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**Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel:
Touring film exhibition in late Victorian Britain**

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Thesis submitted to BIRKBECK COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD)

(VISUAL ARTS AND MEDIA)

Declaration of original work

The work presented in this thesis is my own and has not been submitted for any other degree.
All sources of information have been acknowledged.

Signature Patricia Cook

Date 9/11/2016

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Many others have been important in working on this project. Naming them is my best means of thanking them for their contribution; the late Dave Berry, Bernard Bastide, Richard Brown, Jamie Beveridge, Malcolm Cook, Richard Crangle, Liz Drew, Frank Ferrie, Bryony Dixon, John Elliott, Tony Fletcher, Mark Fuller, Frank Gray, Trevor Griffiths, Michael Harvey, Ann-Rachael Harwood, Stephen Herbert, Janice Healey, Janet McBain, Luke McKernan, Laura Mulvey, Lynda Nead, Dorota Ostrowska, Clive Polden, Sue Rowbotham, Tony Shepherd, Vanessa Toulmin, Peter York, the late Dave Williams and Mary Woods.

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Abstract

This thesis explores a little known period of early film exhibition in late Victorian Britain. Employing an historiographic approach to material not previously researched, principally the archive of William D. Slade a successful Cheltenham business man, a largely chronological study of Slade's activities has been undertaken.

Beginning with his presentations of optical lantern exhibitions in the 1880s and 90s in Cheltenham and Worcester, Slade's experience as an amateur in magic lantern exhibition is explored as the background to the paradigm shift he made in December 1896. Immediately after purchasing a Demeny -Chronophotographe and films from the recently established Gaumont Company in Paris, Slade, accompanied by his daughter Mary, embarked on a new career as Slade's Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments and Concerts. During the first six months of 1897, he put on a series of entertainments in the south-west of England and Derbyshire.

Investigating what was taking place in Cheltenham in 1897 revealed that the Borough Council commissioned Robert Paul to take film of the official visit of the Prince of Wales to the town in May 1897. The correspondence between Slade and Gaumont et Cie further disclosed that Léon Gaumont, in company with John Le Couteur of the Photographic Association in London, also came to Cheltenham to film this visit. This explained how Slade was able to exhibit film of the Prince of Wales' visit as part of the Cheltenham Diamond Jubilee celebrations in June 1897. Slade subsequently made these films a central feature of his nationwide touring entertainments.

In August 1897, Slade entered into a contract with a theatrical agent, Edward Baring, which led to 28 weeks of touring as Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel six nights a week throughout England and Scotland, ending in March 1898. An in-depth study of the many exhibitions he presented revealed the wide variety of localities he visited, and furnished new understanding of the importance of the Diamond Jubilee films in attracting a diverse audience in many thriving towns of this period.

William Slade, previously unknown, emerges as a significant figure in the diffusion of moving pictures beyond the cities and the music hall, into many different localities of provincial Britain and significantly extends the knowledge of exhibition practices in the two years immediately after the first exhibitions in London.

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Introduction

The study of William Slade's career opens up a previously unknown and important seam of knowledge about the development of film exhibition in Britain between 1896 and 1898.

There is a curious gap in narrative history concerning the diffusion of moving pictures from the major cities to smaller centres of population. The first exhibitions of the Lumière's Cinématographe and Paul's Animatographe in London in the spring of 1896 led to the well-documented integration of early film into the programmes of music hall circuits in cities. Histories of early film almost invariably move from these exhibitions and their reception in 1896 to the early 1900s, leaving a lengthy gap in the account of what happened during the intervening period.

Slade's career starts to fill this gap. It began with his acquisition of a Demeny-Chronophotographe and films from Léon Gaumont in Paris in December 1896, and lasted for the next fifteen months as he toured throughout England and Scotland until March 1898. The present study has uncovered completely new information about the appearance of film shows in prosperous towns in England and Scotland during the years 1897 and 1898. Slade's tours offer an insight into the way films began to be seen outside metropolitan areas in this early period. His programmes further emphasise the significance of films of the Diamond Jubilee in London in June 1897. The patriotic feelings evoked by this subject matter, viewed in local community venues, were free of any association with the dubious environment of the music hall. Thus it can be established that the filmed presence of Queen Victoria and the images of the London celebrations were seminal in introducing moving pictures to a broad cross-section of the population throughout Britain.

William Slade was an unlikely pioneer in the early history of exhibition of 'animated photographs' in Britain. Born in Worcester in 1845, he spent most of his adult life running

highly successful family boot and shoe businesses in Cheltenham and Worcester. His name does not feature in any histories of early exhibition. His entry into the world of film projection, however, is recorded in January 1897 in a list of purchasers sent by Léon Gaumont to George Demeny, as having paid 150 francs for the Demeny-Chronophotographe, No 31, which Gaumont was marketing in partnership with Demeny.² In a footnote, he is described as ‘a shoemaker of Cheltenham who subsequently organised tours with his daughter Mary’.³ Slade was in international company – the fourteen purchasers listed are French, German and Italian, with only two others from England: the Polytechnic, London where Trewey had first presented a programme of animated pictures to a paying audience on a Lumière Cinématographe in March 1896; and Hughes, an optician and magic lantern manufacturer in London. Slade was therefore the first British independent operator to buy the latest French equipment from the recently established company, Gaumont et Cie, in Paris.

Previous lack of knowledge about Slade reflects the very limited information which exists about the activities of British itinerant exhibitors in 1897 and 1898 who had the enterprise to show ‘animated pictures’ to audiences outside the large cities. In his address to the British Kinematographical Society in 1933, Arthur Bromhead, who established the Gaumont office in London in 1898, described them as ‘town hall showmen’ who moved from town to town; and, with the benefit of hindsight, he expressed the opinion that, ‘It was due to their successful methods that the more permanent exhibitions developed by degree into the picture palaces of today’.⁴ However, the problems to be overcome in researching these early pioneers were highlighted in 1997 when John Barnes commented: ‘For an overall picture of

² Marie-Sophie Corey, Jacques Malthête, Laurent Mannoni, Jean-Jacques Meusy, eds., *Les Premières années de la société. Gaumont et Cie: Correspondance commerciale de Léon Gaumont, 1895-1899*. Association française de recherche sur l’histoire du cinéma, Bibliothèque du Film Gaumont 1998, no. 123, p 192. Letter from Gaumont to Demeny, 6 January 1897.

³ *Ibid*, p 193.

⁴ Colonel Bromhead’s paper, *Proceedings of the British Kinematograph Society*, no 31, p 4, 11 December 1933.

film exhibition at the turn of the century one would need to search practically every provincial newspaper in the country'.⁵

Since then, despite the work of film historians including Richard Brown and David Williams, the early diffusion of 'animated photographs' outside the metropolitan centres has still not received the detailed attention it deserves. The main sources have been autobiographies of early exhibitors, such as David Devant and Cecil Hepworth, or occasional lectures, in particular those given to a specialist audience of members of the Kinematograph Society in the 1930s. Pioneers from the early days of exhibition such as Robert Paul, Cecil Hepworth and Will Barker gave papers, which, while valuable as sources, do not claim to be anything more than reminiscences, with unconfirmed and sometimes contradictory statements based on their recollections of the early days.⁶ Brown, a historian with a particular interest in the business development of film, questions the weight which can be given to these accounts, written over forty years later, observing that that 'Film pioneers [...] assiduously cultivated the impression that the early days were rudimentary and disorganised and that commercial development was closely tied to technical improvement.' He argues that 'The early film business is about people and their actions, not products, and an investigation into early business practices offers considerable insight into the character and motivations of all concerned'.⁷ This is a useful distinction and supports the search for original, contemporary evidence of the practices of the period.

My interest in researching the largely unknown and long forgotten pioneers of exhibition grew out of work done on another itinerant exhibitor of the period, Albany Ward, whose involvement with cinematography began in 1896 when, as a very young man with the birth name of Hannam Edward Bonnor, he capitalised on a chance encounter with Birt Acres

⁵ John Barnes, *The Beginnings of Cinema in England 1894-1901*, Vol 5: 1900, University of Exeter Press, 1997, p. 113.

⁶ *Proceedings of the British Kinematograph Society*, no 38, 3 February 1936, 'Before 1910, Kinematograph Experiences, R.W.Paul, Cecil Hepworth, and W.G.Barker'.

⁷ Richard Brown and Barry Anthony, *A Victorian Film Enterprise*, Flicks Books, 1999, pp. 6 -7.

in Ilfracombe, Devon, to get a job in Acres' workshop in High Barnet, London.⁸ Albany Ward's career reflects the history of exhibition itself, from leaving Acres to join the Velograph Company in 1897, before setting himself up as an independent itinerant exhibitor in the late 1890s, then taking the opportunity in the early 1900s to lease a theatre in Oxford, showing films and variety acts. Building on this early success, by 1914 he was the owner of the largest cinema circuit in England.

In an unpublished memoir, describing his time as a touring exhibitor in the south west of England, Albany Ward referred to another itinerant exhibitor – 'a man named Slade, a Boot maker of the Promenade, Cheltenham who actually had his daughter with him as assistant operator'.⁹ Efforts to find any further information about this man and his daughter were unsuccessful until the discovery of several paragraphs about him in a book by Simon Popple and Joe Kember.¹⁰ Popple, the author of the chapter with information on Slade, directed me to an archive held at the National Media Museum at Bradford. This archive proved to be a diverse and rich collection of documents relating to the activities of William D. Slade during a relatively brief period of exhibition and touring between January 1897 and March 1898, and offered access to what is extremely rare: detailed records relating to the early exhibition of film.

The primary source of information about Slade and his activities is in this archive, which remains the property of his family.¹¹ For this study, it has been supplemented by material from the Gloucestershire County Archives. Secondary material has been gathered from contemporary newspapers, advertisements and reviews, and occasional items in local history museums and libraries. The archival record itself has been further enriched by identifying the whereabouts of the equipment and films purchased by Slade from Gaumont in

⁸ Patricia Cook, 'Albany Ward and the development of cinema exhibition in England', *Film History*, vol 20, no 3, 2008.

⁹ Albany Ward: Unpublished memoir, p 5, written c. 1947.

¹⁰ Simon Popple and Joe Kember, *Early Cinema: From Factory Gate to Dream Factory*, London and New York: Wallflower, 2004, pp.73, 74, 77, 78.

¹¹ All the material in the archive has been transcribed and can be consulted in the relevant appendices.

1896 and 1897. The Demenj-Chronophotographe, no 31, is stored in a warehouse of the National Media Museum in Bradford and the Gaumont films are held in the British Film Institute Archive at Berkhamstead. Additional information about the places of exhibition has been uncovered in the course of visiting many of the one hundred and forty-four towns on Slade's tours.

As the study progressed, it became clear that Slade's venues were mainly in medium sized towns, either engaged in the production of goods important for the prosperity of this period of Queen Victoria's reign, or thriving as leisure resorts. This points to a significant range of exhibition spaces which has so far not been documented. The crucial importance of the extensive railway network developed since the 1840s, enabling Slade to transport all the equipment connected with his shows, also became evident. This network linked most places countrywide, even those with a small population. Nevertheless, the tours he undertook were ambitious enterprises, with journeys frequently involving changes between the many different railway companies which provided regional and local services.¹² The excellent postal and telegraph services which had been developed in the early Victorian period also supported close communication with his theatrical agent and all other suppliers he used.

In his address to the Kinematograph Society in 1933, Bromhead had introduced his paper as follows:

I want you to bear in mind that the first year or two of my story is prior to the use of the typewriter or the motor car.....and even the telephone was a rarity by no means in general use. Correspondence was all written by hand and the London conveyances were hansom cabs and horse buses. No wonder that the cinematograph was regarded as at best a nine days' scientific wonder.¹³

Bromhead's caveat was an important evocation of the period in which Slade lived, and the widespread belief at the time that the cinematograph might prove a nine days wonder.

¹² The 1897 railway maps for England and Wales, and Scotland, produced by the Clearing House, illustrate the routes of all the railway companies operating in this year. They can be consulted at the British Library and the Railway Museum in York.

¹³ Bromhead, *Proceedings of the British Kinematograph Society*, no. 21, 11 December 1933, p. 3.

Methodology

This thesis has adopted a hybrid historiographic approach, starting from the primary documentation in the Slade archive. Additional original source material has been collected through consulting archives, contemporary newspapers and in particular sources in Cheltenham, benefiting from a local history perspective.¹⁴

Having interviewed James Offer, Slade's great grandson, to discuss my intentions, I was able to engage his support and to establish whether he had further material on Slade and his daughter Mary. Together we worked together to get access to material which he or member of his family had been instrumental in donating to various institutions.

To extend the documentary sources which would inform my researches into Slade's life as an exhibitor and to create the opportunity to identify Slade's venues, I decided to adopt a 'field' approach and inspect personally as many of the places visited by Slade on his tours as possible.¹⁵ The intention was to develop my understanding of the diversity of the regions and towns he visited and to try to gather information about these places which were at first just names on a page. Most retain evidence of their past status and are thriving centres which still have buildings of the late Victorian period.¹⁶ The information which I gradually uncovered has enabled me to make extensive connections between diverse material in a range of archives, adding an 'experiential' perspective to the archive record of Slade's intensive touring, as well as a much needed regional and provincial dimension to the normally metropolitan accounts of pioneer exhibition.

These town halls or exhibition halls with reception rooms are still used for entertainments and even occasional film shows. Their position, usually in the centre of the

¹⁴ Slade had the distinction of being a man with roots in a provincial town with a rich history. The Slade Company held a royal warrant, '*By appointment to Queen Adelaide*'. Cheltenham Museum formerly had a display of his shop doors and some examples of the shoes made by the Slade Company. This display was dismantled when the museum was extended and the artefacts are no longer on display.

¹⁵ The fourteen places where Slade exhibited his Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments and Concerts were visited. Of the place when in partnership with Baring, a small number have not been visited – Scarborough, Malden, Ripon, Newark, Thirsk and Fryston.

¹⁶ Many have statues of Queen Victoria in the town centre, erected in the year of the Diamond Jubilee

town, reflected their importance in community life, and many still fulfil the same role. The full extent of Slade's achievement became clearer as it emerged how extensive his tours were, and I discovered the differing character of the places and venues he visited, and appreciated the complex journeys that he and his company made across the diverse regions of Britain. Using the comprehensive railway network which existed by the 1890s, I have calculated that he travelled about 4,000 miles (6,400 km) while on tour.¹⁷

Three maps have been produced to support the written text, each summarising a period in Slade's touring. Map 1 is a record of the places where he exhibited between January and June 1897, when he was touring as Slade's Kinematographical Entertainments and Concerts. Maps 2 and 3 record the places where he put on entertainments as Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel now in partnership with the theatrical agent Edward Baring. Map 2 covers the places of exhibition in England from August to December 1897. Map 3 covers the places of exhibition in England and Scotland between December 1897 and March 1898.

History of the Slade artefacts and films

The history of the archive itself bears witness to the unpredictability of how artefacts relevant to early cinema in Britain have or have not survived. One of the challenges was to trace what had happened to Slade's equipment and film prints, and gain access to them. This highlighted the fact that the risk to early material is not just in the degrading of the film itself. In an ideal world, all the artefacts would be collected in one location, but the differing needs of the material for preservation make it inevitable that separation will occur. This makes it of even greater importance that there is documentation which enables the researcher to make connections between equipment and films in the relevant archives.

¹⁷ I did not attempt to replicate the tours by rail nor in sequence. Travelling by car, I made a series of journeys with the intention of accessing local information, such as newspapers, local archives and identifying possible venues. The Newspaper Archives held by the British Library often had no material relating to 1897, a section of the archive having been damaged during World War II.

In 1936, Huber (sic) Slade, William Slade's youngest son, made a gift to the Kodak Museum, then in Harrow, London, of artefacts from his father's brief career as an exhibitor. As far as can be established, this consisted of the Demeny-Chronophotographe no 31, and included the films and accompanying slides purchased from Gaumont in December 1896. These films were on 60mm, or more correctly 58mm stock, which was the initial width of film manufactured for projection on the Demeny-Chronophotographe in the autumn of 1896. The acquisition record describes its condition as good, and contains the following description:

Combined camera/projector for 60mm film. Beater intermittent; one continuous sprocket. Disc shutter behind the lens; wooden case; mechanism case separates for use as a camera. Iron lamp house with alternatives (sic) light sources: oxyhydrogen mixing jet and carbon arc lamp. Condenser and water cell; on heavy oak stand, with rewind.¹⁸

Importantly, the record refers to 'a set of films and lantern slide titles' acquired with the machine, which were deposited in the National Film Archive that had been established in 1933. However, this does not appear to have happened, since an article entitled *The Kodak Museum* gives the following description of an item on display:

The only surviving Demeny-Gaumont Chronophotographe of 1896. It took 60mm film It includes a heavy oak stand, a film winder and projection mechanism that doubled as a camera. There are also 20 original films with it, including two hand coloured examples.¹⁹

The Exhibition catalogue for the Kodak Museum, first published in 1947, confusingly includes information about an 1896 Demeny-Chronophotographe, on display among 35mm exhibits, and also refers to the exhibit being 'on loan'. This can only be the one deposited by Huber Slade, but the rarity of a projector for 60mm film probably accounts for the

¹⁸ Acquisition record 6933, from the Kodak Museum, April 6, 1936, belonging to James Offer, Slade's great-grandson.

¹⁹ Two-page photostat copy; front page of reprint title, *The Kodak Museum*, from *The Penrose International Review of Graphic Arts*, Volume 74 and second page of text (not numbered). In James Offer's personal collection.

misinformation. However this entry confirms that it was on display in case no 24, as exhibit number R12, alongside a Lumière Cinématographe (1895), exhibit number R11 and Paul's Kinematograph(sic), (1896), exhibit R15.²⁰ This positioning reflects the appearance of the Demeny-Chronophotographe in the British market in late 1896. In the first edition of *The Beginnings of Cinema in England*, published in 1976, John Barnes described Gaumont's launch of the Demeny-Chronophotographe in London in December 1896 and included the information that it was on display at the Kodak museum, with an illustration of the equipment.²¹

In 1956, Brian Coe, the then curator of films at the Kodak Museum, decided to undertake the process of copying the 20 films, frame by frame onto 16mm stock, and produced a short silent film, *A Cinema Programme of 1896*, with descriptive titles using the original lantern slides. The written introduction made no reference to Slade, describing the films included as being those used by 'a travelling showman'.²²

Following the closure of the Kodak museum in 1985, all the cinematographic equipment, including the Demeny-Chronophotographe and films, was transferred to the Science Museum in London. When the Science Museum ceased to be a repository for cinematographic equipment, most of the collection was transferred to the then Bradford Museum of Photography, Film and Television.²³ It is probable that this was the moment when the Gaumont films and the film made by Brian Coe of Kodak Limited were transferred to the care of the British Film Institute and stored in its archive at Berkhamstead. The Gaumont films were catalogued as 'Demeny films' and the connection with Slade was lost. A further three Gaumont films had been given to the BFI archive in 1999 by James Offer, where they

²⁰ Three page photostat copy of *The Kodak Museum Exhibition*, page 1, front cover, page 2, illustration of Demeny-Chronophotographe, page 3.

²¹ John Barnes, *The Beginnings of Cinema in England, 1894-1896 Vol 1*, Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976, pp. 177-179. In the revised second edition, 1998, it is described as being in the Kodak Collection at Bradford (p. 206)

²² For the purposes of this study, the BFI produced a DVD copy of this film. It was made from the 35mm film made by Brian Coe in 1956, the original of which is held by the BFI National Archive. A video transfer of the Gaumont films as shown by Slade is available to view.

²³ Now the National Media Museum, Bradford.

were also catalogued as Demeny films. In the course of this study it has been possible to establish the connection between those films copied by Coe and the further three films as the ones purchased by Slade from Gaumont in December 1896 and during 1897.²⁴ They are of special importance in that the film and the surviving films in the BFI National Archive may be the only early Gaumont films of the large 58mm format in existence.²⁵

Bibliography

Throughout this study, I read widely in the growing literature of early cinema which inevitably includes an exhibition dimension in the early period, although one often limited to the recording of ‘firsts’. Thus I have drawn on Rachael Low’s *History of the British Film*, vol 1, 1896- 1906, which provided evidence of Paul’s exhibitions in Cheltenham and on John Barnes’ five volumes on *The Beginnings of Cinema in England*. I consulted the American *Emergence of Cinema* series in particular Volume 1, *The American Screen to 1907* by Charles Musser. The collected business correspondence of *Léon Gaumont et Cie 1895-1899* provided invaluable insight into the business connections and practice of the Gaumont company. Additionally, I consulted the Gaumont archive in Paris.

However, Slade has never featured in any account of early cinema in Britain apart from the Kember and Popple book. The reasons may lie in the way his archive was preserved – his name never appeared until the publication of the *Victorian Film Catalogues*, but this does not seem to have stimulated further research until my Ph.D project. While undertaking this, I have looked to develop a wider understanding of the world of entertainment in this period. In particular, the literature on Scottish entertainers, Lauder and Milne, expanded my knowledge of the challenges presented in touring small to medium sized towns.

²⁴All these films, on 58mm stock, have been now been identified in the BFI archive as originating from the family of W. D. Slade, and are in various stages of deterioration. Some may still be in a condition where they could be restored.

²⁵ *Gaumont Treasures, 1897- 1913*, a DVD collection produced by Kino Video in 2009, does not contain any of the films bought by Slade from Gaumont. In Barnes, *The Rise of Cinema in Gt. Britain*, 1983, p 136, there is an illustration of several frames of the Gaumont film, *Ships in Marseilles Harbour*, a film bought by Slade. (Fig 7) It was part of the Barnes Collection that may now be in the National Museum of Cinema in Turin, which acquired the Barnes Collection after John Barnes died in 2009.

I undertook a thorough search of magazines and periodicals, and consulted articles and advertisements in national and local newspapers contemporary with Slade's exhibition. I read the memoir of those involved in the early days of exhibition, in particular David Devant and Cecil Hepworth, as well as the presentations to the British Kinematograph Society in the 1930s. While of great interest, their value to contributing to a study of early cinema was limited by the lack of specific details and places visited.

Faced with a large amount of original material in the archive, yet with much unexplained, I drew on Natalie Zemon Davis's account of her researches into the life of Martin Guerre, to give me some insight into organising my material and trying to bring William Slade to life.²⁶ The fictional accounts by J.B. Priestley and D.H. Lawrence of the personal demands on those engaged in touring concert parties offered a way into understanding the probable pressure on Slade and his daughter.²⁷

Towards an understanding of screen practice in the 1890s

Although the Slade archive in Bradford presents a unique and challenging opportunity to investigate one man's entry into the world of film exhibition in Britain in 1897, there are of course many questions it does not answer. Why did Slade, a mature man in his fifties, choose to become an itinerant film exhibitor? The archive material offers no clues to this puzzle. The role of his daughter Mary is another element which called for further research. Slade's activities need to be contextualised within the wider field of early 'screen practice' in England – a term used by Charles Musser to encompass the world of the optical magic lantern as well as the cinematographe.²⁸ After a short introduction to Slade himself, the first chapter therefore begins by considering the magic lantern before 1897 and its relevance to Slade's entry into moving picture exhibition in his home town of Cheltenham.

²⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

²⁷ J. B. Priestley, *The Good Companions*, William Heineman, 1929; D. H. Lawrence, *The Lost Girl*, Martin Secker, 1929

²⁸ Charles Musser, *High Class Moving Pictures, Lynam Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880-1920s* Princeton University Press, 1991, Chapter 1, p. 6.

Chapter 1 The context of William Slade's decision to become an itinerant exhibitor

Introduction

W.D.Slade Esq.

Our Slade and his Photos commands admiration
A hero of honour – the workman's true friend
Throughout the whole country his virtues are blooming
And now at Port Talbot his good deeds extend
He always is faithful and just in his actions
Oh! Would there more of his stamp in the land
To raise up the fallen and give them more courage
The cup of his comfort is always at hand.

To trace all his virtues and have them recorded
No poet could do it attempt would be vain
Like beautiful flowers are they that surround us
Which give their aroma 'neath showers of rain
And if in his crown there's a gem that's more sparkling
Than all its companions while shining each day
It's this – that his social and free disposition
Like sunshine drives darkness and sadness away²⁹

This tribute, on a handwritten sheet among his papers, is the only contemporary description of Slade and his character known to exist. The language is effusive and full of appreciation of his virtues. 'Our Slade' conveys that he was held in affection by those in Port Talbot who had had the opportunity to view 'his photos'. But why Port Talbot, since no record of a visit has been found? It is difficult to know just what to make of these two verses. Neither is there any way of knowing just why he became an itinerant exhibitor. Slade was unusual among early exhibitors in being a respected member of the middle class. His background in the family boot and shoe business in Cheltenham and Worcester does not suggest the natural

²⁹Appendix L: Original in the Slade archive; author unknown – handwritten text, original punctuation and spelling.

progression of some of the other early exhibitors, such as Albany Ward, who started work at 16 or 17 with Birt Acres, or Cecil Hepworth, whose father was a well-known lanternist. By 1897, Slade, a man of fifty, would have had over thirty years' experience of managing businesses in two locations, employing workmen and retail assistants as well as having contact with a wide range of customers.

This chapter sets the scene for Slade's entry into the exhibition of moving pictures in 1897. His involvement with the projected image had begun some years earlier, with the magic lantern and a brief overview of lantern exhibition in the Victorian period and Slade's experience as an amateur lanternist in the late 1880s and early 1890s follows in Parts 1, 2 and 3. Parts 4, 5 summarise the history of Cheltenham as a fashionable provincial town, followed by an account of moving pictures in London in the spring of 1896, as a prologue to their first showings in Cheltenham in the winter of that year. The chapter concludes with a review of the probable factors influencing Slade's decision to visit Gaumont in Paris in December 1896 to buy what was needed to put on an exhibition of moving pictures.

Part 1 Lantern Exhibition in the 1880s and 90s

Deac Rossell has suggested that the magic lantern was not so much the precursor of the cinema as 'the environment into which the cinema was born, the *milieu* which nursed it through its extended period of invention to about 1903 [...]'.³⁰ However, evidence of itinerant entertainers who used the lantern as the main element in their shows pre-1896 is relatively hard to find.

During the early Victorian period when Slade was growing up, the advent of photography and its subsequent technical development had a major influence on the repertoire of slides available to the magic lanternist. Before photography, all lantern slides

³⁰ Deac Rossell, 'Double Think: The Cinema and Magic Lantern Culture', in John Fullerton, ed., *Celebrating 1895, the Century of Cinema*, John Libbey, 1998, p.29.

had to be produced individually, with each one hand painted.³¹ From the 1880s slides began to be manufactured photographically and companies supplying lanterns started to include catalogues of slides. There was a strong market for lanterns which could be easily manipulated by the interested amateur and many were used for family entertainment.

Mervyn Heard believes that interest in lantern shows was stimulated by the popularity of the Christmas Lantern shows staged by Professor Pepper and his staff at the Royal Polytechnic Institution in Regent Street, London in the 1840s.³² As an adjunct to performances, the Polytechnic and various other commercial outlets began to promote child and adult size lanterns for home use, together with versions of many of the stories and effects shown. The Polytechnic continued to run daily exhibitions until it closed in 1881. In London, the Crystal Palace also presented daily magic lantern shows.

Lanterns were becoming increasingly elaborate. By the late 1880s, there were models with two or three independent lenses, the Biunial and the Triunial, which in the hands of an expert lanternist could produce marvellous effects, even images which appeared to move. These lanterns were particularly suited to projection in large theatres. There was a proliferation of available slides on a wide range of subjects; travel, religious, educational, available to be used by lecturers, entertainers, and in the home.

A monthly magazine, *The Optical Magic Lantern and Photographic Enlarger*, launched in October 1888, is further evidence of the general interest in lanterns and the products associated with them. Aimed at a wide readership, the content was a lively mix of articles, providing information and advice for the amateur and professional lanternist about how best to overcome difficulties in projection and presentation of material. The tone was aimed at making what was often quite technical easily accessible to every reader. The articles

³¹ The introduction of the collodion wet-plate process in 1851 made it possible to fix photographs on glass slides for use in lanterns.

³² Mervyn Heard, 'The Magic Lantern's Wild Years', Christopher Williams, ed., *Cinema: Beginnings and the Future*, London: British Film Institute, 2008.

were supported by advertising by the major dealers of the many different lanterns and slide sets available.³³ Suppliers covered the whole country, not just the large cities; many were connected with the photographic trade, some opticians, others, such as Robert Beard of the Old Kent Road, London, were manufacturers and inventors of ‘accoutrements important to the technology of the Victorian screen’.³⁴ Most produced large catalogues of sets of slides on a wide range of subjects; some came complete with a narrative which could be utilised by whoever was presenting the show.

Starting in the 1880s, the Riley brothers from Bradford built up a business over several years which developed from putting on charity shows to describing themselves in 1896 as ‘the biggest lantern outfitters in the World’.³⁵ Bamforth, another Yorkshire firm, developed a thriving business specialising in the production of ‘Life Model’ magic slides produced at their studio. These illustrated a narrative acted out in front of painted backcloths, most often with a temperance or religious theme. Walker of Aberdeen, in the first edition of the *Optical Magic Lantern Journal* in October 1888, had a full page advertisement for an extensive range of slides, mainly of Scottish scenery, which could be supplied by post. The still expanding railway system offered an efficient means of sending such items safely.

By 1896, lantern exhibition was firmly embedded in Victorian life in a range of environments. The lantern had become an established source of entertainment which people could utilise in a range of ways; in the home, in putting on local shows connected with fund raising or special events, to illustrate travel lectures, or as part of an evening’s entertainment

³³ *Almanac and Annual of the Optical Magic Lantern, 1896/97*, pp 169 - 211. The revelation for the present day reader of the *Almanac* is the directory of many closely written pages devoted to listing names and addresses of lantern and slide suppliers, not only throughout England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland but throughout the world, including a special section on Colonial Merchants.

³⁴ Stephen Herbert and Luke McKernan, eds., *Who’s Who in Victorian Cinema*, London: British Film Institute, 1996, p. 21.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p 122. One of the brothers, Herbert, had emigrated to New York in 1894 where he managed the Riley Bros U.S. office.

presented by a touring entertainer. After the Polytechnic closed as a place of entertainment in 1881, its former lanternists, such as ‘Professor Malden’ and T.C. Hepworth, carved out careers touring as independent lanternists.

Campaigning groups included lantern slides at their meetings to attract and retain members, using slides to illustrate their message. Founded in 1885, the Salvation Army, in its drive to convert and sustain members of their organisation, established a tradition of including lantern slides in its meetings. The Band of Hope, a Christian organisation dedicated to the temperance movement, had a network of branches throughout the country and for many years well into the 20th century, used slides as the central feature in its presentations warning against the evils of alcohol. The Primrose League, a Conservative organisation included lantern exhibitions to illustrate its political message at evening meetings to raise funds. Barnardo’s, a charity providing care for orphaned and poor children, used images to illustrate the poverty in which many children lived, as a means of raising money. In the 1890s, the Church Army established a fleet of horse-drawn vans which travelled throughout the country in the summer, taking its evangelical message to communities which were otherwise difficult to reach.³⁶ It established a large lending library of lantern slides and even lanterns as a source for local groups. These socially responsible groups were active throughout the country and convey the extent to which the magic lantern culture was incorporated in social reform, religious conversion and charitable activity.

In the larger cities there were established places of exhibition connected with entertainment. Magicians often used lantern slides to supplement their material. The famous ‘Pepper’s Ghost’ utilised projected images to give a sense of reality to its ‘ghosts’. David Devant, the magician and entertainer at The Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, regularly used the lantern in his performances. Frank Gray, who has surveyed the extent of lantern exhibition in

³⁶ Torsten Gärtner, ‘The Church on Wheels; travelling Magic Lantern Mission in late Victorian Britain’, Martin Loiperdinger, ed., *Travelling Cinema in Europe*, Frankfurt: Stroemfeld Verlag, 2008, pp. 129-141.

Brighton, describes how lantern lectures were a regular and distinctive part of Brighton's public culture.³⁷ Gray singles out Malden, formerly of the Polytechnic, who visited Brighton from 1890-1895, performing at the West Pier and the Aquarium. Malden was skilled in employing a triunial lantern, with three lenses, which made possible striking visual effects.³⁸

Gray draws particular attention to the 1880s and 90s as the period during which Brighton entertainer and resident, George Albert Smith transformed himself from a popular mesmerist into a professional lanternist, with special interests in 'journey narratives, modern Britain and natural phenomena'. Gray suggests that his shows were influenced by the presentations by Malden and Poole's Myriorama, which was a regular visitor to Brighton. Smith later became a successful filmmaker at his pleasure garden, St Ann's Well, in Hove where, while producing his own films, he also offered a service to other film makers to process their films. Others still unknown may have followed a similar path.³⁹

The Victorians were intensely interested in exploring and revealing the rapidly changing world in which they lived, and the lantern became an essential feature of lectures given by eminent explorers.⁴⁰ One of the most celebrated tours of the period was undertaken by the Norwegian scientist, Fridjtof Nansen in 1897.⁴¹ The effectiveness of this charismatic speaker using his own lantern slides to illustrate his presentation is probably most powerfully conveyed in the account in *The Times* of Nansen's appearance at the Albert Hall on 9 February, 1897, before the Prince of Wales and an invited audience.⁴²

³⁷ Frank Gray, 'Engaging with the Magic Lantern's History', Ludwig Vogl-Bienek and Richard Crangle, eds., *Screen Culture and the Social Question 1880-1914*, John Libbey Publishing, 2014, pp. 173-183.

³⁸ To enable him to do this, Malden was personally involved in designing lanterns which bore his name, marketed by Hughes of Kingsland Road, London.

³⁹ Rosalind Leveridge's study of the seaside resorts of Torquay, Sidmouth, Barnstaple, Weston-super-Mare and Penzance, provides a detailed account of lantern exhibition in the 1890s, *Limelights and shadows: popular and visual culture in South West England*, Chapter 2, University of Exeter, PhD, May 2011.

⁴⁰ Edward Baring's career was said to have been advanced by being commissioned to arrange Nansen's nationwide tour in 1898. A letter from Baring to Slade asks permission to lend Slade's screen to Nansen.

⁴¹ Nansen had published a graphic and gripping account of his journey of exploration to the North Pole in 1893-95, *The Furthest North*, 1896.

⁴² The explorer and scientist had taken many photographs on his Polar travels from 1893-1896. These photographs had been converted into slides which he was able to show on his countrywide lecture tour. *The Times*, Feb 9, 1897. The Prince of Wales also presented a special gold medal to Nansen from the Royal Geographical Society.

Dr Nansen, whose rising was the signal for another outburst of cheering, then rose to deliver his lecture, which consisted almost exclusively of vivid explanation of a series of singularly beautiful photographic illustrations of the many interesting and exciting incidents of the expedition. The lecture was delivered in darkness, the pictures being thrown upon a screen at the back of the platform.

C. W. Locke, the lantern operator on this occasion, described the forethought involved in mounting the lantern and screen for such an important event in an article in the *Optical Magic Lantern Journal*.⁴³ The detailed description conveys clearly the great technical skill involved in carrying out such a role.⁴⁴

Lantern exhibitions were not restricted to exhibition in cities. Those living in Cheltenham had an opportunity to hear about Nansen from another source.⁴⁵ Sir George Baden-Powell, a wealthy amateur explorer and astronomer, gave a talk in Cheltenham about the trip to the Arctic in his yacht *Otaria*, which described and illustrated meeting Nansen and taking him back to Norway.⁴⁶

Success had attended the voyagers in the *Otaria* both in respect of the rescue of explorer Nansen and the observations taken of last year's total eclipse of the sun. Verbal descriptions rendered additionally clear and attractive by a series of limelight pictures taken by Sir George and Lady B-P.⁴⁷

Supporting Rossell's argument that the lantern prepared the way for animated pictures, throughout 1896, *The Optical Magic Lantern* reported the various screenings by Paul, Birt Acres and Lumière, and predictably concentrates on the technical aspects. In 1897, a series of

⁴³ *Optical Magic Lantern Journal*, March 1897. C.W.Locke was the proprietor of a highly successful lanternist business in London. For many years, he had been employed by a distinguished lanternist and designer of a lantern known as 'Professor' Malden who in turn had been an important lanternist at the Royal Polytechnic.

⁴⁴ The achievement received little recognition outside lantern circles but this account would be an incentive to others to present a show with the available slides. Newton and Co, Fleet Street who had negotiated sole rights for the Nansen slides advertised in the OMLJ, April 1897, p 61, '50 plain slides available at 2s each, hand painted at 8s 6d. Possible to order a further 30 slides.'

⁴⁵ *Lady's London Letter* in *The Cheltenham Examiner*, 18 November, 1896, described its successful publication.

⁴⁶ Before Nansen had set out on his trip, Baden-Powell had asked him, 'should he not return as expected, where a search party should concentrate?' In *Farthest North*, Nansen comments that this question typifies the attitude of the English.

⁴⁷ *Cheltenham Looker-on* January 2nd 1897: report of event in the church hall of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Cheltenham, largely gifted by Lady Baden-Powell's father, Charles Wilson.

articles by C.A. Robins described how to mount a moving picture show and various advertisements for cinematographic equipment and films begin to appear.

Part 2 Slade's business and family background in Worcester and Cheltenham



Fig 1. William Slade, undated studio photograph. ⁴⁸

Slade, born in 1846, grew up in a period when huge changes were taking place in the relationship between town and country. By 1897, the introduction of the railways and a web of interconnecting lines covering most of Britain had transformed the British landscape and the lives of many people.

The Slade family business, established in 1798 in Worcester, was part of the growing prosperity experienced by many businesses of the period. In the year of William's birth, his father and brother opened a second shop and workshop in Cheltenham, made possible by the new railway line. The original retail shop and workshop in Worcester was only a short train journey away. A contemporary advertisement conveys very clearly the range of the enterprise.⁴⁹

BOOT AND SHOE ESTABLISHMENT

Imperial House,
The Promenade, Cheltenham.

⁴⁸ Photograph, possibly contemporary with his touring – the property of James Offer.

⁴⁹ *The Cheltenham Looker-On*, 19 September 1846.

W. and T. Slade, Boot, Shoe and Clog Manufacturer, (By appointment to her Majesty Queen Adelaide, the Duchess Ida and the Princess of Saxe-Weimar) of 92 High Street, Worcester (*Established in 1798*) begs to return their grateful acknowledgments for the support they have generally received, and to announce they have opened an establishment as above where they hope to merit and receive a share of the patronage and support of the Nobility, Gentry and Visitors of Cheltenham and its Vicinity.

This advertisement clearly also emphasised that the customer need not travel to London to obtain the best.

They also beg to state that Mr. W. Slade has just visited London and also Paris where he was engaged in selecting the newest and most admired improvements to Ladies and Gentlemen's Boots and Shoes and they feel assured that those who may favour them with their commands will be fully satisfied with the style and quality of the goods which they may have the honour to manufacture... *A large assortment of Homemade and French manufactured Boots, Shoes and Clogs will always be kept on hand.*

By the 1890s, the Slade shop in the Promenade had consolidated its reputation for fashionable boots and shoes, both made to measure or sourced from London or Paris.



Fig 2. Photograph of glass panel of front door of Slade shop ⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Photographed in 2010 at Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum; part of a collection of material from original Slade shop.

In 1890, the following entry in *The Local Trades Review*, while echoing the advertisement announcing the opening fifty years earlier, conveys the continuing successful nature of the business Slade was running.⁵¹

Mr. W. D. Slade's business passed its century last year and it only needs a glance into the show-room of Imperial House to see that a taste for really artistic and tradesman-like work predominates. [...] The premises situated on the Promenade are conveniently arranged to meet the requirements of a high class business.

Part 3 Slade and the Optical Magic Lantern

The earliest record of William Slade's interest in the projected image is in the minutes of the Cheltenham Board of Guardians for 26 April 1888, where 'a cordial vote of thanks was passed in favour of Messrs Slade and Cummings for their kindness in entertaining the workhouse children to a Magic Lantern Exhibition'.⁵² Cheltenham, in common with most other towns of the period, had a Workhouse which provided shelter for those men, women and children who had fallen on hard times. The *Cheltenham Examiner* recorded the issues connected with running such an establishment. There was a tradition for most workhouses to put on some special event for the inmates, usually around Christmas. In Cheltenham this took the form of 'an entertainment'.

For seven years from 1888, Slade, supported by a group of friends, presented shows which were reported in some detail in the *Cheltenham Examiner*.⁵³ The programme followed a pattern: a lecture, very often given by Rev E.T. Griffiths, to accompany a magic lantern show put on by Mr W. D. Slade. The subject matter alternated between lantern slides of

⁵¹ *A Local Trades Review*, 1890: 'Where to buy – Cheltenham Premier Shops', p 60.

⁵² *Gloucestershire Archives*. The minutes of the Cheltenham Board of Guardians, 1888-1895, record Slade's exhibitions each year.

⁵³ *Cheltenham Examiner*. The Cheltenham Board of Guardian Meetings, April 1890, April 1891, 1892, February 1893, February 1894 and March 18, 1895.

places in the Holy Land visited by the Rev Griffiths and a Bible story. Both children and adults met in the dining room of the workhouse and were given various ‘treats’. Music, the essential accompaniment to a lantern show, was provided by the organist of the Workhouse Chapel, and a choir of friends is recorded as having contributed in 1891. This entertainment appears to have been the only one provided for the residents; a highlight in an otherwise austere existence. Between 1890 and 1894, the numbers attending the ‘entertainment’ increased from 300 to 427, reflecting the problems facing agricultural workers and the scale of Slade’s audience. The audience was unlikely to be critical, well aware of its position as ‘the deserving or undeserving’ poor, and the response invariably described as ‘enthusiastic.’

The commitment over many years to putting on such an event provides an insight into the character of W.D. Slade and a glimpse of his début in the world of entertainment. These ‘entertainments’ would have given him experience of managing the equipment and the audience, as well as understanding the pleasure of an appreciative audience. His role appeared to be as a public spirited Victorian man of means, an amateur putting on an entertainment for those less fortunate.

That his interest went beyond such sentiments can be discovered from a letter by Slade on a technical aspect of projection which was published in the *Optical Magic Lantern Journal* in January 1892.⁵⁴ This gave detailed advice about how to construct a portable opaque sheet for use inside and outdoors.

Sir, - Many have read the interesting articles that have appeared of late on ‘opaque screens’ and I and many others thank you for drawing attention to a subject so important to the successful use of the optical lantern and venture to send how I made a cheap portable sheet, for a room requiring a disc of 9ft x 9ft at a distance of 40ft which would not allow in any way the fixing of my usual opaque sheets.⁵⁵ To avoid hiring a calico sheet so inferior in results, I took three

⁵⁴ Entry for W. D. Slade on the *Lucerna website*; www.slides.uni-trier.de/, consulted April 2014.

⁵⁵ The reference to a correspondence which had featured in the *Journal* over several months the previous year makes it clear that he was a regular reader.

lengths of linen, a yard wide, sewed these edge to edge; then papered with white paper, strained and whitened same with mineral white, and tacked this sheet on a roller, 10ft x 2", with a lath at the bottom, thus producing a portable screen, 9ft x 9ft of snow-white-ness, opaque and on a roller, at a cost of 8s 9d - viz linen, 2s 3d: wood 2s 6d, colouring, &c, 4s.

This step-by-step description of how to construct a screen conveys a clear impression of an intensely practical man with a businessman's attention to the costs of production. Slade goes on to substantiate his credentials by making reference to his use of such a screen in challenging conditions.

I would further add my testimony of the great advantage of the opaque sheet to conserve the rays of light under circumstances that are a good test to its advantages.

I publically exhibited some 300 photographs, coloured slides and effects, &c., close to the brilliant illuminations of the Worcester Guildhall and Market, showing a disc 14ft. x 14 ft. from the opposite side of the street and against other illuminations of the adjoining tradesmen, being able to show effectively on to an opaque sheet what would have been but a poor failure if projected on to the usual transparent sheet.

Yours, &c., W.D.SLADE

12 Promenade Villas, Cheltenham⁵⁶

Slade's account of using an 'opaque screen' was proof of his personal experience of producing a lantern show in a public space. This had given him the confidence to share his solution to a problem which had been discussed in the columns of the *Optical Magical Lantern Journal* over several months.⁵⁷ This letter and his contribution to 'Notes and Queries' confirm his specialist experience of optical lantern projection.

⁵⁶ Letter to the Editor, under heading 'Opaque Screen', *Optical Magical Lantern Journal*, January 1892, p. 12. This letter was the final contribution to a series of letters on the 'The Opaque Screen' in the *Optical Magical Lantern* during 1891.

⁵⁷ The impression that he was a man of varied experience as a lanternist is re-enforced with two entries under 'Notes and Queries'. *W. D. Slade* – (1) If you cannot make leather washers perhaps Mr Beard will supply you. (2) The easiest plan to project on the screen hung across a road in the manner you suggest would be to hang the muslin in a slanting direction and

Berrow's Worcester Journal gave a detailed report of the event to which Slade referred and includes a description of his contribution to the spectacle.⁵⁸ In November 1891, The City of Worcester had decided to mark the occasion of the return of the second Earl of Dudley and his bride to Worcester, en route to their estate at Witley Court. The 'homecoming' of the Earl and Countess of Dudley, who had married in London the previous week, was marked by an official welcome at the station, followed by a carriage ride to the Guildhall where there were speeches of welcome by the Mayor and the Recorder and the presentation of an elaborate jardinière from the Royal Worcester Porcelain factory. In the speeches, reference was made to the First Earl, who had died six years previously, in contributing large sums of money towards the restoration of the Cathedral which had ensured that the tower of Worcester Cathedral was effectively saved from collapse.⁵⁹ Lord Dudley made a speech in reply acknowledging the warmth of the reception and the gift.⁶⁰

In addition to the formal welcome, elaborate illuminations were laid on, aimed at attracting everyone living in or near Worcester to join in the celebrations.

The illuminations in the city were very effective, and drew large crowds into the principal streets between the hours of sunset and midnight [...] The distinctive feature of this part of the celebrations of the day was the variety... Gas was of course the illuminant most largely employed, and very brilliant the show was where there was any great elaboration of design or massing of light. [...]. Variegated lamps some lighted with candles and some with gas were seen in larger proportions than at any previous illumination, the displays produced at Broad-Street and Silver-Street being exceedingly artistic and pleasing. In some instances Japanese lanterns were hung out in clusters, and as the night was fine

have the lantern from an upper window several doors off; in this way it will be about parallel with lantern and the image can be seen by people on either side.'. Beard was an established supplier of lanterns and slides in the Old Kent Road London. Receipts in the archive, confirm that Slade was a customer.

⁵⁸ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, Saturday, November 7, 1891, p 2. A full page description of the 'homecoming' of the Earl of Dudley and his new bride in late October 1891 and all the festivities provided to mark the occasion.

⁵⁹ Queen Victoria had revived the title of Earl of Dudley in 1860, possibly in recognition of his charitable giving.

⁶⁰ The occasion was funded by contributions from those living in and around Worcester. A list of contributors was published in the same paper. On his father's death in 1885, the second earl had inherited 30,000 acres of mineral deposits in Staffordshire and Worcestershire, two hundred coal and iron mines, several iron works and a substantial fortune. He was also the owner of a large estate and an exceptionally grand country house at Witley Court, bought by his father in 1840, and subsequently rented to the widowed Queen Adelaide, who had been married to George IV.

and there was no wind, these also added a soft and not unwelcome note amid the garish brilliance of more powerful illuminants.⁶¹

Slade's contribution was also described appreciatively:

In High-Street and Broad-Street a novel kind of open-air entertainment was introduced, which, while it was legitimately described as an illumination was something more. In the one case, Mr W. D. Slade, and in the other Messrs Bennett and Sons, exhibited by means of a powerful lantern, a succession of portraits and views. The object sheet was stretched on the one side of the street, high above the heads of the people, and the lantern was manipulated from a house opposite. Mr Slade's exhibition embraced a varied list of celebrities local and national, and Mr Bennett's was more closely confined to the subjects of the day's rejoicing. Both were greatly appreciated, and held crowds of spectators for hours in a state of interested admiration.⁶²

A further reference to Slade confirmed the wide range of subjects he was able to project:

Mr W. D. Slade had a large transparency in front of his establishment, and showed transparencies of the present and late Earl and Countess of Dudley, with views of Witley Court, the Bishop and Dean of Worcester, Sir Edmund and Lady Lechmere, Lord and Lady Coventry, and others.⁶³

Considerable preparations had clearly been undertaken to mount a show which lasted for several hours, even if material was repeated, and the admiration expressed must have been very gratifying. Knowing of this event and Slade's part in it radically alters the perception of him as an occasional exhibitor in the Workhouse to one who had enough experience to present a major outdoor event.

This event seems likely to have been significant in developing Slade's interest in projecting images to an audience. Putting on shows such as in the workhouse and the civic display in Worcester, and probably others as yet unidentified, would have given him valuable experience in managing the lantern and presenting a programme of interest. With the advent

⁶¹ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 7 November, 1891.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

of animated photographs in 1895, the audience responses to the Cheltenham shows may have given him the final impetus to consider taking on this role professionally. Slade was about to cross the boundary from being an amateur to a professional exhibitor. And as an experienced and successful businessman, he was at a time in his life when he had enough financial security to be able to embark on a new enterprise.

Part 4 Cheltenham the Garden City in 1896

Cheltenham's original prosperity dated back to the 18th century when the discovery of wells providing water claimed to be beneficial in the treatment of various illnesses made it a fashionable spa town. Royal patronage contributed to its development; George III spent time taking the waters in 1788. His son, the Duke of Clarence, subsequently William IV and his wife, Queen Adelaide, also spent considerable periods of time in Cheltenham in the 1830s. The Slade family business received royal patronage, leading to a very early example of the acknowledgement, 'By Royal Appointment to Queen Adelaide', in 1844.

Redevelopment during the Regency period ensured that large, stylish houses were available to those intending to make Cheltenham their permanent home. During the second half of the 19th century, Cheltenham continued to expand, with builders and entrepreneurs buying land and building developments of considerable style. By 1896, Slade and his family lived in an attractive villa in the Montpellier district within easy walking distance of the family business in the Promenade.

From the 1850s, the town was served by two railway companies, the Great Western Railway and the Midland, each with its own station, making Cheltenham extremely well connected. There were frequent trains to London throughout the day, arriving at Paddington or Waterloo in two and a half hours. Its near neighbour, Gloucester, was still an industrial city, with access to the Bristol Channel and the Severn River for international trading. Like

many towns in the Victorian era, Cheltenham's population had doubled since the 1840s, as increasing numbers of country people were forced by the diminishing need for agricultural labour to seek employment in towns. The streets, however, were as yet unpaved and letters to the council complained of the muddy streets and the lack of sufficient crossings.

In the 1890s, while the custom of visiting spas had declined in popularity, Cheltenham remained a prosperous, fashionable town, considered a highly desirable place to live or visit. From the 1840s, the town had employed a meteorologist to keep records of the weather and the results were published weekly in local papers. Direct comparison was made in terms of hours of sunshine and inches of rain with other spa towns such as Harrogate, Bath and Buxton. The climate was regarded as particularly suited to those who had worked abroad, in the army or the colonial service.

The town's broad range of cultural interest was reflected in the unusually large number of established places of entertainment. In the 1890s, the long established Assembly Rooms, in the High Street, retained its popularity as a venue for concerts and entertainments.⁶⁴ The Winter Gardens, a glass and metal construction, built in 1878-9 and designed by local architect John Thomas Derby in the popular style of the Crystal Palace, included several concert rooms and was surrounded by gardens. The New Theatre and Opera House opened in 1891 by Lillie Langtry, a fêted actress of the period, was host to many touring companies such as the D'Oyly Carte Company which came each year with the latest Gilbert and Sullivan Opera. As with most nineteenth century towns, there was the multi-purpose Corn Exchange, popular with touring music hall artists. Poole's Myriorama, the travelling diorama show, was an annual visitor. The Montpellier Rotunda, in addition to its Spa facilities, was a popular place for concerts.⁶⁵ There are occasional newspaper reports of

⁶⁴ Opened by the Duke and Duchess of Wellington in 1816.

⁶⁵ It was 1905 before an impressive Town Hall was built which offered facilities for entertainment. This still exists today.

lectures, often given by the clergy, supported by lantern slides but there is no evidence of a tradition of touring lantern shows.

The mid to late nineteenth century had seen the growth of availability of newspapers, both national and local.⁶⁶ Improved communication networks, telegrams and the railway networks created an environment which helped cultivate the development of daily and weekly papers.⁶⁷ In Cheltenham, an extensive range of newspapers was published both daily and weekly.⁶⁸ The daily *Gloucestershire Echo*, a conservative paper costing ½d like most other major daily papers, published national and international as well as local news. The *Cheltenham Examiner*, a liberal weekly costing 2p, concentrated on Cheltenham affairs, from the Borough Council meetings and the meetings of the Board of Guardians to sporting events. Other weeklies included *The Cheltenham Mercury*, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Parish Register*, and *The Looker-on, A Note-Book of the Sayings and Doings of Social, Political and Fashionable Life*. This last had a special section of ‘Comings and Goings’, recording the arrival or departure of notable residents or visitors, as well as a regular feature, ‘Home Thoughts from Simla’, providing news from the Indian hilltop town where so many employed in the colonial service or the Army spent the summer. All of these periodicals would carry accounts of the first appearances of moving pictures in Cheltenham in late 1896.

The establishment of prestigious boarding schools in the second half of the 19th century had contributed to the town’s prosperity. Cheltenham College, Cheltenham Ladies College, and Dean Close School were by the 1890s very highly regarded, providing education largely for the children of those working abroad, in the colonial service, the army

⁶⁶ These papers have proved a rich source of material of advertisements for and reviews of the ‘animated photographs’ which were first shown in Cheltenham in 1896.

⁶⁷ The reduction in the price of newspapers, brought about in 1855 by the repeal of stamp duty payable on newspapers, was another important element.

⁶⁸ A major effect of the 1870 Education Act, which ensured the provision of universal education up to the age of 14, further developed literacy in the working class and added to the reading public for newspapers, particularly the weeklies.

or such concerns as the East India Company.⁶⁹ Of particular note, Cheltenham Ladies College established in 1854, was in the forefront of education for women with a charismatic and effective headmistress, Miss Dorothea Beale. She pioneered education for women which prepared them for entrance to higher education and in 1897, she established St Hilda's College, a college for women in Oxford. The fabric of the town began to be dominated by school buildings which were both impressive in size and style.

During 1896, the Borough Council was much preoccupied with maintaining Cheltenham's importance as a tourist destination and considered, before deciding against, a Kursaal.⁷⁰ Tenders for the installation of a town electricity supply were debated and the installation took place in 1897. Because of an outbreak of cholera in Gloucester, the visit of the Prince of Wales planned for May 1896 was postponed until May 1897, which allowed time for more detailed planning of a visit from the heir to the throne in the month before Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Celebrations.⁷¹ Towards the end of 1896, moving pictures arrived in Cheltenham. Ginnett's circus showed Lumière films as part of an inaugural programme in November to launch their renovated venue, and a series of fund-raising concerts for a new cricket pavilion and pitch included the films of Robert Paul at the Assembly Rooms in December.

Part 5 'Animated Pictures' in London in 1896

The two pioneers of moving picture exhibition in Britain, Lumière and Paul, had very different business practices. Lumière, a long-established family photographic business based in Lyons, France, had adopted a business strategy which was followed worldwide.

⁶⁹ Being engaged in trade, no member of the Slade family is recorded as being a pupil at any of these schools.

⁷⁰ Reception rooms and facilities designed to make a visit to a spa more relaxing.

⁷¹ The minutes of Cheltenham Borough Council for 1896/97 reflect the range of detailed preparations for this event which was ostensibly for the Prince of Wales to review the local volunteer regiment in an effort to encourage recruitment. *Gloucestershire Archives*.

From the start, the Lumières decided not to sell their equipment but to keep control of it by means of a territorial licensing system. Following the first public, highly successful, commercial exhibition of the Cinématographe in Paris on 28 December 1895, the Lumières nominated a representative for each country where they had an interest and gave this person sole responsibility for promoting the Cinématographe within that country.⁷²

For Britain, their first place of exhibition outside France, the Lumières chose a close family friend and fellow Frenchman, Félicien Trewéy, to develop opportunities for showing films on the Cinématographe. During 1895, the Lumières had invited Trewéy, a noted international illusionist and magician, to come to Lyons and train in the use of the Cinématographe.⁷³ With long experience of working as a music hall artist in Britain, Trewéy was ideal to launch the Cinématographe.⁷⁴ He first introduced the Lumière films on February 20 1896, at the Marlborough Hall, part of the London Polytechnic, an institution situated in Regent Street in the heart of London.⁷⁵

As an established institution associated both with scientific invention and entertainments, the London Polytechnic was well-suited to launch the Cinématographe.⁷⁶ The interest generated by these first exhibitions and Trewéy's reputation as a highly experienced performer enabled him to secure good terms from the Empire Theatre of Varieties in Leicester Square, where he had already performed. On March 9 1896, Lumière films entered the music hall programme at the Empire as one of many items of entertainment on the bill, and soon led to greatly increased takings.⁷⁷

⁷² It was possible to negotiate use of equipment and films on a franchise basis but the Lumières retained control and took a percentage of the takings.

⁷³ Trewéy is said to have been one of the projectionists at the inaugural screening of the Cinématographe at the Empire Theatre, Lyons, on January 25, 1895.

⁷⁴ Trewéy's involvement with their early film making is demonstrated in his role as one of the card players in *The Card Players*, and as a subject of a 'vue comique', as well as films of him in his role of 'prestidigitateur' and conjuror, all early Lumière films.

⁷⁵ The poster for the exhibitions features Trewéy's name prominently, as 'sole manager'.

⁷⁶ The Polytechnic, however, was an unique institution, with no opportunities for further exploitation beyond its two exhibition spaces, apart from increasing the number of exhibitions.

⁷⁷ The attendances were printed in the *Music Hall Journal*. At the Marlborough Hall, Trewéy had been fortunate to benefit

In contrast to Trewey, Robert Paul was a Londoner in his twenties, with his own successful instrument making business in Hatton Garden, described at the time as ‘one of a small group who devote themselves exclusively to the production of the most delicate scientific instruments’.⁷⁸ His experience of presenting a highly successful Kinetoscope show at Olympia in 1895 had made him aware of the interest in developing a machine capable of projecting a moving image. Spurred on by knowledge of the success of the Lumière show in Paris, Paul concentrated on producing a projector in early 1896. This drive to get a machine in working order before an audience resulted in him showing the ‘Theatrograph’ within a day of the Lumière Cinématographe being introduced at the Polytechnic by Trewey.

Although Paul appeared to have lost the initiative to Lumière, the success of the Cinématographe at the Empire led Alfred Moul, manager of the nearby Alhambra, a major competitor of the Empire, to make contact with Paul. After a demonstration, Paul’s projector to be known exclusively at the Alhambra as the ‘Animatographe’, began its run, on March 25, for an initial period of two weeks at a fee of £66 per week.⁷⁹ While it might appear that Paul came off poorly compared with Trewey, who had negotiated a fee of £150 a week at the Empire for the same number of exhibitions, Paul, in business on his own account, was the sole beneficiary of any income, and more importantly had ensured the expansion of his business by securing his first major commercial platform in a prestigious music hall.⁸⁰

From the first exhibitions, when the demand for his machines exceeded his capacity to supply, Paul appeared to have thrived on the challenges this rapidly developing business presented. While continuing to improve his machine and supervising the projection at a growing number of music hall venues, he became personally involved in the making of films

from the expertise of Matt Raymond, an electrician employed by the Polytechnic, to sort out the technical problems which arose. Raymond became Trewey’s technical assistant, installing projection equipment wherever the Cinématographe was being used. His technical skills combined with Trewey’s showmanship, probably account for the highly successful launch at the Empire.

⁷⁸ ‘A Chat with Mr. R. W. Paul’, *The Era*, 25 April 1896.

⁷⁹ This arrangement was subsequently extended for more than a year.

⁸⁰ There is no record of what proportion of the fee was paid to Trewey.

to meet the demand for new material. With energy and drive, he embraced every opportunity to develop his business, not only in the production of machines but also personally entering the world of entertainment. As early as April 1896, Paul had made plain his intention to extend his activities beyond London.⁸¹

By the end of 1896, music halls had become the dominant place of exhibition for animated photographs, largely through the network provided by the circuits of Stoll, and Moss and Thornton which had theatres in most large cities nationwide. Lumière films under the auspices of Trewey entered the programmes of many of the provincial music halls which were part of the Stoll circuit. By the autumn of 1896, Paul used column-long advertisements in *The Era*, the weekly London theatrical paper, to promote his success in achieving engagements country-wide, in addition to the London shows at the Alhambra, the Canterbury and Paragon. At this critical moment, Trewey and Paul were therefore in serious competition, each seeking to expand opportunities to show their respective machines, the Cinématographe with Lumière films and the Theatrograph or Animatographe with films made by Paul, many made when he was originally in partnership with another pioneer, Birt Acres.

Part 6 Animated pictures in Cheltenham November and December 1896

The lack of a music hall in Cheltenham doubtless accounts for the fact that it was not until November and December 1896 that its residents had their first opportunities to see ‘animated pictures’ and then they were shown in three very different and contrasting venues. For a town the size of Cheltenham with a population of only 50,000, although supplemented by visitors, this is an unexpectedly large number. Films by the Lumières, followed by those of

⁸¹ *The Era*, 25 April, 1896, Interview with Robert Paul.

Paul, were the earliest to be shown, which reflected what had originally happened in London. Extensive advertising in the many local newspapers promoted all three attractions.⁸²

In late November 1896, the Ginnetts, a circus family, chose 'animated pictures' to be the novelty attraction for the re-opening after renovation of the Colosseum, a permanent circus arena.⁸³ These were advertised as coming from the Empire Music Hall, London, 'introducing all the latest subjects of everyday life at home and abroad'.⁸⁴ Only days later, Paul's 'Animated Pictures' were shown in the fashionable Assembly Rooms, at a series of fund-raising concerts, which extended into early December, for the new Cheltenham Cricket Club grounds and pavilion. Within the same month, Paul's 'all new' films were next shown at the Corn Exchange in a Christmas entertainment given by a well-known touring ventriloquist.

In the published history of British cinema, the first reference to exhibition of film in Cheltenham appears as Paul's programme for the Cheltenham Cricket Club concerts, reproduced in Rachael Low and Roger Manvell's seminal 1948 study of early film in Britain.⁸⁵ This was the front page of the programme for Paul's show at the Assembly Rooms on Tuesday, December 1, 1896 and the second illustration, a playbill of 1898, gives details of Paul's films to be shown, again sponsored by the Cricket Club, at the Assembly Rooms. Other than as rare examples of early exhibition advertising, these do not seem to have stimulated any further research into screenings in provincial towns. Further confirmation of Paul's visit in 1896 is to be found in the published account of his address to the

⁸² These would have been supplemented by bills and flyers distributed throughout the town.

⁸³ From information about other indoor circus venues of this period, the auditorium is likely to have been designed as a round theatrical space with a performance ring and a stage at one end. The seating was likely to have been rather like an opera house, in tiers rising from the ring. The 'pictures' were most probably projected from the rear onto a screen on stage.

⁸⁴ The Cheltenham Examiner, 11 November 1896 p 4

⁸⁵ Rachael Low and Roger Manvell, *The History of the British Film 1896-1906* First published in 1948 by the British Film Institute. Revised edition 1973 Figs 9 and 11, page of illustrations, after page 32. Two illustrations relating to Robert Paul's exhibitions are included as examples of programming material, but there is no further exposition in the text.

Kinematograph Society in November, 1936.⁸⁶ Extensive searches of published histories of Cheltenham itself do not provide any information about the arrival of ‘moving pictures’ to the town, and a local historian’s article also takes the cricket club programme to be the first.⁸⁷

Ginnett’s Circus at the Colosseum⁸⁸

Ginnett’s Circus opened the first week of their performances at the renovated Colosseum with ‘The Cinamatagraphe’ [sic], as a special attraction of a four week visit.⁸⁹ Although not advertised as such, these were the very first exhibitions of moving pictures in Cheltenham and may even have been among the first as part of a circus entertainment in England. They had entered the exhibition space of a circus famous for its equestrian performances, both as a supporting part of the programme and a special attraction. In the *Cheltenham Examiner*, the advertisements included the word ‘Imperial’ in the title of the circus, and made a feature that the show was as seen at Balmoral by Queen Victoria, who was known to enjoy attending the circus.⁹⁰

Promoted as the ‘Cinematographe or Animated pictures’, the specialty feature in this inaugural programme was described as ‘London’s latest ‘scientific craze’, coming from the prestigious music hall, the Empire. By describing the films as ‘introducing all the latest subjects of Every Day Life at Home and Abroad’, the text conveys that what is shown is of

⁸⁶ Paul’s talk appeared in two journals, first in the *Proceedings of the British Kinematograph Society*, No 38, *Before 1910*, and subsequently in the *Journal of the Society for Motion Picture Engineers*, November 1936, p 503. Two programmes are included in this publication as illustrations, and the footnotes refer to the original programs (sic) being supplied to the Historical Committee (of J.S.M.P.E.) by E. A. Robins, one of Mr. Paul’s assistants at the time, then an official of Kodak Ltd., Wealdstone, Middlesex. The whereabouts of these artefacts now is unknown but fortunately their appearance in both these publications draws attention to exhibition in Cheltenham and provides evidence of the programming and cricket club patronage.

⁸⁷ John Elliot, The early history of cinema in Cheltenham, Part one – 1898 to 1899, *Cheltenham Local History Society Journal*, No 23, 2007, pp. 15-19.

⁸⁸ The Ginnett family owned a circus venue in Brighton and had been active for many years, touring the country with their shows. Their Circus Company had a long-established reputation, specialising in equestrian attractions which were featured in the promotional advertising.

⁸⁹ Advertised in *The Cheltenham Examiner*, November 14, 1896.

⁹⁰ *The Cheltenham Examiner* 11 November.

universal appeal and using the description they are the ‘latest subjects’ emphasises that audiences in Cheltenham are being presented with the most up-to-date material.

