

PHILIP CAVENDISH

The Delhi Durbar Comes to Moscow: Charles Urban and Kinemacolor in Russia, 1910–1916

ABSTRACT: This article examines the exhibition and reception of Kinemacolor in Russia from 1910 to 1916. Kinemacolor was a British method of filming and projecting in natural color invented by George Albert Smith and financed by Charles Urban, a US-born entrepreneur; film historians generally regard it as the most commercially viable color process before the outbreak of war in 1914. The article investigates Urban's interest in Russia as a potential market for Kinemacolor and as a source of interesting filmic material. In addition to identifying the extent of Kinemacolor's exhibition and distribution in Russia between 1910 and 1916, it also examines the Russian subjects filmed by Urban's companies in black and white and color, and identifies two occasions (1909 and 1913) on which Tsar Nikolai II and Tsarina Aleksandra Fedorovna were filmed in Kinemacolor. The article argues that the reception of Kinemacolor was widespread and diverse, and included members of the Russian imperial family and the Bolshevik leader, Vladimir Lenin. It references the specialist film-trade press in Britain, Russia, Europe, and North America; theater listings in Britain and Russia; and contemporary reports on Kinemacolor exhibitions in the British and Russian media. The article also draws upon the extensive archive of Urban's private papers, which is currently preserved in Bradford's National Science and Media Museum.

KEYWORDS: Kinemacolor, Russia, Charles Urban, color in the silent era, Russian imperial family in color

The discovery in Russia of fragments of film belonging to the British Kinemacolor documentary of the 1911 Coronation Durbar in Delhi demonstrates the global reach of this color process. Kinemacolor was a two-color method of filming and projecting invented by George Albert Smith and financed by Charles Urban, an American-born entrepreneur; the first demonstration of this process took place on May 1, 1908, in London, and film historians widely regard it as the most commercially viable natural-color system in world cinema before the outbreak of war in 1914.¹ The fragments

Film History, 30.3, pp. 103–145. Copyright © 2018 Trustees of Indiana University. doi: 10.2979/filmhistory.30.3.05

This article was published as Cavendish, P; (2018) *The Delhi Durbar comes to Moscow: Charles Urban and Kinemacolor in Russia, 1910-1916*. *Film History*, 30 (3) pp. 103-145. 10.2979/filmhistory.30.3.05. No part of it may be

reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted, or distributed in any form, by any means, electronic, mechanical, photographic, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Indiana University Press. For education reuse, please contact the

Copyright Clearance Center <<http://www.copyright.com/>>. For all other permissions, contact IU Press at <<http://iupress.indiana.edu/rights/>>.

in question were identified at the beginning of the millennium in the Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents (RGAKFD) in Krasnogorsk by Adrian Wood, a specialist in historical film preservation who was researching material for *The British Empire in Colour*, a TWI/Carlton production eventually broadcast in September 2002.² The Coronation or Delhi Durbar was the name given to a series of ceremonies that took place in December 1911 and January 1912 to mark the coronation of King George V and his designation as the new emperor of India. Urban himself traveled to the continent and spent several weeks there with a team of camera operators to record the events; the result of their endeavors, a two-and-a-half-hour program entitled *With our King and Queen Through India*, premiered on February 2, 1912, in London's Scala Theatre.³ The popularity of this film with the British public proved a turning point in the commercial fortunes of Kinemacolor: the two-color process rapidly became a household name, and Urban himself acquired the status of overnight celebrity.

The discovery of the footage in Krasnogorsk was a landmark event in the sense that, although a second fragment from the Coronation Durbar also exists and is now publicly available, much of the Kinemacolor archive, which numbered more than one thousand titles at its height, remains untraced and is presumed lost.⁴ According to Wood, the fragments in question, lasting around fourteen minutes in total, had been misidentified by archivists because one of the intertitles in Russian suggested that the Indian troops depicted were currently fighting the Germans as part of the British war effort.⁵ This assumption, as we will see, misunderstood the circumstances that had given rise to the Coronation Durbar fragments being exported to Russia. Close inspection of the material, as well as the characteristic flickering when projected at normal speeds for the silent era, revealed that it belonged to "Royal Review of 50,000 Troops," a particular section in *With our King and Queen Through India* that consisted of three parts, lasted around fifty minutes, and included footage of the celebrated charge of Royal Horse Artillery and Cavalry divisions at the Badli-Ki-Sarai parade ground in Delhi on December 14, 1912 (fig. 1).⁶ As well as being broadcast as part of *The British Empire in Colour*, the fragments of film located in Krasnogorsk have also been digitally restored by Nikolai Maiorov, a Russian camera operator who specializes in color-film preservation, and screened on numerous occasions in Russia, for example, as part of the Russian State Film Archive's annual Festival of Archival Cinema programs in Belye Stolby, just outside Moscow. They are now routinely mentioned in studies of the history of color film in Russia, although there has been no investigation into how the footage ended up in Krasnogorsk.⁷



Fig. 1: Image-still from “Royal Review of 50,000 troops.” (Courtesy of Adrian Wood)

The significance of Wood’s discovery relates only partly to the possibility that Kinemacolor footage may be languishing elsewhere in state archives, film museums, or private collections. Preservation in Krasnogorsk demonstrates a fact about Kinemacolor that, while tacitly acknowledged by film historians, has received relatively little attention hitherto, namely, its extraordinary global ambition.⁸ Russia was one of many countries in the world where the Coronation Durbar and other Kinemacolor films were screened. In fact, the Kinemacolor process was showcased on two separate occasions in prerevolutionary Russia: in 1910, as part of Urban’s early strategy of seeking to export Kinemacolor across the globe; and in 1914, as he sought to extract commercial advantage from the alliance of Great Britain and Russia during the early months of the First World War. As well as being exhibited as part of the royal tour program in 1912, sections of “Royal Review of 50,000 Troops” were later recycled by Urban in August 1914 as part of a special program at the Scala dedicated to the armies and navies fighting the war; entitled *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*, this featured Kinemacolor footage from several countries of the world, including Russia (fig. 2). Furthermore, this program, and many other works deriving from the Kinemacolor back catalog, was subsequently dispatched to Russia and screened



Fig. 2: Title page of Scala program for *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* dated November 2, 1914. (Courtesy of Luke McKernan).

in metropolitan and provincial film theaters from late 1914 to the early months of 1916. Most interestingly from a Russian perspective, *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* included images of Tsar Nikolai II, Tsarina Aleksandra Fedorovna, and members of the imperial family being transported in horse-drawn carriages along St. Petersburg's Nevskii Prospekt in the company of Cossacks. As I hope

to demonstrate, this footage was shot by one of Urban's camera operators on March 6, 1913, the first day of the Romanov dynasty's tercentenary celebrations.⁹ Further investigation reveals that this may not have been the first occasion on which the Russian imperial couple was filmed in Kinemacolor. The event in question was the tsar and tsarina's visit to Britain in early August 1909 at the invitation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, which was filmed by Urban's film companies both in black and white and color. Both sections of footage, if they were ever to be rediscovered, would be historically significant in the sense that they constitute the only known moving images of the imperial couple and their family in natural color before the Romanov dynasty was overthrown in February 1917.

