

Chapter 7
THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR
III. America's war on screen

INTRODUCTION

Thus far in relation to the Spanish-American War we have mainly discussed film production, and have noted significant developments in that field, in news filming and in producing staged representations of the conflict. In film exhibition too the war stimulated far-reaching cinematic advances. Until 1898, films had largely been exhibited as separate, one-minute subjects – individual attractions which would be screened singly or in small sets, with little connection one to another. But during the war, prompted by the patriotic ferment which was sweeping America, some exhibitors proved to be highly enterprising in programming together multiple films and lantern images related to the conflict.¹ In such shows, many war-related films and slides were compiled into what were effectively 'documentaries', relating the history of the progress of the war. These were some of the first feature-length film exhibitions seen in America, and furthermore, as Charles Musser argues, in presenting a story of the war in this way, they played a pivotal role in the development of filmic narrative.²

These film programmes about the war also had political significance, with nationalistic, even propagandist, images playing to already impassioned audiences in America, so creating what might be seen as the first major examples of imperialist cinema. This extreme patriotic outlook was often found in other performance media at the time, and in this chapter we will briefly cover how the war was seen in theatre, sundry exhibitions and lantern shows.

Finally we will look at a hitherto ignored area: the reception of films about this war outside the United States, in countries such as Britain, France, and especially in Spain. These data demonstrate that, even at this early date in cinema history, war films were presented and perceived very differently by audiences in different countries, depending on their specific national and political outlooks. Film reception was already a two-way process in 1898, which depended on the specifics of both the film and of its spectators.

WAR AND THE PERFORMANCE MEDIA

The Spanish-American War was, arguably, more than any other war before or since, a hugely popular cause in the United States, evoking ardent emotions, as Americans felt their country was putting the world to rights. These emotions were expressed in virtually all the visual and performance media, in the context of a passionate, and sometimes almost festival-like mood. We

have dealt with the war and the printed press in an earlier chapter, so here I will describe some other ways in which this war was celebrated in the popular media.

Theatres and music halls

The first arenas in which public emotion burst forth – and at its most intense – were in the theatres and music halls. In Chicago, for example, many local vaudeville houses featured military songs, as well as naval dramas. These included *The Ensign*, about the adventures of an American officer in Cuba.³ At the beginning of March *Leslie's Weekly* was reporting a 'tidal wave of patriotism... sweeping over the nation' and into its showplaces. Thousands of men were volunteering to fight.⁴ Even in the best play houses of New York, where one might expect some decorum, *Leslie's* described vast audiences wildly applauding as patriotic songs such as 'Yankee Doodle' were sung. In many of the popular theatres the fervour was even more intense, and, *Leslie's* noted, the performers 'wave flags, wear military and naval uniforms, and interpolate lines red-hot with patriotic sentiment in their topical songs'. Audiences reacted to these displays with 'overwhelming' emotion, said the writer, making for 'a really impressive and thrilling scene'.⁵ A British journalist who visited an American music hall at this time bore this out, reporting an extremely jingoistic atmosphere, with patriotic songs and a war demonstration as part of the advertised programme. Chants from the stage were met with answers from the floor: 'What's the matter with Dewey?' 'He's all right.' 'Who's all right?' 'Dewey!'⁶ [Fig. 1]

The war fever had intensified after the destruction of the *Maine* in mid February, and this pivotal event also had a galvanising effect on song publishing, with more than 60 Maine-related songs being published within weeks of the sinking. Both the words of the songs and the covers of the music emphasized a popular desire to avenge the loss, and the sunken ship soon became a symbol for American unity and pride. The songs also stressed a new found mission to help liberate Cuba and the wider world from old-world tyranny represented by the Spaniards.⁷

Exhibits and sham battles

Fairground showmen were quick to adapt some of their attractions to incorporate the war spirit. At one Coney Island side show in June punters could throw balls at a picture of General Weyler, with a sign nearby reading, 'Remember the Maine'.⁸ An American showman in Britain had a large show-front constructed as a mock-up battleship, and the show inside featured model naval vessels; there was a similar American battleship facade for a show in Holland.⁹

At Keith's Theater, New York City, a mechanical device, the 'electrorama' was displayed, the scene representing Havana harbour with boats passing, among them the *Maine*, which was seen exploding. A lecturer meanwhile talked the audience through the show. Soon afterwards, this same model exhibit, or a very similar one, became hugely popular at the Electrical Exhibition at Madison Square Garden. On show from May 1898, just after Dewey's victory,

it involved a model ship being blown up in a tank of water, this being performed four times a day.¹⁰

Larger-scale spectacles about the war were also staged, though it seems that these only appeared after the conflict with Spain was over. In September a firework display depicting 'The Bombardment of Porto Rico' was to be seen in Denver, followed the next month by one representing 'The Fall of Manila'.¹¹ In 1899 Buffalo Bill's company staged a re-enactment of the battle of San Juan Hill with 16 veterans of the Rough Riders among the cast.¹² Some of the most popular exhibits at world's fairs and expositions in the early 20th century (at Omaha, for example) were about the war: notably re-enactments of the Battle of Manila, the sinking of the *Maine*, and the bombardment of the Spanish forts in Cuba. Some of these re-creations were extremely ambitious and costly. In St. Louis, the 'Battle of Santiago' was re-staged by a fleet of 21-foot battleships on a 300- by 180-foot lake.¹³

Magic lantern slides

By the 1890s the lantern lecture was a well established format, and continued to thrive for several more years after the arrival of moving pictures, with shows regularly given in town halls, churches and other such venues in America.¹⁴ Slides about the Cuban issue were probably available from the mid-90s, and after war began the floodgates opened, and it is striking just how many sets about the Spanish-American War came onto the market.

The Kleine Optical Company offered no fewer than four lecture sets about the Spanish-American War, each with 50 slides and a printed lecture.¹⁵ The L. Manasse Company of Chicago had half a dozen slide sets related to the war, on various themes: their 'Spanish-American War' set told a chronological history of the war in 45 slides; another set depicted only warships, American and Spanish; a complete set was available just about Havana; and several individual slides depicted flags, including one of the American flag with its 'English' counterpart, reflecting a belief in the drawing together of the Anglo-Saxon nations.¹⁶ Riley Brothers had a set of 60 slides (see **Box**) giving a history of the war, and also offered a prequel about the Cubans' independence struggle, culminating in the destruction of the *Maine*.¹⁷ Sears, Roebuck and Company offered sets entitled 'Cuba, the Maine and the Cuban War' and 'The Spanish-American and Filipino wars', the latter including illustrations depicting the cruelty of the Spanish to the Cubans before the war and a vivid artists' impression of the battle of Manila.¹⁸ Rau and Beale, both of Philadelphia, also offered slides.¹⁹

Box:

Riley Brothers, *The Spanish-American War*, lantern set no. 1047. (from a copy in NYPL).

List of Slides:

1. American and Cuban flags.
2. The Maine after explosion.
3. President McKinley.
4. Dying reoncentrados.
5. Senor Dupuy de Lome.
6. Gen. Woodford.
7. Gen. Lee.
8. Admiral Sampson's fleet at Havana.
9. Admiral Dewey.
10. Battle of Manila Bay.
11. Bay of Manila.
12. Recruiting Old Guard, New York City.
13. 8th Regiment Camp at Peekskill.
14. 65th Buffalo at Hempstead. [a negro regiment]
15. Camp Cuba Libre at Jacksonville.
16. Chickamauga, the mascot of the 5th Battery.
17. Camp Alger – 12th Regiment cleaning up Sunday morning.
18. Bringing in captured vessels.
19. Spanish fleet at anchor off St. Vincent, Cape Verde.
20. Town of Mindello, St. Vincent.
21. U. S. Battleship Oregon.
22. Capt. Clark. [this crossed out and handwritten: 'Spanish guerilla force']
23. The fleet before Havana.
24. Bombardment of Matanzas.
25. Bombardment San Juan, Porto Rico.
26. Fort and Harbor of San Juan, Porto Rico.
27. Approach to Fort of San Juan, Porto Rico.
28. Calle de Mendez Vigo, Mayaguez, Porto Rico.
29. Birdseye view of Santiago.
30. Bombardment of Santiago.
31. Lieut. Hobson and five of his men.

32. Lieut. Hobson about to blow up Merrimac.
33. Explosion of the Merrimac.
34. Escape from Merrimac.
35. Vesuvius shooting dynamite at Morro Castle, Santiago.
36. Line of transports at dock, Tampa, Fla.
37. Port Tampa – 71st N. Y. Regiment going aboard Vigilancia, June 10.
38. Gen. Shafter's big horse going aboard – June 13.
39. Roosevelt's Rough Riders on board Yucatan leaving wharf, Port Tampa, June 10.
40. Tampa – Putting aboard big siege guns to reduce Santiago, June 10.
41. Gen. Shafter.
42. Lieut.-Col. Roosevelt, Hamilton Fish and Hallett Allsop Borrowe on horseback – Tampa.
43. Troop Ship China leaving for Manila.
44. Gen. Merritt.
45. Aguinaldo, Insurgent leader.
46. The canal, Manila.
47. A native family, Manila.
48. Admiral Cervera.
49. American troops landing in Cuba.
50. American troops marching through Cuba.
51. In the trenches before Santiago.
52. Battle of El Caney.
53. Destruction of Cervera's fleet.
54. Ships burning on the beach.
55. Gen. Calixto Garcia.
56. The surrender of Santiago.
57. Gen. Miles.
58. Transports on way to Porto Rico.
59. Taking of Ponce. [this crossed out and handwritten: 'American troops in Cuba']
60. Clara Barton and staff.