Reviews of the shows suggest that the inclusion of ‘living photographs’ had significantly contributed to the success of the re-opening. The *Cheltenham Examiner* gave equal space to the circus and film attractions:

A CIRCUS IN CHELTENHAM – Ginnett’s circus is this week visiting The Colosseum [sic], Bath Road and the order of entertainment being something of a novelty may reckon on doing well. A visit to the performance last night showed that the more popular parts of the house were well filled and the items of a long programme duly appreciated. Beside the horseback evolutions, acrobatic performances and the other attractions usual, there is an exhibition of living Photographs Luminiere’s [sic] Cinematographe. These were on the whole quite satisfactory and being the first time that the invention has been shown here claimed a good deal of interest. The pictures are varied nightly and on Saturday a view of the Promenade is announced. There will be a matinee on that day.⁹¹

The review of the performance in the *Mercury*, a weekly Conservative newspaper, showed greater enthusiasm for the experience than the *Examiner*. ‘Mr. Ginnett opened on Monday night to a house crowded in every part and since then business has been so good as to entirely surpass expectation’. After a long and detailed description of the excellent equestrian acts, it concluded:

in addition to all this, “Animated Pictures” seen for the first time in Cheltenham are a great attraction and positively marvellous. On Wednesday, Messrs Lumanieres [sic] took a photograph with the traffic then and there going on and it is intended that this shall be reproduced on Saturday night which is the last of this particular entertainment. On Wednesday the performance was under the patronage of the Mayor.⁹²

⁹¹ *The Cheltenham Examiner*, 18 November, 1896

⁹² *The Mercury*, November, 1896

Despite the mis-spellings, this was indeed a genuine Lumière show under the auspices of Trewey who had the sole right of exhibition. While there is no mention of his name, nor of an operator, the reference to the Empire Theatre in London confirms that that the operators were sent by Trewey.⁹³ Further confirmation that this was indeed a Lumière performance is the report that film taken of the Promenade during the week would be shown at the Saturday performance.⁹⁴ From the beginning of their public shows, the Lumières had recognized that the fascination of seeing familiar places and people was an important factor in attracting an audience and films taken by their operatives of the place visited was a signature of their shows. The opportunity to see moving pictures of familiar people and places continued to be a strategy to attract an audience well into the 1900s. The reviews, while not directly referring to these ‘locality films’, suggest that the presence of the films contributed to the increased audience for the Circus.

In the circus environment it was probable that the film element would follow the pattern established in the music hall, where the practice was to have the films well into the programme, when the audience was settled into the performance. The experience of seeing the animated pictures was only a small part in a long programme. Usually the film show lasted between ten and fifteen minutes. A minimum of ten to fifteen subjects would be needed to allow for changes of film and any introduction or linking information about the films. At this time, the standard length was 17 metres, with a running time of 60 seconds. To meet the advertised promise of new pictures each day, between 60 - 100 films would need to be available for use for a week’s shows.

⁹³ Advertisement for Ginnett’s Imperial Circus promotes the specialty of the opening week will be London’s Latest Scientific Craze from the Empire Theatre, London. *The Mercury*, 14 November 1896. There was a week between the touring exhibitions of the Cinématographe in music halls in Birmingham and Newport which could have allowed for a week’s exhibition in Cheltenham, midway between the two venues and well served by train. Furthermore, the Cinématographe was not available for sale on the open market until May 1897.

⁹⁴*The Mercury*, 21 November 1896.

There is no information as to how the films were or were not introduced. The circus was likely to have its own band or orchestra but there is no mention of any musical accompaniment to the spectacle. How the experience of viewing animated pictures fitted within the circus performance was not commented on in any contemporary review. One might expect that there would be technical problems in projecting film within this unfamiliar space. The newspaper reviews only mention the films after describing the equestrian displays, and give the impression that the circus environment which offered the immediacy and drama of the movement of the horses and their riders was not a natural environment in which to present movement on a screen. However, these local reviews appear to give the films credit for contributing to good audiences.

During 1896, the Lumières were active in developing the business of exhibiting their films, and at the same time building up a portfolio of local films taken by their operatives throughout Europe and beyond. In London, Trewey and Matt Raymond were known to have taken pictures of London which entered the programme at the Empire. It is probable that some films taken during this period, including London subjects, would have been included in the Ginnett programme, particularly the one showing the Empire with banners advertising the Cinématographe to confirm the claim that the films were as seen in London.

Lacking specific information about these first films shown in Cheltenham, the accounts of the Cinématographe programme at the London Empire and at the Polytechnic provide a useful indication of what was available.⁹⁵ Each performance showed ten films and programmes were available to inform the audience. The content was promoted as being a combination of entertainment and scientific interest. A brief extract from *The Era* contains a brief description of some of the films and the audience reaction:

⁹⁵ Information about the first exhibitions of films can be gathered from copies of the initial programme and from newspaper reviews of the performances.

Monday's audience applauded it lustily and so enthusiastic did they become that two of the living and moving pictures were reproduced [i.e. shown for a second time] – viz., the arrival of a train and the debarkation of passengers at a railway station, a wonderful illusion and really funny, and *The Bathers*, a number of men luxuriating in a bath on the shores of the Mediterranean.⁹⁶

The review goes on to list the other subjects – *Dinner Hour at the Factory Gate*, *Tea Time*, *The Blacksmith at Work*, *A Game at Ecarté*, *Children at Play*, *A Practical Joke on the Gardener*, *Trewey's Serpentine Ribbon* and *La Place des Cordeliers, Lyons* and concludes with 'Of course the possibilities of such an invention [...] are practically endless and the British public have now a new toy of which they are not likely soon to tire.'⁹⁷ It is likely that the programme at the Circus would have been similar, although supplemented by the local views of Cheltenham.

Mention of the Mayor's presence introduces an element important in early exhibition outside the metropolitan centres. Civic approval and recognition conferred social acceptability. This was a factor of some importance when an entertainment first shown in the dubious environment of music hall moved to provincial towns. Significantly for this study, we know that the Mayor was a member of the audience and thus able to experience not only his own reaction, but observe at first hand the reaction of the audience to animated pictures.

Although other circus companies came to Cheltenham in the succeeding months, none apparently included animated pictures in their programmes. Nevertheless Ginnetts offers an interesting case of the tentative exploration by those exhibiting animated pictures to trying the entertainment space offered by the Circus. It was perhaps a precursor to the extremely successful move into fairgrounds, where special booths could be constructed to provide tailor-made exhibition space.

⁹⁶ 'The London Music Halls, The Empire', *The Era*, 14 March, 1896, p 18,

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Robert Paul and the Cheltenham Cricket Club Concerts at the Assembly Rooms

The circus exhibition may have benefitted from and contributed to the interest surrounding Robert Paul's much publicised participation in the Cricket Club concerts, within days of the final showings at the Circus. The primary aim of the Cricket Club in arranging the concerts was to raise money from a wider public than the club's immediate supporters. The front page of the programme contains a lengthy list reflecting the range of patronage which the Cricket Club commanded.⁹⁸ Cheltenham Cricket Club was in the middle of an ambitious project to move its grounds and pavilion to a new and more desirable site: an extremely expensive undertaking that involved the purchase of land, preparation of the ground and re-siting of the existing pavilion. Nationally there was great interest in Cricket and for Cheltenham, there was recognition that better facilities would give the club greater prestige both in the important cricketing county of Gloucestershire, and throughout the country.⁹⁹

Booking Paul's films initially for only three days suggests a cautious approach by the organising committee for this important fund-raising enterprise for the Cricket Club.

However, the response was such that the Concerts were extended for a further three days and special concerts were arranged for the benefit of the girls from Cheltenham Ladies College and the boys of Cheltenham College. The total number of exhibitions was roughly the same as the Circus - six nights with additional matinee performances. The seat prices were the same for both venues.

Nationally Robert Paul had by now a public profile. His film of the 1896 Derby, won by the Prince of Wales' horse, *Persimmon*, was a great success when shown at the Alhambra in early June. The reported audience reaction was of enthusiastic cheering, singing 'God Bless the Prince of Wales', and an insistence on seeing the film of the race over and over

⁹⁸ Rachael Low and Roger Manvell, *The History of the British Film 1896-1906*, Revised edition 1973 Figs 9 and 11, page of illustrations after page 32.

⁹⁹ At this time, W. G. Grace, a cricketer of world renown, was captain Gloucester County cricket team, which played at Cheltenham.

again. The excited response was in part due to the popularity of the Prince of Wales and partly to the unique feature of film that allowed this nationally popular event to be enjoyed repeatedly. Despite the fact that several months had elapsed since the race had taken place, the Derby film had retained its popularity and was included in the Cricket Club Concert programme.¹⁰⁰

William Frith, probably the most commercially successful painter of the Victorian period, had built on the earlier success of a painting of *Ramsgate Sands* to depict a crowded canvas in his *Derby Day*. This spectacular painting was widely exhibited throughout the country with an entrance fee and was the most successful of all Victorian paintings to be copied and sold as an engraving. Its detail records the popularity of attendance at the Derby among all classes of society. The opportunity to see the race on film would tap into the established cultural knowledge of the event but in contrast to the painting the film concentrated on the movement associated with the actual race, the crowd's excited response, and the association with the Prince of Wales.



Fig 3. *The Derby* by William Powell Frith, exhibited at the Royal Academy 1858¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Cheltenham had a long-standing interest in horse racing, with a history going back to the early nineteenth century. Its famous permanent racecourse was constructed in 1898 and the Festival established in 1902.

¹⁰¹ Original exhibited at the Guildhall Gallery, the City of London.

For Robert Paul, association with Cheltenham and its Cricket Club, in a venue such as the Assembly Rooms would be a further desirable progression beyond the music hall environment, indicating a wider acceptance of ‘animated photographs’ in respectable society. Concerts in aid of Cricket Club funds were a feature of Victorian life throughout the country – and to include animated photographs in a familiar programme of music was innovative. In the history of early film exhibition, this marks an important moment of the arrival of animated pictures in provincial life.

From a report of the General Meeting of the Cricket Club at the Royal Hotel in the local newspaper, it appears that the invitation to Paul came from the Secretary of the Entertainments committee, a Mr. Anthony Whitcombe, who was the owner of the Cheltenham Fine Art Gallery in Clarence Street.¹⁰² (His gallery showed contemporary paintings for an entrance fee.) No records exist of what this arrangement was but it seems most likely to have been a private commercial agreement made by Paul with the Cricket Club committee, possibly brought about by some personal connection.¹⁰³

Study of local newspapers in the weeks before the concerts suggests that considerable planning and forethought had gone into promoting Paul and his films. In the *Gloucestershire Echo* for Friday, November 27, there is a feature headed ‘*Animated Photographs – How they are obtained*’. Following a brief introduction to the ‘well known fact of the fund raising concerts’, a full column was devoted to a long extract from the *Strand Magazine* article on the ‘*The Prince’s Derby shown by Lightning Photography*’.¹⁰⁴ This engaging, well-edited account went into some history and explanation of the means of obtaining the photographs. The account of the drama of the race itself served as an introduction to the drama of Mr. Paul hurrying back to London to develop his long negative, uncertain whether the filming had

¹⁰² ‘The Theatrograph; A Fascinating Show’, *The Cheltenham Examiner*, 3 December, 1896,

¹⁰³ In the advertisements for concerts in Cheltenham in the following July to clear the outstanding debt, there is reference to the enormous expense in bringing animated pictures back.

¹⁰⁴ *The Strand Magazine*, August 1896, pp 134-140.

been successful. In the week prior to the concerts, all local papers carried advertisements for the fund-raising events. The most impressive advertisement contained details of all the performers and their music in the section relating to the musical element and a list of named titles.¹⁰⁵ There was an accompanying description of all the films to be shown by Paul and his Theatrograph,¹⁰⁶ They were accompanied by the Town Band and including the composition, 'Field and Forest by Eidenberg'¹⁰⁷.

In the months following the first exhibitions of moving pictures in London, there had been considerable pressure on those with cinematographic equipment to sell or to franchise, to produce new films. Initially Paul used films produced when he was in partnership with Birt Acres. However, being part of the nightly music hall programme at the Alhambra intensified his need to add to the existing films available. After March 1896, capitalizing on his new connections, he used music hall artists to produce films such as *David Devant the magician*, and *Chirgwin, the White eyed Kaffir* for the Theatrograph, using the roof of the Alhambra as an open air set. In September and October 1896, Paul extended his travel films by commissioning Henry Short to go on a five week tour to film in Spain and Portugal. Paul himself visited Scotland in the summer of 1896 and films from this visit entered the catalogue. By November and December 1896, his whole range of subjects, from the 1896 *Derby* to the films taken by Short in Spain was included in the Cheltenham programme.

The reviews highlight two aspects of the audience response: the reaction to the novelty and the response to the films themselves. The *Looker-On* gave an insight into their reception. 'The chief attraction of the performances were the Animated Photographs which excited the surprise of the audience and gave them the pleasure which a novelty affords.'¹⁰⁸ The reviewer in the *Examiner* was inspired to give an evocative description of the *Cave in*

¹⁰⁵ *Gloucestershire Echo*, 30 Nov, 1896, a single column on the front page

¹⁰⁶ They were listed in the same order as in Paul's catalogue in *Victorian Film Catalogues*.

¹⁰⁷ It has not been possible to trace a copy of this music. The composer's name is probably a mis-spelling of Eilenberg a popular Victorian composer.

¹⁰⁸ *The Looker-On*, 5 December, 1896.

Galicia, ‘..... The sea tumbles and foams and as the angry waves sweep in, the rocky promontories break them into sheets of feathery spray.....’, before going on to express his enjoyment of ‘the mirth-provoking pantomime of Paul’s first wholly acted film, *The Soldier’s Courtship*.¹⁰⁹

The report in the *Looker-on* also reveals that special exhibitions had been laid on for the pupils of the Ladies College on Monday and Collegians from the boys’ college on Friday.¹¹⁰ Special performances for children became a feature of early exhibition, but on this occasion the exhibitions were specially arranged for the pupils of two of the most distinguished educational establishments in the country. This concise account provided an excellent description of the concert audience and its appreciation of the animated photographs;

[...] as for animation, the photographs were not in it. Their enthusiasm was unbounded; they encored nearly everything; and at the close the Lady Principal publicly expressed her thanks to the organisers of an entertainment which had afforded so much amusement and delight.¹¹¹

The support of Miss Beale, the renowned headmistress, was extremely important in signalling the social acceptability of going to see ‘Animated Pictures’ and her personal endorsement of the amusement and delight they provided would be of great significance and influence within Cheltenham society. She was both a patron of the Cricket Club and of the Concerts, and demonstrably was prepared to give her full support to this innovative, fund raising enterprise.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ *The Cheltenham Examiner*, 2 December, 1896.

¹¹⁰ *The Looker-On* 5 December, 1896.

¹¹¹ *The Cheltenham Examiner*, 2 December, 1896.

¹¹² Miss Beale’s example was obviously one followed by the Cheltenham College but no review for this event has been found.

Lieut. Walter Cole at the Corn Exchange

Later in the same month, Paul or his agents returned as part of a travelling entertainment. ‘Lieut. Walter Cole and his Merry Folks’ were familiar visitors to Cheltenham at Christmas. Cole was an established performer who had toured extensively since 1874.¹¹³ His fame was as a ventriloquist using automata. This was the first occasion, however, when the seasoned performer showed films as part of his programme; and there is evidence of established artists and touring companies, such as Poole’s Myriorama and the Moore and Burgess Minstrels, starting to incorporate ‘animated pictures’ in their touring programmes. Some pantomimes of the time also found a way to incorporate film shows in the narrative. Robert Paul’s films were most notably being shown in Brighton in December 1896 as part of the pantomimes, *The Babes in the Wood* and *Robin Hood*, to an appreciative audience at the Theatre Royal.

The new series of ‘animated photographs which proved so great an attraction at the Cricket Concerts a few weeks since’ are described ‘as the leading feature of the Christmas entertainments at the Corn Exchange’ in *The Looker-On*.¹¹⁴ The films advertised in the Cole programme as ‘all new’ were listed as *The Geisha*, *The London Fire Brigade*, *the Gordon Highlanders* and 50 others’ conveying to a potential audience that they would be different from those seen at the Assembly Rooms. Although there is no information as to who undertook the projection, nor who presented the films, Paul or his operatives were involved in numerous exhibitions throughout the country in December 1896 and the inclusion in Cole’s shows extends our knowledge of the diversity of his operations.

¹¹³ *The Era* carried a regular advertisement on the back page in the top right hand corner, giving contact details and availability.

¹¹⁴ *The Cheltenham Looker-on*, Public Amusements, 26 December, 1896

Review of the exhibitions

These first showings in Cheltenham introduced animated photographs to audiences that were socially diverse and wide ranging in age, Taking place within a few weeks of each other, they demonstrate the range of entertainment venues available and the differing aims of the presenters. The renovated Circus venue, the fashionable Assembly Rooms and the Corn Exchange were places of popular entertainment, appealing to different but sometimes overlapping social groups. The appearance of animated pictures as part of the Ginnett Circus and Lieut Walter Coles' Merry Folks provides evidence of a gradual integration into established forms of commercial entertainment other than the music hall.

In contrast, the Cricket Club Concerts, while no doubt part of a business arrangement with Paul, highlight an important and often forgotten aspect of early exhibition. The showing of films began to take on a fundraising and charitable role, where enjoyment of the spectacle was combined with a socially beneficial aim. The inclusion of animated photographs in a concert programme also placed them before a predominately middle class audience. Every effort was made to attract as large an audience as possible, with local musical accompaniment, and the highly publicised additional events, concerts for the girls of Cheltenham Ladies College, and the boys of Cheltenham College, also sanctioned children's attendance at events which featured animated pictures.

There is a strong argument to be made that the success of all these exhibitions may have influenced the Mayor and members of the Borough Council, who could witness the powerful impact of films of local views and films associated with Royalty on an audience. This created the climate which led the Mayor and the Borough Council to invite Robert Paul to Cheltenham to make a film of the visit of the Prince of Wales, in May 1897, approximately one month before Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Celebrations. A relationship with Robert Paul had been established which allowed both parties to embark on a new project. The

decision to commission Paul to film the visit was an important development for the town and for the role of filmmaking.

Part 7 Slade's decision to become an exhibitor

The realisation that Slade had several opportunities to be part of an audience to see films - at the Circus, in the Assembly Rooms, and at the Corn Exchange - gives weight to the proposition that seeing animated pictures at some or all of these shows had a profound effect on this long time Cheltenham resident. Outside London, it was unusual to have so many different exhibitions within such a brief period. The audience responses may have given him encouragement to take the decisive step to become an exhibitor himself. Slade may have interpreted the enthusiastic reaction as an indication of the growing appreciation of animated photographs by a larger public in provincial towns.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, it still was a bold step for someone who had responsibilities to an established business and large family to become, in effect, a travelling showman. The fact that Mary, his second eldest daughter at the age of 21, was part of this enterprise also suggests that this was far from being the conventional Victorian family. In looking for reasons to explain his decision to leave his established life, the most obvious one was that he had the financial security and the means to embark on an exciting new enterprise which he had chosen, rather than the one into which he had been born. His sons were old enough to take on responsibility for the day to day running of the business in the absence of their father.

With his considerable business experience, Slade made the decision to become an itinerant at an early stage of commercial exhibition, when it appeared that there was an opportunity to capitalise on its novelty and make money.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, there was still

¹¹⁵ Although there is no information available about his wife at this time, his confidence in her is conveyed in the terms of his Will on his death in 1903, leaving everything to her without any individual bequests.

¹¹⁶ The *Bristol Times and Mirror* for April 24th 1897 carried the notice of Robert Paul's flotation of a new company which

uncertainty about the future of animated pictures – many thought it was a nine days wonder, which may have also been a factor in Slade’s decision to act quickly. Others, such as Birt Acres, thought that the projection of moving images should concentrate on being an educational tool rather than a form of cheap entertainment.

At this moment, however, there was also a very limited choice of available equipment.¹¹⁷ Slade was a regular reader of the *Optical Magic Lantern Journal* which could have been one source of information about equipment, and he may have taken the opportunity to consult Robert Paul. The Theatrograph, however, was in great demand and unavailable without a waiting time of several weeks, if not months. The problem of scarcity at this time was described by Oscar B. Depue, a projectionist for the celebrated American travel lecturer, Burton Holmes. Depue came to Europe in late 1897 with the specific brief to purchase a motion picture camera and described his attempts to buy a camera in London.¹¹⁸

I found little from which to choose and the prices were exorbitant. I was forced to go to Paris to see what I could find there. The situation was almost as bad – with one exception. Mr Léon Gaumont had a Demeny camera for 60mm film – the only machine I could find in all Paris. It was not what you would call a facile piece of apparatus. It was cumbersome and its tripod was a piece of one inch plank fitted with solid iron legs (not adjustable).¹¹⁹

At almost the same time, Slade appears to have found the same solution. As far back as 1846, an advertisement for the newly opened Cheltenham shop stated ‘[...]Mr W. Slade has just visited London and also Paris where he was engaged in selecting the newest and most

aimed to raise capital of £60,000 as a means of expanding his business. According to his accounts, Paul had made a profit of £6000 from his exhibitions. However, it has to be remembered that, in many ways, Paul’s situation was ideal; most of his performances were within the music hall circuits where most of the advertising and promotion as well as the venue was provided.

¹¹⁷ Lumière’s Cinématographe did not become available to independent operators till May 1897.

¹¹⁸ Oscar B. Depue, ‘My First Fifty Years in Motion Pictures’, *Journal of the SMPE*, Vol 49, p 60, December 1947.

Holmes had recognised that to keep up with the latest developments, he needed to replace the hand coloured stereopticon slides employed at his lectures with ‘motion pictures’.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

admired improvements in Ladies and Gentleman's Boots and Shoes'.¹²⁰ It seems that his son William continued the practice of visiting London and Paris, which would have enabled him to investigate the latest cinematographic equipment and films, and in December 1896, he visited the showroom of Léon Gaumont and bought all the equipment necessary to set up as an exhibitor.

¹²⁰ *Cheltenham Examiner*, 7 October, 1846

Chapter 2 ‘Our Slade and his Photos commands admiration’

Introduction

At the end of 1896, Slade would have encountered serious obstacles in trying to equip himself with a projector in England; the Lumière Cinématographe was not available on the open market and the demand for Paul’s Theatrograph far exceeded supply. Others still in the various stages of development had limited availability. Slade found a solution by going to Paris to the Gaumont premises. There, he bought the Demeny - Chronophotographe projector, films, and all that was necessary to put on exhibitions.¹²¹

The background to this purchase and the subsequent correspondence with Gaumont is explored in Part 1, before describing Slade’s preparations for entry into the world of exhibition as Slade’s Kinematographical Optical Entertainments and Concerts in Part 2.¹²² His experience of presenting shows in fourteen towns during the first six months of 1897 is summarised in Part 3.¹²³ Information gathered from local newspapers containing advertisements and reviews of his exhibitions reveals how his shows were promoted and received. In Part 4, the development of Slade’s programming and the costs of presenting entertainments during the first six months are reviewed.

This Chapter, supported by archive material, accounts and a map, thus presents a rare detailed account of the activities of an early itinerant, from the point of purchase of his equipment and films to his programmes of entertainment, including moving pictures, in provincial towns from nine months after the first London exhibitions of Lumière and Paul.

¹²¹ Appendix A: Archive no 3, receipt for the 3,822 francs Slade paid for it as well as an itemised receipt which lists all the accessories and films he bought. Confirmation of the purchase also exists in the Gaumont’s commercial correspondence, *Les Premières années de la société. Gaumont et Cie*, Association française de recherche sur l’histoire du cinéma, Bibliothèque, du Film Gaumont 1998 no 123, p 192.

¹²² Appendix A: Transcribed correspondence from Gaumont et Cie.

¹²³ Appendices C and D: Slade’s summaries of the expenses and the places visited were the starting point to research for more evidence of his exhibitions.

Part 1 The London launch of the Demeny-Chronphotographe, December 1896

In August 1895, Léon Gaumont, with the help of influential wealthy friends and clients, had taken over the established photographic business, *Le Comptoir de la Photographie*, retaining its business premises in the centre of Paris and renaming it Gaumont et Cie.¹²⁴ With the confidence arising from his extensive experience in the photographic business and in charge of this long established company, Gaumont decided to extend the range of equipment on offer to include the developing sphere of cinematography.¹²⁵ Following negotiations with Georges Demeny, he made an agreement to modify and develop a camera using perforated film which Demeny had patented. The Demeny-Chronphotographe projector and camera was the result.¹²⁶ In taking on the production, Gaumont made a contract with Demeny to market it and pay him a percentage of every sale.

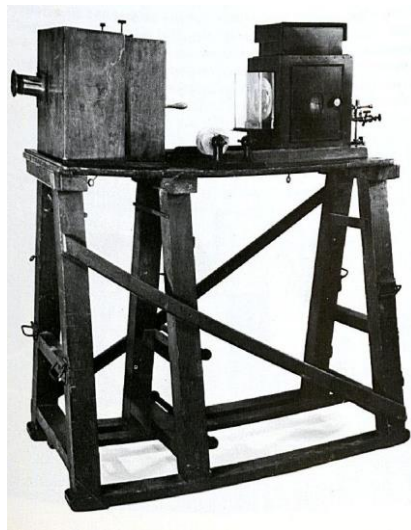


Fig 4. Demeny-Chronphotographe 1896¹²⁷

¹²⁴ *Les Premières années de la société. Gaumont et Cie*, The circumstances are described in detail in the introduction to the collected business correspondence of the company from 1895-1899, Léon Ernest Gaumont (Paris 1864- Sainte - Maxime 1946), *Une exceptionnelle promotion sociale*, by Jean- Jacques Meusy et Corine Faugeron, pp 14- 18.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* In the introduction to the collected letters, Gaumont is described as a well-educated, self-made man, product of a prestigious college, with considerable charm and drive.

¹²⁶ Demeny who had recently detached himself from a long association with Marey had originally been motivated by a desire to understand how lip reading could be taught as a means of helping those with hearing deficit. Films from this period can still be viewed and provide an insight into the work of those who set out to prove that moving images could be employed as a means of therapeutic intervention and treatment.

¹²⁷ Fig 4: Brian Coe *The History of Movie Photography*, Ash and Grant, London 1981, p77, described as 'an outfit for the projection of 60mm wide film.' This is likely to be the one purchased by Slade which was deposited in the Kodak Museum which Coe curated.

By the autumn of 1896, Gaumont had expanded the production and sale of these projectors, commissioned films for them, and begun to market the new range from his Paris showroom. Recognising the interest moving pictures had created in England, Gaumont came to London in December 1896 to promote his new projector and films, as a means of attracting customers in England.

Given his background in photographic equipment, it is understandable that Gaumont introduced his projector and films at one of the regular meetings of a Photographic Club in Holborn, London.¹²⁸ A week after the event, a detailed report of ‘the Demeny instrument’ in the *British Journal of Photography* described the pictures as ‘beautifully defined, well exposed and without flaws – the best we have hitherto seen – thus attesting both the good qualities of the machine and the film that was used in it’.¹²⁹ A day earlier, *The Optician* reviewed an additional exhibition in the Empire Music Hall on the afternoon of 13 December.¹³⁰ This review noted that the ‘Demeny instrument takes and projects pictures, each of which gives an image four times greater than animatographic pictures of the usual size’, due to the 58mm filmstrip used.¹³¹ Illustrated with a drawing of the equipment, this account contained considerable detail about the working of the apparatus and concluded: ‘so far as we can judge, the Demeny apparatus is simple and certain in use, practicable and effective’.

¹²⁸ *The British Journal of Photography*, 4 December, 1896, in the section on *News and Notes*, gave notice of the visit with the brief statement that Léon Gaumont would be part of the programme for ‘the first time in London’ at Anderton’s Hotel in Fleet Street, London on 9 December, 1896. Any member of the public was welcome to attend provided prior application had been made to the Secretary. Barnes in *The Beginnings of Cinema in England 1894-1896*, Vol 1, page 204, plate 116, describes the hotel as the place of the first English demonstration and on page 206 summarises its entry and the existence of an apparatus in the Kodak collection in Bradford. This has now been identified as the one Slade bought.

¹²⁹ *The British Journal of Photography*, 18 December 1896, pp. 807- 808.

¹³⁰ *The Optician*, 17 December 1896. Note; Lumière films were still being shown in the Empire Music Hall.

¹³¹ *Gaumont, 90 ans de cinema*, sous la direction de Philippe d’Hugues et Dominique Muller, Editions Ramsay 1986, p 92. A review in a history of the Gaumont organization confirms that ‘each image had a surface area of 35x45 mm, representing a surface area of almost four times that of 35mm film. While this had advantages in providing good quality images, the use of 60mm (or rather 58mm) film proved a poor commercial decision by Gaumont as the films were not compatible with all other equipment on the market at the time. Later he changed to use 35mm in common with most other producers.’

These reviews, in journals devoted to informing a knowledgeable readership about the technical capabilities of equipment, rather than with entertainment in mind, contain no descriptions of the films shown nor their subjects. The prospective purchaser of a cinématographe, however, would give considerable weight to the views expressed in such reputable journals. Slade may have been among the potential customers at one or both of these presentations, or at least have read the reviews. His familiarity with Paris and ability to speak French may also have made buying from Gaumont an attractive proposition.

Slade's purchase from Gaumont: December 1896

We know that later in the same month Slade went to Gaumont's showroom in central Paris to complete the purchase of a Demeny- Chronophotographe and films.¹³² Despite having no previous connection with the world of moving pictures, he became one of the earliest purchasers of the Chronophotographe and among the first to use one to project Gaumont films in Britain, in January 1897.¹³³

At the contemporary rate of exchange, the total cost of the apparatus, accessories and films came to £184, consisting of £63 for the projector and £97 for the twenty one films, with the remainder for the accessories.¹³⁴ This was a considerable sum of money to invest before any return could be predicted, and in the knowledge that there would be on-going costs in maintaining the machine and buying new films.¹³⁵ Slade entered the business at a time when starting out costs were still high, and it was impossible to predict that these would come

¹³² *Les Premières années de la société. Gaumont et Cie* no 123, p 192. Slade's name appears among the purchasers for machine no 31. The other British customers, recorded in this Gaumont document, were the London Polytechnic and William Charles Hughes a retailer of photographic equipment and magic lanterns, 82 Mortimer Road, London.

¹³³ Appendix A: Archive nos 2, 3 & 6. The Slade archive contains three original documents, the statement and two invoices presented by the Gaumont Company to Slade, dated le 31 Xdre, (sic) 1896 and 2 Jan 1897, which provide the evidence of his purchase of Demeny Chronophotographe and films on 31 December 1896.

¹³⁴ Appendix A, Archive 18: Rate of exchange £10 =250frs

¹³⁵ According to the National Archives historic comparison tables, it would have represented over £11,000 in 2005. See <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>.

down dramatically during the following twelve months as more suppliers entered the market.¹³⁶



Fig 5. Invoice for purchase of Demeny- Chronophotographe no. 31 and films.¹³⁷

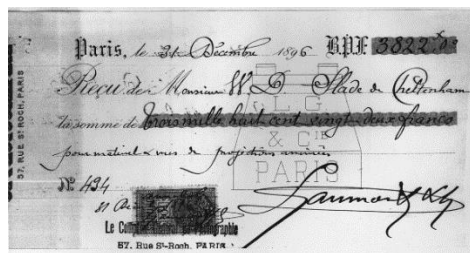


Fig 6. Receipt for Mr W.D. Slade of Cheltenham from Léon Gaumont, 31 December 1896.¹³⁸

Buying films from the Gaumont Company in Paris

¹³⁶ Between September 1896 and January 1897 there were only about forty purchasers of the Demeny Chronophotographe. Those listed in the Gaumont Correspondence include Grenier (no 3) a well-travelled exhibitor who had toured France during 1895 with an Edison Kinetoscope. He has been identified as using a cinématographe, believed to have been a Demeny-Chronophotographe, at the Saint-Nazaire Fair in September 1896. He falls within the category of those who already had experience in presenting moving images in a fairground. Two institutions in Paris, the Châtelet Théâtre and the Jardin d'Acclimatation, (The Zoo) bought nos 9 and 6 respectively. The Châtelet theatre was the site of the filming of an early Gaumont film, *La Biche au Bois* which was subsequently projected during a theatrical performance of live ballet within the theatre, described by Brian Coe as a first example of a multimedia presentation. *The History of Movie Photography, Living Pictures on the Screen*, Chapter 5, p 79. Deslandes, the purchaser of 'appareil no 8', went on to be commissioned by Gaumont in January 1897 to take films for marketing by the Gaumont Company. The purchasers of no 39 were a French mother and son, the Comtesse Marie-Anne and the Vicomte Henry Grandsaignes d'Hautrives, who went to Quebec in October 1897. Altogether, they made ten trips to Canada, travelling extensively presenting their films in schools and churches, both in urban and rural areas. The purchaser of no 20, Bruant is likely to have been Aristide Bruant a successful singer, songwriter and entrepreneur who ran a successful cabaret in Montmartre, immortalised in the striking portrait, *Aristide Bruant at his cabaret*, he commissioned from Toulouse Lautrec to promote his café-concerts on the Champs Élysées.

¹³⁷ Appendix A: Archive no 6 and Appendix B i): giving titles of the films listed by number.

¹³⁸ Ibid: Archive no 2.

Gaumont's showroom in Paris offered customers the opportunity to see the equipment and films. At this time, the future filmmaker Alice Guy was employed as receptionist and secretary, and therefore almost certainly would have met Slade, as a new customer from an English provincial town. In her *Memoirs*, she gave a vivid impression of what the premises in central Paris premises in 1896 were like, conveying the excitement and the constant comings and goings of distinguished visitors.

In front of one of the windows giving onto the Avenue of the Opera, a little table was placed for me, with a typewriter..... and from eight in the morning to eight at night, for six days a week, I had to answer the imperious bell-summons from the directorial desk.

In those days, photography reigned. All the aristocrats, all the scientific world, all the artists, (writer, painters, sculptors), the diplomatic world and even the demi-monde made photographs. It was the Belle Époque.¹³⁹

By visiting the Gaumont premises personally, Slade would have had a demonstration of the Demeny-Chronophotographe. He would have seen the films available and been able to choose exactly which ones he wanted.¹⁴⁰

Recently in sole charge of the company, Gaumont was in process of building up a catalogue of films for the Demeny-Chronomatographe, and Slade selected twenty-one from a limited range of under a hundred films.¹⁴¹ In this early period of Gaumont producing 58mm films, it is difficult to establish who produced the films. Were the early ones made by Demeny? Were some later produced by Alice Guy? In her memoirs, she described being

¹³⁹ Alice Guy Blaché, *The Memoirs of Alice Guy Blaché*, ed Anthony Slide The Scarecrow Press Inc, Lanhan,Md,London 1886 Chapter 2, p17.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix A: The subsequent correspondence conveys that Slade established a good relationship with Gaumont and his staff.

¹⁴¹ Appendix B ii): With the numbers of the films he bought it has been possible to name them from the filmography produced by Gaumont reproduced in *Victorian Film Catalogues* p16.

given early opportunities to make films and recounted the problems encountered in taking street scenes; but it is impossible to know for certain which she was involved in making.

The films Slade chose reflected the subjects favoured at this early stage in exhibition. City scenes, such as a *Panorama of Paris*, (58), *Marseilles* (85), *Le Havre* (80) and *The Start of Motor Carriages at the Porte-Maillot* (9) combined movement with views of European cities. Parades and troops of horses and military in action, such as *Departure of the President after the Review on July 4th 1896* (51) and *A Squadron of Dragoons Jumping Hurdles* (37), were popular, providing audiences with a sense of being spectators at the event. Scenes which concentrated on the movement of water, such the ‘*Fountains at Versailles*’ (68), were mesmeric to watch, even within the short duration of one minute. *Swans and Storks* (82), a copy of a Lumière film, provides evidence that even at this early stage Slade was able to buy coloured prints.

Gaumont-Slade correspondence, January–September 1897¹⁴²

On Slade’s return to Cheltenham, a letter from Gaumont et Cie, signed by V. Perret, trusted that he had had a good return journey, wished him well in his exhibitions and asked to be kept informed about their reception.^p The letter, warm in tone, suggests that Slade had established a good relationship with the staff at Gaumont, and began a correspondence which would continue until July.¹⁴³

The Slade archive, containing letters, invoices and receipts, from an up-and-coming Parisian retail supplier of cinematographic equipment to a novice exhibitor, is unique, and

¹⁴² Appendix A: The Slade archive of correspondence from Gaumont et Cie contains 36 items and comprises invoices and receipts, as well as 14 letters written between January and July 1897, some signed by Léon Gaumont himself. The material has been transcribed and where necessary, translated. A supplement contains the correspondence with Le Couteur of the Photographic Association between June and September, 1897.

¹⁴³ See Appendix A: All the letters were handwritten on Gaumont headed notepaper (the typewriter was only just entering the everyday world of business communication). Both French and English are used and even when English is used, the conventions of courteous French letter writing are retained. The visiting card provides a good example of his handwriting. There is only one draft letter from Slade to Gaumont written in English.

provides rare evidence of how business was conducted in this period.¹⁴⁴ While documenting the responses from Gaumont to the early problems encountered by Slade, it is also a source of information about the new films Gaumont was producing for the Demenÿ-Chronophotographe in the first few months of 1897.¹⁴⁵

Pros and Cons of the Demenÿ-Chronophotographe

The main incentives for Slade would have been that the Gaumont equipment had been vouched for in specialist photographic journals, and that projector and films were available for immediate collection. By going in person, he could take advantage of the services on offer at the company's offices.¹⁴⁶ Subsequently, purchasers would receive the *Revue trimestrielle*, a quarterly journal, containing information about the latest products. Producing such a magazine was an innovative and entrepreneurial means of keeping in touch with customers at a time when many new films and products were being produced, and such professionalism would no doubt have been appreciated by Slade.

From the subsequent correspondence, Slade appears to have dealt personally with Léon Gaumont. Having established a good relationship ensured that Slade received thoughtful and helpful advice throughout the correspondence. Their common experience in running 'quality' businesses may have created mutual respect. Nevertheless, in buying from a supplier in Paris, there were additional factors which Slade may not have fully appreciated at the point of purchase. Although most of the Gaumont correspondence is in English and Slade was able to communicate in French, it was a complicating element. Using both French and English was potentially difficult, especially where technical expertise was needed and where all the technical advice and guidance was printed in French.

¹⁴⁴ The Gaumont archive in Paris does not contain any letters sent by Slade nor copies of letters sent to Slade by Gaumont.

¹⁴⁵ The letters, invoices and receipts from Gaumont reveal the costs incurred by an exhibitor, the availability of films and the issues arising from working on projecting film.

¹⁴⁶ As listed on the Gaumont company's headed notepaper.

There was also the complication of having to work in two currencies, French francs and English sterling, at that time calculated in pounds, shillings and pence, which did not make conversion easy.¹⁴⁷ However, the fact that invoices were all in francs may not have been such a problem for a businessman like Slade, familiar as he was with buying stock from Paris for his shoe business.

A further technical factor, which may not have been fully understood when Slade was placing his order, was the size difference between 'normal' lantern slides in the two countries. In a covering note of 18 January, accompanying a delivery of eight slides, the Gaumont staff explained that different measurements in use in England and France would cause a delay in completing the order, and that the thirteen outstanding slides would take a further two weeks. This is a very early example of the use of lantern slides carrying text being employed as intertitles for projected films. It suggests that the Gaumont Company was among the earliest, if not the first, to use slides as a means of introducing films. Later it became the standard means to inform audiences of the subject matter, and to act as a link between films.¹⁴⁸ For Slade, the initial lack of slides may have created an unexpected problem in preparing his programme.

While Slade had the benefit of instruction when buying his projector and films, on returning to Cheltenham he quickly encountered the lack of any local technical help, and had to rely on receiving advice by letter. It is clear from the correspondence that Slade posed numerous questions, even numbering them. This evoked the slightly irritated response that Slade's questions could be answered without the use of numbers!¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ One pound (£) was divided into twenty shillings(s), each of which contained twelve pence (d). A price could be written £77.15s.10d, or as £77/15/10. The former is used in this text. To arrive at a very approximate present day value, contemporary figures should be multiplied by a factor of 110. [Historical U.K. Inflation and Price Conversion web site, accessed March 2015.]

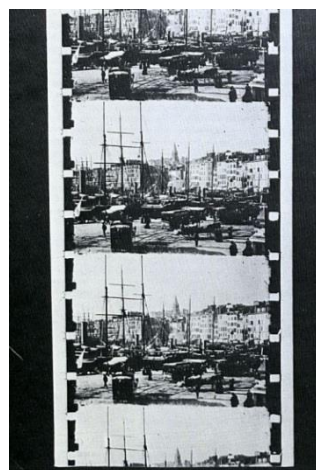
¹⁴⁸ It is probable that these slides were those for use with the 21 films purchased by Slade. This is a very early example of their use; it seems likely that these slides were the ones used by Coe in his film of the Gaumont films. They are all in English. The present whereabouts of these slides is not known.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix A: Archive no 2, Letter dated 17 February.

In buying the Chronophotographe, distinguished from other projectors of the time by using 60mm film, Slade was tied to buying films from Gaumont.¹⁵⁰ Initially the high quality of the images would have compensated for the restriction of limited availability. According to a publication produced to celebrate ninety years of Gaumont history, the decision to use 60mm film was Leon Gaumont's, reflecting his desire to have good illumination and definition of the images.¹⁵¹ The major disadvantage was that 60mm film cost more than 35mm, a point which Slade appeared to have made in writing in February to Gaumont, who indicated in a letter that a machine able to take narrow film was in development.

Referring to narrow films of course they must be cheaper being not so large than by an inch and shorter by 230 feet – they are much dearer because in other apparatus they last three times less. Perhaps by the end of April we will have a smaller apparatus for narrow films – and we hope in a short time to sell our films for only 75frs and narrow films at 40 frs [32s]¹⁵²

Slade, however, was able to promote the large size and quality of the images, and the fact that they came from Paris, in advertising his shows. And above all, he could be confident that the films had not been shown in England before.



Gaumont film. Example of the wide gauge film used in the Gaumont-Denney Chronophotographe

Fig 7. Frames of 60mm Gaumont film of the *Harbour at Marseilles*.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ A full list and description of the films bought by Slade is given in Appendix B.

¹⁵¹ Philippe d' Hugues, Dominique Muller, *Gaumont, 90 ans de cinema*, (Paris, Ramsaye, 1986), p 92.

¹⁵² Appendix A: Archive no 22, letter 3 March, 1897.

¹⁵³ Illustration no 73 in Barnes *The Rise of Cinema in Gt. Britain* Vol. 2 p136

It was claimed that the larger size was also beneficial for colouring the films.¹⁵⁴ The option to buy coloured films existed from early in the production of moving pictures, but these were expensive to produce.¹⁵⁵ Like lantern slides, every frame had to be hand coloured, a process which took several weeks. Alice Guy, employed in the Gaumont Company at this time, described the process:

Two workers, installed at tables equipped for them like those that serve today for montage, jewellers, glass at eye, would comb with fine brushes and transparent colors (sic) the images in which the actors were lilliputian. Imagine the care and patience necessary when one considers the enlargement these images sustained upon projection.¹⁵⁶

To promote his coloured films, Gaumont was prepared to send samples to Slade, and in March Slade expressed appreciation for the coloured films, which he nevertheless returned, explaining ‘this subject would not suit me’¹⁵⁷ Later, he purchased several colour films and paid the premium.



Fig 8 Illustration of hand-coloured film, *La Biche au Bois*, bought by Slade¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Appendix A: Archive no 22, letter 3 March.1987.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Paul employed a Mr Doublell, formerly of the Royal Polytechnic Institution, for some of his films. In September 1896, the *British Journal of Photography* reported ‘the colouring of the pictures is almost a matter of course.’

¹⁵⁶ Anthony Slide, ed., *The Memoirs of Alice Guy Blaché*, p34.

¹⁵⁷ However he did go on to order the *Fire Dance* in colour. Later in July an invoice refers to the purchase of the *Ballet of the Châtelet in colour* at a cost of 150 frs

¹⁵⁸ Coe, *The History of Movie Photography*, Chapter 7 ‘In all the hues of Nature’ p 114.

Not surprisingly, some of the issues raised in the correspondence concerned the quality of the product. Slade's expectation that any fault should be made good was countered by Gaumont, who maintained that the supplier should not be held responsible for damage sustained while in the care of the customer. Supplying films and responding to problems was dealt with by parcel and letter.¹⁵⁹ Posting material back and forth had its limitations; goods might be damaged, and it was not always clear whether the problem was brought about by poor packing or that the items were not in perfect order when sent. Business between the two countries incurred the additional expense of customs duty, amounting to 1fr 50 per film, a cost that Gaumont also commented on.¹⁶⁰

Different problems arose when Slade needed to buy new films. Cultural differences between what was acceptable in France and Britain soon became apparent. In the one draft letter to Gaumont in March, when returning a film as unsuitable, Slade commented that he would have had no way of knowing what the film was about from the title alone.¹⁶¹ French photographs of all formats had a reputation for being risqué, and this draft appears to be Slade's attempt to raise the issue. In promoting new films when they became available, the staff at Gaumont acknowledged the difficulty for Slade in deciding which to choose on the basis of the title alone. He was invited to send someone to view the films on his behalf.

In later correspondence, Gaumont acknowledged that while trying to meet the demand for new films, scarcity prevented sending them to be viewed before purchase, which became a widespread practice in the early years of the industry.

¹⁵⁹ The postal system between the small provincial town of Cheltenham and Paris appears to have been quick and efficient. At most, letters and parcels seemed to take two days.

¹⁶⁰ Appendix A: Archive no 23, Letter, 11 March, 1897. The rate of exchange between sterling and the franc also had to enter any calculation of cost.

¹⁶¹ Appendix A: Archive no 34, Draft letter dated 30 March from Slade to Gaumont. It is unclear whether this was ever sent.

The Demeny-Chronophotographe stood on a heavy oak stand, which would add to the cost and effort involved in moving it from place to place.¹⁶² However, it can be argued that its bulk was also an advantage, unlikely to sustain damage in transit and providing a reliable and steady stand for the Chronophotographe in any venue. It contrasted with Paul's Theatrograph and the Lumière Cinématographe, which were designed to be portable. It is clear from the correspondence that Slade did not buy the attachments which would have enabled him to take films at the places he visited.¹⁶³ Despite Gaumont offering to adapt the equipment and quoting a price, Slade did not take this up.

¹⁶² John Barnes, *The Beginnings of Cinema, 1894-1896* University of Exeter Press (revised edition 1998), Illustration, Plate 117, p. 205. This photograph of the Demeny-Chronomatograph is not attributed to Slade, but can only be the one gifted to the Kodak Collection by his son Hubert, now in the National Media Museum, Bradford.

¹⁶³ Lumière operatives made a feature of taking local films to show during their exhibitions as a means of engaging with their audience.

Part 2 Slade's Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments, Jan – June, 1897¹⁶⁴



Fig 9. Map 1

Introduction

In choosing the title for his new business, Slade's Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments and Concerts, Slade attempted to include the full range of entertainments on offer. He was well aware that an exhibitor of film in early 1897 needed to offer more than

¹⁶⁴ Appendix C i)

‘just’ moving pictures.¹⁶⁵ By including ‘Optical Entertainments’, which could be understood to include magic lantern slides, and ‘Concerts’, musical entertainments involving instrumentalists and singers, Slade was offering sufficient entertainment for a full-length performance. Map 1 Fig 9 illustrates the extent of his places of exhibition which took full advantage of the excellent railway system.

No detailed information appears to exist about any other itinerant exhibitors in Britain or Europe at this time, practising what Charles Musser, in his study of American itinerant exhibitor, Lyman Howe, described as ‘the almost forgotten practice of traveling exhibition’.¹⁶⁶ This may therefore be the earliest record of a consecutive series of shows by an independent exhibitor.¹⁶⁷ All the well-known exhibitors of this period in England, such as Robert Paul and Birt Acres, who had played an active part in the development of moving picture projection, or David Devant, who developed a career as an exhibitor in tandem with his established career as a magician at the Egyptian Hall, were based in London, and while they or their agents visited many provincial towns, no records appear to exist of any tours.

Itinerant exhibition

One of the major problems in setting up as an exhibitor was having the capital to invest in equipment and films before any return was achieved. Equipment and films were initially expensive and scarce, and had to be paid for at the point of purchase. This favoured those who were already involved in the entertainment business and had the means to add ‘animated pictures’ to their offer. Slade was unusual, however, both in having access to capital and

¹⁶⁵ At this period, in the production of films, the ‘kinematographical’ element was only able to fill about thirty minutes of the programme, each film lasting about one minute. Exhibitions in the music hall, usually lasting between thirty and forty minutes, were embedded in a varied and lengthy vaudeville programme.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Musser with Carol Nelson, *High Class Moving Pictures, Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880-1920*. Princeton NJ, Princeton University, 1991, p 5.

¹⁶⁷ The database of early itinerants in Germany, established at Siegen University, begins in 1898.

being prepared to take the considerable risks in setting up an entertainment business which relied heavily on this novelty.

An itinerant exhibitor in 1897 required a wide range of organisational skills - from the initial starting point of finding and paying for equipment, sourcing films, and booking venues, to devising programmes, employing other supporting artistes, and in addition arranging for the transport of all the equipment from one place to another. Money to fund newspaper advertisements and the printing and distribution of posters was needed before any income from receipts was received. Crucially, skill and expertise in handling the projector and film or employing someone who had these skills was the keystone of the successful performance on the night. Outside the music hall circuits run in the cities by Stoll and Thornton and Moss, independent artists who advertised in the *The Era*, the theatrical paper of the time, appear to have made their own bookings directly with venues or worked through theatrical agents making these arrangements on their behalf. In contrast to an appearance as part of a music hall programme, with a designated time to exhibit, the itinerant had to undertake all the promotional activity connected with making a potential audience aware of the 'coming attraction'. The ultimate skill lay in developing a rapport with audiences, in introducing the films, and in managing to cover for technical problems when these inevitably arose.

Slade's first entertainments

Returning to Cheltenham from Paris, Slade lost no time in putting his new projector and films to immediate use. Within a matter of days, on 5 January, 1897, he launched his new career in Stroud, a manufacturing town in Gloucestershire, twenty miles from Cheltenham, presenting a show in the Subscription Rooms for three days, exhibiting both evening and afternoon.

During the next five months, Slade kept accounts for all the places he visited as Slade's Kinematographical Entertainments. The records of his expenses and takings for his exhibitions in the fourteen towns have enabled a list of his exhibitions to be made and map 1 (Fig 9) of places visited to be created.¹⁶⁸ This constitutes the only known source of contemporary information about a series of short tours and their financial performance. The list of places visited reveals a variety of places of exhibition, ranging from cathedral cities and seaside resorts to manufacturing towns. From local newspaper advertisements and reviews, a rich collection of original material has been gathered, which gives details of the content of many of the shows and how they were received.

Slade's programmes demonstrate what was considered likely to attract a potential audience at this time. Initially, the concentration was on an evening's entertainment, with moving pictures providing an important and novel element among more familiar musical items and lantern slides. Later, the inclusion of Walter Booth in Slade's shows indicates a move toward what could have been an item in the music hall. However, its promotion as 'drawing room entertainment' was clearly calculated to reassure that the material would not offend, as music hall performers might be expected to do.

Slade's accounts also enable a picture to be built up of what it cost to put a show on the road, and provide a record of how much financial investment was required for a one-man promotion. The study of his shows has also made possible an investigation of how moving pictures were presented in towns which were not part of the music hall circuits.

¹⁶⁸ Appendix C i); Slade's exhibitions as Slade's Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments and Concerts. Fig 9 Map 1.

Mary Slade



Fig 10. Studio photograph of Mary Slade undated.¹⁶⁹

From the very first exhibitions, Mary, Slade's second oldest daughter, aged 21, was part of the company. Her studio photograph shows her to be a good looking young woman, fashionably dressed and with an elaborate hair style.¹⁷⁰ Her presence suggests that the Slade family were fully engaged in supporting William in this entrepreneurial enterprise and that Mary, as a grown up daughter, provided the essential, reliable support which Slade would need to present a series of entertainments in a range of venues.¹⁷¹ It was a bold move for Mary to be involved, albeit in association with her father, in putting on shows in various halls throughout the country in places unfamiliar to her.¹⁷² Although the role of women was changing rapidly in the 1890s, being involved with the theatre and music hall was

¹⁶⁹ Photograph – courtesy of James Offer.

¹⁷⁰ There is a programme for the 1908 pageant in Cheltenham, organised by Baring which lists her name, Mary Bence, by this time, married into the family of well-established local builders.

¹⁷¹ Her role is confirmed by the consistent entry in the accounts with one payment to 'Mr Slade and dau'.

¹⁷² James Offer, Slade's great-grandson, interviewed in September 2008, remembers knowing her when he was a child and has a memory of her being a lively, outgoing person involved with amateur dramatics.

nevertheless regarded as of doubtful respectability, and touring with a programme which featured moving pictures was likely to be judged in the same light.¹⁷³

In the 1901 census, Mary's occupation is entered as an accountant. By this time she was living away from home in a women's hostel in Cheltenham. One can therefore propose that, four years earlier, she was a young woman, representative of her generation, prepared to enter into a new sphere, albeit in the conventional role of a daughter, working with her father, in his unconventional enterprise. Slade had two sons of an age to be involved but they remained in Cheltenham working in the family business. Given Mary's later occupation, it seems likely that from the beginning she kept the accounts for her father. When Slade entered into a contract with the agent Edward Baring in August 1897, in the memorandum of agreement her role was specified as assistant manager and accountant.¹⁷⁴ Her involvement with her father's shows continued till the tour ended in March 1898.

In the absence of contemporary information, two fictional sources written in the 1920s provide an insight into what it was like to be a member of a touring company. J. B. Priestley's novel, *The Good Companions*, conveys a vivid impression of the life of those engaged in a concert party over a quarter of a century later. While film was not involved, the intrepid group of entertainers toured from one place to another, having to adapt to different venues and exposed to poor accommodation, indifferent food, variable venues and unpredictable audiences.¹⁷⁵ Slightly earlier, D. H. Lawrence also painted a picture of this life in *The Lost Girl*, when the central character, daughter of a once prosperous shop owner, falls in love with a member of a concert party and becomes involved in a life of travelling across the country, which eventually leads to her accompanying a film show.¹⁷⁶ Her engagement

¹⁷³ More women were employed outside the home and the two organisations promoting votes for women united in 1897 as *The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies* under the leadership of Millicent Fawcett.

¹⁷⁴ Her name appears in the flyers for Bo'ness and Clays Cross, places visited in the tour of autumn 1897.

¹⁷⁵ J. B. Priestley, *The Good Companions* London: William Heinemann, 1929.

¹⁷⁶ D. H. Lawrence, *The Lost Girl* (Martin Secker, 1920) received the James Tait Black Memorial prize 1921.

with this way of life is considered as a serious mistake by those who have known her from childhood as a member of a respectable family, but for her the experience is a liberating one.

Although little is known about Mary and her experiences, these fictional accounts help one imagine what this life may have been like for her. As one of the first women known to be involved in the itinerant exhibition of film in Britain, Mary can surely share some of the recognition to be accorded to her father as an early pioneer¹⁷⁷

A concert party

When Slade first started to put on his entertainments, the advertisements and reviews for Stroud, Bristol, and Cheltenham confirm the importance which he gave to incorporating music in the programme.¹⁷⁸ Given the brevity of the films, Slade needed to recruit performers to supplement the showing of films and slides. Information about the composition of Slade's company has been built up from advertisements and reviews of his shows which illustrate how it varied from place to place. At first, he chose singers and instrumentalists familiar to the potential audience and included them by name in the advertisements for the exhibitions.¹⁷⁹ A local band known to the audience was often enlisted.¹⁸⁰ There was usually a piano accompaniment to the films and lantern slides, and the name of the accompanist was often included in the promotional advertising. In later venues, Slade appeared to have engaged a local man to act as musical director and to recruit the various artistes. In the final

¹⁷⁷ Although little is recorded about their activities, women were involved in supporting early exhibition of animated photographs as family members. In *Came the Dawn*, Phoenix House, London 1951, p 31, Cecil Hepworth makes passing reference to his sister, Effie, 'a very good pianist', accompanying him in his early exhibitions. In Michael Thomson, *Silver Screen in the Silver City*, Aberdeen University Press, 1998, p15, Robert Calder of Aberdeen is said to have had his daughter, Sarah, acting as cashier and working the projector in his tours around Aberdeen in 1897.

¹⁷⁸ Paul's shows in Cheltenham were possibly the successful format which Slade followed at first.

¹⁷⁹ Mr Thomasson, a solo violinist, was a resident of Worcester, possibly a friend of Slade's who performed in Slade's Kinematographical shows in Bristol, Worcester and Stroud.

¹⁸⁰ In Bristol, the band was the Y.M.C.A. band connected with the hall. In Stroud and Cheltenham, it was Sergeant Lewin's band, also local to the area.

weeks, presenting entertainments in Exmouth, Tiverton and Exeter, he featured an individual entertainer in the programme.

Only the larger halls provided an infrastructure for selling tickets and ushering people to their seats. It was essential, therefore, for Slade to employ a group of people to help with the setting up of the venue and the management of the entertainment; some may have been employed locally, others may have travelled with him.¹⁸¹ Slade and his daughter were the constant element.

Walter Booth (1869-1938)

Before the present study, Walter Booth's name first appeared in the history of early film in 1898 as an employee of Robert Paul. The discovery of his name in an advertisement for the single show put on by David Devant at the Public Hall, Worcester, on 8 March, 1897, immediately following Slade's two week visit, revealed that his involvement with film began earlier.¹⁸² The review of his performance conveys what an asset he was as an entertainer in a programme of animated pictures:

All [films] were shown with smooth celerity and obtained vigorous applause and some were 'encored'. Mr Walter Booth contributed notably to the evening's pleasure and his success in accompanying the marvels of animated photography was more gratifying because he is a Worcester man. His skill was well varied. He began with sleight-of-hand work, and next gave an amusing village entertainment with the aid of chalk sketches, very rapidly done, and vocal mimicry: and concluded with a little humorous ventriloquism. The audience warmly rewarded his cleverness.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Appendix C i): Archive no A34. In May and June 1897, there are several names which appear in the list of expenses and one can only hazard a guess at their roles.

¹⁸² *Worcester Times*, 4 March 1897. Advertisements for both Slade's shows and Devant's one night visit appeared on the same page. Devant was using the Paul Theatrograph, 'positively the first appearance of the original machine', to exhibit Paul films.

¹⁸³ Animated Photographs, *Worcester Daily Times*, 9 March 1897.

Slade would have unquestionably known of Devant's one night visit because advertisements for his shows and Devant's appear on the same page in a local newspaper.¹⁸⁴ Devant was nationally known for his exhibitions and his close association with Paul and his Theatrograph.¹⁸⁵ The opportunity to attend Devant's show would have been very attractive to Slade and easy to arrange. As a member of the audience, Slade would have been able to observe first-hand how an accomplished entertainer organised his programme. It seems likely that this experience introduced him to Booth and having observed how much he contributed to the success of Devant's show led him to employ Booth in his own shows.

Booth came from Worcester, where his father was employed as a painter in the world famous china factory. The factory took on staff at the age of 14 and provided training, under special instructors, for those apprenticed to become painters.¹⁸⁶ The records of the Royal Worcester China Company confirm that Walter Booth served his apprenticeship as a china painter in the factory and worked there from 1884 to 1895.¹⁸⁷ It appears that Walter left in 1895 to become a ventriloquist and visual entertainer, using the drawing skills he had developed at the Royal Worcester factory.

After the exhibitions in Worcester in early March, Slade took a break until he opened in Bideford in late May. In the interim, he had engaged Booth to be part of his next series of shows. Booth's name appears in the accounts for the exhibition in Bideford in late May.¹⁸⁸ Subsequent accounts for Exmouth, Tiverton and Exeter, provide the evidence of his continued engagement in Slade's shows.¹⁸⁹ Advertisements in the *Exeter Evening Post* and *Trewman's Flying Post* for *Slade's Animated Photographs* at the Victoria Hall, Exeter,

¹⁸⁴ *Worcester Daily Times*, 4 March, 1897.

¹⁸⁵ Devant advertised extensively in *The Era* during this period.

¹⁸⁶ *A Guide through the Royal Worcester factory*, p 29, published in 1895 by the Royal Worcester Company.

¹⁸⁷ Booth is believed to have been engaged in drawing and painting decorations of flowers. Many members of his extended family, his grandfather and his aunt, were also employed in the production of china. There is no record of his family having any connection with the world of entertainment.

¹⁸⁸ Appendix C ii); Archives no 33 and 34. Booth was paid travelling expenses and a fee,

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* The fee for each venue appears to have been negotiated individually. Booth's fee for Bideford, (31 May & 1 June), was 20s, for Exmouth, (2, 3, 4 June) 25s and for Tiverton, (14, 15 June) 15s. He was also part of the 6 day visit to Exeter (7-12 June) and was paid a fee of 65s. His status as an established performer is reflected in the fact that he was paid more than any of the others listed. Mr Slade and daughter together only received 40s.

featured him by name and a review gave a vivid description of his ‘drawing room entertainment’. ‘Variety is lent to the programme by Mr W R Booth who in feats of legerdemain, lightning caricature, ventriloquism &c, mystifies and amuses his audience.’¹⁹⁰

Booth’s name next appears in the expenses for Slade’s Diamond Jubilee exhibitions on 23 and 24 June at the Winter Gardens, Cheltenham. His continuing association with Slade is confirmed in the advertisements for Slade’s shows in July 1897 in Cheltenham where his prominent billing for ‘refined drawing room entertainment’ suggests that he was well-known to a Cheltenham audience. In September, 1897, at the Runnacleave Hotel, Ilfracombe, there is further confirmation of his involvement by the inclusion in the advertisements for Slade’s show, though not by name, as ‘supported by a refined drawing room entertainment’.

As a young man of 27, Booth’s association with Slade fills a missing link in his biography, providing the evidence of his early experience as part of the live entertainment in a programme largely devoted to animated pictures. The discovery that Slade employed Booth for numerous shows also serves to enhance his reputation, recognising the contribution a professional live performer could make, and demonstrating his ability to recognise a talented performer and recruit him for his shows. While the reviews make no reference to him acting as a lecturer, given his undoubted skills, he is likely to have taken on this role.

Booth’s subsequent career exemplifies the way in which some who were involved as entertainers in the early phase, went on to become active in the world of filmmaking, combining their theatrical skills with the development of films.¹⁹¹ Devant mentions him in *My Magic Life* as being one of a group employed by him to exhibit films in the very early days.¹⁹² Booth worked as a cinematographer for Robert Paul and Nevil Maskelyne of the Egyptian Hall and has several films attributed to him. In 1900, on the setting up of the

¹⁹⁰ *Trewman’s Flying Post*, 8 & 9 June 1897. One of Booth’s undoubted skills as an experienced artist would be to ‘fill in’ should any technical hitch arise.

¹⁹¹ Malcolm Cook traced his career in his PhD thesis, *Animating perception: British cartoons from music hall to cinema, 1880-1928* Birkbeck College, University of London, 2012 pp. 89-92.

¹⁹² David Devant, *My Magic Life*, London: Hutchinson, 1931, The First Animated Pictures, Chapter VI p. 76.

Bioscope Company, he was recruited as one of a team of cameramen to work for them in England and had a significant career working for that prestigious company.¹⁹³ Between 1906 and 1915, he produced and directed films for Charles Urban and is credited with producing the first British animated cartoon film, *The Hand of the Artist*.¹⁹⁴ After 1915, he moved into producing advertising shorts for Cadbury's cocoa and chocolate business.¹⁹⁵

Other contemporary touring town hall exhibitors

Information about others active in putting on shows in towns in this period is sparse, and can mainly be gathered from contemporary newspaper advertisements in local newspapers. *The Era* concentrated on providing information about and reviews of music hall programmes in the major cities. In this period, Robert Paul used advertisements in *The Era* most weeks to promote his new films, as did Devant to advertise his availability for individual shows by arrangement.

Contemporary with Slade, the Walford parents and their three children, originally from Weston-super-Mare, toured throughout Britain, presenting a programme using hand bells. From early 1897, however, they were among the first established touring groups to incorporate films in their shows, which were put on in local halls. Each evening, their programme concluded with an exhibition of animated photographs; providing an early example of an established troupe using the new technology to add further novelty to their established act.¹⁹⁶ Categorized as a concert party, concentrating on specialist musical instruments, they have not hitherto been recognised as early exhibitors of film. Later, in 1898,

¹⁹³ Richard Brown and Barry Anthony, *A Victorian Film Enterprise: The History of the British Mutoscope and Biograph Company* Wiltshire: Flicks Books, 1971, p 35.

¹⁹⁴ Stephen Herbert, Luke McKernan, eds., *Who's who in Victorian Cinema*, London: British Film Institute, 1996, [now online at <http://www.victorian-cinema.net/>] entry for Walter Robert Booth p 28.

¹⁹⁵ *The Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, 25 April, 1918. Booth contributed an article on filming the Kaiser.

¹⁹⁶ *Worcester Daily Times*, 25 February, 1897, extensive advertisement for Walford Family's Royal Campanological Companies (sic), 'The Biggest Bell Band on Earth', listing the many instruments used during their performances. 'First visit to Worcester'. The full history of their career has still to be researched.

advertisements for their shows in East Lothian about the same time as Slade's visit to North Berwick, confirm that they were continuing to present films in their programme.¹⁹⁷

The other entertainer whose path crossed with Slade was 'Lieut Walter Cole and his Merry Folks'. Cole first presented Paul's animated pictures at the Cheltenham Corn Exchange in December 1896, returning in December 1897. In an earlier interview for *The Era*, Cole described his long career as a touring entertainer, creating animated figures which allowed him to display his skills as a ventriloquist.¹⁹⁸ Entries in *The Era* during 1897 confirm that he toured extensively along the south coast. When Slade visited Woking in November 1897, there were advertisements for Cole's next visit with animated photographs of the Diamond Jubilee in the same programme as his familiar automata.¹⁹⁹

Albany Ward was also active in touring from late 1897. By 1900, he claimed to have toured extensively in the south west and, in the business notepaper for his Velograph Company, he included other coastal resorts. His unpublished memoir refers to touring in the mining villages of South Wales in 1898, where he got caught up with a miners strike, coming close to losing all his equipment.

In Scotland, which had a long tradition of touring entertainment, films began to feature in the programmes of touring entertainers from 1897, notably William Walker and Robert Calder from Aberdeen, who will be considered in Chapter 5 as part of covering Slade's exhibitions in Scotland.

In Wales, the Haggart family are another example of a family of touring entertainers. Descended from a long line of travelling show people, the family were involved in putting on

¹⁹⁷ Several years later, the Corrick family, originating from New Zealand, followed a similar path included animated photographs in their varied musical programmes. The parents and their eight children, seven daughters and one son, all accomplished musicians, devised entertainments which included singing, dancing, hand bell ringing, comic sketches as well as the playing of several instruments. From 1901 to 1914, they toured Australia extensively before embarking on worldwide tours, visiting India, Ceylon and Malaysia presenting films, some taken by a family member, Leonard. Some of these films form the basis of the Corrick Collection, 130 films restored by the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia.

¹⁹⁸ *The Era*, 18 March 1893 'A Chat with Lieut Walter Cole.'

¹⁹⁹ *Woking Herald*, November 1897, 'Two hours of refined mirth', advertisement for Cole's Merry Folks in Woking Town Hall, featuring Diamond Jubilee films, 7 December, 1897.

plays, mainly in south Wales. In the early 1900s, they became filmmakers in their own right, touring and showing their own films as well as selling them to other distributors, such as Charles Urban.