Kinemacolor's extensive exhibition in Russia is significant in the sense that the international success of this process formed an intrinsic part of its narrative and to some extent shaped the choice of topical and travel-film subject. Although it has been argued that the demise of Kinemacolor followed almost immediately after the failure to protect its patent in the British law courts and the House of Lords in 1914 and early 1915, the screening of multiple items from Urban's back catalog in Russia from late 1914 onward suggests that the process enjoyed a modest afterlife. The exhibitions in 1910 and 1914 also highlight Urban's persistent interest in Russia and Russian-related subjects. It is known, for example, that his camera operators were dispatched to cover the events of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–5; that he opened offices in Moscow in 1908 and distributed at least two hundred films produced by Urban-Eclipse-Radios, the Paris-based company that he had created earlier the same year; and that he commissioned the shooting of several topicals and travel films in black and white and color on Russian-related subjects between 1908 and 1915. Although it would be an exaggeration to claim that the Russian film market was a key commercial preoccupation for Urban, it is instructive nevertheless that the launch of Kinemacolor in St. Petersburg in 1910 was accompanied by attempts to establish a permanent venue for Kinemacolor showings, like the Palace and Scala theaters in London, and that this launch gave rise to the creation of a film journal in Russian which not only was named after the process, but which employed the Kinemacolor logo in English as its masthead.

Reconstructing the international dimension of Kinemacolor and Urban's relationship with Russia is a potentially hazardous undertaking in the sense that no single, definitive catalog of Kinemacolor works exists. This undertaking is rendered all the more complex by virtue of Urban's persistent repackaging and recycling of his library of materials and the tendency as part of this process to introduce alterations in titling (some titles of Kinemacolor films in Russian, as we will see, also underwent minor adjustment). The main source for film

historians hitherto has been the official catalog produced for advertising and promotional purposes in 1913; an expensively produced volume with hand-painted illustrations, it arranged the material chronologically, with catalog numbers awarded accordingly, but did not feature works made after 1911.¹⁰ This incomplete record is nevertheless considerably augmented by the archive of Urban's private papers now housed in Bradford's National Science and Media Museum.¹¹ This collection includes a supplement to the 1913 catalog that lists works produced between 1912 and 1913.¹² It also features two further catalogs that Urban compiled just before leaving Britain for the United States in 1916. While neither contains a definitive list of works, and many of them have been repackaged to promote the international dimension of Kinemacolor's impressive array of travel films (the second catalog was marketed under the maxim "The World is the Studio of Urban"), they do nevertheless list many of the works in different generic categories produced and released between 1913 and 1914.¹³ The Urban archive includes other documents that are invaluable in terms of tracing the domestic and international trajectory of Kinemacolor: assorted leaflets and booklets listing the contents of screenings at the Palace and Scala theaters; cuttings from the British and foreign film-trade press specifically dedicated to the Kinemacolor process; cuttings of press reviews of programs at the Scala and other film theaters in Britain; and lists of foreign licensing agreements. When combined with reports in Russia's film-trade press and film-theater listings that give the details of premieres and other screenings in Russia's major cities from 1910 onward, it becomes possible to establish a much more detailed history of Kinemacolor's international dimension than has been attempted hitherto.

As well as identifying the nature and extent of Urban's commercial interest in Russia, this article also seeks to assess the reception of Kinemacolor on the part of the general Russian public. This would appear to have been diverse, with reverberations manifesting themselves across the social and political spectrum, and in the diaries, memoirs, and prose fiction of important cultural figures. Kinemacolor is mentioned, for example, in the letters of the Dowager Empress Mar'ia Fedorovna, the mother of Tsar Nikolai, who traveled regularly to Britain from 1910 onward to attend state ceremonies on behalf of the Russian imperial family, and to visit her sister, Queen Alexandra, who had been widowed that year after the death of King Edward. At the diametrically opposite end of the political spectrum, Kinemacolor would also appear to have captured the imagination of the Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin, who argued that Kinemacolor's travel and wildlife films were compelling illustrations of the educational value of documentary film.¹⁴

It should be pointed out that Kinemacolor's afterlife in Russia assumed a purely technological dimension as well. Although the birth of the moving-picture

industry spawned numerous attempts on the part of inventors to create and perfect a natural-color process—very few of them commercially viable—the very first color process developed in the Soviet Union, Spektrakolor, which was devised and patented in 1929 by the camera operator Nikolai Anoshchenko, was a variation on the Kinemacolor system that might well have been made possible by his inspection of the projectors that had been imported into Russia before 1917 and were presumably abandoned in the aftermath of the October Revolution.¹⁵

KINEMACOLOR IN RUSSIA: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

By the time Kinemacolor had reached the point of commercial development, Urban had been involved in the nascent British film industry for more than ten years, first as a director of the Warwick Trading Company, and then as director of the Charles Urban Trading Company, which he established in 1903. From the very beginning of his involvement, as Luke McKernan has demonstrated, Urban adopted a marketing strategy that promoted the importance of film as an instrument for public education; his slogan, “We Put the World Before You,” reflected the dominance of topicals, travel films, and science or nature films in the early output of his companies.¹⁶ Camera operators working for Urban traveled all over the world to film newsworthy events and exotic foreign lands and peoples. Russia was no exception in this regard. Urban achieved something of a journalistic coup by sending two camera operators, Joseph Rosenthal and George Rogers, to cover the Russo-Japanese War. Rosenthal was dispatched to cover the military action from the Japanese side, while Rogers, a fluent Russian and French speaker, and Urban’s erstwhile manager in Paris, was sent to St. Petersburg and from there traveled nineteen thousand kilometers with the Baltic Fleet via the Cape of Good Hope to Mukden, Manchuria, to film regiments commanded by General Aleksei Kuropatkin. According to press reports in Britain, he was the only foreign camera operator to be granted official permission to film the Russian side of the conflict.¹⁷ Since Rogers arrived in Manchuria only to find that Kuropatkin had been heavily defeated by the Japanese, little was filmed in terms of actual military action, but he nevertheless managed to record some topical material and scenic views. Collectively entitled *With the Russian Army in Siberia*, these included images of Kuropatkin on his “famous ‘white charger’” (Urban’s 1905 catalog claims that this is “the only animated picture of the Russian general in existence”); “extraordinary feats” of horsemanship by Siberian Cossacks; the departure of *Baikal*, an ice-breaking steamship, as it transported Russian troops across the frozen lake after which it had been named; a panorama of mountains in the Urals, including views of a convict settlement; and a “railway panorama” that had been shot along the banks of a

