

Interior of Gaumont Cinema, Edinburgh, after fire (1963)

A HOMER CONFERENCE WHAT IS CINEMA HISTORY: presented by the Early Cinema in Scotland research project

GLASGOW ★ **JUNE** 22-24, 2015









Welcome to Glasgow!

The Early Cinema in Scotland project is proud to welcome you to the University and to the city. Over the last three years, our work on various aspects of Scottish film culture before 1927 has been shaped and sparked by our connections to other researchers around the world. The HoMER Network has been a key point of convergence and we are very happy to host its 2015 meeting.

Since 2004 the HoMER Network has functioned as an international forum for researchers working in the history of moviegoing, exhibition and reception, supporting a series of conferences, events, and publications.

The conference has been co-ordinated locally by Maria A. Vélez-Serna and John Caughie, in collaboration with Liesbeth Van de Vijver at Ghent University/DICIS (Digital Cinema Studies). We are very grateful to our wise and helpful conference committee:

Robert C. Allen (University of North Carolina), Daniel Biltereyst (Ghent University), Pierluigi Ercole (De Montfort University), Matt Jones (De Montfort University), Jeff Klenotic (University of New Hampshire), Richard Maltby (Flinders University), Philippe Meers (University of Antwerp), Clara Pafort-Overduin (Utrecht University), John Sedgwick (Oxford Brookes University), Daniela Treveri Gennari (Oxford Brookes University)

We also had the invaluable support of the Early Cinema in Scotland advisory board: Robert C. Allen, Karel Dibbets, Richard Maltby, Luke McKernan, and Kevin Rockett.

Thanks to the Gilmorehill staff, Hospitality Services, the Conference and Visitors Service, Jeanette Berry, Julie Smith, Judy Barnicoat, and our volunteers.

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To find out more about the HoMER Network, visit http://homernetwork.org

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Information for Delegates

The conference will take place in the Gilmorehill Halls, 9 University Avenue, Glasgow G12 8QQ. It takes place across four levels (the building is accessible and has a lift):

Level 5 (second floor) Theatre foyer: Poster display, registration desk

Theatre: Coffee breaks and lunches

Level 4 (first floor) Panels in rooms 408 and 409

Level 3 (ground floor) Cinema: Plenaries

Toilets

Level 2 (basement 1) Panels in rooms 217a and 217b

Toilets

Please note that the pre-conference workshop, sponsored by DICIS, takes place in the **Jura Lab in the University Library**, up the hill from the conference venue (see campus map). Pre-registration is required for this workshop.

Conference registration will open from 3.30 on Monday, when you can collect your conference packs and badges. This is followed by the plenary session at 4pm on Monday. The closing keynote session finishes at 3pm on Wednesday, followed by the HoMER General Meeting (open to all) to finish at 4.30.

During breaks, coffee and lunch will be served in the Theatre (Level 5). Outwith these times, the nearest good coffee shops are on Gibson Street (turning right and right again on leaving the building).

You should receive a guest WiFi login in advance of the conference, but if you have not got it please ask at the Registration. Unfortunately printing is not available, but there is a print shop just across the road on Gibson Street.

All are welcome to attend Monday's wine reception sponsored by Screen journal, which will take place from 6pm in the Theatre, and will be accompanied by a video installation with fragments of early Scottish films, created by artist Aileen Daily.

All the rooms have a PC computer or laptop connected to the video projector and to the Internet. They also have multi-region DVD players and VHS tape players. If you prefer, you can connect your own laptop, but please make sure you have the appropriate adaptor before your panel (especially for Mac).

Speakers using AV equipment should go to their panel room ten minutes prior to their session to set up. Volunteers have been assigned to each panel to assist with minor problems or queries. An experienced AV technician is also available to help throughout the conference. Please ask a volunteer to direct you to Michael McCann if you need to discuss more complex technical issues.

Monday 22 June

13.30-15.30 University Library Jura Lab

Workshop: Connecting histories: an introduction to effective data sharing and linkage for historians

(Sharon Howard, University of Sheffield)

Sponsored by DICIS (Digital Cinema Studies)

15.30-16.00 Gilmorehill Halls Theatre/ Foyer

REGISTRATION

16.00-18.00 Gilmorehill Halls Cinema

OPENING PLENARY

Welcome and introduction: John Caughie, Maria Velez-Serna, Liesbeth Van de Vijver

Keynotes

Chair: John Caughie

Richard Maltby

What is cinema history?

Haidee Wasson

The expansionist apparatus: histories of film projection and the American military

18.00-20.00

Theatre

RECEPTION

Tuesday 23 June

9.00 - 10.30

217a Interrogating the Archive

- Victoria Jackson and Bregt Lameris
 - Historical Sensation, Digital mimicry and the negotiation of history through digital reproduction
- Eef Masson
 - Reconstructing colour palettes in early Dutch film distribution: The case of EYE's Jean Desmet collection
- Grazia Ingravalle
 - Film curatorship as film history writing: Film exhibition and historiography at the EYE Film Institute and the Eastman House
- Michele Leigh
 - Theorizing the reluctant subject: (Re)writing women into cinema history

217b Fragments of Evidence

- · Gary Rhodes
 - Rethinking Early Film Audiences in the United States: 'Soft' Evidence and American Popular Song
- Annemone Ligensa
 - Audience archives: digital tools for studying historical audiences
- Ellen Wright
 - Hollywood Confidential: Tijuana Bibles, audiences and film stars in classical era Hollywood
- Maria A. Velez-Serna
 - Layering sources, mapping events: A sceptical data model for cinema history

408 Revisiting Historical Narratives

- Alison Loader
 - Obscured and uncovered: Women and the splendid camera obscuras of nineteenth-century Edinburgh
- Sarah Street
 - Writing histories of film technology: The negotiation of innovation, british cinema and transnationalism
- Frank Gray
 - Early cinema histories and the rise of dominant narratives
- Isak Thorsen
 - Explanations in aesthetics or business Nordisk Films Kompagni as a case

10.30-11.00 Theatre

Tea/coffee break

11.00-12.30

217a The Film Text in New Cinema History

- Ian Goode
 - Film, cinema and non-theatrical historiography: rural cinema-going in the post-war Highlands and Islands of Scotland
- Frank Kessler and Sabine Lenk
 - The individual film in cinema history: Does it matter?

Karel Dibbets

The Evergreens of film history

Frank Krutnik

Luxurious cinemites? - Labour, stardom and Stand-In (1937)

217b Distribution and Exhibition in Britain and Ireland

Sam Manning

Post-war Cinema-going and the urban environment in the United Kingdom: A comparative analysis of Belfast and Sheffield, 1945-1962

Melvyn Stokes and Emma Petts

Postcolonial audiences in 1960s Britain

Denis Condon

Commemorating Irish cinema of the 1910s

Malcolm Cook

Animated cartoon distribution in Britain 1917-1921

408 Early Cinema: Sources

• Chris O'Rourke

Cinema-going and urban leisure networks in the diary of Archibald Walker, 1915

Mario Slugan

The role of catalogues for early cinema history: A contribution to Gunning-Musser debate

Paul S Moore

Cultural history as an almanac of regional ephemera | Browsing as method for new cinema histories

12.30-13.30 Theatre

Lunch

Showcase of recent publications

13.30-15.00

217a Comparative Approaches to Historical Cinemagoing

• Thunnis van Oort and Philippe Meers

Movie-going at the docks. A media historical comparative analysis of cinema cultures in Antwerp (Flanders) and Rotterdam (Netherlands) (1910-1990)

• Clara Pafort-Overduin, Lies Van de Vijver, and John Sedgwick

Understanding the Audience. A comparative research into film preference, choice and popularity in three medium-sized cities the mid-1930s

Catherine Jurca

Vaudeville, movies and audiences in Philadelphia, 1935-1936

217b Exhibition: Now

Charlotte Brunsdon

The end of cinema? The view from the projection booth (1)

Richard Wallace

The end of cinema? The view from the projection booth (2)

- Mike Walsh, Dylan Walker and Richard Maltby
 Understanding the Mall: Mapping Australian cinema-going
- Talitha Gomes Ferraz

The case of the Cinecarioca Nova Brasília favela movie theater in the Leopoldina suburb of Rio de Janeiro: Democratization of cinema access?

408 Early Cinema: Global Histories

Nadi Tofighian

'Let the American show you': Early film screenings in Manila

David Morton

From the 'City of Homes and Churches' to 'The Movie House Capital of the World:' Motion picture exhibition in Brooklyn after 'The Great Mistake of 1898'.

Dilek Kaya

The Early Cinemas of Kordon (Quay, Smyrna): A Micro-history

Robert James

Mapping cinema culture in Portsmouth's sailortown in the early-twentieth century'

15.00-15.30 Theatre

Tea/coffee break

15.30-16.45

217a Panel A: To be Continued...: Serials, Cycles, and the New Cinema History

Peter Stanfield

Run Angel Run: seriality and the biker movie 1966-72

• Tim Snelson

'They'll be dancing in the aisles!': the jitterbug craze and cinema (sub)culture in the late-1930s

Phyll Smith

'Westerns not Talkers': the coming of sound to the serial house

217b Panel B: What is Feminist Film History?

• Hilary A. Hallett

Elinor Glyn's 'It:' Rethinking glamour in early Hollywood

Shelley Stamp

Noir's phantom ladies: Tracking female audiences in the 1940s

Melanie Bell

Creating archives, creating histories: Questions of evidence, knowledge and power

408 Panel C: 'Of the scholars, nothing is to be expected, I am afraid.'

- Scott Anthony
- Bryony Dixon
- Tom Rice
- Patrick Russell

Through a series of recent case studies this panel discussion will challenge archive and academy alike to debate the intellectual and practical implications of mass digitisation.

17.00-18.30

Cinema

Roundtable: Looking back and looking forward on cinema history

Chair: Daniël Biltereyst

Participants:

Robert C. Allen
Jon Burrows
Jeff Klenotic
Clara Pafort Over

Clara Pafort-Overduin Maria A. Velez-Serna

Wednesday 24 June

9.00-10.30

217a National Historiographies

Kaveh Askari

Historiography of failure and Iranian cinema, 1968

Outi Hupaniittu

Mismatching national historiography and the fluctuating currents of the First World War – Critical reading of the late 1910s Finnish cinema and the two collapsing empires

Nezih Erdoğan

Film history and historiography in Turkey: A new beginning?

Akshaya Kumar

Cinema history in the vernacular: The province of Bhojpuri cinema

217b Negotiating Censorship

Kate Egan

'The film that was banned in Harrogate': Local censorship, local newspapers, and *Monty Python's Life of Brian*

Ben Strassfeld

"The Detroit Model": Mapping adult movie theaters in the Motor City

Daniel Biltereyst and Lies Van de Vijver

Sex in the city: The rise of soft-erotic film culture in Cinema Leopold, Ghent, 1945-1954

408 Early Cinema: People

Caroline Merz

Cinema colleges and film production in Scotland after the Great War

Jon Burrows

The butcher, the baker and the bioscope speculator: Occupational backgrounds of cinema entrepreneurs in Britain, 1906-1914

• Susanne Ellis and Phylls Smith

Chocolate sellers, clerks and movie palaces in a subordinate industry: Women's work and descriptions of cinema in the 1911 census

Jessica Whitehead

When showmen became managers: A historical institutional ethnography of Leo Mascioli and Famous Players Canadian Corp.

409 Panel D: Leicester Goes to the Movies - A Collaborative Approach to Local Cinema History

- Steve Chibnall
- Pierluigi Ercole
- Matthew Jones
- Laraine Porter
- Clare Watson

This session will consist of three talks by researchers about their multifaceted approach to Leicester's cinema history, and a screening of a short film that draws these various elements of the research together.

10.30-11.00 Theatre

Tea/coffee break

11.00-12.30

217a Useful Cinema

Scott Curtis

Film historiography and the challenges of expert filmmaking

Mandy Powell

Everyday devolution: The work of pop-up educational cinema in Scotland

Julia Bohlmann

Early municipal cinema in Scotland: Socialist agitation or civic entertainment? – The case of Kirkintilloch, 1914-1923

• Samantha Wilson

Nature appreciation and the early British scenic: Mapping regional travel through the rhetoric of astonishment

217b Panel E: British Cinema and the Transition to Sound

John Izod

British Cinema Exhibitors and Musicians, 1927-33

Sarah Neely

The Magnetic North: pulling away from metropolitan-focused approaches to the study of cinema

Laraine Porter

'The Americanisation of England' Anti-American sentiment and the arrival of the 'Talkies' in Britain

408 Panel F: Reconstructing post-war Italian audiences: New perspectives and methodological challenges

Danielle Hipkins

'A World I thought was impossible': Rural audiences in Italy of the 1940s and 1950s.

John Sedgwick

Comparative filmgoing statistics in 1950s Italy

• Daniela Treveri Gennari and Silvia Dibeltulo

Films' journeys across the city: distribution, exhibition and audiences' choices in 1950s Rome through network analysis

Catherine O'Rawe

Mapping Cinema Memories: Emotional Geographies of Cinema-going in Rome in the 1950s

409 Visual Cultures

Phillip Roberts

Media Archaeology and the Early Life of the Magic Lantern

• Enrique Fibla

The forgotten avant-garde: transnational amateur cinema cultures of the 1930's

Kristian Moen

Microhistory and Medium Identity: Animation in New York, 1939-1940

• Lucie Česálková

"Short Film" as a Challenge for History of Film Exhibition and Non-Theatrical Film Studies

12.30-13.30 Theatre

Lunch

13.30-15.00 Cinema

CLOSING KEYNOTES Chair: Richard Maltby

John Caughie

Scotched: the subject of history and the clutter of phenomena

Judith Thissen

You ain't heard *nothin'* yet!

15.00-16.30

408 HoMER General Meeting

All welcome.

16.30-18.00

HoMER social – location tbc (but probably a nearby pub).

Abstracts

PRECONSTITUTED PANELS

PANEL A

To Be Continued...: serials, cycles and the new cinema history

The panel will explore the study of seriality and cyclicality as models for the 'new cinema history'. In his introduction to *Explorations in New Cinema History*, Richard Maltby makes a distinction between film history – a dominant history of films and their production – and the new cinema history – an emergent interdisciplinary field of study focusing on the history of cinema-going across a range of national, regional and historical contexts. This panel will argue that focusing upon the serial production, exhibition and consumption of film cycles allows the media historian to analyse the complex relationship between these two processes whilst neither side-lining nor overstating the significance of film and other media texts. Drawing upon the research of three scholars working within and leading key research groups within this developing field, the panel will utilise case studies of 1960s/70s biker movies, late-30s jitterbug films and 20s/30s silent serials in order to explore the complex interrelationships between serial production, exhibition and reception across a range of historical contexts.

PETER STANFIELD • University of Kent

Run Angel Run: seriality and the biker movie 1966-72

American exploitation movies are for the most part ephemera; designed with built-in obsolescence, made for a market with a voracious appetite that demanded new products on a regular, preplanned basis that provided audiences with a standardized product and a repeatable experience. These movies are evanescent, only fleetingly held up before the public eye, with little expectancy on the part of their producers that they would remain in circulation much beyond their original theatrical run. Using as a case study the cycle of outlaw motorcycle movies made in the wake of *The Wild Angels* (1966) these 25 or so films mimicked earlier examples, cannibalized interchangeable parts and self- identified with one another. They were conceived as being both independent and as part of a serial flow of product. Titling of the films alone is suggestive of the process of repetition in difference that defines seriality: *Devil's Angels, Hells Angels on Wheels, Wild Rebels* (all 1967), *Angels from Hell, Savages from Hell, The Savage Seven* (all 1968), and so on. I consider how these films are organized around the concept of regular novelties that provide an audience with the promise of new thrills alongside recycled attractions. I do this in order to better articulate the terms of serial production, exhibition and consumption of American exploitation movies of the late 1960 and early 1970s.

TIM SNELSON • University of East Anglia

'They'll be dancing in the aisles!': the jitterbug craze and cinema (sub)culture in the late-1930s

Adopting historical reception studies and programming research approaches, this paper will challenge the idea of midthirties dedifferentiated family audience by demonstrating how a number of metropolitan first-run cinemas and, resultantly, major regional and national exhibition circuits, changed their programming strategies to incorporate the demands and rituals of a committed market of young swing fans. With live music declared 'the most sought after theatre attractions' by 1938, the elevation of 'name' swing bands and bandleaders to cinema programmes' 'A' attractions undermined Hollywood's 'one programme for one audience' policy and challenged the studios' hegemony in controlling top product. The major studios attempted to reclaim this youth market by incorporating the big swing stars and opportunities for audiences' 'tactical' consumption into their films, but these 'strategies' had limited success and the resultant film cycle was short-lived. Reversing the linear trajectory through processes of production, exhibition and consumption, this paper will highlight how the theoretical frameworks associated with studying production cycles and trends can be extended to reveal the complex, at times intimate, relationships and negotiations between audiences and exhibitors.

PHYLL SMITH . University of East Anglia

'Westerns not Talkers': the coming of sound to the serial house

Seriality has at its heart a tension between repetition and variation. In 20s and 30s a similar tension was being played out in the transformation of cinema, as film became a true industry exhibition spaces and practices, distribution and promotion patterns and production facilities and processes were becoming ever more consistent, streamlined and fixed, while a critical distaste for predictable or unimaginative products discouraged any discussion of uniformity of product as being simplistic or juvenile, in order to appeal to more respectable and affluent audiences even relatively generic products were sold as innovative, unique and original works.

For the chapterplay or weekly Serial however iteration and repetition was a key formal element, and even while there was little more uniformity between serial episodes than between any other generic products, the Serial was critically condemned for its formal repetition. Discourse in the trade press of the time however, shows the audiences of Serial Houses demanded the standardised repeatable experience of seriality – both in the formal narrative seriality of the chapterplay, and the generic and thematic seriality of both Serials and the series films that were shot and shown beside them. These audiences were the massive but economically marginal audiences of independent, working class, neighbourhood and rural cinemas – often referred to pejoratively as Serial Houses.

These housed the bulk of the cinema going audience, but generated little of the industries profits, featuring only marginally in the histories of the cinema industries rises and falls.

Many writers have documented the rapidity of the transition to sound production amongst feature makers from 1926 to 1928, and the attendant race for theatres to wire for sound, while sound film exhibition was led predominantly by experiments in non-feature production – but not Serials. For Serial producers and exhibitors the story was very different – the genres associated with the Serial and its (often noisy) audience in the twenties were not those easily produced on the new sound stages, while the 'Serial Houses' which showed them were those least able to take a financial gamble on sound technology. Non-synchronized sound did not come to Serials until 1929, while dual silent/talkie production remained the norm into the 1930's; all well after mainstream Hollywood production was 'all talkie'.

This paper outlines the twin forces around the coming of sound to Serial production – technological issues around synchronization in action pictures and economic issues around States Rights distribution; and those around Serial exhibition – how and why Serial Houses resisted sound until that point – after the Wall St crash – at which few cinemas could afford to rewire or borrow to do so. All of which emerge from the reputation of the Serial and the status of its imagined audience. In analyzing this fringe sector, it shows both how important serial products were to audiences and exhibitors, but also how the seriality of serial and sequential distribution patterns were to the pattern of industrial change in the period and to changing producer's understanding of genre/serial audience economics.

PANEL B WHAT IS FEMINIST FILM HISTORY?

This panel explores the relationship between feminism and the history of the American film industry at the level of theory, method and practice. The institutionalization of film studies, the rise of feminist analysis within the academy, and the move toward history "from the bottom up" which first helped women's history to flourish all happened simultaneously in the 1970s. But feminist film scholars were initially some of the most skeptical of the historical turn that film studies made in the 1990s and historians of gender and sexuality—most particularly in the United States—have remained slow to embrace the products of the film industry as evidence or cultural history as an approach. Yet during the last two decades feminist film scholars and historians have increasingly managed to occupy common ground. As the papers on this panel show, the collision of film history and feminism provides the means to revise not only our understanding of what David Bordwell calls the "Basic Story" about the origins of the American film industry but also the key role that Hollywood played in the shift toward sexual modernism during the twentieth century.

