138
 Caruso, Enrico 21
The Castle of Otranto 107, 122, 168
The Cataract of the Ganges 146
 Catlin, George 213–214
 Cawelti, John G. 222, 228, 231
 Caxton, William 59–60
Cendrillon 90
 Centennial International Exhibition 155
Century magazine 222
 Certeau, Michel De 195
 Chabert, Monsieur 189
 Chamber of Horrors 105–106
Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal 188
 Chandos Classics 176
 chapbooks 34–35
 Chapman, John Gadsby 213
The Cherokee 211
 Chessington World of Adventures 7, 15, 125, 143
 Chicago Columbian Exhibition 24, 156–157
 ‘Children’s Illustrated Classics’ series 72
 Chivalric romance 41, 57, 74
Chivalry in Modern Life 70
 Christian VIII, King 17
Cinderella 91, 95, 97
 Clarke, Allen 20
 ‘Classic Illustrated Junior’ series 51
Cleave’s Penny Police Gazette 113
Cleopatra 130–131
 Clery, E.J. 107
 Clinton-Baddeley, V.C 47
 Coca-Cola 240
 Cody, William Frederick 41, 223
 Cole, Thomas 215
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor 174
Collier’s Weekly 93, 222

- colloquialism in Main Street (USA) 241
 colour printing 92
 Comic Codes Authority 51
Comic Cuts 50
 comic books 182–183
Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages 171
 Conan Doyle, Sir Arthur 39, 135, 153
 Coney Island 1, 20, 22, 96, 121–124, 157
 Congo Reform Association 153
 Conrad (pirate hero) 174
Contes de ma Mère l'Oye 78
 Cook, James, captain 171–172
 Cook, Thomas 131
Coppélia 91
 Copyright laws 55
The Coral Island 177
 Corelli, Marie 137
 Corman, Roger 119–120
 Coronation Exhibition of 1911 155
The Corsair 175
The Count of Monte Cristo 194
 Covent Garden 47, 63, 88, 174, 190
 cowboy 221–222
 Crane, Walter 92
 Cremorne Gardens 15, 65, 189
 Crockett, Davy 216
 Cross, Gary. S. 15, 23, 29, 96, 120–121, 134, 140, 155–156, 191, 199, 208
 Cruickshank, George 83
Crusoe Jack, the King of the Thousand Islands 170
 Crystal Palace 19–20, 130, 131, 135
The Curse of Frankenstein 119–120
 Curtiz, Michael 183

Daily Mail 135
 Dan Dare 201–202
Danish Fairy Tales 86
 Darley, Felix Octavious Carr 216
The Da Vinci Code 140
 Davis, Mike 247
 Davis, Theodore Monroe 137
Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier 230
 Dawson, Graham 150–151
 Day, Doris 226, 236
 Dean, Basil 182
 Defoe, Daniel 168
 Dégh, Linda 99
 Denon, Dominique Vivant 126
The Dervise of Baghdad 146
Description de l'Égypte 126
 Dickens, Charles 86, 122
 Digby, Kenelm Henry 68–69
 dime novels 227
 Dioramas 147

 Discoveryland 186, 193, 196, 197, 203, 204, 243
 Disney, Walt 1, 7, 17, 24–25, 26, 96–97, 244
 Disney Corporation 160, 196, 208, 233, 240, 245–246
 Disneyfication 233
 Disneyzation 235
 Disneyland 1, 23, 26–27, 73, 131, 140, 193, 196, 198, 202, 233, 235
 Television show 230
 utopic space 237–238
 Disneyland Paris 23, 73–74, 122, 158, 164, 193, 203, 239
 Disneyland's chivalric romance 74, *see also* Chivalric romance
 Disneyland's haunted houses and ghost rides 103
Disneyland (television show) 53–54
 Disney World, Florida 23, 25, 140, 165, 184, 195, 202
 Doré, Gustave 90, 174
 Dorfman, Ariel 55
 Doyle, Richard 84
Dracula 112, 116–117, 118–119, 138
 Drayton Manor Park 15, 17
 Drury Lane, Theatre Royal 211
 Duke of Bedford 17
 Dumas, Alexander 194
 Dyer, Richard 3–4