Siberian river.¹⁸ While this footage amounted to only twelve minutes of screen time in total, it can be speculated on the basis of the catalog numbers in the 1909 Urban-Eclipse-Radios catalog that Rogers's presence in Russia gave rise to additional material: *Streets of St. Petersburg before the Revolution* (175 ft.), which showed several landmark sites later associated with the events of "Bloody Sunday"; *Noblemen Leaving the Kremlin, Moscow, after Reception by the Czar* (100 ft.); and *Burlesque Russian Dance* (75 ft.).¹⁹ Three additional Russian-related films are listed as part of this same catalog, although their numbers suggest a later provenance: *Moscow under Water* (263 ft.), which showed "[t]remendous volumes of water flowing in constant and rapid streams through the streets of the city" due to the spring thaw; *Travelling through Russia* (690 ft.), which included panoramic views of St. Petersburg and Moscow, peasant industries (spinning and weaving), race-course scenes, "characteristic Cossack dances and pastimes," and a "folk play performed by Cossacks"; and *A Russian Bear Hunt* (400 ft.), which claimed to be the first hunting film to show a bear at the moment it was being shot and killed.²⁰ Urban clearly appreciated the commercial potential of the growing Russian market for international films. Urban-Eclipse-Radios opened offices in Moscow for the distribution of its films on December 15, 1908; at the time, it was one of only a handful of foreign film companies with branches in Russia, and its films were regularly advertised in the Russian trade press from 1908 onward.²¹ After the advent of Kinemacolor, Urban continued to commission films on Russian-related subjects in black and white. On September 24, 1911, for example, his film company Kineto, which had been established in 1907 to specialize in scientific and educational films, released *Cossack Dancers and Roughriders* (325 ft.), a topical that had been shot at a "Russian Gymkhana" and opened with a "graceful exhibition of peasants dancing";²² and on January 31, 1912, Urban-Eclipse-Radios released *Views of St. Petersburg* (350 ft.), which included several panoramas of the city.²³ A spate of further topicals and travel films in color and black and white were released in the spring and summer of 1913, but because they are associated with the invention of Kinemacolor and the materials later included in *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*, they will be discussed separately.

KINEMACOLOR IN RUSSIA: THE FIRST PUBLIC PRESENTATION

It is important to bear in mind Urban's interest in Russia and Russian-related subjects when examining the history of Kinemacolor and its export abroad. McKernan has given the most authoritative and detailed account to date of the invention of Kinemacolor and its subsequent commercial exploitation and reception. He refers to the numerous premieres that took place abroad, in

particular in Europe and North America, and discusses the creation of licensed Kinemacolor companies outside Britain, for example in North America and Japan.²⁴ There is little systematic analysis of Kinemacolor as a global phenomenon, however, and Russia itself as an object of Urban's commercial interest remains unexplored.

This is curious given that Russia was very much part of the international film market in the early twentieth century. The Russian film-trade press, albeit with some delay, reported regularly on cinematic developments abroad and was particularly attentive to technological innovations in the sphere of applied and natural color. News of George Albert Smith's presentation at Urbanora House on May 1, 1908, for example, was reported four weeks later. On May 28, ostensibly basing its information on a news item that had appeared in London's the *Morning Post*, the leading Russian film-trade gazette of the period, *Sine-fono*, mentioned the presentation and briefly outlined the scientific principles underpinning the new process.²⁵ A more detailed article appeared three months later. The author in question, an engineer whose full name was not given, explained the differences between Smith's invention and earlier experiments in color-film technology. His article refers to Smith's development of a panchromatic emulsion; the use of two color-filters, red and green, within the camera and projector; the filming and projection speed of 32fps, which was considerably faster than the customary 16 to 24fps for the silent era; and the high levels of illumination required for successful exposure. It also describes some of the fragments of film screened as part of the presentation and cites from the concluding words of Smith's lecture.²⁶ A subsequent article, drawing upon a report that had appeared in the French film journal *Phono-Ciné Gazette*, gave details of the dispute that had arisen between Smith and representatives of the French film company Pathé Frères, who had sought to discredit the new invention after its first public demonstration in Paris on July 8, 1908.²⁷ The following year, a brief report in *Sine-fono* referred to Urban's invitation to King Edward to watch Kinemacolor footage of himself and his family at Knowsley House, the private residence of the Earl of Derby, on July 8, 1909.²⁸ Further descriptions of the scientific principles underpinning the Urban-Smith process, now given its commercial name, Kinemacolor, appeared on March 14, 1910.²⁹ A second article by the same author compared the Urban-Smith process with that patented by William Friese-Greene and ventured to predict that the dominance of monochrome in the moving-picture industry would shortly come to an end.³⁰ The concluding section of this article, published two weeks later, coincided with the first screenings of Kinemacolor in St. Petersburg in the presence of film entrepreneurs, theater owners, and representatives of the press.³¹

Товарищество „КИНЕМАКОЛОРЪ“
Патентъ Urban-Smith.
С.-Петербургъ, Гороховая, 51.

КИНЕМАТОГРАФЪ ВЪ НАТУРАЛЬНЫХЪ ЦВЪТАХЪ.

Т-во „Кинемаколоръ“ настойчиво доводитъ до всеобщаго съвѣдѣнія, что имъ приобрѣтено исключительное право эксплоатации величайшаго изобрѣтенія, въ области кинематографіи послѣдніяго времени—„Кинемаколоръ“—*Кинематографъ въ естественныхъ краскахъ*.