SHELLEY STAMP • University of California, Santa Cruz

"Noir's Phantom Ladies: Tracking Female Audiences in the 1940s"

Film noir stands apart from most classical Hollywood cinema in its persistent development of unconventionally passive male protagonists and strong, sexually-assertive women, its foreclosure of sentimentality and domesticity, its elevation of visual style over function, and perhaps most significantly, its refusal to signal narrative closure with a heterosexual coupling. Noir is usually characterized as a particularly masculine form, standing alongside combat films and gangster pictures as the idioms most associated with male viewers and a masculine outlook on the world. How does our view of noir change if we consider the demonstrable evidence that women constituted a large portion of its original audience?

Using original publicity materials such as pressbooks, trailers, ads, posters and tie-in campaigns, this paper traces the complex manner in which films noir were marketed to American audiences in the 1940s, demonstrating a significant, previously unacknowledged outreach to women. This outreach took several forms. Many pressbooks offered exhibitors a range of publicity materials and exhibition stunts that allowed them to appeal in alternate ways to male and female customers. Some ads and posters available might feature only male characters and stress action and gun violence, while others would feature female characters more prominently and imply that a heterosexual relationship was central to the story. In other cases, promotions explicitly invited potential female viewers to imagine themselves in situations faced by women onscreen – "Would you tell your husband about the reckless moment in *your* life?" Noir promotions circulated heavily in women's culture as well. Many noirs were promoted with full-page ads in mass-market monthly magazines like *Life*, *Collier*'s and *Saturday Evening Post*, the readership for which was predominantly female. Consumer product ads in women's monthlies often featured stars familiar to readers from films noir, with ad copy often explicitly drawing readers' attention to a current release. In many cases, these ads significantly complicated the star text associated with performers, both male and female.

But it was not just female stars or women working behind the scenes in Hollywood that drew the attention of female noir fans. Leading male stars, like Robert Mitchum and Richard Widmark, had sizable female fan clubs where their sexual appeal to women was highlighted – Mitchum's group called themselves "The Droolettes" and were pictured swooning over the star at a personal appearance. At the same time fan magazines pitched the rugged appeal of these stars to their largely female readership: Mitchum was cast as a "rogue male" for readers of *Modern Screen*, while Burt Lancaster, shown surrounded by eager young women, was dubbed "a killer." The overlay of sexuality and violence, evident in so much noir marketing, is here explicitly marketed to women.

Evidence such as this re-casts noir as a cycle of films with distinct appeal to women in post-WW II America, audiences for whom non-normative gender roles, anti-sentimental nihilism, and a pronounced absence of domestic, familial or marital attachments evidently. If historians "look past the screen," as Jon Lewis and Eric Smoodin put it, to consider the wider cultural field in which films noir circulated, noir's original female audience comes into focus.

MELANIE BELL • Newcastle University

'Creating Archives, Creating Histories: Questions of Evidence, Knowledge and Power'.

'A History of Women's Work in the British Film and Television Industries, 1933-89'.

Funded by the AHRC the 'History of Women' project draws together a range of archival materials to recover and record women's economic and creative contribution to British film and television production in the period between 1933 and 1989. During these years the industry was heavily unionised and central to our research are print materials held by the industry's union BECTU (specifically 67,000 union membership forms). Alongside these paper records is a collection of new oral history interviews with industry women conducted by the research team. These materials will be archived on a new digital resource and made available for future researchers. Informed by a feminist methodology this research seeks to make an intervention through putting women on the historical record but it also aspires, through that process, to question the explanatory paradigms and foundations of knowledge through which women were constructed as 'forgotten'.

As we go through the digitisation process we find ourselves confronting a number of ethical, practical and methodological challenges. Should we normalise variations and clean the data? Should we create controlled vocabularies around the employer field? How do we reconcile the essentially collaborative nature of oral history interviewing (Fisch's concept of a shared authority) with a responsibility to funders and a policy of open access? How do we bring oral testimony into dialogue with more traditional paper records? Are these alternative forms of knowledge which occupy different spaces in terms of the weight they carry? And more broadly how might the digital resource move the field forward, and what questions does it raise about the production of historical and disciplinary knowledge?

This paper will use a beta version of the 'History of Women' resource to open up questions around the archive, digitisation and feminist epistemology.

HILARY A. HALLETT • Columbia University

"Elinor Glyn's 'It:' Rethinking Glamour in Early Hollywood"

Many film scholars now recognize that Hollywood's success during the 1920s had what at first appears an unlikely source: the reorientation of film production toward women audiences. Even a cursory inspection of the era's fan magazines reveals the same assumption at every turn: Hollywood rose by focusing on the female trade. "Now one thing never to be lost sight of in considering the cinema is that it exists for the purpose of pleasing women," warned lris Barry, the world's first film curator at MoMA, in an unhappy acknowledgment of this reality in 1926. The strategy made the "flapper fan" into the movies' "representative public" after the Great War. An Englishwoman who worked as a motion picture journalist in London before moving to New York, Barry's sex pointed to another fact about the American film industry during the silent period increasingly recognized by scholars. Women worked in greater numbers and in all capacities—including as writers, producers, publicists, editors and directors—than at any time since. Yet this increasingly agreed upon terrain has largely failed to alter what David Bordwell calls the "Basic Story" about the origins of Hollywood and its relationship to the headlong rush into sexual modernism that most tell about early Hollywood. This story, put briefly, stubbornly persists in painting a picture of an industry whose success was built around how a few powerful men taught women to trade on their sexuality for other men's pleasure.

This paper focuses on the career of Elinor Glyn—the 1920s' Glamour Granddame and the inventor of "It"—in order to recast the story of early Hollywood's role in supporting women's sexual emancipation. Brought by Jesse Lasky to Los Angeles in 1920 as an "Eminent Author," no public figure was more associated with pleasing the female trade than Elinor Glyn. "I know what women want," Elinor asserted to the United Artists film producer, Joseph Schenck. Glyn used glamour to smooth her invention of characters and scenarios that challenged the period's conventional wisdom about female aesthetics and lust. In the process, she helped to make early Hollywood's personalities into an international symbol of women's discontent with the codes and conventions of what Freud called 'civilized sexual morality.'

PANEL C

'Of the scholars, nothing is to be expected, I am afraid.'

SCOTT ANTHONY • Nanyang Technological University BRYONY DIXON • BFI National Archive TOM RICE • University of St Andrews PATRICK RUSSELL • BFI National Archive

'Of the scholars, nothing is to be expected, I am afraid.' So wrote Arthur Elton in 1955. What he meant, as Penelope Houston explained, quoting him in 1994, was that 'academic researchers are still more likely to be interested in the

fiction side of [archives'] holdings...' This was certainly true in the days before the digital revolution when archives struggled to get attention for the non-feature film content dominating their holdings, but mass digitisation is radically altering the visibility of this 'other' content.

What does the mass digitisation of film archive collections mean for the development of new film histories, and for the overall path of film historiography? With the launch of *Britain on Film* in June, the film archive sector's biggest ever digital initiative, these questions have never been more urgent. Through a series of recent case studies – including colonial, industrial and Victorian film, as well as *Britain on Film* – this panel discussion will challenge archive and academy alike to debate the intellectual and practical implications of mass digitisation.

This two hour session, including one hour of discussion, considers four case studies:

- An available oeuvre: **Colonial Cinema**. Five years on, what is the afterlife of such a project and the histories it invokes? Some implications may be uncomfortable for archivists and academics alike...
- A new oeuvre: Britain on Film launches June 2015, mapping digitised films to physical locations: an online
 resource for the public but touching numerous histories of film, including ones largely untouched by
 scholarship.
- A forthcoming oeuvre: **Victorian Film**. The entire extant archive of the first five years of British film will soon be online. Much scholarship of early cinema exists, but never with its complete surviving output available.
- An oeuvre emergent: Industrial Film has a rich, complex history, obscured and confused by foundational stories of 'documentary' but transformed both by its growing visibility and by applying the insights of economic historians.

PANEL D Leicester Goes to the Movies - A Collaborative Approach to Local Cinema History

STEVE CHIBNALL • De Montfort University
PIERLUIGI ERCOLE • De Montfort University
MATTHEW JONES • De Montfort University
LARAINE PORTER • De Montfort University
CLARE WATSON • De Montfort University

While there has been significant interest in the history of cinemas in London, provincial British cities have often received less attention from scholars. Leicester, the tenth largest city in the UK, is perhaps in a better position than many, having been the subject of research by Brian Johnson, who has recorded basic information about every cinema that has operated in the city since the 1900s. However, attempts to advance our knowledge of the city's cinema heritage further face interesting problems. Johnson provides a general overview of Leicester's cinemas, which is certainly more developed than the research on many other comparable cities, but his account opens up a series of questions about how this information about cinema spaces should be understood and interpreted in relation to a number of other important factors. For example, Johnson documents the locations of the city's historic cinemas, but the ways in which the selection of these locations was influenced by the intersection of economic, industrial and social forces at both a local and national level remains unclear, as does the relationship between the cinema locations and the local transport infrastructure. Accounts of the experience of Leicester cinema-going could also add much to our understanding of the city's cinematic geography, but the voices of audiences members have yet to be captured in significant numbers. The list of other avenues of research that could intersect with, enrich and explain our knowledge of Leicester cinema spaces is vast and, as the story of the city's cinema heritage is told, they inevitably open up new questions about cinema's place within local systems of economics, culture, transportation, demographics, politics, the built environment and so forth. Indeed, it is the junctures between these issues and the pressures that they exert on one another in a particular place and at particular times that produce the contexts within which local cinema cultures take shape. Developing the history of Leicester's cinemas further demands that choices be made about which stories to tell, which issues to investigate, and, crucially, how the researching of these histories can be done in such a way as to highlight, rather than obscure, cinema's complex and multifaceted relationship with the intricate ecosystem that the

The staff at De Montfort University's Cinema and Television History Research Centre have been attempting to address these concerns by taking an equally multifaceted approach. If seeking to totalise a city's cinema history leads to a loss of its true complexity, we have instead worked to draw out both the uniqueness and the interconnectedness of the various historical changes that we have discovered. Adopting a series of diverse methodological approaches, from oral history to archival research and mapping, we have sought not to present one authoritative account of Leicester cinema history, but instead to produce a number of competing, complementary and, occasionally, contradictory narratives, each of which can tell part of the story, but which can also be situated alongside one another to explore the tensions and symmetries that make this city's cinema-going past so rich.

This workshop will invite its audience to engage with the various aspects of the project's activity and to explore the model of local historical research that it represents. The session will consist of three talks by researchers

about their work on the project and the aspects of Leicester's cinema history that they have explored, and a screening of a short film that draws these various elements of the research together. The talks will focus on the types of sources available to the cinema historian and the ways in which they can be used within a project that seeks to explore the interconnectedness of a city's infrastructures, systems and populations. Each will tell a historical narrative about Leicester's cinemas, but will also point towards the ways in which each researcher's narrative shapes those told by the others.

Pierluigi Ercole and Clare Watson will focus on the silent era. Using archival resources, including public records and regional and trade presses, they will explore the early development of Leicester's local cinema culture. Referring to specific case studies, comparisons will be made with other national and local studies of cinema-going and exhibition in the UK, thereby developing our knowledge of the ways in which this industrial city in the Midlands fits within a wider context of cinema culture across the country.

Laraine Porter's work on Leicester links into her AHRC-funded research project into the transition between silent and sound cinema in the UK between 1927 and 1933. Her presentation will look at the wider economic and business implications of the arrival of sound in a regional city where the repercussions of the sound revolution were felt several months after the first sound feature films were screened in London cinemas. The reviewer of *The Jazz Singer* (1927) in the local newspaper, The Leicester Mercury, lamented that audiences had to watch the film silent in February 1929, praising the film but saying that '...we should have liked to have heard Mr Jolson's voice'. Despite this lag in rolling out the new sound technology, Leicester, with its strong background in electrical engineering, saw a number of small companies inventing and producing solutions to the problem of synchronous sound. Parmeko and Imperial, for example, saw opportunities in a new marketplace before it was saturated by the American conglomerate, Western Electric. Meanwhile, as sound did arrive in local cinemas, the Cinema Exhibitor's Association Leicester Branch reported problems with a fluctuating electricity supply to cinemas that caused the sound film to slow or speed up, a problem that had not been discernible with silent film projection.

Matthew Jones will discuss the relationship between his work mapping Leicester cinemas from 1900 to the present day and the interviews that the project has collected with local audience members. The maps that he has produced reveal the expansion and contraction of film exhibition in the city, which follow broader national patterns but reshape them according to local pressures. Leicester's network of tramways, for example, produced clusters of cinemas around its termini. However, when tram services were withdrawn in the 1950s, the city's cinema map was rewritten. This coincided with the closure of cinemas nationwide during this period, but produced particular effects that were specific to Leicester. While these developments can be explored from a geographical perspective, the audience interviews that have been conducted on the project resist this type of analysis. Since the memories that we have collected, which reach as far back as the 1950s, often relate to spaces that have since been redeveloped, they are frequently not locatable on a map and are instead characterised by half-remembered urban landscapes and nostalgia for a city that once was, but which has since changed radically.

Finally, **Steve Chibnall** will introduce the film that the project has produced to reflect the current state of its research. This film is intended both as an introduction to the cinema history of Leicester, but also as an a means of publicising the project to local people who may wish to get involved and to add their own stories to the wealth of data that we have gathered.

PANEL E

British Silent Cinema and the Transition to Sound

Successive waves of new technologies have characterised the development of cinema as a modern art form – from colour cinematography to widescreen and Cinemascope, 3D, CGI and latterly digital exhibition – but none of these have had such a fundamental impact as the arrival of synchronised sound. American historian Scott Eyman sums up the profundity of the transition: 'Sound changed everything ... Sound standardised movies, made them less malleable, less open to individual interpretation ... dialogue literalised every moment, converted it from subjective to objective'.

The three papers proposed here present early results from archival work in this project which is dedicated to mapping developments in the British film industry between 1927 and 1933. Those developments will cover production, distribution, exhibition and reception, assessing the impact of synchronised sound not only on performance, aesthetics and narrative form but also economics, employment, infrastructure and relevant industrial relations.

JOHN IZOD . University of Stirling

British Cinema Exhibitors and Musicians, 1927-33

This paper is based on work in progress in this AHRC funded project. It focuses on what archival records reveal about industrial relations between musicians and their employers. The period under review covers the years in which recorded sound was first introduced, then rapidly established as the norm for movie entertainment in British Cinemas.

Materials published by the Musicians' Union and the minutes of their Executive and Branch Committees recount a history of disputes with the owners of picture houses at both local and national levels. This differs radically from the impression conveyed by Annual Reports of the Cinema Exhibitors' Association. The latter omit any mention of

negotiations or disagreements (let alone formal disputes) between exhibitors and their employees, be they musicians, technicians or other staff. It is tempting to conclude that the CEA appears, in the interests of public relations, to have suppressed any account of adverse dealings with their staff – not least because the MU claimed on more than one occasion to have hard and fast evidence of double dealing, if not on the part of the organisation then certainly by some of its members.

The paper I propose examines the evidence and offers thoughts about the dependability or otherwise of any conclusions one might draw from the available papers.

SARAH NEELY • University of Stirling

The Magnetic North: pulling away from metropolitan-focused approaches to the study of cinema

Like many film histories, Scottish film history has largely been a history characterised by its focus on its great metropolitan centres - Edinburgh and Glasgow. The occasional studies which do look outside the 'central-belt', are likely to focus on two of Scotland's other sizeable cities, Aberdeen and Dundee. Yet, as Trevor Griffiths points out, by the middle of the 20th century, although many of Scotland's cinemas were located in cities such as Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh, a quarter of the total cinemas were situated in much smaller towns and villages (2012: 1). Furthermore, a consideration Scotland's rich heritage in relation to non-theatrical cinemas, from film guilds to rural cinema initiatives, gives further clues as to the wealth of activities linked to areas often isolated because of geography. Recent studies, particularly in the area of amateur cinema (Craven 2009, Craven and Shand 2013) and rural cinema (Goode 2013), have helped to widen the net cast in this area of research in the same way that the focus on non-theatrical and 'useful cinema' has helped researchers of North American cinema to bring previously ignored forms of cinema culture back into the folds of scholarship (Acland and Wassan 2011). Still, a great number of geographical areas remain off-the-map in existing studies of Scottish cinema. The reasons for their oversight can most obviously be explained by their absence from national archives. The communities' geographical distance from archives housed in Edinburgh and Glasgow is likely a factor for their omission (e.g. the greater the distance the community is from the archive, the less likely it is that records will have made it into the collection). Similarly, the geographical distance of those involved in cinema production or exhibition meant they were often isolated from their colleagues working in other areas of the country. Meetings held in Glasgow or in Edinburgh (or even London) would have proven costly in terms of both time and money. As a result, voices from outside the central conurbations are likely to be absent from valuable resources of research such as the annual reports for the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association (CEA).

This paper will draw from the early stages of research into cinema in the North of Scotland (1927-1933), research that forms part of the larger AHRC project looking at British silent cinema and the transition to sound. For this paper, I will consider some of the challenges of researching cinemas outside the general radar of Scottish Cinema studies, comparing and contrasting the process of research through both national and local archives and datasets, and also taking into account both digital and analogue research methods. To help illustrate the potential of non-metropolitan film histories to furnish a more nuanced picture of cinema history, the paper will focus on the specific example of the research into the reception of British talkies throughout Scotland, looking in particular at the complex range of expressions of national identity that flourished in response to the films.

LARAINE PORTER • De Montfort University

'The Americanisation of England': Anti-American sentiment and the arrival of the 'Talkies' in Britain

The arrival of synchronised sound films in Britain between 1928 and 1930 gave rise to a considerable amount of anti-American sentiment despite the fact that Hollywood films had dominated the British box office since WWI and Hollywood silent films were intrinsic to popular culture and entertainment in Britain. In 1926, British films accounted for a mere 5% of screenings with only 37 films produced by British companies. The arrival of the Quota Act of 1927, designed to boost British production in the face of American dominance, succeeded in increasing British production but still allowed American companies to maintain dominance by exerting their influence over British studios.

However, it was with the arrival of the 'Talkies' – two Al Jolson vehicles *The Jazz Singer* (1927), but more emphatically with the extremely popular, *The Singing Fool* (1928), that anti-American sentiment and moral panics started to manifest themselves in local and national press; among critics, journalists and intellectuals as well as from within the wider professional, cinema and business communities.

A major concern was the adulteration of the English language along with random fears such as the deleterious influence on schoolboys attempting to emulate American slang, the threat to British cinema musicians, British stars, and more broadly British culture which was somehow felt to be particularly vulnerable with the arrival of Hollywood sound films. The coming of sound also curtailed some longstanding production relationships and distribution deals with Europe, especially Germany and France, as dubbing dialogue was not yet considered. Britain was felt to be the embattled frontier of the American invasion of Europe – the gateway to European colonisation. Anti-Americanism manifest in a range of sentiments that often sought to denounce American culture whilst calling for British subjects; history, heritage, established actors and authors, to step up to the mark, produce films and prevent British culture being obliterated.

Further to concerns about the swamping of British, or more specifically 'English' culture, British technology and industry was also felt to be under threat. Nascent British 'talkie' technology, with its own smaller-scale patented

inventions for combining image and sound, was all but subsumed by the Napoleonic tactics of big American companies like Western Electric.

This presentation will examine the nature of these moral, economic and cultural panics on local and national levels and in relation to all aspects of the industry, from business, and new technology to the perceived negative influences of American films themselves. Using a range of archival sources including newspapers, trade press and professional association reports and accounts, it will investigate how British national identity was considered under threat, not by silent Hollywood films but by new 'talking films' emanating from an inferior and populist culture. It will investigate how these panics ultimately gave voice to some deep-seated anxieties around race and racism (against Jazz, popular and Black music), class and the democratisation of popular American culture and a declining confidence in British manufacturing, technology and business.

PANEL F

Reconstructing Post-war Italian Audiences: New Perspectives and Methodological Challenges

This panel aims to employ a range of methodological approaches (empirical, spatial, computational, etc.) to the historical reconstruction of post-war Italian cinema. Borrowing tools from other disciplines, such as anthropology, human geography, economics, as well as engaging with new technological tools as network analysis, we will present new perspectives as well as the first findings of our research project on Italian Cinema Audiences in the 1950s.