The Eagle 51, 201
 East India Company 148
 Eastwood, Clint 228
 Eclectic Film Company 175
 Edison, Thomas 5, 199
 Edison Company 225
 Edwards, John Passmore 188
 Edwards, Philip 169
Eerie Comics 50
The Egyptian 139
 Egyptian Court 131–132
 Egyptian Hall 18–19, 124, 127–128, 147, 155, 190
 Egyptology 139–140
 Egyptomania 124, 137
 Eidophusikon 166
 Eiffel Tower 23, 24, 199
The Elephant of Siam 146
 Emmett, George 170
Empire Boys 45
Encyclopaedia Britannica 61
Encyclopaedia of Gardening 14
 Epcot (Experimental Propotype Community of Tomorrow) 204
 Epcot Center 24
 Epcot World Showcase 19, 156–158

- Evans, Bill 159
Every Boy's Annual 178
Every Boy's Magazine 69
 Excalibur casino 58
 Exposition Universelle, Paris 1867 192
- Facing the Flag* 177
 Fairy Paintings 94
The Fairy Ring 84
Fairy Tales: A Collection of Favourite Old Tales Told in Verse by Tom Hood 90
The Family Robinson Crusoe 176
 Fantastische Reise (fantastic journey) 232
 Fantasyland 32, 53, 76, 103, 196
 Far West Mining Camp 219
 Fawdry, Keith 48, 89
 Fell, John L. 52
 Fenimore Cooper, James 51, 175, 215, 216–218, 241
 Ferguson, Arthur B. 66
 Ferris, George 24
 Finch, Christopher 233, 235, 238
Five Children and It 46
Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa 147
 Fjellman, Stephen M. 73, 159
The Flying Dutchman 174
 Flying Railway 190
 Flynn, Errol 183
 Foe, Daniel De 171
 Fogg, Phileas 133, 177, 220
 Folklore Society 99
Forbidden Planet (film) 202
 Forbush, William 70
 Ford, John 218, 228
 Forry, Steven Earl 111
 Fosbroke, T.D. 14
 Foucault, Michel 6, 29, 105, 107, 247
Four and Twenty Fairy Tales, Selected from Those of Perrault and Countess D'Aulnoy's Fairy Tales 91
 Fox, Celina 36
Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening (1816) 16
 Francaviglia, Richard 236, 238, 246
Frankenstein: or, the Modern Prometheus 5, 51, 53, 109, 110, 111, 118, 119, 138, 186
Frankenstein, or the Vampire's Victim 117
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine 133
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper 39, 220
 Franklin, Wayne 243
 Freeman, Barbara 16
 Frenzeny, Paul 220
 Freud, Sigmund 101, 103, 115
From the Earth to the Moon 194
From the Manger to the Cross 136
 Frontierland 32, 145, 209, 216, 218, 219, 229, 230–231, 241, 242
 Fuller, Buckminster 205
 Futureworld 186, 205
- Galland, Antoine 89
Gammer Grethel's Fairy Tales: From the Popular Stories of the Brothers Grimm 84
Gammer Gurton's Garland 79, 82
 Gardaland 7, 125
 Garland, Judy 184, 236, 241
 Gautier, Theophile 130
 Gay, John 173
 General Electric 25
The Gentleman's Magazine 172
 Geodesic dome 205
German Popular Stories 83
 Gernsback, Hugo 200, 201
 Gilpin, William 9, 10, 11
The Girl of the Golden West 5, 226
Girl's Own Paper 170
 Girouard, Mark 69
 Giselle 90
 Glenn, John 204
 Gloomy Wood 103
 Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco 183
 Gold Rush (1849) 219
Good Housekeeping 93
 Gordon-Cumming, Roualeyn George 147
 Gothic fiction 103, 108, 112, 118
 Gove, Philip 171
 Grafton, John 219
 Grahame, Kenneth 114
 Grand Palais 197, 203
The Graphic 39, 132
 Great Exhibition of 1851 19–20, 147, 192
Great Expectations 122
The Great Navigators of the XVIII Century 172
The Great Pyramid: Its Secrets and Mysteries Revealed 132
The Great Pyramid: Why Was It Built and Who Built It? 132
 Green, Roger Lancelyn 92, 153, 181
 Greene, Graham 152
 Greene, Katherine and Greene, Richard 26, 159, 205, 235
 Griffiths, D.W. 136
 Grimaldi, Joseph 128
 Grimm, Jacob 82–83
 Grimm, Wilhelm 82
 Gruber, Frank 227
Guy Mannerling 63