[handwritten at bottom of list is:
'Song: Cuba pearl of ocean']

Interestingly, some manufacturers' slide sets follow the same aesthetic principle found in illustrated periodicals (which I described in Chapter 1): mixing photographic views with artists' impressions or drawings. Apparently some of Kleine's slides were of this latter kind, such as 'Dewey at the Battle of Manila', though others were presumably photographs. There was a similar mixing in Riley's sets, to judge from their list (see **Box**), whereby, as in magazines of the time, images of action events such as battles or explosions were drawings, while slides of personalities and places before or after the battles were photographs. Thus no.33, 'Explosion of the Merrimac', was presumably a drawing, while no.3, 'President McKinley', was likely a photograph. These lantern shows, combining a variety of photographic and drawn images with a stirring lecture and sometimes the use of emotive music, may well have offered a model for the complex programmes of films/slides about the war which, as we shall see, were put together by showmen in 1898.

Slide sets continued to be available for many years after the events: the Sears, Roebuck and Company set, for example, still appeared in their catalogue almost a decade after the war. Slide sets were mainly accompanied aurally by a lecture, though songs were sometimes indicated, such as for the Riley set where the song 'Cuba pearl of the ocean' was suggested. The song slide performance format was starting to take off in the mid 1890s, and according to one chronicler, this innovation may have been partially triggered by the emotional mood during the Spanish-American War.²⁰ Lubin claimed to be selling slides for 22 illustrated songs about the Cuba issue and the war, and over 1000 individual slides on this theme.²¹ Alexander Black's picture plays were a kind of combination of the lantern lecture and song slide show, and these too dealt with the war, one of Black's creations featured the *Maine*, and another, *The Girl and the Guardsman*, was described as 'an after-the-Spanish-War story'.²²

FILM EXHIBITION IN AMERICA

War films throughout America

The various performance and visual media that I have mentioned – music hall, sundry exhibits, songs, lantern shows – represented the war as a great patriotic cause, and this attitude was duplicated in film coverage. War films were soon showing in many parts of America. By the early Spring of 1898 such films were being featured at vaudeville houses across the east and Midwest.²³ In Chicago, war-related motion pictures proliferated, local newspapers reporting that 'the cinematographs, kinetoscopes, vitascopes, and biographs are almost clogged with war pictures'. The Clark Street Museum featured a magniscope (an Amet machine) on its bill, showing views of the *Maine* and Havana harbour throughout the summer, while the Hopkins Theater periodically added new war-related films.²⁴

In Portland, Oregon, one venue was already screening a 'war in Cuba' programme when, in August 1898, a theatre was opened exclusively devoted to showing Spanish-American War films.²⁵ In some rural areas of America, war films may have been the first films people ever saw. A child in Amarillo

later recalled seeing a Spanish-American War subject of cavalry fording a stream, shown in a large freight car parked on a siding, around 1900.²⁶ Many of the films shown in these war programmes were of preparations for the war, showing troops marching and the like in various parts of the United States.

New York city was at the forefront of war film screenings. By May such motion pictures were in at least seven New York theatres – an all-time high – in most cases appearing labelled as the 'wargraph' or 'warscope'.²⁷ Perhaps the most ambitious shows were organized at the Eden Musee, where, as Charles Musser has pointed out, the exhibitor became a genuine creator of the cinema experience. The Musee had been known for its large collection of films even before the war, and by the Summer of 1898 had more war-related films than any other venue in the city. It started programming these in small groups, as new attractions, and also in larger numbers as a complete chronology of the war, probably combined with slides and a lecture. Just after the conflict ended the theatre offered 'a panorama of the war' including over twenty films (views).²⁸

War-related film screenings did not cease with the end of the brief war, and the issue was kept alive with new events which were filmed, such as the return of America's military forces to the homeland, including several films shot by Edison of the naval parade on 3 September 1898. When Admiral Dewey arrived back to receive the plaudits of the nation the following year, the cameras were on hand to record details of the hero's progress through New York city and then in Washington. Edison had eight crews in New York, while Vitagraph's panoply of films of the homecoming made up a complete show, 'Dewey's Doings'.²⁹

Programming of films and slides

As we have seen, the cameramen in Cuba were not notably successful in capturing moving images of war. But at this time, almost any military image attracted the frenzied interest of the public, and alternative war-related films were available, of troops in camp and the like, and hand-drawn lantern slides of personalities and major events could be ordered or made by oneself. As Charles Musser has shown, American exhibitors were highly innovative in putting together extensive shows about the war, consisting of short films and slides, to construct what were in essence exhibitor-created documentary features.³⁰ Such shows were highly novel in several senses: firstly, in terms of their combination of films with slides; secondly, their mixing together of different film genres; and thirdly, in sheer duration (most other film shows at this time were only a few minutes long).

The practice of interspersing lantern slides with films was widespread. [Fig. 3 and 4] To facilitate this novel blending of media, some dealers offered combined film/slide projectors, and sold both lantern slides and films. Slides were a useful addition for showmen for a number of reasons. They widened the overall choice of images and lowered the exhibitor's costs, and during the show itself they could fill in for gaps between film changes. Some of these benefits of slide/film alternation are illustrated in a report of a war show in New Orleans in early May 1898:

‘...A very pleasing innovation is made while showing the Vitascope pictures. Between each one, instead of the usual tedious wait while the change is being made from one picture to another, views of the United States warships are thrown on the screen by means of a Stereopticon, and an announcement follows of the next picture. Besides the warships, pictures of Fitzhugh Lee, Captain Sigsbee, the United States Flag, and others are also given...’³¹

Here it is explicitly mentioned that the slides alleviate the ‘tedious wait’ between films, which makes it clear that programming slides had a practical benefit in the programming process, not just an aesthetic one. In this case the kind of subjects mentioned, e.g. Captain Sigsbee, are most likely ones for which no moving film equivalent was available. Cost savings would be significant, for slides on war subjects could be purchased for 35 cents each or 90 cents coloured.³² These prices were much lower than for films, which might cost \$7 for less than a minute duration.³³

Certainly several exhibitors swiftly adopted this practice for their war shows. Travelling exhibitors were presenting slide/film shows from March (with their machines and companies often being renamed the ‘War-graph’). The leading showman Lyman Howe offered a narrative account of the war using this hybrid screen technique in two series: 1. The Land War, and 2. The War at Sea.³⁴

Just as innovative as the mixing of media was the mixing of genres. This is illustrated, for example, in the work of lantern lecturer Dwight D. Elmendorf. In his film/slide war shows, Elmendorf included such varied films as: actualities of troops leaving from Tampa, a film of Spanish light artillery setting out for the front, and a (presumably) arranged film of US troops rushing ashore. The latter two were claimed to have been shot in Cuba, but could actually have been made almost anywhere.³⁵ Another example of genre mixing comes from a Chicago theatre in May and June, which showed films of military camp life at Camp Tanner in Springfield, Illinois, along with ‘a realistic representation’ (i.e. fake) of General Dewey's victory at Manila.³⁶

A major innovation of the war shows was in increased duration. An example comes from the Eden Musee, where, as we’ve seen, feature length shows of films and slides about the war became a major attraction in New York.³⁷ Probably the slide images in these shows matched the variety in the Riley set given above (see **Box**), which included a rich mixture of different kinds of views: personalities involved in the war, artists’ impressions of battle actions, photographs of military vessels and regiments. Again it seems that film exhibitors may have been influenced in their techniques by the lantern. All in all, by their mixing of genres and media and in extending the duration of their shows, America’s showmen had made real innovations in film exhibition. [Fig. 2: a war show in the mid-West]

Audience emotions

American audiences often reacted to war-related films in a highly emotional manner, according to available accounts, varying from enthusiasm to awed fascination to anger. The latter was reportedly the predominant emotion which greeted a film which represented the enemy, Spain. Biograph had managed to film the Spanish Battleship *Vizcaya* on 28 February while the ship was paying a visit to New York. The *Vizcaya* film was shown in early March with a caption 'No hidden mines here', a comment on the alleged perfidy of the Spanish against the *Maine* as compared with the welcome that New York had given to the *Vizcaya*. This inflammatory caption brought the audience to their feet in indignation. The response to the film of the *Vizcaya* became simply too raucous in Rochester in late March when spectators started throwing potatoes and other items, so the 'obnoxious picture' was removed.³⁸

Predictably, a very different response greeted films about the American navy, especially the *Maine*. When Paley's film of the funeral of the *Maine* victims was thrown onto a large screen at Proctor's Theatre, New York by Edison's 'War-Graph' the images were met with grim silence:

'There seemed to be miles of that grim procession of the dead. It was not mere photographic reproduction; the crowd soon saw that. It was the real thing and as the full horror of that cowardly murder swept through the theatre a sigh went up that not even the lighter pictures which followed could change to a smile.'³⁹ [Interestingly the terms 'reproduction' and 'real thing' are again opposed, and the audience 'saw that' these films were real.]