DANIELLE HIPKINS • University of Exeter

'A World I thought was impossible': Rural audiences in Italy of the 1940s and 1950s.

They represented a world I thought was impossible': a Sardinian woman, growing up in a remote mining village in the 1950s, explains her youthful preference for US cinema. As urbanization gathered pace in 1950s Italy, mass waves of internal migration took a growing number of citizens away from rural life towards the cities. Cinema-going of this period has typically been analysed in the context of its burgeoning urban centres, although in 1951 over 40% of the working population was still agricultural. We are using data drawn from over 1000 questionnaires conducted across Italy to consider how cinema-going might have functioned differently in rural and urban areas. Although fewer rural respondents attended the cinema more than once a week, our figures show that the majority of them still went to the cinema at least once or twice a month, and that experience represents a largely unexamined chapter of Italian film history.

The line between the definition of rural and urban was blurred by the advent of cinema itself, since it presented the ideal pretext for a journey into the nearest town or city, thereby offering an insight into other possible worlds in more ways than one. Rural respondents are accordingly often self-conscious about their 'rural' status, particularly in the geographically outlying areas of Italy. These respondents emphasize the importance of cinema as an educational source, both constructing a sense of national identity, and revealing possible alternative worlds. We suggest that distinctive models of spectatorship emerged in this context, particularly in relation to stars, to whom rural audiences generally attribute less importance, as models towards which they aspire, rather than with whom they can identify. With half as frequent an access to first-run cinemas compared to town-dwellers, however, programming differences also altered the rural cinematic canon. Along with the greater influence of the Catholic Church, this may be one reason why fewer respondents, for example, express a preference for Neorealism.

Cinema emerges as a particular novelty for those in the country, and because of fewer alternative forms of entertainment, the experience was perhaps more of a prize. The less frequent nature of cinema-going in these areas occasionally gave cinema a different affective valency, rendering the process of memory formation itself different, since respondents can remain focussed on particular, unique experiences of film-viewing rather than the habitual. Nonetheless, as for urban audiences, memories of the physical environment of the cinema theatre itself often prevail, although it is with altered significance in this often more impoverished environment. The physical benefits of being able to gather around a stove in winter described by one correspondent provide a telling contrast with urban respondents' references to comfortable seats. By the end of the 1950s Italy's rural population had dropped by nearly half in some areas, but the cinema's role in that dwindling world, whilst less quotidian, was certainly more dramatic, and possibly even more influential, than its role in the cities.

JOHN SEDGWICK • University of Portsmouth Comparative filmgoing statistics in 1950s Italy.

An essential aspect of film history is the material conditions under which films (as commodities) are produced, sold and consumed. Within capitalist economies, the motives of agents are irrevocably tied up with the pursuit of surplus, which takes the form of the rate of return on investment. Risk in the industry is based upon the single condition that consumers pursue novelty: they need to discover what it is that they like, knowing they often come away from the movie experience disappointed. Accordingly, if consumers ex ante do not know fully what they want from movies, producers cannot know fully how best to please them. Thus, implicit in this risk process is the concept of the audience as consumers in search of novelty, and producers as innovators in search of an audience.

The film programme bundles together the elements described above: it constitutes the DNA of film as a commodity. Furthermore, the film programme is explicit to time and place and hence constitutes evidence from which

the film historian can do analysis. It is a vital piece of evidence, which enables the investigator to record directly the behaviour of the exhibitors of films and their audiences. From these micro foundations a framework can be built in which agency behaviour can be observed and scaled up into aggregates of locality, town, country, city centre, suburb, province, and territory - Clara Pafort Overduin's work on filmgoing in the Netherlands during the interwar period as an exhaustive example of what can be done in detailing exhibition and distribution arrangements, yielding important insights into the nature of society of that time.

Following an investigation into cinemagoing in Rome during the mid-1950s (Treveri-Gennari and Sedgwick – unpublished), this paper investigates whether the pattern of distribution and consumption identified in Rome, is replicated in the Northern city of Turin and the Southern city of Bari. The reason for thinking otherwise rests on the much poorer economic conditions found in Southern Italy at the time; a consequence of which was heavy migration from the South to the North. For instance, cinema expenditure per head in Bari in 1957 was only a little over half of that of Roma and Turin. Comparable statistics can be found for cinemas per head, admission prices and cinema visits. Thus, in investigating comparative cinemagoing habits, the question of whether different patterns of exhibition, distribution and consumer taste prevailed, or whether despite different economic circumstances, the Italian market had an integrated system of supply and shared unified taste preferences.

DANIELA TREVERI GENNARI • Oxford Brookes University

SILVIA DIBELTULO • Oxford Brookes University

Films' journeys across the city: distribution, exhibition and audiences' choices in 1950s Rome through network analysis.

This paper investigates how films travelled in 1950s Rome from first, second and third run cinemas by comparing national and foreign productions' journeys through different geographical areas of the city. We will be doing that by using the visualization software Palladio in order to carry out a network analysis of film circulation. As Marten Düring states, 'network visualisation is a useful means to explore patterns in complex interactions between any kind of group of actors, i.e. people, institutions, places' (From Hermeneutics to Data to Networks: Data Extraction and Visualization of Historical Sources). In our research, we will investigate the intricate relationships amongst film programming, Roman cinema theatres data, exhibitors and distributors, as well as box office figures.

This will provide a new understanding of what type of films were available to audiences in different neighbourhoods, but also what choices distributors and exhibitors made when compiling cinema programmes. If cinema theatres constituted different types of market for film consumption (especially in such a diversified structure like the one in Rome - where first, second and third run cinemas were widely available) and for revenue maximization, distributors and exhibitors must have made unambiguous choices, especially when they were in charge of several cinemas disseminated across the capital. Were Italian, American and other foreign films available to audiences in the same way in different geographical areas of the city? Did exhibitors in charge of a network of cinemas choose to show films of specific nationalities in specific locations? Could a film nationality have had an impact on the way it travelled across cinema runs and on the length of its showing in certain cinema theatres? Were foreign films other than American only shown in certain cinema runs? Grouping films according to geographical location, prestige, ticket prize, nationality, length of presence in a certain cinema, as well as taking into account exhibitors' external pressures and constraints in their decision making process has allowed new findings to emerge. As Lemercier (2011) claims, 'network analysis allows us to detect structures that might not be recognized by all actors involved in them, but whose shape still inform us about underlying social mechanisms'. In our context, mapping distribution of films' attributes (distributor, box office success, and provenance) and distribution of cinemas' attributes (total duration of showings, cinema runs, exhibitors) against the geographical space of Rome sheds light on underlying dynamics in place between cinema theatres and their programming strategies. The journeys films made across the Italian capital reveal not only the complex relationship between exhibitors, distributors, and audiences, but also the interrelation of film popularity and urban spaces.

CATHERINE O'RAWE • University of Bristol

Mapping Cinema Memories: Emotional Geographies of Cinema-going in Rome in the 1950s.

In a pilot for our AHRC project (2011) a sample of Roman respondents were interviewed on video about their memories of cinema-going in the period 1945-60. We have created a map that geotags and visualises the position of the cinemas attended by one of our respondents, Teresa, in relation to the area of Rome where she lived. We have also embedded verbal statements by Teresa about the significance of each cinema, as well as video clips where she discusses her memories of that cinema. Building on this preliminary activity, and bearing in mind the recent interest within audience and reception studies and cultural geography in GIS (Geographic Information Systems) and the ways in which 'the use of GIS in historical research on film and place [might] illuminate understandings of social and cultural memory' (Hallam and Roberts 2014: 8), this paper will investigate both the potential and the limits of this kind of mapping technique for capturing the 'affective geographies' of respondents. Cultural geographers now emphasise the importance of the affective and emotional dimensions of cartographic practices (see Caquard and Cartwright 2001) and underline the gendered assumptions underlying views of mapping as objective and totalising: Esbester, for example, notes that 'the idea that maps are objective writes gender and emotionality out of mapping' (2009: 35). How might we place Teresa's memories in dialogue with the map of Rome we produced in such a way that we acknowledge

maps and the spaces they relate to not as fixed and static (see Ravazzoli 2014a and 2014b) but as 'open and porous networks of social relations' (Massey 1994: 121)? How might thinking about women's mobility in 1950s Rome help us conceptualise the ways in which Teresa herself might have perceived the city, both as a series of localities anchored in specific affective sites and institutions (home, parish, church, school, *rione* or *quartiere*), and as a movement through time, as Teresa ventured farther afield as she grew older (here we are using Gustafson's (2001) framework for attributing meaning to places)? The past/present relationship is essential to consider when we think about attempts at mapping space: on the one hand, any attempt to reproduce Teresa's Rome of the 1950s has to acknowledge 'the simultaneous coexistence of social relations that cannot be conceptualized as other than dynamic' and 'the necessity of thinking in terms of space-time' (Massey 1992), while on the other the dynamic of memory and recollection is often geographically or topographically driven and layered over time. In conclusion, these 'emotional maps' can be 'ways of charting how people experience subjectively the spaces shown on geographic maps and showing emotions, bodies and relations in space' (Esbester 2009: 40). Our aim in this paper is to interrogate our own project, and what we might be hoping to ascertain from mapping Teresa's memories.

OPEN-CALL PAPERS

KAVEH ASKARI • Western Washington University Historiography of Failure and Iranian Cinema, 1968

Media historiography has always found meaning in failures, interruptions, and dead ends. Early cinema scholarship, in particular, has made clear that emergent media technologies and institutions have yielded far more disasters (some curious, some glorious) than successes, and that these glories or curiosities shape media history. While these periods of emergence were more contained in the early centers of film production in Europe and the US, as our scope broadens globally, chronologies become much more complicated. So something of early cinema scholars' curiosity about glorious disasters can become relevant for global cinemas of much later periods. The Iranian film industry, which established itself in a period of several radical policy shifts and a revolution, has one of the most interrupted chronologies in the world.

My paper will call attention to themes of failure in the archive of the Iranian new wave by focusing on a moment when the Iranian film industry might have developed in closer step with Hollywood. I will reconsider the career of foundational new-wave director Masoud Kimiai as inseparable from this false start in Iranian cinema's globalization. In the late 1960s, before the development reliable state sponsorship, and thus before the internationally recognized Iranian art cinema, the Iranian film industry attempted to globalize by other means. Using communication records from the National Film Archive in Tehran and production records from the Margaret Herrick Library, I will show how early players in the local film import business courted Hollywood personnel and infrastructure. The biggest of these was a film called The Heroes (Jean Negulesco, 1968), which boasted a proper Hollywood budget and hybrid cast and crew from the industries of Hollywood, Iran, and England. The film mobilized Paramount executives, David Rockefeller, Cahiers du Cinéma critics, Tehran exhibitors, and the Shah and Prime Minister of Iran. Perhaps because of their grand and diverse ambitions, The Heroes ultimately bore the unsightly traces of its designby-committee. Its failure has obscured the way these connections with Hollywood accelerated the careers of several filmmakers who would thrive in the 1970s. Masoud Kimiai began as an assistant director on Heroes. His career is enmeshed with this cinema's early attempt to globalize, and so are the characters in his films. They continually look back to the 1950s and 1960s, when second-hand prints of Hollywood films circulated on Iranian screens and in personal collections. Kimiai's films heralded the new by dwelling on failure and the lament for a lost past. His compulsion to look back to cinematic pasts not realized, which continued throughout his career, point to a methodological key for understanding similar regional film movements, not as narratives of organic emergence, but as periods of continual crossing.

DANIEL BILTEREYST • Ghent University

LIES VAN DE VIJVER • Ghent University & Antwerp University

Sex in the city: The rise of soft-erotic film culture in Cinema Leopold, Ghent, 1945-1954

Since the 1990s, film studies saw a disciplinary shift from approaches favoring a textual and ideological analysis of films to a broader understanding of the socio-cultural history of cinema under the banner of new cinema history. This turn not only allowed for 'niche' research domains to flourish such as film economics or cinema memory research, or for new empirical and critical methodologies to be applied to film and cinema history. This change in researching and writing film/cinema history also shed light on previously marginalized, neglected or uncharted film cultures and histories, burgeoning scholarship in for instance (s)exploitation cinema.

This contribution examines a peculiar part of post-war local film culture in the Belgian city of Ghent, more precisely the one around the city-center soft-erotic cinema *Cinema Leopold* (1945-54). The research is based on a programming and box-office database compiled from archival sources and contextualized by other data (internal and external correspondence, posters,...) coming from the business archive of Octave Bonnevalle, *Cinema Leopold*'s

founding pater familias (material kept in the State Archives of Belgium; RAB/B70/1928-1977). The database now contains information on 625 film titles shown between 1945 and 1954, out of which 233 were unidentified (due to lack of information). Although the database is at times crippled by source inconsistencies, it is extremely rich in documenting the everyday practices of a cinema that gradually turned into a soft-erotic movie theater.

The database allows for some remarkable findings concerning shifts in the origin of films, their production years, genres, censorship and popularity. The key finding is that *Cinema Leopold* started out after the Second World War with a child-friendly, mainstream Hollywood-oriented film program, as did most cinemas in Ghent, but its profile slowly tilted towards more mature audiences and provocative film genres. These included French 'risqué' feature films containing some forms of nudity like *Perfectionist/Un Grand Patron* (Ciampi, 1951) and documentaries on venereal diseases like the successful Austrian *Creeping Poison/Schleichendes Gift* (Wallbrück, 1946), but also auteur movies such as Bergman's *Port of Call/Hamnstad* (1948) were shown. It is interesting how *Leopold* walked a fine line between innovative, bold European art-house cinema, soft-erotic 'didactic' movies and flat-out commercial soft-porn. By 1954, Leopold had gathered a loyal crowd, which kept the cinema alive until 1981 despite the several law suits and trials. This micro-history offers a remarkable example of the post-war flourishing of alternative, yet profit-driven cinema circuits, riddled with media controversies and censorship.

JULIA BOHLMANN . University of Glasgow

Early Municipal Cinema in Scotland: Socialist Agitation or Civic Entertainment? – The case of Kirkintilloch, 1914-1923 Kirkintilloch, a small town to the North East of Glasgow, pioneered the first consistent municipal cinematograph scheme in Scotland, offering cheap and regular moving picture shows in the town hall between 1914 and 1923. The

scheme in Scotland, offering cheap and regular moving picture shows in the town hall between 1914 and 1923. The period after the First World War witnessed the establishment of a number of comparable projects across Scotland, for example in Montrose, Clydebank and Dunoon. But none served as long as the municipal cinema in Kirkintilloch. The project was set up by three town councillors, the most driven among them Thomas Johnston, founder of Scotland's leading socialist newspaper of the day, the *Forward*, and local Independent Labour Party representative. His association with Kirkintilloch's municipal cinema raises questions about its ideological intent and function.

This paper seeks to unearth the political, economic and civic function of the municipal cinema in Kirkintilloch and aims to contextualize the results in view of similar projects emerging across Scotland after the First World War. A full run of the local newspaper *The Kirkintilloch Herald* for the period under consideration means that such an indepth analysis of its exhibition practices and local reception is possible. The cinema's reception, the negotiation of its local function and its relationship with the commercial picture house will be examined through an analysis of weekly advertisements and reviews of the municipal cinema and its local rivals, the Pavilion Picture House and the Black Bull Cinema. This will be accompanied by a discussion of Johnston's career as a local councillor in particular, and the ideological connection of municipal cinema to the Labour movement in general.

It will be argued that the municipal cinema's intended function was political and has to be seen in association with the contemporary notion of municipal socialism promoted by Labour politicians such as Johnston. On the other hand, the cinema evolved to play an important civic role, a role that was constantly negotiated with the audience and in relation to its commercial rivals. In this civic role, the municipal cinema seemed to have drawn more on Presbyterian notions of community participation than on socialist principles.

CHARLOTTE BRUNSDON • University of Warwick RICHARD WALLACE • University of Warwick

The End of Cinema? The View From the Projection Box (double paper)

These papers introduce 'The Projection Project', a major AHRC funded project at the University of Warwick led by Professor Charlotte Brunsdon. The project identifies the film projectionist as a frequently forgotten key mediator in changing exhibition practices and seeks to solicit, research and document 'the projectionist's story' as a way of understanding contemporary transformations in the audio-visual landscape. We are using a range of methods, including archival research, oral history, photography, close textual analysis of films and exhibition contexts to consider the history and future of cinema from the point of view of projection. The design of our project – most notably its methodological hybridity - proposes a series of engagements with the topic of this HOMER conference, 'What is Cinema History', and in this presentation we will introduce the project and present findings and conceptual issues from our first year's work.

The presentations – which will take forty minutes, the time of two individual papers – will be organised in three parts. Charlotte Brunsdon will introduce the project in the first part, discussing its aims, design and methodological choices. In the second part of the presentation, Dr Richard Wallace, the Research Fellow on the project, will report on his interviews with projectionists and former projectionists about their jobs with particular reference to the transition to digital within the cinema industry. Initial research suggested that cinema projectionists can be the source of rich, nuanced recollection of local cinema cultures. The interviews have, therefore, been undertaken in selected geographical regions including the West Midlands, the North East, and the South West and Bristol, so as to maximise the density and detail of the collected accounts of the digital transition.

The interviews reveal a complicated relationship between the projectionists interviewed and the technology

that they use. In particular, discussions of the relative merits of different projection technologies are filled with contradictions and tensions. This section of the paper will highlight projectionists' personal stories of the moment of transition, and these accounts will be used to draw out some of the key discursive and rhetorical positions adopted by the speakers in relation to specific projection technologies. These oral histories contain a series of accounts that explore not just the history of cinema projection systems, nor simply the history of cinema projectionists, but the intertwining of the two. The research method itself, therefore, allows us to access the human and personal aspects that are central to this technological history, but which might not be reachable through other historical methods.

In the final part of the presentation, we will reflect on some of methodological and historiographical issues that have arisen so far, and how these relate to the theme of the conference, 'What is cinema history?' This theme will be further explored in relation to some of the less conventional methodological partnerships of the project, most notably with the photographer Richard Nicholson and the annual Flatpack Festival in Birmingham.

JON BURROWS • University of Warwick

The Butcher, the Baker and the Bioscope Speculator: Occupational Backgrounds of Cinema Entrepreneurs in Britain, 1906-1914

In 1937 the Marxist sociologist F.D. Klingender and documentary filmmaker Stuart Legg published Money Behind the Screen, a statistical investigation of company ownership and finance in the contemporary British film industry, principally comprising data concerning company directors and shareholders and their commercial backgrounds, as contained in the registers of active businesses then held by the Board of Inland Revenue at Somerset House. Such information was felt to be an aspect of the film industry 'of great social importance', according to John Grierson, who commissioned the study, but the subsequent influence of this book has been negligible, and similar forms of analysis have rarely been attempted since. The paper I am proposing represents a return to the Klingender-Legg methodology for the purpose of gathering and analysing demographic information about the people who created and ran the film exhibition industry in Britain between 1906 and 1914. The paper will present aggregated data concerning over 5,600 people who acted as cinema company directors in this period. By marked contrast to the situation uncovered in the 1930s, it will show that in this early phase of development cinema entrepreneurship increasingly exercised a particular attraction to men who were involved in sectors of the Edwardian economy facing recession or long-term decline, and dispersed from the geographical heart of that economy. It will further argue that the escalation of the Edwardian cinema boom can be closely linked to the satirical discourse of 'Pooterism': i.e., the extensively debated status crisis being experienced by lower middle class businessman and white collar workers, and the perceived need for remedial action to maintain and expand their cultural and commercial spheres of influence.

LUCIE ČESÁLKOVÁ • Masaryk University

"Short Film" as a Challenge for History of Film Exhibition and Non-Theatrical Film Studies

During my previous research I mostly dealt with a topic of "short film" as a rather unrecognised discursive term, used mainly in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, to cover a variable range of utility film formats (advertising, educational, industrial, instructional, sponsored film, etc.). The concept of short film, however, offers not only a challenge for documentary film history or the useful cinema approach, but also a challenge for film distribution and exhibition studies as a barely analysed corpus of data. Hidden in the shadow of popular entertainment, short films and its exhibition strategies can significantly broaden our current idea about what films people saw, where, and why.

