

Disassembling the Cinema: The Poster, the Film and In-Between

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Opened onto its outside by the publicity system, the film spills its contents into the stream of everyday life, where they join other detritus of everyday experience.

- Victor Burgin, *The Remembered Film*¹

The move toward reception studies and the re-emergence of historicism that has occurred within film studies over the last several decades has been at least partially motivated by a reaction against the ahistorical, essentializing tendency of the Lacanian-based apparatus theory that dominated the 1970's.² An integral part of this shift has been the introduction of the space of the theater as a highly contingent, localized space where cultural and social coding, personal desires and alternative modes of spectatorship converge.³ While successfully dethroning the self-effacing and autonomous space that Jean-Louis Baudry infamously regarded as a re-enactment of Plato's cave, this discourse at the same time obscured a more radical de-centering of the theater proposed by Roland Barthes and others.⁴ This latter body of work attempted to steer the discussion away from re-examining the cultural and historical specificity of the space of exhibition and toward questioning the very integrity of such a space to begin with. Rather than positing the cinema as a mode of seeing or even as perceptual labor that disciplines the sensorium, views that have become dogma within the discipline, the dispersal that this theory proposes is a literal displacement of the cinematic from the theater onto its surrounding space, a "portability" of the film experience itself whose conduit and motor is the publicity system. In the words of Victor Burgin, the film "spills its content into the stream of everyday life" through the sea of visual ephemera produced in the course of its promotion: posters, trailers, commercials and so on, displacing the cinematic onto non-cinematic spaces: the sidewalk, the home and the shopping mall, ultimately leaving film theory's object of study forever in quota-

tion marks. This paper will begin by tracing this "disassembly" of the cinema through the work of Roland Barthes and then move to a historical inquiry into the birth of the modern film poster in order to bring to light the economic and aesthetic forces that brought these relationships to bear.

Theorizing the "Portability" of Film Experience

Roland Barthes' 1975 essay, "Upon Leaving the Movie Theater," delivered two damaging, if not fatal blows to prevailing models of film spectatorship at the time.⁵ The first comes by way of a confession in which Barthes admits to going to the cinema as much (if not more) to revel in the eroticism that its darkness provides than the film itself. This admission is based on an acknowledgement of a dual action of the projector, which, as Barthes tells us, not only presents an onscreen image but in the course of doing so transforms the spectator him or herself into an image for the consumption of others in the theater. The acknowledgement of this second "film" quickly leads to an even more profound destabilization of the space of exhibition. According to Barthes, as those bodies whose partial images the "dancing cone" reveals lose their self-consciousness in the perceived darkness and "slide down into their seats as if into a bed, coats or feet thrown over the row in front," the darkness of the theater is charged with "the modern eroticism" of the city and in a larger sense the separation between the theater and its outside breaks down.⁶ Spectatorship becomes the product of a complex intertextuality between the film and the narrative of its exhibition space, the latter of which is dispersed, "according to true metonymy," onto what has traditionally been regarded as non-cinematic spaces.⁷

Reading this piece in conjunction with Barthes' earlier text, "The Third Meaning," it becomes clear that it is not the darkness of the city alone that performs this disassembly and dispersal, but rather the trail of posters that resides within it. Here he



A Mutual Movies ad from 1913.



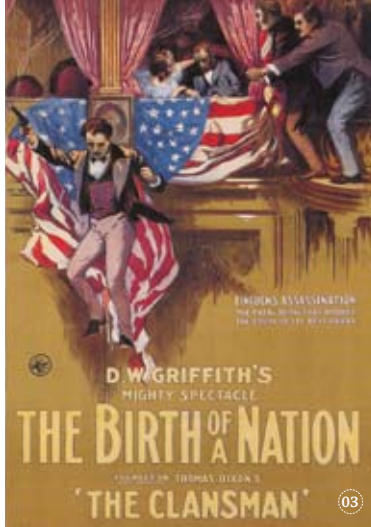
322 South Adams Street, Peoria, Illinois, 1916.