- Haining, Peter 117
 Hamilton, Charles 11, 15
 Hammer Film Productions 119, 138
 Hampson, Frank 202
 Hardy, Phil 227, 241
 Harkaway, Jack 150
 Harlequin 46, 54, 64, 87, 146
Harlequin and Bluebeard 87
Harlequin and Cinderella 87
Harlequin and Good King Arthur 64
Harlequin and Poor Robin 190
Harlequin and the Ogress; or, the Sleeping Beauty in the Wood 88
Harlequin and the Wild Fiend of California, or the Demon of the Diggings 219
Harlequin Mother Goose; or, The Golden Egg 88
Harlequin Whittington 190
 Harmsworth, Alfred Lord Northcliffe 45
Harper's Bazaar 93
Harper's Weekly 192, 218, 219, 220, 222
 illustration in 210
 Hart, William S. 225
 Harte, Bret 217, 218, 219, 220, 241
 Harvey, J.R. 43, 61
 Hastings 166
 Haunted Mansion 101, 121
The Haunt of Fear 50
 Hawks, Howard 139
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel 41
 Hay, Robert 130
 Hayes, William 139
 Haywood, Ian 16, 216–217
 Hearst, William Randolph 93
Hearst's Magazine 93
The Heart of Midlothian 63
The Heathen Chinee 220
 Heide Park, Germany 7
 Henty, George Alfred 149, 178, 223
 Heterotopias 28–30, 247
 Hetzel, Pierre Jules 193–194
 Hibbert, Christopher 39
Historia Regum Britanniae 59
History of Chivalry 64
History of Egyptian Mummies 130
History of the Crusades 64
 Hitchcock, Alfred 121
 Hobsbawm, Eric 167
 Hoffman, E.T.A. 91, 97
 Hoggart, Richard 52, 201
 Holland, William 21
 The Hottentot Venus 146
Household Stories 92
House of the Seven Gables 116
How I Found Livingstone 147
How the West Was Won 228
 Howitt, Mary 85
 Hugo, Victor 194
 Hulme, Peter 170, 177
Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the North American Indians 213
 Hyde Park, London 147

Idylls of the King 64, 65, 66, 70, 73
The Illmade Knight 71
The Illustrated London News 39, 40, 65, 130, 132, 134, 148, 150, 152, 172, 190, 219
Illustrated Magazine 133
The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News 39
Indiana Jones 50, 144, 151
The Indian Princess; or, La Belle Sauvage 213
 Ingrams, Richard 55
The Innocents Abroad 131
 Intertextuality 236
In the Wake of the Bounty 183
Intolerance 136
 Irving, Washington 114–115, 122, 215–216
The Italian 108
Ivanhoe 51, 53, 61, 63, 70, 72

 James, G.P.R. 64
 James, Louis 218
 Jameson, Fredric 144, 207, 244, 247
The Jewel of Seven Stars 135
 John, Percy B. St 170
Julia of Louvain or, Monkish Cruelty 109
The Jungle Book 54, 161

 Karloff, Boris 119, 181
 Keene, Tom 227
 Kelly, Gene 184
 Kenwood House 10
 Khedive of Egypt 130–133
Kidnapped 179
King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table 64
The Kingdom of the Fairies 95
 Kingsley, Charles 177
King Solomon's Mines 145, 146, 151, 152
 Kipling, Rudyard 39, 135, 150, 152–153, 154–155
 Kitses, Jim 242
Knave of Hearts 93
The Knight Templar 63
 Knott's Berry Farm, California 229
Korean Times 124
 Kurosawa, Akira 228
 Kurtti, Jeff 237, 240–241, 245