In my presentation I would like to map various non-theatrical venues which I've encountered during my research (film screenings in schools, museums, cultural houses, factories, collective farms, gyms, spas, hospitals, trains, at the airport, etc.), distinguish them according to their institutional background, technical equipment and programming strategies, and justify a thesis, that the most powerful and appropriate way to study non-theatrical film is not through case studies of specific exhibition practices, but as more complex socio-cultural phenomenon related both to short film's functions and to reasons and consequences of development of small gauge film projection and portable film projection equipment in general.

At the end, I would like to point out methodological difficulties (and challenges) related with non-theatrical film research (lack of data in general: partial programming data, uncertain traces from oral histories, etc.), as well as analysis and interpretation, and present several methodological solutions.

DENIS CONDON • Maynooth University Commemorating Irish Cinema of the 1910s

New cinema history concepts and research methods help to illuminate cinema's role in Ireland's revolutionary decade of the 1910s. New cinema history's orientation away from textual film history, its focus on audiences and its openness to methods originating in such disciplines as geography are particularly useful in examining cinema in a country experiencing rapid social change but peripheral to the centres of film production and distribution. Such a consideration is particularly timely as the years 2012-2021 mark a significant and extended period of public remembrance in Ireland. Officially designated as the Decade of Centenaries (DOC), this period encompasses the centenaries of the significant events that led to the end of British rule in what after 1921 became the Irish Free State,

at the expense of partitioning those 32 counties from the 6 northern counties that remained in the United Kingdom as Northern Ireland. However, the role of cinema has been little studied in relation to the DOC, despite the fact that this was also the period in which cinema developed from what initially appeared to be a short-lived entertainment craze into the medium that would dominate the 20th century. Although the few newsreel or topical films of significant events have long been used cinematically and televisually to narrate the history of this period, few attempts have been made to provide even a film history that locates these images in the context of the institution in which they were originally produced, exhibited and consumed. Rarer still are cinema historical analyses that are not focused on films. Despite the fact that the effects of social history have been manifest in the concerted effort to orientate DOC commemoration towards the lives and experiences of ordinary people, very little research has been done on the effects on the Irish population of the increasing ubiquity after 1911 not only of moving pictures but the picture houses at which they were available. This paper will discuss how the tools and techniques of the new cinema history might address these issues.

MALCOLM COOK • Middlesex University and Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts Animated cartoon distribution in Britain 1917 – 1921

Kristin Thompson's *Exporting Entertainment: America in the World Film Market* 1907-34 (1985), a history of the growth to dominance of American film companies, provides valuable context and a model for understanding the changes in British film distribution during and immediately after the First World War. Yet the implications of Thompson's findings and the wider application of her approach have not been explored in this area. Furthermore, Thompson does not discuss particular types of film and describes in only limited terms the impact these economic conditions had on the production of films, both tasks she identifies for future research. This paper will present a preliminary application of the quantitative methods Thompson demonstrates to understand the changing patterns of distribution of a particular type of film, consider the repercussions of its findings for our understanding of the production of those films, and reflect upon the benefits and limitations of this methodology.

The animated cartoon, distinct from the later term 'animation', was recognised and institutionalised as a genre of filmmaking by both industry and audiences in Britain during the period Thompson describes. Prior to 1914 this genre was not categorised and very few films could be retrospectively given this name. By 1917 trade paper The Bioscope commented that 'no programme can be considered complete which cannot find occasional space for one of these highly ingenious forms of artistic entertainment'. During the war local production was the primary source of this genre on British screens, but in the post-war period British production dropped to almost zero and American films became dominant. Determining the historical causality and more precise chronology of this rapid and complex shift is challenging due to the number of factors involved. These include the innovation of animation techniques, the aesthetic goals and criteria of filmmakers and critics, the increasing control of the world film market by American companies, and the broader social and political context of the First World War. By using a quantitative method applied to data derived from trade press this paper will aim to clarify the reasons for these changes and their timeline. In doing so, this paper will consider how quantitative methods can support archival research and other historiographical methodologies in answering key questions about this period. It will conclude by discussing the challenges and limitations of the approach used here.

SCOTT CURTIS • Northwestern University

Film Historiography and the Challenges of Expert Filmmaking

In the 30 years since the publication of Allen and Gomery's *Film History: Theory and Practice*, the focus of film studies has widened to include not only other types of moving-image media and platforms, but also kinds of content that do not fall comfortably within the usual fictional/ documentary/ experimental rubrics. Specifically, much nontheatrical film troubles the familiar economic, industrial, aesthetic, or biographical historiographic categories. Many moving images that would fit under the nontheatrical umbrella were made without strong economic motives, ties to the traditional film industry, or overt aesthetic considerations; in fact, many films even lack stable connections to particular historical agents. Instead, many of these films were made by expert groups for specific tasks within their community or discipline. How do we come to grips with these films? What do we need to know in order to make sense of them within a history of film?

This presentation argues first that as we venture ever more bravely into the field of the nontheatrical, we will increasingly confront films made by expert groups, such as scientists, physicians, engineers, educators, etc. Despite their often specialized nature, these films represent a considerable percentage of nontheatrical content, which film and media studies has up to now only sampled. This presentation will further argue that such films represent a challenge to our usual historiographic approaches in that they require 1) a deep understanding of disciplinary agendas in order to understand any expert group's appropriation of film, and 2) an approach that emphasizes not style so much as patterns of use. When we are faced with a scientific or medical research film, for example, its filmic style matters less than its function within multiple contexts (e.g., exploration, documentation, education). Moreover, it seems obvious that we need to know what this technology brought to the research question, and how the use of the technology fit within experimental and representational systems (that is, how the film fit with other technologies within the laboratory). Only a fairly deep immersion into the other discipline can address these historiographic challenges.

Of course, we needn't take up this challenge at all, given that we usually became film historians rather than scientists or historians of science for good reasons. But I would argue that we surrender a great opportunity if we ignore this area of filmmaking. Not only are these films more prevalent than it may appear—nearly every laboratory on the planet uses moving images as a matter of course these days—but if we can demonstrate the importance of moving images on the questions asked, the agendas promoted, or even the researcher's conception of his or her object of study, then we can claim a major victory for our discipline. So this presentation will explore the historiographic challenges and opportunities that expert (especially scientific) filmmaking presents.

KAREL DIBBETS • University of Amsterdam/CinemaContext.nl The Evergreens of Film History.

This paper will discuss the role of aging movies in film exhibition and distribution before 1940. It is a demonstration of a data-driven approach in which the historical questions are provoked by the discovery of unusual patterns in data collections, not the other way around. A special case are the films that remained in circulation for many years: the evergreens which would never receive a mention in a top ten of popular films or in a canon of artistic merit. The paper analyzes the age distribution of films in exhibition, or the changing mix of old and new films in the general film supply over the years. It also studies the track record of obsolete films in relation to the circulation and programming of films, the hierarchy of cinemas, and the role of distributors. The opposite of the evergreen is the mayfly film which fails to be exhibited for more than a few weeks in its entire lifespan. The mayfly movie appears to be an almost invisible but persistent and substantial feature of film exhibition and distribution. To argue my case I'll use the data collection of Cinema Context www.cinemacontext.nl, a massive trove of information about local film programmes in the Netherlands in the past.

KATE EGAN • Aberystwyth University

'The Film that was Banned in Harrogate': Local Censorship, Local Newspapers, and Monty Python's Life of Brian

Research on the history of British film censorship has tended to focus, primarily, on national regulation and controversy despite acknowledgement that local authorities often wield significant powers in regulating what is exhibited at public cinemas. This paper aims to consider how particular issues and questions might be of particular relevance to historical work focused on local film censorship in the UK, and of central importance to a fuller understanding of British film controversies and censorship. To date, the only detailed academic studies of local film censorship in the UK have focused on local film regulation between 1930-39 (Lewis 2002), and on the work of two local councils (Sale and Manchester) in the 1950s and 1960s (Hally 2012). The research presented in this paper will reflect on some of the key issues raised when exploring censorship at a local level in the late 1970s (a period in which tensions between local and national censorship bodies were particularly marked), and will do so through an exploration of the distinctive and revealing case study of the local censorship of *Monty Python's The Life of Brian*.

In August 1979, the British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) decided to grant Monty Python's The Life of Brian an 'AA' certificate without cuts. However, from early November 1979 (just prior to and during the film's premiere in London), a number of local councils in the UK over-rode these recommendations from the BBFC, and, by mid-1980, thirty-nine councils had banned Brian from their constituencies. Consequently, and as Sian Barber (2011) has illustrated, this flurry of local activity, controversy and debate around Life of Brian during this period led to the film becoming an incredibly illuminating test case for the effectiveness and function of local film censorship in the UK at the tail end of the 1970s (a decade when the 'permissive society' was seen to open the door to critical attitudes towards authority and national identity). Drawing on Annette Kuhn's arguments in Cinema, Censorship and Sexuality (1988) and local newspaper debate from areas of the UK where Life of Brian was banned, this paper will consider how the local controversies around the film could be seen to have a number of productive consequences. In particular, it will relate such consequences to what Bob Franklin and David Murphy consider to be a key function of the local press: the promotion of a 'local patriotism' (1991: 9). From disseminating information on censorship guidelines and alternative screening venues, to serving as a key platform for public discussion on film bans and their relation to civic pride, promotion and tourism, this paper will consider how local newspapers can serve as a central resource for tracing the shifting relations between film controversies and the cultural reputations of local areas (whether town, city or county) in the UK from the 1970s to the present.

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SUSANNE ELLIS • Grimsby Libraries and Archives

PHYLL SMITH • University of East Anglia

Chocolate Sellers, Clerks and Movie Palaces in a Subordinate Industry: Women's work and descriptions of cinema in the 1911 census

The recent release and digitization of the 1911 census gives historians a snapshot register of working roles in Britain and, unlike previous census data, does so largely in the words (and handwriting) of the people it describes. This census is also the first to record a semi formed cinema industry, using the terms its employees themselves chose.

The terms which the 5,000+ individuals engaged in the cinema industry – one fifth women by the census' own demographic breakdown – chose to describe themselves and their industry are enlightening, as a description of the cinema vocabulary of 1911 – terms one may have thought commonplace, and are accepted terms for the period by many media historians are largely absent while other terms usually ascribed to later periods find a nascent place here.

Beyond this, the census – an official government document, which one is compelled to complete, and which marks one's place in The Official Record, and in history, is used by many to establish ones social and cultural capital, and the way in which the new industry of cinema is used to do this is enlightening in terms of cinema and gender history.

The census then reveals both statistical and more qualitative individual data, with some people making very definite political statements (inscribing their papers 'VOTES FOR WOMEN', or listing as an infirmity 'not enfranchised') while others used their job descriptions, particularly in the cinema, to define their own social status in the cinema workspace (through job demarcation, and the types of products they handle), and within theatrical and showground family firms, with a perhaps predictable demarcation between men defining themselves as theatre and theatrical showmen, and women citing cinema and specific technical and service roles connected to the new, exciting and modern, industry.

The census both reveals details of previously unknown workers in cinema exhibition and production, and gives an insight into how well known cinema figures classified and described themselves and their roles. As such it offers the opportunity to rediscover and analyse the labour of lost cinema workers and practitioners, while contextualising and personalising the roles of known figures.

This paper outlines both the difficulties in using this digital database – which was produced for genealogical use – to analyze the demographic data for which it was originally collated (the industrial sector data codes having not been included in the dataset), while highlighting how informative it can be, an how it can be used to supplement other existing data bases and archives both physical and digital.

NEZIH ERDOĞAN • Istanbul Şehir University

Film history and historiography in Turkey: a new beginning?

In the introductory part of this paper I will open by giving an outline of the paradigmatic shift in the film history and historiography in Turkey. Film scholars' growing interest in film history has developed a critical look as well as new perspectives in defining the areas of research and teaching in film studies. The recent publications call into question the once prevailing nationalistic approach to the early years of cinema in a multiethnic country, namely the Ottoman world, and the obsessive tendency to go back to the origins. I will then move on to giving an account of the current endeavours in this connection: 1) curriculum development in transition; 2) the rise in the number of research projects aiming to make archives, searchable databases available to scholars, and eventually 3) the rise in the number of film events (festivals, conferences); 4) exhibitions and publications. I will conclude by giving an overview and the implications for international aspects of these developments.

TALITHA GOMES FERRAZ • Capes Foundation - University of Ghent

The case of the Cinecarioca Nova Brasília favela movie theater in the Leopoldina suburb of Rio de Janeiro: Democratization of cinema access?

This paper investigates the communicative processes and sociabilities related to the practices of cinema exhibitions and cinemagoing in the urban context of the Leopoldina area, a rail suburb of Rio de Janeiro. In the past, the neighborhoods of this region were home to many great station cinemas, which is how we call the movie theaters that used to exist opposite of train stations in the 20th century. However, in the present-day reality of a poor neighborhood, collective access to films in movie theaters is a difficult leisure practice. The Leopoldina suburb does not have any local street cinemas with a daily program, except for the Cinecarioca Nova Brasília, a popular movie theater in the Complexo do Alemão slum, near Leopoldina's neighborhoods such as Penha, Olaria, Ramos and Bonsucesso. We examine how this initiative of democratizing access to audiovisual and films presently unfolds in the region through the experience of cinema in the favela.

 of the Complexo do Alemão and teachers in municipal schools of Rio de Janeiro. The low ticket price is supported by a government grant that allows the Cinemagic exhibition company to operate this cinema. The cinema exhibits international blockbusters and commercial Brazilian films, which is the main criticism that the independent cinema sector has about the project.

In light of this, the paper examines the kind of governmental activity in the case of Cinecarioca Nova Brasília, a project that is part of a program of the major of Rio de Janeiro and the state's cinema company Riofilme. The Cinecarioca program is active in reopening and inaugurating cinemas in poorer areas of Rio, in a relationship between public and private bodies, providing cultural and cinematic life in poor regions.

Thus, starting from conversations with informants and archival research, we explore how people use such collective leisure equipments and if the goals of democratizing are a reality or succumb to the entrepreneurial mentality of the government's actions. In the same way, we examine to which extent the presence or absence of street cinemas, with different profiles, is linked to different urban solutions, participating in the occupation of space and the production of sociability in the Leopoldina area.

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ENRIQUE FIBLA GUTIERREZ • Concordia University

The forgotten avant-garde: transnational amateur cinema cultures of the 1930's

In 1935 the first international congress of amateur cinema was held in Sitges, (Spain) coinciding with the celebration of the IV international amateur film contest hosted in Barcelona. Amateur cinema had been growing in importance in the years prior to the congress, with the consolidation of organizations such as the Catalan Amateur Club, the Amateur Cinema League of the USA, the French Federation of Amateur film clubs, the Nederlandische Smalfilmliga, and similar organizations from other countries such as Belgium or Japan. Born as a bourgeois hobby related with leisure and tourist exploration, it soon evolved into a full-fledged alternative cinema movement, with a marked transnational spirit.

In this paper I analyze the nature and historical importance of these amateur cinema movements of the 1930's, a forgotten and neglected history of cinema production and circulation. I argue that it was historically as important as the avant-garde and Marxist cinema cultures of the time, with which it was in constant conversation as an alternative space to commercial cinema and as a pedagogic enterprise. Moreover, the aim of the paper is to explore how cinema history can be expanded and rethought from a micro historical perspective, directing our attention to a series of local non-professional cultural histories that were connected through international circuits from very early on.

Starting from the Spanish context, I will trace the transnational connections created by the different movements, from the beginning of the 1930's until the military conflicts (Spanish civil war and WWII) that put an abrupt end to many of these initiatives. My methodology will be primarily based on archival work, with a comparison of several magazines that were edited by many of these amateur movements (such as the Catalan "Cinema Amateur", the French "Cine Amateur" or the American "Movie Maker"), as well as other amateur-related activities such as cineclubs, seminars, congresses, contests, etc. Ultimately, I want to show the dimension and importance of an overlooked cultural history that exemplifies how cinema history can be redrawn by looking back, just in different places than usual.

IAN GOODE • University of Glasgow

Film, cinema and non-theatrical historiography: rural cinema-going in the post-war Highlands and Islands of Scotland

Following Annette Kuhn's suggestion that memories of cinema-going tended to be 'less about films and stars than about daily and weekly routines, neighbourhood comings and goings and organising spare time' (Kuhn, 2002, 100). One of the consequences of this suggestion and the recent emergence of new cinema history is that films are not a primary concern of this new history following HoMER's privileging of questions of moviegoing, exhibition, and reception. But perhaps what is new about this turn is a desire to pose the question of 'how can cinema history matter more' and to challenge the tendency of film studies to privilege textual analysis and the aesthetic questions and interpretive criticism that comes out of this approach (Maltby & Stokes 2007).

However, it is clear that in the seminal work of Allen and Gomery filmic evidence was a key constituent of the historiography set out in *Film History: Theory and Practice* (Allen & Gomery, 1985). This apparent variance between film history and new cinema history underlies the query of this paper which asks - what might the role of film be in cinema historiography and historical research that are not concerned with aesthetics?

One of the recurring features of the recollections of audiences and film operators' experiences of the non-theatrical mobile cinema provided by the Highlands and Islands Film Guild in the post-war years, is the influence of the

often improvised exhibition space where the 16-mm film was projected on the cinema-going experience that is remembered. This tends to suggest that the contribution of the film and the film programme to this experience is lessened and of secondary importance. However, for the institution that organised this non-commercial cinema service the careful selection of films into programmes was an instrumental means of improving cultural amenities and countering long standing depopulation.

This paper will draw on a range of sources to query the role of film in the historiography of this local case study and suggest that while cinema-going memories might not always recollect particular films it cannot be assumed that films do not always not matter to the history of this other cinema and to the rural communities that experienced it.

FRANK GRAY • University of Brighton

Early Cinema Histories and the Rise of Dominant Narratives

This paper addresses the relationships between the history of early cinema, the production of the first histories of early cinema and their use. Talbot's *Moving Pictures: How they are Made and Worked* of 1912 represents an early attempt to construct a history of the cinema from a British perspective. It established the now familiar master narrative associated with the origins of the cinema by plotting a linear history from pre-cinema (the zoetrope, Reynaud to Muybridge) through to the early experiments found across Europe around 1890 and finally to the major pioneers in the United States, Britain and France. After Talbot, early histories of world cinema from the 1920s and 1930s would display either little or no interest in the British history. Ramsaye's *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture* of 1926 was the first significant American history of world cinema. It works to recast the story told by Talbot as a history of American innovation and enterprise. What unifies the work of both Talbot and Ramsaye is that they both expressed the popular nature of the medium and the needs of a perceived readership within particular marketplaces who were assumed to be interested in intriguing stories about the new medium. These first histories of the cinema were very nationalistic in character and relied on generalisations, assertions and a complete disregard for the structured use of primary and secondary sources. More importantly, they were essentialist in character as they defined moving pictures as a very particular and exclusive area of cultural and commercial activity.

There are important intellectual questions not only about early cinema histories such as these but also and more importantly the study of early cinema. How do we define the nature, territory and the borders of this field given that it intersects with the multiple histories of film, screen and photo-chemical technologies, film production & film form, exhibition practices (including the rise of cinemas), reception & audiences, industry & institutions and personalities (actors and directors). It can also be stretched longitudinally in order to be positioned as a particular phenomenon within screen history & practice (from magic lantern to film) and has significant inter-relationships with a wide range of cognate histories such as theatre, performance, literature, narrative, art & design as well as relevant social, cultural and economic histories. There are also issues that emerge through a consideration of not only how and why particular histories are created but also of their use and legacy. The concept of dominant history becomes very relevant as it refers to the hegemonic process whereby an historical perspective becomes dominant and can even predominate through its citation and reiteration across a range of histories and reference works over a period of time.