On the other hand, a different set of emotions swept over this same audience when more active films about the war in Cuba had been screened earlier, these being 'cheered to the echo' by the enthusiastic crowds. This same boisterous reaction came in Chicago when Biograph's view of *Battleships "Maine" and "Iowa"* was screened. It was greeted by fifteen minutes of shouting, climaxing with cheers when an image (slide?) of Uncle Sam under the US flag was projected. A local reporter described the reception:

'A howl of enthusiasm went up at Hopkins' Theater at the initial appearance in this city in the evening of the biograph picture of the battleship Maine which was sunk in the Havana harbor.... Many of the patrons rose to their feet. There was a yell of three cheers for the United States navy. Men whistled and yelled. There was a stampeding of feet, and women waved their handkerchiefs.'⁴⁰

Re-titling of films: the non-existent *Maine*

Ironically, however, these audiences were cheering the wrong ship, for Biograph had taken its previous film, *Battleships "Iowa" and "Massachusetts"* – fortuitously filmed a few months earlier – and simply renamed it *Battleships "Maine" and "Iowa"*.⁴¹ For these spectators, therefore, the image of the *Maine* was not really on the screen but in their imaginations. This practice of re-titling films had happened occasionally with regard to Sudan War films, and was to occur surprisingly often in this war and for future wars and news events.

Producers and exhibitors learned that, if the deception could not readily be detected, such re-titling could greatly increase the saleability and audience appeal of a film. It was a kind of 'faking by renaming', and this practice was applied to the *Maine* more than to any other subject in this war.

Various distributors seem to have acquired so-called *Maine* films. One of these, F.M. Prescott, released *The Battleship Maine Leaving U.S. Harbor for Havana*. It depicted a battleship with the crew engaged in their work, and a flag could be seen on the ship, which gave the film even more appeal. As the catalogue notes, 'The American flag, that emblem of freedom, waves proudly as it catches the breeze'.⁴² The description matches a film shown at the Royal Aquarium in London in June, which was seen by a critic for the entertainment weekly, *Pick-Me-Up*. The film was, he said, 'stated to be that of the ill-fated *Maine*', and showed a ship 'sailing along with the Stars and Stripes astern'. But he doubted this identification, and added sarcastically:

'I think it is a very lucky thing the proprietor of this show managed to secure a picture of this celebrated warship before the catastrophe. I only wonder how he could have known that it was going to become exceptionally celebrated by being blown up. Really, the foresight and enterprise of the showmen nowadays is positively rich.'⁴³

Though I can't actually identify this film, *Pick-Me-Up*'s scepticism is probably warranted, and would have been even more warranted for a similar film, also distributed by Prescott: *The U.S. Battleship Maine in the Harbor of Havana*. This view was claimed to depict the *Maine* while she lay at anchor in the harbour of Havana. Filmed from another moving ship, the image showed the *Maine*, 'with her awe-inspiring cannon in full view', as Prescott's catalogue put it. Another source added: 'A superb Panorama view of the beautiful Harbour, Town, Forts and Hills in the background is also shown, and the 'Stars and Stripes' are seen floating on the breeze as one vessel passes the other'.⁴⁴ It would also seem to be this film which was exhibited in early May in Denver, and claimed to be 'the ill-fated *Maine*.. taken just before the explosion'. The film included 'glimpses of the shore and frowning guns of cabanas fortress [sic] and the big battleship with her officers and crew passing backward and forward'.⁴⁵ What were these films? According to Charles Musser, the harbour film (and perhaps the other) was a sister ship of the *Maine*, photographed by the International Film Company and claimed as being an image of the actual *Maine* in Havana harbour prior to its destruction.⁴⁶ As the *Pick-Me-Up* columnist above pointed out, it would indeed have been fortuitous if anyone had thought to film the *Maine* in Havana – before the vessel's destruction had raised the temperature of the crisis so markedly.

Other war-related films were re-titled to increase their appeal. *American Infantry in Action in the Bush at Santiago* was a film of troops in manoeuvres near Tampa, but the addition of the false words 'at Santiago' turned it into a more interesting subject for spectators, implying that the troops were in action in Cuba. Similarly *A U.S. Gunboat in Action* showed a gunboat engaged in target practice – the additional, spurious words, 'in action' gave the film more saleability.⁴⁷

A related practice took place with regard to films which were given new significance with the war. Showman Lyman Howe had been screening a film of a bullfight from October 1897, but after the sinking of the *Maine* and the US declaration of war, the bullfight was now offered as evidence of Spanish barbarity.⁴⁸ One might say that this was all part of a wider process of 're-designation' whereby film exhibitors made efforts to reposition themselves to best exploit the war fever. One example of this would be a number of travelling showmen in the USA, and also in Europe, who renamed their machines or companies as 'War-graph' or the like, to make their shows seem more up-to-date and relevant to the theme of war.⁴⁹

FILM EXHIBITION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Spanish-American War films were not only exhibited in the United States, and turned up in shows all over the world. In some cases there is little to indicate how the audiences reacted to these films, but in certain locations observers did describe an audience response, either pro or anti American. The sympathies of the public tended to be divided along racial lines, so countries and peoples with an Anglo Saxon heritage favoured America while those in continental Europe were against US intervention and sympathetic to Spain, while in yet other countries there was indifference.

The Americas

The most intriguing location I have found for screenings of films of this war was Cuba itself. The fact that war films were shown in the very country where the war had taken place is not mentioned in any histories of Cuban cinema. My newly-found evidence is a post-war picture of the exterior of a theatre in Havana (possibly the Tacon theatre), with placards advertising the films, giving some details of subjects.⁵⁰ The picture was published in mid 1899 (in an American magazine), so probably would have been taken earlier in that year, that is, the year after the war. The show frontage has a sign in English stating, 'War exhibition, showing US Navy, Army at work; produced by electricity', and a near equivalent sign in Spanish, 'Producciones eléctrica des batallas de la Guerra con España y los Americanos'. Some other words on the posters can also be made out: 'Fleet in Santiago'; 'Bull fight'; 'Rough riders(?) cavalry charge'. The fact that the signs are in both Spanish and English suggests that the show was designed to appeal to both locals and to the US Army of occupation, and indeed the people one can see gathered outside seem to be such a mixture. [Fig. 6]

I have found relatively few records of screenings elsewhere in Latin America – surprisingly so, given the close geographical proximity to the war in Cuba. In Brazil the first Lumière Cinématographe show, 15 July 1897 in Rio, included *Departure of a Spanish battalion for Cuba*, in a programme of seven films, but I have found no reports of other war-related films being exhibited.⁵¹ However, in Monterrey, Mexico a very substantial show was given in December 1898, consisting of '37 magnificent scenes representing the most interesting scenes of the late Spanish-American war'.⁵² This is a very large number of films,

implying that the show might have rivalled the American war shows in scope and programming innovation.

No audience reactions to these shows were reported, perhaps because spectators were not particularly vociferous in countries where people didn't feel too strongly about the war. For instance, in Sherbrooke, French Canada, some of the public were so little interested in the Cuban issue that when Méliès' film of divers at work on the *Maine* arrived in June 1898, one community rejected it and asked for films of the Passion to be shown again.⁵³ There seem to have been few screenings in other parts of Canada either. The author of a study of early film in Toronto concludes: 'Few exhibitions of Spanish-American War pictures occurred in Toronto, most likely, because of the lack of direct participation by both British and Canadians'. However, where such films were shown in English-speaking Canada, it is likely that the audience would have been pro-American, as the following example suggests. A screening at the Bijou Theatre in Toronto from May 1898 included a substantial number of Spanish-American War films, including views of Cuba, the *Maine* victims and US battleships, and significantly 'closing with the American and Cuban flags'.⁵⁴ Though there is no description of audience reaction, obviously a showman would not conclude with such potent national symbols if he thought his audience would object.

France

The French were generally well-disposed to the Spanish in their struggles in Cuba (perhaps because both were Latin nations, and both had colonial interests in the Caribbean). Even before Spain's war with America, most of the French press – such as *Le Temps*, *Le Figaro*, *l'Éclair* – were against the *Cuba Libre* movement in its fight with Spain, though the number of articles in favour increased by 1897.⁵⁵ In the run-up to the Spanish-American War itself, anti-American cartoons appeared in French magazines and newspapers. There was little sympathy for the Americans among the *grand publique* of Paris, and cries of 'Death to McKinley!' were to be heard at moments of high emotion. A general exodus of Americans from Paris occurred at this time.⁵⁶ Those who remained found the theatres especially hostile territory, as one observer recalled:

'At the time of the Spanish-American War, the music-hall audiences went solid for Spain. The Americans who visited the Folies Bergères about that time, I recollect, used to look sheepish and uncomfortable.'⁵⁷

He is referring to halls like Olympia, where Spanish-American War films, 'épisodes de la guerre Hispano-Américaine' were shown in early August, projected by one Leonard Shrapnel (possibly a pseudonym).⁵⁸ Sadly, there is no indication of viewers' reactions to these films, though given the sympathies of music-hall audiences that I have outlined, one suspects that there may have been expressions of anti-Americanism.