attributes his fascination with the “photos from a film (outside a cinema, in the pages of the Cahiers du Cinéma)” to the recognition of an alternate conception of cinematic movement, a “permutational unfolding” that is the structure of what he calls the “third meaning.”⁸ In contrast to the more obvious layers of communication and signification, the third meaning marks “a supplement that the intellect cannot succeed in absorbing,” disturbs continuity, and “is indifferent to the story and the obvious meaning.”⁹ As it is the film still rather than the film from which it is taken that best represents this third meaning, Barthes will claim that “the filmic, very paradoxically, cannot be grasped in the film in situation, in movement in its natural state, but only in that major artifact, the still.”¹⁰

In order to unpack Barthes’ privileging of the still, his argument must be situated within a recurring discussion within film theory. Against the notion of cinematic movement as mimetic or natural, theorists such as Stephen Heath or Gilles Deleuze have posited the essence and radical potentiality of the moving image as, respectively, the production of an “excess” or “movement-image.”¹¹ From this vantage point, continuity editing in commercial cinema and, to some degree, the illusion of movement itself, is engaged in a constant cycle of production and containment of this excess through which the spectator is sutured within the filmic diegesis.¹² According to Barthes, what differentiates the film still from other still images is the implied presence of a “diegetic horizon” which pulls the image forward, so to speak, despite its immobility.¹³ In these terms, Barthes’ infatuation with the still image of the poster arises from its presentation of an excess that is not yet recuperated by a successive image or cut, and as such is more faithful to the cinematic than the film which it represents.

To return to our earlier discussion, we can now see that it is as a result of this position between legibility and illegibility, movement and stillness, that Barthes’ encounter with the poster momentarily transforms the darkened streets of the city into the “twilight reverie” of the cinema. However, this reversal is counterbalanced by the fact that the still also contains a lure of its own, a “hypnotic power” that in leading one “from poster to poster...to the anonymous, indifferent cube” threatens to reappropriate this potentiality or excess in similar fashion as the onscreen image.

With this displacement of the film experience onto visual artifacts of the surrounding spaces of the theater, Barthes’ theory provides us with a model of spectatorship that not only extends beyond conventionally cinematic contexts, but also alerts us to the pull or perhaps even appellation that the “film” may have upon the viewer beyond both



A Lithograph poster for D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915).



A poster for D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915) featuring a still from the film.

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the simple lure of advertising or the identification with the onscreen image. In order to better understand the motivations behind and the historical evolution of this process that Barthes and others have identified, I'd like to turn to a discussion of the modern film poster's coming of age.¹⁴ Here we will find that the vast commercialization of the film industry that occurs in the transitional period of 1905-1917 sets in motion a standardization and interconnectedness between the poster and the screen through which this "portability" of the cinematic becomes possible.

The Genesis of the Modern Film Poster

A common format of the film posters from the period preceding the "Nickelodeon Boom" of 1905-6 was what Kathryn Helgessen Fuller refers to as the "audience image."¹⁵ From Edison's 1901 poster for a Vitascope exhibition in Birmingham (fig. 5) to a Cook and Harris advertisement for a 1905 showing at the Elk's Opera House in New York, the audience is shown in almost stock fashion in these images, namely, enthralled by the wonder of the new medium. On these grounds, Fuller identifies the "audience image" with what Tom Gunning has called "the cinema of attractions," a mode of spectatorship and film production which preceded the arrival of narrative cinema and in which the apparatus and its illusion of motion was itself the star attraction.¹⁶ In these terms, the audience functions in conjunction with a larger attempt to foreground the apparatus and the uncanny illusion of reality it produced rather than to advertise the content of the film. The latter is utilized only secondarily, that is, only in so far as it magnifies the former.¹⁷