OUTI HUPANIITTU • University of Helsinki

Mismatching National historiography and the Fluctuating Currents of the First World War – Critical Reading of the Late 1910s Finnish Cinema and the Two Collapsing Empires

The paper discusses how the concepts of national history are intentionally constructed and upheld by focusing on the notions about the Finnish cinema in the late 1910s. On the one hand will be discussed how the national history of Finnish cinema has been interpreted: what have been the "acceptable ingredients" been interwoven within the narrative, what have been left out and discarded. By these, the light is shed to how the notions of nationality have effected and even distorted our apprehension of the past.

Traditionally, in the national historiography of Finnish cinema, the late 1910s have been seen as a time when nothing happened as the Russian Empire – the villain of the story – had smothered all activity. All in all, the time before the Finnish Independence (1917) has been seen as an undeveloped and unimportant era. The ideas of stagnation and the rudimentary nature of the operations have served the occurrences of the early 1920s that have been construed as the time of "the emergence of the nationalistic Finnish cinema", with the industry rising like a phoenix from the ashes. What have been left out are the buzzing activities of the 1900s and 1910s as well as the Finno-German relations of late 1910s played a much more prominent role in the process than the Russian oppression.

The effects of the traditional interpretation have been far-reaching. During the last decades, studies have pointed out that the early Finnish cinema should not be disparaged, but still, it is not difficult to find statements declaring it having been "modest", "undeveloped" or "diminutive" in its operations. In some of these interpretations, the operations of import, distribution and exhibition were deemed even smaller and more inconsequential than the production. Why these interpretations remained strong decade after decade have and what sort of picture of the history of Finnish film do they construe?

GRAZIA INGRAVALLE • University of St Andrews

Film Curatorship as Film History Writing: Film Exhibition and Historiography at the EYE Film Institute and the Eastman House

Whatever the periodization we might adopt in the study of cinema's history, cinema as a cultural and artistic expression, and a social and historical object of study, has seen multiple technological "breaks" and institutional transitions. Some of these changes in the modes of moving images circulation and consumption, such as the coming of sound and the "digital revolution," have been understood as proper historical turning points. In particular, the ongoing digitisation of film production, distribution, and preservation, today provides a vantage point from which we can retrospectively look back at the history of cinema's past and interrogate its many narratives.

This paper focuses on the historical narratives fostered by film heritage institutions, such as film museums and archives, as sites of mediation between cinema's different temporalities. Through different exhibition strategies – including film programming, restorations, digitisations, and online archival distribution platforms – and curatorial stances, these institutions present films as historical documents and artefacts, advancing particular historiographic discourses. I aim to analyse comparatively two recent exhibition projects at the EYE Film Institute Netherlands (EYE) and at the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film (GEH), highlighting the kind of historical understanding of cinema they underpin.

EYE's and GEH's curators have had the merit of theorising the role of films in museums and the changing function of film museums in the digital age, and defined their strategies respectively as "crowd-curatorship" and "film museum as fine art museum." I look, on one hand, at EYE's "Celluloid Remix" platform for remixing early film digital samples and, on the other, at GEH's nitrate film festival, the "Nitrate Picture Show." This paper addresses the ways in which the objects of display, the specific film prints or film fragments, and their exhibition technology are "emplotted" into particular historical narratives that advance new film historiographies in the digital age.

EYE's "Celluloid Remix" platform invites users to explore and recombine early film samples by virtue of digital media' operability and widespread attractiveness. "Crowd-curatorship" promotes remix as historical investigation and discourse within an anti-linear and anti-teleological historiographic framework. By contrast, the "Nitrate Picture Show" presents nitrate films as unique and rare artefacts to a selected public, highlighting their specific aesthetic and material qualities. GEH's tragic rhetoric depicts a history marked by inevitable disappearances and amnesias – one in which the Museum plays a role of guardian of (analogue) film's survival against digital cannibalisation.

This paper understands film curatorship as a practice of film history writing and aims at foregrounding the many intersections between scholarly research in the fields of cinema history and historiography, on one hand, and archival work, on the other.

VICTORIA JACKSON • University of Bristol BREGT LAMERIS • Utrecht University

Historical Sensation, Digital Mimicry and the Negotiation of History Through Digital Reproduction

The development of digitization projects such as the Media History Digital Library, Hathitrust and Newspapers.com are making available to the film historian ever increasing quantities of searchable digitized primary material. This proliferation of material allows researchers instant access to a huge volume of primary sources, not only conventional sources such as trade and fan journals but also to non-film industry related material including newspapers and books. Thus researchers gain access to a volume of material that would be impossible to examine in person and sources they would be unlikely to encounter.

However, historians are also problematizing the use of digital sources. Richard Abel for example, explains that with digital sources he misses the feeling of *having been there*. This phrase, which of course reminds us of Barthes' *ça-a-été* [it-has-been-there], was introduced by Carolyn Steedman and refers to the physical presence of the historian in the archive. She argues that this *having been there* is what gives the historian authority, since this touching and breathing of the sources is the only way one can be moved and dictated by the historical material (Abel, 2013; Steedman, 2001).

This debate is similar to one that started in the 1990s, on the value of nitrate prints vis-à-vis new preservation prints on acetate material. Questions such as how can we preserve the aura of the 'original' nitrate print, and can we actually reproduce the experience of a nitrate projection were asked. This resulted, for example, in found footage films, preservations of damaged and decomposing nitrate prints and events such as the 2000 FIAF conference *This Film is Dangerous* in London. For this paper we would like to draw a comparison between the earlier debate on nitrate film prints and the currently emerging doubts on the uses of digital sources to ask the question: would a digital mimicry of this *having been there* allow us to be better historians?

We will investigate if touching the material sources is really necessary to be 'touched' by history. To understand other ways of how historians can experience immediate contact to the past, we will use Johan Huizinga's term 'historical sensation' (Huizinga, 1948). Further, we will ask the question is it really necessary to produce such a sensation in order to be a good historian? Here we will consider the new possibilities digitisation offers, and if in fact digitisation can create new forms of historical sensation. We will conclude by outlining our ideas for how these

concepts of *having been there* and *historical sensation* can be employed in the presentation of digitised source materials to enrich the historian's engagement with it.

To illustrate this we will draw on our research for the Leverhulme Trust project: *Colour in the 1920s: Cinema and Its Intermedial Contexts*. The project investigates major spheres of colour expression in European and U.S. motion pictures of the 1920s. It seeks to contextualise colour's intermedial role in other arts, in order to produce a fully comprehensive, comparative study situating colour cinema within the chromatic culture of its time.

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ROBERT JAMES • University of Portsmouth

'Mapping cinema culture in Portsmouth's sailortown in the early-twentieth century'

This paper analyses local cinema-going habits in the naval town of Portsmouth, evaluating the role the popular leisure pastime had, or was expected to have, on the town's naval and civilian populations in the early twentieth century. Utilising cinema advertisements in the local press to identify film booking patterns, this paper maps out cinema-going trends to reveal how closely consumers' tastes were predicated on their social and cultural identities. The paper reveals both how intimately attuned cinema managers were to their patrons' tastes, and how they used that knowledge to respond to the pressures placed on them by outside parties who were concerned about the negative associations of their trade. Cinema's popularity in the early-twentieth century caused much consternation within government circles, at both national and local level, but as this paper will show, by booking films that comforted and reassured their audiences, these local cinema managers were using film as a safety-valve, an important antidote to the hardships caused by two world wars and economic deprivation. The paper concludes that the film preferences of the inhabitants of this port town, while varying from one ward to another, were predominantly shaped by their close connections with naval life.

CATHERINE JURCA • Caltech

Vaudeville, Movies, and Audiences in Philadelphia, 1935-1936

The 1930s were a notoriously hard time for stage shows following the conquest of sound film, popularity of double features, and economic toll of the Depression on attendance and revenue. This paper looks at the fate of vaudeville in relation to motion pictures in America's third largest city Philadelphia between 1935-1936, a time characterized by Variety as particularly disastrous for "a once tremendous business." It draws upon the Stanley-Warner exhibition records, which contain two years of weekly billing sheets for the chain's theaters in the Philadelphia exchange. John Sedgwick, with Michael Pokorny and Catherine Jurca, has used the box-office data to argue for the centrality of the feature film to audiences, given the disproportionate weight that moviegoers who exercised preferences for particular films had on revenues, which impacted the options available to the rest. The current study builds on this research and takes advantage of additional information included in the billing sheets in attempting to assess the changing status of vaudeville in this era: the costs associated with vaudeville as well as film rentals. In November 1935 at least ten neighborhood Stanley-Warner theaters offered live entertainment in addition to a feature film and shorts between one and three days a week (always on Saturday), while the Earle, one of the chain's flagship downtown theaters, offered nationally renowned live acts daily. Three months later over half of these neighborhood theaters had eliminated vaudeville altogether, and still others reduced the number of days for live performances. The data should begin to explain why theaters cut back on live entertainment so drastically, how it affected their bottom line, and what changes they made in programs to compensate for the diminished benefit to audiences. The data is still being collected and analyzed, but so far it appears that box office was indeed affected by the disappearance of live acts from theater programs but not quite enough to offset the decline in expenses associated with them. Theaters screened more shorts and paid more for them, but again the net impact was advantageous. Presumably the savings were sufficient to outweigh the potential toll on audience good will from the program change, given that revenues did fall, and the overall decline of live acts citywide did not make it easy for patrons to shift allegiances to a nearby theater that continued to feature vaudeville. I also want to determine if an end to live acts implied an improvement in feature film quality on the relevant days. That is, by comparing revenues for films before and after vaudeville at specific theaters with the box-office performance of these films at theaters across Philadelphia (film popularity is analyzed by Sedgwick, Pokorny, and Jurca) it should be possible to figure out the extent to which live acts had been a supplement to weaker films that might have performed significantly less well on their own or a bonus calculated to enable theaters to stand out in a crowded exhibition field.

DILEK KAYA . Yaşar University

The Early Cinemas of Kordon (Quay, Smyrna): A Micro-history

This paper is part of an ongoing research project designed to reconstruct the lost history of the early movie theatres in Izmir (old Smyrna, Turkey) from 1908 to the Great Fire of 1922. During this period the city was home to a rich variety of ethnic and religious communities besides Muslim Turks. The first movie theatres, mostly owned by citizens of Greek origin, opened during the first two decades of the 1900s in the multiethnic Quay (today Kordon) area. This district was the center of Levantine socio-cultural activities with cafes, social clubs, theatres, cinemas, hotels, and consulates. Most of these movie theatres were completely lost to the Great Fire of 1922. The ones that partially survived were "Turkified" during the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Referring to the local newspapers of the period, old city maps and pictures, published testimonies and memories, and online platforms (such as levantineheritage.com), we attempt to reconstruct the cinema exhibition scene and the culture of cinema going in the Quay area. The historical research and its findings are expected to be expanded and shared through using social digital media in the future. In the long run, the project is expected to be a genuine contribution to the developing fields of early cinema studies and digital cinema studies on Turkey.

FRANK KESSLER • Utrecht University SABINE LENK • Utrecht University

The Individual Film in Cinema History: Does It Matter?

In his 1990 article "Film History and Film Analysis: The Individual Film in the Course of Time" Tom Gunning argues in favour of a historically informed approach to film analysis, demonstrating how films, in particular early films, can only be understood when taking into account the historical context of production and reception, their mode of address, as well as the mode of film practice to which they belong. This article, written at a moment when Film Studies underwent a "Historical Turn", in fact addressed two crucial problems: How can a film be understood as a product of its historical context? And also: How can an individual film matter when we are doing Film History.

In our contribution we would like to take up these problems, but now with respect to Cinema History. Do individual films matter, when we are concerned with the history of moviegoing, exhibition and reception? There seems to be a general tendency among New Cinema generally adopts leaves hardly any room for individual films. However, when we see Cinema History as an important strand of research within Film Studies (or Cinema Studies, depending on the terminology used), why shouldn't its results feed back into other areas that constitute our field, such as the study of individual films? And on the other hand, even if the experience of moviegoing goes beyond watching a particular film, does that mean that films do not matter? We will discuss these issues both on a theoretical level and on the basis of selected examples.

FRANK KRUTNIK • University of Sussex

Luxurious Cinemites? - Labour, Stardom and Stand-In (1937)

In a rare critical assessment, Terry Donovan Smith (1996) asserts that the 1937 Walter Wanger production Stand-In not only presents a "microcosm of the political and economic forces at work in and on society in the 1930s" but also resembles the 'living newspapers' of the Soviet Union and Federal Theatre in offering a "clear call to revolution" and "a remarkably direct presentation of leftist ideology". These are pretty grand claims for a Hollywood screwball comedy, but instead of simply dismissing them out of hand, this paper will explore the generative mechanisms that gave rise to a film that could inspire such a reading. Drawing on a wide range of primary materials - from contemporary newspapers, trade journals, fan magazines and other sources - I will explore how this self-reflexive comedy intersects with, and tries to make sense of, the turbulent political, cultural and industrial climate of 1930s Hollywood. As I will suggest, compared to other, more celebrated Hollywood films about the studio system, Stand-In presents an unusually upfront and conflicted critique of the movie business that chimes with the contested status of films and filmmaking in the Depression era. The film's satirical depiction of contemporary Hollywood was inspired by the movie industry's highly publicized problems with labour relations, with financial mismanagement and with the re-evaluation of high-cost talent prompted by the Depression. Many of these issues are crystallized in the film's discourse on stardom, which it scrutinizes in relation to questions of labour. The focus on stardom provides Stand-In with a way of mediating some of the wider problems the film industry was confronting at the time, but it also allows the film to engage with the polemical battle over star salaries that raged both within Hollywood and more broadly within the public sphere.

No matter what evasions and compromises may ultimately constrain the film's critique, and despite its ready embrace of frivolity, *Stand-In* is arguably propelled by a serious concern with the value of filmmaking and movie entertainment at a time when the broader society and culture were in disarray. I am aiming here not merely to offer a reading of one especially intriguing and overlooked Depression-era cinetext, but to produce a supple and multi-faceted consideration of text-context relations that firmly grounds claims about representational procedures in historical evidence.

AKSHAYA KUMAR . University of Glasgow

Cinema history in the vernacular: The province of Bhojpuri cinema

Cinema history in India has gone through remarkable revisions in the last decade. As scholars increasingly unearth the entangled web of social, political, economic and linguistic histories of particular landmark moments, the general assessment of Indian cinemas, often based on a small number of films and genres, confronts nuances that cannot be accommodated without fundamental revisions. One of the newly emergent issues that face contemporary film scholarship, however, is the vernacularisation across north India. The Hindi belt of north India is witnessing the surge of digitally shot films locally circulating on VCDs or DVDs. Some of these films may however find theatrical exhibition. One of these vernacular film markets is that of Bhojpuri language cinema, which continues to circulate via both modes across Indian cities among the working class populations. The question my research on Bhojpuri cinema poses is regarding the new associations, continuities and departures that become visible in the wake of its rise. As it thrives across the rundown fringe of the exhibition sector in cinemas that female audience almost never frequent, and as it continues to introduce local music stars into the film industry, we are confronted with the issues of gender, class, stardom and narrative recycling. The low budget production and the possibility of exponential gains marked the first few years of its growth but as the number of films produced became unmanageably high, the economics of the industry has sunk. This short but exciting trajectory of the Bhojpuri industry races us through an abridged cinema history. Space, demography, narrative ingredients, commercial opportunities and stardom - all are contested here on the provincial turf. While this province is by no means isolated from the national or international influences, it does indeed persuade us to think whether the historiography available to us is sufficiently attentive to the terms on which the province reconciles with the global enterprise of cinema. Engaging with Bhojpuri cinema at the ethnographic and historical front allows us to investigate the role of language and region in their shaping of the public sphere. But it also allows us to witness the very process of shaping cultural resources into a smooth capital-intensive machine that cinema has become i many parts of the world. To that extent, it allows us to participate in the history of cinema as opposed to working it out backwards.

MICHELE LEIGH • Southern Illinois University Carbondale

Theorizing the Reluctant Subject: (Re)Writing Women into Cinema History

In the last twenty or so years, the study of women's labour during the era of silent cinema has grown exponentially. As part of my own research on women working in the film industry in Russia prior to 1917, this paper deals with some of the pitfalls and solutions to conducting archival research in Russia on women, whom I refer to as reluctant subjects; women who worked primarily as actresses but tried their hands at filmmaking and either left no archival memoirs or chose to archive others' memories. Not only did many of these women not receive proper credit for their work on films, they are absent from histories discussing the creation of early Russian Cinema. This paper will begin to explore the relationship between the writing of history and the creation of the female filmmaker as an object of historical study, when she did not see herself as such. Building on works by historians such as Vickie Callahan, Amelie Hastie, and Carolyn Steedman, this paper will interrogate the materials collected by women working in the early Russian film industry. I will attempt to illustrate how these women created a history through their careful collection of materials which provide multiple entry points and multiple paths of exploration for scholars like myself, who may wish to rewrite, reclaim and reinscribe their roles in film history.

ANNEMONE LIGENSA • Brandenburgisches Zentrum für Medienwissenschaften (ZeM)

Audience archives: digital tools for studying historical audiences

Historical audiences are undoubtedly the most elusive research object in media studies. Nevertheless, more sources can often be found than is commonly believed. For example, fascinating material is stored in the archives of the media industry (which itself has little interest in history), in the long forgotten secondary literature of diverse disciplines, and even in the popular press. Digitization provides new and improved access to such material, provided that scholars are willing and able to cast their nets widely. Furthermore, digital tools can be used to generate new kinds of data from old sources, which helps reveal patterns that the naked eye might overlook. This paper will illustrate these methods with examples from my research on the audiences of film stars from various historical periods and cultural contexts, such as Asta Nielsen, Louise Brooks, and Clint Eastwood.

ALISON REIKO LOADER . Concordia University

Obscured And Uncovered: Women and the Splendid Camera Obscuras of Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh

A visit to a camera obscura today feels like a journey to cinema's past—an experience of seeing the moving image before film, and surveillance before CCTV. At the top of the popular tourist attraction on Edinburgh's Castlehill, groups of spectators stand staring in the dark at a tabular screen of live, colour, and moving projections as they follow a guided panoramic and virtual tour of the city, and gaze upon the miniaturized denizens of the bustling Royal Mile and castle grounds below. Visitors have watched the city in this panoptic way since the site's initial opening in 1855 by Maria Theresa Short, the unruly proprietress who saw Town Council order the 1850 demolition of her popular observatory on Calton Hill after fifteen years of showcasing "the sublime truths of science...no longer confined to the

wealthy and the learned, but...within the reach of every one who chooses and has the leisure to contemplate them" (EU, ATT.80.P2/21). Even more remarkable than the uncanny affects of the Castlehill camera obscura, is the history of its controversial founder, her articulation of science, leisure and accessibility, and the absence of scholarship that discusses her device, and others like it, as a nineteenth-century exhibition apparatus that as popular spectacle and optical technology both presaged and paralleled the beginnings of cinema. Room-size camera obscuras once proliferated throughout the UK, Europe and North America in seaside attractions, pleasure gardens, and popular observatories during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet teleological accounts, which exclusively position the camera obscura as a forerunner to later technologies designed to still and capture its effects (for example, perspective drawing, painting and photography), tend to disregard these later deployments. A study that centers on the founding of the Edinburgh camera obscura in the first half of the nineteenth century begins to address this oversight, and comprises a detailed investigation of documents found in various British archives, newspapers and magazine illustrations. This material evidences the installation of walk-in devices at no fewer than seven separate sites in Edinburgh, and the employment of women as camera demonstrators and keepers by two competitors of Short's Observatory, which occupied city buildings on Calton Hill (the Gothic Tower and Nelson's Monument). This recent discovery of largely forgotten deployments suggests that Maria Short and her popular observatories may have not been the anomalies that history implies, and speaks to omissions of convenience and characterizations by her powerful opponents (including solicitor-general Henry Cockburn and professor of mathematics William Wallace) that have since remained fixed. Revealing alternative and expanded understandings of the apparatus that Jonathan Crary in Techniques of the Observer (1992) associates with disembodied spectatorship and an ontology belonging to an earlier era, this presentation proposes an alternative genealogy for cinema, and what's more, brings to light discourses of intimate entanglements of gender, bodies and optics that took place-outside and inside-at the splendid camera obscuras of nineteenth-century Edinburgh.