Ленты изготавливаются по способу *Urban-Smith* безъ всякої участія искусственныхъ красокъ, кисти, штампа и пр.

„Кинемаколоръ“ встѣрѣнъ вследу за франціей широкой публикой и учеными міромъ съ восторомъ.

Аппаратъ „Кинемаколоръ“ отличается совершенствомъ конструкціи, отсутствиемъ минерія, даетъ стереоскопичность снимка и пригоденъ также для демонстраціи обыкновенныхъ картины.

ПРОДАЖА аппаратовъ „Кинемаколоръ“.
ПРОКАТЪ лентъ „Кинемаколоръ“.

№ 493—12—1.

Fig. 3: Advertisement for Kinemacolor in *Sine-fono*, July 15, 1910.

Kinemacolor was first publicly demonstrated in Russia on November 12, 1910, in the Grand Hall of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire. Early anticipation of a new, unnamed color process had been witnessed in the trade press as early as May 1910.³² This was followed by a full-page advertisement in *Sine-fono* on July 28, taken out by an organization calling itself the Kinemacolor Society,

Fig. 4: Advertisement for Kinemacolor premiere in St. Petersburg (*Obozrenie teatrov*, October 31, 1910).

which described the new process and gave contact details for renting the special projectors and available Kinemacolor materials (fig. 3).³³ A trade-news report one month later explained that this society had been created in order to purchase the monopoly rights in Russia; in the words of this report, the color process represented a “new era” in the development of moving pictures and referred to plans for touring exhibitions throughout the country.³⁴ The first private screening, organized by Urban’s representative in the Russian capital, Alexander Shturmer, took place on August 16 in the theater auditorium that formed part of the Nevskii Prospekt skating rink.³⁵ This was followed by a second screening on October 22 in the Casino de Paris for members of the press; the impact of this exhibition, as witnessed by reviews in the capital’s daily newspapers, was “dazzling,” although there were mutterings that the particular licensing system preferred by Urban for distribution might potentially limit its effect.³⁶ The advance publicity for the first public demonstration was effusive. Advertisements described Kinemacolor as a “world-wide sensation” and referred to the earlier premieres in London, Paris, New York, and Berlin (fig. 4).³⁷ The “crème de la crème” of Petersburg society was reportedly present, and the auditorium was packed.³⁸ The program amounted to some four thousand meters of footage in total and included many of the topicals and travel films that had featured in the European and North American premieres: *Carnival at Nice*, *Children’s “Battle of Flowers,”* *Scenes on the Riviera (Monaco, Monte Carlo)*, *Venice and the Grand Canal*, *Constantinople and the Bosphorus*, *Scenes in Algeria*, *Wansee near Potsdam*, *The Great Falls of the Potomac*, *Waves and Spray*, *Choosing a Wallpaper*, *Chef’s Preparations*, *Children Forming the U.S. Flag*, and *The Tarantella Dance*.³⁹ These showings were preceded by a lecture on the history and evolution of color-film technology, and the films themselves were given a musical accompaniment by the St. Petersburg philharmonic conducted by Aleksandr Aslanov.⁴⁰ Such was the success of the screenings, with spontaneous applause from the audience at regular intervals, that two further demonstrations were hastily arranged on November 15 and 19 at the same venue. Additional materials included *Berlin Zoological Gardens*, *Italian Lake Scenes*, *Floral Friends*, *Farmyard Friends*, and a Kinemacolor comedy entitled *The Lost Ring, or, Johnson’s Honeymoon*.⁴¹ During the interval for the screening on November 19, a new musical invention (an electric piano) was given its first public demonstration; this may have been related to the availability of tickets for the showings at the German and Grossman store on Bol’shiaia Morskaia Street, a store that specialized in the sale of imported pianos and fortepianos.⁴²

Despite some initial technical difficulties due to “capricious electricity supplies,” the first public demonstration of Kinemacolor would appear to have been a tremendous success.⁴³ The daily newspaper *Peterburgskaia gazeta*

described the material as “beautiful” and drew attention specifically to the artistry of the images, the capturing of “imperceptible” tonal nuances, and the “fidelity” of skin color.⁴⁴ A special journal, *Kinemakolor*, was launched with the company logo in English as its masthead to capitalize on the momentum generated by the screenings; the editor was V. A. Zabelin, who combined this role with editorship of the Cinematograph section of *Artist i stseni*, a monthly theater gazette.⁴⁵ The scale of the success was sufficient to prompt the search for a permanent venue for Kinemacolor showings. Initially, these efforts were focused on the Sporting Palace on Kamennoostrovskii Prospekt, a venue still under construction, which had been advertised as one of the largest theaters of its kind in the capital, with one thousand seats for its film auditorium;⁴⁶ indeed, the Sporting Palace had initially been mooted as the venue for the screenings that eventually took place in the St. Petersburg conservatoire.⁴⁷ The failure to design the interior of the auditorium according to the required specifications—in the event, only five hundred seats were installed—led to the search for a permanent venue elsewhere.⁴⁸ The Casino de Paris, located on the corner of Nevskii Prospekt and Liteinyi Prospekt and consisting of a ground-floor casino and first-floor theater stage and auditorium, was purchased for thirty thousand rubles from its owner, Theodora Vasil'eva, who had inherited the venue from her husband, the Omsk gold magnate V. I. Vasil'ev, after his death in early August 1910.⁴⁹ In the middle of January 1911, it was announced that the Casino de Paris would close for refurbishment: the two floors would now be transformed into a single auditorium that would reopen in February as a dedicated theater and film venue offering Kinemacolor screenings side by side with the latest attraction to hit the Russian capital, the Tanagra Theater, a “phantasmagoric” projection show (named “Alabastra”) which had been devised by the German inventor Oskar Messter and was similar in principle to the optical illusions or “ghosts” pioneered by the British scientist John Henry Pepper in the previous century.⁵⁰ Judging from trade-press reports, screenings of Kinemacolor materials continued throughout the latter part of February and March, although subsequent references to showings of the “adventures of Arthène Dupin” suggest that at some point ordinary black-and-white films released by Urban-Eclipse-Radios may gradually have begun to replace them.⁵¹ During the same period, at least two Pathé Frères stencil-color films were erroneously advertised as Kinemacolor in the capital’s theater listings.⁵² Furthermore, after March 1911 there are no reports of screenings in the capital, very possibly because the Casino de Paris had been taken over by the recently formed Tanagra Film Production Company and renamed accordingly.⁵³ Although it is possible that contemporaneous reports are confused about the actual state of affairs in relation to Kinemacolor in early