- La Cenerentola* 90
The Lady in the Lake 63
The Lady of Shalott 64
Land of the Pharaohs 139
 Lane, Edward 89–90
 Lang, Andrew 35, 46, 78, 81, 94–95
 Lanier, Sidney 69
The Last of the Mohicans 51, 215, 218, 223
 Las Vegas 27–28
La Sylphide 90, 91
 Lathan, Peter 88, 99
Launcelot and Elaine 70
Leatherstocking Tales 216, 217
Legend of Camelot 66
The Legend of Sleepy Hollow 114–115
 Legoland, Denmark 7, 186, 209
 Legoredo Town 209
Le Monstre et le Magicien 111
Le Morte D'Arthur 59, 71
 Leone, Sergio 228
Le Palais des mille et une Nuits 95
 Lerner, Alan 72–73
 Leslie, Esther 5
 Leslie, Frank 39, 40, 150
Les Mille et Une Nuits 90
Les Travailleurs de la Mer 194
Le Voyage dans la Lune 195
 Lewis, Matthew (*Monk*) 109
 Liberty Square 231, 241, 249
 1737 Licensing Act 47
The Life and Adventures of Captain John Avery, the Famous English Pirate 169
Life and Work at the Great Pyramid 132
Life on the Mississippi 68
Life Without Soul 118
The Lilac Fairy Book 94
 Lillie, Gordon W. 225
 Linton, William 40
The Lion King 161
 Littlehampton 166
Little Match Seller 95
Little Women 116
 Living Seas 196
 Livingstone, David 147
 Lloyd, Edward 177
Lloyds Magazine 114
Lloyds Newspaper 113
 London Dungeon 106
The London Journal 112–113
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth 214
 Longleat Safari Park 16
 Lord Carnavon 137
 Lotte World, South Korea 124
 Louis Tussaud's Wax Museum 106
 Louvre Museum 126, 129
 Lowenthal, Leo 37, 38
 Lucas, George 129, 207
The Luck of Roaring Camp 218
 Lugosi, Bela 117–119
 Luna Park, Coney Island 21, 95–96, 134, 157
 Lurie, Alison 78, 82–83, 85, 94
 Luxor Casino 124–125, 140–141
 Lynes, Russell 67, 121

 MacDonald, George 92
 Macherey, Pierre 144, 168, 193
The Mad Doctor 119
Magasin des Enfants 81
The Magical World of the Brothers Grimm 98
The Magnificent Seven 228
The Maid and the Mummy 134
 Maidment, Brian 42
 Main Street (USA) 32, 53, 103, 209, 218, 233, 235, 236–238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246–247, 248
 Malory, Sir Thomas 59, 60, 61, 68
 maps 144
 Marceline, Missouri 235
 Mariette, Auguste 129
 Marie Tussaud's Waxwork Museum 105
 Marin, Louis 2, 145
 Marryat, Frederick, Captain 170, 177
 Marylebone Gardens, London 12
Mary Poppins 98
 Mathis, Andrew E 67
 Maurier, George du. 66
 Maxim, Sir Hiram 22
 Mayhew, Henry 192
McClure's 93
 McCrea, Jane 212
 McNamara, B. 53
Mechanics' Magazine 188, 189, 198, 200, 202
 Meisel, Martin 173
 Meiss, Millard 74
 Méliès, Georges 5, 52, 95, 118, 136, 182, 226
 Merlin Entertainments Group 7, 8, 14
Merrie Days of England 65
Merrie England 58
 metonymic icons 31–33
 Metropolitan Museum, New York 139
 Mickey Mouse 229
A Mid-Winter's Night Dream 95
 Millais, John Everett 66, 90
 Mille, Agnes de 226
 Mille, Cecil B. De 222
 Millennium Dome, London 208
 Milne, A. A. 73
 Milton, John 60
 Minnelli, Vincent 184
 Mirage Casino 165