Mitchell and Kenyon, each coming from established photographic businesses, were a rather different example of early exhibitors. In the late 1890s they joined forces to make moving pictures and toured the Midlands and the north of England extensively over the next decade. The success of their early films lay in the fascination exerted on members of the public seeing familiar places and, even more importantly, themselves on screen. For over ten years Mitchell and Kenyon specialised in this form of entertainment and took countless films of many local events and people, many of which have now been rediscovered and preserved.²⁰⁰

The Typical Slade Visit

As the sole proprietor of Slade's Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments and Concerts, Slade carried all the responsibility for making bookings and arranging where his exhibitions would take place. After preliminary research to establish potential venues, he would either have written or gone in person to negotiate a booking. Letters and telegrams were the customary way of communicating. The letter of enquiry usually asked whether similar shows had been booked recently or were planned, and which nights were best. A firm booking could include an advance on the rent and information about additional expenses connected with the venue, such as a hall keeper, and what facilities were included, such as electricity or gas, provision of a piano and the like. Usually halls had an arrangement with a

²⁰⁰ The discovery of a vast quantity of film in good condition in the mid-1990s and its subsequent donation to the BFI enabled a major research project on this material to re-evaluate the range and extent of filming and exhibition which went on in this period. Two edited books, a BBC television series and two DVDs of their films have been produced by the BFI. See Vanessa Toulmin, Simon Popple and Patrick Russell, eds., *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon: Edwardian Britain on Film*, London: British Film Institute, 2004; Vanessa Toulmin, *Electric Edwardians: The Story of the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection*, London: British Film Institute, 2006; DVDs *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon* Bfi 2004 and *Electric Edwardians; the films of Mitchell and Kenyon*, Bfi 2005.

local shop to handle the advance ticket sales for a commission. Details for such bookings were included in newspaper advertisements. At the venue, there were box office staff and ‘ticket check takers’ to be paid. Additional props were often needed to supplement what the venue provided.²⁰¹

Having agreed the booking period, Slade had responsibility for drafting the copy and making arrangements for the insertion of advertisements in local newspapers several days in advance of his arrival and on each day of his programme. Advertisements for entertainments were regularly featured on one particular page and Slade would try to ensure that he was given a good position. Not all local papers printed reviews, but the provision of complimentary tickets for the opening night would predispose an editor to make some reference to the entertainment, if only an entry in *Local News*. In preparation for the shows, Slade would also have booked his chosen accompanying artists. The core touring group consisted of Slade and his daughter and two or three others essential for the putting on of a show.²⁰² An important member of the team was a baggage man, who ensured that all the equipment was safely transported and delivered to where it was needed.²⁰³

Slade would need to make arrangements with a printer to print and deliver the handbills and flyers, as well as to print the programmes for sale at all performances. To maximise publicity for his shows, local billposters would be employed to put up bills and distribute flyers every day during the visits. This was standard practice and there were firms which specialised in this service. Performance times would often vary from day to day, so arrangements would be made to maintain contact with the billposter. In some venues, Slade

²⁰¹ Appendix C ii): The early accounts for Slade’s shows are purely lists of figures and totals, while the later accounts for May and June provide itemised descriptions of what the expenses covered. Used in conjunction with the contract which Slade entered into with an agent, Edward Baring, in August 1897, it is possible to reconstruct an outline of the specific costs involved in presenting a touring show of animated pictures. The items listed make plain the range of practical arrangements to be undertaken, many paid for in advance, before any income from the performances was generated. This material provides a record of what would routinely be involved in putting on shows at this time.

²⁰² Appendix E: The Slade/ Baring memorandum of agreement made in August 1897 provides information about essential staff needed to put on a show.

²⁰³ Ibid: Recorded in the memorandum as receiving 21s a week.

would have to make arrangements with a local tradesman to black out any windows for the period of his visit, to ensure the best conditions for the films to be seen. Overnight accommodation for Mary, himself and any other members of the party travelling with them would also have to be arranged.

Advertisements often carry the name of the manager for the event, an important role in ensuring the smooth running of the show which Slade would not always have been in a position to undertake, being fully engaged in ensuring the functioning of the projector and films. It is probable that initially Slade took on the role of projectionist, having received instruction when he bought the Gaumont machine. Subsequently, he would have taken on and trained a projection assistant to travel with him.²⁰⁴ Given that Slade also used lantern slides, he would need to have another member of the group able to operate a lantern.

As an independent presenter, he was responsible for all expenses relating to the shows. A regular entry for stamps and telegrams indicates frequent communication with a number of people, although not named. Expenses connected with every performance, such as gas cylinders, limes, ice and carriage, are recurring items, as well as costs connected with acquiring new slides and films. Transport formed a significant element in the list of expenses – carriage of gas cylinders and the regular cost of a ‘lorry’, probably for transporting projector, lantern and slides to and from the station, as well as an entry for ‘cabs’.²⁰⁵ Other entries, such as fares, some attached to a particular name, such as Booth, appear for each venue. A pianist was paid 10s at both Bideford and Tiverton but in Exmouth the entry only refers to the hire of a piano in addition to 10s for bill posting and printing.

The itemised expenses for Exeter provide the best source of information about Slade’s range of expenses. The hall had a keeper, (5s) an assistant (4s) and checkers (18s) in addition to rent of 14s and a woodman to cover the windows (21s). Several people are named -

²⁰⁴ *Before 1910: Kinematograph Experiences*, Robert Paul commented on the need in the early days of exhibition to supervise projectionists in the correct manipulation of the projector to ensure the quality of the image shown on screen, p 4.

²⁰⁵ Transport at this time would have been horse-drawn.

Stafford (sometimes 'and Co'), Williams, Manston, Upton, although there is no way of knowing what these payments were for. Printing of publicity material was a major expense, as was the cost of advertising in local papers.

Slade's accounts show that the expenses were high and that the need to promote shows required significant expenditure.²⁰⁶ To establish himself as a touring exhibitor, he had made and continued to make a considerable financial investment. The income generated from the venues he visited, described in his accounts as 'receipts', varied considerably from £3.0.8 for a two day stay in Tiverton to £42.14.8 for a week in Worcester. The accounts are the proof that he was aware that his receipts did not cover the cost. His expenses demonstrate, however, that he was prepared to spend money on ensuring that he had done all he could to promote his shows.

Part 3 Slade's first exhibitions: January to March and May to June 1897

The letter from Gaumont in early January reveals that Slade had already put in hand the arrangements for his first entertainments and had discussed them with the staff at Gaumont when buying the Demeny projector and films.²⁰⁷ Slade probably began by choosing places he was already familiar with, either in connection with his business or through family holidays. All the venues he visited were easily accessible by rail from Cheltenham, and it would have been relatively straightforward to arrange for the transportation of equipment connected with the shows, on the railway network. Moving goods from the railway station to the venue would either be done by horse and cart or hansom cab.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Appendix: C ii) Archives no A31,32,& 33

²⁰⁷ Appendix A: Archive no 20.

²⁰⁸ Motorised vehicles were only just coming on the market and affordable only by the very wealthy.

During the first six months of his exhibitions, starting in January 1897, Slade's accounts list a total of fourteen towns.²⁰⁹ The towns he chose for his first shows, Stroud, Bristol and Cheltenham, were all very close to each other geographically but quite different in character. Stroud was an ideal choice to begin operations, being familiar and near to home. The decision to visit Bristol next indicates that, even at this early stage of his career as an exhibitor, he was prepared to test out what it was like to put on shows in a major city. With the visit to Bristol successfully behind him, he had the confidence to mount a week of shows in Cheltenham, his home town. After Cheltenham, he visited Llanelly, his only sortie to Wales, a tangential move which was made possible by the Midland Company, which had its own station in Cheltenham. Slade then moved further north to the Peak district, to several thriving industrial and tourist centres in Derbyshire. On his way back to Cheltenham, he chose to go further west to Ludlow, before finishing with a two week stay in his second home, Worcester, in late February. This brought his first series of shows to a successful conclusion, capped by good notices in the Worcester newspapers.

After a break of several weeks, during which the Prince of Wales visited Cheltenham, Slade embarked on a short tour, to Devon and Cornwall in late May, opening in Bideford, then moving on to Exmouth and Tiverton, and finally ending in Exeter in mid-June before returning to Cheltenham in time to present shows as part of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in June.²¹⁰ The reviews continued to be good, with especially complimentary notices for Walter Booth's contribution to the programme.

The lack of other detailed documentation for this period justifies considering the fourteen venues chronologically, starting with Stroud in January and ending with Exeter in June, using the financial accounts as a starting point, supplemented by information from

²⁰⁹ Appendix C ii) Archives no A31, 32, & 33.

²¹⁰ Advertisements and reviews have been located in local newspapers for Stroud, Bristol, Cheltenham, Worcester, Exmouth and Exeter, but searches of contemporary newspapers for the other venues have not revealed any record of his visits.

contemporary newspapers.²¹¹ New forms of entertainment were normally concentrated in major cities: even in large towns, weeks went by without a visit from a touring company, theatrical group or entertainment group of any kind.²¹² Within the first year of their exhibition in London, animated photographs were still a rare feature in local entertainment. On the evidence of the places chosen for his exhibitions, Slade favoured market towns with an industrial, commercial and tourist element. Several had racecourses which confirm the presence of an audience for entertainment. All possessed one or more halls, available for a wide range of purposes, concerts, auctions and entertainments.

Apart from his visit to Bristol, Slade does not appear to have been affected by competition from other entertainments. From the beginning, the reviews indicate that he was in tune with what would please an audience. His programmes achieved a good balance between moving pictures, slides and diverse musical items, both instrumental and vocal. However, the inclusion of Walter Booth and ‘his high class drawing room entertainment’, probably introduced after his visit to Worcester in early March, indicates that he was learning from his experience. No longer employing local musical talent to support his programmes, he chose instead a professional entertainer to complement the visual images of film.

Stroud

The Subscription Rooms, a publicly funded neo-classical building opened in 1834, still occupies a prominent position in the town and retains its popularity as a place of entertainment today. In its trust deeds, the Rooms’ uses were listed as for ‘all lawful purposes and objects, civil and religious, a library and reading rooms and other literary philosophical and scientific object and purposes’.²¹³ Its imposing exterior reflected the prosperity of the

²¹¹ Appendix C ii): Archives nos A31, 32, 33, & 34.

²¹² Bristol as a major city was an obvious exception.

²¹³ [Http://www.stroud.gov.uk/docs/community/history_sub_rooms.asp](http://www.stroud.gov.uk/docs/community/history_sub_rooms.asp) Accessed 30/04/2007 No longer available.

town and the reception room on the first floor, able to accommodate an audience of about 350, provided an attractive venue for Slade to show his animated pictures.



Fig 11. The Subscription Rooms Stroud, photographed in 2010

In contrast to the Assembly Rooms in Cheltenham, the Subscription Rooms emphasised its openness to all. By 1897, the Subscription Rooms had an established tradition of catering for a wide range of interests and the combined entertainment and scientific appeal of moving pictures would be likely to attract a good audience. Slade's first exhibition venue was also attractive on account of its closeness to Cheltenham.

Stroud can be seen as typical of many venues which would suit an exhibitor such as Slade. Although only about 15 miles from Cheltenham, Stroud was a completely different community, deriving its prosperity from a wide range of commercial enterprises. Its industrial base was supported by access to transport from the canal network of the Stroudwater Navigation and the Thames and Severn Canal, and from the railway network.²¹⁴ The mills had a ready source of water, essential to both brewing and cloth manufacture from the rivers which flowed rapidly through the valleys. The existence of several large factories employing both men and women, created a potential audience from the professional,

²¹⁴ The railway station on the Golden Valley Line was designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel.

managerial classes to the factory workers, all prosperous enough to have money to spend on leisure.

On 2 January, an advertisement in the *Gloucestershire Echo*, the daily county newspaper, announced the arrival of Slade's animated photographs at the Subscription Rooms, from 5 to 7 January, offering three matinees and three evening performances.²¹⁵ The timing of this advertisement means that arrangements for the exhibitions in the Subscription rooms and the insertion of the advertisement must have been made either before Slade went to Paris to collect the projector and films or even while he was in Paris. The *Echo* duly recorded his confident debut:

Animated Photographs and Concert at the Subscription Rooms – One of the best entertainments yet seen in Stroud took place on Tuesday at the Subscription Rooms. There was a fair attendance at the afternoon concert when an excellent programme was provided. In the evening the room was filled, the great attraction being a splendid exhibition of animated photographs conducted by Mr W. D. Slade of Cheltenham. In addition to this a capital musical programme was contributed by Sergeant Lewin's band.²¹⁶

The programme was organised to alternate the 'photos' with the musicians and all the local soloists were named, including Mr Morgan, who directed the musical entertainment. After some of the photographs had been shown, all the artistes who took part in the early part of the entertainment again appeared with the addition of two more artistes. More photos were shown and altogether a very enjoyable evening was provided.

For a first-time exhibitor of animated pictures, the show had gone extremely well.

The matinee audience is described as 'fair' and in the evening, the room was 'filled'. The

²¹⁵ Advertisement for Subscription Rooms, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 2 January, 1897.

²¹⁶ *Gloucestershire Echo*, 6 January 1897. Report under the heading, *Stroud and District*. This is one of the rare occasions when Slade was mentioned by name, a name likely to be familiar to those Stroud residents who shopped in Cheltenham.

review helpfully concluded with the information that subsequent programmes would be completely changed. Afternoon performances were likely to appeal to those with leisure to attend during the day and for those living out of town it would have been possible to come in by train and return in daylight. The evening performance predictably had a larger audience.

The review conveys a sense of a very convivial occasion with the programme astutely balanced between animated pictures and live performers. A venue such as the Subscription Rooms was likely to command a high rent, reflecting the comfortable facilities it offered. However, while keeping track of his costs, Slade was more likely to have been preoccupied with the success of his programming and the audience reaction.²¹⁷ The *Gloucestershire Echo* review would have given him reassurance before the larger challenge of his next presentation.

Bristol

To put on an entertainment in the city of Bristol meant facing greater potential competition and audiences that would be more sophisticated than those of a small town. With the experience of six exhibitions behind him, Slade had two weeks to prepare his programme and organise entertainers, playbills and advertisements before he opened on 20 January.

A full week before his arrival, Slade's advertisements appeared in the *Western Daily Press* and the *Bristol Mirror and Times*, announcing his *Kinematographical and Optical Entertainment* at the Y.M.C.A. Large Hall, and confidently claiming that 'marvellous animated photographs, our Electro-Photo films direct from Paris, are entirely new'.²¹⁸ After opening, Slade inserted advertisements in the *Western Daily Press* and the *Bristol Mirror and Times* for each day's shows, with variations aimed at continuing to attract a good audience.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Appendix C ii): The Stroud receipts, totalling £21.10s 8d, indicate that the audience numbers were good.

²¹⁸ *Western Daily Press*, Saturday 16 January, 1897 and Tuesday, 19 January 1897, p. 4. These advertisements gave dates, time and cost of tickets, and advertised the opening night as 20 Wednesday.

²¹⁹ Advertisements in the principal newspapers, *Western Daily Press* and the *Bristol Mirror and Times* confirm that Slade exhibited for seven days, starting on Wednesday, 20 January 1897 and ending on Wednesday, 27 January 1897. Slade originally planned to exhibit from 20 - 23 January, Wednesday to Saturday. Thursday's advertisement claimed that the hall had been crowded the previous evening and many turned away the previous evening. Shows were advertised for 11.0am,

Although its prosperity in the 19th century had been much affected by the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the growth of manufacturing towns in the West Midlands and the north of England, Bristol's population was still growing as new industries and commerce continued to develop. Slade visited Bristol at a time when it was the most important regional centre in the south west of England, with a population of over 300,000, and with good communication by rail to London and the rest of the country. It was the city nearest his home and probably a place he knew well.

The first animated photographs to be shown in Bristol were in the Tivoli music hall, in early June 1896. The arrival of the 'Animatographe', showing 'living, moving pictures', was advertised in the *Western Daily Press* as starting on 8 June for five days, with performances at 11.30, 3pm, 7.30pm and 9pm and on the following day, 'lighted throughout with electricity with special engagement and for the first time in Bristol of the sensation of the day'. The word 'Animatographe' suggests that Paul, Devant or one of their agents was putting on this show, which received an enthusiastic review.²²⁰ Given the highly favourable reception, it is surprising that no further instance of films being shown in Bristol has been identified before Slade's arrival.

In January 1897, Bristol had a wide range of entertainments on offer. Two pantomimes were running: *Robinson Crusoe* at the Prince's Theatre, and *Babes in the Wood* at the Theatre Royal.²²¹ Three music halls, the People's Palace, the Empire and the Tivoli, were all offering variety programmes. At the Colston Hall, Joseph Poole's Myriorama, 'Sights of the World', was a continuing success, with a music hall element included.²²² None

3pm and 8pm with seat prices at 2s, 1s and 6d. The next day's advertisement (Friday) repeated the times of shows of animated pictures at the same prices, but included the attraction of musical selections with the additional information – children at half price. The copy advised to look out for special bills for Saturday exhibitions. Saturday's advertisement indicated that the times and ticket prices had changed significantly; shows at 11.30am, 2.45 p.m. and 4.45 pm, with a new series of views and films – come early with popular prices at 3d and 6d. The timings suggest that these shows were an hour long and affordable to children. There was no evening performance on account of a Temperance Concert.

²²⁰ *Western Daily Press*, 9 June 1896, The Tivoli, p. 7, col 3.

²²¹ *The Era*, Saturday, 30 January 1897.

²²² *Western Daily Press*, Wednesday, 27 January 1897, p 4. One advertisement claimed over 100,000 had visited this entertainment within the last five weeks. The seat prices ranged from 3s, 2s, and 1s to 6d.

of these shows, however, advertised animated photographs. At Frost and Reed's Fine Art Gallery, *The Return from Calvary* by H. Schmalz, a highly popular Victorian painter, was on display daily, admission 6d.²²³

Slade chose the Larger Hall of the Y. M. C. A, as a modest and highly respectable venue for his entertainment.²²⁴ It could seat an audience of about 300, a similar number to the Subscription Hall in Stroud. Sparing no expense in promoting his exhibitions, he inserted advertising for his shows in both major regional newspapers for each day of his performances, which would inevitably have been expensive.²²⁵ The advertisements refer to bills being distributed on a daily basis which would involve additional printing and distribution costs. The tiered layout of the seating must have presented a challenge for positioning the projector and lantern, to enable the best pictures to be shown. Many of his shows took place during daylight, which may have meant he had to black out three or more large windows, involving further expense.²²⁶ While Slade may have been the first to exhibit animated photographs in this venue, as a YMCA Hall it would certainly have been used for talks accompanied by lantern slides.

Slade's visit to Bristol coincided with a prestigious Photographic Exhibition at the Fine Arts Academy, a cultural centre in Queens Road. This exhibition was also advertised extensively, often in the same column as Slade's shows.²²⁷ Crucially, midway through Slade's visit, animated pictures were advertised as being part of the three evening performances, sharing a programme with 'prize winning' lantern slides from the much longer

²²³ *Western Daily Press*, Tuesday 19 January 1897, p 4. The advertisement lists all the previous places of exhibition with the numbers of those who had visited. (Leeds: 50,000, Oldham: 32,000, etc.) The hours of opening were 10-5 daily, 10-1 on Saturday.

²²⁴ The interior, 4 St James Square, built in 1853, is illustrated in the photographic collection by Reece Winstone, *Bristol as it was, 1845- 1900*, Reece Winstone Archive Publishing 1971 illustration, no 127 published 1983. The photograph too small to reproduce provides a glimpse of the interior, with a large central dais with three or four rows of chairs round three sides, stepped as in a theatre. The hall remained in existence until 1932 when it was demolished as part of a road redevelopment

²²⁵ Appendix C ii): Archive no A31. The recorded list of expenses totalling £78.7s.2d, unfortunately does not include any description of individual items. The receipts, £38.1s.9d, are better than Stroud but given the number of performances, average at approximately £2 per show.

²²⁶ The problems encountered in using this space during daylight hours were likely to have been typical of many halls available at this time.

²²⁷ *Bristol Times and Mirror*, Thursday 14 January, *Western Daily Press*, Saturday 16 January and Tuesday 26 January.

exhibition. Having had no opportunity to see animated pictures for six months, Bristol residents now had two opportunities to see them within the same week. The audience, however, were likely to have been drawn from different sections of society. The Photographic exhibition would have attracted those with a specialist interest in photography, whereas Slade's shows aimed to appeal to those looking for entertainment - a good illustration of the two strands of exhibition being offered at this time.

Slade's programme, once again including slides, films and a large musical element, received a very favourable review of the opening show.²²⁸ While he may have been a novice in presenting animated pictures, the review conveys that, on balance, his judgement was sound as to what would appeal to an audience. Although the 'living pictures are the great attraction', the slides of 'seascape, flowers, fruit and groups of types of the British Army' also appealed to the audience. His experience and knowledge of lantern slides and their projection must have contributed greatly to the success of the presentation.²²⁹

The review is unusual for the period in naming all the films shown, which suggests that Slade provided a programme including this information.²³⁰ While the list was short, *The Leap of Hurdles*, *the Soudanese at Champs de Mars*, *the Grand Fountain at Versailles*, were all described as well received. *The View of Paris from the Circular Railway* was considered 'the most novel'. One criticism levelled, however, was that 'the pictures would have been better appreciated if a short descriptive lecture been given', with the additional comment that 'there was an almost incessant piano accompaniment'!²³¹ Nevertheless, the review concluded with the endorsement, 'The appreciatory applause of the audience which was exceedingly

²²⁸ *Western Daily Press*, Wednesday, 20 January, 'Kinematographical Exhibition', p 5, 1897.

²²⁹ *Victorian Film Catalogues*, p 8, Gaumont List of Animated views, nos 37, 56, 68 and 58 respectively.

²³⁰ The films shown, listed by title, were all Gaumont films recently purchased by Slade.

²³¹ The review for the shows also named the various musical performers and their repertoire. None reappear in any other material connected with Slade's later shows apart from Mr Thomasson whose name appears in an advertisement for Slade's exhibition in Worcester. This suggests that the performers were local to Bristol.

large for an inaugural performance would lead one to believe that the exhibition is likely to be a popular one [...],²³²

For a debut in such a large city, his success was reflected in the fact that Slade extended his visit by three days, ‘In consequence of the Great successes’.²³³ In all, he gave twenty shows, on average three times a day. The detailed advertising of these performances is an invaluable source of information about how he varied the performance times, content and the pricing of tickets, trying out different methods of attracting an audience. This clearly indicates how quickly he had adapted to running his new business.

The ‘Kinematographical Exhibition’ review goes some way to explain the high level of expenses. To provide a musical element to the show, Slade employed three soloists, as well as an orchestral band, and all may have been paid travel expenses on top of their fee. This, in addition to other known expenses -the rent of the hall, the caretaker, ticket salesperson, installation of his screen and possibly the cost of covering the large windows in the hall - meant that it was an expensive show to present.

The frequencies of his showings indicate that there was an audience for shows at 11.40am, 3pm and 4.30pm, as well as for evening performances. Bristol had a leisured class, interested in attending entertainments during the day. The Saturday shows were directed at a young audience who would be able to find the 1d or 3d for the tickets. During the second week, the programme concentrated on showing animated pictures supported by piano accompaniment alone.²³⁴ After the final performance on Wednesday, 27 January, Slade returned to Cheltenham to prepare for his debut there in early February.

²³² While it does not mention Slade by name, the listing in his accounts, the title of his advertisements and the films reviewed are conclusive in confirming that these were Slade exhibitions.

²³³ *Western Daily Press*, Monday 25 January.

²³⁴ Seat prices for the three additional days were 1s, 6d. and 3d. On Monday there were only two shows at 3pm and 4.30pm, advertised as ‘*New views – continuing for three days longer*’. The absence of a Monday evening performance can be explained by a prior booking for another event. On the Tuesday, there was an evening performance at 8pm. On Wednesday, Slade reverted to three shows.

Cheltenham

Of all the towns where Slade exhibited in this period, prosperous Cheltenham was the most fashionable, with well-off residents and visitors.²³⁵ The Corn Exchange, recently visited by Lieut Walter Cole showing Robert Paul's films, was his chosen venue. On Saturday 6 February, the *Gloucestershire Echo* carried an advertisement for the following week.²³⁶ The wording emphasised both the high quality and up-to-date nature of the films,

Unrivalled Exhibition of New and Improved Animated Pictures. For Size, Variety of Subjects, Exquisite Finish, and Delicacy of Light and Shade, These Photographs are Unexcelled.

Slade showed himself to be a skilled writer of advertising copy. While emphasising the elements of newness, variety and size of image, he did not promote himself nor the source of the films by name.

This was Slade's first appearance as a professional entertainer in the town where he had his home and businesses. Locally, it would be well known that he had put on charitable entertainments for residents of the Workhouse and a civic display.²³⁷ Now he was following in the wake of three seasoned professional presenters, the Ginnett Circus, Robert Paul, and Lieut Walter Cole. The Cheltenham audience's growing familiarity with animated photographs is acknowledged in a review which refers to 'the achievements and possibilities of photographic art have recently afforded much food for astonishment and [...] the display of what are known as "animated photographs" has become very popular here and elsewhere'.²³⁸

²³⁵ *The Looker-On*, Cheltenham's weekly paper had a regular column, *Comings and Goings*.

²³⁶ This was repeated every day. No advertisement or review has been found in the *Cheltenham Examiner* or the *Looker-On*, two other important Cheltenham newspapers. It is possible that Slade who had inserted advertisements for his Stroud exhibitions and received a favourable notice, decided to concentrate on the *Gloucestershire Echo* which had a larger distribution area and appeared every day. It is worth commenting that there is an advertisement for a matinee for schools (by request) on the Wednesday. The precedent of performances for school children had been established when Paul visited in December 1896. A further matinee was advertised for the Saturday. The price of tickets remained the same 2s, 1s and 6d.

²³⁷ Slade's exhibitions in Worcester celebrating the marriage of the Earl of Dudley were likely to be common knowledge.

²³⁸ *Gloucestershire Echo*, Tuesday, 9 February, 'Animated Pictures'.

On this occasion, the musical element was modest, featuring Mr Aubrey Kington as pianist. The reviewer recorded that the slides 'beautiful, numerous, and varied', were 'thrown on the huge screen erected for the purpose'. It was, however, the lifelike scenes, capturing 'the poetry of motion', that provoked the enthusiasm of the audience.

[...] these pictures embraced a pleasing diversity of subjects – patriotic, nautical, mechanical, &c, &c, and came in for much admiration so much so that two or three including *A Squadron of Dragoons Leaping Hurdles* and *Soudanese Bathing* had to be repeated.²³⁹

The article concluded with the information that 'other films will be presented at subsequent entertainments and with the fine selection of prize and original slides, cannot fail to earn approval.'

Slade's ability to create an exhibition combining lantern slides and animated pictures was confirmed once again, even when on this occasion, the musical element was kept to a minimum. His growing experience in setting up screens must have contributed to the Gaumont films being shown to best advantage. While many of the audience may have been attracted to see how Mr Slade performed in his new role, the size of the takings appears to confirm that an audience interested in seeing the latest films had been established in Cheltenham.²⁴⁰

The next entries in the accounts list exhibitions at Llanelly, Matlock, Bakewell, Ripley and Ashbourne, and Wirksworth, but to date no advertisements or reports of these visits have been found.²⁴¹ Given their position in the accounts, it seems reasonable to suppose that the six days between finishing on 13 February in Cheltenham shows and starting in

²³⁹ *Gloucestershire Echo*, Tuesday, 9 February, 'Animated Pictures'.

²⁴⁰ Appendix C ii): Archive No A31. The takings, £39 were very good for the number of shows, eight in all, including two Matinees, and confirm there was a good turnout for his shows. Nevertheless, despite being in his home town, the expenses continue to be high at £33.15s.8d

²⁴¹ *Ibid*; Spelling of Llanelly as in accounts. The receipts, £9.15s 1d, suggest that Slade put on several exhibitions throughout the day to maximise the income for his visit. The expenses at £30.8s.6d were high but the distance from Cheltenham, the probable need to black out several windows, and the need for an overnight stay were possible contributory factors.

Worcester on 22 February, were taken up by visiting these six towns, for one day each, starting with Llanelly, south Wales.²⁴²

Llanelly

Travelling to and from Llanelly from Cheltenham was easier than might be expected, as it was the terminus for an important railway line which connected south Wales to the Midlands and the North, carrying coal from the valleys north of Llanelly for use in the large industrial towns. Llanelly itself was a flourishing industrial centre and major port for the transportation of coal, well known as a lively place with an annual fair, a potentially attractive destination for a touring exhibitor. It seems likely that Slade presented an entertainment in the Athenaeum, the venue for those touring.²⁴³ This was a similar venue to the Subscription Rooms in Stroud, having been built by local subscription, and offering a wide range of facilities including a library and with a large first floor room for entertainments.²⁴⁴

Searches of local newspapers in Llanelly for 1897 confirm that there were events which included the cinématographe, but to date, no review or advertisements for Slade's 'Kinematographical Entertainments' have been identified. Charles Poole's Myriorama Company visited the Royalty Theatre for a week on 11 January, but he did not include moving pictures in his programmes. A 'cinematographe show' was advertised at the Athenaeum for three nights in January 1897 and returned for six nights in February, claiming 'enormous success everywhere shown'.²⁴⁵ No company or films are named. The Royalty Theatre gave advance notice of the 'Polverini cinematograph' for one night, on 22 February

²⁴² Appendix L: This is the only reference to a visit to Wales in Slade's accounts. The verse in praise of Slade suggests that he must have visited Newport but no trace has been discovered.

²⁴³ The Athenaeum has recently been renovated and the space used on the first floor has been restored to provide a room which would seat about 200 in the audience.

²⁴⁴ The connection with moving pictures continued into the early 1900s, when the Athenaeum offered an extensive programme of visiting music hall artists, and films were included in the entertainments. In 1909, it was transformed into the People's Palace showing Biographe (sic) films.

²⁴⁵ Advertisement for 'The Cinematographe' for three nights only in the Athenaeum Hall in *Llanelly and County Guardian*, 7 January, 1897, and return visit for six nights, *Llanelly and County Guardian*, 11 February 1897.

in the following week.²⁴⁶ Clearly the citizens of Llanelly had a variety of opportunities to see animated pictures around the time Slade visited.²⁴⁷

Derbyshire

Moving into Derbyshire, once the cradle of the industrial revolution and also famous for picturesque scenery and tourism, brought a complete change of scene for Slade.²⁴⁸ All the towns visited were within a very short distance of each other. Despite thorough searches of the few surviving local newspapers of the period, no reports or advertisements have been found for his shows, nor of any other visiting entertainment in the towns of Matlock, Bakewell, Ripley, Ashbourne or Wirksworth at this time. While there are no recorded dates of his visit, the takings seem to confirm the proposition that Slade visited each town for a day before moving on to the next venue.²⁴⁹ While all the towns were very close to one another, each had a quite distinct character and all had established venues for visiting entertainments.

Matlock

Slade started his tour of Derbyshire in Matlock, the county town, renowned as a major manufacturing centre and for its Spa. The coming of the railway in the 1870s had greatly strengthened its appeal as a tourist destination bringing visitors from the south as well as from nearby Derby and Nottingham. In keeping with its status as a highly fashionable resort,

²⁴⁶ Barnes comments on the use of Italian sounding names as many showmen had originally come from Italy. He cites Signor Polvorini and draws attention to him presenting a series of films for a week commencing 12 July, 1897, at the London Pavilion with the principal items being films of the Diamond Jubilee. *The Rise of Cinema in Great Britain*, vol 1, p.168 and p.195.

²⁴⁷ For a one day visit, the takings at £9.15.1d, higher than the average, suggest that there was more than one performance or that there was a good audience.

²⁴⁸ Appendix C ii): Archive nos. A31 and A32.

²⁴⁹ When in partnership with Baring, his shows were mainly for one night only.

Matlock was dominated by the vast Hydro Hotel built in 1853 by John Smedley, a very successful local mill owner. To cater for the entertainment of guests and the local community it had its own hall, the Victoria Hall, within the grounds where Slade presumably had his shows.²⁵⁰

Bakewell

The next place listed in the accounts, was and still is a picturesque and historic town, important both as a market and tourist resort. The arrival of the Midland railway in 1863 had enabled it to develop itself into a popular place to visit, supported by the promotion of a sweet tart named the Bakewell Tart, reputedly the secret recipe of a local hotel owner. Here Slade made a small profit for the first time.²⁵¹

Ripley and Ashbourne

The next towns visited were part of the important manufacturing industrial fabric of Derbyshire at this period. In 1897, Ripley, a market town very near Ashbourne had a recently built Town Hall which had rooms suitable for travelling entertainments. While Ripley and Ashbourne are listed together in the accounts, they are two quite distinct market towns, each with attractive town halls still in existence. The joint listing for income and expenses suggests that in some way the performances were linked, but as there is no other source of information, this must remain a puzzle.

Ashbourne, another Peak district town with a history going back to medieval times, was where six coaching roads converged. Its Town Hall, in the central market place, remains

²⁵⁰ Appendix C ii): The receipts, £15.8s.9d for Matlock, a town of a similar size to Stroud, seem to be reasonable although the expenses, £20.1s.6d, were still higher than the receipts. The Victoria Hall no longer exists. The Hydro continued to function as a spa until the 1950s when it became the headquarters of Derbyshire County Council.

²⁵¹ Ibid: The receipts for Bakewell were £7.18s.1d and the expenses were £7 9s.3d.

an attractive stone building, housing Town Council meetings and the town's administrative offices. . The recently restored reception room, decorated in the original style of the late Victorian period, gives a very clear impression of the elegant venue available to Slade.²⁵²



Fig 12 Ashbourne Town Hall: the restored concert room²⁵³

Wirksworth

Close to Matlock, the market town of Wirksworth, whose charter dates back to the 14th century, had a concentration of industries connected with quarrying local stone and slate; and in late Victorian times was the terminus of a branch line of the Midland railway. Wirksworth has an imposing Town Hall still used for local entertainments, which was likely to be the place where Slade exhibited.²⁵⁴

Shropshire and Worcestershire

The remaining two towns, Ludlow and Worcester, the first in Shropshire and the second in Worcestershire, were convenient places to visit on the return to Cheltenham.

²⁵² Appendix C ii): Ashbourne and Ripley: The receipts are listed as £11.5s.3d. The total expenses of £25.1s.3d were high, although only eight items are listed - £10.5s.3d being the largest.

²⁵³ Photographed 2010, this room is unusual in having only one large ceiling window. In every hall visited, Slade would have to decide where to position the screen and projectors to enable his audience to have the best possible view of the films.

²⁵⁴ The income of £8.3s.3d was lower than Ripley and Ashbourne but without details of dates and the number of exhibitions, it is impossible to comment. The expenses at £9.3s.3d were also lower than Ripley and Ashbourne, possibly because the distance between the venues was short.

Ludlow

An important small market town in Shropshire, on the border of Wales and England, this has a long history which dates back to the building of the castle in 1086. In 1897, Ludlow was a picturesque place much visited by tourists, as well as a thriving market centre for the area.²⁵⁵

No newspapers for the period survive but there were two possible venues: the Assembly Rooms built in 1840 with a first floor concert room able to seat an audience of three hundred, and the Town Hall built in 1887 which also had public rooms available. Of the two, the Assembly Rooms is the more likely venue, having windows with shutters on one wall only.²⁵⁶

Worcester 22 - 27 February and 1 - 6 March

Slade's tour concluded with a two week visit to Worcester. Slade had a close personal connection to Worcester, where he had been born and where his family had two established retail shops and workshops. He would have been familiar with the best venue for his shows, and well known to the potential audience in both places. The streets were lined with many established businesses, including his own in the fashionable High Street, where he had mounted his much appreciated optical lantern show in 1892 for the homecoming of the Earl of Dudley and his wife.

In 1897, Worcester, on the banks of the Severn River about 40 miles north of Cheltenham, was a prosperous and historic city. The Cathedral and its Close, home to the choir school, played an important part in the life of Worcester.²⁵⁷ In the late Victorian period, the Royal Worcester Porcelain Company was a major employer in the city, with large

²⁵⁵ Appendix C ii): Archive no A33.

²⁵⁶ Ibid: Archive no A32, The receipts for Ludlow, £21.10s.6d, suggests a very successful visit but no details of his visit have been found to date. Expenses at £17.9s.2 were high and could reflect the cost of the venue and travel costs.

²⁵⁷ Until very recently, it was also famous as the place where Royal Worcester china was manufactured.

numbers of men and women engaged in the various stages of production of fine porcelain, elaborately decorated dinner and tea sets and other items which were highly sought after.

While Worcester's theatre was mainly used by touring companies, two halls, the Public Hall and the Foregate Hall in Foregate Street, were available for other entertainments. Slade chose the Foregate Hall, formerly a public library, as his venue. A very brief entry in *The Era* on 27 February 1897, under the heading *Worcester at the Foregate Hall*, indicates that his show was achieving attention in the national press: 'This week a capital entertainment has been provided by an exhibition of dissolving views and animated pictures. In the intervals, Mr Thomasson gave some excellent violin solos'.²⁵⁸ The description of the entertainment as 'capital', succinctly acts as a recommendation.²⁵⁹ Worcester newspapers contain advertisements inserted by Slade confirming that he promoted his shows extensively as 'under the direction of the 'Kinematographic Co', at the Foregate Hall over a two week period.²⁶⁰

The Monday evening performance, when 'there was a large attendance', was reviewed in some detail. 'An exhibition of dissolving views and animated pictures was presented, with music, a violin solo and encore, provided during an interval by Mr Thomasson'.²⁶¹ This account suggests that the dissolving views, the lantern slides, were shown alternately with animated pictures. The good quality of the images was remarked upon. 'The clearness and distinctness of the views placed upon the screen were a special feature and many prize slides were shown, including some of old Worcester as well as seaside views which were applauded by many in the audience who were acquainted with the scenes.' The reviewer provided unusual information about the projection and the screen.

²⁵⁸ *The Era*, Saturday 27 February, 1897. p 25. Mr Thomasson, a local man as well as a talented musician, had a business in Worcester. Mr Thomasson had performed in Slade's Bristol shows which provided the clue to this being the visit by Slade which was finally confirmed by various local daily and weekly papers, available at the Hive Library, Worcester.

²⁵⁹ This is the only entry relating to one of Slade's shows in a national paper which has been found.

²⁶⁰ *The Worcester Daily Times*, *Worcestershire Chronicle* and *the Worcester Herald*.

²⁶¹ *The Worcester Herald*, Saturday, 27 February 1897. 'Living Pictures in Worcester'.

‘Now and again they were a little uneven but generally speaking the motion was most natural’, while ‘the films are shown on a 20 foot disc’. A circular lantern image was relatively common, which suggests that this format may have been used for the films as well.

The films most appreciated by the audience were commented upon individually: ‘The *Leap of Hurdles by a Squadron of Dragoons* fairly brought the house down and had to be repeated. *Oxen ploughing* was also good and a very pretty effect was given by the *Grand Fountain at Marseilles* [misprint for Versailles].’ Slade’s programming skills are also evident in this year of the Diamond Jubilee: ‘the concluding picture was a magnificent likeness of the Queen which provoked a great outburst of enthusiasm.’²⁶² Slade would have had every reason to feel pleased with the reaction to his evening’s entertainment, and clearly was successful in engaging the interest and enjoyment of the audience and anticipating the loyal response to the image of the Queen. In the second week, Slade was active in advertising ‘new pictures direct from Paris today for this week’s exhibition’.²⁶³ The takings suggest a good audience, although the expenses remained high.²⁶⁴

On 4 March, the *Worcester Daily Times* carried two advertisements for animated photographs, the one at the top was for the Foregate hall (Slade) and the lower one at the Public Hall was for Devant’s one night visit on 8 March. A comprehensive review of ‘this wonderful manifestation of scientific advance’ took the opportunity to compare the two presentations of animated photographs.

Worcester is being well entertained [...] Though one exhibition was continued for a fortnight, another immediately succeeding it, drew very good company at the Public Hall last night. Last week and the week before still pictures were the largely intervening means of sustaining the attention of the audience. Last night the aids were different and exceedingly enjoyable. The photographs were in two

²⁶² All were films bought by Slade from Gaumont and were in Gaumont’s first catalogue of films.

²⁶³ *Worcester Daily Times*, Monday, 1 March 1897.

²⁶⁴ Appendix C ii): Archive no A32. The expenses for Worcester, listed under two totals, suggests that there was an account for each week, one for £24.18s and the second for £20.18s.3d, making a total of £45.16s.3d. The takings for a two week visit including four matinee performances were: £42.14s.8, and suggest a successful visit in terms of the audience numbers.

series... - and they were presented with a briskness and brilliance that delighted everybody.²⁶⁵

Slade's presentation used lantern slides linking between the moving pictures. In contrast, Devant's films were in two series, sixteen pictures in each, 'all shown with smooth celerity and obtained vigorous applause and some were encored'.²⁶⁶ The reviewer of the Devant programme appears to acknowledge the greater professionalism of Devant in presenting his programme. Walter Booth's contribution to the success of the evening was also acknowledged; 'Mr Walter Booth contributed notably to the evening's pleasure and his success in accompanying the marvels of animated photography was more gratifying because he is a Worcester man'.

Finances

From the records of Slade's 'Receipts and Expenses' for his exhibitions during this period, it has been possible to recreate an itinerary of the places he visited and discover how at least some of his exhibitions were received. Slade's financial records were apparently kept for his own benefit and the first two pages, listing amounts only for the receipts and expenses for his first exhibitions, provide the briefest of information about income and expenditure in this period.²⁶⁷ Exhibiting on his own account, although clearly used to accounting in his business career, this was his personal record.

Sandwiched between the accounts for his visits to Ludlow and Worcester, there is an entry for STOCK and 'Incidentals'. The most obvious explanation for these entries is that Slade was putting his accounts in order. He appeared to have advanced a sum of £250

²⁶⁵ *Worcester Daily Times*, 9 March 1897.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*; 'Leaving the factory', a fire, the Coronation of the Czar, Parisian public places, the Princes Derby, (1896), start of a motor race, a cavalry charge, views of the coast, children's sport, reproduction of different performances (serpentine dance, conjuring &c.) and the 'joke on the gardener'.

²⁶⁷ Appendix C ii): Archive nos 31 and 32

described as ‘stock’ with which he paid numerous accounts.²⁶⁸ ‘Stock’ is likely to refer to new films and lantern slides. ‘Incidentals’ were unspecified items, individually costing small amounts, but when added up came to a substantial sum. To continue touring, it appears that Slade needed to make an injection of cash, but even £250 did not cover all the outstanding expenses. This demonstrates the considerable cost of setting up and maintaining a touring show. However, this level of investment can also be interpreted as a clear indication of Slade’s intention to continue as an exhibitor despite the drain on his finances. It is only the itemised expenses for his subsequent exhibitions in Devon which reveal how the expenses mounted up.

Resuming the tour Devon: 31 May – 12 June²⁶⁹

After the well-received Worcester exhibitions in March, it appears that Slade went back to Cheltenham for a few weeks, ensuring that he was at home for the visit of the Prince of Wales in May, before embarking on another short tour of the West Country, starting on 31 May.²⁷⁰

Slade began by visiting two busy, small towns in Devon: Bideford on the north coast and Exmouth on the south, both made prosperous by a combination of features: ports, markets and attractive places for tourists to visit. He next spent a week in Exeter, the county town. He then moved on to Tiverton, an inland market town with a strong manufacturing base, which had more in common with the towns in Derbyshire, before returning to Cheltenham for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

²⁶⁸ Appendix C ii) 10 items in all, the largest £170, totalling £188.14s.11d and paid for other items (35) listed as ‘incidentals’, totalling £117.7s.3d. Added together, the expenditure comes to just under £300.

²⁶⁹ Ibid: Archive no A34.

²⁷⁰ Ibid: Archive no A32 ends with the accounts for the Worcester exhibitions and Archive No A33 starts with Bideford which appears to confirm that, in the interim, Slade took a break from touring.

Bideford

A small town on the north Devon coast, on the estuary of the river Torridge, was the starting point for Slade's incursion to Devon, where he put on shows for two nights from 31 May – 1 June. A popular holiday destination, this was a long established, market town with a busy harbour, now linked by rail to Barnstaple and Bristol and beyond. To date, no newspaper advertisements or potential venue for Slade's shows have been found. For the first time the expenses are itemised and those employed listed by name, including both travel expenses and fees.²⁷¹ What can be deduced from this information is that there were five employed, in addition to Slade and his daughter. The accounts only provide information about total receipts which combine the sale of programmes and tickets. To reach a rough estimate of audience size, a calculation has been made using assumed ticket prices. This would suggest that an audience size of between 200 and 250 approximately in total for two nights.²⁷²

Exmouth

Travelling from north to south Devon, Slade then visited Exmouth from 2 - 4 June. At this period, Exmouth was a popular holiday destination as well as an attractive place to visit for the day from the more populous Exeter. The Public Hall, now known as the Elizabeth Hall on the sea front, seems the most likely place for Slade to have hired. An entry in the accounts

²⁷¹ Appendix C ii): Archive no A33. The accounts refer to two dates; 31 May and 1 June.

²⁷² Ibid; Receipts totalled £6.7s11d. On the basis of the tickets in this small town being either a 1s or 6d, 40 tickets at 1s would total £2. - 160 tickets at 6d would total £4. 14 at 6d would match the 7s, and the 11d could be accounted for programmes sold; a projected audience of 214. This could be increased by reducing the number of tickets at 1s and increasing those at 6d.

refers to a payment to the Crier which suggests that Slade employed a traditional local resource to publicise his presence.²⁷³

Exeter

Slade next moved to the regional centre of Exeter in south Devon, putting on entertainments from 7 - 12 June. The county town of Devon, 'The Queen of the West' on the left bank of the river Exe, was by the late 1890s the market for a surrounding prosperous agricultural area. Slade was not the first to exhibit animated pictures there. In October 1896, a Mr John D. Ablett, with the support of the Star Vaudeville Company and the Imperial Ladies Orchestra, had shown what can be assumed to be Paul's films on a Paul Theatrograph for three nights at the Victoria.²⁷⁴ The review in the *Exeter Evening/Flying Post* was extensive compared with most other reviews of entertainment. It provided readers with an explanation of how moving pictures were obtained which emphasised contemporary interest in the new technology. There was also a critique of the twelve 'scenes' shown; the most artistically satisfying judged to be the breaking of the incoming waves, while the film which met with the most enthusiastic reception was the film of the Prince of Wales' horse winning the Derby.²⁷⁵

As far as can be established, no other exhibition of film took place in Exeter in the period between October 1896 and Slade's visit in June 1897, on the 9, 10, or 11 June. 'Mrs

²⁷³ Ibid: Archive no A33. There are three faint entries for £3.11s.9d which suggest the taking for each exhibition were the same. The receipts totalled £11.13s 3d. The total for expenses was £5.14s 2d.

²⁷⁴ *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 3 October 1896. It is possible Ablett was working on behalf of David Devant who advertised in the *Era* at this time that he had three operatives touring with a Theatrograph. The content of the advertisement echoes those of Robert Paul himself in the *Era* where he was asserting his ownership of the Theatrograph and warning against imitators. Subsequently Ablett put on two shows in Poole, Dorset at Amity Hall on 15 and 16 November, 1896 as advertised in the *East Dorset Herald*. The advertisement emphasised 'the scenes depicted are identical to those showing nightly in London and which are received with unbounded enthusiasm'. The seats in both venues were advertised as at 3s, 2s, 1s and 6d.

²⁷⁵ *Trewman's Flying Post*, 8 and 15 October, 1896.

Smith' is listed as the local person in Queen Street from whom tickets could be bought in advance, and in the accounts she is recorded as receiving 3s 2d for this service.²⁷⁶

Despite being the only city in the south-west of the county, there is no evidence of a sustained programme of entertainments throughout the year. Under 'local news', the newspaper commented that 'there was a good audience last night to witness Slade's animated pictures and entertainment'.²⁷⁷ On Monday and Tuesday, 7 & 8 June, Slade had a small, well positioned advertisement for three nights of his 'Animated Photographs' in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, announcing the 'finest, largest and most brilliant pictures.' and featuring 'Walter Booth's Refined Drawing room entertainment'. There were no further advertisements. The final sentence announced that 'the proprietor has invited all the inmates of all the charitable institutions in the city to a matinee tomorrow.'²⁷⁸ This public spirited gesture was in character, with Slade maintaining a practice he had first established putting on entertainments for the residents of the Cheltenham workhouse in the 1880s.

Tiverton

Slade concluded his tour with shows on 14 and 15 June at Tiverton, which in the late Victorian period was a prosperous town particularly well served by several railway

²⁷⁶ Appendix Cii): Archive no A34. The Exeter Accounts entries are the most detailed for Slade's first tour. He put on shows for six nights, Monday to Saturday and recorded the returns for each day. Overall he made a profit of £4.7s 6½d. This was a healthier situation than his earlier exhibitions.

²⁷⁷ Ablett's films were followed by Poole's Myriorama where the initial run of one week was twice extended because of high audience figures. (Poole went from Exmouth on Saturday 3 October to Tiverton on Monday 5 October.)

²⁷⁸ *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 11 June, 1897. The review in the *Exeter Evening/Flying Post* was extensive in contrast to most other reviews of entertainment. It provided readers with an explanation as to how moving pictures were obtained which emphasised the contemporary interest in the new technology. There was also a critique of the twelve 'scenes' shown. The most artistically satisfying was judged to be the breaking of the incoming waves, while the film which met with the most enthusiastic reception was the film of the Prince of Wales' horse winning the Derby. As far as can be established, no other exhibition of film took place in Exeter in the period between October 1896 and Slade's visit in June 1897.

connections to the south west.²⁷⁹ Traditionally, it was an important Pannier market town which drew in buyers and sellers from a large agricultural area. However, its character had been changed by the establishment of a lacemaking factory. What had previously been a home-based activity was transformed into an industrial process with the development of machines to manufacture large quantities of lace, able to capitalise on the demand for lace curtains and interior decorations. One family, the Heathcote-Amorys had been instrumental in setting up and developing this industry. The owner was committed to providing good conditions for his workers, mainly women, and this included the provision of a hall for visiting entertainment. There was therefore a local audience which would both have the money and the leisure time to take advantage of any entertainments on offer. Nevertheless, the receipts for Slade's shows suggest that the audience numbers were small.²⁸⁰

Part 4 Slade's first six months of exhibition

Knowledge about this early phase of exhibition has been greatly extended by being able to draw on Slade's unique records and finding advertisements and reviews of his shows. A typology of places of Slade's exhibition reveals the broad spectrum of thriving Victorian towns, all of which had halls available for hire, able to accommodate an audience of about 300. Contrary to the widely accepted view, town halls were not the only venues in small towns available to touring entertainers at this time. The Subscription Rooms at Stroud, the Larger Hall of the Y.M.C.A, Bristol, the Athenaeum in Llanelly, the Assembly Rooms in Ludlow and the Victoria Rooms at Matlock and Exeter, were examples of buildings which

²⁷⁹ *The Era*, 30 January 1897, p 5. It was important enough to be included in a tour by the popular .D'Oyly Carte Opera company, performing the latest work by Gilbert and Sullivan.

²⁸⁰ Appendix C ii): Archive no A33. The first night of the 14 June was the more successful, taking £2.4s.6d with 2s 6d for programmes. The second night, the takings were £1.2s and programmes, 8d.

were constructed, often by public subscription or local philanthropy, to provide a resource for the community and were available to reputable touring entertainers.

In the beginning, following the example of Paul at the Cheltenham Assembly Rooms in December 1896, Slade's programming combined an ambitious musical programme, with singers, instrumentalists and a band accompanying the moving pictures and lantern slides. His advertisements for these shows and the reviews in newspapers for the towns visited made no claim that he was the first to exhibit moving pictures. He concentrated instead on promoting 'films from Paris', 'First time shown' and 'new films newly arrived.' In advertisements, he chose to introduce the name of his company, 'the Kinematographic Co' and only exceptionally in Stroud was his name mentioned in a review. All the reviews for shows in Bristol, Cheltenham and Worcester commented on the excellent quality of the slides, 'beautiful and numerous', but it was 'the life like scenes delineating the poetry of motion [...] that provoked the enthusiasm of the audience.'²⁸¹

About half way through this period of exhibition, Slade recognised the benefit of having a professional entertainer, and engaged Walter Booth as a ventriloquist and lightning sketch artist. Having Booth to complement the film programmes with his marvellous range of skills and an ability to engage an audience would have provided that extra element which the film shows, vulnerable to technical problems, needed. By advertising Booth as providing 'refined drawing room entertainment', Slade was careful to avoid any association with the music hall, emphasising that the show was arranged to meet the tastes of a middle class audience.

By the middle of June, Slade had visited fourteen towns of varying sizes, two of which, Bristol and Exeter, were important regional centres. The majority were small to medium sized places, which had enjoyed growing prosperity during the Victorian period.

²⁸¹*Gloucestershire Echo*, 6 February 1987, Review of Slade's Cheltenham entertainment.

Most were long established market towns which had undergone the characteristic change of the time in becoming thriving manufacturing towns. Many, as a consequence of the development of the railways, were also popular tourist resorts. All had good exhibition spaces with established arrangements for ticket sales for touring companies, and of a size and structure to provide for a population with the leisure and means to spend on entertainment. From the reviews in local newspapers, Slade had good reason to be pleased with the reception of his shows.

Midway through this period, however, it seems from an item in the accounts described as 'Stock' that Slade reviewed his financial position and needed to inject more cash to meet the demands of what was turning out to be an expensive undertaking. From the returns in the accounts, which rarely show a profit, the shoe business was the probable source of funds for his enterprise. Although he kept a record of takings and expenses, his motivation does not seem to have been the need to make a profit. This distinguishes him from other exhibitors of the period.

The following two-week visit to Worcester and subsequent tour in the south west indicate clearly his intention to continue. The accounts not only reveal a detailed economy of early film shows, but have also made possible the discovery of information about his shows from local newspapers. The reviews record his varying success in attracting an audience, as well as providing an insight into what was involved in setting up an exhibition. Slade was having to learn a new range of skills; in addition to becoming familiar with his equipment, he was discovering from experience how and where he could exhibit, and how his programmes could be best be promoted and presented.

Travelling to new places and building up experience as an exhibitor and presenter during these first six months, Slade established himself as a successful entrepreneur and pioneer exhibitor of film. Breaks in the continuity of his shows suggest that he continued to

be involved in running his profitable shoe business, which enabled him to finance his new enterprise. Slade's letter to the Mayor at the beginning of June, offering to put on an exhibition for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in Cheltenham, is further confirmation of his commitment to presenting exhibitions. In mid-June, having had his offer accepted by Cheltenham Borough Council as part of the planned Diamond Jubilee Celebrations on Jubilee day, Slade returned to Cheltenham as an experienced showman to put on a second series of exhibitions in his home town, first on Jubilee day and the day after in the Winter Gardens, followed by several weeks at the Corn Exchange. At this early stage in the exhibition of animated photographs Slade can be recognised as a very early pioneer of film exhibition beyond the music hall and other popular entertainment venues,

Departing from the strict chronology of this account, the next chapter returns to Cheltenham to explore its unusually rich history in this early period of film making and exhibition.

Chapter 3 Cheltenham in the Year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee

Introduction

While the celebrations in London and filming of the Diamond Jubilee Procession have been extensively researched, little has been written about what was happening elsewhere in Britain. Parts 1, 2 and 3 of this chapter cover film-related activities in Cheltenham from February to July 1897 which included the filming of a visit by the Prince of Wales in May by Robert Paul and by Gaumont's agent in London, Le Couteur. Slade's part in exhibiting Diamond Jubilee films as part of Cheltenham's celebrations is explored in Part 2, while competing exhibitions of the Diamond Jubilee films by Slade and Paul are the subject of Part 3. Part 4 surveys the final months of the year following Slade's departure on tour in August.

Part 1 1897 January – June: Exhibition and Filming in Cheltenham

After his successful shows in Stroud, a town similar in size to Cheltenham, and in the important city of Bristol, Slade clearly felt confident about appearing in his home town in his new role as an exhibitor. Without featuring his name, advertisements in the local newspapers promoted his exhibitions as showing the 'finest, largest and the best' films.²⁸² The shows were to be supported by lantern slides and the versatile entertainer, Walter Booth. Following the practice established by Paul in the previous autumn, Slade also advertised a special exhibition for schools on Wednesday at 3pm.²⁸³

After securing good reviews, Slade resumed his tour for a further four weeks, returning on 6 March. Since the beginning of the year, he had now toured for a total of eight weeks, putting on shows in eleven different venues, six days a week. This demanding

²⁸² *Gloucestershire Echo and Cheltenham Examiner*, 8 February 1897.

²⁸³ *Ibid*

schedule had undoubtedly demonstrated that he was capable of managing the complex enterprise of exhibition, while presumably maintaining oversight of his family retail businesses.

A break in the accounts from 7 March to 31 May suggests that Slade stopped touring. It would have made good business sense to be at home over the period of the Prince of Wales' visit, since high class boots and shoes were likely to be in demand during the royal visit and the special events planned. Slade's name, however, does not appear on any lists for the formal events connected with the visit. While obviously a man of means, in the social structure of Victorian society he would be regarded as 'trade'; and his involvement with the entertainment business might also have reinforced the view that he was not of a class to be included in social events.

Nevertheless, both he and his family were likely to have been part of the crowds that gathered to watch the procession. Slade's shop at no 12 The Promenade was a prime position from which to view the Prince of Wales at close proximity as he returned on horseback from the review at Pittville, on his way to lunch at the Queens Hotel. On the day itself, shops were given permission to close to allow everyone the opportunity to see the Prince of Wales.

Planning for the visit of the Prince of Wales

During the first months of 1897, most cities, towns and villages throughout the country made plans to mark the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee on 22 June. However, Cheltenham had its own royal occasion to plan for. In February, *The Cheltenham Examiner* announced that the visit of the Prince of Wales, postponed from the previous year on account of an outbreak of smallpox in nearby Gloucester, would take place on 17 May. The purpose originally had been to review a local volunteer regiment, the Royal Gloucestershire Hussars.

With longer time to plan for the visit, the town's charismatic Mayor, Colonel Rogers, managed to transform the visit into a major civic occasion.²⁸⁴ A visit from the popular Prince of Wales in the month before the Jubilee was recognized as a great opportunity for the 'Garden Town of England'. The public subscription lists which had been drawn up to fund the Prince's visit in 1896 were now combined with those for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations. The Mayor issued personal invitations to all the major daily papers in London, as well as to the *Birmingham Post*, *The Lady* and *The Illustrated London News*. In this period before photographic reproduction in papers, *The Lady* undertook to send artists to record the occasion. The Borough Council duly arranged a lunch for the Fourth Estate, to take place in the Assembly Rooms at the same time as the Prince was being entertained in the Queen's Hotel.

Reading the original correspondence between the Mayor and the Prince's aide-de-camp in London provides a fascinating insight into the amount of organisation and co-operation required for this visit. The initial plan was for H.R.H. to travel by carriage from the station to Pittville, where the review was to take place, but the Prince made known his wish to ride through the town on horseback. This caused some consternation, since carriages had already been hired from a company in London. The aide-de-camp diplomatically negotiated a compromise. Carriages would take the Prince and his party from the station to Pittville for the loyal address and review of the troops. Then the Prince and some members of his entourage would ride through the town, followed by other guests in carriages, to the Queens Hotel where he and the regimental officers would take lunch. Afterwards the Prince and his party would return to the station by carriage to join the royal train back to London.

²⁸⁴ Colonel Rogers, a popular figure, had been elected exceptionally for a third term largely because of his personal appeal across the political divide. As a young man, he had come to the town to join a dental practice. Now a man of means, Rogers headed a large dental business, living with his wife and her sister in an architect-designed house on the prestigious new development, Battledown, about three miles from the town. Although a volunteer, rather than a member of the regular Army, the Mayor used the title Colonel.



Fig 13. The Prince of Wales and escorts outside the Pump Room at Pittville ²⁸⁵

Invitation to Robert Paul to film the Prince of Wales' visit to Cheltenham

Among the Borough Council correspondence dealing with the visit, a letter from Mr Anthony Whitcombe to Dr Ward Humphreys, the Chairman of the organizing committee, confirms their invitation to Robert Paul to film the Prince's visit, in order, it is predicted, 'to secure a magnificent advertisement for our town to be shown afterwards all over the United Kingdom'.(Fig 14) The letter makes plain Whitcombe's concern to ensure that 'as far as possible your committee will be so good as to enable the best site used and placed at the disposal of the operator and that protection and platform accommodation which is the first most important item to be considered.'

Robert Paul's highly successful participation in the Cricket Club Concerts the previous winter may have given Cheltenham Borough Council the confidence to act on Whitcombe's suggestion. For Paul, the opportunity to return to Cheltenham to film the Prince of Wales as part of a civic procession and a military review would have been attractive, providing an excellent opportunity to practise filming a royal procession within weeks of the

²⁸⁵ Photograph in the collection of Cheltenham Museum and Art Gallery. Pittville was an ornamental park established early in Victoria's reign. It shows the procession assembling for the Prince to ride into town.

Diamond Jubilee procession in London. Paul had already attracted royal approval for his filming of the Derby when the Prince's horse Persimmon had won.²⁸⁶

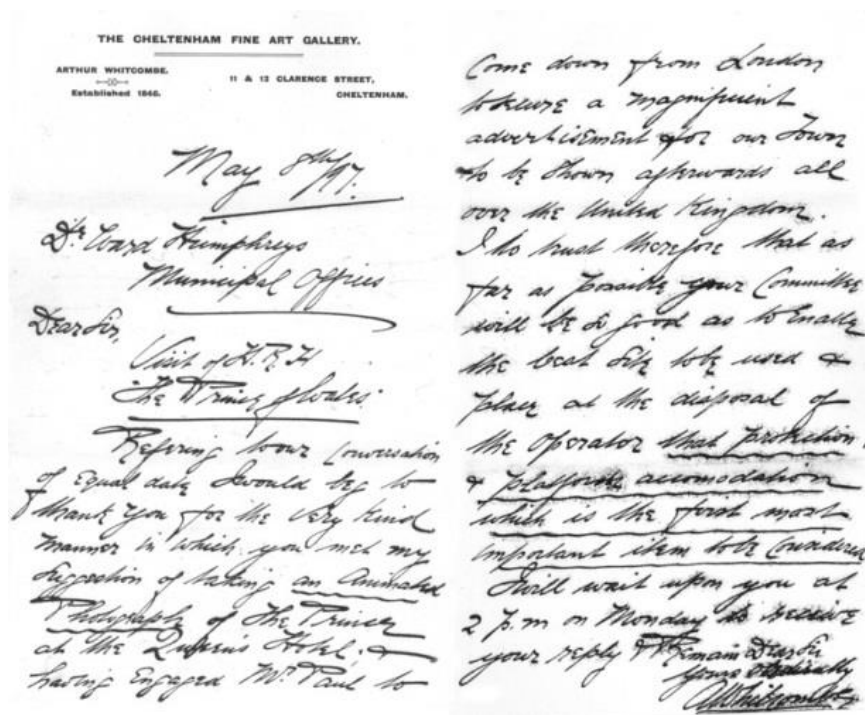


Fig 14. Letter from Anthony Whitcombe to Dr Ward Humphreys, 8 May 1897 ²⁸⁷

The *Cheltenham Examiner*, giving notice of the various arrangements for the Prince's visit including the lunch for the press, contains the only public statement found to date relating to the filming of the event.

Arrangements have been made for a cinematograph view of the procession. It will be taken in front of the Queens Hotel as HRH rides back at the head of the yeomanry..... Representatives of several leading London journals will attend. They will form part of the company entertained at luncheon at the Assembly Rooms by Dr Ward Humphries(sic) the Chairman of the Organising Committee. Local guest- members of the Town Council and Reception Committee will be among the guests

²⁸⁶ 'Before 1910, Kinematograph experiences' by Robert Paul, C.M.Hepworth and W.G.Barker 'Proceedings of the British Kinematograph Society No 38 p 4. In his presentation to the British Kinematograph Society in 1933, Paul recounted the showing of the film at the Alhambra in the presence of the Prince of Wales and the audience's 'mad enthusiasm'.

²⁸⁷ Gloucestershire Archives – Archive of Cheltenham Borough Council. The underlining conveys Mr Whitcombes's concern that everything would be well organised and that the special requirements of the cinematographer would be met.

Cheltenham Borough Council's decision to employ film as promotional tool

This arrangement may be the first instance known of a civic body planning to use 'animated photographs' of a royal visit to promote their town. At the time, the usual practice of film makers was to film local events as a means of attracting audiences in the place where they were taken but on this occasion the motivation was to capitalise on a royal visit to make known the attractiveness of Cheltenham throughout the country.

Paul had certainly already made his preparations to film the Diamond Jubilee procession in London. It is possible that he, and perhaps even the Council, anticipated that film of the royal visit to Cheltenham could be incorporated into programmes showing the Diamond Jubilee, although few could have guessed at the scale of this attraction.

Knowing that Whitcombe was behind the proposal to invite Paul to film the Prince suggests that some agreement had been reached between the Borough Council and the Cricket Club to the benefit of all parties. No record survives of any arrangement, but it seems likely that Paul may have been paid a fee and expenses, and given the right to copy and distribute the film subsequently. There may also have been an agreement for Paul to return to Cheltenham to show the film as part of the continuing efforts to raise money for the Cricket Club.



Fig 15. The Prince of Wales and entourage processing through Cheltenham, 1897²⁸⁸

²⁸⁸ This lantern slide shows the size of the procession and the large number of spectators lining the street. Photographer unknown. Reproduced by courtesy of James Offer.

The Formal Civic Welcome at Pittville

Cheltenham Council's awareness of the value of publicity is clear from the loyal address, a convention of the time on the occasion of any royal visit. While the Mayor's illuminated address was a formal statement of loyalty to the Prince and Queen Victoria in the year of her Jubilee, it was also blatantly used as an opportunity to promote the town.

Colonel Rogers defined the Prince's visit as 'a particular honour to the town from one so near to the Throne in the year which marked Queen Victoria's reign as the longest in English history', and saw the visit as 'a favourable augury for the continued and increased welfare of the town'. He referred to the importance of the educational establishments for its prosperity. The Mayor also mentioned how many from the College who had gone on to distinguished service in 'Her Majesty's Army', while the Ladies College was described as 'the largest and most successful institution of its kind in the country'.