Spanish-American War films were also shown in French regions, for example in Limoges, where they were advertised as 'pris sur le champ de bataille'.⁵⁹ At the Arles regional exposition on 26 June 1898 was shown *The Wreck of the*

Battleship Maine in the Waters of Havana. Arles being near to Spain, the audience would probably have been pro-Spanish, and indeed another film in the programme was a *Spanish Bullfight*.⁶⁰ In Le Havre war films were screened in September 1898, and even as late as April 1900 such films were the hit of a two week run by the 'Royal Viograph', probably including one of the Amet fakes. A critic noted: 'The pictures are impressively realistic: especially the bombardment of the Santiago forts, and the retreat of the Spanish artillery as they pass a ravine with guns and horses in the background.'⁶¹ The practice of screening 'related events' was to be found in France: Lumière cameraman Promio had filmed the Spanish military in Madrid, and these views became more appealing on the outbreak of war with America in 1898. They were being shown at the Cinématographe Lumière in Lyon at the beginning of May along with some American military views: as a local newspaper pointed out, they were of 'great topical interest'.⁶²

The British context

Apart from in the USA, the most frequent and detailed reports of Spanish-American War screenings come from the UK. Some of these reports are interesting in indicating a rather more equivocal view from the audiences than might be expected. In the live theatres there were certainly a few pro-war performances: for instance, at the Tivoli in London a song 'Remember the Maine' could be heard, while at the Royal Albert a sketch 'Cuba's freedom' was performed.⁶³ But in general, rather than siding with America in her war as such, it seems that for the British people it was the United States itself which appealed at this time, along with her leader and symbol, the President. An American writer in London at the end of April found Britain very pro American, and reported that at the Empire Theatre the casual introduction of a bust of President McKinley during a play 'evoked a burst of cheering from every part of the house' and the band played Yankee Doodle thrice. Later, in the Palace Theatre, a picture of McKinley was shown as the band played the 'Star-spangled banner', and this, he noted, again evoked enthusiasm from the gods to full-dress.⁶⁴

As I have mentioned, one of the 'big ideas' in this era was the coming together of Britain and America, and this was reflected on the stage. At the Shaftesbury Theatre in May, in a play called *The Belle of New York*, a man sang a song with the chorus: 'With our flags unfurled Against all the world, we'll stand and die together', at which point, as one American journalist in the audience reported, 'the American manager caused the flags of the two countries to be projected into the spectacle'. This lantern effect (presumably that's what it was) was hailed on the first night with 'a din of applause' (though the journalist himself found it, as he wrote, a bit of 'clumsy claptrap').⁶⁵ Again the point is that the applause was not exactly to support the war against Spain as such, but rather for Britain's friendship with America, and this pattern was evident too in film shows.

In early May, one of the Biograph films which was shown in the Palace Theatre, London, depicted President McKinley receiving a dispatch at his home in Ohio. This, a British journalist noted, was 'received with loud cheering'.⁶⁶ Yet the journalist described a somewhat different audience

reaction when films of the situation in Cuba were shown (these were films shot by Bitzer):

‘There is nothing to indicate sympathy with either side in the pictures, and the crowded audience showed little inclination to make a demonstration. The first scene shown was of the Spanish battleship Vizcaya, which called forth a few cheers for Spain and some hissing. A good picture of a gathering of reconcentrados at the Los Fosus [sic] Relief Station, Havana, was received in silence. The next photograph depicted the wrecked United States warship Maine just after the explosion. The audience seemed too appalled at the sight of the torn and twisted fragments of what a few hours before had been a magnificent ship, and the dead bodies of many of the gallant sailors, to be able to utter a word, and the scene passed away in painful silence.’⁶⁷

But things didn’t always remain calm, and later that month audience reactions to the programme of Biograph films and lantern slides at the Palace Theatre became more heated, indeed became the object of intense dispute as ‘the Americaphiles and Americaphobes waged a nightly war of applause and hisses’. Julian Ralph (whom I mentioned earlier) had heard about the furore as these images were being projected, and went along to observe for himself:

‘The Spanish pictures which were shown there proved to be photographs [probably meaning lantern slides] of a war-ship, of General Blanco, and of certain Spanish troops. These were received with plentiful applause and very little hostility. Then there were shown moving photographs of American troops, and of our modest and dignified President walking across his garden lawn with a visitor. Over these a fierce battle raged between the personified geese who hissed and the men who resented the offence.’⁶⁸

As the storm increased, he noticed that those nearest to him who were hissing seemed to be English. He was furious and was just preparing to hurl some contemptuous words at these antagonists of his country – this ‘hissing, groaning mob’, as he called them – when someone whispered to him, ‘that the offenders were mainly Jews and Germans, French and Spaniards, and that they flocked to that theatre every night to hear their own familiar farm-yard demonstrations’.⁶⁹

But vocal expressions over such war films were probably rare in Britain, and the more general pattern of reception was apparently fairly low key, and by no means approaching the passions aroused in the United States. The Palace was by no means the only venue to be showing films of this war. At the Eastern Empire in Bow, east London, in June the ‘Warograph’ was showing mainly ‘battle subjects’, while at the Royal Music Hall, Holborn, Spanish American war films were still being screened in July.⁷⁰ Lantern lectures on the war in Cuba (probably not including film) took place in Britain during the latter months of 1898.⁷¹ The reception would doubtless have been calm and polite, though many in the audience would generally have approved of America’s

victories. Similarly, in the Anglophile Australia, strong support for America against Spain was sometimes expressed during relevant performances and turns in the music halls, though I have found no specific examples there of reception of films about this war.⁷²

FILM EXHIBITION IN SPAIN

Of all countries where Spanish-American War films were shown, it is most interesting to find data for Spain, to see how a country's media reflect a war and then a defeat. As yet, the subject of how the Spanish-American War was covered by the visual media in Spain – and especially by cinema – has scarcely been studied by English-language film historians. Fortunately, in recent years it has been tackled by a number of Spanish regional film historians, and thanks to their efforts and some other sources I have managed to build up a picture of how the war was presented in both the film and non-film media in Spain.

The historical context in Spain

By 1898 Spain was no longer a major power in the world. The country had become progressively weaker through the previous century, had already lost most of her overseas empire, and her navy had to make do with outdated ships. While the Spanish army was large and fairly well armed compared to the small, ill-prepared American forces, the US naval superiority and the sheer will to win proved decisive.

Equally, the passion for war in the Spain of '98 was neither so widespread nor deep-seated as in America.⁷³ [Fig. 5] But there were moments of war frenzy, and in the weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, 'jingoist' demonstrations took place in various locations in Spain. At the declaration of war, American flags were burned, and US consulates attacked, and the patriotic fervour manifested itself in cartoons, speeches, and songs.⁷⁴ The latter included such titles as 'Guerra al yanquee o viva España con honra' (War to the Yankee; or, Long Live Spain with Honour).⁷⁵ Expressions of anti-American feeling burst out at some public events: a writer who was visiting Madrid during the build-up to war went to a bullfight and heard cries of 'Death to the Yankees!'⁷⁶

The Spanish 'yellow press'

While the American 'yellow press' in this era is notorious and has been recurrently discussed by historians, its Spanish equivalent has been almost ignored by English-speaking historians. Yet it seems that there was an equivalent jingoism for war in the Spanish print media. One historian, Carlos Barron, has analysed 19 representative publications in the period running up to the war and found that, 'the overall posture of Spanish journalism was as inflammatory as that of their counterpart in the United States'.⁷⁷ Another pair of Spanish historians agree, adding that the Spanish newspapers at this time were, 'ludicrous, swaggering and uneducated', and their aggressive language toward the US was even more vituperative than that of the yellow press in America toward Spain.⁷⁸

Yet unlike its American counterpart, the Spanish newspaper press was subject to state control and censorship, especially in its war news, and so much of this jingoism was probably political rhetoric from a minority, rather than reflecting much genuine feeling from the general public. Furthermore, uncomfortable truths about the war were distorted or repressed in the press. For example, the sinking of Cervera's fleet in Cuban waters was at first represented as a successful sortie against the Americans.⁷⁹ Though the Spanish press apparently had numerous correspondents in Cuba before and during the war, strict censorship made work difficult for them, quite apart from the dangers (one, Miguel Ageyro, was killed by an American bullet as he reported from the front line).⁸⁰

War films in Spain

The situation of cinema in Spain during the war should be seen in the light of this general mood. That is, a mood of significant nationalist fervour, though a fervour that probably did not penetrate very profoundly into the national psyche. The military, however, were very prominent in Spanish society, and even before the war were a dominant subject for in the first films shot in Spain. The Lumière operator, Alexandre Promio, was in Madrid in June, 1896, and filmed a variety of military scenes. Such manoeuvres and exercises were always a common subject of early films, and in this case martial subjects formed the majority of Promio's Spanish films.⁸¹

The following year, films were starting to be shown in various parts of Spain, and sprinkled in among the titles were some with relevance to the situation in Cuba. However, few of these it seems had been shot of the military in Cuba or Spain itself. In a show in the main theatre in Alicante, among ten films were *Maniobras Militares* and *Muerte de Maceo en Cuba*. The latter, about the death of the rebel leader Antonio Maceo, may have been a Lubin(?) fake.⁸²

When war came in 1898, a number of films about the conflict were exhibited in Spain, but compared to the big war programmes in America, the Spanish film shows do not seem to have been particularly ambitious in scope nor nearly so widespread. Of the shows that were recorded by name, one which crops up a few times is the 'Wargraph'. I assume – though without firm evidence – that the 'Wargraph' was one single show, run by the same company in all its appearances throughout Spain.⁸³ A number of films were presented by this company and its proprietor, a certain professor Thomas, in the Parish Circus, Madrid in July 1898; projected, it is claimed, on an enormous screen of 80 square meters.⁸⁴ The films included fourteen views of the Cuban war, and were on the Circus' programme for a month. The public and the press were impressed: 'so amazing is the realism of the pictures of the present war which appear on the cloth, that the spectator feels himself transported to the very theatre of events'. From 16 August a second series of war films was shown by the Wargraph, including views 'taken in the theatre of war', and these, like the first, we are told, 'were enjoyed by the crowd'. Two weeks later the programme was changed, and now views of bullfighting dominated the spectacle.⁸⁵ By this time, of course, Spain had lost the war.