1911, it might be regarded as symptomatic that Russia is not listed in Urban's private papers as one of the countries where foreign licensing rights were sold between April 1911 and March 1914.⁵⁴ The implication that the attempt to market Kinemacolor in Russia was relatively short-lived would appear confirmed by the cessation of the film gazette named after the process with its eleventh issue on January 18, 1911.⁵⁵

HIATUS: RUSSIAN SUBJECTS FILMED IN KINEMACOLOR, 1909–1913

Unlike the premieres that took place in Europe and North America, where the programs were partly tailored to reflect national subjects and interests, it is noteworthy that the first screenings of Kinemacolor in St. Petersburg did not feature any topical or travel material with a specifically Russian flavor. This is curious given that Urban's Kinemacolor camera operators would appear to have filmed the visit of the tsar, tsarina, and their children to Britain on board the *Standart*, their steam-powered imperial yacht, on August 2, 1909. It is known for certain that this visit was recorded in black and white as part of a topical dedicated to the royal review of the British fleet at Cowes, Isle of Wight; this was an event that had been specially organized by King Edward to coincide with the tsar's visit. The footage in question, released by the Charles Urban Trading Company under the title *Arrival of the Tsar: Royal Review of the Fleet at Cowes* (315 ft.), was first advertised in the British trade press on August 5 and prompted a great deal of media interest, partly because it marked the first time that the Russian imperial couple had been filmed on British territory, and partly because the material boasted a "close view" of the tsar and tsarina, along with their hosts, on the navigation bridge of the British royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*.⁵⁶ Despite there being no references to this event among the works listed in the official 1913 Kinemacolor catalog or its later supplement, there is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that the same or similar images were shot in color as well. The August 19 issue of the *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, for example, refers to footage of the naval review at Cowes being screened at the Palace Theatre as part of the daily Kinemacolor showings.⁵⁷ This is corroborated by several reports in the British press in early August that refer to a Kinemacolor topical entitled *The Tsar at Cowes* being shown at the Palace Theatre from August 6 onward; according to these reports, the consistent wording of which suggests their origin in official press releases, the footage included images of the British dreadnoughts that had escorted the *Standart* across the channel; the official fleet salute; the moment when the Russian yacht was met by Edward and Alexandra on board HMY *Victoria and Albert*; and the Russian armored cruisers, the *Admiral Makharov* and *Rurik*, which had escorted the

imperial couple and their children from Russia.⁵⁸ The interest of the British royal family in Kinemacolor, which presumably facilitated official access to the event at Cowes, meant that members of the Russian imperial family, as well as being filmed, also had occasion to encounter screenings of the color process in subsequent years. Two years later, for example, Urban himself became personally acquainted with the empress dowager courtesy of a private Kinemacolor presentation at Sandringham on July 29, 1911; this had been personally requested by Alexandra, and was attended by her sister, who had traveled to Britain to represent the Russian imperial family at the coronation of King George V on June 22.⁵⁹ Among other items, the two-hour program included extensive footage of the recent coronation procession; in addition, Alexandra and the empress dowager were apparently offered a personal demonstration of the mechanical principles underpinning the Kinemacolor projector.⁶⁰ The empress dowager was also present at the royal screening of the Coronation Durbar footage that took place at the Scala Theatre on May 12, 1912, although on this occasion Urban himself was absent due to illness.⁶¹ She was sufficiently impressed to mention it the very next day in a letter to her son; as she writes: "Kinemacolor is wonderfully interesting and very beautiful, and gives one the impression of having seen it all in reality."⁶²

Urban's interest in prominent Russian figures and Russian-related subjects persisted in the years after the first public demonstration of the process in St. Petersburg. On June 16, 1911, for example, only days before the coronation, one of his camera operators filmed a wedding taking place at the Russian Orthodox chapel on London's Welbeck Street (at the time, this formed part of the Russian consulate). Entitled *Wedding of Capt. Betren and Mme. Denisoff at the Russian Church, Welbeck St, London* (310 ft.), this was the first society wedding to be filmed in Kinemacolor and is intriguing in part because the bride and groom, although reasonably well connected socially, were not major celebrities as such.⁶³ The groom, forty-two-year-old Gavril Bertren (his name is misspelled in the 1913 official Kinemacolor catalog), was an officer in the Russian Imperial Horse Guards and director of the St. Petersburg riding school; according to the *Times*, he had just taken part in the Royal International Horse Show at Olympia, and the guests at the wedding included the Earl of Lonsdale, who was president of the Royal Horse Show committee.⁶⁴ Independently, it can be confirmed that Mme. Denisoff was forty-five-year-old Ol'ga Iosifovna Denisova (née Panet), the grandniece of the Russian national poet Aleksandr Pushkin, who was presumably marrying for the second time.⁶⁵

Part of the attraction of the event undoubtedly lay in its exoticism as a Russian Orthodox wedding. According to the 1913 Kinemacolor catalog, the guests arrived in droshkies, many of the male guests were Russian officers

All-British Fashions Exhibition AT KENSINGTON GORE.

REMARKABLE as showing the styles of costume fashionable in the year of grace, 1911, and also as proving that the skill of British designers is not so far behind that of our French cousins as is sometimes supposed. The film was secured in co-operation with Messrs. Liberty and Co., and consists of photographs of "manequins" parading in gowns and costumes of the latest, and sometimes ultra, fashionable design. The harem skirt, the fashion sensation of the year, finds a place in the array.

Wedding of Capt. Betren and Mme. Denisoff
AT THE RUSSIAN CHURCH, WELBECK ST. LONDON.

LARGE crowds were attracted by this wedding which was carried out in the Russian style. The guests are seen arriving in droskies, the traditional hackney carriage of St. Petersburg and other Russian cities. Most of the gentlemen guests are Russian officers, and they attend in their uniforms, permission to wear them in this country having no doubt been specially obtained. The departure of the bride and bridegroom to the church is seen, and the film is undoubtedly a novel and interesting one.

Scenes in the Indian Camp at Hampton Court.

June 18th, 1911.