SAM MANNING . Queen's University, Belfast

Post-war cinema-going and the urban environment in the United Kingdom: a comparative analysis of Belfast and Sheffield, 1945-1962.

This paper focuses on the relationship between cinema-going and the urban environment in Belfast and Sheffield, two similarly sized cities in the United Kingdom. Specifically, it assesses the phenomenon of post-war cinema openings in a period of declining cinema attendances and widespread cinema closures. It is based on research for my PhD thesis, which assesses exhibition, audience preferences and the social practice of cinema-going in these two cities. Following recent comparative projects in cinema history, this paper advocates a comparative approach to leisure history in the United Kingdom that links to broader developments in social and cultural history. It shows the commonalities and disparities between urban locations in England and Northern Ireland and demonstrates how changes in the built environment determined the nature of the cinema-going experience.

The nature of post-war cinema openings were markedly different in the two cities under review. In post-war Belfast, independent exhibitors built new cinemas in suburban areas and satellite towns. In Sheffield, meanwhile, large chains such as ABC and Odeon built prestige first-run cinemas in the city centre. The timing and location of these new cinemas reflected developments in work, leisure and housing and changes in the urban environment. I utilise cinema records, trade magazines and local newspapers to show the discourse that surrounded these developments and how they linked to structures of ownership and the availability of sites for construction. New cinemas also reflected changes in the nature of cinema attendance and the diversification of leisure activities in the post-war period. To what extent were these developments place-specific and how was the cinema-going experience determined by the geography and topography of these respective cities?

This paper connects these findings to oral history testimony and reflects on the experience of recording oral history interviews in Belfast and Sheffield. Memories of cinema-going are linked often to architectural developments and changes in the urban environment. How was the opening and closing of cinemas remembered? How can these findings be linked to the wider research project to extrapolate conclusions on the relationship between cinema-going and the built environment?

EEF MASSON • University of Amsterdam

Reconstructing Colour Palettes in Early Dutch Film Distribution: The Case of EYE's Jean Desmet Collection

Co-authors: Christian Gosvig Olesen, University of Amsterdam; Jasmijn Van Gorp, Utrecht University; Giovanna Fossati, University of Amsterdam/EYE Film Institute Netherlands, Julia Noordegraaf, University of Amsterdam

In our presentation, we shall make an argument for a combination of textual and contextual digital research methods for the study of EYE Film Institute Netherland's Jean Desmet collection, in order to yield a new perspective on colour use in early silent cinema. Our motivation for this combination of approaches is rooted in what we perceive as a methodological divide in digital scholarship, as well as a felt need to advance a relatively understudied topic in film history: the experience of film colours in silent cinema.

As digital research methods in film historical scholarship are emerging, they seem to divide into two strands which are seldom combined. On the one hand, techniques used in 'cinemetrics' projects (Tsivian 2009; Brodbeck 2011) or

Lev Manovich's *Cultural Analytics* (Manovich 2013) allow for an invigoration of textual, stylistic analysis based on calculations of shot length or colour schemes in films. On the other hand, new cinema historians working in a contextual research tradition have embraced GIS tools to study cinema-going culture and exhibition venues using interactive maps (Klenotic 2011). In our research on the recently digitised collection of film distributor and cinema owner Jean Desmet (1875-1956) at EYE Film Institute Netherlands, we felt a need to go beyond this divide so as to gain (and convey) a better sense of the collection's features, but above all, to propose new ways for studying the topic of colour in silent cinema that is currently gaining momentum in film historical debate (Yumibe 2012).

The Desmet collection, inscribed onto UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2011, holds 900 films, but also posters, photographs and around 120.000 business documents from 1907 to 1916. It offers an unparalleled insight into cinema's formal and industrial transition in these years, has engendered significant historical scholarship on film distribution, consumption and programming and has played a key role in rediscovering early cinema's colours (Blom 2003).

With the GIS tools at our disposal, we could use the collection's metadata to establish the distribution of films to audiences across the Netherlands – although this process also raised some epistemological questions. In addition, tools were available to establish the colour composition of film programmes. Using a selection of those, we generated visualisations of the colour palettes of two existing film programs screened in Rotterdam in 1914 and 1915 respectively. However, we soon realised that it might also be useful to combine the abovementioned approaches, so as to better understand distribution in terms of colour. We did this by relating the colour visualisations to individual titles on a map, thus allowing scholars to study textual and contextual aspects of colour use in combination.

By discussing how this combination took place on a technical and conceptual level, our paper will provide a new perspective on the distribution of colour films and audience experience in the Dutch silent era, and in the process, propose a new methodological pathway into digital film historiography.

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CAROLINE MERZ • University of Edinburgh

The Lure of the Cinema: film production in Scotland after the Great War

The development of feature film production in Scotland - begun in 1911 with United Films' *Rob Roy* - had ground to a halt by 1916. With minimal resources and facilities, how could Scottish film production be revived once the war was over? One answer was to attempt to rebuild it on the shaky foundations of a cinema college, where aspiring film stars paid to learn their craft. The first result of this process was *The Harp King* (1919), produced by the A1 Cinema College in Glasgow. Today this (lost) film, a romantic tale set in the Highlands, is dismissed as sadly representative of all that Scotland could hope to produce.

This paper reveals other, more successful, paths taken by film producers in Scotland in the three years immediately following the war. While cinema colleges may have exploited naïve cinema aspirants, the output of another such enterprise proved to be a popular, well-received and widely-seen 'all-Scottish' film. Football Daft, an urban comedy produced in 1921 by the Broadway Stage and Cinema Company, presented a very different set of Scottish tropes from those of The Harp King: contemporary city life, football and drunkenness. With scenes filmed at Ibrox Park and on the streets of Glasgow, Football Daft (also known as Fitba' Daft) was the first Scottish film aimed specifically at a working class audience.

The story of *Football Daft* and certain other narrative films illustrate not just the ambition and potential behind Scottish film production in the optimistic period following the war, but also the variety of strategies and approaches employed. All these films are lost, and this account is based on evidence from contemporary newspapers, trade papers, business records and other archival materials.

KRISTIAN MOEN • University of Bristol

Microhistory and Medium Identity: Animation in New York, 1939-1940

This paper examines the ways in which microhistory can illuminate our understanding of the medium of animation,

using animation's presence in New York between 1939 and 1940 as an illustrative example. Far from typical or representative, the uses of animation in New York at this time were distinctive and often extraordinary. This locale presented diverse expressions of animation, including: special premieres or exhibitions on cinema screens, different kinds of sites of exhibition at the New York World's Fair, spectacular advertisements on 42nd street, and Film Concerts at the Museum of Non-Objective Painting (which would later become the Guggenheim). By examining animation within a specific locality, I explore how attending to the forms of animation through a seemingly narrow frame can help deepen our understanding of its complex interaction with other media forms, its entwinement with multiple artistic and cultural contexts, and its shifting appeals and identities. Rather than a stable media form or a subset of cinema, animation becomes redefined and renegotiated through its multiple uses and sites of reception. What are the potentials, as well as limitations, of using a microhistorical approach to better understand a medium such as animation? How does microhistory offer distinctive ways for exploring media formation and identity? In its exploration of such questions, this paper draws upon academic work on microhistory alongside work which offers wider perspectives on the historiography of film and media aesthetics in ways that address or resonate with a microhistorical approach.

PAUL S. MOORE • Ryerson University

Cultural History as an Almanac of Regional Ephemera | Browsing as Method for New Cinema Histories

From the perspective of local experience, early film culture is as ephemeral as yesterday's news. Indeed, a surprising variety of local cinema practices are remarkably well archived in newspaper notes of everyday happenings alongside amusement advertising for film exhibitions. Research that begins on the margins can thus amass disparate local film histories in relation to each other. The resulting compendium of ephemera and marginalia contributes to a comparative, new cinema history, but resembling entries in an almanac more than case studies in an authoritative textbook. In compiling entries for a hypothetical almanac of early local filmmaking across Canada through graphs, maps, charts, and miscellany, I articulate principles for writing new cinema histories as contributions to a cultural almanac that potentially serves as a comparison of regional and local miscellany on a global scale—"world cinema", to extrapolate from Moretti's conception of the "atlas" of world literature, a compilation of visualized "distant readings" across case texts, rather than close readings of texts. Methodologies for amassing local ephemeral knowledge and cultural trivia retain the indeterminate, partial character of local experience, emphasizing the precarious status of local mass cultures. Regional cinema history as part of an "almanac" would be based on curious facts gleaned from browsing—the chance hit of online search engines and web browsing, the eclectic mix of microfilmed newspapers, the improbable or incredible memory from an interview or diary, and the rare gem of detail amidst the bureaucratic or random collection of archived files. To the researcher of ephemeral film culture, such browsing turns up a miscellaneous event, at first out of context, equivalent to the orphaned film print, unlabelled in an archive, basement, or flea market. Yet, the un-methodical character of ephemeral searching contains its own methodology, turning up new notes, new bits of information—each new curiosity allowing iterative, more methodical browsing in the archives. In providing a sample from my search for entries in an almanac of early filmmaking across Canada, I will define ephemeral film research as sideshow: an ongoing, gradual research project that only through repeated searching comes together into narrative or biographical form. Only at the end of the process is any claim of methodological rigour possible. My papers aims to synthesize past HoMER presentations that used a variety of discursive, geographic and statistical methods, with the 'almanac' now a unifying rubric of variety and comparison. The presentation will act as an epistemological investigation into the benefits of browsing, drawing upon theories of spatiality and cognitive mapping from Fredric Jameson and experiments in cultural mapping and the literary atlas-making of Franco Moretti. The argument is that a systematic record of trivia leaves the indeterminacy of marginalia intact, prompting the reader to complete their own meaning out of quantities of facts perused at leisure.

DAVID MORTON • University of Central Florida

From the City of Homes and Churches' to 'The Movie House Capital of the World:' Motion Picture Exhibition in Brooklyn After 'The Great Mistake of 1898.

Prior to 1898 the City of Brooklyn consisted of a series of interdependent, but unconnected towns. Despite Brooklyn's status as the third largest city in the United States, in many places it still maintained a distinct small town feeling to it, as evidenced by the city's national reputation as the "city of homes and churches." After consolidation and for much of the early twentieth century, Brooklyn was vexed with an identity problem. Though officially deprived of its own municipal status, many Brooklynites still viewed their borough as a city onto itself. Unlike the outer boroughs of the Bronx, Staten Island, and Queens, where its citizens identified themselves by neighborhood, Brooklyn identified itself as a borough first. Since Manhattan's political and cultural elite took control of the future development of the Borough of Brooklyn, Brooklynites sought to assert a cultural identity separate from the rest of New York. In an effort to fight against urbanization and maintain its reputation as a partially rural, religious, conservative community, many of Brooklyn's politicians, clergymen, and entrepreneurs set out to find ways to resist Brooklyn's cultural and social assimilation into the Greater City of New York. The strongest example of an expression of cultural independence is found in the borough's devout support of its amusement franchises, which most notably included the Brooklyn

Dodgers, Luna Park, the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and the borough's association with the burgeoning medium of cinema. In the 1890s most of Brooklyn's population was concentrated along the East River, with open pastures and woodlands consisting of much of the territory directly outside the city limits. Yet by the 1920s Brooklyn would have the highest urban population in the United States at 1.1 million inhabitants. As of 1928 Brooklyn was home to over 200 movie houses, more than any other urban center in the United States. That same year the Fulton-Flatbush Theater district was completed, which was home to three of the largest movie houses in the United States. The Fulton-Flatbush Theater District established Brooklyn as the undisputed "movie house capital of America," and cemented the borough's ties with the motion picture industry. The dynamic relationship between the early motion picture industry and the Borough of Brooklyn reflects the ways in which Brooklynites incorporated a relatively new form of mass entertainment as a means of asserting a cultural identity independent from the rest of New York City. This study sets out to explain why motion picture exhibition practices in the Borough of Brooklyn developed differently from the heavily studied neighborhoods of Manhattan's Lower East Side.

CHRIS O'ROURKE • University College London

Cinema-going and Urban Leisure Networks in the Diary of Archibald Walker, 1915

This paper examines the records of cinema-going contained in the unpublished 1915 diary of Archibald Walker, a young, upper-middle-class 'man about town' living in wartime London. The paper considers the value for cinema history of what, on the face of it, is a frustratingly uninformative source. For instance, in 11 separate accounts of cinema-going, Walker never once describes the film or films he has been to see, and only occasionally does he make it known which venue he attended. However, the paper argues that such a document can nevertheless offer important evidence about the role that cinema has historically played in individual lives. In this instance, Walker's diary suggests how his trips to the cinema invariably fitted into larger itineraries around the city. These itineraries were predominantly social—journeys involving friends or family—and they were typically structured around acts of consumption, whether of food, drink, theatre, music or other forms of commercialized leisure. In effect, Walker's diary contains a snapshot of cinema's place, both culturally and spatially, in the extensive entertainment landscape of the West End. The paper suggests that, by extending the scope of our historical enquiry beyond moments of spectatorship and attending to the details of Walker's leisure habits more broadly, we can focus questions about cinema's place in the contemporary urban environment and about the social and cultural resonances of cinema-going in a particular (in this case, highly rarefied) milieu. To show how the process of locating film consumption in urban leisure networks might work in practice, the paper situates cinema in relation to two other West End leisure venues that Walker frequented during 1915: the variety theatre and the gentlemen's club. The analysis is supported by maps and contemporary depictions of Walker's West End.

CLARA PAFORT-OVERDUIN • University of Utrecht LIES VAN DE VIJVER • Ghent University & Antwerp University JOHN SEDGWICK • University of Portsmouth

Understanding the Audience. A comparative research into film preference, choice and popularity in three medium-sized cities the mid-1930s.

One of the goals the HoMER Network set itself, is the creation of similar datasets that would allow us to compare our findings thus create a better understanding about the exceptions and the regularities of different cinema markets and cultures in a collaborative endeavor. This proposal is the result of comparative and collaborative research into the film preferences and choices made by audiences in the cities of Ghent, Utrecht and Bolton in the mid-1930s. Based on a single day in the life of film exhibition, the study identifies similarities and differences in the processes by which films were supplied (distributed and exhibited) to the three cities as well as the kind of films that audiences were watching.

The film culture of the 1930 has been the subject of much research. Regarding the authors of this paper, Van de Vijver and Biltereyst examine the balance of American versus European film screenings in Ghent and the social significance of this both in terms of language and the broader class struggle in the city (Van de Vijver & Biltereyst, 2010). Sedgwick, Pafort and Boter (2012) identify and explain the peculiarities of the Dutch cinema market by comparing it to that of the UK and in doing this conjecture reasons for the restrained development of the Dutch market. Finally, Sedgwick has investigated the American, Australian and British markets for films during this decade (Sedgwick & Pokorny, 2005, 2010; Sedgwick, Pokorny and Miskell (2014). Collectively, the research maintains that the shape and functioning of cinema markets is as much related to economic aspects as it is to cultural factors. Yet to understand a cinema culture, of which the cinema market is a part, a multi-dimensional approach is needed. Biltereyst, Meers and Van de Vijver propose a triangular approach combining different theories and methods to analyze data on social stratum, interviews on movie-going habits and film programming, arguing that their approach leads to 'a multi-layered concept of cultural and social distinction as a key in understanding the lived experience of cinema' (Biltereyst, Meers & Van de Vijver, 2011, 121).

In this paper we will take a micro-data approach investigating the array of movies being screened on a Saturday evening of 1935 in the three cities, each of which had at the time around 160,000 inhabitants and can be characterized as having large working-class communities. Furthermore, each is part of a bigger national and

international data set, allowing us to compare data on various levels. By comparing the choice sets facing audiences we will be able to show differences in:

- Distribution patterns and strategies on a national and international level. Here we investigate the time frame of films, their spatial reach and their cultural affinity with audiences.
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The multi-layered approach at the core of this comparative research will show that markets and audiences while sharing many common characteristics differed in appreciable ways. Additionally, this proposal answers to the direct call for data sharing, comparative approaches and micro-historical research into pan-European film distribution. We believe that the investigation can be extended to include multiple urban locations of comparable size.

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MANDY POWELL • Queen Margaret Unviersity

Everyday devolution: the work of pop-up educational cinema in Scotland

In Working on the Sight Lines, Thomas Elsaesser (2004) writes that cinema's "noble golden age as the art form of the second industrial age represents a relatively brief lease on its overall life", in short, "there are many histories of the moving image, only some of which belong to the movies" (p12). Researching the "un-canonised, the inconsequential and the overlooked" (Elsaesser, 2009, p26), he suggests, could be advanced using an approach that takes "a specific location, a professional association, or even a national or state initiative" in order to understand the history to which it belongs. There has been little sustained analysis of the corpus of educational film in Scotland. Possibly more banal (Billig, 1995) than other filmic markers of Scotlish distinctiveness, 21,308 educational films had been borrowed from Scotland's 'regional' film library, the Scotlish Central Film Library (SCFL), by 1941. This paper will draw on the idea of films that 'work' (Hediger & Vondereau, 2009) and 'useful' cinema (Acland & Wasson, 2011) to reflect on the question of the histories to which educational cinema in Scotland might belong.

This herstory of the Scottish Film Council (SFC) is inextricably bound to the herstory of Scottish education, Scottish culture and UK constitutional politics. The paper will consider the usefulness of the relationship between the SFC and the Scottish Education Department (SED), in the argument for and efficacy of devolution. Analysis of three document collections held in the Scottish Screen Archive, National Library of Scotland, and belonging to the SFC, SCFL and the Scottish Educational Film Association (SEFA) offer insights into the everyday work of educational cinema in building local and national distinctiveness. They also reveal the industry of building a devolved film culture in Scotland. The SFC's advocacy for 'educational film' in the first years of its history supported an emergent film culture in Scotland by building and sustaining local networks of producers and audiences in urban and rural spaces in a period of mass unemployment and amidst increasing support for political devolution (Mitchell, 1989). The activism of Scottish teachers, organised by SEFA and estimated in 1938 to represent 18% of the teaching workforce (Griffiths, 2012), resulted in the forging of alliances between cinemas and schools. Schools contained 'cinemas' and 'cinemas' screened age-appropriate matinee programmes that would include 'educational' film but also included a main feature, for thousands of young people and their teachers in Scotland. SEFA's work in the 1930s and 1940s in particular, introduced film and its technologies to new audiences in new spaces.

This paper will draw upon historical and ethnographic methods to explore the contribution educational cinema made to the construction of a socio-cultural rationale for devolution in Scotland (1929-1974). With documents from the SFC, SEFA and the SCFL it will piece together (Medhurst, 2007) "the conditions that [made] the emergence of a particular policy agenda possible" (Gale, 2001).

GARY RHODES • Queen's University, Belfast

Rethinking Early Film Audiences in the United States: 'Soft' Evidence and American Popular Song

Most of the work on American film audiences during the rise of the feature film, including my own, has concentrated on primary sources that would be considered "hard" evidence. The result has tended to classify different kinds of audience members using various demographical categories and metrics (ranging from geography to ethnicity). However, in this paper, I am concerned with Uricchio and Pearson's intervention into the Singer-Allen debate. In their essay, they place emphasis on the use of "soft" evidence to reach viable conclusions about American film audiences.

Using their approach as a foundation, my paper examines sheet music of popular songs about film audiences that was published in America in the nickelodeon and post-nickelodeon period. These include *My Moving Picture Babe* (1908), *The Moving Picture Boy* (1911), *My Loving Picture Man* (1913), *A Real Moving Picture From Life* (1914), *Elaine, My Moving Picture Queen* (1915), *Since Theda Saw Theda Bara* (1916), *The Moving Picture Hero of My Heart* (1916), *Let's Go to a Picture Show* (1918), *Take Your Girlie to the Movies* (1919), and many others.

The lyrics in these songs (as well as the artwork on their covers) attempt to reflect patterns of behaviour and reactions to film exhibitions that defy demographical classification, particularly insofar as issues of geography and ethnicity are concerned. They offer an opportunity to use "soft" evidence to augment our understanding of the similarities shared by American audiences in the period, rather than a concentration on their differences.