While Fuller is eager to establish the virtual disappearance of the "audience image" from film advertising as coinciding with the movement away from "actualities" and toward narrative cinema, the audience does not necessarily disappear from film posters after the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁸ Rather, they take on a new role, one that is best illustrated by a Mutual Movies ad from 1913 (fig. 1). Here, the audience is divorced from the apparatus. Gone are the catatonic viewers of the Edison images. Instead, these well-dressed filmgoers serve to assuage the fear of the middle class audience that theater owners were now courting and to counter campaigns waged by activists like Jane Addams who saw the Nickelodeon as a house of vice. While the waning of the 19th-century fascination and astonishment with the cinematic apparatus certainly transformed the audience image, its disappearance only occurs after the middle class audience had been successfully procured by the film industry.¹⁹ From this point on, it is the moving

image itself, rather than the apparatus or the spectators, that comes to take precedence in publicity material. As the pair of posters for D.W. Griffith 1915 film *Birth of A Nation* illustrate (fig. 3 and 4), for the most part, this meant either lithographs which took from the circus and other promotional material a bold and dramatic style, or posters based upon still photographs from the film.²⁰

It is crucial to understand this movement toward the “still” in the context of the 1909 drive of the Motion Picture Patent Company (MPPC) to consolidate and standardize distribution and exhibition.²¹ First, through what Richard Abel calls a combined strategy of “lawsuits and licensing” and second, through the formation of the conglomerate General Film Company in 1910, the MPPC established film distribution and exhibition as, for all intents and purposes, “a closed market.”²² In light of this consolidation, underway in virtually all aspects of the industry, the still offered an additional benefit. Since producing ads for specific theaters would be impractical for a company such as the GFC, which served an extensive and diverse group of exhibitors, the still presented an image devoid of the geographical specificity of the audience image, one that could be mass produced without variation. What ensues is a standardization that begins with the reconfiguration of the poster itself. For example, in 1909, the Klame company began creating posters in dimensions that would be equal to the size of eight lobby cards (seven “scenes” and a title card), allowing streamlined shipping and standardized lobby displays.²³ The standardization of form was followed by the standardization of content as printers such as Hernegan and Donaldson in Cincinnati created a line of stock posters that represented the prevailing subjects of the films of the time and that could easily be tweaked to represent a given show.²⁴ With shipping expedited and printing costs minimized, film manufacturers soon began sending “vast quantities of literature...free to every exhibitor,”²⁵ and trade publications such as *Moving Picture World* began offering advice to exhibitors on lobby displays, promotional tie-ins and publicity stunts.²⁶ In an article entitled “Theater Managers, Wake Up!” the trade journal encourages the obsessive decoration of the Nickelodeon (fig. 2): “It is all well enough to let the storefront make the circus display outside his place in order to attract a crowd.”²⁷

However, the shift from the “audience image” to the still image initiated a standardization that does not alone account for the interconnectedness or metonymic exchange between image and film that began this inquiry. The latter must be understood in conjunction with an exhibition practice that preceded both the establishment of con-



A 1901 advertisement for a Vitaphone Exhibition by the Edison Company.

glomerates and subsequent standardization of exhibition. As Tom Gunning points out, it was common practice in the 19th century to begin a showing with a projected still image which would, after a dramatic pause, suddenly be granted movement.²⁸ In fact, Albert E. Smith developed a water cell between the film and the light source that would allow the projector to hold the still without catching fire precisely for this purpose.²⁹ While the “aesthetic of astonishment” and the “cinema of attractions” were relatively short-lived modes of spectatorship, this residual connection between the still and its “magical transformation” gained a new currency within the film poster. In focusing on dramatic, climactic scenes, posters such as Griffith’s *Birth of A Nation* (fig. 4) presented images that were themselves caught between motion and stillness and as such asked the audience to internally re-enact this early practice.

From the point of view of spectatorship, the result of this standardization between images in combination with the implied motion of the still itself is a peculiar displacement that André Bazin would later diagnose as “the art of not seeing films.”³⁰ In a 1944 article of the same name, Bazin, perhaps the ultimate cinephile, makes the provocative claim that a film can be legitimately be read, at least with “seventy-five percent accuracy,” by the posters which advertise it. In essence, by reading the image through an elaborate “graphology” the image gives way to the film proper and in those cases where the film one “sees” through the poster is of inferior quality one can safely choose not to attend its showing. “Seeing” the film no longer necessitates the theater or even the film itself.³¹