In the event, the itinerary for the day was so crowded that the illuminated address was never delivered but merely handed to the Prince, who made a formal reply extolling the beauties of Cheltenham and the pleasure he had in making this visit. To make the most of the occasion, however, the address was released to the press as a printed document.²⁸⁹

Press and Film coverage

The success of the decision to invite the press is reflected in the many newspaper reports of the Prince's visit. *The Times* noted that 'the town was elaborately decorated throughout the long route pursued by the royal procession', with decorations which no doubt remained in place for the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations. This report went on to say that 'At every point

²⁸⁹ Appendix K: Transcript of the Mayor's address. Gloucestershire Archives, CBR C3/3/6/1/2/3

the Prince of Wales met with the heartiest and most enthusiastic greetings from the thousands of persons who had poured into Cheltenham from Gloucester, Stroud, Tewkesbury and other places'.²⁹⁰ *The Birmingham Post* also printed a detailed account of the occasion. *The Lady* had a double page of specially commissioned drawings of all the major personages present. The *Cheltenham Examiner*, the *Gloucestershire Echo* and the *Looker-On* devoted considerable space to listing the day's events and those present by name. However, despite the very full coverage of the events, none of the reports of the day's activities, made any reference to the presence of the 'cinematograph'.²⁹¹

Léon Gaumont in Cheltenham for the visit of the Prince of Wales

A card in the Slade archive addressed to Mr William Slade at his home in Montpellier Place reveals that Léon Gaumont had himself visited Cheltenham to film the visit of the Prince of Wales. Although undated, it must have been delivered by hand when Gaumont came to Cheltenham in the company of Le Couteur. Writing in French on the reverse, Gaumont apologised to Slade for having missed the opportunity to 'shake his hand' when he had come to 'magnificent Cheltenham' to supervise the filming being carried out by Le Couteur.²⁹²

Fig 16. Signed message on the reverse of Léon Gaumont's carte de visite²⁹³

²⁹⁰ *The Times*, 18 May 1897

²⁹¹ Paul's film is included in Paul's *List of Films*, no 118 under the 'Code Word,' Prince, and described as 'Visit of the Prince of Wales to Cheltenham, review of Yeomanry; very fine', reproduced in *Victorian Film Catalogues* p 29.

²⁹² Appendix A: Archive no 29. Letter, 18 May 1907.,

²⁹³ *Ibid*: Archive no 1 undated but probably 17 May 1897.

A few days later, Slade received a letter from the Gaumont Company which explained the reason behind the visit.²⁹⁴ Le Couteur, acting as agent for Gaumont photographic equipment in London, had taken delivery of a Demeny-Chronophotographe, probably with the intention of filming the Diamond Jubilee celebrations. It seems that Gaumont had brought the equipment personally, and decided to accompany Le Couteur to oversee the filming of the Prince of Wales. This would no doubt have been the ideal opportunity for Gaumont to assess whether he could entrust Le Couteur with the responsibility of filming the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations.

Photographic Association films of the Prince of Wales's visit

While Slade may have been disappointed to find that he had missed meeting Gaumont in Cheltenham, the information that film of the visit was available would have been some compensation. Perret, the signatory, advised Slade that the films taken that day by Le Couteur on the Demeny-Chronophotographe could be obtained from the Photographic Association, Le Couteur's business in London, and that they were 'good'.

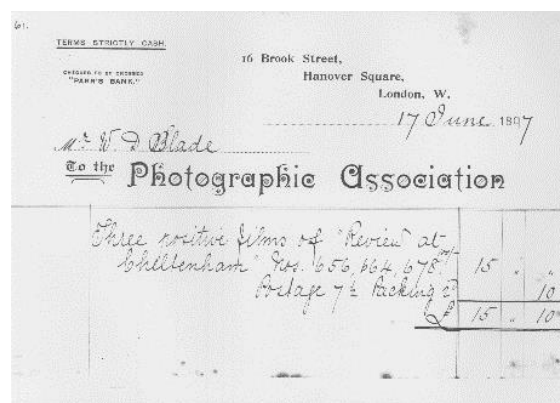


Fig 17. Invoice from Photographic Association for three films of visit of Prince of Wales

²⁹⁴ Ibid. Archive no 29, Letter 18 May, 1897.

The invoice for Slade's purchase of three films of the Prince of Wales from the Photographic Association explains how he was able to show film of the Prince's visit to Cheltenham in his Diamond Jubilee shows in the Winter Gardens, a full three weeks before Robert Paul's visit.²⁹⁵

Part 2 The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations in Cheltenham and in London

At the end of May, Slade left home again to undertake further shows in Devon, planning to return in time for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations. On Gaumont's advice, he had bought Le Couteur's Cheltenham films and by the beginning of June, Slade was in a position to write to Colonel Rogers offering to present exhibitions as part of the town's Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

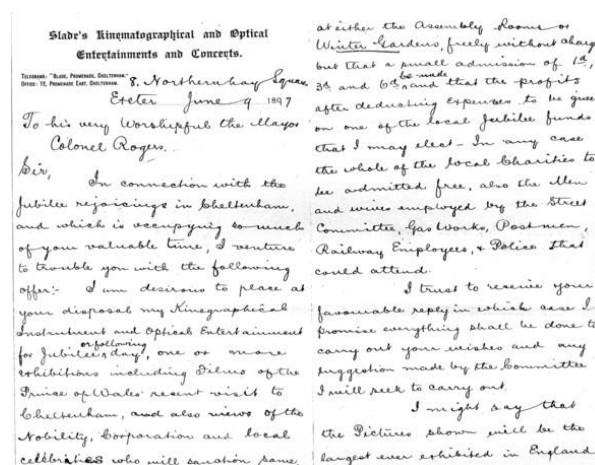


Fig 18. Letter from Slade to the Mayor of Cheltenham, 9 June 1897.²⁹⁶

Slade had identified an excellent opportunity to show the films of the royal visit to a local audience, and made a point of mentioning that that the films included scenes of 'the Nobility, the Corporation and local celebrities'. He clearly anticipated that there would be considerable local interest and curiosity in seeing moving pictures from all who had been in Cheltenham for the momentous royal occasion.

²⁹⁵ Appendix A: Archive no 61. Gaumont correspondence, p 19. Photographic Association.

²⁹⁶ Gloucestershire Archives: Cheltenham Borough Council Archive for 1897. Slade makes the point that he is able to include films of the Prince of Wales's recent visit and also views of the 'Nobility, Corporation and local celebrities who will sanction same'.

Offering to put on the exhibitions free of charge, he suggested either the Assembly Rooms or the Winter Gardens as possible venues. Maintaining his reputation as a public-spirited benefactor, he stipulated that while small admission charges of 1d, 3d and 6d could be made, any profits should go to one of the local Jubilee funds of the mayor's choice. He also proposed that those who served the community, the men and wives employed by the Street Committee, Gas Works, Postmen, Railway employees and Police, were to be admitted free.

Slade's Winter Gardens exhibition in the Cheltenham Diamond Jubilee Celebrations

The advertisements for the screenings at the Winter Gardens on 22 June described the shows as 'under the sponsorship of the Queen's Day Committee' and include the first reference to a public screening of film of the Prince of Wales's visit in a show of 'the finest and largest Pictures ever exhibited'.²⁹⁷

Slade's initial proposal to run shows every alternate half hour from 2.30 pm onwards proved impractical due to the impossibility, at the height of summer, of excluding light from a building which was largely glass. In a review of the day's activities, the *Gloucestershire Echo* gave the exhibition its own prominent heading. The report, although brief, could hardly have been better in explaining the difficult circumstances, both in commenting on the quality of the images and the audience response.

Owing to it being impossible to shut daylight out of the Winter Gardens, Mr Slade was not able to show his animated photographs till 8pm. The people then crowded in and several exhibitions were given, the views being among the best

²⁹⁷ *Gloucestershire Echo*, 21 June 1897

yet seen in Cheltenham and those of the Prince's visit being remarkably good and evoking much enthusiasm.²⁹⁸

Slade must have been pleased that despite these operational difficulties, the films were well reviewed and appreciated by the audience. Gaumont and Le Couteur had clearly produced some good films of the visit of the Prince of Wales. Although originally offering to exhibit at no charge, Slade sent a letter to the Borough Council at the end of June with a list of expenses attached, which showed the considerable extra expense and work involved in trying to exclude the light. In the event, Slade put on exhibitions the following day as well, Nevertheless, this had been a very expensive event to stage and he may have hoped to receive some contribution towards his expenses, or he may have wanted it known just how much his gesture had cost him.²⁹⁹

Diamond Jubilee Celebrations in London 22 June 1897

While every city, town, and even village had its own plans to mark the Diamond Jubilee, there was greatest interest in what was to take place in London. Joseph Chamberlain, the then Colonial Secretary in the Marquess of Salisbury's government, had decided London should be the stage for a major public event to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. The theme was to be the British Empire and representatives of every country in the Empire were brought to London to take part in a vast procession which would make its way along a carefully planned six mile route through central London.³⁰⁰ The date of the celebration, 22 June, was declared a Bank holiday. The presence of Queen Victoria herself and other members of the royal family was central to the procession.

²⁹⁸ *Gloucestershire Echo*, 23 June, 'Animated Photographs'. The exhibition is also mentioned among the amusements of various kinds in the *Looker-on*, 26 June, 1897.

²⁹⁹ Appendix C iii) Diamond Jubilee material in the Gloucestershire Archives.

³⁰⁰ Barnes, *The Rise of Cinema In Gt. Britain*, Vol 2 Chapter 9 The Jubilee, map of the route p 179.

The publicity surrounding the event attracted thousands of people from all over the country, many travelling long distances on the special trains which the railway companies had organised. The streets on the route were elaborately decorated. Special stands were erected to allow people to have a good view of the procession and particularly the Queen. Photographers and filmmakers negotiated access to the best sites, often at considerable cost. The ceremonial procession consisted of three distinct sections. The first was a varied and often exotic display of marching troops, representative of countries from all over the Empire; from Australia, Canada, South Africa, Cyprus, Hong Kong, India, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. Then came the Queen, seated in a carriage led by eight matching grey horses, accompanied by her daughter, Princess Christian and her son's wife, Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, as the central focus of the procession. The Prince of Wales and other male members of the Royal family and some of the invited guests rode on horseback alongside the carriage. Other carriages containing other important guests followed. The final section consisted of thousands of marching troops from regiments based in England, Scotland and Ireland.³⁰¹

Starting from Buckingham Palace, the lengthy procession went along Constitution Hill, round Hyde Park Corner, past Apsley House, along St James's Street to Pall Mall, round Trafalgar Square where there was a large viewing stand opposite the National Gallery, along the Strand to Temple Bar where the Queen was greeted by the Lord Mayor of London on entering the City. After this, it continued along Fleet Street, up Ludgate Circus to St Paul's Cathedral where there was a twenty minute service of blessing and thanksgiving led by the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, supported by massed choirs on the steps of the cathedral.

³⁰¹ http://lukemckernan.com/wp-content/uploads/queen_victoria_diamond_jubilee.pdf



Fig 19. Carrick Gow's painting of the scene in front of St Pauls on Jubilee Day. ³⁰²

The Queen remained in her carriage, listening to the service, being too infirm to negotiate the steps. The procession then returned to Buckingham Palace by a route which went south of the river, crossing on London Bridge, passing St George's Church in Borough, proceeding to York Road, before turning onto Westminster Bridge and returning to the Palace. The commissioned painting, *Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Service* by Andrew Carrick Gow, conveys the pageantry of the occasion with the diminutive figure of Queen Victoria sheltered by her parasol, just visible among the crowds.

Filming the Diamond Jubilee Procession in London

Filming a lengthy procession being watched by cheering crowds presented a challenge to those manipulating the cinematographic equipment which was still in a comparatively early stage of development. As the date drew near, large numbers of filmmakers and producers from Britain, the United States and Europe, competed with each other to obtain the best sites from which to film the Queen and the lengthy procession. Cameramen were positioned at

³⁰² Courtesy of the Guildhall Gallery, the City of London. The commentary to the picture describes the artist's experience in trying to get a good image. 'To enable Gow to sketch, a platform was built at the junction of Dean's Court and St Paul's Churchyard. The artist had to work quickly because the service only lasted twenty minutes. Movements were hampered by the man employed to take photographs from the same viewpoint and the seething crowd of enthusiastic people around him. He made several studies but the composition of the painting which took two years to complete rely on the photographs'.

numerous strategic points all along the route; at Hyde Park Corner, at Apsley House, outside the National Gallery, on King William Street, and, south of the river, at St George's Church, Borough and York Road. The most prestigious place to film was in and around St Paul's Cathedral. During the Service of Thanksgiving, there were various vantage points from which the Queen could be clearly seen, seated in her carriage. This resulted in many films of the event being available from a range of producers, Robert Paul, Lumière, Velograph, Le Couteur and many others. Without question, it was the most filmed occasion up to that date. In the history of early cinema, there is no comparable event.

The moving pictures produced that day transformed the representation of the monarchy and its importance in the world. No longer was Victoria a solitary seated figure as in the official photograph specially taken for the Diamond Jubilee by the official Court photographer, W & D Downey.³⁰³ Throughout this occasion, she was viewed at the centre of a vast ceremonial procession, a diminutive figure in grey and black silk, holding a parasol. Everything came together to provide an overwhelming visual demonstration of the scale of the British Empire, presided over by the person of the Queen, Empress of India. The huge crowds of admiring and cheering subjects were estimated to total about three million.

Those who had not been able to make the journey were soon offered the opportunity to see the moving pictures of the occasion. Appleton of Bradford showed exceptional enterprise in planning to show Diamond Jubilee films as soon after the event as possible. On the evening of the Jubilee, having filmed the procession south of the river at St George's Church, Borough, Appleton left London by train, in a special carriage fitted out with equipment to develop the film. By midnight, the train had reached Bradford and he was able to project the films outside the *Bradford Argus* offices on a large screen specially positioned

³⁰³ Barnes, *The Rise of the Cinema in Gt Britain*, Frontispiece .

so that the film could be viewed from both sides. Thousands were there on the first night and in the succeeding week to see the projected images of the Queen and the procession.³⁰⁴

The previous year Paul had demonstrated with his Derby film, that an event connected with royalty had the potential to capture an audience keen to witness the event as soon after as possible. The Bradford screenings were the first to demonstrate the exceptional power of the Diamond Jubilee films to attract an audience. In the subsequent months they were shown all over Britain and countries throughout Europe and the Empire. Film of this event subsequently proved to be a major element in establishing films within the fabric of the life of this country and beyond.³⁰⁵

Paul's filming of the Diamond Jubilee procession

Robert Paul had obtained a good position in St Paul's churchyard for himself and a second cinematographer, called Hunt. A third was filming at York Road, south of the river. John Barnes records that Paul had developed a special stand for his camera which enabled him to take panning shots and believed that 'the importance of this simple step in the evolution of film technique cannot be over emphasised'.³⁰⁶ Paul's films, first shown at the Alhambra Music Hall on 25 June, received a very favourable review in *The Era* which included a description of the audience reaction to seeing the moving images.

The development of the series, by means of the Animatographe gives a very good idea of the memorable scene at St Paul's, the procession is seen entering the churchyard, the Queen herself turning her head to look at the cathedral as the carriage passes. The face of her Majesty clearly visible under the sun shade....After the last picture had flashed off the scene the whole house rose and sang a verse of 'God Save the Queen'.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ *Bradford Argus* 23 and 24 June 1897

³⁰⁵ Barnes, *The Rise of the Cinema in Gt, Britain* Vol 2 Chapter 8 The Jubilee foreword p 7, p 189 and p 197.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp 182-183.

³⁰⁷ *The Era*, June 1897

Although his exhibitions at the Alhambra came to an abrupt end a few days later over a contract dispute with the management, Paul continued to show his Jubilee films in other London music halls and across the country. His films were shown in Cheltenham in mid-July.

Le Couteur and the filming of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations

The Slade archive has opened a new avenue of research into the filming of the Diamond Jubilee and exhibition of films associated with the events. While John Le Couteur is largely forgotten in the history of early cinema, he emerges briefly as a figure of some significance as the source of all the Diamond Jubilee films which Slade exhibited in July in Cheltenham and on his subsequent tours.

In 1995, Richard Brown drew attention to a largely unresearched body of information contained in the British Film Copyright Archive, ‘especially a long series of shots on 60mm taken by John Le Couteur.’³⁰⁸ Coming from a photographic background, Le Couteur chose to register frames from his filming of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations under the then copyright procedures for photographs.³⁰⁹ Consequently Le Couteur has left a record of the more than fifty films which he or his employees took of events connected with the Jubilee Celebrations; several films taken of the procession from Apsley House, Hyde Park Corner and St Pauls, as well as films of the Garden Party at Buckingham Palace and others of the Naval Review. All used Demeny-Chronophotographe cameras.

Le Couteur’s decision to register the films has left an invaluable record of the portfolio he created in recording the events associated with the Diamond Jubilee. By studying

³⁰⁸ Richard Brown, Appendix 1: The British Film Copyright Archive, p 243 , *In the Kingdom of the Shadows, A Companion to Early Cinema* (Cygnus Arts London 1996)

³⁰⁹ Ian Christie, ‘“What is a Picture?” Film as defined by British law before 1910’, in Marta Braun et al, eds *Beyond the Screen: Institutions, Networks and Publics of Early Cinema*, pp. 78-84 (New Barnet: John Libbey Publishing, 2012).

the frames available at the National Archives, Kew, it has been possible to identify the films shown by Slade, which formed the core of his exhibitions on the six month tour of Britain in partnership with Baring from August 1897 to March 1898.³¹⁰

In early May, Gaumont had written to Slade telling him that he had made no plans for the filming of the Diamond Jubilee. After the filming of the Prince of Wales, however, the working relationship between Gaumont and Le Couteur established on the visit to Cheltenham appears to have led to an agreement for Le Couteur to undertake the filming of the Diamond Jubilee events using Demeny-Chronophotographe equipment. Luke McKernan, describes Le Couteur filming in a prime position on the steps of St Paul's.³¹¹ The copyright record registered by Le Couteur confirms this. (Fig 20) He also gave the position of the two other cameramen employed by the Photographic Association, Colley and Millar at Apsley House, on Hyde Park Corner.³¹²

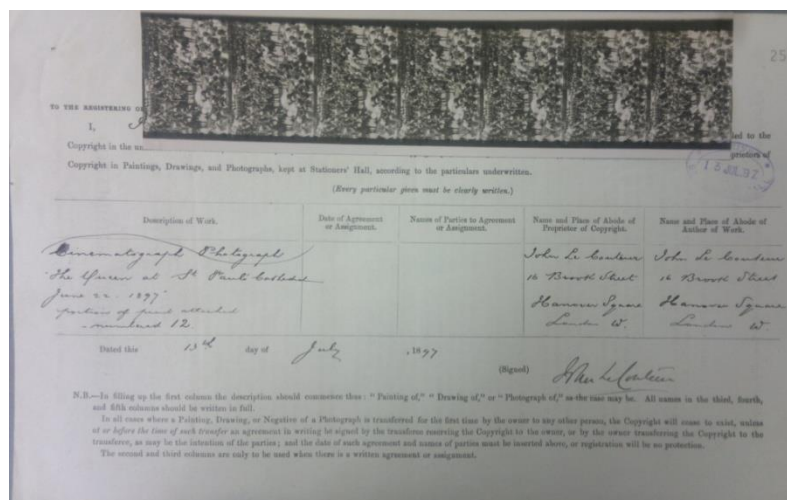


Fig 20. Copyright record of film taken on the steps of St Paul's completed by Le Couteur.

Le Couteur was not a Frenchman, as is often assumed, but was distantly connected to a famous Jersey family called Le Couteur. The principal source of information about him is to

³¹⁰ National Archives at Kew: Copy 1. Originals of the copyright forms and photographs of frames of film registered by Le Couteur. The original film frames were transferred to the BFI National Archive at J.Paul Getty Conservation Centre at Berkhamstead.

³¹¹ See footnote 18

³¹² Appendix D: Complete list of Le Couteur copyright records

be found in the text of an article in *'The Idler'* a popular monthly magazine edited by Jerome K. Jerome, entitled *'A Photographic Ghost'*, published in July 1897, an uncritical account of an interview by the journalist Clive Holland at the Photographic Association studios in Mayfair. This article gives the overriding impression of Le Couteur promoting his photographic business and his many prestigious connections. He does not mention any association with Gaumont and in fact refers to Le Comptoir de La Photographie in Paris as if it was part of his organization. His support for the Demeny large-format apparatus claims that it 'reduces the objectionable flicker even with the smallest picture to a negligible amount which will add greatly to the comfort of the audience and the clearness of the pictures'.³¹³

Although printed in the month after the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, the article says little about Le Couteur filming the Diamond Jubilee, other than that he had spent £200 on animatograph film for himself and his two operators, as well as commenting on the unprecedented demand for film which this occasion generated. Asked about the 'animatograph' (sic), Le Couteur replied 'I believe the invention has a great future before it, and I confidently look to its becoming a very valuable means of recording in a permanent and vivid form historical events'.³¹⁴ The only evidence, however, which Le Couteur chose to illustrate his presence at the Diamond Jubilee, was to produce

a magnificent print of a photograph [taken from] his special sentry box like erection on the steps of St Paul's. It is claimed to be the finest photo of Her Majesty on that ever to be remembered occasion and the taker of it is not a little proud that it met with the warm approval of members of the Royal family and that every crowned head in Europe possesses a copy.³¹⁵

A plausible explanation as to why Le Couteur made no reference to the actual films in the article in *The Idler* can be offered. In early July, Gaumont, writing to thank Slade for cuttings

³¹³ 'A Photographic Ghost', in *The Idler*, July 1897 p 102.

³¹⁴ Ibid

³¹⁵ Ibid

which he had sent, possibly about the screening of the films of the Prince of Wales at the Winter Gardens, added, 'we are certain that our Jubilee films are the best on the market'.³¹⁶ Later in the same month, he wrote again to clarify that 'the Jubilee films are the sole property of our agent and he can do with them of course just what he likes'.³¹⁷ This suggests that in the intervening period, Le Couteur had told Gaumont that he had registered the Diamond Jubilee films at the Stationers Hall and thus asserted his claim to ownership of the material. Preventing Gaumont from laying claim to the films may explain Le Couteur's extensive use of the copyright process. The Copyright Records, however, reveal the range of the films he and his cinematographers had taken. It remains unclear just what, if any, the arrangement between Gaumont and Le Couteur were, but all the indications are that Slade got his Diamond Jubilee films directly from Le Couteur in July. From the description in Slade's newspaper advertisements for the July exhibition in Cheltenham, these match the description of Le Couteur's films in the Copyright records.³¹⁸

From the outset, films of the London Diamond Jubilee procession taken by the many cinematographers on the day apparently generated considerable audience excitement and created a strong demand. Slade used reviews of Paul's films from the London *Daily News*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper* to promote his exhibitions.

Part 3: Diamond Jubilee films in Cheltenham

As already noted, comparatively little has been written about exhibition outside the music hall circuits. Advertisements in local newspapers for Cheltenham in 1897 reveal that only three weeks after the event, those living in the town had opportunities to view Diamond

³¹⁶ Appendix A: archive no 131 Letter of 12 July

³¹⁷ Ibid archive no 3 Letter of 29 July

³¹⁸ Later that year, however, Gaumont appears to have made a formal contract with Le Couteur and the films taken by Le Couteur enter the November Gaumont catalogue.; *Les Premières années de la société L.Gaumont et Cie, Série L.*,pp 473-474.

Jubilee films from two different producers, Paul and Le Couteur. Once again, Paul's films were shown in aid of the Cricket Club at the Assembly Rooms while Slade returned to the Corn Exchange with films from Le Couteur and Gaumont.³¹⁹

Starting on 10 July, Slade began eight days of exhibition with extensive advertising of his 'choice selection of Animated Photographs', supplemented by the 'drawing room entertainer' Walter Booth. In planning his July exhibitions, Slade would have guessed that it was essential to include Diamond Jubilee celebrations. However, for the first three days (14-16 July), his programme did not include any Jubilee films, which suggests that he had not been able to obtain the films for his Chronophotographe.³²⁰ It is impossible to know when Slade became aware of the serious competition posed by Paul's return to Cheltenham, however, his advertisement on 7 July was printed alongside a detailed advertisement for the Assembly Rooms shows starting on the 15 July.

July 1897: Slade's Diamond Jubilee films at the Corn Exchange

Without Jubilee films, Slade was at a serious disadvantage, but had at least the benefit of films of the Prince of Wales' visit, which he promoted heavily, as well as other new films.

The *Gloucestershire Echo* printed a detailed description of the programme:

See the Prince of Wales in the Promenade; See the Prince of
Wales in the Field';
See the Gloucester Yeomanry on the March
See the 'Tarentella' Dance!
See the Panoramas of Rome and Venice
See the Duel between Greco and Pavelli!

³¹⁹ In the absence of records of income and expenditure for his exhibitions in Cheltenham, Slade's activities during July have been pieced together from newspaper advertisements and reviews of his exhibitions at the Corn Exchange, correspondence with Gaumont and the Photographic Association, supplemented by information gathered from research into the Copyright records at the National Archives, Kew.

³²⁰ Appendix A Archive no 32 Letter 22 July;. Archive no 11 Invoice 12 July; Archive no 33 Letter 22 July. It can be seen from the Gaumont correspondence that Slade purchased two new films: *Tarentella at Sorrento* and one of the *Grand Prix Race* at Paris. The invoice also refers to the repair of three films.

And don't miss seeing the Empress of Germany in
Cheltenham!³²¹

Local interest was emphasized by listing all the local people who could be seen in the 'views'- 'The Mayor and Mayoress (Colonel and Mrs Rogers); Dr Ward Humphreys; the Ladies College; the Gentlemen's College; Gentlemen cadets marching (50 views); the Medical staff; Local celebrities and slides taken by Drs Fergusson and Winterbotham, J.H.Bagnall, Esq., W.Crofts, Esq., and prize slides of other distinguished amateurs.' It repeated Slade's claim to show 'the only perfect exhibition of animated photographs' and went even further by describing the show as being 'the Finest, Largest and most Brilliant exhibition of animated photographs ever exhibited in England'. (Fig 21) This confirms that Slade was continuing to use his large-format Demeny-Chronophotographe projector. He was also able to make a point that 'the length of the Animated Pictures is 70 feet, being very much longer than those of the small Cinematographe'. The final element in the promotion of the programme was that there would be 'refined drawing room entertainment' at each exhibition.

³²¹ *Gloucestershire Echo*. 10 July 1897

<p style="text-align: center;">ASSEMBLY ROOMS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THE GREAT LONDON DIAMOND JUBILEE PROCESSION IN CHELTENHAM.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">WONDERFULL ANIMATED PHOTOGRAPHS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(LARGE THEATROGRAPH).</p> <p>Showing in a marvellous manner the Royal Procession and incidents in different parts of London, taken on the morning at St. Paul's, H.M. the Queen and the Royal Princess, the different Home and Colonial Troops, &c., &c., together with the enormous crowds. Many of these Moving Pictures are beyond description. The Exhibition will include, among many others,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THE MERRY, 1897.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GREAT FIRE BRIGADE REVIEW By H.M. The Queen in Windsor Park, H.R.H. PRINCE OF WALES IN CHELTENHAM.</p> <p>Showing H.R.H. and Staff, with the Band, &c.,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ROYAL GLOUCESTERSHIRE HUSSARS</p> <p>Moving up the Promenade to the Queen's Hotel. (This is a most beautiful and interesting Animated Picture of great length).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">TOWN BAND.</p> <p>There will be an appropriate Programme given at each Exhibition. (See later Advs.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ASSEMBLY ROOMS, CHELTENHAM.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THURSDAY, FRIDAY, & SATURDAY, July 15th, 16th, and 17th.</p> <p>Each Afternoon at 3 o'clock; Each Evening at 8 o'clock.</p> <p>ADMISSION—2s. (Reserved), 1s., and 6d. Plan of Room and seats booked at Woodward's, Promenade.</p> <p>The Cheltenham Cricket Club, at enormous expense, has secured the above Exhibition before it starts on a Tour all over the World, to raise Funds to remove the remaining debt upon the New Ground and Pavilion.</p> <p>Full particulars of A. H. Whitcombe, Hon. Sec., 11 and 12 Clarence-street, Cheltenham.</p> <p>Don't Forget—</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CORN EXCHANGE, CHELTENHAM.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THE ONLY PERFECT EXHIBITION OF ANIMATED PHOTOGRAPHS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FOR EIGHT NIGHTS,</p> <p>Commencing WEDNESDAY, July 15th, 1897, and MATINEES on Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, July 14th, 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, and 21st.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Positively the Finest, Largest, and most brilliant exhibition of</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ANIMATED PHOTOGRAPHS Ever Exhibited in England!</p> <p>Mr Slade was successful at the Winter Gardens, Cheltenham, in accomplishing what has never been done before, viz. showing a picture of 18 feet 6 inches square, this being the largest picture ever exhibited in the United Kingdom.</p> <p>See the Prince of Wales in the Erguade; See the Gloucester Yeomanry on the March; See the "Parentella" Dance! See the Panagamas of Rome and Venice! See the Duel between Greece and Porelli! And don't miss seeing views of the Empress of Germany in Cheltenham.</p> <p>Views of the Mayor and Mayoress of Cheltenham (Colonel and Mrs Rogers); Dr Ward-Humphreys; the Ladies' College; the Gentleman's College; Gentlemen Cadets Marching (50 views); the Medical Staff; Local Calcestrides; and slides taken by Drs Fergusson and Winterbotham; J. H. Bagnall, Esq.; W. Crofts, Esq.; M. Bootham, Esq.; and prize slides of other distinguished amateurs.</p> <p>The length of these Animated Pictures is 78 feet, being very much longer than those of the small Cinematographs.</p> <p>There will be a refined Drawing Room Entertainment at each exhibition.</p> <p>Doors open at 7.30; commence at 8. Carriages for 10.20. Afternoon Exhibitions—Doors open at 2.30; commence at 3. Carriages for 5.15.</p> <p>Admission—1s 6d (reserved), 1s, and 6d (limited). On Saturday Evening, popular prices—1s, 6d, and 3d.</p> <p>N.B.—It is the intention of Mr Slade to give the proceeds of some of the exhibitions to the Charitable Institutions of the town, particulars of which will be duly announced.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CORN EXCHANGE, CHELTENHAM. WEDNESDAY, JULY 14th TO 21st.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">TWELVE EXHIBITIONS IN ALL.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MONTPELLIER GARDENS CHELTENHAM.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">TWO OPEN-AIR PERFORMANCES BY MR. F. R. BENSON And his SHAKESPEARIAN COMPANY.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">On MONDAY, JULY 12th, Two <i>al fresco</i> performances of Shakespeare's</p>
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Fig 21. Gloucestershire Echo, Saturday 10 July 1897

From the absence of Jubilee films in Slade's initial programmes, it may be deduced that Le Couteur was not prepared to supply these until he had asserted his right of ownership. Le Couteur registered his copyright on 15 and 19 July. By 17 July, however, Slade was able to advertise in the *Gloucestershire Echo* and the *Cheltenham Mercury* a range of Jubilee films as the feature of his programme for the week beginning Monday 19 July.

Her Majesty the Queen at St Paul's cathedral,
The Prince of Wales, Duke of Cambridge and Royal Princes.

Colonial Troops Part I Colonial troops Part I
 Dragoon guards, Scots Greys and Military escort
 Procession passing Apsley House (Part I)
 Procession passing Apsley House (Part II)
 Jubilee Garden Party at Buckingham Palace
 Her Majesty planting the JUBILEE OAK
 Her Majesty receiving Parliamentary Deputations
 Grand NAVAL REVIEW at Spithead Part I
 Grand NAVAL REVIEW at Spithead Part II Guns firing
 The PRINCE of WALES in CHELTENHAM Films
 Coloured pictures SMOKE DANCE JAPANESE DANCE SERPENTINE DANCE
 With Mr Slade's Large and choice stock of pictures as shown at the Winter Gardens
 on Jubilee Day.

It was a considerable achievement for an independent exhibitor in the provinces to obtain such a comprehensive list of films so soon after the event. On the basis of a letter from the Photographic Association to Slade in August, which refers to a previous arrangement, 'hiring at the same rate as you did before', it is possible to reconstruct the probable arrangement Slade had made. The most likely explanation is that he visited the Photographic Association premises in Brook Street, London, and negotiated personally with Le Couteur as the only source of Demeny film of the Diamond Jubilee. Slade appears to have rented the Jubilee films for exhibition in July in a very early example of renting, which had not yet become common trade practice with film. It seems likely that Le Couteur had insufficient copies of the films to meet the demand, and that renting was one way of maximising the availability of his material.

A footnote at the bottom of the advertisement states: 'it is the intention of Mr Slade to give the proceeds of some of the exhibitions to the Charitable Institutions of the town, particulars of which will be duly announced'. Well aware of the Assembly Room exhibitions, Slade was not prepared to be up-staged by the competition, and wanted to associate his

exhibitions with a charitable cause. It also seems to suggest that making a profit was not his primary motive. This advertisement ended with an announcement of the programme for the following week. Having obtained Jubilee films, Slade made a major alteration to his programming no doubt to maximize the audience. From 19 – 21 July he presented half hour shows at 4pm, 7pm, 8pm, 9pm and 10pm at the competitive prices of 1s, 6d & 2d.

July 1897: Paul's Jubilee films in aid of the Cheltenham Cricket Club

The new Cricket Club grounds opened with an inaugural match on the day after the Jubilee. However, another fund-raising event was needed to clear the outstanding debt. Anthony Whitcombe once again arranged for Paul to come to the Assembly Rooms. The first advertisement for Paul's shows detailed the films to be shown, both of the Jubilee procession and the Prince of Wales' visit to Cheltenham. The promotional advertising emphasised that, despite the charitable purpose, this involved 'enormous expense... before it starts to tour all over the world'. Initially Paul was invited back for three days of shows on 15, 16, 17 July at 3pm and 8pm.

The Great London Diamond Jubilee Procession in Cheltenham

A most wonderful reproduction by Paul's Theatrograph

Showing in a marvellous manner the Royal Procession and Incidents in different parts of London, the Great Ceremony at St Paul's, H.M. The Queen and the Royal Princes the different Home and Colonial Troops, &c, &cc together with the enormous crowds.

Many of these Moving Pictures are beyond description.

The exhibition will include AMONG MANY OTHERS

THE DERBY 1897

THE GREAT FIRE BRIGADE REVIEW

By H.M. The Queen in Windsor Park

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES IN CHELTENHAM Showing H.R.H and staff with the band &c.

THE ROYAL GLOUCESTERSHIRE HUSSARS

Moving up the Promenade to the Queens's Hotel

(This is a most beautiful and interesting Animated Picture of great length.)³²²

As in December 1896, after 'crowded and delighted houses' the number of exhibitions was extended for a further three days on 18 - 20 July, at 3pm and 8pm, with extensive advertising in all the local newspapers.

Paul's successful previous visits at the Assembly Rooms would have helped to attract a good audience, made up of loyal supporters of the Cricket Club, Assembly Rooms regulars, and no doubt elected members of the Borough Council interested in seeing the commissioned film of Cheltenham. This impression is confirmed in the review in the *Gloucestershire Echo*

There was a crowded and fashionable audience and those present showed by hearty applause their appreciation of the excellent programme provided. The chief attraction, however, was undoubtedly the splendid series of animated photographs; those depicting the Jubilee procession in London and the Prince of Wales's visit to Cheltenham evoking much enthusiasm.³²³

However, the extended programme was given a broader appeal by including 'Living Tableaux' enacted by local dignitaries, 'who entered with zest into the impersonation of the several pictures'. The Orpheus Glee party, Miss Harry, Senorita Del Riego, 'pianist from the Queens's and Albert Halls, London' and the All Saints Court Minstrels also contributed, along with the Town Band. The participants in the 'living tableaux' suggest that the audience was drawn from a particular section of Cheltenham society. The *Cheltenham Examiner* review featured all the local performers in the *tableaux vivants* and used cricketing metaphors to describe its success. Although no direct comparisons are made with Slade's exhibitions, there is perhaps a coded reference to them.

³²² *Gloucestershire Echo*, 10 July, 1897

³²³ *Gloucestershire Echo* Friday 16 July, 1897

The Committee of the Cheltenham Cricket Club are to be congratulated on scoring another palpable hit. In aid of the Victoria Cricket ground and Pavilion Fund a second series of exhibitions of Paul's Theatrograph was arranged for; and, the arrangement made, circumstances of a competitive nature gave the venture something of the true zest of cricket. Though the ordinary principles of the game cannot be applied in the circumstances it is safe to describe it as a 'draw'.³²⁴

The *Looker-on* briefly noted the success of the Assembly Rooms exhibitions in fund-raising for the Victoria Cricket Club and Pavilion fund.³²⁵ During the first week, both Slade and Paul had presented shows in direct competition, at 3pm and 8pm. The only difference was the cost of a top price ticket: at the Assembly Rooms this was 2s, while at the Corn Exchange, it was 1s 6d. The other prices, 1s and 6d, were the same. The agents for tickets both had offices in the Promenade within a few doors of each other. Subsequently, all the local newspapers, the daily *Gloucestershire Echo*, the weekly *Looker-on*, the daily *Cheltenham Examiner*, and the weekly *Mercury* carried advertisements for both exhibitions, Slade's at the Corn Exchange and Paul's at the Assembly Rooms, sometimes side by side.

Rival promoters

Slade and Whitcombe were both businessmen in the town. Whitcombe ran his family's art gallery business established in 1842, within a few hundred yards of Slade's large shop and workshop, the original business having been established in 1797. Although there was a difference in the stated purpose of the exhibitions, there seems likely to have been a degree of professional rivalry between the two men.

In November 1896, Whitcombe, as chairman of the fund-raising committee for the Cricket Club, had invited moving pictures to Cheltenham as a means of raising money for the

³²⁴ *Cheltenham Examiner*, Wednesday, 21 July, 1897

³²⁵ *Looker on*, 24 July, 1897

new grounds and pavilion. These were a great success, but they had cost more than anticipated, so more fund-raising was needed. The aim of the July exhibitions at the Assembly Rooms was to clear the outstanding debt on the Cricket Club grounds, which would have been a personal triumph for Whitcombe. His success in achieving this goal was recognised in the many appreciative tributes at the annual Cricket Club dinner later in the year.

Slade's motives would presumably have been to succeed in his new sphere of business in his home town. The exhibitions on Jubilee day itself at the Winter Gardens had not been a complete success, owing to the problem of achieving a blackout at the venue. The Corn Exchange was a venue devoted to touring entertainments of all kinds – it had hosted Cole's Merry Folks the previous Christmas, when Paul's 'animated photographs' were also shown. Slade's exhibition was therefore very much a commercial entertainment. Nevertheless, faced with the fund raising competition from the Cricket Club, and possibly keen to maintain his public-spirited reputation, he included the following paragraph in the newspaper advertisements for his exhibitions. 'N.B – It is the intention of Mr Slade to give the proceeds of some of the exhibitions to the Charitable Institutions of the town, particulars of which will be duly announced.'³²⁶

Paul's films, particularly those of the Diamond Jubilee and the visit of the Prince of Wales, plainly had a major effect on Slade's audience. As an entertainer working on his own account, faced with such competition, Slade re-arranged his programme completely in the second week and instituted half hour shows running throughout the day. This contrasts with his Diamond Jubilee day exhibitions, where the price of admission was nominal and many were admitted free. Presumably these exhibitions contributed to creating a more socially diverse audience for Slade's exhibitions.

³²⁶ *The Gloucestershire Echo*, 10 July.

In contrast to Paul, Slade advertised his ‘choice selection of ‘Animated Photographs’ from Wednesday 14 July to Thursday 22, with Booth's additional entertainment included. No information about the films to be shown appeared in the first advertisement, but the films are listed in the Saturday paper. Here the programme clearly concentrated on Jubilee films and the visit of the Prince of Wales to Cheltenham. The content of the programme followed some of the conventions of an evening’s entertainment with a singer, and a piano accompanying the ‘animated photographs’. The local press did not attempt to compare the exhibitions directly, but devoted considerable column space to the Assembly Rooms.

It seems remarkable that Cheltenham had two exhibitors of Jubilee films showing at the same time and within three weeks of the actual event. Yet this also reflects the situation in which film exhibition operated at this time. In a town with several potential places of exhibition, it was a matter of chance whether competitors exhibited at the same time. And in Cheltenham, prospective audience members would know where they fitted socially. The Assembly Rooms, as the review suggested, was attractive to a ‘fashionable crowd’ including the local gentry. The Corn Exchange was a more egalitarian venue, open to all who could afford the price of a ticket, and would be familiar to those attending the touring shows which visited throughout the year. Prices of tickets for Slade’s shows in the first week were on a par with the Assembly Rooms. The exhibitions and prices for the half hour shows in the second week would have made them accessible to a much wider range of the population.

Slade reviews and advertisements

A short but positive account of Slade’s first exhibitions appeared in *The Gloucestershire Echo* on Thursday 15 July.

There was a much larger attendance at the Corn Exchange on Wednesday evening than had been the case in the afternoon and the audience were delighted with the exhibition. There is variety entertainment in addition, Mr Walter Booth

causing much amusement by his ventriloquial powers, mimicry, lightening caricatures.

The programme advertised 'Coloured pictures: Smoke dance, Japanese Ballett (sic), Serpentine dance with Mr Slade's large and choice stock of Pictures as shown at the Winter Gardens on Jubilee Day'. The screenings, on Monday Tuesday and Wednesday 19, 20, 21 July, took place at 4,7,8,9, and 10 o'clock and lasted half an hour. Admission prices were 1s, 6d. and 3d.

Reviews of Paul's shows

The *Gloucestershire Echo* was not the only journal to review Paul's shows. A full-column review in the *Cheltenham Examiner* creates a vivid picture of the occasion.

Those who witnessed the Jubilee pageant in London with all its flash of colour will not be expected to rejoice greatly in records flitting ghost like across a canvas screen but for most eyes these records have remarkable realism and interest. Mr Paul succeeded at various points of the route in taking a large number of pictures, conspicuous not for the size but for the distinctness of the moving bodies of soldiers and blue jackets. Interest chiefly centres, of course, in the picture of the Queen's carriage and escort arriving at St Paul's in which a glimpse is caught of the bowing figure of the Sovereign.

Having covered the scene in the capital, the review moved on to describe in great detail the local event which many readers would have witnessed, but now had the opportunity to see as a moving picture, where they would see themselves or others known to them on the screen.

Then as an item of local interest, a picture of the Prince of Wales at the head of the Royal Gloucestershire Hussars riding up the promenade after the review. Little need to attempt a description of a scene which everybody- almost everybody remembers for himself; but the mounted police that loom up and

then vanish, and the pedestrian who calmly walks across the picture afford as it were trifling incident which the faithful camera has registered better than any memory.³²⁷

The review went on to name all the local personalities who took part in the living tableaux, and singled out the contribution of the Glee singers. The article concluded with an appreciation of Mr Whitcombe and his committee for making the arrangements. The *Cheltenham Looker-On*, for 24 July records that ‘The Cheltenham Cricket Club have been fortunate in their latest effort to increase the Victoria Cricket Ground and Pavilion Fund.’ Paul’s exhibitions at the Assembly Rooms ended on 21 Wednesday.

Uniting the Assembly Rooms and Corn Exchange audiences

Evidence of Slade’s business acumen is apparent in an advertisement in the *Cheltenham Examiner* for 21 July. No doubt trying to capitalise on the films at his disposal, and a potential audience, Slade placed the following advertisement:

Mr Slade invites through your columns, the Members and Friends of the Cheltenham Cricket Club to his exhibition of Animated Photographs at the Corn Exchange on Thursday next at 8 and 10pm. Tickets to be signed by the Secretary of the Club and the entry receipts will be given by him to the Cheltenham Cricket Field Account³²⁸

Slade had clearly entered into negotiations with the Cricket Club to engage the audience already attracted to Paul’s exhibitions at the Assembly Rooms, and to redress the imbalance of his exhibitions in contributing to the Cricket Club. It was the calculated move both of a business man and one who sought to protect his local charitable reputation. He also

³²⁷ *Cheltenham Examiner*, 21 July, 1897.

³²⁸ *Ibid*

indirectly makes the point that there is still some money to be raised to add to that from the Assembly Room exhibitions. His final exhibitions in Cheltenham took place on 21 July 1897.

A partnership is created

Encouraged by the reception of the Diamond Jubilee films, Slade entered an agreement with a theatrical agent, Edward Baring, also from Cheltenham, and went on to present during the subsequent seven months many screenings of the Diamond Jubilee films. These were in town halls, assembly rooms, theatres and music halls, and provide further evidence of the significant part played by the Jubilee films in the diffusion of animated pictures to a countrywide audience. This programme of tours is the subject of Chapters 4 and 5.

Part 4 Coda: the exhibition of animated pictures in late 1897 in Cheltenham

Before leaving Cheltenham, however, there were further screenings of animated pictures in the final months of 1897. After the excitement of the Diamond Jubilee Procession and the Prince of Wales visit films, entertainment in Cheltenham reverted to shows presented by touring companies and entertainers, together with those featuring local musicians such as the Town Band. No trace of exhibitions of animated photographs appears until advertisements for two fund-raising events at the Assembly Rooms in the first week of November. Two bazaars in aid of different charities featured Paul's animated photographs as one of the entertainments on offer at these events. After this, there were no further opportunities to see films during the final months of 1897, until the return of Walter Cole with his Christmas show.

Cheltenham Charity Bazaars

The existence of returns in Slade's papers for the first of these bazaars indicates that he was involved in some way in the arrangement, although he himself was on tour. Slade appears to have co-operated with Baring, acting as an agent for Paul's films, in putting on some exhibitions as part of fund raising Charity Bazaars. In the diffusion of moving pictures, showing films as a fund raising attraction has perhaps not received enough attention. Their appeal as a novelty, with flexible programming opportunities, appears to have made them popular throughout Britain, not least in Cheltenham where the Assembly Rooms were associated both with fund raising and by now film exhibition.

According to a modern study by F.K. Prochaska, men and women of all social classes in the nineteenth century found bazaars, fancy fairs and ladies' sales a popular and a fashionable way of making money for the charity of their choice.³²⁹ Prochaska supported the view expressed by Robert Louis Stevenson that the popularity of the bazaar must be seen as an aspect of nineteenth-century entertainment. In 1868, Stevenson, at the age of 18, wrote a light hearted dialogue about the techniques employed to get people to part with their money in aid of charitable causes.³³⁰ Using the conceit of a conversation between the 'Tout and the Ingenuous Public', he poked fun at the enthusiasm with which well-off ladies took on the business of becoming, in effect, shop assistants. The Tout explains the purpose behind the Bazaar to the Ingenuous Public;

The act of giving away money for charitable purposes is, by this admirable invention (i.e. a charitable bazaar) transformed into an amusement and puts on the externals of profitable commerce.

³²⁹ F. K. Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2, Spring 1977, pp. 62-84.

³³⁰ Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Charity Bazaar; An Allegorical Dialogue* published 1868.

In the history of early film exhibition, Charity Bazaars have become associated with the disaster which took place in Paris in May of 1897, when over a hundred people lost their lives in the most harrowing of circumstances as the result of a fire connected with the cinematograph. This event, which was reported not only extensively in the French newspapers, also received considerable coverage in national and local newspapers in Britain. Robert Paul referred to it in his address to the Kinematographical Society meeting in 1936, drawing a connection between this event and his introduction of a fireproof machine.³³¹ However, although this fire was extensively reported, largely because of the number of distinguished people who lost their lives, it does not seem to have exerted the influence suggested by early film historian, Terry Ramsaye that this event resulted in the well-off losing interest in seeing animated pictures or that those organising fund raising events were discouraged from including them in their programmes.³³²

The Cambray Bazaar: 2 - 4 November at the Assembly Rooms

By November, Slade was three months into his tour in partnership with Edward Baring. However, nine pages of accounts on Baring paper in the Slade archive indicate a connection between Slade and Baring in exhibiting Paul films at the Cambray Bazaar exhibitions in Cheltenham. These events, which were widely advertised, make no mention of either Baring or Slade. One can speculate that this was an event Baring organised in association with Slade; with each taking some part in ensuring that cinematograph, screen and film was available. A manager is named on the accounts and he probably took charge of the organisation on the day. Although there is no information about the nature of the contract, , these papers provide rare precise information about the size of audiences attracted to such exhibitions and how much they were prepared to pay.

³³¹ At this time there was little regulation of places of entertainment.

³³² Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1926, p. 357.

Advertisements for the Cambray Bazaar featured Paul's films being shown in the ballroom at the Assembly Rooms on the 2, 3 and 4 November, as a central fund raising element to enable a cost (of about £500), incurred by installing electric light at the Cambray Chapel to be covered.

'The chief of these (entertainments) is an exhibition (given three times each day) of Paul's animated photographs, 'a never failing draw'. This time, Paul's 'Animated Photographs' are promoted as 'including New Views not seen before in Cheltenham', Other attractions were Ladies Work Stalls, Men's Industrial Stall as well as Refreshment and Fruit Stalls. The promotional advertising also includes CONCERTS, In ACTION SONG ENTERTAINMENT, &c, &c

In view of the rarity of such detailed information about audience composition, it is reproduced in full. As the table makes clear, the proportion of tickets sold at three price levels remained relatively constant, with only a small number of the most expensive, at 1s, sold across the three days and the substantial majority being the cheapest at 3p.

Date	4.00 pm	7.30 pm	9.00 pm	Nos. sold at each price	Total
2 Nov	33	87	69	1s 6 6d 88 3d 93	189
3 Nov	75	178	83	1s 11 6d 122 3d 203	336
4 Nov	64	163	120	1s 4 6d 93 3d 181	347
Totals	172	428	272	1s 21 6d 303 3d 479	872

Fig 22. Audience returns for the Cambray Bazaar, November 1897

Receipts for the nine shows across three days amounted to £14.15s 6d, making an average of £1.12s 4d per show. A season ticket to the Bazaar cost 1s. However, an additional payment had to be made to gain entry to see the animated pictures – from 1s, 6d or 3d.³³³ A record of audience numbers and returns for the various exhibitions which discloses the exact composition of the paying audience is in the Slade archive, and a picture emerges of the film audience size and composition. Each day had a different manager, while the same money taker was there two days out of the three. The programmes were probably about an hour long, and the returns suggest that animated pictures known to be produced by Paul attracted a good audience and were a lucrative element in a fundraising enterprise.

St John's Union Jack Bazaar, 5 & 6 November at the Assembly Rooms

The Cambray Chapel bazaar was followed in the same week, by another bazaar, this time in aid of St John's Foreign and Home Mission Funds. There is a further advertisement for 'Paul's Newest, Largest and Best Animated Photographs, with two afternoon performances at 3 and 4.15, and grand evening performances at 8. Short musical programmes provided.' Entry price for reserved seats was 2s, second seats 1s, and third seats, 6d. Musical programmes by Mr Wingate and Mr Newton were included. There was also a refreshment stall and additional attractions described as Café Chantant, Kaleidoscopic Statuary, Elephantine Din &c.³³⁴ Admission to the bazaar in the afternoon (2-6pm) was 1s, in the evening (6-10pm), 6d. The absence of any accounts in the Slade archive suggests he was not involved.

The inclusion of animated pictures in the programme of two bazaars in Cheltenham confirms that, despite the tragedy in Paris, they were established as an increasingly

³³³ When Paul had exhibited his kineoscopes at Olympia a similar arrangement existed.

³³⁴ Familiar to those attending bazaars at the time, now they remain something of a mystery because no description of these exotic sounding attractions has been found.

convenient and popular way of raising money for 'good causes'. The length of programmes could be tailored to suit the other activities which were on offer and a separate charge could be made to attend the screenings.

Cricket Club Dinner November 1897

At the Club's annual dinner, speeches were made in praise of the fundraising efforts and the opening of the new grounds, with Mr Whitcombe's role in organising the concerts acknowledged.³³⁵ The Cricket club had successfully cleared its debt and no longer needed to present further fund raising concerts in 1897.³³⁶ However, the reproduction of a bill for a concert in 1898 suggests that a tradition had been established.³³⁷

Return Visit of Walter Cole with Paul films at the Corn Exchange, December 1897

The final exhibition of animated photographs in 1897 was as part of the Christmas entertainment provided by Walter Cole. In the space of a year, animated photographs had become an integral part of Cole's programme. Outside London, Cheltenham and towns like it began to rely on touring companies such as Cole's to provide them with up-to-date films, embedded in the programme of an established entertainment.

Films and filming in Cheltenham from 1896 – 1897

Over a twelve-month period, Cheltenham had many opportunities to see animated photographs. From the first shows of Lumière films as part of the Ginnett circus and Paul films shown at fund raising concerts for the Cricket Club in November and December 1896,

³³⁵ The death of his mother prevented him being at the dinner.

³³⁶ *Cheltenham Examiner*, Report of the Annual Cricket Club dinner, November, 1897.

³³⁷ Rachael Low and Roger Manvell, *The History of British Film 1896-1896*, Fig 11.

to Paul films included in Cole's 1897 Christmas show , there was a choice of the most up-to-date films available. In February, William Slade, known as the owner of a prestigious shoe business, appeared at the Corn Exchange with Gaumont films projected on the Demeny-Chronophotographe which he had acquired the previous December from Paris.

Having established that Cheltenham was in the forefront of provincial exhibition, it is perhaps not surprising to find that the Borough Council was also a pioneer in commissioning a filmmaker to come and film a royal visit, with the express intention of using the film to publicise the town. On 17 May, Robert Paul came to Cheltenham to film the visit of the Prince of Wales. While possibly the earliest example of a council using film as a promotional tool, this followed the precedent of filming special events that Paul had launched with his film of the 1896 Derby, won by the Prince of Wales' horse. Anthony Whitcombe, the prime mover behind the invitation to film in Cheltenham, may have known that Robert Paul would respond positively to such a proposal after his earlier contact over the Cricket Club Concerts. No doubt their success predisposed the Council to take up such a suggestion. In this local microcosm, we can see how personal contacts and early experience with the new phenomenon of 'animated photographs' worked together to accelerate adoption. The attraction of filming the royal visit, however, was not limited to Paul. Slade's archive has revealed that a royal visit brought Léon Gaumont and John Le Couteur also to film this visit on a Demeny-Chronophotographe, possibly as a trial run for the Diamond Jubilee events in London.

In July, programmes were dominated by Diamond Jubilee films and local-interest film of the visit of the Prince of Wales, as well as the latest available films from elsewhere, providing this provincial town with unrivalled opportunities to view a local and a national event as captured on film. Two projection systems were in use: Paul's Theatrograph using 35mm 'Edison standard' film and the Gaumont Demeny-Chronophotographe on 60mm. The

difference in the size and quality of the projected image, as well as the difference in the subjects shown, meant that those who attended both screenings had an opportunity to see a larger choice of films and to compare projection of two formats, than was available to most audiences of the time.

Film was also being included in established forms of entertainment. Walter Cole was an early example of a well-known performer incorporating animated pictures into his existing programme of performing automata. His familiarity with mechanisms would have helped him master the complexities of the projector. Exhibitors such as Cole, known to audiences from visits over several years, were part of the fabric of travelling entertainments. From 1897 onwards, animated pictures became an established element in touring programmes of many entertainment companies, such as Poole's Myriorama and the Burgess Minstrels.

Concentrating on events in Cheltenham in this micro-study has revealed how important film was as a novel attraction in provincial towns, with a status suited to raising money for charitable causes. The decision to invite Robert Paul to exhibit in December 1896 established a precedent. The novelty value having served its purpose in establishing an audience and raising money for a good cause, future presentations continued to promote 'new pictures' as a fund raising attraction.

After Slade left town at the end of August for his ambitious countrywide tour, there are no further records of him putting on any exhibitions in Cheltenham apart from his involvement with the Charity Bazaars in November. He had progressed from managing all aspects of his own exhibitions, supported only by his daughter, to entering a partnership with a professional agent who would enable him to present shows over a much greater area and for six days a week over several months. A new chapter in his career as an exhibitor and in moving-picture entertainment was about to begin.

Chapter 4 Entering a Partnership

Introduction

It was in fact the catalogues that Slade acquired in 1897, when planning his extensive tour in partnership with Baring, that registered his presence in early cinema history.³³⁸ By combining these with other material from his archive, and researching the places and reports of his exhibitions during the two tours he undertook under Baring's management, a uniquely detailed picture of Slade's enterprise has emerged. Arguably he contributed to the gradual establishment of an audience for moving pictures in a number of towns throughout Britain; an audience quite distinct from that which existed in the music halls of the cities. Central to his exhibitions were the Diamond Jubilee films whose importance in the early diffusion of animated pictures has yet to be fully acknowledged.

The memorandum of agreement between Slade and Baring in August 1897 signalled an important new phase in Slade's career as an exhibitor. Throughout his first enterprise, Slade had made all the arrangements himself. Now the responsibility for booking the venues rested with Baring. The result was that Slade's touring programme became much more concentrated - presenting shows six nights a week, usually in different towns. The agreement to share the expenses and profits resulted in the exchange between Slade and Baring of records of income and expenditure for all the venues.³³⁹ Slade's daughter's role as 'qualified assistant' was also formally recognised.

A characteristic of the Slade-Baring tours was their concentration on visiting towns and using exhibition spaces which were focal points for the local community. This may have been a reflection of what Slade and Baring knew best. Both were rooted in the town of Cheltenham and so far as is known, had no experience of city life. Part 1 concentrates on the

³³⁸ *Victorian Film Catalogues*.

³³⁹ Appendix F: A list of all the places visited between August 1897 and March 1898 was produced from the account documents.

establishment of a partnership with Baring as a prelude to Part 2, which covers the preparation of his new programmes including the Diamond Jubilee films.

Part 1 The partnership with Baring

Slade's exhibitions of Diamond Jubilee films at the Corn Exchange in July attracted audiences for several weeks, even when in competition with Paul's films at the Assembly Rooms. This success must have influenced his decision about what to do next. One option was to remain in Cheltenham and present short seasons at the Corn Exchange or the Assembly Rooms, which were now established venues for animated pictures. However the enthusiastic response to the Diamond Jubilee films seems to fuel his belief that there was an audience for these films in towns of a similar size to Cheltenham. His sons had demonstrated that they could run the business in his absence, leaving him free to continue as an itinerant exhibitor, taking his Diamond Jubilee films further afield.

This would benefit from someone sharing the responsibility, with knowledge of and expertise in arranging touring entertainment. Edward Baring, another Cheltonian, was ideally placed to take on this role. There had been opportunities for Slade and Baring to encounter each other professionally when Slade was putting on his film exhibitions at the Corn Exchange in February and July, and at the Winter Gardens in June. Although they seem an unlikely partnership, Slade, a man in his fifties, owner of successful businesses, and Baring, an ambitious young man of 24, it apparently came at a good time for them both, sharing an ambition to extend their activities beyond Cheltenham.

Edward Baring was in the early stages of carving out a long and highly successful career as a theatrical agent.³⁴⁰ According to his obituary, he had been born and brought up in

³⁴⁰ Although Baring had a long and successful career, dying in Cheltenham at the age of 77, there is little on record of his many activities. 'The Who's Who for Cheltenham, 1911' described him as 'the head of Baring brothers who tour throughout the world the most distinguished artists of the day.'

Cheltenham, although his background was not as conventional as would first appear.³⁴¹ His birth name was Bence and at an early age he was adopted by a Miss Oakwell Smith of Cheltenham.³⁴² His first job as an accounts clerk proved a useful foundation for his future profession. Building on introductions from a member on the Board of the highly successful Cheltenham Opera House, then visited by many touring theatrical companies, Baring set up in business as a theatrical agent. His obituary recorded that ‘Using the name ‘Baring Bros’ he started running performances by touring players in the Victoria Rooms (formerly the Corn Exchange) in the High Street (now the Palace Picture House) and he retained the business name for the rest of his colourful career’.³⁴³ Although his company was called ‘Baring Bros’, he had no connection with the famous local banking family, nor did he have a brother. The implication that he was associated with the Baring family might nevertheless be helpful to a young man without other connections setting out in business.

The main attraction for Slade in making an agreement with Baring would be that responsibility for finding the venues and making bookings would be in the hands of a man with specialist knowledge as a theatrical agent. On Baring’s side, he knew Slade as an established business man, now equipped with the latest ‘machines’ and films, including the most recent royal films of the Diamond Jubilee. While Slade was a comparative newcomer to the entertainment business, Baring clearly believed that supported by his daughter, Slade could successfully present shows throughout the country.

³⁴¹ *Gloucestershire Echo*, Edward Baring, obituary, 13 August 1951. His obituary suggested that the foundation of his phenomenal success was in arranging a nationwide lecture tour in 1898 for Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian scientist and explorer who had just published his account of his remarkable journey of exploration in the Polar Regions in 1894-1896. Taking on this commission was a major opportunity for Baring and his execution of it was so successful that it established his business securely. Lecture tours were an extremely important feature in Victorian life, particularly lectures connected with exploration and adventure.

In 1911, Baring married Marie Hall, a famous violinist, and was highly successful in promoting her international career as a soloist. Until the research connected with this study, material relating to his life was filed in the Gloucestershire archives under the name of ‘Marie Hall’. The artefacts contain programmes for pageants which he organised in Cheltenham, (1908), Bath, (1909) and Chester, (1910). For the same period there are programmes for lectures given by Sir Ernest Shackleton, also organised by Baring.

³⁴² Despite extensive searches, no further information about the background and circumstances of his ‘adoption’ has been found.

³⁴³ *Gloucestershire Echo*, Edward Baring, obituary 13 August 1951.

By July 1897, Baring had already established connections with a number of touring theatrical companies.³⁴⁴ He also represented, according to his letterhead, such famous names as Beerbohm Tree and Harry Furniss, as well as opera companies and a Zulu choir. Paul's Animated Photographs are also listed, although not Slade's Kinematographical Entertainments.³⁴⁵ The Silver King, the stage name of Tom Vernon, another well-known artist of the period renowned for presenting the Elephant Man and many other freak shows, is also featured.³⁴⁶ Baring claimed that his organisational skills extended to putting on 'pantomimes, fireworks, Venetian and Old English Fetes' and his letter head announced that, 'Messrs Baring are open to offers from really good companies with first class successes to arrange tours through England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales'. Working with Slade must have seemed an ideal opportunity to test out this innovative addition to the range of entertainments he managed. Nevertheless, there could be no guarantee of success, and their cautious approach is reflected in the initial agreement being for just eight weeks.

The Agreement³⁴⁷

The agreement they signed in August 1897 set out the different areas of responsibility for Slade as exhibitor and Baring as agent, for a tour to start on 23 August lasting eight weeks. The cornerstone was to share half the expense of items agreed on an attached list and to share the profit or loss equally. Either party could end the agreement by giving two weeks' notice, while fulfilling any outstanding engagements. In the event, the tour was extended for a further five months, visiting an extensive range of places and venues on six days a week

³⁴⁴ Appendix I i) His business notepaper used in a letter dated October 1897 is an invaluable source of information.

³⁴⁵ Although Baring listed Robert Paul's Animated Photographs among those he represented, there is no indication that he organised tours on Paul's behalf.

³⁴⁶ Memoir, *The Penny Showman, Memoirs of Tom Norman "Silver King"*, privately printed in London in 1985.

³⁴⁷ Appendix E.: A memorandum of this kind is a very practical device to define a working relationship between two individuals embarking on business enterprise which involved complex arrangements and financial dealings. The two identical agreements which have survived are signed, one by E. Baring in the Gloucestershire archives, the other by William Slade in the Slade archive respectively, indicating that they were exchanged. This form of agreement, still in use today, formalises an arrangement between different parties but does not necessarily involve a lawyer or any additional witnesses.

throughout England and Scotland.³⁴⁸ Throughout, ‘a drawing-room entertainment’ was a regular feature of the shows.

While written very simply, the agreement covers the complex arrangements for such an ambitious enterprise. ‘Mr Slade agrees to find Animated Photos (including Jubilee films), Machines, Slides, sheet, etc. and everything for and connected with his public exhibition of Animated Photos’.³⁴⁹ The presence of Mary was recognised in her role as ‘Acting Manager’, which included being treasurer and making a balance sheet at the end of each week. The profit or loss on each week’s takings was to be equally divided between the two parties and payable at the end of each week. ‘Mr Baring carries all the responsibility for booking the tour and takes as far as he is able and usually does a general management of such.’³⁵⁰

Baring’s booking expertise and knowledge of venues justified sharing the expenses and profit. All the venues chosen were in prosperous towns away from large industrial centres. The memorandum also lists a core group of other people involved in putting on a touring entertainment, making clear that an itinerant exhibitor depended on a wide range of support. An advance agent was a key figure, ensuring that all the publicity, bill posters and flyers were distributed and displayed in the best sites. His role included responsibility for the insertion of advertisements in the relevant local newspapers with information about booking arrangements and performance times. The pay of 35s a week indicates that this job involved important responsibilities. The baggage man, paid 21s a week, was another essential member of a travelling party - able to organise the transport of all the luggage and equipment, on and off trains and to and from venues and accommodation.³⁵¹ The desirability of combining different skills in an enterprise of this kind is made explicit in the Acting Manager and Treasurer also serving as Pianist.

³⁴⁸ Appendix G: Transcribed accounts for twenty eight weeks. The accounts submitted weekly have been the primary source of material about the tours and the many exhibitions.

³⁴⁹ Appendix E: Memorandum of Agreement.

³⁵⁰ Ibid

³⁵¹ Motorised transport, a recent innovation, was only affordable by the wealthy.

To put on entertainments night after night meant that all those involved had to be flexible, cooperative and skilled. The programme itself needed planning and careful execution. Having two projectors and a lantern meant that whoever was projecting needed support in making sure the short, separate films were in the correct order, and that the fragile glass lantern slides were also arranged in readiness for projection. There was no automatic rewinding of the film – each film would need to be re-wound as soon as it was projected and the running time of approximately a minute meant that whoever was involved had to be adept at handling the precious material.

The visits were mainly for one night, occasionally for two or three. Limiting the number of shows appears to have been a strategy to attract the maximum audience as economically as possible. The obvious disadvantage was that it involved setting up in a different venue most nights, and did not allow any build-up of audience through favourable word-of-mouth recommendation. Advance publicity through newspaper advertisements, supported by distribution of playbills, was of paramount importance and required careful planning, timing and execution. Most days would have involved travel from one venue to another and new accommodation. Sunday was the only day without any commitment to present an entertainment. This contrasts with Slade's earlier tours, where he made arrangements to exhibit for several nights in one place and was able to extend the period and frequency of his exhibitions in response to the interest the shows had generated, as demonstrated in Bristol.

That both Baring and Slade had agreed the rate of pay is signalled by an 'agd' above the amount. The 'Humourous (sic) entertainer' has no stated fee, presumably because the status of the performer would determine what was paid – the better known commanding a higher fee.³⁵² The inclusion of the entertainer, 'who is to be Lecturer if required', confirms

³⁵² There is only one entry for the fee paid to the entertainers in the accounts. One can only surmise that in subsequent accounts the first item, the total for the hire of Hall etc. 'as per duplicate book', included the fee to the entertainer.

that additional entertainment by a theatrical professional was considered an essential component of such an evening, able to provide a live performance of songs and music and ‘skits’, to complement the projected image. In addition, he would be expected to ‘fill in’ when there were delays or difficulties with film projection.³⁵³ Slade had already experienced the benefit of having Walter Booth as his entertainer.³⁵⁴

Magic lantern shows were characterised by having a lecturer to introduce the lantern slides and were recognised as an essential element of the entertainment. However, in reviews of exhibitions of moving pictures, there is rarely a reference to a lecturer. It seems, however, that in the early days of silent films a lecturer continued to be an important if unremarked element in introducing the films and the reference to a lecturer in the memorandum is confirmation of this.³⁵⁵ The subject matter of the early films covered many diverse subjects and would benefit from a lecturer to provide an introduction or commentary. In employing Walter Booth there was the expectation that he would take on this role.