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PHILIP ROBERTS • University of York

Media Archaeology and the Early Life of the Magic Lantern

This paper will utilise a media archaeological approach to rethink the early life of the magic lantern in the 17th and 18th centuries. Given the historical malleability of lantern exhibition and the large range of very different contexts in which it was used it is necessary to apply a non-linear historical framework to the medium.

Early cinema scholarship has already addressed this problem with respect to the pre-classical mode of cinema, where a number of new perspectives were proposed to avoid a teleological approach. Much research into early cinema suggests that there should be no central historical lineage that is essential to a medium, because media are broken up into many different cultural frameworks and use patterns that are made according to such different rules that it makes no sense to study them using the same approach.

My research seeks to separate the various sets of practices and expectations bound up within the different exhibition frameworks in lantern history. I argue that in each exhibition context there are three key frames that must be accounted for: 1. the technical components of lantern apparatuses; 2. the cultural frame of lantern exhibition; 3. the modes of presentation used in lantern exhibition. Each of these three frames intersect in different ways within each of the various exhibition contexts, and can provide a method for understanding how the technical possibilities, cultural expectations and formal uses of the magic lantern each structure different practical frameworks.

As the magic lantern has received relatively less academic attention, and due to the greater difficulty of finding usable sources, research has tended to be piecemeal, addressing many minor forms of lantern culture (phantasmagoria shows, travelling shows, scientific lectures, religious sermons, etc.) that often bear little similarity to each other. This diversity of uses means that there is no single history of the lantern or any central historical lineage that can be traced, but rather a cluster of different (although often connected) exhibition contexts, each owing allegiance to a different institutional and discursive framework, with different aims, traditions and practices.

In this paper I will address the early life of the magic lantern to argue that this scattered picture of the lantern is the result of the malleability it assumed in the 17^{th} and 18^{th} centuries, where its early integration into an early modern scientific context was quickly expanded into a range of different cultural spheres. I will argue that the device straddled the different conceptions of wonderment and rationality that characterised European science in this era and that this early diversity of its function, where the lantern could serve equally well alongside other optical devices in a cabinet of curiosities or as part of a travelling show, would result in the diversity of its early exhibition contexts, from which some of the various strands of its later history would proliferate. In particular, I will suggest the differing conceptions of the lantern adopted by scientists and showmen, and consider the presentational form of some early slide examples.

MARIO SLUGAN • University of Chicago

The Role of Catalogues for Early Cinema History: A Contribution to Gunning-Musser Debate

Tom Gunning's theory of "the cinema of attractions" has proved of critical importance for the understanding of early cinema as a period in which non-narrative forms called "attractions" were the dominant up to 1905 or so. According to Gunning, this was an exhibitionist cinema which solicited the attention of the spectator either by its own status as a technical novelty or by aligning itself with representational modes of the performing arts rather than those of dramatic

illusion. Perhaps the crucial strength of Gunning's theory is that it is both a theory of filmmaking and historical spectatorship.

In his critique of Gunning, Musser (1991, 1994, 2006) has provided alternative formal and narratological analyses of pre-1905 story films, demonstrated the freedom exhibitors in the period between 1897-1901 had in building non-variety narrative programs, and, finally, quoted contemporary accounts which speak in favor of the idea that preference was given to the story films over scenics, and that "double nature" films such as passion plays were primarily discussed in terms of diegesis and absorption.

In this paper I focus on the historical spectatorship aspect of Gunning-Musser debate, i.e. the question whether film between 1903-1905 films were primarily perceived as attractions or as narratives by looking at up to now mostly neglected material – catalogues. I shall pay special attention to catalogue entries for films which have served as key examples for Gunning (1986, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 2006, 2009) to emphasize the importance of attractions over narrative in double nature films – *The Gay Shoe Clerk* (Edison, 1903), *The Great Train Robbery* (Porter, 1903), and *The Kleptomaniac* (Porter, 1905).

I shall argue that catalogue entries analysis is a better tool for the reconstruction of the historical spectator than formal analysis, the method given the most weight to in Gunning's work. The insights on the basis of the latter, in Gunning's own admission, do not get us much farther from the implied spectator. Catalogues, on the other hand, are historical documents the primary goal of which is to sell film producers' products to the exhibitors. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that they describe the films to exhibitors in the most marketable way possible. It is also safe to assume that the film's attraction aspect is something that would have been emphasized if attractions were (perceived to be) the dominant aspect that drove audiences to cinema.

I demonstrate that out of all of the options available for these catalogue entries – detailed descriptions of attractions, special emphasis on spectacular or erotic aspects, bullet points of sensations, etc. – narrative account was the one opted for. Contrary to predictions of Gunning's formal analysis, the catalogues give preference to chronological development over temporal punctuality, the construction of diegetic world over display, and the rhetorical potential over direct address. I conclude with the claim that catalogue entries covering the bulk of US film distribution allow for the most *representative* analysis of pre-1905 cinema reception relevant for Gunning-Musser debate.

MELVYN STOKES • University College London

EMMA PETTS • University College London

Postcolonial Cinema Audiences in Britain in the 1960s

To date, little research has been undertaken on cinema-going amongst the postcolonial communities of 1960s Britain. As Nirmal Puwar remarks, "historical research on the landscape of cinema as a place and cinema-going has rather remarkably not taken into account how the space of the United Kingdom was inhabited and produced by people from different diasporas, including those from the British Empire" (Puwar 2007, 256). Puwar herself analysed the history of an Indian-owned community cinema and its audience interactions in Coventry in the 1970s. In this paper, we will present some of the findings of the AHRC project "Cultural Memory and British Cinema-going of the 1960s," focusing in particular on the qualitative research undertaken with Indian, Pakistani, and Caribbean communities who were living in Britain at the time. Often displaced by political and cultural forces beyond their control, these communities established new cultural lives and practices for themselves in the unfamiliar terrain of post-war Britain.

Records suggest that several London cinemas, such as the Tivoli in the Strand, the Scala on Charlotte Street, and the Dominion in Southall began screening Indian films as early as the 1950s (Tyrell, 1988). Oral histories recounted by several of the respondents in our study reveal the Scala Theatre, for example, to have been a significant social and cultural hub for Asian Britons in 60s London, offering them a space to discuss difficult issues they were facing as a community, including housing and employment. Likewise, Caribbean communities in places such as Hackney and Tooting appreciated the warm and welcoming environments of their local cinemas as places where they could congregate, relax, and socialise. These accounts will be considered alongside the findings generated by interviews and focus groups conducted in other locations around Britain. Such evidence will enable us to create links with other fields, such as geography and social history, in offering new insights into the social and cultural practices of postcolonial communities living in Britain in the 1960s, and the role cinema-going played in the fabric of their daily lives.

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BEN STRASSFELD • University of Michigan

"The Detroit Model": Mapping Adult Movie Theaters in the Motor City

In the early 1970s, amidst the growing visibility and popularity of adult movies, urban centers across the United States

found themselves grappling with the question of how to keep their neighborhoods free of the "scourge" of pornography. Cities had long utilized obscenity law as their chief method of regulation, but with courts across the country increasingly siding with the purveyors of porn, urban centers were forced to turn to other methods. In 1972, Detroit implemented a novel approach by turning to zoning law to regulate pornography and the adult businesses that peddled it. The city passed an ordinance requiring that new adult businesses could not open within 1,000 feet of each other, thereby preventing the emergence of a skid row or "smut" district. This approach, officially deemed constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1976, would be emulated throughout the country, eventually coming to be known simply as the "Detroit Model." Still, despite its immense influence, the Detroit Model has been relatively unexamined by scholars to this point. My paper aims to rectify this by examining the history of this law, both in its planning and implementation, as well as the ways in which it actually functioned within the city.

Beyond just detailing the history of the Detroit Model, my paper engages with the emerging and rapidly-expanding scholarship that utilizes mapping as a central tool in the exploration of cinematic history. I use the digital mapping software ArcGIS to plot the geographic landscape of Detroit and its adult businesses, showing how the location of these businesses impacted the development of the law, and in turn how the law's enforcement impacted the location of these businesses. In doing so, I explore methodological challenges pertaining to the use of digital mapping in historical media research. Namely, the illicitness of adult businesses meant that their existence often went unrecorded in traditional sources like newspaper ads, city directories, and trade journals. Therefore, to build the database necessary for mapping these businesses, I drew from a myriad of unorthodox sources, from police memos and court documents to online forums and published city guides. Critically too, this paper explores the connections between adult movie theaters and other adult businesses, including adult bookstores and massage parlors, all treated the same under Detroit's zoning law. By looking at adult movie theaters alongside their fellow adult businesses, a more complete understanding emerges not only of the Detroit Model, but more generally of the ways in which cinema functions within a broader cultural landscape.

SARAH STREET • University of Bristol

Writing Histories of Film Technology: The Negotiation of Innovation, British Cinema and Transnationalism

In their book on methodological approaches to film history Allen and Gomery advocated that technological histories should not be limited to cataloguing the inventions and activities of "great men" but seek to explain "how particular pieces of technology came to be developed at a particular time, their relationship to the existing state of technology, the extent and nature of their use, and the consequence of that use - whether foreseen or unforeseen" (Film History: Theory and Practice, 1985: 110). Such investigations, they argued, can most productively work together to gain a fuller appreciation of the significance of technological film history. Thinking even more broadly Koszarski (Film History, 23:3, 2011: 3) observed that the most interesting work "is less involved in mining some clearly defined area of study than in exploring the web of connections that reaches across all aspects of moving image media. Instead of just digging deeper, these historians trawl across the landscape horizontally, drawing on the tool kits of many different disciplines to answer questions about the movies which no one before had ever thought to ask." Thinking about cinema and technology "horizontally" indeed provides a useful method of connecting the disparate strands which are interwoven throughout history. Inspired by this approach and drawing on the concept of "The Negotiation of Innovation" (Street, The Negotiation of Innovation: Colour Films in Britain, 1900-55, 2012) this paper explores the complex connections between British cinema and technology, extending beyond significant inventions and technical specificities to broader issues of technology transfer, transnational exchange, cultural and ideological imperatives, and responses to innovation more generally. The paper will focus on key aspects of technological change that affected the world's film industries from the perspective of British cinema. It explores how tumultuous shifts such as the coming of sound or the more gradual rise of colour film offer related yet different experiences of how particular technologies are negotiated and with what consequences. The aim is to assess British cinema's involvement with the multiple, transnational trajectories of technological history, both engaging with and departing from predominant routes at varying historical moments. The relationship between technology and British cinema amounts to more than the latter being simply on the receiving end of invasive and highly capitalized inventions from the USA. Understanding how technology has informed the nature of national cinema and its transnational relations as a more dynamic process is at the heart of how film industries and their aesthetics change over time. The issues raised by the paper relate more broadly to how approaches to researching film technology have changed in the past decades and how instructive historical precedents usefully inform our understanding of the mass conversion to digital technologies.

ISAK THORSEN • University of Copenhagen

Explanations in aesthetics or business - Nordisk Films Kompagni as a case

The basis of the presentation is my work on the Danish film company, Nordisk Films Kompagni, in the period 1906 to 1928. My research is mainly based on the Nordisk Film Special Collection, the survived business archive of the company.

The overall argument in my work is that the general explanation for the company's success and later crisis found in the quality of the company's film is not sufficient to explain Nordisk Film's development in the silent era. In

my view the reasons have to be found in the business strategies of the company and my approach has been of organizational and economic orientation based in theories by Joseph Schumpeter and Alfred D. Chandler.

From the very detailed information in the Nordisk Special Collection I have made up a database over where the films were distributed to; at what date/year and in how many copies. In the presentation I will focus on the company's distribution, and how I have used the empirical data in my argumentation, that the company's success and later failure can not only be found in the aesthetics of the films.

NADI TOFIGHIAN • Stockholm University

'Let the American Show You': Early Film Screenings in Manila

The title 'Let the American Show You' is taken from an advertisement for the daily newspaper *Manila American* in 1898. The phrase encapsulates the U.S. view on its newly acquired colony, the Philippines, and echoes the claim of early cinema to be showing the world to its audiences. In this paper I aim to assess the geographical spread of early film screenings in Manila as well as the reception of the new technology. Moreover, I will reflect on how the archival situation in Manila affects the writing of its film history.

The first film screenings in Manila in 1897 and 1898 were held on Escolta, the popular business and shopping centre of the city. Gradually the film screenings spread geographically, and in the early 1900s regular film screenings were also held in residential areas such as Tondo and Sampaloc. This was partly due to the French Levy brothers who opened their store Levy Hermanos in Manila in 1898, where they specialised in selling different modern and technological instruments, and later they became the first company that started selling film equipment and film reels on a regular basis in Southeast Asia. The company later expanded and opened several branches throughout Asia, and they later also became the representatives of Pathé Freres.

The primary source of data that I use is contemporary local press covering the period around the turn-of-the-century, ca 1896-1903. The newspaper landscape in Manila consisted primarily of Spanish, English, Tagalog, and Chinese papers. Some of these old newspapers can today be found in half a dozen different archives (the national library, different university libraries, company archives, and private archives) throughout Manila as well as in the United States. As a consequence, depending on what archival source and thereby what newspaper one accesses, different parts of the historical puzzle of early film screenings can be found.

CLARA PAFORT-OVERDUIN • University of Utrecht

JOHN SEDGWICK • University of Portsmouth

LIES VAN DE VIJVER • Ghent University & Antwerp University

Understanding the Audience. A comparative research into film preference, choice and popularity in three medium-sized cities the mid-1930s.

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THUNNIS VAN OORT • University of Antwerp

PHILIPPE MEERS • University of Antwerp

Movie-going at the docks. Amedia historical comparative analysis of cinema cultures in Antwerp (Flanders) and Rotterdam (Netherlands) (1910-1990)

The Netherlands and Belgium have developed surprisingly divergent cinema cultures, making a comparison between the two countries fertile ground for an examination of the dynamic relationship between media, culture and social history. From the outset, Belgium has boasted among the highest cinema attendance and theatre density in Europe, while the Netherlands' was among the lowest on the continent.

In this paper, we look closely at Antwerp and Rotterdam as suitable cases for a comparative analysis between Belgium and the Netherlands, because both port cities have similar socio-economic profiles which make differences between them with respect to film exhibition and consumption particularly noteworthy.

During the previous decade cinema historians have started to implement computer technology for data collection and analysis. This has rendered new insights into distribution practices and spatial patterns of film consumption, mapping out the cultural infrastructure of movie-going. Efforts have concentrated on the collection and analysis of data on local/national levels, but complex transnational comparisons of datasets have not yet been made. In the first part of the present paper, we intend explore the methodological and theoretical challenges of transnational comparisons.

In the second part of the paper, we will present preliminary results of the project, focusing on diachronic spatial patterns of cinema locations within the urban geographies of both cities. Part of the working hypothesis to explain the striking differences between Flemish and Dutch cinema cultures is related to the differences in organisational and economical structure of the industry and its regulation by local and national authorities. In the Netherlands, theatre chains or cartels hardly existed until the 1990s, and control over the market was fragmented. In Flanders, multinationals have been key players since the earliest years of cinema exhibition. And in Antwerp alone, a single consortium has dominated the local market for decades. Furthermore, government and other disciplinary control over cinema was arranged quite differently in both countries.

MARIA A. VELEZ-SERNA . University of Glasgow

Layering sources, mapping events: A sceptical data model for cinema history

This paper discusses the experience of collaboratively building and working with a geo-database for the Early Cinema in Scotland research project. To begin with, the paper focuses on two practical and conceptual features of a geo-database approach that have consequences for cinema historiography in particular: First, the way the platform has allowed (but also shaped) collaborations within the research team, and in doing so has connected questions of textual production and representation with the more contextual and institutional approach to exhibition and reception. Second, the 'layering' method that geo-databases privilege, as a way to put into practice the premises of intermedial historiography and relational spaces.

The paper then moves to the question of how to model the types of evidence cinema that historians tend to use within a database structure. For our project and many others in the historical field, the analytical capacities described above depend on forms of empirical data collection that differ significantly from those in the social sciences or physical geography. How to represent, understand, and work with the fragmentary and imprecise nature of this evidence while using methods derived from quantitative approaches is one of the main interests of current research in the spatial humanities (Gregory and Geddes: xiii). Following Jeff Klenotic's articulation of a 'grounded' form of cinematic geography, and Deb Verhoeven's proposal for documenting the shifting histories of exhibition venues, the last part of the paper will outline an approach to representing historical research data about cinema events, applied to a Glasgow case study.

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MIKE WALSH • Flinders University DYLAN WALKER • Flinders University RICHARD MALTBY • Flinders University

Understanding the Mall: Mapping Australian Cinema-going

The change from first-run exhibition that concentrated viewership, at least initially, into Central Business District venues, to the current model of wide release across multiplexes situated primarily in suburban shopping malls has meant that we need to re-think much of the received wisdom on patterns of cinema exhibition and audience behaviour. Where do what types of audiences choose to consume what types of films and what are the factors that explain these behaviours? These are questions to which we can provide richer answers as mapping technologies and statistical analysis become tools that are more widely used by film scholars. This paper continues work on contemporary cinema-going by combining the analysis of detailed box office figures with survey work on cinema audiences at a leading chain of multiplexes in Adelaide, Australia. We aim to answer questions about the catchment areas for a variety of cinemas in the modern Australian city with a view to establishing a model for the ways audience segments, film programming, and other factors such as transport systems interact to produce patterns that display large internal variations often obscured by simple box office grosses.

JESSICA WHITEHEAD • York University

When Showmen became Managers: A Historical Institutional Ethnography of Leo Mascioli and Famous Players Canadian Corp.

The institutional history of film is integral in understanding the historical proliferation of Hollywood globally. While the historical turn has focused on the socio-cultural impact of film, the institutional history of film distribution remains marginal (Maltby 2013, 139). One key area of the institutional history of film is the shift of regional theatrical exhibitors from showmen to managers accompanying vertical integration in theatre chains. In Canada, from 1920-1941 independent, regional theatre chains merged with the Paramount-controlled Famous Players Canadian Corp., which was a convergent media conglomerate that integrated production, distribution and exhibition across North America. This process required regional showman to transfer autonomous control of their theatres and small chains to become management-employees-of Hollywood companies. The history of Famous Players' takeover of the Canadian market has been recounted often, a touchstone of Canadian film history (Morris, 1978; Pendakur, 1990; Jarvie, 1992; Dorland, 1998; Moore, 2003; Pelletier, 2012); however, the socio-cultural impact of the takeover still needs to be explored. Towards a more comprehensive institutional history of vertical integration globally, my paper proposes that film scholars adopt a 'historical institutional ethnographic' approach, borrowing from sociological interpretation and methodology. I argue that 'institutional ethnography' will help build a film history that includes the socio-cultural impact of vertical integration. The methodology of institutional ethnography will allow me to recover the meanings and interactions between individual exhibitors and institutional interests and their representatives. Feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith (2005) defines institutional ethnography as the exploration of social relations that structure everyday meaning. My paper, in a sense, aims to achieve a historical institutional ethnography by mapping the activities and practices that structure showmen's everyday meanings as individuals within institutions. Not being able to directly interview or observe, I cannot conduct a traditional ethnography, but an institutional ethnography can rely on texts to interpret meaning, thus it is compatible with archival research (Grahame and Grahame, 2000). My paper will present a historical institutional ethnography of one small town in Canada and its regional showman-exhibitor, Leo Mascioli, recounting how he dealt with the shift to vertically-integrated film distribution and exhibition in Canada when he joined a subsidiary of Famous Players. Timmins, Ontario, is a small mining town located in the northern regions of Canada. Leo Mascioli first exhibited film in 1910 in the mining camp in his general store. He later constructed the first purpose-built theatres in the area and operated a small regional chain called the Northern Empire Theatre Ltd. In 1941, Famous Players took over the Timmins market, and Leo Mascioli remained as manager of his theatres. My case study will explore how, and speculate about why, independent exhibitors decided to become managers and cede control to Famous Players, and especially how this institutional shift affected their relation to local communities. By utilizing a historical institutional ethnography as method, I will uncover the social organization of filmgoing as a practice and institution.