The arrival of the “still” as the dominant graphical reference to film experience in combination with the standardization or codification of advertising practices make possible the metonymic exchange between the poster and the moving image of the film. With the web of standardization established between images, the film poster appropriates the ability of the filmic image, both moving and still, to exceed itself only to recuperate this excess elsewhere. This inquiry has focused on the poster and obviously each visual mode of extension constitutes its own unique discourse that must be approached on its own terms. However, one can’t help but think that in a general sense it is this dispersal, endemic to the filmic form and perfected with the commercialization of the film industry, that grants film, a by now thoroughly antiquated technology, its continued relevance and vitality. In these terms, the evolution we have traced through the film poster is not all together different from the current migration of the cinematic across media and in turn time and space. The “artifact” that Barthes finds in the trail of posters is therefore both the anomalous element within our conventional understanding of the cinematic experience and also a record of the past. The latter, however, points simultaneously back to the birth of commercial cinema at the same time it prefigures the migration of the cinema across digitized formats where the materiality of the film and its space of presentation bring this process of portability to near completion.

1992).

14. Harry Bernstein, "The Drywallers--An Ironic Tale," *Los Angeles Times* (September 29, 1992).

15. Rick Burnham, "Union wants role in house building industry" *The Riverside Press-Enterprise* (May 7, 1995).

16. Mike Clements, "Drywallers' Strike Nails Down a Principle... Workers, Especially Immigrants, Need a 'Public Dace' to Win Justice..." *Los Angeles Times* (November 16, 1992).

17. Michael Flagg, "A 'Landmark' Victory for Drywall Union; Labor: Mexican Immigrants Outlast Builders..." *Los Angeles Times* (November 11, 1992).

18. Sandy Stokes, "Over 400 Drywallers Deported," *The Riverside Press-Enterprise* (March 15, 1994).

19. Sandy Stokes, "INS Trying to Punish Drywallers," *The Riverside Press-Enterprise* (March 22, 1994).

20. David Bacon, "Shutting Down Homebuilding in LA Basin; Immigrants Lead New Surge of Labor Activism," *Pacific News Service* (May 9, 1995).

21. *Pacific News Service* (May 9, 1995).

22. Nancy Cleeland, "Las Vegas Labor Protests Brought to LA Builder," *Los Angeles Times* (April 2, 1999).

23. --, "Work Force," *Engineering News-Record* (May 24, 1999): 44.

24. Alan Goozner, "Let in More Mexicans Legally," *Engineering News-Record* (August 16, 1999): 99.

Images: Fig. 1, *West Contra Costa County Times* (January 2000). Fig. 2, reprinted from Raúl Salinas de Gortari, *Tecnología, Empleo, y Construcción en el Desarrollo de México, Segunda Edición* (Mexico City: Editorial Diana, 1993), 89. Fig. 3, reprinted from Aurelio José Barrera, *Los Angeles Times* (November 16, 1992).

Lalibela and Libanos, 78–81

1. Research was made possible by a grant from the MIT School of Humanities, Art and Social Sciences Research Grant.

2. Among the most recent scholarship, there are the following works: Jacqueline Pirenne, "La signification symbolique des églises de Lalibéla, à partir des inscriptions découvertes en 1980-1983," in ed. Taddese Beyene, *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Addis Ababa, 1984* (Addis Ababa: 1989), 137-45; Michael Gervers, "The Rehabilitation of the Zague Kings and the Building of the Dabra Sina-Golgotha-Sellassie Complex in Lalibela," [http://www.utoronto.ca/deeds/pubs/golgotha/golgotha.html#_edna12 (June 12, 2007)]; Marilyn E. Heldman, "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22/3 (Aug., 1992), 222-241; Gigar Tesfaye, with the collaboration of Jacqueline Pirenne, "Inscriptions sur bois de trois églises de Lalibala," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 17 (1984), 107-43; D.R. Buxton, "Ethiopian Medieval Architecture – The Present State of Studies," *Ethiopian Studies, papers read at the Second International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (Manchester University, July 1963)*, ed. C.F. Beekingham & Edward Ullendorff, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 9 (1964), 239-44; Emeri van Donzel, "Ethiopia's Lalibala and the fall of Jerusalem 1187," *Aethiopia*, 1 (1998), 27-49; Taddese Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford, 1972).