- Mitchum, Robert 228
Modern Electrics 200
The Monk 109
 Montgolfier brothers 189
 Monument Valley 227, 228, 230, 231
 Morris, William 66
Morte d'Arthur 59, 71
Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales 78, 81–82
Mother Goose 48
Mother Goose Goes to Hollywood 96
 Muir, Percy 36, 42–44
The Mummy 130, 138
The Murders in the Rue Morgue 115
 Murnau, F. W. 118
My Life as a Fairy Tale 85
Mysteries of London 114
The Mysteries of Udolpho 108, 112, 122
The Mysterious Island 177, 195
Myths of the Near Future 206
- Nasaw, David 24–25, 155
National Geographic Magazine 157
 Natty Bumppo 216, 217
Nature's Realm 221
 Nautilus 196, 197
 Nesbit, Edith 45–46, 135
 Nestlé 240
 Neuburg, Victor E. 35
Newgate Calendar 105
 Newnes, George 45
The New Swiss Family Robinson 176
New Voyage Round the World 168
The New York Herald 131, 132, 147
The New York Times 181
 New York Trade Fair of 1964 205
 New York World's Fair, 1939 200
 Nimble, Ned 150
Northanger Abbey 108
*Notes of Eight Years' Travels amongst
 Forty-Eight Different Tribes of
 Indians in America* 213
The Nutcracker 91
- Oakley, Annie 168, 224, 226
 Offenbach, Jacques 91, 171, 194
 Ojibbeway Indians 213
Oklahoma 226
*An Old Fairy Tale Told Anew in Pictures and
 Verse* 91
The Once and Future King 71, 72, 73
*One O'clock, or, the Knight and the Wood
 Dæmon* 109
 Orwell, George 50, 149–150, 153, 198, 201,
 227, 242
Our Friend the Atom 204
The Outcasts of Poker Flat 218
- Outhwaite, John 22
Overland Monthly 218
- Painshill Park, Surrey 11, 12, 15
 Pantomime 47, 171
Paradise Lost 110
 Parc Astérix 7
 Paris Exhibition of 1894 173
 Park, Mungo 126
 Parrinder, Patrick 169
 Parrish, Maxfield 93
Parsifal 59, 70
 Patti, Adelina 21
 Paxton, Joseph 19
Pearson's Magazine 45
 Pedersen, Vilhelm 86
 Peel, Robert 17
 Peirce, Charles Sanders 33
 Penn, William 212
The Penny Magazine 39, 188
The People's Periodical 114, 115
 Pepsi-Cola 25
 Perrault, Charles 41, 80–81
Peter Pan 92, 97, 99, 180–181
 Petipa, Marius 91
 Petrie, William 139
 Pettigrew, Thomas Joseph 130
 Phantasieland, Germany 219
 Phantasmagoria 109
Phantom of the Opera 122
 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition 67,
 134, 199
The Phoenix and the Carpet 46, 135
 Pickford, Mary 95
 Picturesque 9, 10
Picturesque America 215, 225, 228, 232
Picturesque England 16
The Pied Piper 96
The Pilot 217
The Pirate (1948) 184
*The Pirates of Penzance, or the Slave of
 Duty* 177
Pirates of the Caribbean (film) 168
 Plagiarism 47
 Planché, John Robinson 91, 110
 Pleasure Beach, Blackpool 21–22, 23, 145,
 199, 200
 Pleasure gardens 9–15, 161
 Pleasure Walk 16
 Pocahontas 213
 Poe, Edgar Allan 41, 51, 114, 115, 119–120,
 122, 130, 194, 200
 Polidori, John William 109, 110
 Pollock's Toy Theatre 146
 Poole's Pictorial Tours 13, 135
Popular Encyclopaedia 1874 146–147