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ELLEN WRIGHT • University of Lincoln

Hollywood Confidential: Tijuana Bibles, Audiences and Film Stars in Classical Era Hollywood

While fan writing and slash fictions regularly inform readings of modern celebrity and its attractions for audiences, surprisingly, similar interventions into early Hollywood stars are rarely attempted. This paper posits ways that 'Tijuana bibles' – pocket-sized, illegal, pornographic comics of the 1920s-1940s, many of which presented erotic narratives featuring recognisable film stars of that era - might make historical (re)examinations of audience understandings of Hollywood stars and of film audience's relationships to Hollywood stardom possible.

The success of the star system of early Hollywood relied upon carefully constructed star personas and during much of this period the major studios experienced considerable pressure to present their stars as wholesome, virtuous or at the very least, admirable. Yet an inescapable fact of these star's popularity was that they were simultaneously also sex symbols, and their fans craved further insights into, and confirmation of, these star's private lives and personas. Despite the studios official 'line' regarding particular stars off-screen lives, gossip media and a fan-based culture of scandal and rumour, built upon stars supposedly 'real' life narratives and off-screen antics emerged, of which the Tijuana bibles were a part.

As will be demonstrated, Tijuana bibles explicitly drew upon specific, well-known, well-established star personae, (elements of famous personae that found their way into these texts include: Mae West's insatiable appetite for men both on and off screen, the common suggestion in the media that Esther Williams' stamina and joyful abandon in the swimming pool also extended to the bedroom, or media speculation regarding the level of closeness to the off-screen friendship between Cary Grant and Randolph Scott) celebrating and concurrently overturning star status, featuring images, subjects and language impossible in films of the Hays Office age and engaging openly with the narratives of contemporaneous rumour and speculation surrounding these stars.

These comics celebrate, denigrate and even satirise their star subjects, but unhampered by the official studio 'line' or the threat of litigation or censorship and as such they are valuable methodological tools which offer the film historian a furtive peep behind the facade of stardom and the cinema screen, illustrating not only the sexual interest of audiences but their engagement with and understanding of Hollywood stars and what they were believed, at that particular moment, to signify, and with any gossip or scandal surrounding those stars circulating at the time.

SAMANTHA WILSON . Concordia University

Nature appreciation and the early British scenic: Mapping regional travel through the rhetoric of astonishment

The field of early cinema has been strongly influenced by Tom Gunning's "cinema of attractions" model. This model of spectatorship, established by both the gaze of the spectator and the recurring look of the subjects on screen, engendered a kind of exhibitionism that was in stark contrast to both the voyeuristic drive embedded in institutional

modes of narrative absorption, and earlier models of aesthetic experience. In the past two decades assumptions built into that model, and its possible repercussions for documenting historical trends and transformation, have been vigorously critiqued by academics such as David Bordwell (1997) and Charlie Keil (2004), referring to it as part of the so-called "modernity thesis". This presentation will interrogate the claims made by the cinema of attractions model by using the burgeoning field of environmental aesthetics as a lens in which to understand the interpretive and discursive frameworks available to early cinema audiences in Great Britain, in particular those patrons interested in scenic films. It will trace the enduring role of astonishment which both acted as a catalyst for the genre's popularity and embedded it within the larger cultural institution.

Rather than challenge the model of spectatorship from the perspective of both the aesthetic and exhibition strategies occurring after the period, I will be examining the cultural industry revolving around domestic nature tourism which occurred prior to and during cinema's development, thereby troubling the model's long standing association with the late 19th century. This retrospective position allows me to compare texts, extratextual material, and their associated forms of reception which are not traditionally analyzed in relation to the emergence of cinema. Of particular interest for this presentation is the critical reception surrounding William Wordsworth and William Gilpin's picturesque and Romantic tour guides, which rose in popularity in the early 19th century. The rhetoric and locations discussed will be mapped onto those employed by the production catalogues circulating at the turn of the 20th century by British companies Hepworth and Co. and the Charles Urban Trading Company in order to present the manner in which an approach that considers cinema in relation to different periods of modern history can drastically complicate our understanding of this genre and its early audience members in Great Britain. These guidebooks, early actuality films, and catalogue descriptions all performed as prescriptive devices, guiding their audience or reader through natural spaces and adding nuance to different popular debates surrounding the value of regional travel, aesthetic experience, and representational media, all three of which hinged on the location of the spectator and the concept of astonishment. A historical study addressing the popular discourse surrounding the latter could provide a framework which would allow both historians and theorists to better understand the link between shock and contemplation in the realm of early cinema and its role in supporting increased regional nature tourism across Great Britain.

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Out and about in Glasgow

WEST END

Stravaigin

28 Gibson Street, G12 8NX - 0141 334 2655

Bar and restaurant offering classic Scottish 'fusion' menu with vegetarian options. Very convenient for conference – i.e. just round the corner.

• The Ubiquitous Chip

12 Ashton Lane, G12 8SJ - 0141 334 5007

Pub and restaurant. The restaurant introduced 'good eating' and very good wine to Glasgow in the 1970s. Downstairs has a larger menu and is more expensive, upstairs is less expensive but still quite pricey. Vegetarian options. Booking recommended

The Hanoi Bike Shop

Ruthven Lane, G12 9BG - 0141 334 7165

Part of the Ubiquitous Chip family chain, and Glasgow first (and only) Vietnamese restaurant. 'Fresh, vibrant and exciting yet surprisingly subtle, you add as much or as little spice as you like yourself so you don't have to be a chilli fiend to enjoy it (though admittedly most of us are).' Hidden in a lane off Byres Road, opposite the subway station.

The Left Bank

33-35 Gibson Street, G12 8NU - 0141 339 5969

Relaxed bar/restaurant, reasonably priced with a large range of dishes including vegetarian options. Also convenient for conference – just round the corner.

Cail Bruich

725 Great Western Road, Glasgow G12 8QX - 0141 334 6265

Good, relatively recent addition to West End eating. Inventive French-inflected food using Scottish produce in a relaxed, family-run atmosphere. Rated no. 1 in Glasgow on Trip Advisor, though that may be a little generous.

La Parmigiana

447 Great Western Road, G12 8HH - 0141 334 0686

Very good, well-established, family-run, and slightly old-fashioned Italian restaurant. Quite expensive, and reservation recommended.

No. Sixteen

16 Byres Road, G11 5JY - 0141 339 2544

Popular foodie restaurant serving a mix of dishes. Vegetarian options, not too pricey, but reservations recommended. Rated no. 2 on Trip Advisor.

Ox and Finch

920 Sauchiehall Street, G3 7TF - 0141 339 8627

Recent bistro which has built up a good reputation in an unlikely area that has become competitive in good restaurants. At bottom of Kelvin Way and turn left along Sauchiehall Street.

Crabshaak

1114 Argyle Street, G3 8TD - 0141 334 6127

Excellent fish restaurant. Works on the principle of buying very good ingredients and applying heat. Squid tempura and fish cakes are excellent and whole crab and lobster available. Located within fifteen minutes

walking distance among a cluster of new restaurants that has recently been dubbed 'The Strip'. Small restaurant, and booking essential.

Rioja Finnieston

1116 Argyle Street G3 8TD - 0141 334 0761

An area less likely to have tapas than Finnieston is hard to imagine, but this is good tapas with a familiar but well-prepared selection and very relaxed service. Right beside Crabshaak.

Old Salty's

1126 Argyle Street, G3 8TD - 0141 357 5677

'When in Glasgow...' If you really must eat fish and chips, this is probably the place to do it. Was even reviewed by Jay Rayner. Good, fresh and substantial fish suppers to eat in or carry out. Beside Crabshaak and Rioja Finnieston, and has a branch at the top end of Byres Road.

Mother India's Café

1355 Argyle Street, G3 8AD - 0141 339 9145

Very good Indian tapas – an excellent way to eat an inventive selection of good Indian cooking. At bottom of Kelvin Way and turn right. Opposite the Kelvingrove Gallery and Museum. Right beside Mother India – Dining In, a more familiar kind of Indian restaurant belonging to an excellent and well-established chain. The original Mother India, well-established and very good, is about ten minutes along Sauchiehal Street

Zizzi's

8 Cresswell Lane, G12 8AA - 0141 3348258

Above-average Italian, large and friendly. Good pizza.

Wee Curry Shop

Glasgow 'has good curry' and this is one of the most reliable franchises. Not too expensive with plenty of vegetarian options.

North/City Centre branch: 7 Buccleuch Street, G3 6SJ - 0141 353 0777

West End branches: 29 Ashton Lane, G12 8SJ - 0141 357 5280; and 41 Byres Road, G11 5RG - 0141 339 1339

The 78

10 Kelvinhaugh Street, G3 8NU - 0141 576 5018

One of three vinyl-themed venues in Glasgow (the others being Mono and Stereo). Offers a 100% vegan menu. The entire drinks range is organic and free from any animal produce. Relaxed, casual atmosphere and handy for delegates staying in our student residences.

You'll find plenty of bars and restaurants on and around cobbled Ashton Lane (running parallel to Byres Road) and on Byres Road itself. These include

- The **Grosvenor Café** on Ashton Lane, above the remodelled Grosvenor Cinema, in which the traces of the original Grosvenor Cinema built in 1921 can still be traced;
- The Salon on Vinicombe Street at the top of Byres Road, the sad remains of the Hillhead Picture Salon, opened in 1913 and closing as a cinema in 1992, but still retaining the original exterior and some of the original interior features.

Further information on Glasgow and Scottish cinemas can be found on the Scottish Cinemas Database at http://www.scottishcinemas.org.uk/database.html

Recommended bars are

- The Ubiquitous Chip,
- Stravaigin (on Gibson Street)
- **Oran Mor** (a converted church on the corner of Byres Road and Great Western Road with a spectacular ceiling painted by the artist and novelist, Alastair Gray).

CITY CENTRE

Gamba

225a West George Street, Glasgow G2 2ND - 0141 572 0899

Very good seafood restaurant for 'fine diners'. Reservations essential.

Babbity Bowster

16-18 Blackfriars Street, G1 1PE - 0141 552 5055

Landmark pub/restaurant/hotel. Good bar menu, beer garden, nice atmosphere. Their Cullen skink - a Scottish haddock soup – is recommended.

Café Gandolfi

64 Albion Street, G1 1NY - 0141 552 6813

Very popular (for good reasons) so book ahead if you want to get a table. Famous wooden interior and fantastic range of Scottish dishes. Not too pricey.

Gandolfi Fish

84 Albion Street, G1 1NY - 0141 552 9475

Sister restaurant to the Café and just as popular – excellent fish dishes (of course) with a "Fish to Go" takeaway next door.

Rogano

11 Exchange Place, G1 3AN - 0141 248 4055

Famous for its Art Deco interior this is 'fine dining' - pricey but worth it if you can afford it. Seafood a speciality. There is a cheaper 'Café Rogano' at basement level.

• The Dhabba

44 Candleriggs, G1 1LE - 0141 553 1249

Specialises in North Indian cuisine.

The Merchant City area of Glasgow is awash with restaurants and bars and this is only a sample. All are likely to be busy especially if the weather is good.

During the day

Close to the conference venue are **Off Shore**, 3-5 Gibson Street, G12 8NU (Fri 8am-9pm; Sat/Sun 9am-9pm) a cafe overlooking the river and **Artisan Roast**, 15-17 Gibson Street, G12 8NU (Fri 8am-7.30pm; Sat 9am-6pm; Sun 9am-6.30pm), a serious coffee house which roasts its own beans, and serves soups and snacks. If it's sunny, **An Clachan** cafe, located within Kelvingrove Park (Fri 8am-6pm; Sat 9am-6pm; Sun 10am-6pm) has outdoor tables beneath the trees. Ramshackle **Tchai Ovna teahouse** (42 Otago Lane, G12 8PB (11am-11pm), is set in its own garden down a cobbled lane – the service, like the garden, is a bit Zen! Byres Road is the main drag of the West End and has the usual chain coffee shops but also some fantastic independent delis and coffee houses. **Il Cappuccino**, 491 Great Western Road, G12 8HL (Sat 7.30am – 6pm; Sun 10am-6pm) does a range of fresh Italian sandwiches and paninis; the tiny **Cottonrake Bakery**, 491 Great Western Road, G12 8HL (Fri-Sat, 8am-6pm; Sun 9am-4pm) has cosy counter-style seating and sells artisan-y things like sausage rolls made with pork shoulder and Stornoway black pudding.

Getting around

Underground

Glasgow's underground is the third-oldest underground metro system in the world, and it has not expanded beyond its original twin circular lines. It closes relatively early (around 11pm, and before 6pm on a Sunday). A single fare is £1.60.

Buses

For some mysterious reason, buses in Glasgow don't give change. You will need to have the exact fare and that will depend on the bus company and how far you're going. Roughly about £2 per journey.

- Routes 4 and 4A run through the main campus from the city centre. There are stops just outside of the conference venue. For the city centre and Glasgow Central station, cross the road and take the 4 towards Newton Mearns
- Other routes serve Dumbarton Road, Great Western Road and Byres Road.
- A seasonal tourist bus stops at the University

Trains

There are two main train stations: Glasgow Central (mostly trains from/to the South, including the West Coast line to England), and Glasgow Queen Street (for the North and East, including Edinburgh and some East Coast trains to England). The two stations are about 10 minutes' walk from each other, and about 35 minutes from the University.

Taxis

Black cabs can be hailed from the street and (certainly if shared) are not too expensive. From the conference venue to the city centre, expect to pay around £6. Glasgow Taxis offer a discounted airport service for delegates. Pre-book your taxi by calling +44 (0) 141 429 7070 using code CM7 for journeys from Glasgow Airport to the City Centre or code CM5 from the City Centre to Glasgow Airport. Each journey will be £18, saving you around £3 on the usual fare.

Glasgow Airport

The Glasgow Shuttle (First 500) is the official Glasgow City Centre to Glasgow Airport service. It departs Buchanan Bus Station up to every 10 minutes. A single journey is £6.50 and you can pay the driver (but they won't give you change).

Service 77 also goes to the airport and has stops nearer the University, but it takes a much longer route.

Citylink Air connects Edinburgh Airport to Glasgow city centre (Buchanan bus station). There are up to 2 services every hour and the journey it takes about an hour. A single is £11.40.

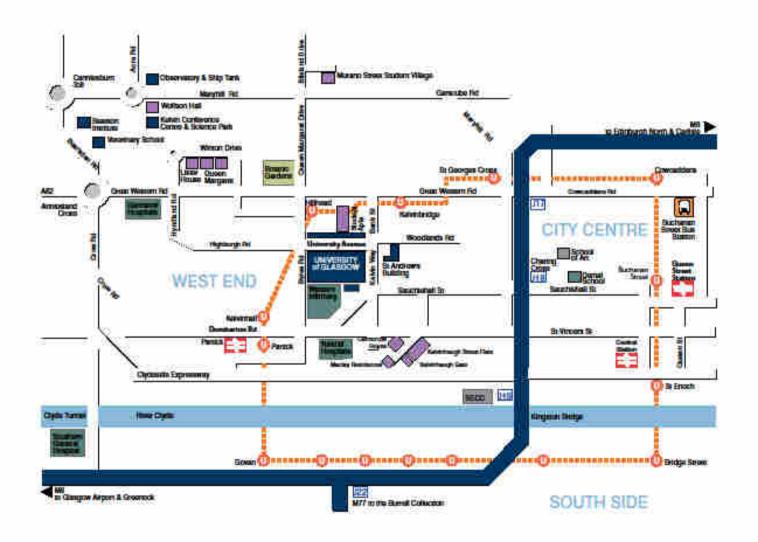
Britannia Panopticon: 'the world's oldest surviving music hall'



Delegates who have time to spend in Glasgow may wish to visit the **Britannia Panopticon**, on the first floor above an amusement arcade, at 117 Trongate (take subway to St Enoch and head west along Argyle Street – enter from lane). For information, including opening times, see http://www.britanniapanopticon.org.

Built as the Britannia Music Hall in 1857, it hosted many of the major names on the circuit. Stan Laurel made his first stage appearance there on an amateur night in 1906. It was owned by A.E. Pickard from 1906, who renamed it as the Panopticon, installed a freak show, a waxworks and an indoor zoo, and exhibited the cinematograph. It closed in 1938 when it was sold to a tailors and converted to a workshop. It is currently being conserved by a trust who regularly perform traditional shows in the auditorium. It is now protected as a category A listed building.

The 'Early Cinema in Scotland' project acquired twenty of Pickard's scrapbooks on behalf of the Britannia Panopticon, with around 100 pages in each scrapbook, and including press clippings, accounts, letters. The scrapbooks are currently being digitized and will be published on the Early Cinema in Scotland website.





Campus map

Asiem Smith Building	DE	John Militian Building	1,000
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Contractor		Kaline Ballery	. A2
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(Charge of Connection)		Distant House	29
Research Centre		McMilan Reading Floren	21
Se Consine Davis		Main Building	A10
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Boxer Building	E7	Methernation Building	04
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Bule Hell	ASE	Portamente Building	CS
Corners Service	E2	Principal's Lodging	A18
Carbolic Character	Eit	Queen Margaret Union	D3
Chapel	88	Flendston Hell	410
Chaptercy	424	Review Building	53
Computing Service	A2	Fiegrafry	50
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Conference & Visitor		Innovation Office	349
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Communications Office	A20	Roberton Sulding	(22
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Development & Alumni		Building	520
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Graham Keer Building	#3	West Medical Stations	- 92
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Building	A2	Workers Building	310
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*Updated February 2016

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MONDAY 22	HINE			
WONDAT 22	JOINE			
1330-1530	Workshop (Jura Lab, University L	Library)		
1530-1600	Registration (Gilmorehill Foyer)			
1600-1800	00-1800 Plenary session			
	Chair: John Caughie Keynotes: Richard Maltby and H	aidee Wasson		
1800-2000	Reception (Gilmorehill Theatre)			
TUESDAY 23	JUNE			
	217A	217B	408	409
0900-1030	Interrogating the archive	Fragments of evidence	Revisiting historical narratives	
	Jackson/Lameris, Masson, Ingravalle, Leigh	Rhodes, Ligensa, Wright, Velez-Serna	Loader, Street, Gray, Thorsen	
BREAK				
1100-1230	The film text in New Cinema History	Distribution and exhibition in Britain and Ireland	Early cinema: Sources	
	Goode, Kessler/Lenk, Dibbets, Krutnik	Manning, Stokes/Petts, Condon, Cook	O'Rourke, Slugan, Moore	
LUNCH				
1330-1500	Comparative approaches to historical cinemagoing	Exhibition: Now	Early cinema: Global histories	
	van Oort/Meers, Pafort- Overduin/Van de Vijver/Sedgwick, Jurca	Brunsdon, Wallace, Walsh/Walker/Maltby, Ferraz	Tofighian, Morton, Kaya, James	

	217A	217B	408	409		
1530-1645	To be Continued: Serials, Cycles, and the New Cinema History	What is feminist cinema history?	'Of the scholars, nothing is to be expected, I am afraid.'			
	Stanfield, Snelson, Smith	Hallett, Stamp, Bell	Anthony, Dixon, Rice, Russell			
BREAK						
1700-1830	Roundtable: Looking back an	d looking forward on cinema	history			
	Chair: Daniel Biltereyst					
	Allen, Burrows, Klenotic, Pafort-Overduin, Velez-Serna					
WEDNESDA	Y 24 JUNE					
0900-1030	National historiographies	Negotiating censorship	Early cinema: People	Leicester Goes to the Movies		
	Askari, Hupaniittu, Erdoğan, Kumar	Egan, Strassfeld, Biltereyst/Van de Vijver	Merz, Burrows, Ellis/Smith, Whitehead	Chibnall, Ercole, Jones, Porter, Watson		
BREAK						
1100-1230	Useful cinema	British Cinema and the Transition to Sound	Reconstructing post-war Italian audiences	Visual cultures		
	Curtis, Powell, Bohlmann, Wilson	Izod, Neely, Porter	Hipkins, Sedgwick, Treveri Gennari, Dibeltulo, O'Rawe	Roberts, Fibla, Moen, Česálková		
LUNCH						
1330-1500	Plenary session					
	Chair: Richard Maltby					
	Keynotes: John Caughie, Judi	th Thissen				
1500-1630	HoMER General meeting (408)					
1630-1800	HoMER social					