In September the Wargraph appeared in Badajoz, and exhibited the following films: military actions on sea and land, panoramas of Cuba and Havana, the American ship *Maine*, views of the battleship *Pelayo*, disembarkation of sailors in hostile territory, and, inevitably, a bullfight film (or films). But although the projections were said to be of good quality, the program was considered repetitive (presumably meaning that it didn't change) and the public preferred an alternative show: a Lumière cinématographe which offered a regular change of film programme. The Wargraph had lasted in the town a mere 5 days.⁸⁶

I would conclude from the record of screenings in these two cities that neither suggests an overwhelming demand nor public enthusiasm for war films. In Madrid such films were supplanted by views of bullfights after a month or so, and in Badajoz the war films had lasted less than a week and the public preferred the varied films of the Lumières. But the Wargraph was not quite finished. Later in the year it appeared in Zaragoza and Cadiz.⁸⁷ Then at the end of October it was in Barcelona. But in the latter city, the subjects of the group of films is not specified, and it is entirely possible that they were general interest subjects, bullfighting and the like, rather than, or as well as, war views.⁸⁸

I have found only one description of the exhibition of a war film in Spain where the audience reception rivalled the frenzy seen in American shows. This was in Cadiz on 29 April 1898. On that evening the Coliseo had been decorated with all kinds of national emblems and banners. As the band played the 'March of Cadiz', an immense crowd burst forth in a deafening ovation in honour of Spain. The press account then adds: 'When the Cinematograph showed a picture of Spanish artillery firing in wartime, the applause, the cheers and the enthusiastic cries bordered on delirium'.⁸⁹ I have no further details, but clearly this was patriotic fervour of an extreme and – from the evidence I have found – an atypical variety. There are two points which help to explain this enthusiasm. Firstly the show was in Cadiz, one of the homes of the Spanish navy, and secondly it took place *before* Spain started suffering defeat in the war with America. Only two days later, on 1 May, the Spanish fleet was sunk in Manila bay, and thereafter Spain proceeded to lose the war. It is unlikely that such nationalistic enthusiasm would have been seen in Spanish theatres from May onwards.

Box:

The following war-related ‘news films’ were shown in Barcelona and La Coruña between 1898 and 1899

- *Carga de la caballería española a la norteamericana en Santiago de Cuba*
[Embarcation of the Spanish cavalry, North American division, for Santiago de Cuba]
- *Muerte de Maceo por la columna de Cirujeda* [Death of Maceo near to Cirujeda’s column] (Maceo was a Cuban rebel leader)
- *Guerra de Filipinas* [War in the Philippines]
- *Desembarque de las tropas llegadas de Cuba* [Disembarcation of troops returning from Cuba]
- *Llegada de repatriados* [Arrival of the Repatriated]
- *Llegada del Almirante Cervera a Madrid* [Arrival of Admiral Cervera in Madrid]
- *Desembarco de heridos de Cuba en nuestro puerto* [Landing of the Cuban Wounded in our Port]

In addition, *Viaje de Barcelona a Cuba* [Voyage from Barcelona to Cuba] was exhibited in a Barcelona theatre in September 1900.⁹⁰

Film benefit shows for soldiers

This show in Cadiz was staged in order to raise money for ‘la suscripción nacional española’ – a fund to promote the Spanish military – and interestingly such benefit shows were to be one of the few areas where cinema in Spain in 1898 maintained a strong connection with the war.

In fact the first ever screening of a film in the city of Barcelona, which was in December 1896 with a Lumière cinématographe, was a benefit show for sick and injured soldiers returning from service in Cuba and the Philippines.⁹¹ Similarly a film show in Aragon in June 1896 was also to raise funds to benefit soldiers from the Cuba war, through the association ‘El Ruido’.⁹² These benefit shows continued during the war with America. In April 1898 there was a collection for the ‘suscripción nacional’ for the war in Cuba in a film show in Murcia.⁹³ And after the war was over there were at least two film shows in which the receipts were to go to soldiers who had become sick and wounded from service in Cuba: one in Badajoz and another in La Constància.⁹⁴ It is not apparent from the data whether the films at these benefit shows were war-related, or were simply ‘general interest’ views.

I would add that one final manner in which the nascent Spanish cinema covered the war was that, in a handful of places, films of soldiers returning from Cuba were exhibited (see **Box** above). One such film, showing soldiers disembarking, may have been shot by Antoni P. Tramullas, a photographer who introduced cinema in the Barcelona region.⁹⁵ A film entitled *Return from*

Cuba and Landing of the Cuban Wounded in our Port were shown in Galicia in September and October.⁹⁶

The legacy of the war for cinema in Spain

The defeat of 1898 is known in Spanish history as 'el desastre', and in political terms it was indeed a moment of disaster or crisis, and a blow to confidence.⁹⁷ After a century of shedding colonies, this was the final humiliating failure, consigning Spain to what Lord Salisbury called, in a famous speech of this year, the 'dying powers'.⁹⁸ Within the country, loss of empire provoked years of navel-gazing and political uncertainty,⁹⁹ and, say some historians, helped foster the development of Catalan nationalism, and later the rise of Franco.¹⁰⁰

But as far as ordinary Spaniards were concerned, Cuba and the Philippines probably never mattered greatly, and losing these colonies was not a huge concern, indeed in some cases it was perhaps a relief. Most families had a son or relative serving in Cuba, who were fighting and suffering for apparently negligible national benefit. Though riots followed defeat,¹⁰¹ there was little ensuing resentment against the United States. An American woman travelling through Spain a few months after the war met only 'courteous treatment' and kindness, she said, even though people knew she was from America. She found that the people resented not so much the defeat, but their *own* government's behaviour in sending soldiers to fight in Cuba in the first place. Ordinary people felt that the colonies had only benefited a few rich politicians. So this woman traveller concluded that, 'the Spanish people are not much affected by the disaster of the government'.¹⁰² It is probably this lukewarm attitude within Spain to its colonies which explains the fairly modest exhibition of war-related films in the country.

Equally modest was the rate of development which characterised cinema in Spain in the wake of the war. The era after 1898 saw the film industry advance with painful lethargy against much opposition, and some film historians believe that this was related to the crisis in confidence partly engendered by 'the disaster'. In this period an anti-cinema stance held sway in the influential sectors of Spanish society, part of the generally pessimistic atmosphere in Spain in the first half of the 20th century.¹⁰³ For some nations, faring poorly in war means faring poorly in cinema too.

CONCLUSION: THE FILM INDUSTRY MARCHES ON

The war revitalises American cinema

As we have seen, the reception of Spanish-American War films varied from country to country. These varying patterns of reception would become increasingly apparent during future wars, where the same films might gain a very different reception in different regions, countries or eras. In 1898, by far the strongest emotions were expressed in the USA, and indeed the war itself had its most significant cinematic impact in America. Though the war probably had little effect on the early film industry in Spain or in third countries, in the United States the consequences were momentous.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, filmic reporting of the war changed the public image of cinema, demonstrating that the medium could deal with serious current issues and with news in general. The work of exhibitors of war films in theatres and other venues in the USA was to have equally significant consequences for the industry. Charles Musser maintains that the Spanish-American War played a pivotal role in stimulating the development and popularity of the fledgling American film industry, setting it on the road to rapid growth in the years ahead. After a period in 1897 when 'moving pictures showed signs of fading', the war helped the cinema to bounce back:

'With the onset of the Spanish-American War the motion picture industry discovered a new role and exploited it, gaining in confidence as a result.... It was the ongoing production of a few firms that provided the commercial foundation for the American industry, and it was the war that gave this sector new life.'¹⁰⁴

This important effect of the war on the development of cinema has been widely accepted by other film historians too.¹⁰⁵ And it has also been seen as pivotal by those who actually participated in the early film industry. William Rock, president of Vitagraph, recalled: 'I remember trade was truly horrible just before the Spanish war; however, it picked up very soon afterwards'.¹⁰⁶ His colleague Albert Smith agreed, noting that the war films of 1898 onwards attracted audiences back to the movies.¹⁰⁷ One observer, writing a generation later, maintained that war film shows of the summer of 1898 gave cinema 'a new lease on life', adding that 'it is not unreasonable to assert that the War of 1898 was directly responsible for resuscitating the art of motion pictures which for a time seemed doomed to oblivion'.¹⁰⁸ Terry Ramsaye put it more colourfully: 'The motion picture caught step with the martial tune of the nation and went marching on'.¹⁰⁹

The American 'yellow cinema'

Ramsaye's military metaphor is significant, for not only did these films boost the fortunes and popularity of the moving image, they did so by glorifying war and militarism. In David Nasaw's felicitous phrase, these films were 'patriotic cheerleaders'.¹¹⁰ So as well as discussing the war's stimulating effect on American cinema, we should not omit to append a possibly darker, political dimension. In my historical introduction to the Spanish-American War I stressed that this war was not purely a cynical venture by a new superpower flexing its muscles, but was undertaken at least partially out of motives of idealism, to free the Cubans from Spanish colonial oppression. Yet in the years after 1898, American interventions, particularly in Latin America, sometimes had less altruistic motives, intended to promote imperial ambitions and to support the interests of big business.

With this in mind, viewed today with the benefit of hindsight, the moving images from the Spanish-American War may sometimes be an uncomfortable sight. Scenes such as American soldiers heading off to fight in Cuba, or Uncle Sam in triumph, scarcely have a positive contemporary resonance, just as the 'yellow press' of the 1890s is seen these days as sensational and imperialistic rather than merely patriotic. We may indeed speak of the war films of 1898 as

being a near equivalent of the 'yellow press' – a 'yellow cinema', if you like – which might be historically understandable, but which, over a hundred years on, seems as gross in attitude as the Hearst newspapers. Lauren Rabinovitz puts it nicely, in summarising the legacy of the war films (and other war media) of 1898:

'Their cumulative effects were more than that of simply acting as visual newspapers. In their combination of journalism and patriotism, they extended an ideological force. They spectacularized war and the concept of U.S. imperialism as had never before been accomplished.'¹¹¹

Notes:

¹ Douglas Gomery states: 'The period commencing in 1897 and running into July 1899 saw films move into the forefront as acts in vaudeville theatres, boosted by the popularity of the Spanish-American War as variety entertainment. This era would prove to be the heyday of motion pictures in vaudeville theatres..... No genre of programming could be developed to match the consistent drawing power of the images of the Spanish-American War.' Douglas Gomery, *Shared Pleasures: a History of Movie Presentation in the United States* (London/Madison: BFI/University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), p.16.