3. Tamrat Taddesse, *Church and State in Ethiopia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 61 n.3.

4. It is also sometimes spelled Yemrehanna Krestos.

5. On Petra, see: Charles R. Orloff, "The Water System and Distribution System of the Nabataean City of Petra (Jordan) 33 BC- AD300" [published online, June, 2007] http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FCAJ%2FCAJ15_01%2FS0959774305000053a.pdf&code=06a4d4fe5df8a15b559d97c60a9e146d

6. Michael P. Kucher. *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy: The Medieval Roots of the Modern Networked City* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

7. For other literature dealing with medieval water systems see: Peer Beaumont, Michael Bonine and Keith McLachlan, eds. *Qanat, Kariz, and Khattara: Traditional Water Systems in the Middle East and North Africa* (London: Middle East & North African Studies Press 1989); Leigh-Ann Bedal. The Petra pool-complex: a Hellenistic paradeisos in the Nabataean Capital: Results from the Petra "lower market" survey and excavations, 1998 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2004); Dora P. Crouch. *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Thomas F. Glick. *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970); Roberta Magnusson and Paolo Squatriti, "The Technologies of Water in Medieval Italy," in *Working with Water in Medieval Europe: Technology and Resource Use* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Paolo Squatriti. *Water and Society in early Medieval Italy, AD 400-1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Images: courtesy of Mark Jarzombek.

Ole Cloes, 82–83

Images: courtesy of Shell & Bertozzi. www.secondhandfilm.com

Disassembling the Cinema, 84–88

1. Victor Burgin, *The Remembered Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 12.

2. "Apparatus theory" refers to a school of film theory practiced by Jean-Louis Baudry, Jean-Louis Comolli, Christian Metz and others who conceptualized film spectatorship through psychoanalysis, in particular the Lacanian mirror stage, and Althusserian Marxism. In its most militant form, this group saw the very nature of cinema, irrespective of content, as ideological in its concealment of difference and "suturing" of the spectator within the filmic world. Sometimes used interchangeable with "screen theory" a group formed around the British journal *Screen* at around the same time. Members of this latter group include Stephen Heath, Colin MacCabe and Laura Mulvey.

3. Works representing this move to spectatorship and reception include Judith Mayne. *Cinema and Spectatorship* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Mayne, "Immigrants and Spectators," *Wide Angle* 5, no. 2, (1982), 32-40; Janet Staiger. *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception* (New York University Press, 2000); Jackie Stacey. *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Annette Kuhn. *An Everyday Magic: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2002); and Miriam Hansen. *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

4. Jean-Louis Baudry "The Apparatus: Metapsychological Approaches to the Impression of Reality in Cinema" in Philip Rosen ed., *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Theory Reader*

5. I am here again alluding to the ideal spectator posed by apparatus theory and other Lacanian based "subject position theories" of the time.

6. Roland Barthes, "Upon Leaving the Movie Theater" in *The Rustle of Language* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 346.

7. *Ibid.*, 345-6.

8. Barthes. "The Third Meaning" in *Image-Music-Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 65.

9. *Ibid.*, 61.

10. Ibid., 65.

11. Stephen Heath. *Questions of Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981). Gilles Deleuze. *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*. High Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam trans. University Minnesota Press, 1986.

12. "Continuity editing" in its most literal usage refers to a mode of editing which preserves action through the cut, in opposition to, for example, the "jump cut" which breaks the continuity between frames. However, continuity or seamless editing is at the same time part of the larger shot / reverse-shot structure of Hollywood cinema through which the viewer is placed in the filmic world.