PECULIAR interest attaches to this film in the light of subsequent events. It gave the first inkling of the wonderful results that were to be obtained six months later when KINEMACOLOR reproduced in all their gorgeous colors the ceremonies, processions and pageants in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta, during Their Majesties' visit to India for the Coronation Durbar. From a color point of view this subject is the most remarkable of the KINEMACOLOR Coronation Series. No other scene in all that wonderful blaze of pageantry contained such a wealth of magnificent color as this one. Hampton Court for the time being was an Oriental palace. Many close views of the gorgeous costumes of native rulers have been obtained and not a few of the figures in the various

162

Fig. 5: Description of *Wedding of Capt. Betren and Mme. Denisoff* in the official 1913 Kinemacolor catalog. (Courtesy of Luke McKernan).

in uniform, the ceremony was conducted “in Russian style,” and the event attracted “large crowds” (fig. 5).⁶⁶ Apart from the location of the wedding and the identities of the betrothed, the Russian connection was further enhanced by the person reported to be giving away the bride, namely, Walter W. Winans, the Olympic gold-medal-winning marksman, sculptor, painter, and horse breeder, who had been born in St. Petersburg and spent the first eighteen years of his life in the Russian capital before moving to Britain with his American father and French-born mother.⁶⁷

Winans was a figure of international repute in sporting circles, and his specialist breeding, training, and racing of trotters and pacers, as well as his Russian interests and cultural cosmopolitanism, had already earned him a fictionalized portrait in *Gay Lawless*, a popular novel for women by Helen Mathers (pseudonym for Ellen Buckingham Mathews) published in 1908.⁶⁸ Horses from Winans’s stud farm in Surrenden Park, near Brighton, had been the subject of topicals by Urban’s film companies only days before the wedding. The trotters and pacers that he planned to enter in the Richmond Royal Horse Show (June 10–17), for example, had featured in a Kinemacolor short entitled *Mr Walter Winans’ Entries for the Richmond Royal Horse Show* (430 ft.). Judging from the catalog number, this would appear to have been filmed just after the Coronation Derby at Epsom, which took place that year on May 31; the catalog description refers specifically to his trotters, the Russian droshkies pulled by them, and the fact that some of the carriage drivers at the forthcoming show would be Russian.⁶⁹ Prior to this date, camera operators working for Kineto had also filmed Winans’s stud farm. A company catalog lists a topical entitled *Parade of Mr Walter Winans’ Stud of Prize Harness Horses* (225 ft.), which apparently showed images of “American Trotters” harnessed to Russian droshkies “in native style,” this ostensibly endowing the footage with “an air of novelty”; although this topical was not released until July 6, the catalog number suggests that the material dates from just before the Coronation Derby at Epsom.⁷⁰ It is conceivable that Urban was more interested in the horses and carriages at the wedding than the couple and guests being transported by them. Only days before the wedding, two of Winans’s horses had won first prize in the Trotters with Prestashka category at Olympia against stiff Russian opposition.⁷¹ Furthermore, his impressive collection of Russian carriages was very much part of his celebrity status; the Richmond Horse Show of that year witnessed him showcasing an *egoistka*, a one-person carriage that was the Russian equivalent of the private hansom.⁷² Certainly, as an American citizen himself, Urban was doubtless aware that trotting was a national sport in the US, and his confidence in the intrinsic interest of trotters for audiences across the Atlantic is suggested by the inclusion of *Trotters with Russian Troika* among

the episodes of *Visit to a Horse Show, England* (1270 ft.) in his 1916 Colorfilm catalog.⁷³ Although the footage is undated and the title does not mention Winans by name, the combination of the breed of horse with a quintessentially Russian mode of transport suggests that it is very likely to be recycled material from the Kinemacolor topical shot in 1911.

Other Russian socialites and celebrities appeared in Kinemacolor topicals or performed at the Palace and Scala theaters as part of Kinemacolor programs between 1910 and 1914. Anna Pavlova, for example, prima ballerina at the Imperial Russian Ballet, was invited to perform at the Palace Theatre on May 27, 1910, as part of the program that presented extensive footage of King Edward's funeral.⁷⁴ Three years later, moreover, on June 3, 1913, Pavlova was herself filmed in Kinemacolor while attending the Theatrical Garden Party, an annual event organized on behalf of the Actor's Orphanage Fund which that year took place in the Royal Hospital Gardens in Chelsea; the topical in question, *Theatre Garden Party*, ran at the Scala from June 10 through 26.⁷⁵ Judging from press reports, it would appear to have shown Pavlova touring the hospital garden in a "rickshaw of roses" and selling perfume as part of the day's fund-raising activities;⁷⁶ indeed, such was the arresting nature of the footage that one correspondent speculated eagerly on the potential attraction of Pavlova dancing as part of the Kinoplastikon, the British equivalent of Messter's Alabstra show, which had been launched at the Scala two months previously and was enjoying a huge commercial success.⁷⁷ It may be regarded as symptomatic of Pavlova's continuing international reputation that the Kinemacolor footage from this event was later recycled and given its own title, *Madame Pavlova and Vera di Fleming, the Child Dancer, at a Garden Party*, as part of *English Fêtes and Pageants* (1385 ft.), a compilation film of recycled materials that Urban included in his 1916 Colorfilm catalog.⁷⁸

Another Russian celebrity filmed in Kinemacolor was Lydia Yavorska (also known as Princess Baryatinsky), the actor, model, and suffragette who performed regularly on the London stage at this time. Yavorska was filmed modeling evening dresses "for the stage" designed by Jeanne Paquin, the Paris-based couturier, and the footage was included in the *Kinemacolor Fashion Gazette*, which was launched on October 13, 1913.⁷⁹ As with Pavlova, the material in question was later recycled, given its own title (*Evening Dresses Worn by Mme. Yavorska*), and included in Urban's 1916 Colorfilm catalog as one of the episodes in *Furs, Feathers and Gowns* (1395 ft.).⁸⁰ In the context of Kinemacolor and Russian-related cultural events, it is worth noting that Anton Chekhov's one-act comedy *Medved'* (The Bear), which had premiered in London in 1911, was regularly performed as part of the *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* program at the Scala from late August 1914 onward.⁸¹