- Porter, Roy 12, 29–30
 Prater Park, Vienna 232
The Prelude 188
 Preminger, Otto 228
 Pre-Raphaelite movement 66
Presumption; or the Fate of Frankenstein 110
 Price, Vincent 120
The Prince and the Pauper 68
The Princess and the Goblin 92
 Prior, Melton 134–135
Psycho 121
 Puccini, Giacomo 5, 226
 pulp fiction 49–52
Punch 66, 105, 112
 Pyle, Howard 69
- Quartermain, Allan 216
The Queen of Air and Darkness 71
- Rackham, Arthur 180
 Radcliffe, Ann 104, 108
Raiders of the Lost Ark 144
 Raikes Hall 20–21, 23
 Ranelagh Gardens 12
 rational recreation 37
Rawhide Rawlins Stories 222
Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm 93
Redgauntlet 174
Red Rover, The (1829) 175
Redskin and Cowboy 223
 Reisner, George 134
 Religious Tract Society 45, 149
 Remington, Charles M. 221, 222, 224, 230, 242
 Repton, Humphry 10, 14, 15, 16
 Republic Studios 227
 Reynolds, George 112, 114
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua 13
Reynolds's Miscellany 113
 Rider Haggard, Sir Henry 51, 135, 150
 Ripley's 'Believe It or Not!' 191
Rip Van Winkle 96, 114
 Ritzer, George 235, 247
The Rival Crusoes 170
River of No Return 228
 RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum) Pictures 176, 227
Robin Hood 70
 Robinson, Peter 127
 Robinsonades 170
Robinson Crusoe 51, 151, 168–171
Robinson Crusoe; or Harlequin Man Friday 171
 Rodeo shows 223, 225
Roderick Random 171
 Rogers, Roy 227
 Rohmer, Sax (Arthur Henry Sarsfield Ward) 136
- 'Romance of a Mummy' 130
 Romantic imagination 36–38
 Rowlandson, Thomas 10
Rube and Mandy at Coney Island 52
 Runaway Mine Train 219–220
 Rushton, Jack 178
 Russell, Charles Marion 221–222
 Rydell, Robert W. 156
 Ryman, Herb 26–27
- Sadler's Wells, London 172, 190
 Said, Edward 125, 162
The Sailor Crusoe 170
 Sand, George 193
 San Francisco Midwinter International
 Exposition 157
Saturday Evening Post 222
Scenes from My Life 113
 Schoonover, Frank E. 223
Scientific American 189
 Scott, Sir Walter 4, 17, 41, 43, 51, 52–53, 59, 61, 66, 68, 84, 107, 153, 216
The Sea Hawk 183
The Search for Ancient Egypt 140
 Sea storms and shipwrecks 166
 Seattle Century 21
 Exposition of 1962 204
Seduction of the Innocent 51
 Selkirk, Alexander 169
 Shelley, Mary 41, 110–111, 186
 Shields, Rob 244, 246
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe 110
 Sillars, Stuart 42–43, 46
Silly Symphonies 120
 Simmel, Georg 26
 simulacrum 238
 Sinclair Lewis, Harry 239
Sir Francis Drake 174
Sir Launcelot and Guinevere 63–64
 Skal, David J. 116
 Skelt's Juvenile Drama 48, 174
The Sketch 39
Sketches of Olden Times 65
 Sklaar, Marty 25
Sleeping Beauty 53, 88, 91, 95, 97
 Smith, David Murray 66
 Smith, Wilcox 93
 Smithsonian Institute 155
 Smollett, Tobias 171
 Smugglers 166
 Smyth, Charles Piazzi 132
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs 27, 96–97, 121
 'Some Words with a Mummy' 130
The Song of Hiawatha 214
 Sorkin, Michael 241, 247

- Space Mountain 195, 203
 Space Pirates 183
 Spaceship Earth 204, 205
 Speaight, George 48–49, 88, 172, 174
 Sproston, S. 71
 Stacpoole, H. De Vere 181–182
 Stanley, H.M. 41, 132, 147–148
 Stanley, Jo 167
 StarJets 203
Startling Stories 201
 Star Tours 199, 207
Star Wars 207
Steamboat Willie 229
 Stevenson, Robert Louis 39, 49, 51, 145, 164, 175, 180
St Nicholas Magazine 69
 Stoddart, Helen 28, 87, 129
 Stoker, Bram 104, 116
The Story of the Amulet 135–136
 Stothard, Thomas 169
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher 217
The Strand Magazine 45–46, 154
 Stratton, Charles 191
 Sue, Eugène 115
 Suez Canal 39, 132, 133
 Superman 201
Sweeney Todd 114
The Swiss Family Robinson 51, 176, 177, 180, 181, 184
 Swiss Family Robinson Tree house 144, 175
The Sword in the Stone 59, 70–71, 72

 Tabart, Benjamin 79–80
 Taglioni, Marie 90
Tales from the Crypt 50, 138
Tales of Chivalry and Romance 66
The Tales of Hoffmann 97–98
Tales of the Grotesque 115
Tanglewood Tales 92
 Tavernier, Jules 220
 Taylor, Edgar 83–84
 Taylor, Elizabeth 139
 Taylor, John 132
 Telotte, J. P. 53–54, 97
 Tenniel, John 31, 33, 90, 92, 112, 115
 Tennyson, Alfred Lord 59, 65, 90
The Tempest 110
 Terry, Daniel 63
The Illustrated American News 39
The Nutcracker 91
 Thompson, Frederick 95, 134, 199, 200
 Thorpe Park, Surrey 7, 123, 145, 161, 162, 182, 186
Three Boy Crusoes; or Perseverance & Indolence 171
The Three Musketeers 194