² Musser, *Emergenc*, p.258-61; Musser, *Before the Nickelodeon*, p.126-37.

³ A vaudeville sketch, *A Brave Coward*, is cited in American Memory online. Other dramas included *The White Squadron*, *Under the Dome*, and *Held by the Enemy*. Cited in Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure : Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998), p.108.

⁴ A million men wanted to enlist, states George J. A. O'Toole, *The Spanish War, an American Epic - 1898* (New York: Norton, 1984), p.196.

⁵ 'Demonstrations of the war spirit', LW 10 Mar 1898, p.155. It added: 'Old-timers say there has been nothing like it since the early "sixties"'.

⁶ J.B. Atkins, *The War in Cuba : The Experiences of an Englishman with the United States Army* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1899), p.9, 17.

⁷ Jill Detemple, 'Singing The Maine: The Popular Image of Cuba in Sheet Music of the Spanish-American War', *Historian*, Summer 2001. Detemple adds: 'In the published words, well-known tunes, and detailed covers of the stylish music, the Maine was fashioned as a symbol of a newly developing national identity that emphasized military might, national sovereignty, and the moral authority of the United States in opposing traditional colonial powers.' An article of the time reports this big boom in war-related songs and music, especially about the *Maine*, and lists seven songs about the sunken ship. See 'Martial spirit in song', *The Phonoscope*, May 1898, p.14. The flurry of patriotic songs in 1898 included 'The Cuban flag' and 'The Havana patrol'. John S. Roberts, *The Latin Tinge : The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Sousa's light-opera, 'The Glass Blowers' was set in the Spanish American war and included the hit tune, 'From Maine to Oregon' (referring to the sunken *Maine* and to the *Oregon*, the mightiest warship in the US fleet). Also see Sidney A. Witherbee, ed. *Spanish-American War Songs: A Complete Collection of Newspaper Verse During the Recent War with Spain* (Detroit: Sidney A. Witherbee, 1898) and James Henry Brownlee, ed. *War-Time Echoes: Patriotic Poems, Heroic and Pathetic, Humorous and Dialectic of the Spanish-American War* (Akron, Ohio etc: The Werner Company, 1898) both held in the NYPL.

⁸ *The Graphic* 2 July 1898, p.7.

⁹ Geoff Weedon and Richard Ward, *Fairground Art : The Art Forms of Travelling Fairs, Carousels and Carnival Midways* (New York: Abbeville ; London : White Mouse, 1981), p.132-3. See illustration of Coney Island side show, *Graphic* 2 July 1898, p.7.

¹⁰ NYDM 30 Apr 1898, p.16. (Courtesy of George Pratt). The Madison Square exhibit is illustrated in *Scientific American* 28 May 1898, and is discussed in 'War fair', *Invention and Technology*, Fall 1998, p.64. Perhaps there was some influence on or from Amet's model-based films, discussed in the previous chapter.

¹¹ Roger William Warren, 'History of Motion Picture Exhibition in Denver, 1896-1911', M.A., University of Denver, 1960, p.106. This was later published as microfiche supplement in HJFRT, 1996.

¹² Later the company did a similar re-enactment of the Boxer rebellion. Rob Kroes and Michael P. Malone, eds., *The American West, as Seen by Europeans and Americans* [*European Contributions to American Studies* ; 16] (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1989), p.269.

¹³ David Nasaw, *Going Out : the Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), p.74. For more about re-enactments of American troops trouncing the Spanish, see Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age : Culture & Society under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill [N.C.] ; London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), passim.

¹⁴ An amusing recollection of a lantern show about the war, given in about the 1890s in a church, appears in Chet Shafer, 'The magic-lantern show', *Saturday Evening Post*, 24 May 1930, p.16. Courtesy Stephen Herbert. On this occasion the operator bungled and the slides were shown in the wrong order.

¹⁵ Ads in Kleine Collection, Box 26, LoC MSS Division.

¹⁶ L. Manasse Co., *Stereopticons and Slides, Moving Picture Machines, Films and Other Apparatus* (Chicago, 1905), p.68-69. On Musser, Motion Picture Catalogs microfilms, reel 5.

¹⁷ Set no. 1046 'The Cuban war and fight for freedom'. Another set, no. 1045, was about 'Cuba and the Cubans'. These slide readings are held in NYPL.

¹⁸ Sears, Roebuck and Co.'s catalogue no.110, p.213. See also their catalogue, *Motion Picture Machines and Stereopticons: Catalogue of Motion Picture Machines, Magic Lanterns and Stereopticons. Slides, Films and Supplies* [1907], p.76-77. The number of slides seems to read 52 for each of the two sets.

¹⁹ Ads for 'Lantern slides of the war with Spain' with readings by William H. Rau, appeared in LW 8 Sep 1898, p.197, 19 Jan 1899, p.57 and in subsequent issues through 1899. Joseph Boggs Beale made a firing squad execution slide and probably others related to the war.

²⁰ Tony Pastor was the innovator, according to one former song-slide specialist. See Harry S. Marion, 'Illustrated songs', MPW 26 March 1927, p.331.

²¹ Musser, *Emergence*, p.258. These included a photographic slide of the graves of USS Maine victims in the cemetery at Havana, sold on ebay in 2005 (slide bears the label: S. Lubin, 21 South Eighth Street, Philadelphia).

²² In the cast of the latter was Anthony Fiala who, it was claimed, 'had been in Spanish War cavalry'. See Alexander Black, *Time and Chance: Adventures with People and Print* (New York; Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), p.152, 156.

²³ Robert Allen states that such films were shown in vaudeville houses in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Providence, Toronto, Albany, Detroit, Milwaukee, Jackson (Michigan), and Paterson (New Jersey). Robert C. Allen, *Vaudeville and Film, 1895-1915 : a Study in Media Interaction* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), p.139. An abundance of films connected with this war were exhibited in Milwaukee alone, says James Castonguay, 'Recruiting the Early Spectator: Re-presenting the Spanish-American War', paper at SCS conference, Ottawa, May 1997: cited in Gutteridge, *Magic Moments*, p.80.

²⁴ Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure*, op. cit.

²⁵ James Labosier, 'From the Kinetoscope to the Nickelodeon: Motion Picture Presentation and Production in Portland, Oregon from 1894 to 1906', *Film History* 16, no.3, 2004, p.296-7.

²⁶ Richard Schroeder, *Lone Star Picture Shows* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), p.8..

²⁷ These epithets make identification of specific showmen involved very difficult, says Musser, *Emergence*, p.252.

²⁸ Musser, *Emergence*, p.259-60; Charles Musser, 'The Eden Musee in 1898: the Exhibitor as Creator', *Film & History* 11, no. 4, Dec 1981, p.73-83, 96.

²⁹ Musser, *Emergence*, p.273-4, 277-8.

³⁰ Much of my account of film exhibitions of the Spanish American war is informed by Charles Musser's various writings, notably *The Emergence of Cinema : The American Screen to 1907* (New York: Scribner's, 1990) [abbreviated as Musser, *Emergence*].

³¹ *Picayune*, 5 May 1898, p.7: shown at the West End theatre, New Orleans. Quoted in Sylvester Quinn Beard, 'A History of the Motion Pictures in New Orleans, 1896-1908', M.A., Louisiana State University, 1951, p.49.

³² L. Manasse Co., *Stereopticons and Slides, Moving Picture Machines, Films and Other Apparatus* (Chicago, 1905), p.68-69. These lower costs would only of course apply if the showman didn't rush too swiftly from one image to another, thereby requiring very large numbers of slides.

³³ Prescott catalogue, 1899. Selig prices in 1903 were about the same.

³⁴ Charles Musser and Carol Nelson, *High-Class Moving Pictures : Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880-1920* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991), p.77, 87, 88-9. Musser/Nelson add that a smaller scale exhibitor called Dibble also put on shows of this kind (and they note that his image of the *Maine* was cheered).

³⁵ 'The Army in Luzon and Cuba', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 24 March 1900, p.7. Elmendorf also screened Paley's film of pack mules in Cuba. He had already been lecturing on the Cuban war through the 1898-99 season using films and slides. See Musser, *Emergence*, p.222.

³⁶ Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure*, op. cit. This was at the Schiller Theater.

³⁷ Charles Musser, 'The Eden Musee in 1898', p.80-82.

³⁸ Musser, *Emergence* p.241, 244. This was also shown in London in early May – see reference below.

³⁹ 'Cuban War Pictures', *The Phonoscope* 2, no.4, April 1898, p.7, quoting from the *New York Journal*.

⁴⁰ Musser, *Emergence* p.241, and Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure*. Biograph also released film of Captain Sigsbee, captain of the sunken *Maine*, again to the vocal approval of audiences.

⁴¹ Musser, *Emergence*, p.241-247.

⁴² 'War films' in F.M. Prescott, *Catalogue of New Films* (1899). As I explain in the main text, there are two films said to be of the *Maine* listed in this catalogue.

⁴³ *Pick-Me-Up* 18 June 1898, p.183.