WITH THE FIGHTING FORCES OF EUROPE

The Russian-related material featured in *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* is clearly important in the sense that it explains the rationale for Urban's renewed links with Russia and his endeavor to seek commercial advantage from the alliance of British and Russian troops. Presented under the aegis of Kinemacolor, despite the liquidation of the Natural Color Kinematograph Company in the summer of 1914 due to the initial court decisions in relation to the patent suit, this repackaged library of materials drew upon several travel films that, it may be speculated, had been shot in Russia by Robert Olsen, Urban's Swedish camera operator, at some point in early 1913. In April 1913, for example, Urban indicated that his companies had camera operators currently filming in Russia;⁸² this would appear confirmed by a report in the *New York Clipper* the very next day, which refers to Olsen arriving in New York on his way to the Kinemacolor studios in California, apparently having shot images of Tsar Nikolai and his son, Tsarevich Aleksei, in Russia's "famous old capital" (i.e., Moscow).⁸³ Certainly, the months that followed witnessed a relative deluge of Russian-related material in black and white and color. Urban's company Kineto, for example, produced three films in rapid succession: *Russia* (295 ft.), released on June 16, which included "typical market scenes and peasant studies," the majority of them shot in Moscow;⁸⁴ *The Russian Imperial Hunt at Gatchina* (450 ft.), released on June 23, which showed images of the imperial pack of borzoi hunting dogs, a "Greek Orthodox Church," and a "royal residence" (it should be noted that Gatchina, just outside St. Petersburg, was the residence of the empress dowager);⁸⁵ and *St. Petersburg, Russia* (450 ft.), which was released on July 7 and, according to the film-trade gazette the *Bioscope*, featured "a most fascinating glimpse of the Tsar."⁸⁶

During the same period, and also in rapid succession, Urban released three Russian-based travel films in Kinemacolor. The first, *Winter in Moscow, Russia* (1376 ft.), was advertised in the early part of May.⁸⁷ The content of this film can be identified with reasonable precision on the basis of contemporary trade-press reports; the Scala programs for *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*, where part of the material was recycled; and Urban's 1916 Colorfilm catalog, where additional material was added and a new title given: *Moscow and the Czar* (1295 ft.).⁸⁸ These sources indicate the following content: views of the Moscow Kremlin, including the so-called Tsar's Cannon and Tsar's Bell; the Holy Gate (presumably a reference to the Triumphal Gates or Arch erected in honor of the Russian victory over Napoleon); the new Aleksandr railway station (formerly the Smolensk railway station, but in May 1912 renamed in honor of Tsar Aleksandr I); the monument to General Skobelev (this was

formally unveiled in June 1912); the “Coronation Church” (presumably a reference to the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Kremlin, where the coronation of Nikolai II had taken place in 1896); the “Smallest Church” (presumably a reference to the Kazan Cathedral on Red Square); the Metropole; St. Basil’s Cathedral; and “delightful portrait groups of Russian peasantry and old soldiers.”⁸⁹ The material was still available for hire as late as October the same year.⁹⁰

The second film, which is more significant historically because it contains the rare footage of the tsar and tsarina, was entitled *Tercentenary Celebrations of the Romanoff Dynasty* (425 ft.); this ran briefly at the Scala from June 2 through 7.⁹¹ The 1913 catalog supplement and theater listings in the British media do not state explicitly where the material was filmed, which is potentially problematic in the sense that the celebrations, which were launched on March 6, lasted sporadically for three months and included an imperial tour of the provinces that ended in Moscow in late May. Three reports in the British press, however, suggest that *Tercentenary Celebrations* featured material shot in St. Petersburg.⁹² This is supported by the description of the footage later included in *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*, most importantly the brief fragment that features the tsar and tsarina. Under the general title “Russia—Now invading Germany,” this fragment is described as follows: “The Czar and Czarina, escorted by a troop of Guards, passing through the Nevsky Prospect, St. Petersburg” (fig. 6).⁹³ The mention of the specific location here is crucial in the sense that it accords with the event that launched the tercentenary celebrations proper, namely, the procession of the tsar and tsarevich, the tsarina and the empress dowager, and other members of the imperial family in horse-drawn carriages along Nevskii Prospekt in the company of Imperial Guards and a squadron of Cossacks on their way to a commemorative service at Kazan Cathedral.⁹⁴ The historical provenance of the material is further corroborated by the Russian title when it was shown in Moscow and Petrograd (the name given to St. Petersburg after the declaration of war) in January 1915, and here the location and event are stated explicitly: “The Procession of His Imperial Highness the Tsar in Petrograd along Nevskii Prospekt during the Celebrations of the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Romanov Dynasty in the Presence of Cossacks.”⁹⁵ Judging from the description in Urban’s 1916 Colorfilm catalog, it might be speculated that this same fragment of footage was later combined with *Winter in Russia, Moscow* to produce *Moscow and the Czar*; here it is described simply as “T. I. M. the Czar and Czarina escorted by Cossacks.”⁹⁶ This topical was still showing at the Scala as part of *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* in April 1915.⁹⁷