Thrilling Wonder Stories 201
The Time Machine 197, 198
Times 137
 Time Warner 8
Timour the Tartar 146
 Tinkerbell 233
 Tivoli Gardens, Copenhagen 1–2, 17, 26, 106, 190, 233
 Todorov, Tzvetan 104
 Tomorrowland 27, 53, 186, 196, 202–203, 204, 206, 208, 237, 238, 249
The Tournament or Days of Chivalry 64
 Tourneur, Jacques 183
 toy theatres 46–49
Travel in the Interior Districts of Africa 126
Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1772 and 1773 126
 Treasure Island Casino (Las Vegas) 185
 Trip to the Moon (cyclorama) 199, 203
Tristan and Isolde 59
 Turner, E.S. 113, 122
 Tussaud, Louis 106
 Tussaud, Marie 105
 Tussauds Group 15, 105
 Twain, Mark 41, 51, 67–68, 71, 131, 140, 217
Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea 193, 194, 195, 197, 202

The Ugly Duckling 96
 uncanny 101–102, 103, 104, 115
 Uncle Tom's Cabin amusement resort 217
 Urry, John 9, 13, 14
The Uses of Literacy 201
 Utopic space 236–238

The Vampire, or, the Bride of the Isles 110
The Vampires of Prague 118–119
The Vampyre 5, 109, 110, 112
 Vanderlyn, John 212
Varney the Vampire 112, 114
The Vault of Horror 50
 Vauxhall Gardens, London 12, 17, 109
 Venturi, Robert 28
 Verdi, Giuseppe 133
 Verne, Jules 41, 51, 144, 149, 171, 172, 176–177, 193–197, 198, 199–201, 203–204, 220
The Virginian 51, 222–223, 225, 229
Voyage à la Lune 194
Voyages dans la Basse et la Haut Égypte 126
Voyage to the Moon 203

 Wagner, Margaret E. 92
 Wagner, Richard 59
 Wallace, Mike 160

- Walpole, Horace 104, 107–108, 109, 111,
112, 113, 115, 116, 121, 122
- Walsh, Raoul 183
- Walt Disney Corporation 55
- Walt Disney Enterprises 7–8, 27
- Walt Disney Imagineering (WDI) 25
- Walt Disney World 158, 160, 236, 238, 241
- Walton, John 15, 20, 23, 29, 96, 120–121,
134, 140, 155–156, 191, 199,
208
- Ward, Lock and Co. 45
- Warne, Frederick 176
- Warner, Marina 78, 80
- Warner, Philip 149, 178
- Wasko, Janet 234
- Waverley* 61
- Wawn, Andrew 175
- Wayne, John 229, 231
- Weird Tales* 120
- Wells, H.G. 41, 51, 195, 197–198, 199,
200, 203, 204
- Wertham, Frederic 51
- West, Benjamin 212
- West, William 48
- Westward Ho!* 177
- White, Gleeson 40, 44, 61
- White, Terence Hanbury 59, 71, 72
- White Conduit House, London 189
- Whitman, Walt 218
- Wiggin, Kate Douglas 93
- Wild West Show 41, 213, 223, 224, 225, 226
- Williams, Raymond 9, 36, 198
- Williamson Kinematograph Company 95
- Wilson, Keppel and Betty 138
- The Windsor* 45
- Winnie the Pooh* 55, 99
- Wister, Owen 176, 222, 223, 225
- Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire 16
- Wonder Book* 92
- Wonderful Stories for Children* 86
- The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm*
84
- Woodville, R. Caton 219
- Wookey Hole, Somerset 106
- Wordsworth, William 188
- World's Fairs 1, 19–20, 23–26, 52, 120, 140,
147, 155, 157, 161, 186, 191–192, 196,
198–199, 202–203, 204–208, 212, 230,
233, 240, 244–245
- Wounded Knee Massacre 219
- Wright, Thomas 178
- Wyeth, N.C. 223
- Wyss, Johann David 175–176, 177, 184
- Yankee Buccaneer* 184
- Young Folks* 179
- The Young Gentleman's Magazine* 69
- The Young Misses Magazine* 81
- The Young Settlers* 223
- Zambezi Expedition 147
- Zipes, Jack 77, 80, 81, 83
- Žižek, Slavoj 123
- Zukin, Sharon 238, 247