It seems that Gaumont supplied Slade with lantern slides with the subject matter of the films described in English.³⁵⁶ Coe incorporated them in his 35mm copy of Slade’s Gaumont films. This use of slides in an early programme of moving pictures has not been commented on but would precede the practice of incorporating intertitles in the films themselves. The availability of slides would have been extremely helpful to the person introducing the films which came from France with subjects and places unfamiliar to a British audience.

³⁵³ Appendix A. In his letters to Slade in the Gaumont correspondence, Gaumont appears to respond to complaints from Slade of various technical problems with the Demeny- Chronophotographe. Such problems would be a feature of this period of exhibition when there was limited experience in handling projector and films.

³⁵⁴ In the main, films at this time had a running time of under a minute. Animated pictures in music halls were scheduled to fill between 20 – 30 minutes of the programme.

³⁵⁵ This subject has been researched in Canada by Germain Lacasse in *Le Bonimenteur de vues animées Le cinéma muet entre tradition et modernité* Quebec/Paris. Nta Bene / Méridiens Klinckieck, collection du cinéma 2000, p 229.

³⁵⁶ Appendix A Letter referring to delay in supplying slides to accompany films.

Later, in presenting the Diamond Jubilee films, a lecturer would be able to enhance the appreciation of the images of the troops and men on horseback as well as highlight the brief glimpses of the Queen.

The plan by Baring and Slade seems to have been to show Diamond Jubilee pictures while they were still topical, over as wide an area as possible, in as many places as possible in towns of medium size where these had not yet been seen. To guarantee a broad appeal, the inclusion of entertainment described as ‘drawing-room’ would attract and reassure a potential audience. Advertisements for the shows often indicated that they are part of a larger enterprise, with the introduction ‘Mr E Baring has great pleasure in intimating that he has arranged for a Special and Important visit of Slade’s Electro-Photo Marvel’, suggesting that he had presented other shows previously.

Mary Slade

Named in the memorandum as a qualified assistant, Mary was an important youthful presence in the touring party. As a daughter, her pivotal role in supporting and assisting her father would convey the respectability of the entertainment.³⁵⁷ Her qualification may have been to keep accounts but the description ‘qualified’ may also have meant that she was able to take charge of the film projection and the lantern when required.

Mary’s participation in the daily routine of two long tours was a considerable achievement. Being part of a group of touring entertainers, facing a new audience every night and presenting a two and a half hour show, would have been both physically and emotionally demanding. It would have meant travelling from place to place, setting up and dismantling everything to do with the shows. Unlike other travelling showmen of the period, Slade and

³⁵⁷ Fig 20 In a surviving flyer, Mary is given the title of assistant manageress and secretary. During the first tour she and her father shared expenses of £3 per week and it was not until the second tour that she was recorded as receiving 15s. in her own right.

his daughter did not travel with their horse drawn 'living waggon' but had to pack and unpack most days, staying in different lodgings.³⁵⁸ Mary and her father maintained a working relationship, which is reflected in the fact that they were allowed joint living expenses of £3 per week which rose to £3.10s. as the tour continued.

Accounts

The agreement for weekly accounts of income and expenditure to be submitted to Baring, and returned to Slade with various additions and amendments, before the amount due to each, was specified in the memorandum.³⁵⁹ In the list of expenses, their frequent communication is confirmed by entries for stamps and 'wires' [telegrams] every week. Compared with the entertainments which Slade organised himself, these accounts contain greater detail, providing invaluable information about the day to day costs in putting on an itinerant exhibition.³⁶⁰ The income relating to each exhibition³⁶⁰ can give an indication of the size of the audience, although some variations must be a reflection on the size of the town as well as on the size of audience.

The concluding phrase in the memorandum is 'and any other items that may be mutually agreed on'.³⁶¹ Figures and calculations appear on the pages of accounts which cannot be explained, but provide proof that they were working documents, used to calculate profit or loss, and the amount due to each and finally agreed. These documents offer what is

³⁵⁸ The inclusion of Mary's name and role in the memorandum may be the first formal evidence of a woman being involved as part of an extended tour of animated pictures in Britain

³⁵⁹ Appendix G i) and ii): Transcribed accounts for twenty eight weeks of the agreement.

³⁶⁰ Ibid: The entries cover the regular expenses. The hall and the stage are listed separately, as is gas. 'Props', covering any items needed to make the venue attractive, are another recurring expense. Payment to staff at the venue, 'the money and check-taker', booking commission and advertisements in newspapers also enter the list of expenses. There are entries for 'billposting and delivery', essential for performances which took place on one day only, and 'printing' which would cover costs for billposters and programmes. Railway fares, from and after the first town, and cartage are listed as a shared expense. Wires (telegrams), stamps and small tips are itemised as well as booking commission which would be paid to nominated local shops which handled advance ticket sales. For a period of six weeks, an entry for the provision of a machine, a magic lantern, at £2.10s.per week which when fully paid for would become the property of Mr Slade.

³⁶¹ Appendix G i) and ii): These items were probably recorded in a duplicate cash book referred to as general expenses in week 3 of the transcribed expenses.

probably a unique insight, even if not fully decipherable, into the complexity of organising a tour and the complex financial arrangements involved.

Slade the Public Hall Showman

Being able to tour extensively with this new and exciting medium offered the middle-aged Slade a completely new experience. Away from the familiar environment of Cheltenham and Worcester, with the support of a grown-up daughter, he had an unusual opportunity to travel around the country. Leaving behind the responsibilities of being the proprietor of a fashionable boot and shoe business, he had assumed a new role, that of an entertainer bringing an audience an exciting new scientific apparatus and showing films of the recent events which had restored the monarchy's popularity. Slade would have known that the high-quality films which Le Couteur had produced of the Diamond Jubilee Procession, as well as the early Gaumont films from Paris, had never been seen by an audience in any of the small towns visited on the tours. His range of lantern slides provided additional resources to draw on as part of the evening's programme. By including a versatile performer in this programme, he ensured that the audience could be guaranteed a satisfying evening's entertainment.

Slade now changed his original theatrical billing as 'Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments' to 'Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel', emphasising his personal involvement and suggesting that his machine was electrically driven, when in fact no projectors were at this time.³⁶² Importantly, however, it conveyed that this was an up-to-date enterprise with the latest equipment. His advertisements also promoted the fact that the Demeny machine from Paris, able to show exceptionally large images, was manipulated by Mr Slade himself, the epitome of the town hall exhibitor.

³⁶² Edison's Kinetoscope had been electrically driven, relying on batteries, since electrical power was by no means widely available in public halls at this time. And when he attempted to power his Vitascope projector by direct current, this was rarely available outside city locations (see http://www.charlesurban.com/history_bioscope.html). The majority of film projectors remained hand-cranked throughout the 'silent' period until the late 1920s (see: Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* 2007, p. 159)

Alfred Claude Bromhead, the head of British Gaumont, recalled the early days of the film industry in a presentation in 1933, reflecting on the early history of the business with which he had been involved since 1897.³⁶³ Bromhead divided the customers he had supplied with film and apparatus in the early days of British Gaumont into three distinct groups - the fairground showman, the town hall showman and the music hall exhibitor, and this has become a widely accepted way of approaching this early period for many historians.

In his essay on early exhibition, historian Richard Brown noted that the public hall showman is by far the least researched and least well understood of the three categories listed by Bromhead.³⁶⁴ Brown identified 1900 as the year when two hour stand-alone public hall film shows, complete with live acts, singers, occasionally orchestras and sound effects, and specially taken 'local' films, were being presented in the cities and towns of the north of England. However, Slade's tours in partnership with Baring predate these by three years, offering evidence from an earlier period in the diffusion of film. In contrast to the later exhibitions of Mitchell and Kenyon, who concentrated on local events, Slade's programmes marked an important historical occasion, allowing provincial audiences to experience the pageantry of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations in London within a more modest 'concert-party' framework.

Brown argued that public hall shows did not foreshadow later practice because they cannot be neatly categorised as early versions of the standard cinema show, and they are isolated in an historical context.³⁶⁵ However, this fails to recognise the importance of such shows in contributing to the gradual establishment of an audience and the acceptance of film as a source of social pleasure, and should not be underestimated. Interest in viewing royal

³⁶³ *Proceedings of the British Kinematograph Society*, 1933, no 21 p.4. Bromhead had been employed by Le Couteur of the Photographic Association in 1897 but the following year, Gaumont replaced Le Couteur and made Bromhead the head of the London office, which subsequently became British Gaumont.

³⁶⁴ Richard Brown, 'New Century Pictures: Regional Enterprise in Early Film exhibition', in Vanessa Toulmin and Simon Popple, eds., *Visual Delights II: Exhibition and Reception* (John Libbey, 2005)

³⁶⁵ Vanessa Toulmin, Simon Popple and Patrick Russell, eds, 'Edwardian Britain on film', *The Lost World of Mitchell and Kenyon* (London: British Film Institute, 2004), p 69.

processions and great occasions of state has been sustained throughout the subsequent history of the visual image. Brown's assertion therefore that the itinerant exhibitors represented a film exhibition 'dead-end' is too narrow a reading of their importance.

There are examples of other similar exhibitors, including Albany Ward who, having begun as a protégé of Birt Acres, the sometime business partner of Robert Paul, moved on to work for the Velograph Company before touring independently as an itinerant in 1897.³⁶⁶ By 1903, he had established a permanent base in an Oxford theatre showing films alongside other entertainments. In his unpublished memoir, he comments that from time to time he continued to tour in the south and west and also took a number of private engagements. Continuing to expand his range of permanent venues, by 1914 Ward was proprietor of the largest chain of cinemas in the country. Cecil Hepworth is another example of an early exhibitor who published an entertaining account of his early experience as a touring exhibitor.³⁶⁷ He went on to establish a highly successful production company which continued till 1920. An unchallenged assumption has been made that town hall exhibitors disappeared with the establishment of permanent cinemas, but the practice of touring exhibition may have continued much longer than is recognised or has been researched. The exhibition of moving pictures in fact continued in large town halls where a manager was often employed to maintain varied programmes of entertainment.

Part 2 The Slade-Baring Tours August 1897 – March 1898

The combination of Slade's experience and Baring's booking ability resulted in two ambitious tours, visiting towns throughout England and even as far afield as Scotland. Only

³⁶⁶ In an unpublished memoir written about 1947, Albany Ward mentions encountering Slade and his daughter while touring in the south west of England in 1898, (although it must have been 1897), probably in Ilfracombe, where Albany Ward's mother lived. From his critical comments about Slade's speed of projection and film change, he must have been in the audience at least once. Albany Ward also comments that Slade 'actually had his daughter as "assistant operator", which conveys his surprise at this arrangement, even fifty years later. Patricia Cook, *Film History* Vol 20, no 3, 2008 Albany Ward and the development of cinema exhibition in England.

³⁶⁷ Cecil Hepworth, *Came the Dawn: Memories of a Film Pioneer* (London, Phoenix House, 1951.)

the railway network made this constant journeying manageable. Nevertheless the demands of responding to unfamiliar venues and responding to different audiences must have been extremely challenging for Slade. Although the agreement was for an initial period of eight weeks, the tour continued for more than six months, till 18 March 1898.³⁶⁸

Slade's financial returns to Baring over the period from August 1897 to March 1898 constitute a unique source of information about the activities of an itinerant exhibitor.³⁶⁹ The places chosen by Baring were, without exception, small or medium sized towns, all having a venue able to seat a minimum of 300 people. In contrast to the tour which he organised himself in the first six months of 1897, Slade did not visit any large cities and only drew on the experience from his first tour to revisit two venues in the Peak district, Matlock and Bakewell.³⁷⁰

Using films of the Diamond Jubilee as the main attraction, Slade and his company progressed from town to town, from south to north, from seaside resort to inland market town, from picturesque tourist areas to industrial towns,. The first tour of sixteen weeks ran six days a week from late summer into autumn and winter. Slade and Baring's operational model was to maximise advance publicity, and advertisements were placed in local newspapers starting a week or so before their arrival. Ideally, they would also try to get the journal to include some editorial about the visit. These promotions would have been supplemented by handbills widely distributed nearer the time of the visit and on the day itself.

After the extensive commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee in June, by late summer and autumn, the arrival of Slade's animated photographs offered an opportunity to revisit some of the excitement and to see moving pictures of the events. Slade's newspaper advertisements promoted the idea that the London Diamond Jubilee Procession was 'coming

³⁶⁸ Appendix F i): Places visited; Tour 1: August – December, 16 weeks, ii): Tour 2: December – March, 12 weeks.

³⁶⁹ Appendix G i) & ii): Transcribed accounts for every week of exhibition for both tours.

³⁷⁰ Slade spent three days at Matlock at the end of September and two days at Bakewell at the beginning of October. No contemporary local newspapers have survived to provide information about these visits.

to your town' by means of 'animated pictures'. Publicity concentrated on the opportunity *to see* the Queen at St Paul's, *to see* the Royal Princes and Princesses, and *to see* the gorgeous decorations.

Preparations for the autumn tour

Baring and Slade began planning the tour in mid-July, 1897, which only allowed four weeks to make arrangements for the first exhibition on 20 August at Burnham-on-Sea in north Somerset.³⁷¹ Baring wrote to potential venues to check on availability, aiming to construct an itinerary that would enable Slade and his company to move from place to place according to the best railway connections.³⁷² The postal system was quick and reliable, while telegrams were more expensive, but quicker and used when time was short.³⁷³ Subsequent bookings would have been made in advance, within a two to three week period. While not specified in the memorandum, Baring, as a theatrical agent must have taken responsibility for the booking of the supporting entertainers.

From late June onwards, Slade was in touch with a range of suppliers of film and equipment in London, costing out the comparative prices of projectors and films.³⁷⁴ The correspondence for this period makes it clear that ensuring he had a second projector and choosing new films in advance, took considerable organisation and planning. He considered buying a Lumière outfit from Fuerst Bros in London, since this was now available on the open market, but at £115, it was still an expensive option. In June and July, Fuerst, an important source of films of the Diamond Jubilee, supplied him with information about their

³⁷¹ Appendix G: An entry in the tour accounts for the first week makes reference to Baring and Slade incurring expenses from 13 July.

³⁷² A surviving copy of a letter sent by Baring provides an example of his practice. Appendix I i)

³⁷³ The telephone was still a rare piece of equipment only in use in large cities.

³⁷⁴ Just how much Slade expended on equipping himself with films is not recorded. The probability is that he bore the cost himself.

latest available films and the cost, which by late July had dropped significantly.³⁷⁵ There is a receipt from Fuerst dated 29 July for two Lumière films which confirms that he bought one of the Queen arriving from Windsor at Paddington and one of the Life Guards and Band of the Dragoon Guards.³⁷⁶ Having bought films which were described as ‘Edison Gauge’, suggests that Slade was considering the purchase of a second projector, but had not yet decided on which one. Just before leaving for the tour in late August, he bought a ‘cinematographe’ for £15 from the established photographic supplier, R.F. Beard, in the Old Kent Road, London.³⁷⁷ This would have taken 35mm film, like most projectors of the time, and would allow him to show films other than those produced by Gaumont. However, the two Lumière films bought from Fuerst are the only record of any purchase of 35mm films. His choice suggests that they were chosen to supplement Le Couteur’s films

The memorandum of agreement also refers to the purchase of a lantern and there is an entry for payment for the lantern over several weeks. Slade appears to have already had a considerable collection of slides, and reviews commented on the quality of the lantern images shown, which apparently featured as a significant element of the programme. Ensuring continuity of exhibition would have required careful programming and the ability to co-ordinate the screening of films and slides, with the live entertainment no doubt providing opportunities to prepare further projection material.

Diamond Jubilee films from Le Couteur

³⁷⁵ Archive no 42: A letter, dated 30 June, from Fuerst Bros advised that seven Jubilee films are ready for sale as well as one of the Queen arriving from Windsor and one of the crowd following the Queen’s carriage. The letter, marked by an ink blot which obscures a note and some numbering, was clearly used by Slade as a working document to calculate the cost. (the films came to £4.12s less a discount of 5%). There is a further handwritten memo from Fuerst to Slade at his home address, dated 19 July, acknowledging a ‘favor(sic) of 15th inst to hand’ containing details of two further films available. One is the Aldershot Jubilee review and the other the Royal Henley Regatta – the final Grand Challenge Cup Race - concluding with the advice to order early as several days’ notice was required to supply these films. Archive no 59 is the receipt for the two films purchased; no 488 and 493 respectively. The cost of each film was £4.12s.6d.

³⁷⁶ Archive no 59: With a discount of 5%, the cost was £5.18. The receipt, made out to Wm. D. Slade Esq. of 12 Promenade, Cheltenham for cash, suggests that Slade went to Philpot Lane, London E.C., to buy the films himself.

³⁷⁷ It was probably a machine devised by Beard himself as described by John Barnes in ‘London Manufacturers and Dealers’, Ch. 3 of *The Rise of the Cinema in Great Britain, vol. 2, 1897: Jubilee Year* (London: Bishopsgate Press, 1983), p 73.

The collection of Slade's catalogues shows the range of films which was available to him from Paul, Lumière, and a growing numbers of London retailers in the summer of 1897.³⁷⁸ However, the source of films suitable for projection on a Demeny-Chronophotographe does not feature.

Gaumont's letter to Slade in early July made clear that access to Jubilee films was exclusively through Le Couteur. As described in Chapter 3, Le Couteur had taken steps to copyright the films of the Diamond Jubilee procession taken by himself and the other two cinematographers in his employ at Stationers Hall.³⁷⁹ The only source of information about these films and their content is the Copyright Records at the National Archives at Kew, which contain a series of documents registering the films of Diamond Jubilee procession and associated events by Le Couteur and his employees.³⁸⁰ Of all the many cinematographers and producers filming that day, apart from Le Couteur, only Adolpe Langfier of the Croydon firm, the Velograph Syndicate Ltd, took steps to copyright eight films of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations.³⁸¹ Le Couteur registered approximately fifty films, an expensive course to take, costing 1s for each item registered.

On the day of the procession, Le Couteur had managed to acquire an excellent position for himself on the steps of St Paul's Cathedral, while also arranging for William Arthur Millar and Gustave Colley to be stationed at Apsley House on Hyde Park Corner. At this point he had the use of three Demeny-Chronophotographe machines.³⁸² Prior to the procession itself, Le Couteur also had Colley film the colonial troops and others in Hyde Park and in front of the Knightsbridge Barracks. Le Couteur himself appears to have secured

³⁷⁸ Published as *Victorian Film Catalogues*.

³⁷⁹ Appendix D: The National Archives at Kew contain the Copyright records of the many films Le Couteur and his employees took of the Diamond Jubilee Procession and other associated events.

³⁸⁰ Ibid: List of Copyright films registered by Le Couteur and photograph copies of two registration forms.

³⁸¹ The frames of the films are useful in comparing the 35mm film stock used with that of the 58/60mm film for the Demeny machine.

³⁸² Appendix D and Fig 20 :In the Copyright Records, Le Couteur is recorded as the owner of the film, while the name of the photographer is entered in the column for author.

special permission to film the Garden Party at Buckingham Palace on 28 June, and also produced several films of the Royal Naval Review at Spithead which took place at the beginning of July.

From a letter by Le Couteur to Slade on 18 August, it is clear that the films Slade used for his Cheltenham exhibitions in July had been rented.³⁸³

We have your letter of 16th only this afternoon.

Jubilee films – As we have written we can only entertain contracts for certain towns and as we are obtaining high prices on our own terms – it seems wasting your time unless you are prepared to do what others are doing – viz –Hiring at same rate as you did before (& we have booked only this afternoon two contracts like yours for Dublin and Folkstone) – or buying for exhibition in stated places only- which is what we have done in other cases.

Le Couteur here emphasised that a new arrangement had to be made for films to use on the projected tour, and claimed that he was having difficulty keeping up with the demand for Diamond Jubilee films. The tone is dictatorial and communicates an unwillingness to negotiate. Le Couteur also advised that he had miscellaneous films in preparation, and from information about the tour it seems that Slade bought most of those available. The prices for Le Couteur Jubilee film were higher than those of other producers quoted in the *Victorian Film Catalogues*.³⁸⁴ Le Couteur's attempt to assert independence from Gaumont was however short lived, with the differences resolved by October when he entered into a formal contract to market Gaumont films and equipment.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Appendix A: Archive no 68a, Letter from the Photographic Association transcript. This is contrary to the belief that at this time all film was bought outright.

³⁸⁴ No catalogue for the Le Couteur films of the Diamond Jubilee and other events exists as far as is known and the films do not appear in John Barnes' list of films made in 1897. Barnes, *The Rise of the Cinema in Gt. Britain, Vol 2, Jubilee Year, 1897*. The Jubilee films and other films of the celebrations entered the Gaumont catalogue in November 1897.

³⁸⁵ This arrangement was also short lived - Gaumont taking steps to replace Le Couteur with Alfred Bromhead in August 1898. At the Photographic Association, Le Couteur had been trying to run a fashionable club for those interested in photography. Financial problems were a recurring theme in Le Couteur's life. In 1904, he was declared bankrupt and he and his wife Maude committed suicide in the premises of the Photographic Association.

Advertising and Publicity

At this time there was no generally accepted term for a film show. 'Cinematographe', the original Lumière name, was still the most commonly used, but many exhibitors chose individual names for their machines. Gaumont had marketed the Demeny projector as the Demeny-Chronophotographe. From August 1897, while in partnership with Baring, as we have noted, Slade promoted his company as 'Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel', often preceded with the ecomium 'world famed'. The flyers referred to 'the machine by Demeny of Paris as the most perfect yet invented and manipulated by the proprietor, Mr W. Slade'. Everywhere the advertisements confidently asserted that scenes are 'reproduced with all the actual movement of real life. The beauty of many of these Pictures defy description and are the largest ever shown, being from 15 to 20 feet.'

Although the towns visited differed greatly in character, ranging from small market towns, mining towns, cathedral towns to seaside resorts, the copy for newspaper advertisements remained largely the same for all venues throughout both tours, apart from the variable element of 'drawing-room entertainment'.³⁸⁶

The key feature in all the publicity material which Slade and Baring produced was an emphasis on experiencing the London Diamond Jubilee Procession. The first advertisement, for Burnham in north Somerset, established a format that would be used throughout the whole tour.

For one night only at 8. Carriages at 10.30 in the Public Hall
Special and important visit of Slade's world-famed ELECTRO-PHOTO MARVEL
London Diamond Jubilee procession at Minehead.
See, See, See. Five films of Diamond Jubilee and then most marvellous of all, coloured
Animated Pictures and a large amount of other interesting subjects all reproduced with

³⁸⁶ Most small towns of the period had at least one weekly newspaper, and some newspapers covered whole regions. Sometimes this advertising was supplemented by editorial in the main body of the paper.

the actual movements of real life. The whole supported by an up to date and refined Entertainment.

This advertising was supplemented by bills posted locally and by flyers distributed by hand. The responsibility for co-ordinating all these promotions was likely to have been that of the advance agent as the only person with the local knowledge needed. The strategy to employ maximum publicity for a short visit is clear from the surviving flyers. Circulated around the venue for at least a week beforehand, the publicity was directed at attracting as many people as possible to come to 'Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel Animated Pictures', reinforcing the advertisements in the local press with the same language but having additional information about venues, ticket prices, where they could be bought and time of the shows.³⁸⁷

Slade's ticket prices were at the top end of the range charged by touring entertainments. There was some variation from place to place in the seat prices but on the whole the top price for reserved seats was 3s, second seats going down to 2s, then 1s and back seats (limited) at 6d. At some venues, Family Tickets to admit four at 10s 6d; were advertised.³⁸⁸ Early doors were at 7pm and for an extra 6d, one had the first choice of seats.

Using advertisements which give starting and finishing times, 'carriages at 10.30', the length of a complete programme can be calculated as approximately two and a half hours with about 15- 30 minutes for an interval.³⁸⁹ The core of the programme was showing Le Couteur's Diamond Jubilee films and film of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Cheltenham, supplemented by the films originally bought from Gaumont with the addition of a small number of films including coloured films more recently produced by Gaumont. He may have supplemented these with Lumière films from Fruest and from Robert Paul which also showed the Diamond Jubilee which could be run on the supplementary projector. One can estimate

³⁸⁷ Bill posters containing the same information would have been displayed in prominent sites but none have survived

³⁸⁸ This was the same range of prices as for the D'Oyly Carte Touring Opera Company.

³⁸⁹ Unfortunately no programme of a Slade exhibition has survived. In music hall programmes of the period, films filled between 30-40 minutes.

that Slade had between 70 and 100 films with a maximum screening time of approximately 100 minutes. It is reasonable to propose that films were screened for about 60 minutes, i.e. about 50% of the performance time.

The accounts confirm that they spent a considerable amount on making sure that there was maximum coverage of the arrival of Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel. Week after week, there is an entry for printing which rarely is under £10, a very high percentage of the running costs.³⁹⁰ Taken with the advertisements in newspapers and cost of bill posting and distribution, promotion was the major expense in putting on these shows. Even when the returns were low, the printing costs remain high.³⁹¹

The two surviving flyers which refer to specific venues, the Bowness Institute Hall, a small resort on the banks of Lake Windermere, and the Town Hall, Clay Cross, an important mining town in Derbyshire, are identical apart from the date and venue. Slade and Baring clearly had devised a standard format.

³⁹⁰ Refer to Appendix G i) & ii).

³⁹¹ Baring's use of printers based in Leicester confirms that his connections were not limited to Cheltenham.

SCENES FROM THE GREAT
DIAMOND JUBILEE PROCESSION.

See THE QUEEN AT ST. PAUL'S. See THE ROYAL PRINCES & PRINCESSES.
 See THE COLONIAL TROOPS. See THE NAVAL REVIEW.
 See THE GORGEOUS DECORATIONS. See THE COLORED ANIMATED PHOTOS.

Reproduced with all the actual movements of real life. The beauty of many of these Pictures defy description, and are the Largest ever shown, being from 15 to 20 feet.

THE MACHINE, BY DEMENY, OF PARIS, IS THE MOST PERFECT YET INVENTED, AND IS MANIPULATED BY THE PROPRIETOR, Mr. W. SLADE.

A selection will also be made from a large collection of other interesting subjects, such as—

JAPANESE BALLETT	GRAND FOUNTAIN PLAYING AT VERSAILLES
BUSH FIGHTING	OXEN PLOUGHING
NEGROES BATHING	SEA SURF AT LONG BEACH
MARCH PAST OF A CAVALRY REGIMENT	A COMIC PROCESSION
THE RIDING LESSON	THE BATTLE OF CONFETTI
NIAGARA FALLS	BLACK DIAMOND EXPRESS
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES AT A REVIEW	FEEDING THE DOVES
S.S. COLUMBIA	STEAMER DISEMBARKING PASSENGERS
SEA CAVE AND WAVES	HARBOUR SCENE
CHILDREN ON THE SEA SHORE	STREET SCENE IN PARIS
DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT AFTER THE REVIEW, July 4th, 1896.	LEAP OF HURDLES BY A SQUADRON OF DRAGOONS
THE MILITARY CHARGING	SMOKE DANCE (Coloured)

THE LONDON  DIAMOND
JUBILEE * PROCESSION
 AT
TOWN HALL, CLAY CROSS.

TREMENDOUS ATTRACTION.
 For One Night Only, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2nd, 1897.
 Mr. E. BARING has great pleasure in intimating that he has arranged for a Special and Important
 Visit of
SLADE'S ELECTRO-PHOTO MARVEL,
ANIMATED PICTURES

The Finest ever exhibited, and now being shown in London and the leading Cities of the World
 with Enormous Success, pronounced by the whole London Press to be a triumph of
 scientific mechanism

PLAN AND TICKETS AT MR BUTTERWORTH'S, MARKET STREET.

Willsons', Printers, Leicester.

Fig 21. Flyer for Clay Cross promoting Slade's Electric Photo Marvel on one side and films of Diamond Jubilee Procession on the reverse³⁹²

The drawing room entertainers

Throughout 1897 and 1898, *The Era*, the weekly theatrical paper, had many pages featuring the names of entertainers, advertising their availability. Marie Lloyd and Dan Leno were among the most famous and successful, but lesser-known performers were available for short contracts and tours. Through Baring, Slade had the benefit of a professional agent who could

³⁹² This was the template for all Slade's flyers distributed prior to his exhibitions and shows the detailed information he provided about the subjects on the programme.

negotiate to secure suitable performers, with the additional role as described in the Memorandum of Agreement to be able to act as lecturer, if required.

During this period when films continued to be seen mainly as part of music hall entertainment, Slade set out to reassure his potential audience.³⁹³ Throughout both tours, he makes a feature of promoting the accompanying entertainment as in ‘drawing room’ style conveying that there was nothing too risqué in the material. At first, the advertisements for the shows at the Runnacleave Hotel, Ilfracombe on 25 and 26 August and at the Town Hall, Chard on 30 August described the programme as, ‘... supported by a REFINED Entertainment! Introducing – Mystery, Skit and Sketch, Humorous Recitals, Caricature Sketches, Musical Skits and Ventriloquism’, which suggest that Walter Booth continued working with Slade as the supporting act until the end of August.³⁹⁴ This association had lasted about nine months and doubtless formed the foundation of Booth’s experience in working with animated pictures. With his developing knowledge of projection as well as his undoubted gifts for drawing lightning sketches and ability as a ventriloquist, Booth would have been difficult to replace.³⁹⁵

Between September and December, two different entertainers, Arthur Hare and Walter Banks, appeared on the tour at different times. In early September, Arthur Hare replaced Booth.³⁹⁶ After only two weeks, he was replaced by Walter Banks on 20 September at Dartmouth. In the advertisements for the shows, both were described as ‘the New Corney Grain’ which suggested that their material and style had much in common and meant only a slight modification of the advertising text.³⁹⁷ It is not surprising that both these entertainers

³⁹³ Appendix G i): In the accounts for the first week of exhibition, there is an entry for £6.10s for the entertainer and pianist. A fee of £3 would have been average for an entertainer at this time. The amount suggests that there were two people involved and that a pianist was employed in addition to the entertainer. The expenses include an additional 14s to pay for the hire of the piano.

³⁹⁴ *Chard and Ilminster News* 26 August, 1897.

³⁹⁵ Booth possibly moved to London to work with David Devant who refers to him in *My Magic Life* as one of those employed to present animated pictures on the tours he organised.

³⁹⁶ Hare was also part of the company when it returned to Chard in December.

³⁹⁷ Corney Grain, who died in 1895, had written, performed and published many songs.

chose to associate themselves with Corney Grain, a famous London entertainer and songwriter, which enabled them to draw on a rich source of published songs which had great popular appeal.³⁹⁸

Walter Banks featured in advertisements for Dartmouth, Chesterfield, Knottingly, Bowness, Pontefract, Newark, Kings Lynn and Hunstanton. The reports of his performances reflect his importance in providing variety and contributing to the success of the evening. At Pontefract, he was mentioned in reviews. ‘Mr Banks rendered variety to the entertainment by a number of high class humorous songs’.³⁹⁹ Six weeks later, in Newark, his performance is described as ‘Capital Drawing room entertainment.’⁴⁰⁰

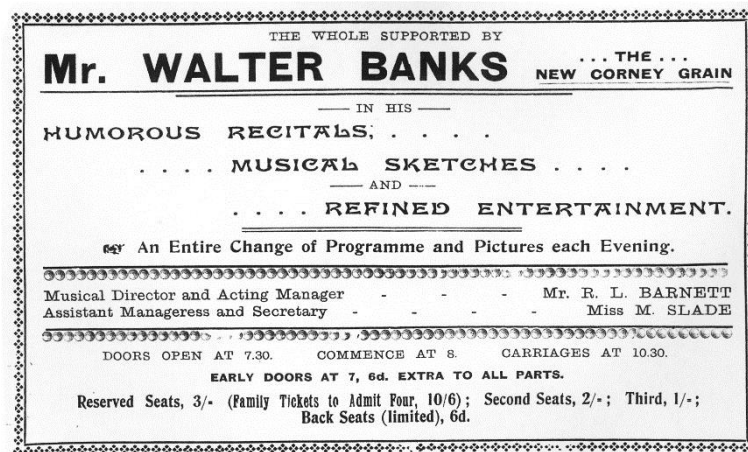


Fig 22 Flyer featuring Walter Banks⁴⁰¹

In November, however, after Banks left, Hare returned as the supporting act for the final five weeks of the first tour.⁴⁰² No reviews of his performances have been found, although his name reappears in advertisements for the Masonic Hall in Lincoln on 9 and 10 November

³⁹⁸ A collection called ‘An Album of Humorous Drawing Room Songs composed and sung by Corney Grain’ was published in 1923, a measure of the lasting popularity of his material.

³⁹⁹ *Pontefract Advertiser*, 9 October and *Pontefract Telegraph*, 30 Oct 1897.

⁴⁰⁰ *Newark Advertiser*, 17 November 1897. Despite these good reviews, Banks seems to have left the tour without warning. An entry in the accounts for week 11 (Appendix Gi), ‘4 posters wasted through Banks leaving, 3s 6d’ suggests that this was unexpected. It is a reminder that managing a tour such as this depended on many factors.

⁴⁰¹ Flyer promoting the range of his material including the reassurance of a ‘refined entertainment’. The inclusion of the name of a musical director also suggested an ambitious programme. The ‘refined entertainment’ was also supported by Miss M. Slade, as assistant manageress, whose presence as a woman would act as further reassurance of the respectability of the entertainment.

⁴⁰² From 8 November to 12 December 1897.

when he took over from Walter Banks.⁴⁰³ The later advertisements describe him as giving ‘humorous recitals –musical sketches and imitations of popular celebrities of the day, including Sir Henry Irving in *The Bells*, Mr. Wilson Barrett in *The Sign of the Cross*, Mr Geo.Grossmith, etc.’⁴⁰⁴ Naming of the subjects of the imitations indicates that the audience was expected to know or know about the theatrical personalities of the day.⁴⁰⁵

As the tours continued, the supporting ‘drawing room entertainment’, however, began to share equal billing in the advertisements. Slade may have observed that the audience were attracted by the live entertainment as much as the films. It was also possible that the longer the tour continued, the more likely it was that audiences had already seen animated pictures of the Diamond Jubilee. Certainly in Scotland there is evidence of other exhibitors showing films of the Diamond Jubilee before Slade’s arrival.

Throughout the second tour, the entertainers Alex Swan and Miss Betty Stanley were established members of the company, with their names appearing in the advertisements from the first venue at Mansfield on December 27 to the last at Amble on March 18:

The whole supported by Mr Alec Swann in his humorous Musical recitals as given by special command before Her Majesty the Queen and other Members of the Royal family on two occasions at Osborne August 3rd 1894 and August 10th 1895 Assisted by Miss Betty Stanley (The American Serio) in her Plantations Songs, Ballads &c. The programme will include a Burlesque ‘A Quick Change Absurdity’⁴⁰⁶

The support programme was therefore strengthened by two performers who worked together as a duo. This must have been a welcome variation on what would have become a familiar programme of Diamond Jubilee films. Swann’s publicised appearances before the Queen added to the interest of the Jubilee films and may have suggested to the audience that it was

⁴⁰³ *Lincoln Chronicle* ‘Mr Arthur Hare, the New Corney Grain, in his Humerous Recitals, Musical Sketches and Refined Entertainment’.

⁴⁰⁴ *Woking Advertiser*, 25 November, advertisement for the Public Hall Woking and *Chard and Ilminster News* 27 November, advertisement for Corn Exchange, Chard, 2 December, 1897.

⁴⁰⁵ In the 1890s, George Grossmith toured widely giving very popular one man shows. ‘*The Sign of the Cross*’ was a highly popular stage play which toured for many years throughout the provinces.

⁴⁰⁶ *Mansfield Chronicle*, 24 December, 1897.

sharing an experience enjoyed by the Queen herself. Stanley's material is likely to have been familiar to the audience. 'An American Serio singer of Plantation songs' was a recognised act within the music hall. The introduction of a 'quick change absurdity' is a reminder of a contemporary entertainment made famous by Leopoldo Fregoli at the Alhambra Theatre, London in 1897.⁴⁰⁷ The popularity of his act meant that he had many imitators, including obviously Alec Swann.

All the reviews for Slade's shows in Scotland express appreciation of the professional quality of these two performers. However, they were from an English tradition of entertainers and as far as is known had no previous experience of performing in Scotland. Scotland at this time had a flourishing number of home-grown entertainers, well known to Scottish audiences. Many aspiring Scottish performers toured extensively as a means of building up their repertoire and experience before entering into the vibrant and competitive music hall scene in the cities. In choosing English performers, however good, Baring may have affected the appeal of the programme on offer from Slade.

In conclusion, from the outset Slade had included contributions from singers and instrumentalists. The major shift to using professional performers came with his inclusion of Walter Booth, well known for his ventriloquism and lightning sketches. Apparently encouraged by Baring, Slade continued to combine the exhibition of films with live entertainers. It is clear from the newspaper accounts of the shows that the audiences were appreciative of the live element and accepted programmes incorporating these two quite distinct sources of entertainment with ease. Indeed, as historians of early cinema have emphasised, live performance in a variety of different formats would remain a feature of many film shows throughout the silent period, and even beyond.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ In the spring of 1897, Fregoli had taken London by storm with his amazing ability to change roles and appearance which delighted and surprised the audience.

⁴⁰⁸ See, for instance, Richard Abel, 'That most American of Attractions, the Illustrated Song', in Richard Abel and Rick Altman, eds., *The Sounds of Early Cinema* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001, pp. 143-155.

Chapter 5 Slade's 'Electro-Photo' Tours of England and Scotland

Introduction

Early in this study, I decided to visit as many towns as possible where Slade put on entertainments. My aim was to gather as much local knowledge as possible of the places he and his company visited. Going from town to town, even by modern means of transport, gave a vivid sense of the distances covered, the contrasting geography of the many regions travelled through and the varied character of the towns. Contemporary local newspapers provided evidence of the extensive coverage Slade secured throughout the tours to promote his shows.⁴⁰⁹ Advertisements for his 'Electro-Photo Marvel' made it possible to identify many of his places of exhibition which are still in existence.⁴¹⁰

Although the expansion of the major cities during the late Victorian era was dramatic, following the progress of Slade's tours has highlighted the development of smaller towns which took place during the same period. By the time of Slade's visit, many had grown due to the industrialisation of the previous half century. Some maintained a long tradition of being market towns, while others had become centres for the new development of tourism. Most had theatres, halls and other venues which provided excellent facilities for touring entertainment companies.

The Slade-Baring tour documentation provides entirely new information about exhibition featuring film of the Diamond Jubilee in towns countrywide. This lends support to John Barnes' claim that 'by the end of 1897 there could not have been many people who had not had the opportunity to see Diamond Jubilee films'.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ The British Library Newspaper collection suffered bomb damage in the Second World War; the year 1897 is often missing. This was a further reason to search in local archives for evidence of Slade's visit.

⁴¹⁰ Most venues were within half a mile of the railway station. As part of the regeneration of many towns looking to preserve their Victorian heritage, some had renovated reception and meeting rooms which were available for entertainments; rooms which may have been used by Slade and his party.

⁴¹¹ John Barnes, *The Rise of Cinema in Great Britain Vol 2, Jubilee Year 1897* Foreword, p 7.

Part 1 The English Tour August – December 1897



Fig 25. Map 2

Introduction

The map (Map 2 Fig 25) converts information from the accounts into a visual record of the odyssey made by Slade and his party.⁴¹² It clarifies the route followed and indicates a concentration on certain regions. Throughout the sixteen weeks, Slade and his company put on entertainments in England from Monday to Saturday, the majority for one day only, visiting a total of seventy four towns.⁴¹³ This extremely demanding schedule would only have been possible with an agent to plan and arrange the bookings.⁴¹⁴

The memorandum of agreement stipulated an eight week tour starting on 23 August, which was extended by a further eight weeks to 12 December, making a total of sixteen weeks of continuous exhibitions.⁴¹⁵ To fulfil the agreement to share the profits and expenses equally, Slade kept a record of the transactions for each week which are the only known financial records relating to itinerant exhibition at this time. These records make possible a unique detailed reconstruction of the tour as it actually happened.⁴¹⁶ Considering the total distance travelled, estimated at approximately 4500 miles, and the towns visited in the South West, the Midlands, Yorkshire, the Lake District, Norfolk and outer London, Slade's tour emerges as an impressive achievement.

Places of Exhibition

Starting on the north coast of Somerset and Devon at the end of summer, when darkness would have been starting earlier, Slade began by exhibiting in the seaside resorts of Burnham-on-sea, Minehead and Ilfracombe, before moving to the inland lace-making towns

⁴¹² Appendix G: Accounts transcribed for Slade-Baring Tours, 1 and 2.

⁴¹³ Appendix F: Dates and places of Exhibition

⁴¹⁴ Appendix I a): Archive no 72; Baring letter to Slade, 17 January 1898 confirms Baring's way of working, booking one or two weeks ahead, enabling Slade to prepare himself for the next sequence of venues.

⁴¹⁵ A commonly held view of touring at this time is that the length of stay in any one venue was dependent on the audience interest. The Slade-Baring tours give an alternative insight into the practice when an agent made the bookings.

⁴¹⁶ Those exhibitors who did write about their early experiences drew on anecdotal descriptions of incidents which occurred on tour but did not provide evidence of their day to day touring programme.

of Chard and Honiton. Reaching the south coast of Dorset, his party then visited Lyme Regis, with its dramatic harbour. Next, going eastwards, they travelled to the busy working ports of Weymouth and Portland, before going along the coast to the Hampshire tourist towns of Lymington and Swanage. They then retraced their journey back to the coastal towns of Lyme Regis and fashionable Sidmouth. Moving inland, they exhibited in the historic town of Sherborne, with its medieval abbey, before revisiting the north Devon towns of Ilfracombe and Minehead. The final week in the south west took them to the south Devon estuary port of Dartmouth, followed by one night at Newton Abbot, an important market town with a famous racecourse, and another night at another important market town, Wiveliscombe in north Devon.

Leaving the West Country, the company then headed north to the Midlands for the next phase of the tour, returning to an area Slade had already visited on his own tour earlier in the year. Returning to Derbyshire and Yorkshire for a three week period, the party presented entertainments in towns of the Peak district and Yorkshire, visiting Matlock, Uttoxeter, Clay Cross, Bakewell, Chesterfield, Thorne, and Wetherby, some famous as manufacturing centres and mining towns, others also noted as picturesque tourist centres.

The company then moved further north to the Lake District for ten days, once again visiting both industrial and scenic tourist towns. Next, Slade and company returned to Yorkshire, stopping at the cathedral city of Ripon before making their way down the east side of the country, putting on entertainments at important coaching towns, such as Newark and Stamford, stopping en route at the mining towns of Ecklington, Worksop and Melton Mowbray.

In the middle of the first week of November, they went south to Norfolk for the first time, putting on exhibitions in Hunstanton, a fashionable coastal resort near Sandringham, the royal residence of the Prince of Wales. Moving on to nearby Kings Lynn, an important

trading port with long-standing connections to Europe, the company put on entertainments for two nights. This phase came to an end with an exhibition in East Dereham, an inland market town.

The company then travelled north again, via Lincoln, to Ripon before arriving at Malton, a small town near Scarborough. Returning south to Norfolk, Slade then exhibited at the small but important market towns of Holbeach and Swaffham, near East Dereham. A two-night stay at Newmarket, famous for its race course and association with the world of horse racing, preceded the visit to Oundle, a small Northampton town, best known for its public school, where Slade followed the practice of Robert Paul at the colleges in Cheltenham, and put on a special exhibition for the pupils. The company then made a one-night trip back north to Fryston, a mining town in Yorkshire, before travelling south again.

Arriving in the Thames valley, the company visited the towns of Hitchin, Sunbury on Thames, Harrow, Woking, Slough and Bracknell, all relatively close to London, but important centres in their own right.

The following week saw a return to the West Country, putting on entertainments in Sherborne, Martock, Bridport and Chard for a second time. Early December involved a visit to a naval training establishment at Portland, the base for two vessels which had featured in the Royal Naval Review in July as part of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations.⁴¹⁷ The final week concentrated on the inland and coastal towns of Hampshire and Dorset; Dorchester, Wareham, Christchurch, Ringwood and Bridport.

The intention was apparently to construct a tour concentrating on prosperous towns where Slade's programme of Diamond Jubilee films and supporting live entertainment would attract a relatively refined audience. Many of the venues were in important manufacturing towns, others in tourist resorts, some combining both features. A sizeable group visited were

⁴¹⁷ Appendix H: Letters from the Reverend Arthur Baker, the naval chaplain, reveal the negotiations over several months which led up to making this arrangement.

towns with racecourses, where there might be those with the money and interest to spend on evening entertainment. No cities were on the itinerary (apart from the nominal cathedral cities), probably in the belief that most had music halls already providing the opportunity for audiences to see Diamond Jubilee films. While the sequence of visits may appear haphazard, locations on the tour were doubtless dictated by the availability of the venues. In contrast to Slade's first six months, almost all bookings were for one night and part of a continuous tour.

Venues

By late summer of 1897, moving pictures were no longer a novelty but were still only seen occasionally as part of programmes from established visiting entertainers such as Cole or Devant. While Slade was unknown as an entertainer, the use of Baring's name in some venues, suggests that he may have previously put on entertainments. The consistent promotion of the Diamond Jubilee films in the same programme as 'drawing-room entertainers' was calculated to reassure the doubtful about the propriety of going to see an entertainment still associated with fairgrounds and music-halls.

Baring's knowledge of available venues enabled Slade to present shows in halls of every description. The tour demonstrates the extensive range of places in the latter part of the 1890s available to touring companies to rent for a day at a time. The majority were in town halls which, during the Victorian period, had been built primarily as local government offices and in a style which reflected the prosperity of the town. Most had well-appointed, comfortable reception rooms equipped for an evening's entertainment. Even at this time, however, not all had the benefit of electric power and many relied on gas for lighting. Prosperous large towns often had a choice of venues, some provided by public subscription or individual benefactor. Some were described as Assembly Rooms or Subscription Rooms. In market towns, Corn Exchanges existed with the dual purpose of acting as auction rooms

during the day and places of entertainment in the evening. Some towns had a Drill Hall or Volunteer hall, built primarily for the use of local volunteer army groups. Usually the halls available could accommodate an audience of about 300.⁴¹⁸

Slade put on shows in types of venue which have not previously featured in the history of early exhibition. In north Devon there was a fashionable hotel in Ilfracombe, which provided for the entertainment of residents and non-residents. Slade's 'Electro-Photo Marvel' visited twice. While no local record has been found of Slade's visit to Matlock, the percentage paid makes it extremely likely that he put on his exhibitions in the Victoria Rooms attached to the fashionable Matlock Hydro Hotel.⁴¹⁹ Following the sequence of his tour, several of the places of exhibition have been chosen to illustrate the variety of the venues and the reception of Diamond Jubilee films.

Case studies of places on the tour

Ilfracombe, Devon: 25, 26 August and 16 September (Week 1 and Week 3)

In the 1890s, Ilfracombe was a popular seaside resort on the Bristol Channel, attracting many visitors, including Birt Acres who spent some time there in 1893 convalescing from an operation.⁴²⁰ Early in the first tour Baring arranged for Slade to put on a show at the Runnacleave Hotel, Ilfracombe, for two nights at the end of August, with a return visit in September for one night.⁴²¹ The Runnacleave Hotel, completed in 1891 with 120 rooms and a concert hall seating 600 added in 1892, was typical of a new kind of 'resort' establishment. In addition to the concert hall, also suitable for theatricals and dances, it offered a photographic darkroom, indoor skating rink and games room. According to the *Ilfracombe Gazette*, 'The

⁴¹⁸ In Scotland, Alloa and Forfar had halls which could accommodate over 1000

⁴¹⁹ The British Library newspaper collection often has no material for 1897 – it is believed that a bomb during World War II brought about this gap in the collection. By visiting local libraries, material has often been found but not in the case of Derbyshire.

⁴²⁰ According to Albany Ward whose family lived in the town, Acres was to be seen up to his waist in the sea taking photographs of the waves. He is thought to have had a photographic business in the town.

⁴²¹ Saturdays were probably reserved for dances for the guests.

hotel boasts its own omnibus to meet every train and its own pleasure yacht for the use of visitors’.

Only two months after the actual event, advertisements in the two Ilfracombe newspapers, the *Gazette and Observer* and the *Chronicle* announced that, ‘Mr Baring has great pleasure in intimating he has arranged for a special and important visit of the world famed Electro-Photo Marvel, Animated Pictures, the finest ever exhibited’, adding that the films were ‘now being shown in London and the leading cities of the world with enormous success, pronounced by the whole London press to be a triumph of Scientific Mechanism’.⁴²² Prices ranged from reserved seats at 3s, second seats at 2s and third seats 1s, to 10s 6d for a family ticket to admit four, and tickets were available from a private library in the town. The performance started at 8pm with carriages at 10.10, indicating the full length of the entertainment.

The more detailed *Gazette and Observer* advertisement included a complete list of all the films Slade had bought from Gaumont in December 1896, with additional titles suggesting that he had bought some Robert Paul films to be shown with his second projector.⁴²³ This advance publicity followed a format used throughout both the tours, including the information that the ‘machine was by Demeny of Paris and the most perfect yet invented. The scenes will be reproduced with all the actual movements of real life, the pictures being 15 to 20 feet.’ As usual, the animated pictures would be ‘supported by a refined drawing room entertainment’.⁴²⁴

The accounts reveal that the hotel took 35% of the receipts, leaving Slade and Baring 32.5%, each to cover expenses before profit, which gave them about £20 for each night.⁴²⁵ A number of programmes were also sold which would presumably have covered their cost of

⁴²² *Ilfracombe Chronicle*, 21 August, p 5, 1897.

⁴²³ *Ilfracombe Gazette and Observer* 21 August 1897; *The Black Diamond Express*, *The Battle of Confetti*, *The S.S. Columbia and Sea Cave and Waves*.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid*

⁴²⁵ Appendix G: Baring–Slade accounts transcribed: week 1.

printing. No reviews have been found, but a return visit two weeks later was announced as ‘owing to the enormous success, all new pictures and latest ones of the Jubilee and Naval review’.⁴²⁶ This suggests that the hotel was a highly successful place of exhibition, justifying the relatively high percentage charged by the hotel.

Albany Ward, then known as Hannam Edward Bonnor, a young man whose mother lived in Ilfracombe, may have been in the audience. He, too, was involved in the production and exhibition of animated pictures at this time.⁴²⁷ In his unpublished memoir, he referred to William Slade as an exhibitor working in the south west at this time, describing him as a ‘boot maker from the Promenade Cheltenham under the direction of Baring Bros’. Albany Ward was somewhat dismissive of Slade’s show, judging it as not a great success because Slade was slow ‘on his projection and particularly change of films’. This is a rare example, however coloured by the passage of time, of one early exhibitor commenting on another.⁴²⁸

Dartmouth, Devon: 20 & 21 September (Week 5)

In the weeks between the exhibitions at Ilfracombe and arriving at Dartmouth, the company travelled extensively throughout Devon and Dorset, mainly putting on shows in coastal towns. For two nights, Slade and company visited Dartmouth, on the south coast of Devon, an important port which later became the home of the Britannia Naval College. Slade directed his programme to meet local interest with slides of shipwrecks and ships of the

⁴²⁶ Thursday 16 September 1897.

⁴²⁷ A year after leaving school in 1895, Albany Ward had been employed in the workshop of Birt Acres in High Barnet, learning all the processes involved in developing films. Although he had great respect for Birt Acres, he did not share his frequently expressed reservations about animated pictures entering the world of entertainment and after the Diamond Jubilee, went to work for the Velograph Company, based in Croydon, acting as a senior projectionist in Music Halls throughout London

⁴²⁸ Albany Ward in his unpublished memoir records that he set himself up as an independent exhibitor in 1898 and described himself as a pioneering exhibitor in the south west of England, claiming to take animated pictures to towns in Devon and Cornwall for the first time. It is possible that learning of Baring’s involvement in organising Slade’s tour, he himself subsequently used Baring to arrange some of his exhibitions.

Royal Navy. The Subscription Rooms, now known as the Guildhall, still stands in the centre of the town.

The advertising in the local newspaper, the *Dartmouth Chronicle*, reveals another interesting novelty from this period: that the visit was sponsored by the newspaper proprietors, Messrs Cranford. In return for taking one third of the receipts, it appears that the *Dartmouth Chronicle* carried a lengthy and unusually detailed report of the show and may have provided other local promotion:

On Monday and Tuesday evenings, Mr W. D. Slade gave exhibitions of the cinematographe to good audiences. The pictures which were projected by a very powerful apparatus comprised scenes from the Jubilee procession, railway, steamboat, bathing, dancing and other scenes, a smoke dance, a Japanese ballet, seascape taken near Dawlish, riding lesson, departure of the French President after the Review on July 4th 1896 and several cavalry scenes. A large number of superb dissolving views, illustrating the Rontgen (sic) rays, animal life, Devonshire scenery, Nansen's voyage to the Arctic Regions, flowers and fruit, London by night, shipwrecks, ships of H.M. Navy and effective snow scenes were also shown.⁴²⁹

The films of the Diamond Jubilee, although mentioned first, are only part of the programme, and lantern slides were clearly used to give variety to the presentation. Röntgen X-ray photographs were an up-to-the minute sensation; and images of nearby Dawlish and Devonshire scenery gave the show a local connection. Slade's partnership with Baring probably gave him access to slides of Nansen's arctic exploration which were also the subject of great contemporary interest in Britain. Walter Banks contributed his 'choice musical sketches', including reminiscences of the late 'Corney Grain' and 'My awful experiences with a Whistler', while a reference to Slade giving 'a presentation about the working of the

⁴²⁹ *Dartmouth Chronicle*, 22 September, 1897.

“Cinematographe” in the interval’ may point to another occasional feature of his shows.

Matlock Derbyshire: 27- 29 September (Week 6)

After five weeks in the south west, the company moved north to Derbyshire. From a modest upstairs room in Uttoxeter Town Hall, they travelled to the long established spa town of Matlock and its fashionable hydro hotel. Slade had first come to Matlock for one night in February, 1897, and this return visit suggests that the hotel facilities and the presence of residents and tourists staying in other nearby hotels made it an attractive place to present an entertainment. For Slade to return to Matlock had the additional benefit of presenting a show in a venue he was already familiar with and where a good audience was guaranteed.⁴³⁰

Originally built in the middle of the 19th century by John Smedley a successful local industrialist, the Matlock Hydro Hotel was a vast, grand spa hotel built to cater for the influx of well-off tourists who were attracted by the development of the various new railway lines to travel to the beautiful Peak district in Derbyshire.⁴³¹ By the 1890s, the Hydro had developed into a highly successful and fashionable hotel with an established reputation for good food as well as treatments. Within the grounds, the Victoria Hall existed to provide entertainments for guests as well as local people. While no contemporary records of the visit have been found, the accounts reveal that a percentage of 40% was paid to the venue which almost conclusively proves that this was where Slade put on his Electro-Photo Marvel Entertainments.⁴³² While exhibiting within an environment which guaranteed an audience, the percentage taken by the hotel was high. The arrangement affected Slade and Baring’s income significantly resulting in the return of approximately £5 each per show for Slade and Baring.

⁴³⁰ Slade and his company put on shows for the three nights, 27, 28, and 29 September.

⁴³¹ Now the County Hall for Derbyshire and the location of the Local Studies Library.

⁴³² Appendix G: Accounts for Week 6

In the subsequent weeks, the tour visited a succession of places in Derbyshire, Yorkshire and the Lake District before travelling south again to Norfolk.

Hunstanton Norfolk: 4 November (Week 11)

The company was able to travel by train to Hunstanton, a fashionable tourist resort which owed much of its success to being in close proximity to Sandringham, the country residence of the Prince of Wales.⁴³³ In planning the tour, Baring may have considered that this guaranteed a good audience with a particular interest in seeing Diamond Jubilee film as well as film of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Cheltenham. The venue was a large well-appointed reception room, adjoining the main Town Hall which is in a prominent position in the centre of the town overlooking the sea.⁴³⁴

Although perhaps surprisingly there is no reference to the royal films, the review in the local paper describes the programme as being well received, and confirms that Slade regularly gave talks about his equipment in the interval – which may have led to the supposition that he had invented it:

An Entertainment in the Town Hall was attended by a numerous and appreciative audience. The principal item consisted of Slade's animated pictures and dissolving views, the former being projected by an instrument invented and manipulated by Mr W. D. Slade who, during an interval gave an interesting description of his method and the films used. Both the living photographs and set views were excellent. Mr Walter Banks performed a series of musical sketches and very amusingly introduced and described the various scenes displayed.⁴³⁵

This report also usefully indicates that Banks may have regularly acted as 'lecturer' for the film programme.

⁴³³ In November, it was possible that the Prince was in residence because he was a keen sportsman who enjoyed the excellent shooting which the estate offered.

⁴³⁴ The venue still exists and has been refurbished in keeping with its Victorian past.

⁴³⁵ *Hunstanton News*, 4 November. *Lynn Advertiser*, 12 November, 1897.

Oundle, Northamptonshire: 20 November (Week 13)

The ten days prior to their arrival at Oundle had involved considerable travelling, to Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and finally Northamptonshire. Here, Slade combined a visit to Oundle Public School with an exhibition in the town.⁴³⁶ From the accounts, we learn that there was a performance for the pupils during the afternoon and one in the town in the evening of 20 November. The fee received for the school exhibition was 10 guineas which combined with £ 12.11.2d for the evening performance was significantly higher than most days - having only expended 11/3d on advertising in newspapers - making it a profitable arrangement. The fact that W. G. Grace Jnr had recently been appointed a master at Oundle by the reforming headmaster Frederick Sanderson suggests that he may have been influential in making the arrangements.⁴³⁷ As the son of W. G. Grace, he would have known about the part played by film shows in fund raising for the new Cheltenham Cricket Club. His father had played at the opening match on the day after the Diamond Jubilee celebrations.⁴³⁸ After Paul's widely publicised exhibitions of films for the boys of Cheltenham College and the girls of Cheltenham Ladies College, it seems likely that Grace acted as a go-between for Baring and Slade to do likewise at Oundle. Having a demonstration of a projector designed by the famous French inventor, Georges Demeny in the Great Hall showing Diamond Jubilee films and film of the Naval Review would have appealed to the headmaster's stated desire to give his pupils first-hand experience of observing how contemporary 'scientific' machines worked. It provides a possible illustration of how the tour took account of local interests and opportunities wherever possible.

⁴³⁶This is the only record of Slade putting on an exhibition at a school.

⁴³⁷ When Frederick Sanderson came to the school in 1892, numbers were falling. He set about transforming the curriculum to include sciences and engineering, and appointed staff who shared his ideals. By 1897, the school had increased to have about 900 pupils. Sanderson is regarded as an important pioneer of educational methods, seeking to interest his pupils in discovering how things work. H.G.Wells, a personal friend, later wrote his biography.

⁴³⁸ W.G. Grace, Jnr was also an outstanding cricketer who played for Gloucestershire 1895-1897.

After leaving Oundle, the tour put on one more exhibition at Fryston, a mining town in Yorkshire, before returning south to put on shows in the Thames valley on the way to Dorset, travelling by way of Sherborne, Martock, Bridport and Chard to Portland for 3 and 4 December.

Royal Naval Training Ships, H.M.S. Minotaur and H.M.S. Boscawen, off Portland: 3 & 4 December (Week 15)

After leaving Oundle, the tour put on one more exhibition at Fryston, a mining town in Yorkshire, before returning south to put on shows in the Thames valley on the way to Dorset, travelling by way of Sherborne, Martock, Bridport and Chard to Portland for 3 and 4 December.

Here Slade was to present shows to the cadets of a naval training establishment, probably following the publicity surrounding his visit to Portland and nearby Weymouth in September. The advertisements and flyers referred to films of the Diamond Jubilee Procession and the Naval Review, with a special exhibition planned for the boys on the training ships, *H.M. S. Minotaur* and *H.M.S. Boscawen*, anchored off Portland, near Weymouth.⁴³⁹ Each had 300 cadets commanded by Captain Burney; and the Jubilee films would have been of particular interest to this audience, since the ‘blue jackets’ had been prominent in Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee procession in June, and *H.M.S. Minotaur* had been part of the large fleet which the Prince of Wales reviewed at Spithead on 26 June 1897, as part of the Jubilee celebrations.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁹ These were the ships which formed one of the naval training establishments for cadets at this time. The recognition that training needs could best be served by a shore establishment led to the Dartmouth Royal Naval College being founded in 1903.

⁴⁴⁰ There is excellent footage on the BFI website of film of the Diamond Jubilee Procession taken by Robert Paul of three companies of young seamen at the head of the procession hauling gun carriages.



Fig 26 *H.M.S. Minotaur* in the Royal Naval Review, July 1897 ⁴⁴¹

It appears that Captain Burney left the practicalities of arrangements to Rev Arthur Baker, the naval chaplain.⁴⁴² The courteous letters between Baker and Slade convey some awkwardness in his situation.⁴⁴³ Captain Burney was not able to offer a commercial arrangement, but could meet out of pocket expenses, set at £10 for two nights. These letters, over a three month period, afford a unique insight into the complexity of such negotiations, and resulted in the shows taking place on board ship on successive days. Slade visited the *H.M.S. Minotaur* and the *H.M.S. Boscowen* on 3 and 4 December, sandwiched between a visit to Chard and Dorchester.

While there was no profit in the arrangement, there may well have been publicity value and some attraction in showing films to an audience who had been part of the events shown on screen. Nevertheless, projecting films on warships, anchored at sea in December, must have presented some operational challenges; Tenders were an unusual form of transport for the company and the services of the baggage man were probably undertaken by a naval

⁴⁴¹ Photograph in the National Archives Kew

⁴⁴² Captain Cecil Burney became commanding officer for the training establishment, *H.M.S. Boscowen* and *H.M.S. Minotaur*, in 1896 and continued in that role till 1899. He went on to have a distinguished career, retiring as Admiral of the Fleet in 1922.

⁴⁴³ Appendix H: Transcripts of letters from Rev Arthur Baker to Slade from September to October 1897. One wonders whether Slade and Baker had known each other in Cheltenham but no connection has been discovered.

crew.⁴⁴⁴ On this occasion, Slade seems to have taken on Baring's role in setting up the venue. The correspondence provides impressive evidence of the length to which he was prepared to go in presenting films of the Diamond Jubilee to a specialised audience. Slade may have the unique distinction of having provided shows of the Diamond Jubilee films for the Royal Navy on these two training ships.

Review of Tour 1

Compared with the entertainments organised by Slade on his own account, this tour provides evidence of the transformation brought about by the partnership with Baring. The frequency of exhibitions could hardly have been greater, with a show every night except Sunday. While Slade had demonstrated his ability to book venues and successfully manage the presentation of a programme including the talented William Booth, there was no way he could have maintained the momentum over sixteen weeks.

Central to the programmes presented by Slade were the Diamond Jubilee films. Although it was to be anticipated that interest might decline over time, Slade and Baring could hope to be the sole exhibitors of these films in a local venue in the many towns visited. The additional element, the drawing-room entertainment, was consciously chosen to complement the films and slides and designed to attract an audience.

After Booth left the company in September, two different artists, Arthur Hare and Walter Banks, contributed to the programmes. The continuity was in the content of their material; both were described as the 'New Corney Grain'. This was another instance of the benefit of having an agent. Baring was able to ensure that a replacement would be available at short notice if a performer decided to leave the show for whatever reason.

⁴⁴⁴ Appendix H: In the rough calculations of the costs on the reverse of the final letter, Slade included a payment to Miss Slade which confirmed that she was member of the party.

While it is not surprising that many of the places Slade visited were tourist centres and market towns, these venues are interspersed with visits to mining communities in Derbyshire, Cumbria and Yorkshire. Albany Ward, when first touring in 1897, travelled extensively in the Rhondda valley, Wales. Pioneer exhibitors understood that audiences from these communities, which were often situated around a particular pit, were also attracted to shows of animated pictures presented in a darkened space.

Although the original agreement was for an eight-week tour, at some point Baring and Slade must have felt that the reception of the programmes justified continuing for an additional eight weeks. Apart from the south east, Slade and his company travelled countrywide, putting on entertainments night after night till 16 December. Newspaper reviews suggest that audiences had enjoyed the shows, and apart from one week in the Thames valley, they had made a profit.⁴⁴⁵

The evidence of such a tour visiting towns throughout England at this stage in the exhibition of animated pictures is of immense importance. The contract between the impresario, Baring and the exhibitor, Slade resulted in Jubilee films being shown in a much greater range of situations than one could have imagined. Baring, based in a provincial town, was able to construct a tour covering large areas of the country, ensuring that all the supporting advertisements were placed in the relevant local newspapers and bills distributed. His ability to mobilise all the local support networks and manage the complex organisation required throughout the country is impressive.

While most of the venues were town halls, the diversity of other venues such as the Runnacleave Hotel and possibly the Matlock Spa Hotel, exemplify the other exhibition spaces which could be exploited for the exhibition of moving pictures. The show put on for the pupils of Oundle School suggests that Slade and Baring were prepared to capitalise on

⁴⁴⁵ Appendix G iii): Tour 1 venues and returns.

their social and business networks to create new opportunities to present films. The correspondence between Rev Arthur Baker and Slade provides a glimpse into the careful negotiations behind Slade putting on a show for the naval ratings.⁴⁴⁶ This was part of establishing an audience for film in the armed services which has been sustained ever since. The need for entertainment for large groups living and working in the one place was recognised by both Baring and Slade.⁴⁴⁷

The final show took place at Bridport on 12 December after which Slade and Baring could reflect on the success of their joint enterprise.

Part 2 Taking the Tour to Scotland, December 1897 – March 1898

Introduction

During the two-week interval from early December to Boxing Day 1897, Baring, Slade and his daughter must have agreed that it was worth continuing their partnership. After the extensive tour of England, they decided to head north to Scotland, possibly believing that, even six months after the event, small Scottish towns away from the major cities had not yet had the opportunity to see films of the London Diamond Jubilee Procession. Baring would have seen this as a further opportunity to expand his network of venues,⁴⁴⁸ while Slade's motivation may have been a combination of getting full value out of his investment in equipment and films as well as being attracted to visiting a completely new part of the

⁴⁴⁶ Appendix H

⁴⁴⁷ Apart from the visits to Oundle School and *H.M.S. Minotaur*, there is no evidence that Slade and Baring were active in putting on private shows. From the records available, it seems Slade only put on one show for a 'Mrs Templar' on the final Sunday of his first tour and charged a nominal amount for this event. No actual venue was named but the Templars were a well-established family in Dorset, with a large country house near Lyme Regis. In the accounts for the final week of the first tour, there is also a reference to a special showing for an unidentified Choir School.