⁴⁴ Description in the Warwick Trading Company 1898 catalogue, film no.3436. The film survives in NMPFTV. Prescott enthused about this title: 'The ponderous warship is seen to the greatest advantage and is received with shouts and encores whenever and wherever it is shown. Even women and children become excited and insist on seeing this film over and over again. A most wonderful photographic subject clearly and distinctly displayed on the screen.'

⁴⁵ Also shown were films of the wreck of the *Maine* and the funeral for the victims. From the *Denver Post* 9 May 1898, p.5. Quoted in Roger William Warren, *History of Motion Picture Exhibition in Denver, 1896-1911*, op. cit. Charles H. Oxenham on the east coast was screening a programme of Spanish-American War films under the rubric 'The War Graph' through September 1898, including shots of the *Maine* in Havana harbour taken 'at the time' of the explosion and the wreck taken afterwards. Cited in two cuttings in Charles H. Oxenham collection, MoMA Film Study Center.

⁴⁶ Musser, *Emergence*, p.247. *The Phonoscope*, Feb 1898, p.9 ('General news') reported that the International Film Co. succeeded in filming a panoramic view of the *Maine* 'before the disaster', which was now being put on the market at 50 ft. A similar thing happened with shots of sister ships of the *Titanic* after the disaster in 1912. See my book, *The Titanic and Silent Cinema* (Hastings: The Projection Box, 2000).

⁴⁷ This according to a commentator in *Photographic Chronicle* 14 Aug 1902, p.517.

⁴⁸ Musser and Nelson, *High-Class Moving Pictures*, p.85.

⁴⁹ This happened from about March 1898. Musser and Nelson, *High-Class Moving Pictures*, p.87.

⁵⁰ Walstein Root, 'Cuba under American Rule', *Munsey's Magazine* 21, no. 4, July 1899, p.565: the caption reads, 'A cinematograph exhibition of war scenes, bull fights, etc, in Havana'. The frontage looks similar to that of the Tacon theatre in Havana, 1870, in Mary Evans picture library.

⁵¹ Joao Luiz Vieira, 'Les influences françaises sur le cinéma brésilien (1896-1930)', in *Le cinéma français muet dans le monde, influences réciproques* (Perpignan: Institut Jean

Vigo/Cinematheque de Toulouse, 1989), p.167-8; and in Vicente de Paula Araújo, *A Bela Época do Cinema Brasileiro* (Sao Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1976), p.91.

⁵² Juan Felipe Leal, et al, *Anales del Cine en México, 1895-1911. vol. 4: 1898: una Guerra Imperial* (México, D.F.: Ediciones y Gráficos Eón : Voyeur, 2002-2003), p.119.

⁵³ Serge Duigou and Germain Lacasse, *Marie de Kerstrat : L'aristocrate du Cinématographe* (Quimper: Editions Ressac, 1987), p.64. Sherbrooke is in Quebec. There was a similar reception in Ottawa.

⁵⁴ The show was presented by the 'Bioscope', at 91 Yonge Street, from 2 May through 5 June 1898 and it was reported: 'A noticeable feature of the show is, of course, the war pictures, and they all come out remarkably well. We are given views of Morro Castle and Havana harbor, burial of the Maine victims, the United States cruiser Nashville, the cruiser Cincinnati, the battleship Indiana, the cruiser Detroit, the flagship New York, the battleship Iowa, the Coptic No. 2 and storm at sea, closing with the American and Cuban flags.' Robert W. Gutteridge, *Magic Moments: First 20 Years of Moving Pictures in Toronto (1894-1914)* (Whitby: Gutteridge-Pratley Publications, 2000), p.79.

⁵⁵ Paul Estrade, 'Emigration Cubaine de Paris (1895-1898): Premières Observations à la "Guerre de Marti"', *Cahiers du Monde hispanique et luso-brasilien*, no. 16, 1971, p.41, 45.

⁵⁶ George Clarke Musgrave, *Under Three Flags in Cuba: A Personal Account of the Cuban Insurrection and Spanish-American War* (London; Cambridge, U.S.A.: Gay & Bird, 1899), p.250.

⁵⁷ Edmund Basil Francis d'Auvergne, *The Night Side of Paris* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1909), p.18. French audiences had a particular fondness for Spanish dancers, the author says.

⁵⁸ Printed programme for Olympia, 3 August 1898, from David Robinson collection, displayed at Pordenone, 1992 in an exhibition about film publicity. These films were the tenth item in the programme.

⁵⁹ Pierre Berneau, and Jeanne Berneau, *Le Spectacle Cinématographique à Limoges, de 1896 à 1945* (Paris: AFRHC, 1992).

⁶⁰ René Garagnon, 'Histoire du Cinéma à Arles: Chapitre 1', *Bull. des Amis du Vieil Arles*, no. 101, Dec 1998, p.39.

⁶¹ Jean Legoy, 'Les premiers pas du cinématographe au Havre, 1895-1914', *Recueil de l'association des amis du Vieux Havre* 38, 1981, pp.10, 20. My translation from : 'Les vues sont impressionnantes de réalisme, surtout lors du bombardement par les forts de Santiago et la retraite de l'artillerie espagnole passant au ravin où canons et chevaux restent au fond'. Note that this is indeed 'Viograph and not 'Biograph'.

⁶² Jean-Claude Seguin, *Alexandre Promio, ou, les énigmes de la lumière* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), p.47. The Lyon screening was reported in *Lyon républicain*, 1 May 1898.

⁶³ *Entr'acte* 7 May and 6 Aug 1898. A grand military spectacle entitled 'War!' at the Grand, Clapham, included episodes about the Spanish-American War. *Pick-Me-Up* 27 Aug 1898, p.343.

⁶⁴ Musgrave, *Under Three Flags in Cuba: A Personal Account of the Cuban Insurrection and Spanish-American War*, p. 251.

⁶⁵ Julian Ralph, 'Anglo-Saxon affinities', *Harper's Monthly* 37, no.585, Feb 1899, p.385-91.

⁶⁶ 'The Biograph', *BJP Supplement* 6 May 1898, p.40. And quoted in John Barnes 1898 volume. See also 'Cinematography and the War', *BJP* 6 May 1898, p.293.

⁶⁷ 'The Biograph', *BJP Supplement* 6 May 1898, p.40. The writer added that 'Fresh photographs will be taken as long as the war lasts, and will be exhibited as soon as they arrive'. Biograph films related to the war were being shown in Britain as early as April. See *The Era* 30 April 1898, p.19. Such films continued at the Palace Theatre into early August. See *Daily Mail* 5 Aug 1898, p.1.

⁶⁸ Julian Ralph, 'Anglo-Saxon affinities', op. cit. I assume that the 'Spanish pictures' mentioned were lantern slides, because the text states that the American subjects were 'moving photographs'.

⁶⁹ The words Ralph was preparing to hurl at the hissers, until he thought better of it, were: 'For shame! ...Do you know what you are hissing? It is your own blood that you belittle. It is America, the creation of your own fathers that you are scorning. When you hiss at us, you asperse those whose traditions, triumphs, principles, and aspirations are precisely your own. You are like cuckoos who defile your own nest. When you hiss at Mr. McKinley's picture you

hiss a symbol of the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon race.' The article also offers an analysis of how the Anglo-American friendship was growing.

⁷⁰ For Eastern Empire, see *London Entr'acte* 25 June 1898, p.11; for Royal, see *London Entr'acte* 30 July 1898.

⁷¹ George Lynch, who had reported on the war in Cuba for *Black and White*, lectured in various south London venues. See *The Free Sunday Advocate*, Nov 1898, p.86 and Dec 1898, p.94. See also the same source for Oct 1898, p.77 for a notice of a lecture on the war by Horace G. Banks. Thanks to Tony Fletcher for directing me to *The Free Sunday Advocate*.

⁷² *Entr'acte* (London) 18 June 1898.

⁷³ A number of illustrations in the foreign illustrated press, based on information or sketches from their Spain-based correspondents, depict a Spain in which there was certainly some enthusiasm for war, albeit within an authoritarian climate. These images include: a special performance in the Royal Theatre, Madrid in aid of a fund to increase the navy (*Graphic* 16 Apr 1898). A demonstration for war (ILN 7 May 1898). Huge crowds going to a special bullfight in Madrid in aid of the Patriotic War Fund (*Graphic* 28 May 1898). Police seizing a newspaper which has news of the disastrous sinking of Cervera's fleet (*Graphic* 16 July 1898, p.80). Mobbing a peace advocate in Madrid (*Graphic* 23 July 1898, p.119). These last three *Graphic* images were by Sydney Higham. See also issues of the French journal *Petite Illustration*, showing images of troops leaving Spain for the front, etc.

⁷⁴ Sebastian Balfour, 'Riot, Regeneration and Reaction: Spain in the Aftermath of the 1898 Disaster', *Historical Journal* 38, no. 2, 1995, p.405-423.

⁷⁵ Paso-doble for piano, music by Rafael Rodríguez (Valencia: Antich y Tena Editores, 1898). From Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Fondos del Servicio de Partituras, Registros Sonoros y Audiovisuales.

⁷⁶ Musgrave, *Under Three Flags in Cuba: A Personal Account of the Cuban Insurrection and Spanish-American War*, p. 249.

⁷⁷ Carlos G. Barron, 'Spanish Press Reaction During the 1898 War', *Mid-America* 61, no. 1, Jan 1979, p.25-33.

⁷⁸ Javier Figuero and Carlos G. Santa Cecilia, *La España del Desastre* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1997).

⁷⁹ Edmond Kelly, 'An American in Madrid during the War', *Century Magazine* 57, Jan 1899, p.450-57.