13. Barthes. "The Third Meaning," 65-66.

14. While this essay has focused on the work of Roland Barthes, similar sentiments can be found within a work of a handful of subsequent theorists, most notably in the work of Victor Burgin who in his 1996 work *In/Different Spaces: Place and Memory in Visual Culture* (University of California Press) claims "...a 'film' may be encountered through posters, blurbs, and other advertisements, such as trailers or television clips; it may be encountered through newspapers reviews, reference work synopses and theoretical articles...; through their production photographs, frame enlargements, memorabilia, and so on. Clearly, this "film"—a heterogeneous psychological object, constructed from image scraps scattered in space and time—is a very different object from that encountered in the context of film studies" (22-3). That this dispersal can operate as chain of images through which the would-be spectator is beckoned to the film proper also appears in Burgin's work. For example, in *The Remembered Film* he relates an experience in Paris where his nearly constant interaction with a poster showing a film still from *Eyes Wide Shut* came to establish "a place between the photograph and the film," a time of arrest that in Lacanian terms functions as the "lure" (38). Anne Friedberg identifies an even more disconcerting scenario in the relationship of the multiplex theater and the shopping mall. In equating the former with the "spectatorial flâneurie" of the VCR, Friedberg explains: "the multiplex positions its cinema screens in spatial metonymy of a chain of adjacent store windows [so that] when one reaches the cinema screen, the stillness of the shop mannequin is transformed into the live action of film performance." Reprint in "Spectatorial Flânerie" in *Exhibition: The Film Reader*, Ina Rae Hark ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 177.

15. Kathryn Helgesen Fuller. "Viewing the Viewers: Representations of the Audience in Early Cinema Advertising" in Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby eds., *American Movies Audiences* (London: BFI, 1999).

16. Tom Gunning. "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde" in Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker eds., *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative* (London: BFI, 1990), 58.

17. This is evident in the Cook and Harris example where the exaggerated perspective of the steamship is noteworthy more for its apparent breaching of the boundary between screen and reality than its narrative significance.

18. Kathryn Helgesen Fuller. "Viewing the Viewers: Representations of the Audience in Early Cinema Advertising," in *American Movies Audiences*, Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby eds. (London: BFI, 1999), 112-8.

19. This transformation would only be fully realized with the arrival of the movie palaces of the 1910's.

20. According to Anthony Slide, the first still was published in 1901 as part of the promotion of *A Million and One Nights* (218). From here on I use "still" in quotations mark to refer to an image which references dramatic content of the film without recourse to the audience or apparatus, in other words as an image which may or may not be necessarily photographic.

21. An oligopoly formed in 1908 consisting of virtually all of the major film companies including Edison, Biograph, Vitagraph, Essanay, Selig, Lubin, Kalem, American Star and American Pathé, broken up by a series of decisions by the courts, most notably a decision in 1912, which cancelled the patent on raw film, and a second in 1915, which cancelled all MPPC patents.

22. Richard Abel. *Americanizing the Moves and "Movie-Mad" Audiences 1910-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 14-17.

23. Anthony Slide. *Early American Cinema* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1994) 218-9.

24. Kathryn H. Fuller. *At the Picture Show* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 126.

25. For example, by 1928 a typical campaign by the national theater chain Publix "called for nearly 10,000 posters, of all sizes, printed in bulk at discounted prices." Douglas Gomery, "Fashioning an Exhibition Empire," in Gregory Waller ed., *Moviedom in America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 131.

26. "The Moving Picture and the Press," *Moving Picture World* (6 May 1911).

27. P.A. Parsons, "A History of Motion Picture Advertising," *Moving Picture World* (26 March 1927): 308.

28. Tom Gunning, "An Aesthetic of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)Credulous Spectator," in Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen eds., *Film Theory and Criticism*, (Oxford University Press, 1999), 822-3.

29. In his showings of *The Black Diamond Express*, Smith, and many other exhibitors from the Lumiere and the Edison companies, would begin with the still of the locomotive and then after a dramatic address, suddenly bring the image to life. According to Gunning, the ensuing astonishment on the part of the audience "derives from a magical metamorphosis rather than a seamless reproduction of reality." (822)

30. André Bazin, "The Art of Not Seeing Films," in *French Cinema of the Occupation and Resistance*, Stanley Hochman trans. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1981), 73-4.

31. Ibid.

Images: Fig. 1, reprinted from Richard Abel. *Americanizing the Moves and "Movie-Mad" Audiences 1910-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 94. Fig. 2, reprinted from Eileen Bowser. *The Transformation of Cinema 1907-1915* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1990), 272. Fig. 3, reprinted from Emily King. *Movie Poster* (London: Octopus Publishing, 2003), 21. Fig. 4, courtesy of DVDbeaver.com. Fig. 5, courtesy of A. Wichmann.