⁴⁴⁸ Baring's business notepaper claimed that he arranged tours of England, Scotland and Ireland, with personalised newspaper advertisements headed 'Mr Baring has great pleasure...' suggesting he was a well-known known impresario. One advertisement has been found for his presentation at the Anstruther Town Hall of *The Geisha*, a very successful musical play which toured extensively after its London run at the Adelphi Theatre. Anstruther, a thriving fishing village on the Fife coast, was also visited by Slade on 4 March, 1898.

country. In January, the printing of 3000 programmes indicates that the scope of the tour had been agreed, and that Slade and Baring were optimistic about it attracting audiences.⁴⁴⁹

However, at this period Scotland had a very specific cultural environment which they may not have fully appreciated.

A Contemporary Touring Entertainer: Harry Lauder

While the Scottish cities had theatres, concert and music halls, there was also a strong tradition of touring entertainment which provided for communities outside the cities. In the 1890s, numerous concert parties toured throughout Scotland with programmes largely composed of Scottish songs, recitations, Highland dances and ballads, and comic turns based on the Scottish character. Photographs of performers of the period show both men and women dressed in elaborate tartan outfits, and often wearing a 'Tam o' Shanter' beret, decorated with feathers. Crossdressing was a popular feature of many acts.⁴⁵⁰

In 1895, Harry Lauder, who went on to have an outstanding international career as an entertainer, entered this scene at the age of 25, having given up his job as a miner in Lanarkshire. In 1905, he wrote an entertaining description of his early experiences, touring in small venues throughout Scotland.⁴⁵¹ This unique account conveys the unpredictable nature of being on tour, and is particularly relevant because he travelled around the same areas and venues as Slade. For his first engagement as a comic on a fourteen-week tour, he was paid thirty-five shillings a week, a fortune compared to the fifteen shillings he had been paid as a miner.

⁴⁴⁹ Accounts nos 17, 18, 19 and 20 show that the cost was spread over a four-week period.

⁴⁵⁰ Most concert parties concentrated on local circuits within Scotland. However, the most successful performers, such as William Frame and later Harry Lauder, travelled to London to appear in the music halls. Both also went on to tour successfully in the United States.

⁴⁵¹ *Harry Lauder at Home and on tour by Ma'sel*, 1905.

So off I set on the appointed day, light of heart and feeling that I was on the high road to fame and fortune – another Dick Whittington. My duties on this tour which started at Beith in Ayrshire – the home of the Scottish cabinet making industry - were of a very numerous character.⁴⁵² I was baggage man, bill inspector, stage carpenter, check taker and lion comic all in one [.....] Immediately on arriving in any town where we were billed for an entertainment my first duty was to see the baggage safely into the hall. Then I set out with a huge pile of leaflets drawing attention to the ‘unprecedented attractions’ of the evening’s concert, and these I had to distribute from house to house, at the various shops in the main thoroughfares, or at the gates of public works, etc. The afternoon was devoted to the ‘fit-up’ at the hall and after tea I had to hasten back and ‘check’ the sixpenny part of the house.⁴⁵³

After this initiation, Lauder joined Mr Donald Munro’s North Concert party in 1896 and toured ‘all over the north and midlands of Scotland’. This encouraged him to set up a concert party with another performer, but on their first tour they lost £150. Undaunted, they went out again the following autumn, avoiding towns where they had done ‘bad business’. On this occasion he and his partner each banked £100 at the end of the tour, although it was not all plain sailing:

Here and there of course we lost money [...] Just imagine a full concert party, lavishly billed for a week previously going through its programme before an audience of eleven – all in the sixpenny seats, six of them youngsters at half-price to say nothing of the bill poster and his wife who got in ‘on the nod’ Yet this is what actually happened to us on the third or fourth evening of the tour.⁴⁵⁴

Even for a Scotsman with some experience on home ground, this first-hand account vividly illustrates the unpredictability of touring to venues outside the cities.

⁴⁵² Slade and his party visited Beith in Ayrshire on 5 January 1898.

⁴⁵³ *Harry Lauder at Home and on tour by Ma’sel*, p 46.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p 55.

Moving pictures in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen in 1896

The industrialisation of Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century had greatly expanded its major cities, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, as well as many smaller towns. In the mid-1890s, Edinburgh and Glasgow had established theatres and music halls, as well as a long tradition of annual fairground visits and permanent circus sites. As in England, the major cities were first to see exhibitions of moving pictures: Glasgow and Edinburgh in the spring of 1896, and Aberdeen in the autumn.

In Edinburgh, there was an exhibition of the Kinetoscope on 13 April 1896 at the Empire Palace in Nicolson Street, part of the Moss music hall circuit.⁴⁵⁵ On 1 June, Felicien Trewey personally presented a programme of Lumière films, which were received with great enthusiasm and remained on the programme for two weeks.

In Glasgow, the enterprising Arthur Hubner, a local theatrical impresario, originally from South Africa, recognised the value of a new attraction for his recently opened theatre in Sauchiehall Street. On May 16 1896, he put on his first show of moving pictures at the Skating Rink and continued to include them in the programme over the summer of 1896.⁴⁵⁶ By the late summer and early autumn, several others in the entertainment business had started to show moving pictures.⁴⁵⁷

For the remainder of 1896, films continued to be shown in Glasgow and Edinburgh as part of music hall programmes. During the same period, they became a regular item at photographic society meetings and featured in concert programmes. They were also introduced as part of the entertainments on offer at the traditional Christmas carnivals, which

⁴⁵⁵ *The Scotsman*, 14 April, 1896. The projectionist apparently apologised for the poor quality of the projection.

⁴⁵⁶ Given the description of the films, it seems likely that they were shown on a Paul Theatrograph, but this was not specified in the promotion. However, Paul is known to have visited Glasgow in the summer of 1896. He or his cinematographers took films of *Buchanan Street* and *Sauchiehall Street*, important shopping and business streets in the city centre, as well as a film which enjoyed great popularity over many years, *The Gordon Highlanders leaving Maryhill Barracks*. He also filmed *Steamer arriving at Rothesay* and *An Edinburgh Street*.

⁴⁵⁷ In August, 1896, as part of a celebration of the refurbishment of the Britannia Music Hall undertaken by its owner, Mr Kean, special showings of the Cinématographe were arranged. The same account credits George Green, an established fairground proprietor, with going to London in the autumn of 1896 and returning with a Paul projector and films, putting on twenty minute shows at the Christmas carnival

now provided booths for showing moving pictures.⁴⁵⁸ Within nine months of the first screenings in London, it was possible to see films by both Paul and the Lumières in a wide range of venues.

Aberdeen, ‘the granite city’, had to wait longer for its introduction to moving pictures, which came about when David Devant gave a private exhibition in the nearby Glenmuick House on 26 September.⁴⁵⁹ After this engagement, no doubt to capitalise on the expense of taking all the equipment, films and presenter from London to Aberdeen, Devant arranged for the first commercial exhibitions of animated photographs on 28, 29, 30 September 1896 at the Aberdeen Music Hall.. He continued to employ Douglas Beaufort, an internationally known magician and entertainer, to present the films.⁴⁶⁰ The Devant show then went on a short tour of towns near Aberdeen, which is the first record of an itinerant exhibitor in Scotland.⁴⁶¹ The show then returned to Aberdeen to present a performance at the Albert Hall, on 8 October.

Shortly after Devant’s shows, exhibitors from Aberdeen, experienced in presenting magic lantern shows, introduced animated pictures as part of their programmes. Local businessman and lanternist William Walker put on his first press show on 18 October in Aberdeen, at the Music Saloon of Messrs. Marr Wood, showing films on the Wrench projector which he had acquired on a trip to London earlier in the year.⁴⁶² He then followed

⁴⁵⁸ A Scottish Film council booklet *Fifty years at the Pictures* (1946), by Charles Oakley, suggested that the Carnival ground near the Gallowgate, Glasgow was where showmen first presented animated pictures.

⁴⁵⁹ From the first exhibitions in London, Devant had quickly recognised the potential of animated pictures and equipped himself with Paul’s Animatographe. According to his autobiography, *My Magic Life*, he established several touring companies. Throughout the summer of 1896, Devant had advertised in the *The Era* his availability to put on shows in private houses. This led to a commission from Lord Glenesk to provide the after-dinner entertainment for his distinguished guests on 26 September at Glenmuick House, the country house he rented in Aberdeenshire. On this occasion, Devant employed Douglas Beaufort, a seasoned entertainer to work with a local man in presenting the programmes. Beaufort, made frequent appearances at the Egyptian Hall at this time. On this occasion, Leslie Smith, a member of staff of Messrs Wood and Co, booksellers in Aberdeen who also ran a magic lantern business, worked with him.

⁴⁶⁰ *The Era*, 3 October, 1897: Devant recorded the sequence of events in his continuing promotion of animated pictures. Ever the showman, he reprinted the apology from the Duchess of York, expressing regret at being unable to attend her host's animated photographs exhibition, on account of a dinner engagement at Balmoral.

⁴⁶¹ Visiting Brechin on 2 October, Montrose, on the coast, on 3 October, up to Inverness on the 6th, across to Macduff and Elgin for the following two days and back to Aberdeen.

⁴⁶² Walker had an extensive business, supplying educational books, stationery, typewriters, cameras, optical magic lanterns and slides, as well as an established reputation for presenting magic lantern shows in Aberdeen and throughout the north east. The date of his first commercial show in Aberdeen is not known.

Devant by organising another tour around towns and villages in the north east.⁴⁶³ Walker was clearly anxious to protect his particular programme, because he went to the considerable trouble and some expense of registering his copyright at the Stationers Hall, London, for the show of ‘Cinematograph Exhibitions, Floral Tableaux Vivants Representations and Electro-Drama Sketches’, put on as a private entertainment at Gordon Castle, Fochabers on 21 October 1896.⁴⁶⁴

Another Aberdeen lanternist, Robert Calder, also well-known as a baritone performing popular Scottish songs, quickly followed Walker by including moving pictures in his programmes. After a report in the local Aberdeen paper, *Bon Accord*, described his first commercial show as ‘an unqualified success’, Calder extended his business, advertising himself as a travelling exhibitor able to include ‘cinematographic moving pictures, moving photographs and floral tableaux’.⁴⁶⁵ Within a matter of weeks, Calder and Walker were in direct competition, to devise distinctive programmes. Walker developed a reputation for providing a cultural programme, which concentrated on recitations and local well-known Scottish singers, while Calder specialised in providing a popular entertainment with himself as a soloist, as well as including a range of well-known variety acts. The extensive tours organised by both these men gave audiences in the many small villages and towns in the north-east frequent opportunities to see films as part of an evening's entertainment.⁴⁶⁶ Following the example set by Lumière operatives, both Walker and Calder took films in the places they were visiting and projected them as part of the show. This formed a central part of

⁴⁶³ Walker recognised the appeal of local subjects and quickly became known for filming topicals and making advertising films

⁴⁶⁴ National Archives, Kew, Copy1/1107.

⁴⁶⁵ *Evening Express*, 16 December, 1896.

⁴⁶⁶ Little has been written about the incursion of animated pictures into the world of touring entertainment in towns in Scotland. Trevor Griffiths in his book, *Cinema and Cinemagoing in Scotland 1896-1950*, gives an account which concentrates on the cities.

their programme throughout their careers, and apparently proved highly effective in attracting audiences.⁴⁶⁷

Walker however had one important advantage over Calder – he enjoyed royal patronage, due to earlier lantern exhibitions. In May 1897, he was given permission to film Queen Victoria arriving at Ballater station en route to Balmoral. Subsequently, *The Era* reported that he had presented a film show at Balmoral on 25 October, which included the film he had taken at Ballater station and the Highland Games in August which the Queen traditionally attended. This programme also included ‘films of the Diamond Jubilee procession as well as others of more light hearted subjects’.⁴⁶⁸ This confirms that Walker had purchased Diamond Jubilee films, and having shown them to the Queen at Balmoral enjoyed the advantage of being able to advertise them ‘as shown to Queen Victoria at Balmoral’.⁴⁶⁹

By the time Slade arrived in Scotland in January 1898, there were distinct practices centring on the three major cities. Aberdeen was the centre for itinerant exhibitors, who primarily toured around the north-east, but also occasionally ventured further south. In Glasgow and Edinburgh, music halls and carnivals continued to include films as part of their diverse programmes. Other exhibitions in and around both cities were mostly arranged by companies such as Lizars, Trotters, and Buncle, who were established providers of spectacles and optical devices. Lizars, with shops in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, was in the forefront of these. They not only sold projectors and films, but also offered a service to groups and members of the community to put on a one-off cinematographe show for events such as children’s entertainment or fund-raising bazaars.⁴⁷⁰ Many advertisements for events

⁴⁶⁷ Is it you? Recognition Representation and Response in Relation to the Local Film by Vanessa Toulmin and Martin Loiperdinger, *Film History* Vol 17, pp 7 – 18, 2005.

⁴⁶⁸ *The Era*, 30 October 1897: His show was well received and in subsequent years he was regularly invited to Balmoral to present film shows. *The Era*, 11 December 1897, reported Walker was using a Wrench Cinematograph and films supplied by Maguire and Baucus.

⁴⁶⁹ To date no evidence for this has been found but it seems extremely likely that this was an opportunity which Walker could not fail to use in promoting his shows.

⁴⁷⁰ Trotters, opticians in Glasgow and Buncle, opticians in Edinburgh, also offered this service. No evidence of tours of animated pictures covering the Borders or the west coast has been found.

which included 'the cinematographe', indicate that film shows had quickly become commonplace in fundraising activities.

Exhibition of Diamond Jubilee Films in Scotland

Queen Victoria's fondness for Scotland and her annual visit in August to Balmoral, her Scottish residence in Aberdeenshire, meant that she was generally held in high regard; and during the early part of 1897, local newspapers in Scotland, as in England, reported the discussions of town councils about how best to mark the Diamond Jubilee.⁴⁷¹ Her personal interest in being filmed was also known.⁴⁷²

As far as can be established, Diamond Jubilee films were first seen as part of the music hall programme on a Paul's Animatograph at the Empire Palace Theatre, Edinburgh on 27 July.⁴⁷³ It is not known how long they remained on the programme and reports of audience reaction to seeing these films have still to be found. In the succeeding months, however, there are other reports of Diamond Jubilee films being shown in the cities and being well received. By January 1898, it seems likely that most music halls and many photographic societies in the cities would have included these films in their programmes. Outside the cities, however, it is more difficult to assess whether smaller communities had yet seen the Diamond Jubilee. The major problem was that Slade's party came from south of the border with no previous reputation or experience as a presenter in Scotland.⁴⁷⁴ What he was

⁴⁷¹ Every August, accompanied by members of her family, she made a point of attending the Braemar Highland Games, an important event in the Scottish calendar.

⁴⁷² On 5 October 1896 W. & D. Downey, royal photographers from London, went to Balmoral to film Queen Victoria and members of her house party. The films were shown at Windsor Castle later the same year and the Queen's reaction was recorded in her diary. See Ian Christie, 'A Very Wonderful Process': Queen Victoria, photography and film at the fin de siècle', in Mandy Merck, ed., *The British Monarchy on Screen* (Manchester University Press, 2016).

⁴⁷³ Two weeks later than Paul's shows in Cheltenham.

⁴⁷⁴ Later in his professional life Harry Lauder became very involved in making films but although Lauder was touring in the

offering was the opportunity for small towns finally to see films of the Diamond Jubilee, if there was still audience interest.

same area in Montrose around the same time as Slade, he makes no mention of the presence of 'animated photographs' in concert party programmes.

Part 3 The Scottish tour: December 1897 – March 1898



Fig 27 Map 3

Introduction

On 27 December, 1897 Slade's company journeyed north, paying a return visit to Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, en route to Scarborough, the Yorkshire seaside resort for two nights, before one night in the historic market town of Thirsk. They continued north, visiting Alston in Cumbria before arriving at their first Scottish venue, Moffat on New Year's Day, universally celebrated as a public holiday in Scotland. Moffat, a picturesque spa and market town, nestling amid hilly border country, was an important centre for a large area. After presenting an entertainment for one night only and continuing to be known as *Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel*, Slade's outfit went on to travel around the west of Scotland. It was a challenging time of year to be undertaking such a tour so far from their home base even if the distances between venues from then on were quite short. However, whatever the conditions, the accounts give proof of the fact that an entertainment was put on in each of the towns listed.

All the places visited were lively centres for large areas, with good rail connections to neighbouring towns.⁴⁷⁵ The practice of visiting towns for one or two nights was largely maintained with advance publicity appearing in local newspapers. Although the company went within easy reach of the major Scottish cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, the practice of exhibiting in towns with thriving, commercial interests continued. Map 3 clearly indicates the concentration of his shows in the more populous areas of central Scotland.

An overview of the tour demonstrates that his entertainments during the first two weeks focussed on seaside resorts and ports on the Clyde, followed by industrial towns in Lanarkshire before travelling south to the mill towns of the Borders. The company then moved to the flourishing communities of the central belt, travelling around places near Edinburgh, taking in mining towns and ports on the river Forth before travelling round the coast of Fife. Going in a northerly direction, Slade visited prosperous mining areas, before

⁴⁷⁵ Appendix G: Chronology of second tour, including summaries of weekly takings.

returning to the coast arriving at the furthest north venue of the tour, the Guildhall, in the port of Montrose, a prosperous town heavily engaged in the production of jute and its exportation. The company then went south again, travelling down the east coast and into England finishing on 18 March at the small coastal town of Amble in Northumberland, having completed twelve weeks of touring and visited a total of fifty-six towns, nine in England.⁴⁷⁶

Diamond Jubilee films and drawing room entertainers

Slade's promotional advertising continued to use the same wording as the English tour, stressing the high quality and range of films, the Diamond Jubilee programmes and other films supported by 'a drawing room entertainment'.⁴⁷⁷ An innovation for this tour was Baring's engagement of seasoned performers, the double act of Alec Swann, a comedian, musician and quick change artist, and Betty Stanley, a comic serio singer who specialising in plantation songs, a popular act of the time. Joining the company at Mansfield, both entertainers remained with the Scottish tour until its end in March.⁴⁷⁸ While their performances received good reviews, this duo was unknown in Scotland. They were entering a performance space with audiences who were more familiar with entertainers speaking in broad Scots, able to draw on a rich repertoire of Scottish songs and recitations. To boost his appeal, as the tour progressed advertisements drew attention to Alec Swann's appearances on two occasions before Queen Victoria.⁴⁷⁹

Venues

⁴⁷⁶ Appendix F Scottish Tour 2

⁴⁷⁷ Advertisements have been found for *Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel* in all the areas visited by Slade in Scotland.

⁴⁷⁸ Had Baring had taken cultural differences into account in selecting the entertainers? An alternative option could have been to include some performers whose material would have been drawn from the strongly established Scottish traditions of touring entertainment of the time. The programmes continued to include films purchased from Gaumont in December 1896.

⁴⁷⁹ Alec Swann had appeared before Queen Victoria at Osborne House, on 3 August 1894 and 10 August 1895.

As in England, Scotland had a wide range of halls in medium size towns available for daily rental. Despite the fact that they were some considerable distance from Cheltenham, Baring's knowledge of venues available enabled Slade to present shows in halls of every description over a wide area. Examples from the west coast of Scotland, in the Borders and on the east coast have been chosen to illustrate the differing character of the towns and venues visited where there is recorded evidence in local newspapers of audience response.

Troon 8 January 1898 (Week 18)

Troon was an attractive port on the Clyde, a centre for shipbuilding as well as a tourist resort with sandy beaches and excellent golf courses. The Unionist Hall was on the first floor of a building in the centre of the town and probably seated about 100. Slade's advertisements for his first week in Scotland set the tone for all the subsequent exhibitions.⁴⁸⁰ The content concentrated on the novelty of the visit and the international status of the films being shown.

Mr Baring has great pleasure in intimating that he has arranged for a Special and Important visit of Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel, Animated Pictures. The finest ever exhibited and now being shown in London and the leading cities of the world with enormous success, pronounced by the whole London press to be a triumph of scientific mechanism. The whole supported by Mr Alec Swann in his Humorous and Musical Recitals; assisted by Miss Betty Stanley in her Plantation Songs, Ballads etc. The Programme will include a Burlesque 'A Quick Change Absurdity' Doors open at 7.30 Commence at 8 carriages at 10.10 Tickets 2s.6d, 2s, 1s and 6d.

The review a week later could hardly have been better, expressing strong appreciation of the films and performers:

Animatographic Entertainment - In the Unionist Hall on Saturday night there was an exhibition of Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel 'Animated Pictures' embracing a

⁴⁸⁰ *Troon Herald and Ayrshire Advertiser*, 7 January, 1898.

grand diorama of the Diamond Jubilee Procession, London by night, gallant Gordon Highlanders on the march, etc. There was also humorous and musical recital and burlesque by Mr Alec Swan and Miss Betty Stanley. The entertainment was an unqualified success and the pictures were thoroughly enjoyed and caused no end of interest and amusement. The Japanese ballet and the riding lesson evoked hearty applause, as did the majority of scenes thrown on the screen. The company were awarded a full house.⁴⁸¹

However, despite the good review, box office takings were not commensurate and Baring's letter to Slade expressed his disappointment.⁴⁸²

Ayr 10, 11, 12 January 1898 (Week 19)

The following week the company moved five miles south to Ayr, for three nights. Ayr was a tourist resort with a popular racecourse, and Slade's troupe appeared at the Theatre which was actually a 'geggie', a temporary structure like a circus tent occupying a space in the centre of town. Slade's shows followed the final performances of the Christmas pantomime *Sinbad the Sailor*.

The advertisement in the *Ayrshire Post and the Ayr Advertiser* followed the format for the Troon advertisement, but added that there was an entire change of programme and pictures each evening. It also made more of a feature of Swann, whose 'humourous(sic) and Musical recitals had been given by Special Command before Her Majesty the Queen'.⁴⁸³ The potential audience was also advised of a 'Re-arrangement of Prices', with the front seats priced at 3s, the second seats at 2s, the Pit 1s, Back seats 6d and the Front Balcony 1s and Gallery 6d. This appears to be an early

⁴⁸¹ *Troon Herald*, 14 January, p 4.

⁴⁸² Appendix I b): Letter from Baring to Slade, 10 January, 1898.

⁴⁸³ *The Ayrshire Post, The Ayr Advertiser & Gazette* which covered a huge distribution area in Ayrshire

example of preparing the audience for the fact that the best and most expensive seats to view the films were at the front.

Hawick 17-18 January 1898 (Week 20)

A single sheet of accounts for the exhibition in the border town of Hawick gives a snapshot view of the size of his audience and the range of tickets sold. The majority sold were the cheaper seats, with only a handful of the more expensive seats bought. This is unsurprising since the hall was of a size where there would be very little difference between seats, apart from the quality of the cushions. The pattern was likely to be repeated throughout the Scottish tour and the number of programmes sold was small for the size of the audience.⁴⁸⁴

<i>First seats @</i>	<i>Second Seats @</i>	<i>Third seats @</i>	<i>Back seats @</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>2s 6d</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>1s</i>	<i>6d</i>	
<i>7</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>17s 6d</i>	<i>8s</i>	<i>£3.14s</i>	<i>£1. 15s. 9d</i>	

Programmes 33 @ 1d = 2s 9d Total £7.9s.3d

Total £7.12s. 0d

Galashiels 21-22 January (Week 20)

Despite the fact that Slade and his company were touring in Scotland at a testing time of year, there is no record of any show having to be cancelled. However, on two occasions the strains in touring were obvious from the reviews. The first of these occurred in Galashiels, another border mill town, where Slade presented a show for two nights. Having advertised the shows, the *Galashiels Telegraph* carried a retrospective review:

⁴⁸⁴ Archive number 20; Returns for Hawick 1/5

In the Volunteer Hall Mr Baring concluded a two night's engagement on Saturday evening the attraction being displays of animated pictures showed by means of Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel. A feature of the entertainment was the London Diamond Jubilee procession, the effect of which suffered slightly through frequent disjointing. On the whole the exhibition – though the audience was not as large as might have been wished on Saturday - was regarded as a success.⁴⁸⁵

Haddington 31 January - 1 February (Week 22)

After visiting Dunbar, Slade played Haddington for two nights.⁴⁸⁶ This historic market town in East Lothian, dates back to medieval times, and its Corn Exchange served as both an agricultural market and a venue for touring entertainments.⁴⁸⁷ The fact that the Walford family were touring the area within the same week, with shows in nearby North Berwick, Dunbar and Prestonpans, and also visited Haddington for one night illustrates the problems facing touring companies. Popular venues could have similar shows within days of one another with inevitable consequences for the exhibitors. As already noted, the Walfords had been among the first to incorporate animated pictures into their campanology programme, and their prices were markedly cheaper than Slade's.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁵ *The Galashiels Telegraph*; advertisements, 11 and 18 January; review on 25 January, under *Local News - The Cinematograph*. The Volunteer Hall still exists and has a large room on the first floor used for visiting entertainments.

⁴⁸⁶ *Haddington Advertiser & East Lothian Journal and East Lothian Advertiser*

⁴⁸⁷ The Corn Exchange still stands today and is used as a venue for all kinds of local activities.

⁴⁸⁸ Remarkably this company showed Diamond Jubilee films in the same week as Slade in Haddington and Dunbar. Front seats, 1s, Second seats, 6d, numbered and reserved seats 2s. There was also a children's performance at half price at 5.20pm.



Fig 28. Alloa Town Hall ⁴⁸⁹

Alloa 9 -10 February (Week 23)

Alloa, a thriving port on the north shore of the Firth of Forth, was also the centre of an extensive mining area. In 1897 it had celebrated the Diamond Jubilee by commissioning a bandstand in the park. The Town Hall was a popular venue for visiting and local entertainments, run by a resident manager who was proactive in setting up the programmes of entertainments.⁴⁹⁰ Alloa is particularly important for this study as the source of information about other film shows mounted during the two months prior to Slade's arrival for two nights in February. George W. Walker an itinerant exhibitor from Aberdeen, (no relation to William Walker), came to Alloa Town Hall in December 1897, possibly bringing the first Diamond Jubilee films.⁴⁹¹

The advertisement in the *Alloa Advertiser* for 18 December gives details of his Cinematograph Exhibition and Grand Concert 1897 three days later. The show was

⁴⁸⁹ Photographed in 2009, this imposing Town Hall was designed by the architect Alfred Waterhouse, best known for his designs for The Natural History Museum in London and Manchester Town Hall. A gift to the town in 1887 by a wealthy mill owner as part of the celebrations of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, the concert hall to the rear was able to accommodate 1000 in the audience.

⁴⁹⁰ The job came with accommodation on the premises and part of the terms of employment required that his wife take responsibility for the building being kept clean.

⁴⁹¹ After starting his career as a baritone in Robert Calder's Concert Party, he set up his own concert party, toured the east Coast and went on to include animated pictures in the programmes.

announced as ‘the most magnificent and brilliant exhibition and concert combined now in Scotland’, including ‘the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee Procession (6 sections)’. It is possible that Walker had bought a Lumière machine – some of the films listed, *Snowball fight*, *Comic Clowns*, and *New Railway Scene with the Arrival of the Paris Express*, were probably produced by Lumière, although the inclusion of *The Haunted Castle*, a film by Méliès supports the suggestion that his supplier might have been Fuerst Bros in London who were agents for other producers as well as Lumière. The supporting concert programme included a soprano soloist, Gold medallist, a lanternist, violinists and George Walker himself, described as ‘The Popular Baritone, Cinematograph Operator and Director of Entertainments’.

On 28 December, a Christmas entertainment was provided for the pupils of St John’s School, scholars of the Alloa Colliery Sabbath School, and children of the Alloa estate employees, organised by the Countess of Mar and Kellie, wife of the local landowner. Lord Mar, who owned most of the local mines and had a large estate. Lord and Lady Mar filled the gallery with invited guests, in what must have been a classic scene of late Victorian feudal philanthropy. On this occasion, Lizars of Glasgow provided the animated pictures, while the local minister introduced the slides and films, which were all Lumière titles and included ‘the fine representation of the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee procession where her Majesty’s carriage was greeted with loud and prolonged cheering’⁴⁹² Apparently the films were greatly enjoyed and Lady Mar received three enthusiastic cheers for her great kindness.

In the three days leading up to and including Hogmanay and New Year’s Day, Rae organised a varied programme of entertainment, including the ‘cinematograph’, although no name was associated with this. The films for Hogmanay, given ‘with remarkable clearness and reality’, included *The Fire Brigade called out*, *The Haunted Castle*, *The Gordon*

⁴⁹² *Alloa Advertiser*, 1 January 1898: *Children’s Entertainment in the Town Hall*. While the films, equipment and operator were supplied by Lizars, the organisers were responsible for arranging a presenter.

*Highlanders leaving Maryhill, Railway Station scene, Snowballing, and Cavalry Charge..*⁴⁹³

Craig Lumsden is named as the popular musical performer, and the audience on New Year's night was said to be over 1200 and 1000 the following night.⁴⁹⁴

On 5 February, Slade inserted front page advertisements in the *Alloa Advertiser* and *Alloa Journal* announcing his visit, showing London Diamond Jubilee film, on 9 and 10 February. John Rae, the manager of the Town Hall, was energetically involved in managing the occasion. To bring people to Alloa, he arranged buses from a number of local towns, Alva, Tillicoultry, Dollar, Sauchie, Clackmannan and Kincardine. Those interested were asked to give their names either to local hotels or Rae himself, with up-to-the-minute advice about booking tickets by wire and collecting them at the venue. Although Rae would have known that other Diamond Jubilee exhibitions had preceded Slade, he must have thought it was worth accepting the two-night booking, and did everything possible to ensure a good audience. It seems probable that the transport was laid on for one night only when the takings, even with 35% to the venue, were exceptionally high; £12.4.9d in contrast to the following night when they reverted to £4.11.6d.⁴⁹⁵

Forfar 2 March (Week 26)

After the mining town of Lochgelly and the seaport of Montrose, Slade put on six nights at the Reid Hall in Forfar, an imposing red sandstone building. About six weeks before his visit, a celebration of the 26th^{year} of Forfar Children's Service had been held in the Reid Hall.

'About 600 children were present – all seated in the area of the hall under the care of their monitors and there was also a fair muster of adults present... Tea was served

⁴⁹³ *Alloa Advertiser*, 8 January 1898

⁴⁹⁴ He was a talented violinist and baritone singer. Later in the year he has been identified as presenting an itinerant show in Dunbar. There is no way of knowing whether he was behind the cinematograph shows on this occasion or whether this experience of observing their very positive reception encouraged him to set himself up as a touring exhibitor.

⁴⁹⁵ The coach was likely to have been horse drawn.

expeditiously'.⁴⁹⁶ After an address given by Sheriff Lee, advocating that children should be given amusement as well as instruction on a Sunday afternoon, there followed recitations and songs, 'and last but not least an exhibition of the cinematograph by Lizars, Glasgow, followed by a presentation of prizes [...]The usual vote of thanks closed a very successful meeting.' Films had clearly been accepted as a suitable treat for a large group of children.⁴⁹⁷

Prior to Slade's arrival, the *Forfar Herald* carried a shorter than usual advertisement for his show, supported by a brief editorial that noted, 'the company is new to Forfar but it is very highly spoken on'.⁴⁹⁸ The reviewer for Slade's exhibition on 2 March in Forfar was more forthright in his assessment, and this review, while containing some positive comments, makes uncomfortable reading.⁴⁹⁹

Animated Pictures Exhibitions – A fair audience assembled on Wednesday night to witness an exhibition of Slade's Electro-Photo Pictures. The entertainment did not give satisfaction. There were a number of beautiful dissolving views and some of the kinematographs were fairly good but the chief of the latter, the Diamond Jubilee Procession views were exceedingly disappointing and the audience expressed their disapprobation. The instrumental music was worse. The manager craved indulgence on account of some of his assistants, as he said being sick, which we have no doubt accounted for the hitches.⁵⁰⁰

It does not appear that the 'drawing room' element of the show compensated for what was either poor projection, or possibly damaged or worn prints. This is the only reference anywhere to 'instrumental music' which could suggest that the local musicians recruited to compensate for the problems within the company had made things worse.

⁴⁹⁶ *Forfar Herald*, 14 January 1898

⁴⁹⁷ Appendix G (b): *Forfar Herald*, 21 January, 1898. Another touring entertainment put on a show for one night only on 24 January when Richard D'Oyly Carte's Opera Company put on a performance of *The Mikado*.

⁴⁹⁸ *Forfar Herald* 2 March 1898, under 'Local News'.

⁴⁹⁹ The Reid Hall, Forfar, Angus, was a gift to the town in the 1871 from a wealthy resident, and remains an important and well-used place of entertainment. The main hall seats about 550 with additional 250 seats in the balcony. In January, 1898 the Forfar Children's Service, (a charity providing religious instruction and entertainment for children), had celebrated its 26th Anniversary in the Reid Hall and as part of the entertainment for the 600 children present was a cinematograph exhibition by Lizars of Glasgow.

⁵⁰⁰ *Forfar Herald*, 4 March, 1898.

The return south

In early March, the party moved south from Montrose to Anstruther, an important fishing town, then south again, round the coast of the Firth of Forth, from Burntisland, Kinghorn, and returning to Dunbar on the coast south of Edinburgh, before returning to the mill towns of Peebles, Innerleithen and Jedburgh, an area they had visited earlier. Leaving Scotland the party put on a show in the Town Hall at Alnwick. Slade's final week took in five small towns in Northumberland where no record of visits from any other touring exhibitors has been found. Finally Slade and his party probably made their way to Newcastle to take the train home.

Review of the Scottish Tour

Studying Slade's tour in detail underlines how little known the cultural environment in Scotland was for those putting on animated pictures outside the major centres during this early period. Visiting forty seven towns across a significant area of Scotland, the size of the venues varied considerably; some of them very small halls, such as Campsie, others, large town halls, such as Alloa Town Hall or well-equipped halls, like the Reid Hall in Forfar, able to seat over 1000. Montrose, an important port for the jute trade, was the town furthest north visited.

A study of the expenses and takings during the twelve weeks reveals that all but one week made a loss.⁵⁰¹ Both Baring and Slade were acutely aware of the difficulties early on, as is clear from Baring's letters in January in which he canvasses Slade's opinion.⁵⁰² On 17 January, following a small loss, Baring puts the position squarely: 'Business is bad and if it does not mend by the end of the week we will with your approval, leave the country at once.'

⁵⁰¹ Appendix G iii)

⁵⁰² Appendix I b): Transcripts of letters from Baring to Slade 1898. Although only five letters survive, three letters in January and two in March, it is likely that they kept in touch at least once a week.

Neither of us can stand this sort of thing, work and no pay.’⁵⁰³ The situation improved the following week, which no doubt provided the incentive to continue.⁵⁰⁴

Considered with the accounts, the letters from Baring provide an alternative reading of the tour from that derived from the reviews, which were on the whole favourable. The letters provide another dimension – the negotiation surrounding reaching a decision as to how long to continue in the face of sustained losses.⁵⁰⁵ This is an aspect of early touring rarely mentioned largely because of the lack of archive material. In undertaking such an ambitious tour there was a considerable risk involved with many factors which were impossible to quantify in advance.

From the information gathered about the tour – the weekly accounts, the newspaper advertisements and reviews as well as five letters from Baring to Slade sent during this period - it has emerged that the inhabitants of many of the towns visited, particularly on the east side of the country, had already had opportunities to see Diamond Jubilee films presented by a local exhibitor in a local venue before his arrival. A major factor particularly on the east coast was that the established exhibitors, Walker, Calder and the other Walker, had all been showing Jubilee films before Slade came on the scene and were well known and popular for their style of supporting entertainment.

Existing information about touring exhibitions in Scotland is largely restricted to those from Aberdeen, who appear to have travelled down the east coast as far as Dunbar.⁵⁰⁶ However, while it is also possible that other exhibitors were undertaking such tours as part of

⁵⁰³ Appendix G ii): Week 18, January 3 – 8; Motherwell, a town on the edge of Glasgow, Beith, a manufacturing town in Ayrshire Ardrossan, a port and shipbuilding town on the Clyde coast, Irvine, an inland town and Troon, a prosperous seaside resort and port, incurring a loss of £2.18s.6d (the previous week had shown a profit of 13s 5d.). Week 19, January 10 -15; visiting the prosperous town of Ayr for three nights, Douglas a small town in Lanarkshire followed by Lanark itself for two nights.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid Week 20, Jan 17- 22; visiting Hawick, the woollen mill town, Berwick, on English-Scottish border and Galashiels, another woollen manufacturing town, all for two nights, showed a profit of £4.15s.8

⁵⁰⁵ It is clear from the accounts that in general they kept to their agreement to settle their accounts week by week.

⁵⁰⁶ Michael Thomson’s *Silver Screen in the Silver City*, Chapters 1 & 2, gives an insight into this early phase.

their regular touring, there is no comparable record providing a chronology of a tour which provides a detailed record of places visited.⁵⁰⁷

Slade had come from a small English provincial town with no previous reputation either as a lanternist or as a presenter of entertainments in the places he visited. The supporting entertainers may have been presenting up-to-the-minute material that would have been popular south of the border, but however skilled as performers they were not known to a potential Scottish audience. Their material appears not to have included any specifically Scottish element, which was an accepted feature in programmes of touring entertainers in small towns in Scotland. While they were well received according to reviews, it is doubtful that their presence was as strong an addition to the programme as Slade and Baring hoped.

Given the generally positive reviews in many local newspapers, one would reasonably expect that this would be reflected in the takings, whereas the records indicate otherwise. The other major deficit from which Slade suffered was a lack of local films. Particularly on the east coast, the audience had come to expect these. Had Slade been able to take films of the places and people he visited, he might have created a bridge with his audience which would have been highly appreciated. The reality was, however, that even if he had had the equipment, there was no time in the demanding schedule to achieve this, nor had he the means of having the film processed.

What kept him going? Throughout the Scottish tour, with persistently poor returns, the question of how long to continue must have been very much in Slade's mind. He may have been optimistic that things would get better. Having come so far, he was probably reluctant to give up, and must have had the support of the group to continue. Slade and Mary had an allowance for living expenses, and Mary was now paid a weekly fee in addition. The

⁵⁰⁷ The only other touring company coming from the south of England as far as can be established was the Walford family who were including animated pictures by late 1897 in their campanology programme. Known from previous visits as a talented family, they also charged very reasonable prices for their shows and included special entertainments for children.

entertainers may have had a contract. Their profession was notoriously unpredictable, and it would be difficult to find other employment at that time of year. The reviews which have been located suggest that the audience reaction was good, even if numbers were insufficient. Consideration of these factors makes it easier to understand why the tour continued.

In January, Slade had obviously put forward an explanation for the poor returns as well as an argument in favour of continuing which, in his letter of 17 January, Baring countered with the opinion that

the real fact is that the Scotch (sic) are a canny lot and till they know you they wont (sic) venture. I have no doubt what excellent business would be done in many towns if we returned now they know the show but till they do we shall not do very big business I thought the A.P's would have drawn them alone but evidently they will not.

He then listed five towns booked for the following week.⁵⁰⁸

Baring made an important point in identifying the fact that Slade and his party were unknown to potential audiences, which created a major problem. The generally favourable reviews were published after Slade had left each town, and he made no return visits. Slade seems to have raised the possibility of showing in Edinburgh and Stirling. Baring gave chapter and verse as to why this was not desirable. Both towns are 'done out with A.P's' and he cannot get anyone to share. The hall in Stirling is £6 a night. 'If it was a failure it would swamp us in no time. I don't mind a £5 loss but a £50 or £100, no thank you. It would be quite that if it was a failure in Edinboro (sic).'

The letters from Baring suggest that the length of the tour was under constant review from early January. Nevertheless Slade and his company continued to travel around venues in Scotland, until Slade was in debt to Baring to the amount of more than £23, with no prospect of recouping losses. Considered from a purely financial point of view, the trip to Scotland

⁵⁰⁸ Appendix I b) Week 21 Starting with Peebles a Border woollen manufacturing town, followed by Biggar, an important market town for a large agricultural area. Then Portobello, a coastal town, just outside Edinburgh, followed by Dunbar a seaside resort, then returning for two nights to Penicuik, a mining town close to Edinburgh.

was unsuccessful. However, the reviews of the exhibitions were on the whole complimentary and appreciative, with only two criticising the material and quality of the exhibitions. This makes it difficult to assess how much of the problem consisted of bringing Diamond Jubilee films to communities which had already had opportunities to see them. Slade's shows contrasted with those provided by local exhibitors, most of whom had a previous experience as lanternists in the towns and villages they were visiting. Most had built upon an earlier reputation with the entry of animated pictures and their programmes were carefully planned to include familiar content in the form of Scottish music, local comedians, and performers. Those who were most successful went on to find work in the music halls in Glasgow, Edinburgh or Aberdeen.

Coming from a base in Cheltenham, it would have been difficult to build up a sense of what was expected in Scotland. While one can speculate that Baring and Slade lacked information about the amount of film already in Scottish touring entertainment, it was such a recent entry into programmes outside the cities that it would have been impossible for any agent outside Scotland to know what to predict. Furthermore, the experience of Harry Lauder suggests that success in touring was partly luck, but also partly choosing venues where audiences would appreciate what was on offer. Baring's opinion was that the audience would come out when they got to know them. He also comments on his own mistaken belief that animated pictures would be enough to attract an audience.

What has emerged from this study of Slade's Scottish tour is that by early 1898 there were many instances of one-off exhibitions and short tours emanating from the major cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen to surrounding towns. Aberdeen stands out as having become an established base for touring exhibitors from as early as September 1896. These entertainers had the advantage of established reputations, included material familiar to audiences, which drew on popular Scottish culture. They were also experienced in obtaining

up-to-date films from London suppliers. The train service between Aberdeen and London was good, and men like William Walker were already in the habit of making trips to London to obtain material for their shows.

Nevertheless in visiting Scotland, Slade's achievement was considerable, even if financially unsuccessful. Coming from a provincial town in the southwest of England, he presented a continuous series of entertainments in Scotland over a wide geographical area, covering the south west, the central belt and the east coast to Montrose and Dunbar. Crossing the border to England, his closing week took in previously unvisited small towns and villages in Northumberland.⁵⁰⁹ Had this been the first stage of a long-term programme to establish himself as a touring exhibitor, it might well have been considered a success.

⁵⁰⁹ There is no record of visits from any other touring entertainers.

Chapter 6 ‘Our Slade and his photos’: Slade’s career as an itinerant exhibitor

Introduction

Over 120 years after Slade’s purchase of a Demeny-Chronophotographe, his archive provides an unique resource for assessing the activities of an itinerant exhibitor in the period immediately following the 1896 launch of moving pictures in London. While Slade was active for only sixteen months in the early history of film exhibition, to date no other comparable documentation of the purchase of equipment and films and their subsequent use for commercial entertainment has been discovered. Furthermore, this archive of documents and films relates to a year of particular consequence in the development of film in Britain: the year of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, 1897, important both for the many films produced of the celebrations in London, and the influence these films had on the creation of an audience in Britain and in distant countries of the British Empire.

Just nine months after the first commercial exhibition of moving pictures in London, Slade decided to enter the entertainment business and left Cheltenham in December 1896, travelling to Paris to equip himself with the best projector and films available from Gaumont et Cie.⁵¹⁰ The Gaumont Demeny-Chronophotographe had recently been launched in London and very well reviewed. Despite the scarcity of equipment on sale at this time, Slade’s bold decision to buy from a supplier in Paris reflects his determination to get started as soon as possible. The launch of his new career in January 1897, with shows using the Demeny-Chronophotographe and Gaumont film in towns in the south west of England, challenges any expectation we may have of a Victorian man, the father of a large family and responsible for an inherited family business, being constrained by convention.

In the history of early exhibition, Slade’s enterprise introduces a further category of exhibitor to those already familiar from existing accounts. Here is a middle class man providing for audiences, predominately in towns, countrywide, presenting a programme which combined the novelty of animated pictures with live ‘drawing-room entertainment’. The presence of his daughter Mary suggests that she shared her father’s engagement with the exhibition of film, and introduces an early woman pioneer not previously known. In August 1897, her role as assistant projectionist and accountant was formally acknowledged in the memorandum of agreement with Baring, her father’s business partner. Surviving

⁵¹⁰ At this early stage in the development of the projected image, the choice of projectors was very limited. Robert Paul’s Theatrograph was subject to a long waiting list. The Cinématographe at this time was only available to those working for the Lumière Company.

promotional flyers feature her as ‘assistant manager’, further confirming the part she played, which may have been important in communicating to potential audiences that the shows presented by Slade were suitable for women.

The primary aim of this thesis has been to present a detailed description and analysis of a largely unknown period of film exhibition in provincial Britain, using the documentation in the Slade archive supplemented by additional research. The broader purpose was to discover what might be learned from an exploration of Slade’s experience in England, Wales and Scotland about the development of an audience outside the large metropolitan centres, thereby extending knowledge of the exhibition practices employed to attract a paying audience. Concurrently, there was also a desire to find out as much as possible about the surviving collection of films and the artefacts which Slade had bought.

The thesis has largely followed a chronological order, determined by the contents of the archive. By searching local newspapers, other archives and local histories, evidence of the extensive promotion of his screenings was discovered. The creation of a complete record of the places Slade visited led to the discovery of exhibitions by him in towns in both England and Scotland not previously researched. This in turn led to the identification of the range of venues available to a touring exhibitor in late Victorian Britain.⁵¹¹ Slade’s achievement began to be more fully understood and appreciated as the extent of his tours and the range of places and venues he visited emerged. Three maps recording the places he visited illustrate graphically the full extent of his travels.⁵¹²

Reviewing Slade’s career as an itinerant exhibitor, it seems clear that the first six months enabled him to grow in experience and confidence. He made short tours in the south west and Derbyshire, returning to Cheltenham between these. By choosing to visit a total of fourteen towns which had infrequent visiting entertainments, and by devoting money and planning to promote his shows, he enjoyed a reasonable level of success. After his exhibitions in Bristol, in February, Slade had the confidence to present a week of exhibitions at the Corn Exchange in his home town. The accounts he kept, however, reveal that this was an expensive enterprise in which he continued to invest a considerable sum of money even after his initial purchases from Gaumont.⁵¹³

Throughout his first five months of exhibiting, there is evidence of Slade remaining in close contact with Gaumont, seeking advice on how to operate his machine, and arranging for

⁵¹¹ The scarcity of information about the activities of ‘town hall showmen’ may explain the underestimation of their importance.

⁵¹² All three maps, Figs 9, 25, and 27 respectively, were the work of cartographer, Ed Merrill. ed@merrittcartographic.co.uk

⁵¹³ Appendix C ii): Archive no 32, Stock.

the exchange and replacement of films.⁵¹⁴ Close scrutiny of the correspondence led to the discovery that Léon Gaumont, following a hitherto unrecorded visit to Cheltenham, introduced Slade to Le Couteur of the Photographic Association, who was acting as Gaumont's agent in London for a time. Le Couteur took on the role of supplying Slade with films of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Cheltenham and of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in London.⁵¹⁵ Understanding this connection made it possible to identify the Diamond Jubilee films shown by Slade in the copyright section of the National Archives.⁵¹⁶

The availability of Le Couteur's film of the visit by the Prince of Wales to Cheltenham enabled Slade, in early June 1897, to propose to the Mayor putting on one or more animated picture shows in Cheltenham to coincide with the Jubilee celebrations in London. His offer accepted, he was uniquely able to show 'local' film of the Prince of Wales in the Winter Gardens, on an unusually large screen, tailored to exploit the picture quality of the Demeny-Chronophotographe's 58mm film. This pre-empted the Jubilee films of Robert Paul, which were not shown in Cheltenham until July. Following these exhibitions, Slade could now capitalise on the interest he had generated, showing Le Couteur's Diamond Jubilee films for several weeks in July at the Corn Exchange, part of the time in direct competition with Robert Paul, who had returned to the Assembly Rooms.

After the successful conclusion of his first experiences as an independent exhibitor, Slade was ready to move on to the second phase of what he could presumably now see as his new career: making a contract with Edward Baring as his agent. Baring, also based in Cheltenham, was an ambitious young man, apparently prepared to extend his theatrical activity to include managing tours with animated pictures, which were still a novelty in touring entertainment. The agreement between Baring and Slade and the accounts for all the exhibitions made during the partnership constitute a unique record of the business of early exhibition. Touring as 'Slade's Electric-Photo Marvel' under Baring's management, his exhibitions took place on two long tours, mainly presenting shows for one or two nights only, featuring films of the Diamond Jubilee supported by genteel 'drawing-room entertainment'.⁵¹⁷ The detailed accounts for these tours are an invaluable source of information about the places visited, the costs of touring, and income generated.

⁵¹⁴ Appendix A: Correspondence with Gaumont.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid: Archive no 17; 8 September 1897. Having an English supplier of films for the Demeny-Chronophotographe, meant that Slade's transactions with Gaumont came to end in September with the final settlement of all that was outstanding.

⁵¹⁶ Appendix D

⁵¹⁷ Appendices G i) and ii)

The first eighteen-week tour visited seventy four towns throughout England between late August and mid- December, and it identifies the venues that Baring could book for such a presentation. Reviews in local newspapers were appreciative of the programmes' quality, and the exhibitions showed a profit, even if often small. The second twelve-week tour which started after Christmas lasted twelve weeks, visited fifty seven towns in all: forty-eight in Scotland, in a wide variety of venues throughout the south and central belt, as well as some towns in Northumberland.⁵¹⁸

The cornerstone of Slade's programmes was film of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in London, supplemented by the Royal Navy review at Spithead, and the Prince of Wales' visit to Cheltenham, with additional films he had purchased from Gaumont between December 1896 and September 1897, supported by an extensive range of lantern slides. Slade used the Demeny projector throughout the tours, which gave him an advantage over other exhibitors with clearer pictures and a screen that could be significantly larger. Neither the Gaumont films nor the projector were likely to have been seen before, since the Demeny projector was not widely available.

Slade's tours provide an unusually detailed insight into how animated pictures entered the fabric of provincial life. The highly efficient late Victorian railway network was an essential factor in making possible such an ambitious tour, before the widespread introduction of motorised transport. In their sheer scale and intensity, the Slade-Baring tours would be an impressive achievement for any touring company in this period, both in the level of organisation required and stamina of those involved.

While there is little detailed information about the part played by Mary on these tours, the fact that her name appears in the contract with Baring acknowledges her importance.⁵¹⁹ Her position as a middle child in the family may have prepared her for her role as a member of a group, able to adapt to the different temperaments around her. Yet her wholehearted commitment to her father and his new animated picture enterprise is demonstrated by her presence from beginning to end of the tours. Her presence is recorded in the unpublished memoir of Albany Ward where, he remarks that '[Slade] *actually* had his daughter with him as assistant operator'.⁵²⁰ Her name also appears on the handbills, described as 'assistant

⁵¹⁸ Appendix F: Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel, Tours 1 and 2.

⁵¹⁹ Later as Mary Bence (her married name), her name appears in the programme for the Bath Pageant for 1909 which Baring organised. Mary appears to have maintained a friendship with Edward Baring because the report of his funeral in 1956 records that she is represented by her brother Huber.

⁵²⁰ Unpublished memoir p 5.

manageress'. Mary's role in touring so extensively at this period qualifies her to be recognised as perhaps the earliest female pioneer exhibitor.

The decision to stop touring

With the benefit of hindsight, it would appear that Slade and Baring misjudged the potential for touring Scotland. They counted on attracting audiences in small towns, believing that interest in the Diamond Jubilee films would persist, and that mixed programmes which offered live entertainment, including a quick change novelty and a soloist, would be attractive. What they did not appear to have realised was that the overheads of putting on such programmes, combined with high advertising costs, effectively eroded out any profit. Their ticket prices were high and not geared to attract large audiences in towns where average incomes would be modest. The time of year also meant that performances in country and seaside towns would be vulnerable to bad weather. As an exhibitor from the south west of England, Slade had no previous experience of the venue, and perhaps most damaging of all, his company was unknown to potential audiences.

The operational mode which he and Baring had agreed was costly. In Scotland, the size of his audiences was affected by the presence of other exhibitors who offered more varied and also culturally familiar programmes, coupled with the fact that audiences had other opportunities to see Jubilee films and that the films themselves were becoming less of an attraction as time went by. In venues on the east coast, his competitors also made a feature of taking and showing films in the localities visited. This was a practice which Slade never followed, although Gaumont had offered to modify the Demeny projector to enable it to be used for taking films.⁵²¹ Neither had he equipped himself with new films prior to the Scottish trip, to supplement his programme of Diamond Jubilee films.

The content of letters from Baring after January 1898 shows that the length of the tour was constantly under review.⁵²² The chosen pattern of exhibition, screening in the main for one night only, was expensive because of the high costs of advertising and promotion which could not be amortised over a number of shows in one venue. From an analysis of the accounts, it is apparent that this operating model was unsustainable.⁵²³ Baring had to admit that his judgement that animated pictures would be enough to draw audiences was not borne

⁵²¹ The Lumières cinématographe s functioned as camera, projector and printer enabling its early operators to offer locally made as well as stock films, and this practice was soon widely followed by users of other equipment.

⁵²² Appendix I ii)

⁵²³ Appendices G i) ii) and iii).

out by experience.⁵²⁴ He also acknowledged that being unknown to a Scottish public made it difficult to attract audiences, adding that if Slade were to make a return visit they would know him better and turn out. However, Slade was in the unusual position, having the security of a successful business behind him, so his motivation to continue may not have been purely economic. He continued to exhibit for a further eight weeks, although the financial situation did not improve, despite reviews suggesting that generally his shows were well received. Continuing to put on shows in Northumberland suggests that, although he was facing the inevitable, he was reluctant to draw his career as an exhibitor to a close.

Ultimately, it appears that Slade was unsuccessful because, faced with increasing competition, he was ill-equipped to adapt to the changing environment. The conclusion from this reading of the situation is that, after initial success as an exhibitor, able to take the opportunities which came his way, the conditions which he encountered in Scotland led to him, in the face of successive losses, to abandon exhibition altogether.

While this is perhaps the most obvious interpretation of the evidence, another reading of the situation which takes account of other factors influencing his decision can be proposed. After the first successful tour, Slade and Baring had two weeks over Christmas to consider what their next step would be. As a Gaumont customer, Slade would have received the *Revue Trimestrielle*, keeping him up to date with Gaumont's plans to modify the Demeny and produce a new 'Chrono' to take 35mm film. It was widely advertised that Gaumont had modified the original projector and camera to take the now standard Edison size films and that he had taken premises managed by Le Couteur to launch the new model in London. Gaumont launched the new projector in November 1897. Consequently this points to an alternative reading of the decision to extend the tours to Scotland. It is probable that Slade and Baring, knowing that their equipment had been superseded by a new model and that Gaumont was no longer producing films for Slade's machine, made the decision to tour for as long as possible using the equipment and films available. Like many others before and since, Slade appears to have been caught in a phase of development of a new technology where an early model had been abandoned in favour of another, not necessarily better, but more commercially marketable.⁵²⁵ The fact that the quality of the projection on his Chronophotographe 31 was still good, the films still serviceable and capable of greater enlargement than any others being shown, must have made the decision to tour Scotland seem plausible.

⁵²⁴ Appendix I ii) Archive no 72.

⁵²⁵ While touring, Slade would have become aware that there were more exhibitors entering the field.

While financially this final tour proved unsuccessful, leaving Slade with a large debt to settle with Baring, Slade may have succeeded in achieving his personal aim to tour extensively with films of the Diamond Jubilee.⁵²⁶ The reviews of his exhibitions provide the evidence that audiences mostly appreciated his programmes and enjoyed the experience of 'Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel'. And after such an enterprise, it was always possible to return to the security of family and business life in Cheltenham.

Baring

Baring went on to enjoy a successful career as a theatrical agent although it is probable that he arranged more tours for exhibitors of animated photographs. There is evidence that he acted as agent for Lieut Walter Cole whose programmes continued to include film and that he may have represented Albany Ward in 1898.⁵²⁷ While his career has not been researched, he is known to have continued as an agent in the period leading up to the establishment of permanent cinema sites when touring entertainment and entertainers increasingly included animated pictures in their programmes. However, following his marriage in 1911, to a world famous violinist, Marie Hall, he appears to have devoted his career to acting as her manager and organising her world-wide tours, as well as developing his many business interests.

Slade and the early diffusion of film in Britain

At a time when the little known about early film exhibition in Britain is mostly limited to studies of individual towns unconnected to what was going on elsewhere, Slade's activities constitute a unique record of how an itinerant exhibitor set himself up with projector and films and went about organising exhibitions, first in the south west and then further north. The evidence of his first six months shows how he went about gaining experience in developing an attractive programme and in finding suitable venues, before encountering the rapidly growing competition that eventually put an end to his venture.

Slade's relationship with Gaumont during these months meant that he had a source of advice, admittedly at a distance, but perhaps more importantly, the sense that Gaumont supported his enterprise. It emphasises the very personal, yet transnational nature of this developing business. Gaumont visiting Cheltenham with Le Couteur proved pivotal in providing Slade with up-to-the minute films which could be shown as part of the Jubilee

⁵²⁶ Thereby fulfilling Cheltenham Council's wish to promote Cheltenham by showing film of the visit of the Prince of Wales country-wide.

⁵²⁷ Appendix J: Letters sent to him by Stanley Howard, later known as Albany Ward.

celebrations, and provided the essential introduction which enabled him to obtain Le Couteur's films of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations - a further illustration of the importance of personal connections at this time. Until this study, the important part played by Le Couteur in filming the Diamond Jubilee celebrations and making the films available for exhibition has not been recognised.

After initial success promoting concerts and films connected with the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in his home town, Slade progressed from being an individual who ran an independent touring company to forming a partnership with an up and coming young theatrical agent. In Baring, he had the support of someone interested in developing his portfolio of acts to include moving pictures. The contrast between the periods when he was managing his own shows and when in partnership with Baring points to the development of a new phase in his exhibition, involving a greater ambition to extend his range, even if this proved over-ambitious, or at least under-resourced. Together, they succeeded in bringing shows to many smaller towns, some seeing film for the first time with the Diamond Jubilee series. The original plan to tour for eight weeks was extended to twenty-eight weeks, visiting towns across England and Scotland, making Slade the only exhibitor so far known to work on this scale at this time.

The legacy

On his death in 1903, Slade left everything to his wife – there were no individual bequests and no directions about his collection of film memorabilia. The brief span of Slade's involvement with exhibition over a fifteen month period may explain why material relating to this period of his life survived – it was an enterprise, independent of his longstanding business career, and could conveniently be stored complete with the Demeny-Chronophotographe projector, films and correspondence.⁵²⁸

In 1934, his youngest son Huber loaned or gifted the Demeny-Chronomatographe and Gaumont films to the Kodak Museum. As described in the Introduction these were

⁵²⁸ From reminiscences of others who toured, it is obvious that life as an itinerant exhibitor was only a very brief passage in much longer careers. Devant, after running three touring companies, returned to concentrate on his career as an accomplished magician at the Egyptian Hall. Hepworth in his autobiography, *Came the Dawn*, while describing his enjoyable time as an itinerant exhibitor as a very young man, concentrated on employing his technical skills and knowledge in producing films and establishing the Hepwix Company which stayed in business till 1920.

separated when the Kodak Museum closed.⁵²⁹ The films were transferred to the BFI National Film Archive and catalogued as Demeny films without any reference to Slade. The Demeny-Chronomatographe was at first transferred to the Science Museum and then to the National Media Museum in Bradford. Through inheritance, the correspondence came into the possession of James Offer, Slade's great-grandson, who negotiated with the National Media Museum to take care of this material in the 1990s. Three other Gaumont films purchased by Slade were deposited with the BFI by James Offer. Plans to research the material in Bradford came to nothing. However, the catalogues in the collection were published in facsimile by Stephen Herbert of the Projection Box as *Victorian Film Catalogues* proving a record of the films available in 1897 from the leading suppliers to exhibitors in this recently established business.⁵³⁰

My research led to establishing the whereabouts of Slade's equipment and films. The Demeny Chrono-Photographe projector No 31 was traced to one of the many store rooms of the National Media Museum in Bradford.⁵³¹



Fig 29 Demeny-Chronomatographe, photographed 2009

Many of the films listed in Gaumont's invoice to Slade of December 1896 were found in the BFI National Archive at Berkhamstead. This led to the identification of a 36 mm copy of the Gaumont films which were in Slade's possession when he stopped touring, produced by

⁵²⁹ Kodak had established a museum in Harrow, linked to its UK manufacturing plant, in 1927 and in the following year added a research department. The museum was closed in 1985 and its contents donated to the Science Museum.

⁵³⁰ *Victorian Film Catalogues: A Facsimile Collection* (The Projection Box, 1996)

⁵³¹ Photograph of the Demeny-Chronomatographe in a warehouse of the National Media Museum.

Brian Coe of the Kodak Museum in 1954. This has ensured that 120 years later, it is possible to view the films shown by Slade in his exhibitions.

The letters from Gaumont to Slade chronicle the very personal nature of the relationship and although one-sided, shed light on Slade's entry to the commercial world of film exhibition. The one draft letter from Slade to Gaumont indicates the courteous way in which their business was conducted. Its content also led to the discovery of Léon Gaumont's visit to Cheltenham, revealing Gaumont's spontaneity in taking advantage of an opportunity to be present at the filming of the Prince of Wales in May 1897.

The films made by Le Couteur for his Photographic Association do not feature in Slade's collection but subsequently entered the Gaumont catalogue in November 1897. They have particular significance as those which were shown by Slade in the two tours made in partnership with Baring.⁵³² The connection between these films and their use by Slade introduces an episode in the history of films of the Diamond Jubilee which was previously unknown. The search for a record of these films led to the National Archives at Kew where over 50 copyright entries of films of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations taken by or on behalf of Le Couteur were identified, providing further evidence of the films shown by Slade. Le Couteur emerges as another significant producer of such films.

Using the record of expenses from January to June 1897 and from August 1897 to March 1898, it has been possible to create an itinerary for all exhibitions and have maps produced which demonstrate the reach of his touring. This itinerary made it possible to identify and visit many of his venues and to find local newspapers which provided the evidence of the programmes he presented as well as his commitment to extensive advertising. It also led to discovering who his competitors were, and to new information about the early career of Walter Booth, later to become an important collaborator with Paul and an animator and trick film specialist in his own right.

Itinerant exhibitors contemporary with Slade

In this under-researched field, there are no doubt others still to be recognised for their contribution to the growing provincial diffusion of films. The work that has been done has concentrated on the history of exhibition in individual towns, often from a local history perspective, and has not addressed the entertainers who were active in touring over extensive

⁵³² Appendix A: Archive 61 dated 17 June 1897. The invoice from the Photographic Association (Le Couteur) provides confirmation of his purchase.

areas. This study has revealed the presence of others from a variety of backgrounds who have hitherto not been recognised as playing a part in the introduction and diffusion of moving pictures.

Albany Ward, largely forgotten until my paper on his career in 2008, appears in the correspondence with Baring which came to light in the course of this study.⁵³³ The content of this graphically conveys the precarious fortunes of those touring in these early years.⁵³⁴ Nevertheless Albany Ward continued in the business of touring until he was able to open a permanent venue for exhibiting moving pictures in Oxford in 1903. His programming continued to provide a mixture of film and vaudeville acts. However, it was 1910 before he was able to open a cinema devoted to showing moving pictures in Weymouth. Continuing a long career in exhibition, he established a large chain of cinemas known as the Albany Ward circuit by 1920.

The Walford family are among other entertainers of this period who have still to be researched. A talented musical family, consisting of parents and three children with an established act as campanologists, they were among the first established touring groups to incorporate films in their shows in local village halls in 1897.⁵³⁵ They continued to tour as a family throughout Britain for a number of years. One of the three children, Sam went on to establish an exhibition circuit in the south-west.⁵³⁶

The other entertainer whose path crossed with Slade was 'Lieut Walter Cole and his Merry Folks'. Cole, another example of a long established entertainer to include projecting films in his programmes, first presented Paul's animated pictures at the Cheltenham Corn Exchange in December 1896, returning in December 1897. Entries in *The Era* during 1897 confirm that he continued to tour extensively along the south coast. When Slade visited Woking in November 1897, there were advertisements for Cole's next visit with animated photographs of the Diamond Jubilee in the same programme as his familiar automata.⁵³⁷ Among the Baring correspondence there is a letter in May 1898 to Machynlleth Town Hall enquiring about the availability of the hall for Cole's company 'and Animated Photos' in August; 1898 confirming both that Cole continued to include moving pictures in his

⁵³³ *Film History*, Vol 20, Number 3, 2008: Albany Ward and the development of cinema exhibition in England.

⁵³⁴ Appendix K

⁵³⁵ *Worcester Daily Times*, 25 February, 1897 Advertisement on same page for *Slade's Kinematographic Company* at the Foregate Hall and the Walfords at the Public Hall for 24 & 25 February.

⁵³⁶ Ancestry.co.uk entry for Walford family campanologists.

⁵³⁷ *Woking Herald*, November 1897, 'Two hours of refined mirth', advertisement for Cole's Merry Folks in Woking Town Hall, featuring Diamond Jubilee films, 7 December, 1897.

entertainments which included moving pictures and that Baring was active in making these arrangements.

In Scotland, William Walker and Robert Calder, both based in Aberdeen, continued to combine shows in the city with tours which mainly concentrated on the north east. However, Walker expanded his range, putting on shows in the prestigious Queen's Hall in central London. He continued to make local films and sent them to George Smith in Brighton for processing. Another Walker, no relation, George moved on from partnership with Robert Calder to set up independently and tour extensively. Others such as the entertainer Dove Paterson entered the field of exhibition in 1898 and was the prime mover behind the establishment of a permanent cinema in Aberdeen in 1910. Lizards with businesses in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen continued to present film shows by arrangement. In the south west, no particular exhibitor has emerged but Glasgow was an important centre for the fairground family, Greens, who put on exhibitions at fairs throughout Scotland and the north of England, later moving into cinema exhibition and by the outbreak of the First World War ran one of the largest cinema circuits north of the border.⁵³⁸

In Wales, the Haggard family are another example of a family of touring entertainers. Descended from a long line of travelling show people, the family were involved in putting on plays, mainly in south Wales. In the early 1900s, they became filmmakers in their own right, touring and showing their own films as well as selling them to other distributors, such as Charles Urban.

Sagar Mitchell and James Kenyon, both coming from established photographic businesses, were a rather different example of early exhibitors. In the late 1890s they joined forces to make moving pictures and toured the Midlands and the north of England extensively over the next decade. The success of their early films lay in the fascination exerted on members of the public seeing familiar places and, even more importantly, themselves on screen. For over ten years Mitchell and Kenyon specialised in this form of entertainment and took countless films of many local events and people, many of which have now been rediscovered and preserved.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁸ Trevor Griffiths, *The Cinema and Cinema-Going in Scotland, 1896-1950*, Edinburgh Press 2012, p 21.

⁵³⁹ The discovery of a vast quantity of film in good condition in the mid-1990s and its subsequent donation to the BFI enabled a major research project on this material to re-evaluate the range and extent of filming and exhibition which went on in this period. Two edited books, a BBC television series and two DVDs of their films have been produced by the BFI. See Vanessa Toulmin, Simon Popple and Patrick Russell, eds., *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon: Edwardian Britain on Film* London: British Film Institute, 2004; Vanessa Toulmin, *Electric Edwardians: The Story of the Mitchell & Kenyon Collection*, London: British Film Institute, 2006; DVDs *The Lost World of Mitchell & Kenyon Bfi 2004* and *Electric Edwardians; the films of Mitchell and Kenyon, Bfi 2005*,

Finis

Slade's engagement with the exhibition of animated pictures came at a very early moment, when the first projectors and producers of film were entering the market. In December 1896, he chose the best quality projector and films available and was prepared to travel to Paris to equip himself. He built on his early experience as an amateur lanternist to experiment with local shows before entering into an ambitious contract with a fledgling theatrical agent, which enabled him to extend the range of his exhibitions for nine months throughout much of England and Scotland.