⁸⁰ Robert John Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special Correspondent: Victorian War Correspondents and Their Campaigns* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), p.219-20.

⁸¹ Jean-Claude Seguin, *Alexandre Promio, ou, Les Énigmes de la Lumière* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), p.47. The ongoing foreign war in Cuba (against the rebels) might have been the inspiration for Promio to take so many military films, suggests Jean-Claude Seguin. Seguin finds the resulting films particularly well composed and shot, some being 'true little masterpieces'. The Madrid films included: *Lanciers de la Reine*, *Cyclistes Militaires*, *Danse au Bivouac*, *Distribution des Vivres aux Soldats*. The Lyon screening was reported in *Lyon républicain*, 1 May 1898. According to CNC, 9 of the 13 of Promio's surviving Spanish films are of the military.

⁸² Daniel C. Narváez Torregrosa, *Los Inicios del Cinematógrafo en Alicante, 1896-1931* (Alicante: Filmoteca Generalitat Valenciana etc, 2000), p.170. The screening was 15 May 1897 in the Teatro Principal. The Lubin film was *Death of Maceo and His Followers* (mentioned in my previous chapter).

⁸³ There were shows with similar names in several other countries at about this time.

⁸⁴ The screen could be seen from a distance of 30 meters, it was said, though it's not clear what this means. Josefina Martínez, *Los Primeros Veinticinco Años de Cine en Madrid: 1896-1920* (Madrid: Filmoteca Nacional Española, 1993), p.46, 48. Films were not being shown in Madrid theatres at this time, and weren't until August 1898, so in July were only to be seen in the Circus Parish and at a venue called the Columbus. For more on the 'Wargraph' in Madrid, see Julio Montero, María Antonia Paz, 'Kinematographen in Madrid (1896-1900)', *Kintop*, no. 13, Dec 2004, p.141-2.

⁸⁵ The Wargraph showed the films in two sessions, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and at 10 o'clock at night, says Martínez, op. cit. Other companies in Madrid also showed films of the war, according to Agustín Sánchez Vidal, *Los Jimeno y los Orígenes del Cine en Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Filmoteca de Zaragoza etc, 1994), p.193.

- ⁸⁶ José Ramón Saiz Viadero, ed. *La Llegada del Cinematógrafo a España* (Santander: Gobierno de Cantabria, 1998), p.119. The show was said to be run by William Parish, presumably of the Parish Circus. All the films listed were said to be long ones. See also Catalina Pulido Corrales, *Inicios del Cine en Badajoz, 1896-1900* (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 1997), p.103, 117. Only this latter source states that the *Maine* film was shown, but it doesn't mention views of the battleship *Pelayo* and disembarkation of sailors in hostile territory. It gives the show dates as 29 September to 3 October 1898.
- ⁸⁷ Sánchez Vidal, *Los Jimeno y los Orígenes del Cine en Zaragoza*.
- ⁸⁸ Jordi Torras i Comamala, 'Implantación del Fet Cinematogràfic a Barcelona... [1895-1910]', *Cinematògraf* 2, no. 1, 1992, p.47. At this stage, and possibly earlier in its Spanish appearances, the show was being run by a certain Henry Leonard.
- ⁸⁹ José Ramón Saiz Viadero, ed. *La Llegada Del Cinematógrafo a España* (Santander: Gobierno de Cantabria, 1998), p.115.
- ⁹⁰ Thanks to Joan M. Minguet Batllori for this list. It is worth adding that, also shown in Barcelona presumably from 1898, was a programme of films at the Cafè Colón, including titles about the wars in Cuba and the Philippines. See Miquel Porter i Moix and Maria Teresa Ros Vilella, *Història del Cinema Català (1895-1968)* (Barcelona: Editorial Tàber, 1969), p.36.
- ⁹¹ Palmira González i López, 'En el 90 Aniversari de L'Arribada del Cinema. Més Sobre els Inicis del Cinema a Barcelona (1896-1900)', *Cinematògraf* 3, 1985-1986, p.240. This author states that the show was on the 14 December, and an entrance fee of 1 Peseta was charged per person. Saiz Viadero, *La Llegada del Cinematógrafo a España*, p.100, also says it was 14 Dec, while a date of 10 Dec is claimed by Miquel Porter-Moix, 'Les débuts du cinéma en Catalogne', in Jean Claude Seguin, et al, eds., *L'aventure du Cinématographe : Actes du Congrès Mondial Lumière* (Lyon: ALEAS, 1999), p.163. On page 165 Porter-Moix adds that a Red Cross screening of March 1897 (also in Barcelona?) was for similar beneficiaries.
- ⁹² Saiz Viadero, *La Llegada del Cinematógrafo a España*, p.31.
- ⁹³ Saiz Viadero, *ibid.*, p.157.
- ⁹⁴ Proposed in Badajoz for 4 October 1898: see Catalina Pulido Corrales, *Inicios Del Cine en Badajoz, 1896-1900*, p.103, 117. In La Constància by a 'Mr. Huguein' on 8 Nov 1898: see Cristófol-Miquel Sbert i Barceló, *El Cinema a les Balears des de 1896* (Palma de Mallorca: Documenta Balear, 2001), p.15-16.
- ⁹⁵ This undated filming was probably undertaken in Barcelona, though the facts are sketchy. It is referred to by Fernández Cuenca, and I am grateful to Miquel Porter i Moix both personally and in his book for the information. Miquel Porter i Moix and Maria Teresa Ros Vilella, *Història del Cinema Català (1895-1968)* (Barcelona: Editorial Tàber, 1969), p.52.
- ⁹⁶ *Landing of the Cuban Wounded in our Port* was shown in Galicia 21 October: this might be the same film as *Return from Cuba*, shown in the region the previous month. The Spanish titles of these films were *Desembarco de heridos de Cuba en nuestro puerto* and *Regreso de Cuba*. See José M. Folgar de la Calle, *Aproximación a la Historia del Espectáculo Cinematográfico en Galicia (1896-1920)* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago, 1987), p.214.
- ⁹⁷ Léopold de Saussure (brother of the linguist, Ferdinand) argued that Spain's defeat proved the inadequacy of continental European powers to manage empires and the superiority of Anglo-Saxons in doing so, because, as thoroughgoing racists, the Anglo-Saxons failed to educate their subjects, therefore not giving them aspirations to be the same as Europeans. He was wrong on this point about education, as both the British in some colonies and, most notably, the Americans in the Philippines, introduced mass education. Léopold de Saussure, *Psychologie de la Colonisation Française : Dans Ses Rapports Avec les Sociétés Indigènes* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1899).
- ⁹⁸ Lord Salisbury in 1898 said the world was divided into the 'living' and 'dying' powers, citing the recent defeats of Spain and China as indications of the latter. Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers : Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987), p.195.
- ⁹⁹ Mercedes Cabrera and Luzón Javier Moreno, *Regeneración Y Reforma : Espana a Comienzos del Siglo XX* ([Madrid, Spain]: Fundacion BBVA : Ministerio de Educacion, Cultura y Deporte, Secretaria de Estado de Cultura, 2002).
- ¹⁰⁰ Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- ¹⁰¹ Balfour, 'Riot, Regeneration and Reaction: Spain in the Aftermath of the 1898 Disaster'.

¹⁰² 'An American woman in Spain', LW 15 Dec 1898, p.467: she went to Cadiz among other places.

¹⁰³ José Luis Bernal Muñoz, 'Dal "Kinetoscopio" al Sonoro : El Cine Visto por la Generación del 98', *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, no. 541-42, Jul-Aug 1995, p.146-8, etc. Joan M. Minguet Batllori, 'Early Spanish Cinema and the Problem of Modernity', *Film History* 16, no. 1, 2004, p.92-107.

¹⁰⁴ See chapter 'Commercial Warfare and the Spanish-American War, 1897-1898', in Musser, *Emergence*, p.225-6. See also pp.70, 241 and 261 on how the war revived cinema. This and some other sources for the subject are conveniently summarised by Castonguay at website <http://chnm.gmu.edu/aq/war>.

¹⁰⁵ Robert C. Allen maintains that the Spanish-American War was, 'probably the most propitious event in the early history of the American cinema'. Robert C. Allen, *Vaudeville and Film*, op. cit., p.139. Lauren Rabinovitz agrees, arguing that a glut on the motion picture market at the time, 'might have led to movies' dismissal as only a passing fancy or fad had it not been for the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898'. *For the Love of Pleasure*, p.107.

¹⁰⁶ 'Interview with the President of the Vitagraph Co.', *Bioscope* 1 Aug 1912, p.335.

¹⁰⁷ He added, though: 'but after a short time the public got tired of seeing pictures of soldiers, and then, if nothing else had occurred, the business would probably have fallen out of sight'. It was Méliès' longer (story) films, Smith argued, which got people interested in seeing films again and kept the film industry growing. From a 1917 court case in which Albert Smith gave evidence, quoted in: Richard Alan Nelson, *Florida and the American Motion Picture Industry, 1898-1980* (New York; London: Garland, 1983), p.99-100.

¹⁰⁸ Lee Royal, *The Romance of Motion Picture Production* (Los Angeles: Royal Publishing Company, 1920), p.9, 11. Royal says that by 1898 people had begun to tire of films of 'commonplace events' such as train views etc.

¹⁰⁹ Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights...* (London: Frank Cass, 1964), p.389.

¹¹⁰ Nasaw, *Going Out*, p.149-150.

¹¹¹ Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure*, p.108. She is referring to the situation in Chicago, but her point may be taken to apply in general to much of the rest of America.