Fifteen months after his entry into film exhibition, however, everything had changed. The Gaumont Demeny projector had been superseded by a newer, more economic model, the Chrono, using 35mm film. Other travelling entertainers, with long established experience of touring, increasingly incorporated animated pictures in their programmes and significantly increased the competition. While it was impossible to predict how long the interest would last, Diamond Jubilee films were undoubtedly of major importance in attracting diverse audiences to see films, not only in Britain, but more widely around the British Empire. Ian Christie describes the Jubilee films shown in Canada and Australia as being 'met with an enthusiastic response and provided an opportunity for local elites and empire loyalists to reaffirm their allegiance'.⁵⁴⁰

Slade's initial outlay had been considerable, and as a businessman he may well have recognised that the projection of moving pictures would continue to develop technically, while the showman's film stock would also need to be constantly updated - a lesson he may have known from the boot and shoe business. After his last adventure in distant Scotland, he did not take the other option open to him to re-equip himself with a new projector and films. For Slade, at this stage in life, it made sense to work towards concluding his great adventure.

Arthur Bromhead, speaking in 1933 with the benefit of a lifetime in film dating back to 1896, listed three categories of customers for the films he sold as part of the Gaumont Company - the fairground travelling showman, the town hall showman and the music hall exhibitor. The importance of both the fairground showmen in showing films at travelling fairs throughout the country and the music hall exhibitors incorporating moving pictures in varied programmes of entertainment in cities is widely recognised in creating a diverse audience for moving pictures. However it is to the town hall exhibitor's successful methods that Bromhead

⁵⁴⁰ Ian Christie, 'As in England': the Imperial Dialogue in Early Film', p. 227, in Francois de la Breteque *et al.*, eds., *Peripheral Early Cinema* [Proceedings of the 2008 Domitor Conference, Perpignan-Girona], (Press Universitaire de Perpignan, 2011),

attributes the gradual development of permanent exhibitions which developed by degrees into the picture palaces of 1930s.⁵⁴¹ Although his career was short lived, Slade made a contribution unrecognised till now to the establishment of an audience in this very early period. The presence of his daughter Mary also signifies an important element in his exhibitions - the presence of an effective woman.⁵⁴²

Slade's short-lived yet energetic and initially successful career fills a significant gap in knowledge of the development of film exhibition in the very early days of moving pictures. It points toward the need for continued research on exhibition, which was always more varied than has often been implied by traditional film historians.

⁵⁴¹ Proceedings of the British Kinematograph Society No 21 Introduction and Discussion on Colonel Bromhead's paper, 11th December 1933, p5.

⁵⁴² One is tempted to speculate that Slade's probable encounter with Alice Guy in the offices of Gaumont when buying his equipment served to influence him to involving Mary in this pioneering enterprise.

APPENDIX A: Transcripts of Correspondence from Gaumont et Cie to William Slade
December 1896 – September 1897, reproduced in date order. Slade Archive nos. 1-32:
documents numbered by the Slade family.

All letters and invoices on L. Gaumont et Cie, Le Comptoir Général de Photographie, 57 Rue
Saint Roch, Paris, headed notepaper

June – September 1897: SUPPLEMENT: Correspondence from Photographic Association
30 March 1897, Draft letter from Slade to Gaumont on plain paper.

Summary of correspondence by month

December 1896 Two receipts: 31 December. One list of items purchased 31 December.

January 1897 One receipt: 2 January. Two letters: 5 and 18 January.

February One receipt: 18 February. Two invoices: 17 and 27 February.
One letter: 17 February.

March Credit: 1 March. Invoice: 23 March. Statement: 23 March.
Five letters: 3, 11, 12, 23, 25.
30 March: Handwritten draft letter from Slade to Gaumont.

April Invoice: 2 April One letter: 2 April

May Two letters: 2 and 18 May.
Business card and note on reverse, undated, possibly 17 May,
the date of visit of Prince of Wales to Cheltenham.

June None.

July Invoices: 12, 23, 29 July. Four letters: 3, 12, 22, 29 July.

August Invoice: 28 August.

September Statement 8 September: summary of all transactions from
December 1896 – September 1897.

Undated Quotation for adapting apparatus for taking photographs.

Supplement Correspondence from Photographic Association (John Le Couteur)

June Invoice for films of Prince of Wales visit.

August Letter from Le Couteur to Slade, 18 August, setting out terms for
Diamond Jubilee films

Transcripts of correspondence

Note 1: Archive no 18: Undated quotation for accessories for Demeny Chrono-photographe provides a useful source of the contemporary rate of exchange: £10 . = 250 frs

Note 2: In general the films are referred to in the original correspondence by number only. The author has identified the films by name and inserted the titles in italics from contemporary catalogues.

Note 3: To supplement the numbered list of films in 2 January receipt, a complete list of titles has been compiled by the author from filmography in *Les premières années de la société*, p 472, L.Gaumont May 1897 - see Appendix B i)

31 December 1896: Receipt number 434. (Archive number 2)

Received from Mr W.D.Slade of Cheltenham 3,822 frs for material and views of animated projections

Stamped, dated and counter signed by Léon Gaumont

31 December 1896: Receipt number 435 (Archive number 3)

Received from Mr Slade of Cheltenham for 300 frs for order for films

Stamped, dated and countersigned by Léon Gaumont

31 December 1896: Order form in English to Mr Slade of Cheltenham

(Archive number 5)

1 Photographic apparatus and complete accessories as follows;

1 Demeny's apparatus No 31

2 perfection lenses

1 Oak bench with forepart oak

1 Winder

1 Sheet iron lantern

2 condensers 15cms

2 glass tubes

1 resistance (Rheostat)

1 Switch

1 electric lamp regulator

2 tightening keys

3 doz pairs of carbon continuous current

3 " " " alternative current

1 cleaning brush

1 key for changing glass disk

1 (blurred) regulating the brake

1 little bottle 'Aceton' (sic)

Stamped with the Gaumont Company stamp

2 January 1897: Receipt. Stamped and counter signed by Gaumont with date of 2 Jan 1897 (Archive number 6)

Page 1	1 Demeny Apparatus No 31 with two projection lenses	1575
	1 Oak bench	85fr
	<u>to add</u>	
	1 " fore part	
	2 tightening keys for maintaining the apparatus in the fore part	
	1 Winder	
	1 Lantern	

2 condensers 150m/m	37fr	“	
2 glass tubs	15	“	
2 spare bobbins	352		
21 films Nos 9-20-26-37-44-56-51-58-62-68-67-80-82-84-86-88 91-92-87-85-33 at 115 f			2415
Material for electric lighting			
1 resistance			
1 commutator			
1 regulator/electric lamp			<u>255</u>
			4597
1 Key for changing glass disc			
1 square key for the brake			
1 screw driver			
1 brush for cleaning the velvet of the door			
1 bottle of ‘Aceton’ for mending the films [dangerous]			
1 thin nail driver			
1 iron support for electric lamp	10		
1 extra regulator	100		
1 Amperemeter	50		
2 spare buttons for maintaining the bobbins	2		
36 carbons for alternative current}			
36 carbons for continuous current}	<u>14.40</u>		
Packing	4823.40		
	<u>Reduction</u>	<u>701.40</u>	
	Nett frs	4122	

5 January: Handwritten letter in English from Gaumont et Cie to Mr W. D. Slade

(Archive number 19)

Dear Sir

After I left you, I went home and found your good letter for which I heartily thank you. May your kind wishes be heard as well for you and family, this is my greatest desire. I hope you had a pleasant journey and especially a good crossing.

You must have received a note but in French giving you many explanations concerning the films and apparatus. Wishing your first exhibition be a successfull(sic) one.

I remain, Dear Sir, yours

Very faithfully, V Perret

18 January: Handwritten letter in English from Gaumont et Cie to Mr W.D.Slade, 6 Montpellier Grove, Cheltenham (Archive number 20)

Dear Sir,

We beg to send you 8 slides on 3¾x 3¾ plates. I should like to know if you like them as they are, because we shall not be able to send you the 13 others before a fort(night) being obliged to ask (for) the plates in English, English measures being very difficult to? We hope and wish you had successful exhibitions with our machine and should be very glad to hear about it. Are you satisfied with the films you have?

We remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

V.Perret

Subscriber begs to present Mr Slade his best respects.

17 February: Handwritten letter in English from Gaumont et Cie signed by Léon Gaumont to W. Slade, Esq, 6 Montpellier Grove, Cheltenham. (Archive number 21) with same handwriting as previous letter and with a postscript initialled V.P (V. Perret?)

Dear Sir,

We beg to send you in one parcel post things you asked in your favour received on the 15th inst. India rubber has been sent by post.(?) As for the material for electric lighting we are ready to take it back according to the price enclosed. The film of *Man playing cards* and *watered by a gardener* is not ours. As soon as fine weather will allow it we will take new subjects especially of a comic effect and will advise you when we have got new ones. It is a pity you did not send back films no 44 & 58 (44 *The Lowry* 58 *Panorama of Paris*) we would have exchanged them against clear ones – for it is evident dark films are very good with electric light but bad with limelight.

Your writing is very clear if we do not answer in the way you ask it is because many numbered questions do not want special answer as several are made in one.

You have told us that you would not take any photographs according to it we only gave you a machine for projecting but not for taking views; it wants special fittings & we must have the apparatus for adapting it – we will keep only 4 or 5 days. Surely you cannot take views with the present light for even clear weather is not good for that purpose – winter time- Can you manage to send it to us? Enclosed invoice amounting to frs 64.20 & receipt of £1.13 P.O

Believe us, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully, L.Gaumont

Postscript; We can recommend you films no 7, 8 or 23 – 8 is better, same view, 39 or 41 -39 is better 13 – 54- 57 & No 64 children on the beach with flag.

Initialled by V.P

7 Avénue de l'Opéra, (Walking backwards), 8 Cour of St Lazare station, 23 Rue de Rome and St Lazare station

39 (no title identified) 41 Charge of Dragoons

13 Caravan at the Jardin d'Acclimatation (Zoolog.Gardens). 54 The Transatlantic

(Normandie) leaving Havre harbour. 57 The exit from Panhard and Levassor's works. 64 On the sands no 2.

17 February: Invoice. (Archive number 7)

15 items listed – handwritten in French,

1 Illegible			6.50
1 Illegible			37
3 Empty spools	@	4.50	13.50
2 Spindle buttons		2	4
3 Illegible for spool			“
3 Illegible India rubber			“
1 Illegible			“
1 piece of film			“
			<hr/>
			61

	Postage and packing	3.20
£2.11/4	Initialled	64.20

18 February: Receipt No 495. (Archive number 4)

Received from Mr Slade of Cheltenham 41 frs in total. Stamped signed Eclise?

27 February: Invoice to Monsieur Slade, Cheltenham (Archive number 8)

3 Films Nos. 58, 64, 54 (*58 Panorama of Paris; 64 On the sands no 2; 54 The Transatlantic (Normandie) leaving Havre harbour*) In replacement for and not yet received (in different hand) nos 58, 80, 62, (*58 Panorama of Paris, 80 Panorama of Havre 62 On the beach no 2*) at 90 frs f270

3 films Nos. 23, 39, 75 (*23 Rue de Rome and Saint Lazare station, 39 not listed in available catalogues, 75 Japanese Ballet no 1*) at 90 frs f270

1 fork	10
Package and postage	3.3
Total	f553.3

1 March: Credit note to Monsieur Slade, Cheltenham in English. (Archive number 9)

1 resistance		
1 Switch		
1 Regulator		nett 200
1 extra		100
1 Ampere meter		nett 45
1 Condenser		37
3 films 58 – 80 – 62 (<i>58 Panorama of Paris, 80 Panorama of Havre 62 On the Beach no 2</i>) @ 90		270
Total	frs 652	To your débit
Feb 17	to goods	64.20
26	to goods	553.30
March 1	Extra charge for parcels	1.65
629.15		
To your credit	Nett	22.85

Elect 384/37/10= 431 separate calculation by Slade?

3 March: Letter in English from Gaumont et Cie to Mr W.D. Slade, Cheltenham.
(Archive number 22)

Dear Sir,

We received on Monday the parcel containing goods on return – enclosed please find note of credit. We cannot accept for Electrical appliances, the price you give and quoted our own price list viz 255frs for we did not sell you that price. Suppose we could take back your whole stock at the price quoted in our price list we should have at least 10% more than we sold you. Now the resistance was so badly packed it arrived half broken, wires cut etc. regulator in bad state board is wanting – We take the things for 200 f instead of the 225 you paid.

Referring to narrow films of course they must be cheaper being not so large than by an inch and shorter by 230 feet – they are much dearer because in other apparatus they last three times less. Perhaps by the end of April we will have a smaller apparatus for narrow films –

and we hope in a short time to sell our films for only 75frs and narrow films only 40 frs (32s/ (sic)

We are, dear Sir, Yours faithfully, signed Gaumont.

11 March: Letter from Gaumont et Cie in English to Mr W.D.Slade Cheltenham.

(Archive number 23)

Dear Sir,

We received your parcel containing four films & 2 jet supports but no condenser as announced - No 58 was not in the box. In place of Nos 54 .23 .64 sent back we will give you No 64 - 7 & No 112 a funny view of ' The Boef gross' show in Paris. We are sorry to say that Nos 58 -62- 90 you sent back a fortnight ago are full of lines across the pictures – these lines are caused by cameM(?) not being polished every day, bits of gelatine stick to it harden & catch each turn of came mark a line –those bands(films) are quite lost for us. Nos you asked to be sent on approval are not interesting.

As soon as we have good subjects we will chose the best and send you but not on trial we cannot do it. We pay to the Custom house 1f50 each film No 41 cannot be developed more than it is

**Final page missing

Films no 58 Panorama of Paris- not returned in box

54 Departure of the Normandie replaced with 64 On the beach no 2

23 Rue de Rome and Saint Lazare Station replaced with no 7Avenue de l'Opéra

64 On the Sands no 2 replaced with 112 Boef Gross Car of the She-Cats

Returned 58 Panorama of Paris 62 On the Beach no 2 90 Place (La Rambla) Barcelona

12 March: Letter from Gaumont et Cie in French to Mr Slade. (Archive number 24)

Note from author: Two page letter- text very faded and impossible to read. It is likely that the content, possibly written by Leon Gaumont, was a detailed description of the new films available. The letter ends with two columns, listing films and titles in French. The numbering is clear enough to identify the films. The following list has been compiled in English from the titles taken from the Gaumont catalogue in the Slade archive and the filmography in *Les Premières Années de la Société de le Gaumont et Cie.*

<i>78 The Czar and Czarina (View from the Champs Elysées)</i>	<i>The following Zouaves</i>
<i>79 Czar and Czarina (View taken at St Cloud)</i>	<i>97 Exercises without apparatus</i>
<i>80 Panorama of le Havre</i>	<i>98 Beating of the coverings</i>
<i>81 Cherbourg Port</i>	<i>99 Drilling</i>
<i>82 Swans and storks</i>	<i>100 Preparing potatoes</i>
<i>83 On board the Channel steamer from Dover to Calais</i>	<i>101 Bayonet fencing</i>
<i>84 Landing place of the Fly boat of the Seyne at Toulon</i>	
<i>85 Landing place</i>	<i>102 Disagreeable surprise</i>
<i>86 Old Port at Marseilles</i>	<i>103 The awkward servant</i>
<i>87 Ebb and Flood</i>	<i>104 Tramway at Algiers</i>
<i>88 Guerillas (Spain)</i>	<i>105 Ascent of the Quays at Algiers</i>
<i>89 Spanish custom</i>	<i>106 Place of Government at Algiers</i>
<i>90 Barcelona</i>	<i>107 Fat Ox 1897 Car of the Pork-butchers</i>
<i>92 Herb burners by the sea side</i>	<i>108 Fat Ox 1897 Car of the Alimentation</i>

93 Spanish cavalry- working dress

96 Bicycle lesson (Note the numbering of the last two altered in subsequent printed catalogue)

23 March: Letter in English from Gaumont et Cie to Mr W.D.Slade Cheltenham.

(Archive number 25)

Dear Sir

We hope you have received the films we sent on 21 inst. They are good as well as subject and state of films and think they will have success. Enclosed invoice and statement leaving 45.25 to your credit, (Archive nos. 10 and 11)

As soon as we have new subjects we will advise you. We remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully, signed Gaumont

23 March: Invoice to Mr D. Slade Cheltenham. (Archive number 10)

1 Film no 9 repaired (*Start of the Motor Carriages at Porte-Maillot*)

7 feet film supplied 5

3 films nos. 7 – 110 – 112 instead of nos. 23 – 54 – 64

7 Avenue de L'Opéra (walking backwards) replacement for 23 Rue de Rome and Saint-Lazare station

110 Fat Ox 1897 - Car of the Pork Butchers replacement for 54 The Transatlantic (Normandie) leaving Havre harbour

112 Fat Ox 1897 Car of the she-cats⁵⁴³ listed replacement for 64 On the sands No2

2 pieces india rubber

	Packing	0.50	
	Parcel post	2.10	2.60
	Total		7.60

23 March: Statement and credit note in English to Mr D Slade, Cheltenham. (Archive no 11)

February 17	to goods	64.20
25	to goods	553.30
27	paid for box returned	618.65
March 23	to goods	7.60
	(Total)	626.65

Credit		
Feb 16	by goods rendered	651.50
March 20		indecipherable
	(Total)	671
	To your credit	45.25

671.50	=	671.50
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25 March: Letter in English from L. Gaumont et Cie signed by V.Perret to Mr W. D. Slade, Cheltenham. (Archive number 26)

⁵⁴³ Filmography, *Les Premières années de la société*, p 472, L. Gaumont Catalogue, May 1897.

Dear Sir,

To hand your favour 24th Inst we received the box containing one condenser and film no 58. We should be pleased to know the reason of their return. Films and ? are good. The parcel post with 4 films exchanged must have reached you. We have been corresponding with Mr Bosanquet of Dublin for nearly 2 months past. The film '*La Biche au Bois*' is a pretty fast subject, we send you a pattern please let us have it back

We remain, Dear Sir, Yours faithfully, V.Perret.

30 March: Draft letter from Slade, 6 Montpellier Grove, to Gaumont. (Archive number 34)

Dear Sir,

I returned home on Saturday and found your box of four Films – It is very kind of you to have sent me two of the subject *Boeuf gross*. I have selected the one I like best viz 112. The other I return as I do not require two films of the same subjects. They are both very good quality – I also have to send back *Walking backwards* you will find on examining it that it has large white patches which look like mildew. – I also return your coloured sample this subject would not suit me. It was very considerate of you to send me the samples for how could I tell from the favourable descriptions in your French Circular⁵⁴⁴ that the film was of this extreme kind. – I am more obliged to you too as it shows m the value of Coloured films of which I would like some good ones.

I will not now trouble you to send me any more films until you have some new subjects as I regret giving you this unnecessary trouble beside the expense to & from is great.

58 *Circular Railway* was returned because though it was a lighter film it had so many imperfections

There will be according to your advice be to my Credit

	45.25		
Condenser	37	Elect 384	Odd things
7.60			
58 film	90	Cons 37	
64.20			
Two ditto	180	? 10	
1.15			
7&110	Total 352.25	431	
<u>3.30</u>			

76.25

No 80} 90	112 Boeuf gros
585} 180	75 Jap
	180

Films are now

75 x 5
375

76.25

352.25

429

⁵⁴⁴ Probably refers to 'Liste des nouvelles vues animées généralement en magasin pour le Chronophotographie G.Demeny' in the Revue trimestrielle du Comptoir général de photographie, May 1897 p 45, a publication published quarterly by Gaumont et Cie.

2 April: Letter from Léon Gaumont handwritten in French to Mr W. Slade possibly in response to above letter.

Original translated by author. (Archive number 27)

Accompanied by a credit note in French, dated 2 April. (Archive number 12 :see following entry).

In reply to your esteemed letter of 30th March, we have the honour of informing you that we have received the films described in your letter.

We must inform you in respect of this matter that on this occasion we are happy to take these films back but that in future we shall adopt the practice of not accepting films from anybody in order to avoid the abuse of this practice and moreover, that we usually only accept very recent merchandise for machines prime condition; consequently please note that in the future it will be impossible for us to accept returns of films or accessories for chronophotographs.

We must inform you on the matter of your account that having supplied you with the condenser at 37f with a 15% discount, it is proper that we make you aware of this reduction in making the credit which instead of 37f brings the condenser to 31.4f.

Consequently your credit account stands with us at 346.70f value in goods.

As soon as our new list of films comes out we shall send you a copy.

Yours sincerely, signed L.Gaumont

2 April: Credit note to Mr W Slade Cheltenham (Archive number 12)

March 24 Credit			f
45.25			
March 31 1 Condenser		37	
		15%	<u>5.55</u>
			31.45
3 positive films			
Nos. 58 -7 - 110	@ 90		<u>270</u>
<u>301.45</u>			
<i>58 Panorama of Paris</i>	<i>7 Avenue de l'Opéra (walking backwards)</i>		
<i>110 Fat Ox – Car of the Pork butchers</i>			
	Credit outstanding		f346.70
	Stamped Accounts department		

4 May: Letter from Gaumont et Cie to Wm Slade Esq (Archive number 28)

Sir, We beg to own receipt of your favor(sic) of 29th ult.

The defect that you mention can be easily avoided by fixing the hole or stroke against the tooth of the cylinder before which a small arrow is engraved. It is easy to determine the mark by presenting the picture before the rubber? H. Each forwith? picture presents itself in all its entirety before the window. We think it rather impossible to make a shutter as you suggest. If you do not fail to mark the pictures you shall not be troubled again with this inconvenience We are very pleased to know that our machine is giving every satisfaction and should be much obliged to you to send us the testimonial. It does not matter if you write it in English. In regard to your observation about the small rivet which connects to the crank we could send you another one if you cannot otherwise avoid the inconvenience you speak of.

We have several new films and recommend you specially

No 116 *Cavalry review*

No 117 *Artillery review*.

These two pictures were taken a few days ago and are quite a success.

We are very sorry we cannot send any more films on approval as they are wanted here and we having always (sic) a great demand for all those in stock. You can rely on our choice or you may send a friend of yours to see them before.

We beg to forward you a pamphlet in French as to instructions to use the machine for photographic purposes. You will find in it full particulars how to join a film together when torn right across.

Hoping to hear soon from you we remain, Sir

Yours faithfully, Gaumont company stamp.

17 May: Visiting card from Leon Gaumont, undated, probably delivered when visiting Cheltenham in the company of John Le Couteur to film the visit of the Prince of Wales to Cheltenham on 17th May.⁵⁴⁵ (Archive number 1)

L. Gaumont Directeur ,Du Comptoir Général de Photographie, 57 Rue Saint Roch

Reverse – hand written message

I express all my regrets to Mr Slade for not having shaken his hand during my short visit to the magnificent town of Cheltenham. I have just taken picture of the Review of the Prince of Wales in the / ..? John (Next sentence indecipherable)

Best compliments, signed Gaumont L

18 May: Letter in English from Gaumont to W.D.Slade (Archive number 29)

Dear Sir

Mr Gaumont was very sorry not to have been able to see you when in Cheltenham. When he arrived in London Wednesday evening, the buyer of the Chronophotographe which he was delivering asked him to accompany him to Cheltenham in order to take some pictures. There were five pictures taken of which we beg to enclose prints which might interest you. They are the sole propriety of Mr John Lecouteur (sic) 16 Brook Street Hanover Square London W to whom you should apply. The films are good.

The Polytechnic, 309 Regent Street took the film of the *Change of the Guards at White Hall*. As concerns our films which might interest you and which are really very good we beg to mail you under separate cover a list on which those we could recommend are printed in pencil.

We did not yet take any arrangements in regard to the Queen's Diamond Jubilee

Mr Gaumont used quite the same machine in Cheltenham as yours but with the necessary accessories consisting of another lens, a finder etc. The price of this outfit would be 250francs and we consider it a good investment for you. If you decide to buy these accessories it is necessary to send us your machine for one week to fit them.

You say that you observe generally at the top of the films the inconvenience mentioned. We believe you do not tighten enough the films on the bobbin. If you think the films may be

⁵⁴⁵ Archive no 29: Letter 18 May

stretched we should advice (sic) you to put them in a cool place during a few days. Perhaps the matter may be settled this way.

We remain Dear Sir

Yours faithfully, Signed L Gaumont

3 July: Letter in English from L Gaumont to W.D.Slade (Archive number 30)

Dear Sir

In reply to your post card of 2nd inst we beg to forward to you 3 fans called 'La Grille' as samples. We sell the

25frs one 100

200frs 1000

400 2000 with your name printed on them

We have in contemplation an alteration to our machine which will meet the flickering and hope it will be satisfactory. We shall give you some particulars about it when ready.

Yours very truly, Signed L Gaumont

12 July: Letter in English from L Gaumont to W.D.Slade (Archive number 31)

Dear Sir, In conformity with your request of 10th inst we beg to forward to you marked express

2 positive films nos. 123 & 137 (*123 Tarantella at Sorrento 137 Races (Grand Prix de Paris)*⁵⁴⁶)

We return also Electric lamp, Long focus lens,

Two spare bobbins which we are not able to take back as we cannot find anywhere in our correspondence that we have promised it. Enclosed please find invoice for these goods

We shall send you in a few days prints of the pictures which interest you particularly

We read with great interest the cuttings sent us and we are certain our Jubilee films are the best on the market.

Yours very faithfully, Signed L Gaumont

12 July: Invoice to Mr Slade, Cheltenham (Archive no 13)

Repair of three films nos 91 92 93 on account

2 films nos 123 – 137 @ 75 150

Postage _____ 2

152

Note; Films 91 not in list, 92 Herb-Burners by the Sea 93 Spanish cavalry working dress

123 Tarantella at Sorrento 137 Races (Grand Prix de Paris)

Packing for July? 3.30

155.30

⁵⁴⁶ *Films 123 and 137 in Catalogue for August 1897 Liste des nouvelles vues animées généralement en magasin pour le chronophotograhe G. Demeny in Revue trimestrielle du Comptoir general de photographie p70 Filmographie des Films Gaumont 1896-1897, p 467, Les Premières années de la société L Gaumont et Cie.*

P.S. Two rough calculations -Additions by Slade? April 2nd 1897 346.70

22 July: Letter from L. Gaumont to W.D.Slade (Archive number 32)

Dear Sir, Your favors of the 19th and 20th inst are to hand. We also received the film and the lens. In order to oblige you will exchange the lens for another but not for films. Please let me know the focus you want.

As regards the *Tarantella Dance* please send it over we shall see what is wrong with it. We are very much surprised about your complaint as we tried it before forwarding it to you.

Thereafter we beg to let you know very lowest prices of the films asked for:

Fire dance 150 frs

Japanese Ballet 125 frs

Serpentine Dance 90 frs.

We shall send you back the race film as soon as possible.

23 July: Invoice to Mr Slade Cheltenham. (Archive number 14)

1 Film No 137 (<i>Race meeting</i>) repaired	no charge
1 Glass dish	15
Postage 0.70 Packing 2.60	3.30
	18.30

29 July: Invoice to Mr Wm D Slade Esqre (Archive number 15)

1 positive film No 69 in colour (<i>69 La Biche au Bois</i>)	150
<u>Postage</u>	<u>1.60</u>
	151.60

29 July: Letter from L Gaumont to Wm D Slade Esq (Archive number 33)

Dear Sir, In reply to your favour of 24th inst we beg to say that you are perfectly approved the transfer of the 5£ to the credit of our agent But as you inform us that you have settled with Mr Le Couteur we beg to forward to you by parcel post the film *Fire Dance* in colours.

Enclosed please find invoice. We are sorry that we cannot exchange the lens for films.

The colouring of the *Tarantella dance* and *Japanese Ballet* costs 50 Frs per piece and it could be done in two weeks' time.

The Jubilee films are the sole property of our agent and he can do with them of course just what he likes.

We remain, Dear Sir, yours truly, Signed L.Gaumont.

29 July: Invoice. (Archive number 15)

1 positive film No 69 (<i>Ballet of the Châtelet</i>) in colour	150 frs
Postage	1.60
Total	150.60

21 August: Invoice. To Mr Wm D Slade Cheltenham (Archive number 16)

Dear Sir, Returned films and lens

Package and postage 2.60

We remain, yours faithfully, Signed L.Gaumont

September: Statement in French/ stamped summary - Final Account to Mr Slade Cheltenham (Archive number 17)

February 17	Invoice	64.20
“ 26	“	553.30
27	“	1.15
March 2/3	“	7.60
July 7	“	125 -
“ 9	“	3.30
“ 12	“	152
“ 23	“	18.30
“ 29	“	151.60
August 2/3	“	2.60
		1079.05

Amount owing

March 3	Paid	651.50	
“	“	20.	
“	“	121.45	
April 2	Return	180	Total <u>972.95</u>
			106.10 to pay

Undated Invoice on headed Gaumont paper (Archive number 18)

Listing various replacements	Total £11.4s	Frs 280
and quotation for accessories for taking views	£10.	250frs

**Supplement: Correspondence with Photographic Association (John Le Couteur)l
Gaumont's agent in London**

17 June: Invoice to Mr W.D.Slade (Archive number 61)

The Photographic Association ,16 Brook Street, Hanover Square, London W

Three positive films of 'review at Cheltenham' nos. 656, 664, 678. @ 100s £15.-.-

Postage 7½ and Packing 2d .10d

18 August: Letter from Photographic Association [John Le Couteur] 16 Brook Street, Hanover Square London W **to Mr W.D.Slade** (Archive number 68a) 18th August 1897

Dear Sir, We have your letter of 16th only this afternoon.

Jubilee films – As we have written we can only entertain contracts for certain towns and as we are obtaining high prices on our own terms – it seems wasting your time unless you are prepared to do what others are doing – viz –Hiring at same rate as you did before (& we have booked only this afternoon two contracts like yours for Dublin and Folkstone – or buying for exhibition in stated places only- which is what we have done in other cases-

For exhibition in districts approved by us – we are getting the following prices – from which there is no likelihood of any abatement.

Queen at St Pauls £20 per film

Colonial troops £10

Prince and Princess distributing medals £15

Naval review £5

Apsley House £5 : Note on the side- these are not as interesting as above.

We have also some films of double length at double above prices & also some new miscellaneous films in preparation – Diorama of Paris. £5

Good	L & N.W Express	Double length	£10
Good	Tower Bridge opening and closing		£10
Good	Tarantella Dance - Italian		£5

We can let you have nos. 12, 75. 69 Coloured @ £5.10s by taking the three or £6 singly. All Cash with order. (*Note in margin: We have about 100 excellent lantern slides also priced 18s per dozen.*)

Yours faithfully

Initialled Stamp Photographic Association

Films no 12, Serpentine Danse; Loïe Fuller, 75, Japanese Ballet No 1, 69, Ballet of the Châtelet

Appendix B: Gaumont films purchased by Slade December 1896 i) Archive no 6:

Invoice dated 2 January, 1897; 21 films purchased @ 115 frs each. Titles obtained from Gaumont Catalogue in Slade Archive⁵⁴⁷. Also listed in Filmographie des Films Gaumont 1896-1897, réalisés en format 58mm, March 1897.⁵⁴⁸

- No 9 *Start of the Motor Carriages at the Porte-Maillot*
- 20 *Riding Lesson*
- 25 *Not listed*
- 37 *Leap of Hurdles by a squadron of dragoons*
- 44 *The Lowry (Transportation of heavy building stones)*
- 56 *The Soudanese at Champ-de-Mars*
- 51 *Departure of the President after the Review on July 14th 1896*
- 58 *Panorama of Paris*
- 62 *On the beach no 2*
- 68 *The Grandes Eaux at Versailles*
- 80 *Panorama of Havre*
- 82 *Swans and Storks*
- 84 *Landing place of the fly-boat of the Seyne at Toulon*
- 86 *Old Port at Marseilles*
- 88 *Guerillas (sic) {Spain}*
- 91 *Not listed in any available catalogue*
- 92 *Herb-burners by the seaside*
- 87 *Ebb and flood*
- 85 *Landing place (Port of Marseilles)*
- 83 *On board the Channel Steamer from Dover to Calais*
- 33 *Ménilmontant station, Ceinture(sic) railway*

⁵⁴⁷ Reprinted in Victorian Film Catalogues, p18.

⁵⁴⁸ Les Premières années de la société L.Gaumont et Cie Filmography Les Premières années de la société , pp 467 - 471, L.Gaumont Catalogue, May 1897.

Appendix B ii) In the BFI archive, films catalogued as ‘*Demeny film*’ were identified as the collection of films bought from Gaumont et Cie in December 1896 and exhibited by William Slade between January 1897 and March 1898.⁵⁴⁹ The films had been deposited by Huber Slade in 1936 in the Kodak museum along with the Demeny-Chronophotographe projector no 31.

In 1956, Brian Coe, the then curator of films at the Kodak Museum, recognising that the Demeny film was deteriorating, undertook the process of copying these films, frame by frame, onto 16mm stock. This enabled him to produce a short silent film, 16½ minutes long, called ‘*A Cinema Programme of 1896*’, with an introductory printed explanation of the material.⁵⁵⁰ Coe described the material as being used by an early showman but did not include any reference to Slade by name, nor that the film was sold by Gaumont to Slade.⁵⁵¹ The material catalogued under the title of ‘Demeny Chronophotographe’ should now include the information that this film reproduces the original films bought by Slade from Gaumont and from which Slade was able to choose in planning his first exhibition programmes. It is doubtful whether they exist anywhere else.⁵⁵² A DVD of this film was made available to me by the BFI for the purpose of this study. A video transfer of the Gaumont films is available to view.

Coe’s introduction to the 16mm film is transcribed as follows;

After the introduction of the Lumière Cinématographe in December 1895 Gaumont in France marketed a combined camera and projector, the Chronophotographe which was designed by the French pioneer of cinematography, Georges Demeny (sic)

The Chronophotographe employed films about 50feet long and 60mm wide.

Insert Clip of 60mm wide film, *unidentified subject*.

The greatly increased picture area of these early ‘wide films being obvious when compared with that of conventional 35mm frames

Insert Three clips; *one of 60mm coloured film of the Féerie film and two 35 mm clips, one unidentified, the second ‘Annabelle butterfly dance’.*

A complete ‘Chronophotograph outfit’ used by a travelling showman of the last century is in the possession of the Kodak museum at Harrow. It comprises the camera, projector, a lamp house, the stand, a rewinder and some 20 films and the set of original lantern slides. Each film lasts about 60 secs. The quality of these early films is very good but as they are on nitro cellulose support they are now in varying states of preservation and there is a danger of decay. They have therefore been copied frame by frame on 16mm safety film with their lantern slide titles.

⁵⁴⁹ When the Kodak Museum closed this material was transferred to the care of the Bfi.

⁵⁵⁰ This film is now part of the British Film and Television Archive.

⁵⁵¹ It is likely that this connection had been lost with the transfer of the material from the Science Museum. Clearly Coe’s main concern was for the preservation of the film. Coe’s film has itself been affected by the passage of time and the Bfi took steps to transposing it to DVD format for the purposes of this study. Viewing it provided the confirmation that these were the films bought by Slade from Gaumont.

⁵⁵² There is no information about what use Coe made of the copied film – it was a considerable piece of work even with the resources of the Kodak museum,

Titles and content of the Gaumont films copied by Brian Coe

Oxen ploughing (with original lantern slide intertitle), Oxen ploughing – image of team of four white oxen pulling plough with ploughman leading and a second at the rear. Oxen enter the frame right to left and disappear out of sight – second ploughman tries to turn the plough round but picture ends abruptly.

Scene at Marseilles harbour (with original lantern slide intertitle, ‘Scene at Marseilles Harbour’.) Quayside scene with lots of activity with people and horse drawn vehicles moving in quick succession. Large numbers of ships masts and funnels in harbour form middle ground, blocks of buildings in the background.

Departure of the President after the review 14th July 1896. (The original lantern slide intertitle in English makes no reference to the President being French nor the significance of 14th July) Carriage with President followed by succession of officers on horseback and the rapid disintegration of any order at the end apparent as those try to keep up.

The following hand coloured film was made for the Théâtre du Chatelet... Fairies emerge from trap door to dance around.⁵⁵³ Coe in his *History of Movie Photography* describes this as a film shot on the roof of the Chatelet Theatre in Paris, designed to be part of the show *La Biche au Bois* in which it was presented with the simultaneous projection of still pictures and combined with live action performance.⁵⁵⁴

The subject matter of this material gives an insight into what subjects were favoured at this early moment when the camera position was fixed. *Train arriving at a station* recalled the iconic film made by the Lumières. Trains were emblematic of the Victorian age signifying travel and modernity.

The three films of dance; *Japanese Ballet*, *Peasants dancing*, and *Ballet Dance group* demonstrate the popularity of dance as a subject because of the constant movement of the participants and because the dancers followed a set pattern attractive to look at. Street scenes such as *Vienna street scene*, and *Place de L’Opéra*, were also favoured because the subject showed different places with familiar activity - people and carriages constantly interweaving in an urban space. The film of the *Place de Opéra* makes use of the unique opportunity offered by the cinematographe to reverse the film.

Scenes which concentrated on the movement of water such ‘*The Wave*’ and the ‘*Fountains at Versailles*’ were almost mesmerizing to watch even within the short time frame of one minute. Parades and troops of horses and military, as in the film *Ride past of the Troops*, were familiar to those dwelling in cities and provided an opportunity for the audience to have a sense of being part of the crowd. *Sudanese bathing* comes with the category of news reporting. Groups of Sudanese had come to Europe to be part of circus performances and were the subject of fascination.

The coloured film of *Swans and Pelicans* illustrates a popular subject for various filmmakers – the Lumières have an almost identical film and is an example of the early practice of copying subject matter from other film makers.

⁵⁵³ This image was used for the cover of the book *In the Kingdom of the Shadows*.

⁵⁵⁴ Coe, *The History of Movie Photography*, p78.

Appendix B iii) Films purchased from Gaumont between January and July 1897 as identified from the correspondence from Gaumont to Slade.

Archive no 4 27 Feb

58 *Panorama of Paris* replaced with same

80 *Panorama of Havre* replaced with 64 *On the sands*

62 *On the Beach no 2* replaced with 54 *The Transatlantic (Normandie) leaving Havre Harbour*

New films purchased

23 *Rue de Rome and Saint Nazaire Station*

39 not listed in available catalogues

75 *Japanese Ballet No 1*

Archive no 10

7 *Avenue de L'Opéra (walking backwards)* replacement for 23 *Rue de Rome and Saint-Lazare station*

110 *Fat Ox 1897 - Car of the Pork Butchers* replacement for 54 *The Transatlantic (Normandie) leaving Havre harbour*

112 *Fat Ox 1897 Car of the she-cats* replacement for 64 *On the sands No2*

Archive no 23

Archive no 29

Archive no 31- 12 July 123 *Tarantella at Sorrento* 137 *Races (Grand Prix de Paris)*

Archive no 33-29 July *Fire Dance (coloured)*

Couteur of the Photographic Association

Three films of review at Cheltenham nos 656, 664, 678

Archive no 68a) 18 August Letter giving prices for Diamond Jubilee films. It is probable that Slade purchased all the films of the Diamond Jubilee quoted here but the archive does not contain any evidence. However, the advertised programmes for his exhibitions appear to provide confirmation.

Queen at St Pauls £20 per film Colonial troops £10

Prince and Princess distributing medals £15 Naval review £5 Apsley House £5

Slade may have bought the other films quoted in this letter; the first two possibly made by Le Couteur, the third from the Gaumont catalogue.

L & N.W Express, Tower Bridge opening and closing, Tarantella Dance - Italian

Le Couteur also lists the following available films: 'We can let you have nos 12, 75. 69 Coloured @ £5.10/- by taking the three or £6 singly. All Cash with order.' (*Films no 12, Serpentine Danse; Loïe Fuller, 75, Japanese Ballet No 1; 69, Ballet of the Châtelet*)

Appendix C i) Map 1 Slade's Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments



Source: Archive account documents ; A31, A32, A33 & A34 supplemented by information from contemporary local newspapers and distances calculated from the Oxford Atlas (1951) and Bradshaw's Railway Map 1907.

January – June 1897: Two tours; 5 January – 6 March and 31 May - 15 June.

Dates of exhibitions, list of towns and venues where identified and approximate distance travelled.

Tour 1

A31 starting from Cheltenham journeying to Bakewell; 370 miles

January 5-7	Stroud	The Subscription Rooms
January 20-23 and 25-27	Bristol	Y.M.C.A Large hall
February 8- 13	Cheltenham	The Corn Exchange
February 15?	Llanelly	The Atheneum (unconfirmed)
February 16?	Matlock	Victoria Room (unconfirmed)
February 17?	Bakewell	No venue identified

A32 leaving Bakewell and ending at Cheltenham; 169 miles

February 18?	Ripley and Ashbourne	
Ashbourne and Ripley Town Halls (unconfirmed)		
February 19	Wirksworth	Town Hall (unconfirmed)
February 20	Ludlow	Assembly Rooms (unconfirmed)
February 22 – 27	Worcester	The Foregate Hall
March 1 – 6	Worcester	“ “

Distance travelled; 550 miles approximately.

Note; in the absence of dates between Cheltenham on 13 February and Worcester on 22 February, the hypothesis has been made that he visited each of the towns in the intervening period (six days) for a one day visit. No independent corroboration of this has been found to date.

Tour 2

A33 and A34 starting from and returning to Cheltenham; 298 miles

May 31	Bideford	No venue identified
June 1	Bideford	“
June 2	Exmouth	The Victoria Rooms
June 3	Exmouth	“
June 4	Exmouth	“
June 14	Tiverton	The Victoria Rooms
June 15	Tiverton	“

A34

June 7-12	Exeter	The Victoria Rooms
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Distance travelled ; 300 miles approx.

Total number of places visited: 14.

Total distance travelled, Tours 1 & 2: 550 + 300 = 850 miles approximately.

Appendix C ii): January – June 1897 Archives nos A31, 32, 33, 34. (No dates on A31 or A32)

Transcription of accounts for places listed:

Archive no A31	Receipts	Expenses
Stroud	£21.10. 8 Not detailed	£63. 4. 7
Bristol	£38. 1. 9	£78. 7. 2
Cheltenham	£39	£33.15. 8
Llanelly	£ 9. 15. 1	£30. 8. 6
Matlock	£15. 8. 9	£20. 1. 6
Bakewell	£ 7. 18. 1	£ 7. 9. 3
Archive no A32		
Ripley and Ashbourne	£11. 5. 3	£25. 1. 3
Wirksworth	£ 8. 3. 3	£ 9. 3. 3
Ludlow	£21. 10. 3	£17. 9. 3
Stock		
£250		£188. 14. 11
Incidentals		Total £105. 19. 10+
		£ 11. 7. 5
		Revised total £117. 7. 3
Worcester	£42. 14. 8	£45. 16. 3

Archive no A33	Receipts	Expenses
Bideford May 31	£ 6. 7. 11	£10. 16. 11
Exmouth June 1-4	£11. 13. 3	£ 5. 14. 2
Tiverton June 14 & 15	£ 3. 9. 8	£ 6. 3. 5

Archive no A 34: Exeter 7-12 June

Receipts		
June 7	£10. 16.00	
8	£ 7. 18.00	
9	£ 9. - . -	
10	£ 7. 12.06	
11	£ 7. - . -	
12	£ 1. 06.03	
12	£2. 15. -	

Receipts total: £46. 19s 9d

Expenditure itemised

June 5 Fares: Exeter	-	3. 6
June 12		
Chudleigh (Printing) 1s 6, 9s; Mrs Smith 3s 2d; Commn 2s 6d :Guerella 40s		£2. 16. 2
Carriage Cylinders 2s 10d; Lorry 3s 6d: Carriage Cylinders 5s; Lorry 2s 6d		13. 10
Ralling 22s 6d; 'Gazette' advert 30s; Townsend (Billposting etc.) 26s 9d; Ice 3s 6d		£ 4. 3. 9
Hawkins (Bill posting) 24s; Woodman (Covering Windows) 21s		£2. 5. 9
'Express Advert' 14s 3d; Carriage Printing 2s 9d; Post Advts 14s 3d; Checkers 18s		£2 9. 3
Hall keeper 5s; Assistant 4s ;Rains? 10s ; Manston 35s; Booth 65s		£5. 19.
Props 4s 11d ½ ;Distributing Bills 6s 6d; Rent £14; Deposit £ 3. 10s; Upton 19s 6d		£18. 10. 11½
Stafford & Co 32s 6d; Williams 14s; Cabs 4s 6d & 3s 6d; Mr S & daughter 40s		
Total		£41 16 8½
Postage of circulars 10s 6d: Stamps and telegrams for week of		15. 6
		£42 12. 2½

Gas and Limes for week
Receipts £46 19s 9d
Expenditure £42 12s 2d ½

£3 10.
Profit £4. 7 6½

Appendix C iii) Handwritten letters and statement in the Cheltenham Borough Archives. Gloucestershire Archives, relating to Slade's Diamond Jubilee Exhibition of Animated Photographs at the Winter Gardens, Cheltenham, June 22nd and 23rd 1897 in the section relating to the Mayoral arrangements for Jubilee celebrations. CBR C3/3/1/2/4

- a) **Transcription of letter from Exeter, from W.D.Slade on headed paper, 'Slade's Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments and Concerts' to his very Worshipful the Mayor Colonel Rogers, dated 9 June, 1897.**

Sir, In connection with the Jubilee rejoicings in Cheltenham which is occupying so much of your valuable time, I venture to trouble you with the following offer; I am desirous to place at your disposal my Kinematographical Instrument and Optical Entertainment for Jubilee or following day, one or more exhibitions including films of the Prince of Wales' recent visit to Cheltenham, and also views of the Nobility, Corporation and local celebrities who will sanction same at either the Assembly Rooms or Winter Gardens freely without charge but that a small admission 1d,3d, and 6d be made and that the profits after deducting expenses to be given to one of the local Jubilee funds that I may elect – In any case the whole of the local Charities to be admitted free, also the men and wives employed by the Street Committee, Gas Works, Postmen, Railway Employees, & Police that could attend.

I trust to receive your favourable reply in which case I promise that everything shall be done to carry out your wishes and any suggestion made by the Committee I will seek to carry out.

I might say that the Pictures shown will be the largest ever exhibited in England

Yours faithfully,
W.D.Slade

- b) **Transcription of letter dated 30 June, 1897 from W.D. Slade to the Mayor of Cheltenham on notepaper headed Slade's 'Kinematographical and Optical Entertainments and Concerts' with the hand written address of 6 Montpellier Grove.**⁵⁵⁵

Dear Sir

Enclosed please find Statement of my Exhibition at the Winter Gardens on Jubilee and following day, and I shall be pleased to explain any item if you wish me to do so.

Yours faithfully
Pp W.D.Slade Initials? Jen

⁵⁵⁵An identical copy exists in the Slade archive no 29.

Financial statement for the exhibitions at the Winter Gardens transcribed:

Receipts	June 22	£6 7. 3
“	23	£5 12
Total		£11 19. 3

Expenses

June 16	Wires Paris 7s 6d; Stamps 1s 6d; Envelopes 1s 6d	10 6
“	“ London 2s 3d; 2s 3d; 1s 9d; Villar 1s 10d; 1s 4d; 1s 8d	11 1
“	“ Scaife 1s; 1s 3d	2 3
17	Carriage sheet 14s; Stamps 1s; 3s 6d; 1s 9d; carriage 1s	1. 1 3
“ 18	Cabs 5s 6d; Scaife, re sheet 40s.	2 5 6
“ 19	“ 7s; Lorry 5s 6d; Stamps 2s 6d	15
“ 20	Postage of Films	6
21	Cab 2s-; 4s 6d; Wire London 1s 2d ½	7 8½
“ 23	Bus & Porter 1s; Cab 1s; Wire Watson 6d	2 6
“ “	Boy 1s; Returning easel 1s; Dicks 3s7d½	5 7½
“ 25	Cab 1s; Ursell & Co (Piano) 10s 6d; West & Son 9d.	12 3
“ “	Norman May & Co for Slides 17s 6d; Echo advt. 20s	1 17 6
“ “	Martyn for Slides 23s;	
	Collins & Godfrey (Darkening room) 163 s	9 6 9
June 25	Shenton (Bill posting) 60s; Yates (Pianist) 15s	3 15
“ “	Professional Services, Manager & Mr Booth	3 17 7
“ “	“ “ Assistants salary	15
“ “	Norman and Sawyer (Printing) 7s Poole (ditto) 10s 6d	17 6
“ “	‘Citizen’ advt 10s, Men (darkening extras) 15s	1 5
	Sub total	£28 8 6
“ “	Personal and Out of pocket expenses; Films, Cabs etc.	£22. 0 8½
	Total	£50 9 2½

Appendix D: Copyright records of Le Couteur films at the National Archives, Kew, London. Copy 1⁵⁵⁶

Completed forms name William John Le Couteur of the Photographic Association as owner. Copy of clips of films (all on Demeny size film) attached to copyright form. The photographer is identified as either as John Le Couteur, Stanley Arthur Miller or Gustave Colley, the latter two employed by Le Couteur.

250 – 255 Films taken by Le Couteur

250 Garden Party at Buckingham Palace - 7 frames	Le Couteur
251 St Paul's - 5 frames	Le Couteur
252 St Paul's -	Le Couteur
253 Queen Victoria planting tree	Le Couteur
254 Scene in front of St Paul's	Le Couteur
255 ditto	Le Couteur

260 – 293 Films as numbered taken by Colley or Miller

260 Troops in front of Knightsbridge barracks	Gustave Colley
261 Colonial troops in Hyde Park- 8 frames	Stanley Arthur Miller
289 Hyde Park Practice	Gustave Colley
290 Apsley House	Gustave Colley, Piedmont Hotel, Soho
291 Ditto	“ “
292 Hyde Park Practice	“ “
293 Naval review	“ “

419 – 423 Film taken by Gustave Coll(e)y Copyright John le Couteur

419 Hyde Park Corner 5 frames - Colonial Troops	Gustave Colley
420 Ditto	
421 Colonial Troops in Hyde Park	
422 Apsley House and Diamond Jubilee procession	
423 Ditto 5 frames	

424 – 431 Films taken by Stanley Arthur Miller for Le Couteur

424 Presentation of medals by Princess of Wales to soldiers who took part in the Jubilee celebrations – distant view of Princess and soldiers no 52

425 Distribution of medals and Princess of Wales - Buckingham Palace - 5 frames

426 Distribution of medals no 50 Close up of Guards officers - 6 frames

427 Troops of various countries lined up - no 49 - 5 frames

428 Distribution of medals - no 48 Soldiers marching

429 Distribution of medals at Buckingham Palace with Queen Victoria ? no 47 - 5 frames

430 Polo Match at Raneleigh Gardens –no 45 - 5 frames

431 Cavalry Club at Raneleigh(Gardens) no 44 - 6 frames

432 – 445 Films taken by Le Couteur

432 Garden Party (? at Buckingham Palace) troop of soldiers/ guests in formal wear and corner of Palace- no 46 - 5 frames

433 Review of steamship - 5 frames

434 Garden Party at Buckingham Palace no 40 Group of guests in formal wear - 5 frames

435 Several ships in the distance (? Naval review) - 4 frames

⁵⁵⁶ *In the Kingdom of the Shadows: A Companion to early Cinema* by Colin Harding and Simon Popple, London Cygnus Arts 1996 Appendix 1 The British Film Copyright Archive by Richard Brown pp 240-245. Note the CD Rom referred to in footnote 1 was never made.

- 436 Film of two ships – one powered by steam, the other by sail with a rowing boat with two men in the foreground. ? Naval review - 5 frames
- 437 Close up of two sailing ships no 37
- 438 Steamship and sailing boat - 3 frames
- 439 Review – warships no 35 - 5 frames
- 440 Review - Gun firing no 29 - 5 frames
- 441 Review no 28 - 6 frames
- 442 Review no 26 - 5 frames
- 443 Garden party no 24 - marquee and guests in conversation standing on grass outside –
- 444 Garden Party no 22 - Fountain playing in the background
- 445 At St Pauls no 18 - 5 frames - Demeny size film

Example of copyright records

422

Small, price 1d. each.
 (Works of Art) Act.)
 I, *William John Le Couteur*, do hereby certify, That I am entitled to the
 Assignment of such Copyright) to be entered in the Register of Proprietors of
 Films underwritten.

(Every particular given must be clearly written.)

Description of Work.	Date of Agreement or Assignment.	Names of Parties to Agreement or Assignment.	Name and Place of Abode of Proprietor of Copyright.	Name and Place of Abode of Author of Work.
<i>Photograph, cinematograph Diamond Jubilee Procession before Apsley House with participation of grand old ladies numbered 1-11</i>			<i>William John Le Couteur 16 Broad St Hanover Square London W</i>	<i>Gustave Colley Buckingham Palace Stoke London W</i>
Dated this <i>28th</i> day of <i>July</i> , 18 <i>97</i>		(Signed) <i>W. J. Le Couteur</i>		

N.B.—In filling up the first column the description should commence thus: "Painting of," "Drawing of," or "Photograph of," as the case may be. All names in the third, fourth, and fifth columns should be written in full.
 In all cases where a Painting, Drawing, or Negative of a Photograph is transferred for the first time by the owner to any other person, the Copyright will cease to exist, unless at or before the time of such transfer an agreement in writing be signed by the transferee reserving the Copyright to the owner, or by the owner transferring the Copyright to the transferee, as may be the intention of the parties; and the date of such agreement and names of parties must be inserted above, or registration will be no protection.
 The second and third columns are only to be used when there is a written agreement or assignment.

Copyright no 422 Diamond Jubilee Procession before Apsley House Proprietor of Copyright William John Le Couteur Author of work Gustave Colley Registered 28 July 1897

250

TO THE REGISTERING OFFICE
 I, *John Le Couteur*, do hereby certify, That I am entitled to the
 Copyright in the
 Copyright in Paintings, Drawings, and Photographs, kept at Stationers' Hall, according to the particulars underwritten.

(Every particular given must be clearly written.)

Description of Work.	Date of Agreement or Assignment.	Names of Parties to Agreement or Assignment.	Name and Place of Abode of Proprietor of Copyright.	Name and Place of Abode of Author of Work.
<i>Cinematograph Photograph of the Queen's Jubilee Garden Party on Buckingham Palace Grounds 1897</i>			<i>John Le Couteur 16 Broad Street Hanover Square London W</i>	<i>John Le Couteur 16 Broad Street Hanover Square London W</i>
Dated this <i>18th</i> day of <i>July</i> , 18 <i>97</i>		(Signed) <i>John Le Couteur</i>		

N.B.—In filling up the first column the description should commence thus: "Painting of," "Drawing of," or "Photograph of," as the case may be. All names in the third, fourth, and fifth columns should be written in full.
 In all cases where a Painting, Drawing, or Negative of a Photograph is transferred for the first time by the owner to any other person, the Copyright will cease to exist, unless at or before the time of such transfer an agreement in writing be signed by the transferee reserving the Copyright to the owner, or by the owner transferring the Copyright to the transferee, as may be the intention of the parties; and the date of such agreement and names of parties must be inserted above, or registration will be no protection.
 The second and third columns are only to be used when there is a written agreement or assignment.

Copyright no 250 Buckingham Palace Garden Party Proprietor of Copyright and author of work John Le Couteur 18 July 1897

Five films for the Velograph Syndicate registered in the name of Adolphe Langfier are the only other Diamond Jubilee films made the subject of copyright

69 Ascot Gold cup - date of copyright 5 July 1897 2 clips of 4 frames

70 Garden Party at Buckingham Palace close up of Queen – date of copyright 5 July 1897 - frames of normal size film

71 The Derby 1897 - 4 frames

72 Diamond Jubilee Procession

73 Slough to Windsor

Appendix E Memorandum of Agreement Archive no A70

a) Scanned copy of original - On foolscap paper; agreement on the left hand page, list of expenses on right hand.

70.

Memorandum of Agreement
made this 17 day of August 1897
Between Mr. W. D. Mads of Sheltenham of the first part
and Mr. C. Baring of Sheltenham of the second part Whereby
the said W. D. Mads agrees to lend his Animated Photos (including
jubilee films) Machines, Slides, Sheets and for everything for and
connected with his public exhibition of Animated Photos for a Tour
to be booked by the said C. Baring and the said C. Baring agrees to
book the said Tour and take as far as he is able and usually does a generally
management of such Now in consideration of the said W. D. Mads
lending his Animated Photos as above and showing them with
the assistance of his daughter or qualified assistant in all Tours booked
by the said C. Baring and the said C. Baring booking the said Tour
it is hereby agreed between the parties that such Tour shall commence on
August 23rd for eight weeks and that they each pay half the expenses of the
items named in the list attached hereto such being the usual expenses connected
with a Tour and any other items they may mutually agree upon. The Acting
Manager to be also Treasurer and make a Balance Sheet at the
end of each week and the profit or loss on each week's takings to be equally
divided between the two parties and to be due and payable at the end of such
week. In Tours where the parties hereto share with local caterers they to
equally share expense of the items not found by the local man and divide the
profit or loss on their share of the gross receipts they receive as in other cases where
they find all the items. Either party to end this Agreement by giving to the
other 2 weeks notice in writing subject nevertheless to all dates booked being
faithfully carried out whether after or before the 2 weeks notice expires
Signed the day and year first before written

C. Baring

Appendix E a) Scanned copy of right -hand side of Memorandum of Agreement

The List of Expenses the parties agree to equally share

Hall

Stage

Gas

Piano

Gas for cylinders and Limes

Troops

Billposting and Delivery

Printing

Baggage Man at about 2/6 per week

Advance Agent when required 3/6 per week

Pianist to be Acting Manager & Treasurer 3/6 per week

Humorous Entertainer who is to be Lecturer if required.

Postage of circulars

Money & Check-tickets

Advertisement in papers

Booking Commission

Cartage

Wires, Stamps & Small Tips

Railway fares from and after first Town

Mr & Mrs Slades living expenses at £3 per week

Cost of hire of small Machine at £2. 10. 0 per week

And any other items that may be mutually agreed upon

b) Memorandum of Agreement (transcribed document- left hand page)

made this 17 day of August 1897 **between** Mr W. D. Slade of Cheltenham of the last part and Mr E. Baring of Cheltenham of the second part **whereby** the said W. D. Slade agrees to find his Animated Photos (including Jubilee films), Machines, Slides, Sheet &c and everything for and connected with his public exhibition of Animated Photos for a Tour to be booked by the said E. Baring and the said E. Baring agrees to book the said Tour and take as far as he is able and usually does a generally[sic] management of such. **Now in consideration** of the said W. D. Slade finding his Animated Photos &c as above and showing them with the assistance of his daughter as qualified assistant in all Towns booked by the said E. Baring and the said E. Baring booking the said Tour it is hereby agreed between the parties that such Tour shall commence on August 23rd for eight weeks and that they each pay half the expenses of the items named in the list attached hereto such being the usual expenses connected with a Tour and any other items they may mutually agree upon. The Acting Manager to be also Treasurer and make a Balance Sheet at the end of each week and the profit or loss on each week's takings to be equally divided between the two parties and to be due and payable at the end of such week. In Towns where the parties hereto share with local caterers they to equally share expense of the items not found by the local man and divide the profit or loss on their share of the gross receipts they receive as in other cases where they find all the items. Either party to end this Agreement by giving to the other 2 weeks notice in writing subject nevertheless to all dates booked being faithfully carried out whether after or before the 2 weeks notice expires.

Signed the day and year just before written E Baring

The List of expenses the parties agree to share equally - right hand page

- Hall
- Stage
- Gas
- Piano
- Gas for cylinders and limes
- Props
- Billposting and Delivery
- Printing
- Baggage Man at about 21s per week
- Advance Agent when required 35s per week
- Pianist to be Acting Manager & Treasurer 35s per week
- Humourous Entertainer who is to be Lecturer if required
- Postage of Circulars
- Money & Check-takers
- Advertisement in papers
- Booking Commission
- Cartage
- Wires, Stamps & Small Tips
- Railway fares from and after first Town
- Mr & Miss Slade's living expenses at £3 per week
- Cost of hire of small Machine at £2 10s 0 per week

And any other items that may be mutually agreed upon
Signed E. Baring

Note; The exchanged memorandum signed by W.D.Slade is in the Baring Documents in the Gloucestershire Archives

Appendix F: Map 2 Slade's Electro-Photo Tours in partnership with Baring⁵⁵⁷



⁵⁵⁷ Archive Source A1-16 accounts for each venue supplemented by information from contemporary local newspapers and distances calculated from the Oxford Atlas (1951) and Bradshaw's Railway Map 1907.

Appendix F: Slade's |Tours in Partnership with Baring

i) English Tour; Tour 1 with venues where known starting from Cheltenham August 1897

Week 1 Distance travelled 137 miles

23	Burnham	
24	Minehead	Town Hall
25/26	Ilfracombe	Runnacleave Hotel - no longer exists.
27	Appledore	Venue- Hall being converted into flats

Week 2 Distance travelled 101 miles

29	Appledore	
30	Chard	Corn Exchange still exists
31	Honiton	

September

1	Lyme Regis	
2/3/4	Weymouth	

Week 3 Distance travelled 75 miles

6	Portland	
7	Weymouth	
8& 9	Lymington	
10&11	Swanage	Town Hall

Week 4 Distance travelled 215 miles

14	Lyme Regis	
15	Sidmouth	
16	Sherborne	Venue none identified
17	Ilfracombe	Runnacleave Hotel
18	Minehead	Town Hall

Week 5 Distance travelled 410 miles

20&21	Dartmouth	Subscription Rooms known as the Guildhall
22& 23	Newton Abbot	

24	Uttoxeter	Town Hall
25	Wiviliscoombe	Town Hall building still exists but change of use

Week 6 Distance travelled 216

27, 28, 29	Matlock	Matlock Spa Hotel – Victoria Rooms unconfirmed. No longer exist
30	Uttoxeter	Town Hall

October

1	Uttoxeter	
2	Clay Cross	Town Hall

Week 7 Distance travelled 78 miles

4&5	Bakewell	None identified
6&7	Chesterfield	Stephenson Memorial Hall still in use
8&9	Pontefract	Assembly Rooms still exist

Week 8 Distance travelled 127 miles

11	Thorne	None identified
12	Wetherby	Town hall
13&14	Ulverston	Original Town Hall (pre 1905)
15/16	Millom	Town Hall

Week 9 Distance travelled 148 miles

18	Bowness	Institute Hall still exists
19	Keswick	Town Hall still exists
20	Ambleside	None identified
21&22	Ilkley	Victoria Hall
23	Knottingly	Town Hall still exists

Week 10 Distance travelled 182 miles

25	Ripon	
26	Louth	
27&/28	Newark	The Corn Exchange

29&30 Eckington

Week 11 November Distance travelled 132 miles

1	Worksop	Town Hall still exists
2	Melton Mowbray	Cambray Bazaar, Cheltenham
3	Stamford	
4	Hunstanton	Town Hall-: reception room still in use.
5&/6	King's Lynn	The Music Hall, Athenaeum

Week 12 Distance travelled 234 miles

8	East Dereham	Town Hall
9/10	Lincoln	
11	Ripon	
12&13	Malton near Scarborough	

Week 13 Distance travelled 303 miles

15	Holbeach	Town Hall still exists
16	Swaffam	Town Hall still exists
17&18	Newmarket	Town Hall building still exists
19	Oundle + Oundle School	Town Hall building and the School Hall
20	Fryston (Yorkshire)	

Week 14 Distance travelled 207 miles

22	Hitchin	
23	Sunbury on Thames	
24	Harrow	
25	Woking	The Public Hall
26	Slough	
27	Bracknell	

Week 15 Distance travelled 161 miles

29 Sherborne

30 Martock

December

1 Bridport

2 Chard

3&4 Portland H.M.S. Boscowen / H.M.S Minotaur

Week 16 Distance travelled 190 miles

6 &7 Dorchester

8 Wareham

9 Christchurch

10 Ringwood

11 Portland

12 Bridport

returning to Cheltenham

Tour 1: Total distance travelled 2913 miles approximately.

Appendix F Map 3 Tour 2 starting from Cheltenham 558



Scottish Tour: Tour 2 with venues where known starting from Cheltenham

Week 17 December 1897 Distance travelled 334

27	Mansfield	Town Hall
28	Scarborough	
29	“	
30	Thirsk	
31	Alston	Town Hall still exists

⁵⁵⁸ Archive Source A17 – 28 accounts for each venue supplemented by information from contemporary local newspapers and distances calculated from the Oxford Atlas (1951) and Bradshaw's Railway Map 1907.

Start of Scottish Tour 1898

January 1898 - end of week 17

1 Moffat Town Hall still in use

Week 18 Distance travelled 78 miles

3&4 Motherwell

5 Beith

6 Ardrossan Venue not found

7 Irvine Venue no longer exists

8 Troon Venue – building still exists but change of use.

Week 19 Distance travelled 43 miles

10/11& 12 Ayr Gaiety Theatre no longer exists

13 Douglas

14/15 Lanark

Week 20 Distance travelled 112 miles

17/18 Hawick

19/20 Berwick

21/31 Galashiels Volunteer Hall still in use

Week 21 Distance travelled 111 miles

24 Peebles Town Hall still in use

25 Biggar

26 Portobello

27 Dunbar

28/29 Penicuik Town Hall still in use

Week 22 Distance travelled 39 miles

31 Haddington - Corn Exchange still in use

February

1 Haddington

2/3 Musselborough

4 Bo'ness Drill Hall no longer exists

5 Bathgate

Week 23 Distance travelled 44 miles

7 Uphall – Public Hall no longer exists

8 Bannockburn – Town Hall still in use

9/10 Alloa - Town Hall still in use

11 Kincardine

12 Dunblane Victoria Hall still in use

Week 24 Distance travelled 75 miles

14 Alva Town Hall not identified

15 Bridge of Allan

16 Campsie Memorial Hall still in use

17 Clackmannan

18 Dunfermline Victoria Hall no longer exists

19 Lochgelly Drill Hall no longer exists

Week 25 Distance travelled 57 miles

21/22 Kirkcaldy

23 Largo Venue no longer exists

24 Broughty Ferry

25/26 Blairgowrie Town Hall still in use

Week 26 Distance travelled 106

28 Carnoustie Town Hall

March

1 Brechin

2 Forfar Reid Hall still in use

3 Montrose Burgh Hall still in use

4 Anstruther Town Hall still in use

Week 27 Distance travelled 117

7	Burntisland	
8	Kinghorn	Town Hall still in use.
9	North Berwick	
10	Dunbar	
11	Peebles	Town Hall still in use
12	Innerleithen	Venue building still exists but change of use.

Week 28 Distance travelled 93 miles

14	Jedburgh	Volunteer Hall still in use
----	----------	-----------------------------

ENGLAND

March

15	Alnwick	Town Hall still in use
16	Morpeth	
17	Rothbury	Victoria Hall still in use
18	Warkworth	
19	Amble	+ 232 miles returning to Cheltenham

Tour 2; Total distance travelled 1441 miles approximately

Combined total for both tours 2913 + 1441 = 4353 approximately

Appendix G: Weekly Accounts for 28 weeks of the tour

i) Slade's Electro-Photo Marvel Tour 1: August – December 1897; 16 week tour

Accounts for weeks 1- 16 transcribed

These detailed accounts provide first-hand information about the range of costs in putting on an itinerant entertainment. The hall and the stage are listed separately, as is gas. 'Props', covering any items needed to make the venue attractive, are a recurrent expense. Other expenses include staff at the venue, 'the money and check-taker', as well as booking commission and advertisements in newspapers. There are entries for 'billposting and delivery', essential for performances which took place on one day only, and 'printing' which would cover costs for billposters and programmes. Railway fares, from and after the first town, and cartage are listed as a shared expense. Wires (telegrams), stamps and small tips are itemised as well as booking commission which would be paid to nominated local shops which handled advance ticket sales. Slade and his daughter Mary were allowed joint living expenses of £3 per week which rose to £3.10s as the tour continued. There is also an entry for the hire of a machine, a magic lantern, at £2.10s per week which when fully paid for would become the property of Mr Slade. The concluding phrase in the Memorandum of Agreement is 'and any other items that may be mutually agreed on.' The accounts are clearly written by different people although the comment about Mary's addition on the final week suggests that Mary had responsibility for their submission.

Week 1

(5days) Week ending Aug 22/97

Receipts

Burnham gross takings and progs	£13. 4. 9
Minehead “	32. 6
Ilfracombe 2 nights £63.15. 6 =	41. 9. 1
“ Progs 11/- & 7/11	18.11
“ Day Bills	8 6
Appledore 1 st night £2. 8. 6 = 70%	1.14. 1
Bal £44. 1. 9½	
50% by cheque to Mr Slade	£22 - 11
50% retained by Mr Baring	£22- 10½
	£44. 1. 9½

Expenditure

Locals

Halls Burnham and Minehead	£3. 18 0
Bill Posters “	1- 4 - 6
Adverts “ “ & Era	19 - -
Stamps.Wires etc Mr Slade also)	
Mr Baring from July 23)	2 - 14 - 1
Booking offices Burnham Minehead	17 -
Piano “ “	14 _
Money and check takers “ “	14 -
Postage of circulars “ “	9 - 4
	11 - 9 - 0

Company

Entertainer and Pianist	£6 - 10 - 0
Printing 4 Towns also progs and tickets	9 - 1 - 4
Baggage Man	1 - 6 - 0
Advance Agent & Exes (1 st week)	2 - 4 - 0
Fares from Burnham and Agents (2)	
from Weston & 1 return ticket	3 - 5 - 11½
Tips	19 - 3
Cartage	1 - 3 - 0
Carriage of Printing and Cylinders	1 - 1 - 11½
	28 11 - 6
Gas and Limes	2 17 - 6
Mr and M/s Slade	3 - - -
Props	6 - 5½
Hire of Lantern	2 - 10
	£8. 14. 1½
Balance	£44. 1. 9½
	£89 - 17 - 4

£ 89 - 17 - 4

Week 2

Mesrs Slade and Baring

Animated Photos for week ending Sept 4

Receipts

Aug 28 th Appledore House and progs	£1 - 11 - 3
“ 30 Chard “ “	14 - 10 - 6
“ 31 Honiton “ “	11 - 4 - 8
Sep 1 Lyme Regis “ “	15 - 10 - 3

a/c as per Barmouth sheets	
“ “ “	
“ “ “	
“ “ “	

Expenditure

1	£6 - 14 5
2	7 - 10 - 6
3	6 - 12 - 6
5	7 - 2 - 2

“ 2 Weymouth “ “ 27 - 1 - 10	“ “ “ 6 8 - 7 - 6
“ 3 “ “ “ 26 - 10 - 7	Mr and M/s Slade 3 - 10 -
“ 4 “ “ “ 18 - 16 - 11	Mr Morgan Balance of the a/c 12 - 3
Mrs Banks Fares 11 - 9	
	Mr Banks 4 - - -
	Messrs Sherren & Sons a/c & ads 3 - 4 - 3
	(Weymouth)
	Advt Young and Sons Chard 4 - 6
Receipts; £110 5 9	Stafford and Williams Printing 7 15 4
	Agent for the week 1 16 6
Balance £42 6 6	Total £57 12 10
50% £21 3 3	less paid out to Beale(? which belongs to next weeks ac <u>1 13</u>
50% £21 3 3	55 12 10
	To Baring wires postage of circulars (4 towns) 5 5 ½
	1400 progs carr stps Ticket books Barmouth
	½ fare
	Gas Limes & 3 14 4
	Hire of lantern and films 3
	Balance 67 19 3

Week 3

Messrs Slade and Baring

Animated photos for week ending September 11

Receipts		Expenditure	
	£ s d		£ s d
To Portland Progs and House	17 - 4 - 7	By Hall billposting fares & and general expenses as per item in the duplicate cash book	34 - 10 - 3
“ Weymouth “ “mat	4 - 16 - 7	Printing as per a/c	6 - 6 - 0
“ “ “ ev	9 - 0 - 3	Agent 2 nd wk	2 - 9 - 8
“ Lymington “ “	12 - 5 - 8	Barings a/c Wires , Postage of circulars etc	2 - 6 - 7 “
“ “ “	7 - 0 - 3	Deposit Portland £1 Swanage 10/-	1 - 10 - - “
Swanage “ “	15 - - -	Bill poster “ 12/6 in advance	
“ “ -	11 8	Mr and M/s Slade	3 - 10
		Hire of Lantern and film	3 - - -
		Gas and Limes	3 - 16 - 0
		Balance	18 - 14 - 4
£76 - 15 - 4		£76 - 15 - 4	

Profit £18 - 14 - 4

50% £9 - 7 - 2 to Mr Slade

50% £9 - 7 - 2 to Mr Baring

Week 4

Balance Sheet Animated Photos Coy week ending Sept 18/97

Receipts		Expenditure	
Lyme Regis Show aft	19 - 6	Rent of halls etc etc as per manifold writer	39 - 4 - 10
“ “ Ev Gross receipts & Progs	12 - 2 - 0	Printing	9 - 18 - 8
Sidmouth ⅔ of G.R 24/11/6	16 - 7 - 8	Advance agent	2 - 17 - 7
Progs	10 - 2	Mr and M/s Slade	3 - 10
Day bills & Slips	10 - -	Hire of Lantern & film	3 - - -
Sherborne Gross takings & Progs	17 - 11 - -	Gas & Limes	4 - - -
Ilfracombe 60% of “ “ 21/4/6	13 - 15 - 11	Bill poster Sherborne £1 Deposit 10/-	1 - 10 - -
Progs	7 - 4	Advert Sherborne	7 - 6
Day bills and date slips	8 - 6	Mr Barings a/c Wires 21/6 Postage of circulars etc,etc	2 - 10 - 8
Minehead Gross receipts & Progs	10 - 0 - 9	a/c Mr Slade condenser &	1 - 16 - 3
“ “	9 - 16 - 2	Balance	16 - 13 - 6
	<u>£85 - 12 - 0</u>		<u>£85 - 12 - 0</u>
		Profit £16 - 13 - 6	
		50% 8 - 6 - 9 to Mr Slade	
		50% 8 - 6 - 9 to Mr Baring	
		<u>£16 - 13 - 6</u>	

Week 5 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

For week (6 days) ending September 25 1897

1897		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Sept 20	By 2/3 of £14 - 11- 6	Dartmouth	9 - 7 - 8	Rent of Halls etc ,etc as per duplicate book	33 - 19 - 2
"	"	Programmes	5 - 4	To Printing Stafford & Wilson	7 - 4 - 9
" 21	" 2/3 of 9 - 8 - 6	"	6 - 3 - 8	Advance Agents %	2 - 4 - 7
"	"	Programmes	1 - 6	Mr Barings a/c Wires Stps Progs postage circlrs	2 - 9 - 11
" 22	"	House & Programmes	Newton Abbot 12 - 3 - 10	" "	
" 23	"	"	" " 12 - 17 - 3	Deposit Newton Abbot & circulars Wellington & 1 - 13 - 3	
" 24	"	"	Uttoxeter 19 - 19 - 6	Wiveliscombe	
"	"	Mrs Bank fare	12 - 3	Mr & Miss Slade's living	3 - 10 - 0
" 25	"	House & Programmes	Wiveliscombe 12 - 9 - 7	Instalment on a/c of lantern	3 - - -
				Advt Wiveliscombe 5/8 Wellington 5/-	10 - 8
				Mr Slade Gas & Limes	3 - 15 -
			-----		-----
			<u>£ 74 - 2 - 7</u>		<u>£ 74 - 2 - 7</u>
				50% on profit to)	
				Mr Slade paid) [calculations	
				into his a/c at) here impossible to copy]	
				Capital & Co Bk Cheltenham)	

Week 6 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

For week (6 days) ending October 2 1897

1897		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Sept 27	By 60% on £25 - 2 - 9 being 3 days at Matlock		15 - 1 - 7	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book	27 - 19 - 0
" 30	"	House & Programmes	Uttoxeter 9 - 7 - 2	" Printing Stafford & Wilson	6 - 9 - 2
Oct 1	"	"	" 9 - 7 - 10	" Advance Agents a/c	2 - 13 -
" 2	"	"	Clay Cross 6 - 0 - 4	" Mr & Miss Slade's a/c	3 - 10 -
		Mrs Banks Fares	6 - 8 1/2	" Instalment on a/c of Lantern & film (last)	6 - - -
	"	Saving on Gas to date (over pd average)	5 - 3 -	" Mr Slade Gas & Limes	3 - 9 - 4
		which closes a/c to Clay X & leaves abt 30/- in hd		" Barings a/c Wires Stps Postage Circulars	2 - 11 - 8
		Loss to Balance	8 - 16 - 9 1/2	" Advts Clay Cross 9/- & Programmes 9/6	- - -
			-----	" Deposit Uttoxeter 10/- Bell P etc 6/3	1 - 11 - 3
			<u>£54 - 3 - 5</u>		<u>£54 - 3 - 5</u>
				over pd Gas Due from MS	\$5 - 3 - 0
				This week's 1/2 loss	4 - 8 - 4 3/4
					<u>£9 - 11 - 4 3/4</u>
				I owe Mr S on above for	
				Lantern f , gas & c --	£9 - 9 - 4
				Received Cash	2 - = 3/4
					<u>£9 - 11 - 4 3/4</u>

Agreed to date that above A/C should close the a/c of lantern & film. Same at end of our tours to be Mr Slade's property

EB

Above closes a/c of Gas as per B. O Coy's bill to Clay Cross & leaves about 30/-'s worth of gas in hand All gas in future to be charged as per invoice

EB

Week 7 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

For week (6 days) ending October 9 1897

1897		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Oct 4	By House & Programmes	Bakewell	11 - 13 - 2	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book	34 - 4 - 5
" 5	"	"	" 11 - 6 - 5	" Printing Stafford & Wilsons	9 - 3 - 6

“ 6	“ “ “	Chesterfield	14 - 13 - 2	“ Agents a/c	2 - - -
“ 7	“ “ “	“	12 - 10 - 9	“ Baring’s a/c Wires Stps Carriage on Circulars &c	1 - 8 - 2
“ 8	“ “ “	Pontefract	12 - 18 - 9	“ Mr & Miss Slade’s living expenses (by cheque)	3 - 10 - 0
“ 9	“ “ “	“	9 - 17 - -	“ Mr Slade Gas Limes &c 1/14 = 11/-	1 - 12 - 4
	Mrs Banks fares		- 10 - 5	“ Deposit on Halls Chesterfield £1- Pontefract £1	2 - - -
				“ Postage of Circulars Bakewell, Cheterfield, Pontefract	1 - 11 - 3
				“ Drive from Clay X to Bakewell 13/- Drinks 10p	13 - 10
				“ Bill Poster Pontefract on a/c (Deposit)	15 -
				“ Additions to M/Cs &c (material & labour)	1 - 12 -
				“ Advts Chesterfield 5/- 6/- Pontefract 5/- (not presented)	16 -
				“ Agent Sent to Honiton but never recd	1 - - -
			-----	Balance	<u>13 - 3 - 2</u>
			<u>£73 - 9 - 8</u>		<u>£73 - 9 - 8</u>
				Half Profit to Mr Slade	£6 - 11 - 7
				Gas & Limes as above	<u>1 - 12 - 4</u>
					£8 - 3 - 11
				Less £5 wired to Wetherby	<u>5 - - -</u>
				Cheque herewith to Bal	£3 - 3 - 11

Week 8 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet						
Week ending October 16/97						
1897	Receipts			Expenditure		
Oct 11	By House & Programmes	Thorne	6 - 3 - 2	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book		33 - 6 - 2
“ 12	“ “ “	Wetherby	3 - 6 - 0	“ Printing Stafford & Wilsons		8 - 7 - 0
“ 13	“ “ “	Ulverston	9 - 0 - 2	“ Agents a/c		2 - 9 - 3
“ 14	“ “ “	“	3 - 8 - 3	“ Baring’s a/c Wires Stps Carriage & on Circulars		1 - 3 - 10
“ 15	“ “ “	Millom	6 - 11 - 3	“ Mr & Miss Slade’s living		3 - 10 - 0
“ 16	“ “ “	“	2 - 9 - 6	“ Mr Slade Gas Limes &c		3 - 14 - 4
		Loss to Balance	24 - 12 - 3	“ Stock H Bills 10000 (long)		17 - 6
				“ Postage of Circulars Thorne Millom Ulverston		16 -
				“ 1 Advert Thorne 4/- 1 Ulverston 5/- (not presented)		9 -
			-----			-----
			<u>£55 - 10 - 7</u>			<u>£55 - 10 - 7</u>
				½ Loss due from Mr Slade	£12 - 6 - 1½	
				Due to Mr Slade for living	£3 - 10 - 0) as above	
				“ “ “ “ Gas & Limes	3 - 14 - 4)	
					<u>£7 - 4 - 4</u>	
				Loss	£12 - 6 - 1½	
				Less due to Mr S	7 - 4 - 4	
				Bal due from you	<u>£5 - 1 - 9½</u>	

Week 9 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet						
Week ending October 23/97						
1897	Receipts			Expenditure		
Oct 18	By House & Programmes	Bowness	3 - 18 - 10	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book		29 - 2 - 1
“ 19	“ “ “	Keswick	12 - 4 - -	“ Printing Stafford & Wilsons		8 - 19 - 2
“ “ “ “	do	“	7 - 9	“ Agents a/c		2 - 10 - 3
“ 20	“ “ “	Ambleside	10 - 15 - 4	“ Baring’s a/c Wires Stps Carriage		1 - 10 - 11
“ 21	“ “ “	Ilkley	3 - 7 - 4	“ Mr & Miss Slade’s living		3 - 10 - 0
“ “ “ “	“	“	4 - 7	“ “ Slade Gas Limes &c		2 - 13 - 2
“ 22	“ “ “	“	2 - 10 - -	“ Postage circulars Bowness Ambleside		9 - 6
“ “ “ “	“	“	2 - -	“ Advt for “ “ (Kendal Gazette)		8 - -
“ “ “ “	Day bills, Stps, H Bills	“	18 - 6			-----
“ 23	“ House	Knottingley	4 - 14 - 3			£49 - 3 - 1
“ “ “ “	Progs	“	2 - 5			-----
			-----			-----
			39 - 5 - 0			
		Loss to Balance	9 - 18 - 1			
			-----			-----

	<u>£49 - 3 - 1</u>	<u>£49 - 3 - 1</u>
Due to Mr Slade	£3 - 10 - 0 living	
“ “ “ “	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u> Gas & limes	
	<u>£6 - 3 - 2</u>	
½ Loss as above	£4 - 19 - ½	
Bal due on last weeks loss	<u>5 - 1 - 9½</u>	
	£10 - 0 - 10	
less above	<u>6 - 3 - 2</u>	
Still due from Mr Slade	<u>£3 - 17 - 8</u> which please remit	
	<u>EB</u>	

Week 10 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending October 30th /1897

1897	<u>Receipts</u>			<u>Expenditure</u>	
Oct 25	By House & Programmes	Ripon	47 - 13 - 9	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book	44 - 16 - 4
“ 26	“ “	Louth	16 - 12 - 2	“ Printing Stafford & Wilsons	9 - 6 - 7
“ 27	“ “	Newark	14 - 6 - 9	“ Agents a/c	3 - 1 - 4
“ 28	“ “	“	8 - 8 - 8	“ Baring's a/c Wires Stps Carriage	1 - 9 - 10
“ 29	“ “	Eckington	2 - 16 - 1	“ Mr & Miss Slade's living	3 - 10 - 0
“ 30	“ “	“	6 - - -	“ “ Slade Gas Limes &c	1 - 17 - 4
				“ Postage of circulars Ripon Louth Newark Eckington	1 - 8 - 4
				“ Deposit Eckington	10 -
				“ Ripon Observer 15/- Bal on H Bills 7/6 Help 5/6	1 - 8 -
				“ Rent of Hall Newark	2 - 16 - 9
				Profit Balance	25 - 12 - 11
					<u>£95 - 17 - 5</u>
				Due to Mr Slade	Less balance of loss due from last week
				Limes &c £1 - 17 - 4	£3 - 17 - 8
				½ Profit 12 - 16 - 5½	£10 - 16 - 1½

Week 11 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending November 6th /1897

1897	<u>Receipts</u>			<u>Expenditure</u>	
Nov 1	By House & Programmes	Workshop	21 - 13 - 6	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book	44 - 5 - 5
“ 2	“ “	Melton Mowbray	23 - 13 - 1	“ Printing Stafford & Wilsons	13 - 16 - 3
“ 3	“ “	Stamford	33 - 8 - 2	“ Agents a/c	2 - 12 -
“ 4	“ “	Hunstanton	14 - 8 - 8	“ Baring's a/c Wires Stps Carriage: Fare: Roll Tkts Sheets	2 - 2 - 4
“ 5	“ “	Kings Lynn	3 - 11 - 9	“ Mr & Miss Slade's living	3 - 10 - 0
“ 6	“ “	“	1 - 11 - 8	“ Postage on circulars (5 Towns)	1 - 14 - 10
“ “	Allowed Willsons on H Bills		5 -	“ Stamford Billposter	2 - 5 -
				“ Gas & Limes Mr Slade	2 - 13 - 2
				“ Deposit Melton 10/- Stamford £1	1 - 10 -
				“ Colouring film	1 - 15 -
				“ Advt Ripon Gazette (last week)	15 -
				“ Barnett Gift from Mr Slade & B	1 - 1 -
				“ Loss on Cambray Bazaar	3 - 11 -
				“ 14 Poster wasted through Banks leaving	3 - 6
				“ Lynn Advertiser 11/- News 7/6	18 - 6
				Balance Profit	<u>15 - 18 - 10</u>
					<u>£98 - 11 - 10</u>
				½ Profit for Mr Slade	
				£7 - 19 - 5½	

Week 12 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending November 13th /1897

1897		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Nov 8	By 65% on Gross £10	East Dereham	6 - 10 -	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book	30 - 19 - 3
" "	" Progs 2/10 H Bills 5/- P Bills 8/6 "		16 - 4	" Printing Stafford & Wilsons	9 - 2 - 5
" 9	House & Programmes	Lincoln	11 - 10 - 3	" Agents a/c	3 - 1 - 8
" 10	" " " "		12 - 9 - 8	" Baring's a/c Wires Stps Carriage Advt Era	1 - 7 - 2
" 11	" " " "	Ripon	15 - 16 - 6	" Mr & Miss Slade's living	3 - 10 - 0
" 12	" " " "	Malton	12 - 9 - 9	" " Slade Gas & Limes	2 - 13 - 2
" 13	" " " "	"	- - -	" Postage on circulars (3 towns)	1 - 3 - 2
				" Progs 17/6 Roll T 4/6 Hall on a/c 10/-	1 - 12 -
				" Bill Poster Lincoln £1 Advt Hunstanton 11/6	1 - 11 - 6
				" Booking on a/c Lynn 7/- Linc Gazette 10/- 300 T nights 4/6	1 - 1 - 6
				" Linc Echo 16/3 Linc Chron 10/-	1 - 6 - 3
				" Ripon Observer 15/- Malton Messenger 9/-	1 - 4 -
				" Manageress-in-chief	15 -
				Balance Profit	<u>5 - 5</u>
			<u>£59 - 12 - 6</u>	To Mr Slade Gas & Limes £2 - 13 - 2	<u>£59 - 12 - 6</u>
				½ Profit	<u>2 - 9</u>
					<u>£2 - 15 - 11</u>

Week 13 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending November 20 /97

1897		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Nov 15	By House & Programmes	Holbeach	6 - 8 - 9	To Rent of Halls &c &c as per Duplicate Book	33 - 7 - 4
" 16	" " " "	Swaffham	10 - 16 - 7	" Printing Stafford & Wilsons	8 - 15 - 2
" 17	" " " "	Newmarket	11 - 18 - 3	" Agents a/c including Holbeach arcs	2 - 18 -
" 18	" " " "	"	6 - 16 - 1	" Baring's a/c Wires Stps Carriage	1 - 4 - 7
" 19	" " " "	Oundle	12 - 11 - 2	" Mr & Miss Slade's living	3 - 10 - 0
" "	" " " "	School	10 - 10 -	" " Gas & Limes & 2/- Limes spoilt	2 - 15 - 2
" 20	" " " "	Fryston	3 - 6 - 3	" Postage on circulars (4 Towns)	18 - 4
	" Wired to Miss S by EB		3 - - -	" Hall Fryston 10/- Deposit Newmarket £1 Pianist 2/6	1 - 12 - 6
				" Holbeach advt & Booking on a/c 7/- Eckington Advt 4/6	11 - 6
				" Repaid E Baring amt wired	3 - - -
				" Oundle Guardian 5/- Ripon extra advt (Beale) 2/6	7 - 6
				Balance Profit	<u>6 - 7 -</u>
			<u>£65 - 7 - 1</u>		<u>£65 - 7 - 1</u>

[Calculations here in three different hands, mostly written on the diagonal, analysing the above record of receipts and expenditure]

Week 14 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending November 27th 1897

1897		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Nov 22	By House & Programmes	Hitchin	18 - 6 - 7	To Rent of Halls &c &c as per Duplicate Book	39 - 0 - 3
" 23	" 65% of th Gross Receipts	Sunbury	4 - 2 - 8	" Printing Stafford & Wilsons	12 - 6 - 6
" "	" Daybills 8/6 Programmes	" 2/1	10 - 7	" Agents a/c	2 - 18 - 1
" 24	" House & Programmes	Harrow	10 - 18 - 9	" Baring's a/c Wires Stps Carriage	2 - 6 - 6
" 25	" " " "	Woking	11 - 9 - 1	" Mr & Miss Slade's living	3 - 10 - 0
" 26	" " " "	Slough	15 - 19 - 1	" " Slade Gas & Limes	2 - 13 - 8
" 27	" " " "	Bracknell	4 - 9 - 7	" Postage on circulars (5 Towns)	1 - 8 - 6
				" Films Gordon H & F Brigade	2 - 12 -
	By Loss to balance		4 - 17 - 11	" Deposit Harrow £1 Woking deposit £1	2 - - -
				" Bill Poster Bracknell 15/- Advt Woking (advertiser) 7/6	1 - 2 - 6
				" Advt Oundle unpaid 6/3	<u>6 - 3</u>
			<u>£70 - 4 - 3</u>		<u>£70 - 4 - 3</u>
				Loss	<u>£4 - 17 - 11</u>
				½ due from Mr S	<u>£2 - 8 - 11½</u>
				Due to Mr Slade Gas & Limes	£2 - 13 - 8
				Less ½ loss	<u>2 - 8 - 11½</u>
					<u>£4 . 8½</u>

Week 15 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending December 4th 1897

1897

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Expenditure</u>			
Nov 29	By House & Programmes	Sherborne	11 - 11	To Rent of Halls &c &c as per Duplicate Book			33 - 9 - 4
" 30	" " "	Martock	7 - 1 - 1	" Printing Stafford & Wilsons			8 - 2 - 2
Dec 1	" " "	Bridport (Matinée)	4 - 16 - 7	" Agents a/c			2 - 13 - 5
" "	" " "	"	30 - 15 - 5	" Baring's a/c Wires Stps Carriage			1 - 17 - 10
" 2	" " "	Chard	7 - 6 - -	" Mr & Miss Slade's living			3 - 10 - 0
" 3 & 4	HMS 'Boscawen' & 'Minotaur'		10 - - -	" " Slade Gas & Limes			2 - 13 - 2
	From Last week		2 - 3	" Postage on circulars (4 Towns)			1 - 3 - 9
				" Deposit Sherborne 10/- Bill P £1			1 - 10 - -
				" Palmer Martock Advt &c			10 - 6
						Balance Profit	15 - 12 - 1
			£71 - 2 - 3				£71 - 2 - 3
				½ Profit due to Mr Slade	£7 - 16 - 0		
				Gas & Limes	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u>		
					£10 - 9 - 2		

Week 16 Accounts

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Tour

Balance Sheet

Ending Dec 13/97

1897

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Expenditure</u>			
Dec 6	By House & Programmes	Dorchester	19 - 10 - -	To Rent of Halls &c &c as per Duplicate Book			32 - 2 - 3
" 7	" " "	"	7 - 17 - 1	" Printing Stafford & Wilsons (6 Towns)			11 - 2 - 1
" 8	" " "	Wareham	10 - 3 - 11	" Agents a/c			2 - 2 - 6
" 9	" " "	Christchurch	7 - 15 - 5	" Baring's a/c Wires Stps Carriage			1 - 5 - 8
" 10	" " "	Ringwood	12 - 4 - 4	" Mr & Miss Slade's living			3 - 10 - 0
" 11	" " "	Portland	11 - 8 - 8	" " Slade Gas & Limes			2 - 13 - 2
" 13	" " "	Bridport	10 - 3 - 9	" Postage on circulars (6 Towns)			1 - 13 - 6
	" Mrs Templer Private Engt "		5 - 10 - -	" Dorchester D £1 Wareham 10/-			1 - 10
	" Choir Boys (Special) "		6 - 6	" Agents a/c Extra days			1 - 8 - 5
				" Mrs Majors a/c 3/- Tips Mr S 1/6			4 - 6
				" Expenses Bridport as per copy book			7 - 17 - 10
				" Morgan Bal of salary & Lorry			1 - 4 - 6
				" Rent & gas Ringwood			2 - - -
				" " " Bridport			2 - 2 - -
				" Xmas Present to Miss Slade			2 - 2 - -
				" Balance Profit			<u>12 - 1 - 3</u>
			£84 - 19 - 8				£84 - 19 - 8
				To Mr Slades ½ Profit	£6 - 0 - 8		
				" " Gas & Limes	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u>		
					£8 - 13 - 10		

ii) Slade's Electro Photo Marvel Tour 2: 27 December 1897 – 19 March 1897
Accounts transcribed

Week 17

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Jan 1st 1898

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Payments</u>	
Dec 27	By House & Programmes	Mansfield	20 - 4 - 3	To Rent of Halls &c as per Duplicate Bk	37 - 8 - 3
" 28	"	Scarboro	10 - 17 - 11	" Printing	9 - 6 - 0
" 29	"	Mat	5 - 1 - 6	" agents a/c including carr & 10/- Mansfield BP	3 - 7 - 4
" "	"	Ev	14 - 15 - 1	" Barings a/c Stps Wires Carr &c	2 - 5 - .
" 30	"	Thirsk	5 - 1 - 2	" Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10
" 31	"	Alston	" " "	" Mr Slade Gas Limes & Condenser	3 - 1 - 8
Jan 1	"	Moffat	12 - 12 - 5	" Postage on Circulars (4 Towns)	1 - 4 - 1
				" Deposits Scarboro £2 Moffat 10/-	2 - 10 - 0
				" Bill Poster Scarboro 1/15/2 Scarboro Gazette 6/6	2 - 1 - 8
				" Mansfield Reporter 4/- Advertiser 4/- Printing a/c 9/-	17 .
				" 300 Programmes Sent Ringwood	6 .
				" ¼ cost of 3000 Progs 7/6 ¼ cost of Roll J Book	11 - 6
				" W D Slades a/c Postages &c	17 .
				Profit Balance	1 - 6 - 10
				½ Profit to Mr Slade £0 - 13 - 5	
				Gas Limes &c	<u>3 - 1 - 8</u>
				Due to Mr Slade	<u>3 - 15 - 1</u>

Week 18

Messrs Slade and Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Jan 8th/98

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Payments</u>	
Jan 3	By House & Programmes	Motherwell	10 - 6 - 2	To Rent of halls as per Duplicate Book	32 - 18 - 8
" 4	"	"	8 - 16 - 8	Printing	9 - 10 - 1
" 5	"	Beith	1 - 18 - 8	. Agents a/c	2 - 19 - 8
" 6	"	Ardrossan	8 - 18 - 2	. Barings a/c Stps Wires Carr &c	1 - 16 - 7
" 7	"	Irvine	7 - 4 - 2	. Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 - 0
" 8	"	Troon	13 - 18 - 8	. Mr Slade Gas & Limes	2 - 13 - 2
	" Morgan Off Loan		5 -	. Postage on Circulars (4 Towns)	1 - 4 - 9
	Loss to Balance		<u>5 - 16 - 11</u>	. ¼ cost of 3000 Progs 7s 6d ¼ cost of tkts etc 4s-	11 - 6
			<u>£57 - 4 - 5</u>	. Deposit Motherwell	<u>2 . .</u>
					<u>£57 - 4 - 5</u>
				Due to Mr Slade from last week	£3 - 15 - 1
				" " Gas & Limes this "	<u>£2 - 13 - 2</u>
					£ 6 - 8 - 3
				Less half loss this wk	<u>2 - 18 - 6</u>
				Now due to Mr Slade & cheque herewith	<u>£3 - 9 - 9</u>
				Several H Billing a/cs & Bill posters not charged as amts not agreed upon	EB

Week 19

Messrs Slade & Barings Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Jan 15th/98

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Payments</u>	
Jan 10	By 65% on House	Ayr	8 - 11 - 11	To Rent of Halls &c as per Duplicate Book	21 - 11 - 0
11	" " "	"	4 - 17 - 6	" Printing	6 . .
12	" " "	"	2 - 9 - 1	" Agents a/c including 5s he paid at Beith	2 - 8 - 11
13	" House & Programmes	Douglas	8 - 13 - 3	" Baring a/c stps wires carr	1 - 9 - 3
14	" " "	Lanark	4 - 11 - 9	" Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 - 0
15	" " "	"	3 - 2 - 4	" Postage on circulars (2 Towns)	9 - 4
	" repaid by Morgan on a/c of loan		5	" ¼ cost of 3000 progs 7s 6d ¼ditto tkts @4s	11 - 6
	" allowed me off Hall on a/c of your				

frequent bookings re 2 nd visit to Bridport	10 - 6	“ five slides	3
Loss to Balance	<u>5 -14 -10</u>		
	<u>38 -16 - 2</u>		<u>38 - 16 -2</u>

½ loss due from Mr Slade £2 - 17 - 5
 Gas & limes due to Mr Slade 2 - 13 - 2 Still due from Mr S £ 0 - 4 - 3

Week 20

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Jan 22nd 1898

<u>Receipts</u>			<u>Expenditure</u>		
_Jany 17	By House & Programmes	Hawick 18 - 8 - 1	To Rent of halls as per Duplicate Book	38 - 19 - 6	
“	“ “	“ 7 - 12 -	“ Printing	7 - 7 - 6	
“	“ “	Berwick 12 - 1 - 9	“ Agents a/c including carr of printing Lanark	3 - 2 - 1	
“	“ “	“ 8 - 16 - 5	“ Barings a/c stps wires carr	2 - 3 - 1	
“	“ “	Galashiels 18 - 11 -	“ Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 -	
“	“ “	“ 7 - 4 - 1	“ Slade gas and limes	2 - 13 - 2	
“	Morgan	5 -	“ Postage and circulars (3 towns)	19 - 10	
			“ ¼ cost of 3000 progs 7s 6d ¼ cost of tickets at 4s	11 - 6	
			“ Deposit Hawick £1 Galashiels £1	2 - 0 - 0	
			“ Morris's of Berwick 9s Hamilton Advertiser 7s 6d	16 - 6	
			“ Turner Irvine 6s 4d, Reading Observer 6s 6d	12 - 10	
			“ Young & Son Chard Tonights & Advt left unpaid	9 -	
			Profit to balance	<u>9 - 13 - 4</u>	
		<u>£72 - 18 - 4</u>		<u>£72 - 18 - 4</u>	
	Less B ½ profit	<u>4 - 12 - 5</u>		less Mg ½ profit	<u>4 - 16 - 8</u>
		68 - 5 - 11			68 - 1 - 8
			½ Profit due to Mr Slade	£4 - 16 - 8	
			Gas and limes	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u>	
				7 - 9 - 10	

Week 21

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos tour

Balance Sheet No 21 Tour 2nd

Week ending Jan 29th 1898

<u>Receipts</u>			<u>Expenditure</u>		
Jan 24	By House & Programmes	Peebles 16 - 7 - 5	To rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book	34 - 16 - 4½	
25	“ “ “	Biggar 17 - 14 -	“ Printing	10 - 1 - 2	
26	“ “ “	Portobello 5 - 13 - 2	“ Agents a/c which includes Portobello B P	4 - 1 - 3	
27	“ “ “	Dunbar 15 - 15 - 8	“ Barings a/c	2 - 5 - 6	
28	“ “ “	Penicuik 7 - 15 - 9	“ Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 -	
29	“ “ “	“ 5 - 4 -	“ Postage on Circulars (5 towns) and)	
“	Morgan	5 -	addressing envelopes at two) 1 - 16 - 6	
			“ Balance in Miss Slade's hand	8 - 17 - 7½	
			Balance Profit	14 - 5	
		<u>£68 - 16 - 0</u>		<u>£68 - 16 - 0</u>	
	Baring ½ profit		less my profit	<u>7 - 3</u>	
				68 - 8 - 9	
			½ profit due to Mr Slade	7 - 3	8 - 17 - 7½
			Gas & limes “ “ “	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u>	
				<u>3 - 0 - 5</u>	59 - 11 - 1½

Week 22

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Feby 5 1898

<u>Receipts</u>			<u>Expenditure</u>		
1898	By House & Programmes	Haddington 6 - 3 - 2	To Hire of Halls as per Duplicate Book	28 - 7 - 10½	
Jan 31	“ “ “	“ 1 - 9 - 6	“ Agents a/c including cost of Printing Basket	3 - 14 - 6	
Feb 2	“ “ “	Musselboro 3 - 0 - 3	“ Printing a/c	7 - 19 - 10	
Feb 3	“ “ “	“ 2 - 5 - 8	“ Barings a/c Wires, Stps, Carr	1 - 18 - 9	
Feb 4	“ “ “	Bo'ness 4 - 8 - 10	“ Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 -	
	“ Bal in hand Brt Forwd	8 - 18 - 7½	“ Miss Slade's Salary	15 -	

Balance loss	18 - 0 - 11	“ “ “ cash in hand	7 - 8
	<u>£50 - 6 - 5½</u>		<u>£50 - 6 - 5½</u>
Loss	18 - - 11	Due to Mr Slade from last wk	£3 - 0 - 5
	<u>32 - 5 - 6½</u>	“ “ “ “ Gas & Limes this wk	2 - 13 - 2
Baring ½ loss	9 - - - 5½	“ “ Miss Slade's salary	15 -
	41 - 6 - -	½ loss on this week	£6 - 8 - 7
Deduct Balance	<u>8 - 18 - 7½</u>	less due to Mr	£9 - 0 - 5½
	32 - 7 - 4½	Due from Mr Slade to Mr Baring	£6 - 8 - 7
			<u>£2 - 11 - 10½</u>

Week 23

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Week ending February 12 1898

1898		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Feb 7	Bal in hand last week		7 - 8	To Rent of Halls as per duplicate book	£24 - 2 - 1½
“ “	By House & Programmes	Uphall	5 - 14 - 5	“ Printing	10 - 6 - 4
“ 8	“ “ “	Bannockburn	4 - 15 -	“ Agents a/c	2 - 9 - 5
“ 9	“ 65% “ “	Alloa	12 - 4 - 9	“ Barings a/c Stps Wires Carr	2 - 5 - 6
“ 10	“ “ “ “	“	4 - 11 - 6	“ Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 -
“ 11	“ House “ “	Kincardine	8 - 19 - 6	“ Postage on circulars (4 towns)	14 - 9
“ 12	“ “ “ “	Dunblane	3 - 10 - 10	“ Deposit Alloa & 3d charged by Rae	1 - 0 - 3
	“ Deposit Alloa repaid by Mr Rae		1 - . - .	“ Balance in Miss Slade's hands	13 - 14 - 3½
	“ H Billing “ “ “ “		- 3 -	“ Mr Slade Gas & Limes	2 - 13 - 2
	Loss to balance		19 - 9 - 2		
			<u>£60 - 15 - 10</u>		<u>£60 - 15 - 10</u>
	Loss		<u>19 - 19 - 2</u>	½ loss due from Mr Slade	£9 - 14 - 7
			41 - 6 - 8	Balance due from Mr Slade last wk	<u>2 - 11 - 10½</u>
	add Baring ½ loss[?]		<u>9 - 14 - 7</u>		12 - 6 - 5
	less Bal_		51 - 1 - 3	Less Gas & Limes this week	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u>
			<u>7 - 8</u>	Still due from Mr Slade	<u>9 - 13 - 3</u>
			50 - 13 - 7	to Mr Baring	

Week 24

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending February 19 1898

1898		<u>Receipts</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Feb	By Bal from last week		13 - 14 - 3½	To Rent of Halls as per Duplicate Book	33 - 9 - 2½
“ 14	“ House & Programmes	Alva	4 - 13 - 11	“ Printing a/c	11 - 7 - 8
“ 15	“ “ “	Bridge of Allan	12 - 13 - 8	“ Agents a/c £3 - 5s - 2d½ less £1 by boy	2 - 5 - 2½
“ 16	“ “ “	Campsie	2 - 6 - 0	“ Barings a/c Stps Wires Carr	2 - 3 - 2
“ 17	“ “ “	Clackmanon [sic]	- - -	“ Mr & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 - 0
“ 18	“ “ “	Dumferline [sic]	7 - 1 - 11	“ “ Slade Gas & Limes	2 - 13 - 2
“ 19	“ “ “	Lochgelly	6 - 18 - 9	“ Postage on Circulars (2 Towns)	6 - 6
	Loss to Balance		19 - 5 - 8½	“ Deposit Lochgelly	10 - 0
			<u>£66 - 14 - 3</u>	“ Bal in Miss Slade hands	10 - 9 - 4
	less Bal:		<u>13 - 14 - 3½</u>		<u>£66 - 14 - 3</u>
			53 - - -	½ loss due from Mr Slade	9 - 12 - 10¼
	Mr Baring ½ loss		<u>9 - 12 - 10</u>	Due last week	<u>9 - 13 - 3</u>
			62 - 12 - 10		19 - 6 - 1
	deduct loss		<u>19 - 5 - 8</u>	Less Gas & Limes	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u>
			43 - 7 - 2		<u>16 - 12 - 11</u>

Week 25

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending February 26th 1898

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Expenditure</u>			
Feb 21	By House & Programmes	Kirkcaldy	8 - 2 - 10	To Hire of halls as per Duplicate Book			30 - 7 - 2½
" 22	" " "	"	3 - - - 4	" Printing			8 - 6 - 8
" 23	" " "	Lago [Largo]	2 - 5 - 6	" Agents a/c including 9/- B P B Ferry			3 - 12 - 9
" 24	" " "	Broughty Ferry	8 - 12 - 4	" Barings A/c Carr Wires Stps			2 - 4 - 3
" 25	" " "	Blairgowrie	5 - 13 - -	" Mr & Miss Slade living			3 - 10 - -
" 26	" " "	"	4 - 11 - 10	" " Slade Gas & Limes			2 - 13 - 2
	" Ret for Rent at Kirkcaldy		1 - 1 -	" Postage on Circulars (4 Towns)			19 - 4
	" Bal from last week		10 - 8 - 4	" Mr Arthur Billposter			5 - 6
	By loss to balance		18 - 11 - 8	" Deposit Kirkcaldy			10
			-----	" Balance in Miss Slade's hands			9 - 18 - 11½
			<u>£62 - 7 - 10</u>				-----
	Cr Balance	10 - 9 - 4					<u>£62 - 7 - 10</u>
	" loss	<u>18 - 11 - 8</u>	<u>29 - 1 - -</u>	" ½ loss due from Mr Slade	£9 - 5 - 10		<u>9 - 18 - 11½</u>
			33 - 6 - 10	Due from last week by "	<u>16 - 12 - 11</u>		52 - 8 - 10½
	add ½ loss Mr B	<u>9 - 5 - 10</u>	<u>42 - 12 - 8</u>		£25 - 18 - 9		
				Less Gas & Limes	<u>2 - 13 - 2</u>		
				Bal now due to	<u>£23 - 5 - 7</u>		
				Mr Baring from Mr Slade			

Week 26

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Mar 5 1898

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Expenditure</u>			
Feb 28	By House and Programmes	Carnoustie	7 - 6 - 6	To Hire of Halls as per Duplicate Book			36 - 19 - 9
Mar 1	" " "	Brechin	7 - 14 - 9	" Printing			12 - 3 - 6
" 2	" " "	Forfar	12 - 15 - 9	" Agents a/c			3 - 1 - -
" 3	" " "	Montrose	13 - 8 - 1	" Barings a/c Wires, Stps, Car			2 - 2 - 6
" 4	" " "	"	5 - 6 - 2	" Mr Slade Gas & Limes			2 - 13 - 2
" 5	" " "	Anstruther	5 - 13 - 5	" " & Miss Slade living			3 - 10 - -
	" Bal from last week		9 - 18 - 11½	" Postage on Circulars (5 Towns)			1 - 10 - 8
	" " over		5 - 6	" Roll tickets 3/- Deposit Montrose			1 - 3 - -
	" Wires received from Dr Nansen		12 - -	" Kelso dep £1 Kelso a/c 4s 6d Lincoln			
				Chro 6s -			1 - 10 - 6
	" Loss to Balance		14 - 15 - 10	" Motherwell B P 6s - Irvine 7s 6d			13 - 6
			-----	" Balance in Miss S hands			<u>11 - 19 - 4½</u>
			<u>£77 - 6 - 11½</u>				<u>£77 - 6 - 11½</u>
	Cm Balce	9 - 18 - 11½		" ½ Loss due from Mr Slade	£7 - 2 - 11		
	less ? Bar	<u>14 - 5 - 10</u>	<u>24 - 4 - 8½</u>	Due from last week "	23 - 5 - 7		
			53 - 2 - 2	Miss Slade's fare Edinboro	<u>1 - 7 - 8</u>		
	Add B's ½ loss	<u>7 - 2 - 11</u>	<u>61 - 5 - 1</u>		31 - 16 - 2		
				Less Gas & L	£2 - 13 - 2	<u>6 - 17 - 2</u>	
				" Dr Nansen	<u>4 - 4 - 0</u>		
					<u>£6 - 17 - 2</u>	<u>£24 - 19 - 0</u>	now due

Week 27

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Mar 12 1898

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Expenditure</u>			
Mar 7	By House and Programmes	Burtonisland	2 - 15 - 2	To Hire of Halls & c as per Duplicate Book			31 - 1 - 3
" 8	" " "	Kinghorn	6 - 4 - -	" Printing			11 - 6 - 0
" 9	" " "	North Berwick	4 - 3 - 5	" Agents a/c			2 - 12 - 8
" 10	" " "	Dunbar	1 - 15 - 6	" Barings a/c Wires Stps Carr			1 - 15 - 2
" 11	" " "	Peebles	1 - 5 - 4	" Mr Slade Gas & Limes			2 - 13 - 2
" 12	" " "	Innerleithen	3 - 7 - 2	" " & Miss Slade living			3 - 10 - -

“ Bal from last week	11 - 19 - 4½	“ Postage on Circulars (6 Town)	17 - 6
Loss to Balance “	21 - 9 - 5½	“ Balance in Miss Slade’s hands	8 - 8
		“ Miss Slade’s Salary	15 - -
	<u>£54 - 19 - 5</u>		<u>£54 - 19 - 5</u>
Cr Bal	11 - 19 - 4½	½ Loss due from Mr Slade	10 - 14 - 8¾
loss	<u>21 - 9 - 5½</u>	Due from Mr S last week	<u>24 - 19 - 0</u>
			£35 - 13 - 9
add ½ Baring?	<u>10 - 14 - 9</u>	Less G & L	£2 - 13 - 2
	£32 - 5 - 4	“ Living	3 - 10 - 2
		“ M of S	<u>15 -</u>
			<u>£6 - 18 - 2</u>
			<u>6 - 18 - 2</u>
			<u>£28 - 15 - 7</u>

Week 28

Messrs Slades & Baring Animated Photos Tour

Balance Sheet

Week ending Mar 19 1898

<u>Receipts</u>				<u>Expenditure</u>			
Mar 14	By House and Programmes	Jedburgh	- - -	To Hire of Halls &c as per Duplicate Book	26 - 7 - 8		
“ 15	“ “ “	Alnwick	4 - 7 - 1	“ Printing (6 Towns)	11 - 4 - 6		
“ 16	“ “ “	Morpeth	4 - 3 - -	“ Agents a/c	3 - 2 - 11		
“ 17	“ “ “	Rothbury	2 - 15 -	“ Barings a/c Wires Stps Carr	2 - 3 - 6		
“ 18	“ “ “	Warkworth	2 - 11 - -	“ Mr Slade Gas & Limes	2 - 13 - 2		
“ 19	“ 2/3rd “ full “	Amble	7 - 6 - 1½	“ & Miss Slade living	3 - 10 - -		
“ 20	“ “ (Sunday Show)	“	- - -	“ Postage on Circulars (6 Towns)	1 - 2 - 10		
“ “	Printing 18/6 less 5/-	“	13 - 6	“ Miss Slade’s Salary not charged last week	15 - -		
“ “	Balance from last week		8 - 8	“ “ “ “ this week	15 - -		
	Loss to Balance		30 - 5 - 1	“ Biggar Bill Poster 2s 6 Herald Ulverston 5s	7 - 6		
				“ Times Goole 4s- Rutherfords a/c 3s 4d	7 - 4		
			<u>£52 - 9 - 5</u>		<u>£52 - 9 - 5</u>		
Cr Bal	8/8 Loss 30 - 5 - 1		<u>30 - 13 - 9</u>	½ Loss due from Mr Slade	£15 - 2 - 6½		
			21 - 15 - 8	Due from Mr Slade last wk	<u>28 - 15 - 7</u>		
add ½ loss to Baring			<u>15 - 2 - 6</u>		43 - 18 - 1½		
			£36 - 18 - 2	Less G & L	£2 - 13 - 4	/	
				“ living	3 - 10 - 0	/	
				“ Miss Slade	15 - -	/	
				Advance “ “	<u>4 - 3 - 4</u>	/	
					£11 - 1 - 8	/	
					<u>11 - 1 - 8</u>		
				Due from Mr Slade to Mr			
				Baring	<u>£32 - 16 - 5½</u>		

**Appendix G: iii) Summary of profit/loss : Slade's Electro-Photo Tour in partnership with Baring⁵⁵⁹ Tour 1
Weeks 1- 16 from 23 August – 12 December 1897**

Week 1 August 23 Burnham 24 Minehead 25/26 Ilfracombe 27 Appledore

Profit: £22 - - 11d

Week 2 29 Appledore 30 Chard 31 Honiton **September** 1 Lyme Regis 2/3/4 Weymouth **Profit : £21. 3. 3d**

Week 3 6 Portland 7 Weymouth 8& 9 Lymington 10&11 Swanage

Profit: £ 9. 7.- 2d

Week 4 14 Lyme Regis 15 Sidmouth 16 Sherborne 17 Ilfracombe 18 Minehead

Profit: £ 8. 6. 9d

Week 5 20&21 Dartmouth 22& 23 Newton Abbot 24 Uttoxeter 25 Wiviliscombe

Profit: £ 7 -17- 7d

Week 6 27&28&29 Matlock 30 Uttoxeter **October** 1 Uttoxeter 2 Clay Cr

Loss: £ 4 . 8. 4 ¾d

Week 7 4&5 Bakewell 6&7 Chesterfield 8&9 Pontefract

Profit: £ 6. 11. 7d

Week 8 11 Thorne 12 Wetherby 13&14 Ulverston 15/16 Millom

Loss: £12. 6. 1½d

Week 9 18 Bowness 19 Keswick 20 Ambleside 21&22 Ilkley 23 Knottingly

Loss: £ 4. 19. ½d

Week 10 25 Ripon 26 Louth 27 &/28 Newark 29&30 Eckington

Profit: £12.16. 5½d

Week 11 November 1 Worksop 2 Melton Mowbray 3 Stamford 4 Hunstanton 5&/6 King's Lynn

Profit: £7. 19. 5½d

Week 12 8 East Dereham 9/10 Lincoln 11 Ripon 12&13 Malton near Scarborough

Profit: 2s 9d

Week 13 15 Holbeach 16 Swaffam 17&18 Newmarket 19 Oundle + Oundle School 20 Fryston (Yorkshire)

Profit: £ 3. 3. 6d

Week 14 22 Hitchin 23 Sunbury on Thames 24 Harrow 25 Woking 26 Slough 27 Bracknell

Loss £2.13. 8d

Week 15 29 Sherborne 30 Martock **December** 1 Bridport 2 Chard 3&4 Portland H.M.S. Boscowen / H.M.S Minataur

Profit: £7.16. 0d

Week 16 6 &7 Dorchester 8 Wareham 9 Christchurch 10 Ringwood 11 Portland 12 Bridport

Profit: £6. 0. 8d

Number of towns visited 73

Tour 2 Weeks 17 – 28 from December 1897 – March 1898⁵⁶⁰

Week 17: December 27 – January 1 ,Mansfield, Scarborough (two nights), Thirsk, Alston, Moffat.

Profit: 13s 5d

Week 18: January 3 to 8 ,Motherwell, a town on the edge of Glasgow, Beith, a manufacturing town in Ayrshire Ardrossan, a port and shipbuilding town on the Clyde coast, Irvine, an inland town and Troon, a prosperous seaside resort.

Loss : £2.18.6d

Week 19: January 10 -15 visiting the prosperous town of Ayr for three nights, Douglas a small town in Lanarkshire followed by Lanark itself for two nights

Loss: £2.17.5d

Week 20: Jan 17- 22 visiting the woollen mill town of Hawick, Berwick,,border town and Galashiels another woollen manufacturing town, all for two nights showed a

Profit: £4.15.8d

Week 21: Jan 24-28 Peebles, Biggar, Portobello, Dunbar, Penicuik (two nights)

Profit: 7½d

Week 22 Jan 31 – Feb 5 Haddington(2nights),Musselburgh(2nights) Bo'ness Bathgate

Loss: £9. -. 5½d

Week 23 Feb 7-12 Uphall Bannockburn,Alloa (2 nights) Kincardine,Dunblane.

Loss: £9.14. 7d

Week 24 February 14- 19 Alva,Bridge of

Allan,Campsie,Clackmannan,Dunfermline,Lochgelly

Loss: £9.14.7d

Week 25 February 21- 26 Kirkcaldy (2 Nights) Largo,Broughty Ferry,Blairgowrie (2 nights)

Loss: £9.12.10¼d

Week 26 February 28 – March 4 Carnoustie Brechin,Forfar,Montrose,Anstruther

Loss: £7. 2.11d

⁵⁵⁹ The memorandum of agreement stated profit/loss after expenses should be equally divided,

⁵⁶⁰ Appendix F Chronology of Second tour, mainly in Scotland

Week 27 March 7-12 Burntisland, Kinghorn. North Berwick Dunbar, Peebles, Innerleithen

Loss: £10.14. 8¾

Week 28 March 14- 19 Jedburgh, Alnwick, Morpeth, Rothbury, Warkworth, Amble

Loss: £15. 2. 6½

Number of towns visited, mainly in Scotland; 57

Total number of towns visited; Tour 1 73 + Tour 2 57 = 130

Appendix H: Letters relating to Slade's visit to HMS Minotaur, Weymouth

Archive nos 67, 65, & 66

Archive no 67: Transcript of letter dated Sat 5 (Sept?)1897 ⁵⁶¹

Dear Mr Slade

Should the weather be as bad as it is today I can hardly expect you to luncheon tomorrow. Should it clear you will find a boat at the second pier, the one you disembarked at yesterday, at 11.30. I will tell the coxswain to look out for you.

The captain will see you after luncheon. I fear the difficulties will be greater than I supposed: but it will do no harm to see Captain Burney and a direct interview will be better than any amount of indirect dealing.

It was a great pleasure to see you all yesterday.

With my kind regards to all,

Yours faithfully, Arthur Baker

Archive no 65: Transcript of undated letter from H.M.S Minotaur, Portland. ⁵⁶²

Dear Sirs

Referring to your memo of October 15 I am instructed to reply that Capt. Burney would be much obliged if Mr Slade would let him know as far as possible what the out of pocket expenses would be. On receipt of Mr Slade's reply Capt. Burney will arrange the matter if possible and I am quite sure that in his capable hands everything will be done to make the most of Mr Slade's generous offer which we heartily appreciate.

Please reply direct to Capt. Burney and oblige.

Yours sincerely, Arthur Baker, Chaplain.

Archive no 66: Transcript of letter dated Nov 1 1897 from H.M.S Minotaur, Portland

Dear Mr Slade

Capt. Burney wishes me to say that he wants two nights entertainment, one on board Boscowan and the other on board, Minotaur but that he cannot pay more than £10 for the two nights. I much fear that this arrangement will not suit you but one difficulty is that we have one establishment but two ships.

If you can manage to come please let Capt. Burney know and in any case please write. If you can come, please say when it would suit you best. I will put you up here and give you every possible help but our funds can't allow of more than £10.0.0 for the whole undertaking.

Apologising for the trouble we have given you and hoping still you may be able to come.

Yours faithfully,

Arthur Baker

⁵⁶¹ Slade exhibited in Weymouth from Thursday – Saturday 2,3,&4 September Portland on Monday 6 September,1897& Weymouth again on Tuesday7 September.

⁵⁶² Calculations on the reverse – Fares and return fares, B/ and B/ Gas and Limes Mr?Ms Slade £2.Total £10 – unless fares are cheaper.

Appendix I Baring letter dated 20 Oct 1897 enquiring about availability of a venue

Telegrams: "Baring, Cheltenham"
Telephone No. 191.

Caterers for High-class

MEMO. from

BARING BROS.

Concerts, Recitals, Theatricals,

In and Out-door Amusements,
Fetes, Fireworks.

3, Ormond Chambers, Cheltenham,

Engagements:

- Mr. Ed. Terry and full London Company
- Miss Fortescue and Co.
- Hogarth's Les Cloches de Corneville
- The Grand Opera Company.
- Cavalleria Rusticana Opera Co.
- Faust Up-to-Date Burlesque.
- Val. Smith's Opera Co.
- "His Excellency."
- The Professor's Love Story.
- Mrs Olga Brandow and Company.
- The Lady Slavey
- Nos. 2 and 3 Companies - 4 Tours.
- Mr. Harry Furniss in
- America in a Hurry.
- Mr. Ben Greet's Pastoral Plays.
- The Sign of the Cross.
- The Manxman.
- Silver King.
- Shadows of a Great City.
- Mr. H. Beerbohm Tree's Companies.
- Woman of no Importance
- and
- A Bunch of Violets.
- Hamilton's Diorama.
- Meister Glee Singers.
- Zulu Choir.
- Paul's Animated Photographs.
- And Hundreds of others, as well as
- Three or Four

PANTOMIMES

Every Year.

Fireworks, Venetian & Old English

Fetes arranged and carried out.

Illuminations, Bazaar and Public

Decorations.

Scenery and Fit-ups supplied on the

Shortest Notice.

ESTIMATES FREE.

✻ ✻

Messrs. BARING are open to

consider offers from really good

companies with first-class success-

for Tours through England, Ireland,

Scotland and Wales, or any partic-

ular part, for long or short periods,

and they would point out that

popular attractions under their

direction take as well as in some of

the best Theatres.

✻ ✻

Please address all communications
to Mr. E. Baring.

Oct 20 1897

Reply

Dear Sir, I am obliged by
you to hand. Please give
me the first refusal
of yr Hall for Oct 30
Is Saturday a
good or bad night
Really very much
obly
Yr Obedt Servant
E. Baring

Appendix I ii) Slade Archive nos 71- 75. Baring to Slade: January – March, 1898

Archive no 71 January 10, 1898

Memorandum from Mr E.B Baring

2 Montpellier Terrace Cheltenham

Telegrams Baring Cheltenham

Dear Mr Slade

Herewith please find 2 weeks a/cs and your cheque to Balance viz £3-9s-9d. I am sorry it is not larger for both our sakes. In Fact I am greatly disappointed at the results so far & if things do not mend we must leave the country at once.

By the end of next week you can fairly well tell how the rest of Tour will go and please write and let me know what your ideas are before I go on booking further.

Signed

Yours F. E. B. Baring.

Archive no 72 January 17, 1898

Dear Mr Slade

Business is bad & if it does not mend by then end of next week we will with your approv (sic) leave the country at once. Neither of us can stand this sort of thing, work and no pay.

I note all you say in yours but the real fact is that the Scotch(sic) are very canny and till they know you they wont venture. I have no doubt what excellent business would be done in many towns if we return now they know the show but till they do we shall not do very ? big I am afraid. I thought the A.P's would have drawn them alone but evidently they will not.

I have already booked Biggar to follow Peebles.

The towns for next week are as follows and I do hope they will turn out well.

Jan 24 Peebles

25 Biggar

26 Portobello

27 Dunbar

28/29 Penicuik

Please find statement enclosed.

As to Stirling and Edinboro(sic) I hear are done out with AP's and I cant get Crawford to share at Stirling and as hall is £6 ? per night I am not disposed to risk myself or at Edinboro unless I can get someone to share. If it was a failure it would swamp us in no time. I don't mind a £5 loss but a £50 or £100 no thank you. It would be quite that if it was a failure in Edinboro

Yrs F E B. Baring

Archive no 73 January 25, 1898

(Unsigned letter in different hand from above letters)

Dear Mr Slade

Please find a/c and cheque to balance £7.5s.7d and I hope matters have now taken a start and will go on improving.

I have an offer for you to show in 'H.M.S Claudian' and think of settling Feb 5th in place of Bathgate but I will let you know further.⁵⁶³

Dr Nansen is here on Feby 12 th ;have you your large sheet down here, if so will you kindly lend it to Mr Rickerby for Nansen's use?

Kindly let me hear and much obliged

Yours faithfully

Archive No 74 March 2, 1898

Dear Mr Slade

The following are the towns for next week,

March 7th Burntisland

8th Kinghorn

9th North Berwick

10th Biggar

11th Peebles

12th Innerleithen

I am obliged by your letter to hand into same tomorrow.

Please find tks 5 balance sheets due to you herewith which shows a bal due to me from you of £23.5s.7d Kindly let me have your cheque for same by return and I hope things will

⁵⁶³ Unable to find any information about H.M.S. Claudian.

Archive no 75 March 14, 1898

Dear Mr Slade

Herewith please find a/c for last week & you will see the loss is £20 odd . I have allowed you off £3.10s.0d for living and 15s for Miss Slade's salary this leaving a balance due to me from you of £28.15s.7d taking your 2a/c's at say £3 and the probable Cylinder Claim at £8 if you will send me a cheque for £18.16s.7d and then you will have plenty in hand. Kindly let me have this at Stirling as I must send Haffords and Willsoms a cheque before I can order any more printing & we want it at once for all towns for the next weeks. I am sorry it was so bad last week but we must profit by the experience and try to make it up which I think we shall do before we end for good this season.

Awaiting your reply by first post as the matter is really urgent

Yrs f E.B. Baring

Note on border as follows – Please mention to Miss S she will find sheets 22-23 added up wrongly
E.B.

Appendix J: Letters to Edward Baring from Stanley Howard (Albany Ward)

Letter 1 On headed notepaper *Velograph Animated Photo Entertainment Co. (On tour)*

Manager Stanley Howard Permanent Address 45 Elgin Avenue, London W
E. Baring Esq Feb 9th 1898

Dear Sir

I do not think that there is any need to introduce myself further than to say that I am the Mr Bonnor who had charge of the Velograph on your tour. I am now starting with a company of my own including the latest pictures, all new and a first class lady vocalist and comedian. I am open to do business with you if you care to, either with the 'Velograph' alone or the whole company on shares or otherwise. I might tell you that the pictures I am showing now are far superior to what I had on your tour, my own pictures being all new and up to date.

Awaiting the favour of your reply

I am yours faithfully, Stanley Howard

Letter 2 Same heading as letter 1 address; 69 Cotham Brow, Bristol scored out
c/o Miss Edith Vivian, 73 Cornwall Rd, Bayswater

E. Baring Esq May 7, 1898

Dear Sir

I trust you will excuse my troubling you with a letter but I wished to have seen you last night/ Sunday, only as I explained to you I did not have the correct address. I believe I mentioned to you the difficulty I was in. You see I was unlucky enough to be right in the heart of the 'Coal Strike' & so lost a lot of money so that now just immediately I am pretty well stranded. Of course you can understand and it is very hard to have a splendid machine etc lying idle just for the want of a little help or influence when too one sees far inferior ones doing well. Unfortunately I have no friends who can help me so I am in in this plight.

If you can do anything for me just especially now immediately, however small you will be doing me a great kindness. If you could either book me on shares I to find the whole Co I could manage that or if you cared to employ machine and myself I would let you have it as moderately as possible or if you could get me an engagement or two. I noticed your advertisement for Minehead, Ilfracombe etc I know all these towns and know a lot of the leading people if you could do anything I should be truly grateful. I can promise you a really good show of pictures ,they really are far better than Mrs Blaschecks, any of those names I gave you as references will tell you what they are like , of course I thoroughly understand the whole thing as I have now had nearly 3 years practical experience of it.

I trust you will understand how I am situated, of course it is very hard when I have laid out £120.00 in fact all I had on my outfit and got it thoroughly up to date ,not to be able to use it and to be in immediate want of enough to get food and living with. If of any use to you Miss Vivian and I can always be booked joint in fact as much as possible we like to be booked together.

I enclose you a letter from Nailsworth he does not seem to know anything about Animated Pictures.

I sincerely hope you will forgive my intruding on your generosity and also taking up your valuable time to this extent. Thanking you very much indeed for your past kindness and sincerely trusting you will be able to do something for me again Apologising for troubling you. Believe me. Yours faithfully Stanley Howard

Two letters on plain paper from Miss Edith Vivian, friend and sometime stage partner.

Letter 1

Dear Mr Baring

Westbourne Grove P.O. London W (undated)

I understand you are doing your best to help Mr Howard next week. He sadly needs it as I believe he is at the present moment almost starving. I think he will require an advance to get to Paignton – May I ask one favour to help him out of a terrible difficulty. I shall tomorrow forward him £3 – This money is not mine. Will you see that by Wednesday night he sends it off to me out of his share. Can you direct it - I must have it by Thursday morning & I am only sending it to him to save him from legal proceedings

Trusting you will see me safe on this matter.

Yours faithfully

Edith Vivian

73 Cornwall Road,
Bayswater London W.

Letter 2

Dear Mr Baring

May 15th 1898

I thank you with all my heart for your kind replies to Mr Howard and myself. I do not know if you have yet received a reply to your letter of the 14th (yesterday) but he had it first thing as he called here (being in London) at 10am. He was very glad to get it and thanks you as sincerely as I do for taking so much trouble over him. He had the wire in the evening.

Again once more thanking you for your kindness. With warm regards

Yours very faithfully, Edith Vivian

I myself think I have secured him an engag(sic) at a Music hall in S.E. London – I am getting quite clever as an agent it seems - by the way address all future letters here direct to me under cover if for him or not c/o me. E.V.

Appendix K: Transcript of the Mayor's Loyal Address to HRH the Prince of Wales, K.G

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, the Mayor, Aldermen and the Burgesses of the Borough of Cheltenham beg respectively to assure your Royal Highness of the very great gratification which is afforded to us by the visit of your Royal Highness to this Borough, and we bid you on behalf of the Inhabitants a most warm and cordial welcome.

In times gone by the Manor of Cheltenham was a Royal appanage and was the property of a former Prince of Wales, but it was not until the early part of the 18th century that the town was raised to importance by the discovery of the mineral waters. It then rapidly progressed under the patronage bestowed upon it by His Most Gracious Majesty King George III., and His Royal Consort who visited it in the year 1788 for the purpose of drinking these Waters and of illustrious Members of the Royal Family who have since from time to time honoured us with their presence.

While we advert with loyal gratitude to past visits from Members of the Royal Family we feel that we have now a special honour, which we highly appreciate of the presence of one so near to the Throne as your Royal Highness, and we look upon it as a fortunate and happy coincidence that it happen in the year which marks the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, as the longest in English History, and as a favourable augury for the continued and increased welfare of the Town.

Its prosperity has also been sustained and increased in later years by its unrivalled Educational Establishments, chiefest among which are the College from which so many distinguished soldiers have entered Her Majesty's Service; and the Ladies' College, the largest and most successful Institution in the country. This feature and its pre-eminent character as a health resort have found expression in the motto to our Borough Arms, 'Salubritas et Eruditio'.

Cheltenham has also been termed the Garden Town of England and it is recorded in our local annals that His Majesty King George the Third expressed the opinion that this Town and the Vale of Gloucester were the finest part of his kingdom he had ever beheld. We trust your Royal Highness will also carry away such a favourable recollection of this visit as may induce your Royal Highness to afford us on some future occasion a renewed opportunity of evincing those feelings of loyalty and devotion by which we are animated.

Given under our Corporate Common Seal this 13th day of May 1897.

RICHARD ROGERS, Mayor

E.T.BRYDGES, Town Clerk

Appendix L

Slade Archive: Poem

Our Slade and his Photos commands admiration
A hero of honour – the workman's true friend
Throughout the whole country his virtues are blooming
And now at Port Talbot his good deeds extend
He always is faithful and just in his actions
Oh! Would there more of his stamp in the land
To raise up the fallen and give them more courage
The cup of his comfort is always at hand.

To trace all his virtues and have them recorded
No poet could do it attempt would be vain
Like beautiful flowers are they that surround us
Which give their aroma 'neath showers of rain
And if in his crown there's a gem that's more sparkling
Than all its companions while shining each day
Its this – that his social and free disposition
Like sunshine drives darkness and sadness away

Author unknown. Handwritten text, original punctuation and spelling in the Slade family papers, courtesy of James Offer.

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CD-Roms

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