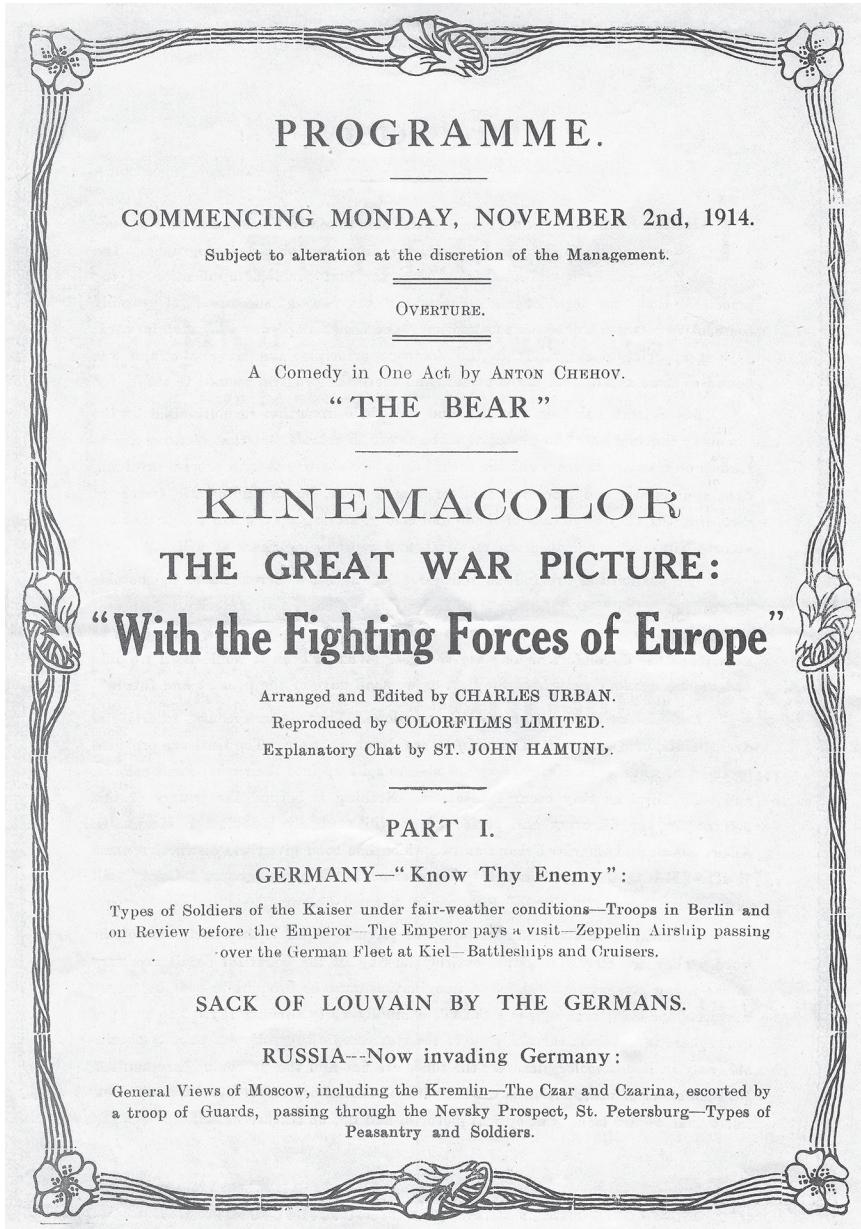


Fig. 6: Description of Russian section of *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* in Scala program dated November 2, 1914. (Courtesy of Luke McKernan).

The third travel film released in Kinemacolor at this time was *Petersburg, Russia* (560 ft.), which ran at the Scala from July 21 to August 3.⁹⁸ A detailed description of this film is not given in the 1913 Kinemacolor catalog or its supplement, although it is possible that some of the footage may subsequently have been included in *Petrograd (St. Petersburg) in Winter* (1235 ft.), a travel film listed and described in Urban's 1916 Colorfilm catalog.⁹⁹ Given that the title is identical to the travel film released in black and white by Kineto on July 7, 1913, it might be speculated that Urban dispatched two camera operators to Russia to record film material, or perhaps required Olsen to film the tercentenary events in both color and black and white in order to maximize commercial potential. As with the topicals shot at Winans's stud farm in Brighton, it was not unusual at this time for Kineto and Kinemacolor camera operators to cover similar assignments; indeed, there is a great deal of duplication during this period, not only in the spheres of topical and travel film, but also educational documentary, fiction film, and animation. In this context, it is worth drawing attention to the similarities between *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* and the Kineto War Films series, released in Britain toward the end of August 1914. Initially, this series did not feature any Russia-related footage.¹⁰⁰ On December 3, however, the contents of the series were expanded to include a section entitled *The Russians and the Czar*; significantly, according to reports, this contained "magnificent views of the Czar and his famous fighting forces, the Cossacks."¹⁰¹ From December 31 onward, the footage in question, still bearing the same title, was released as an independent entity and toured the country.¹⁰²

SECOND WAVE OF KINEMACOLOR IN RUSSIA: 1914–1916

In October 1914, in conversation with a correspondent from the *Bioscope*, Charles Urban referred to the continuing commercial viability of Kinemacolor, despite the recent loss of his lawsuit and the disruption caused by the war, and revealed that, only a few days previously, he had dispatched a representative to Petrograd, where, in his own words, "Kinemacolor will be shown next week."¹⁰³ This was confirmed six weeks later in the *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, which reported in a trade-news item that *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* had been sent to the Russian capital "the previous month" and was meeting with "extraordinary results."¹⁰⁴

These sources are important in view of the confusion that has arisen on the part of Russian film historians investigating the screening of materials in natural color from December 1914 onward in Moscow, Petrograd, and several provincial cities. For reasons that are not immediately obvious, although they may be related to Urban's liquidation of the Natural Color Kinematograph

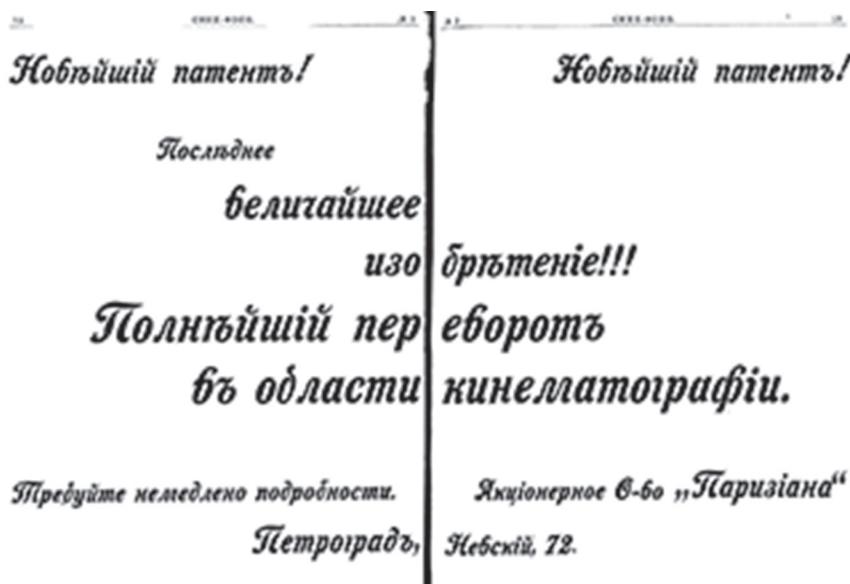


Fig. 7: Double-page Parisiana advertisement for Cinema-nature in November 15, 1914 edition of *Sine-fono*.

Company, Kinemacolor was licensed in Russia under the name of Cinema-nature (the word *nature* is spelled in Russian to suggest a French origin).¹⁰⁵ This has led to speculation that it was the manifestation of a new three-color process pioneered by the Russian photographer and inventor Sergei Prokudin-Gorskii, the patents for which had been acquired by Biokhrom, a joint-stock company established in Petrograd in late November or early December 1914, partly with a view to their commercial exploitation.¹⁰⁶ The advertisements that appear for Cinema-nature in the Russian trade press from November 28 onward, however, reveal that the licensee in question was not Biokhrom, but rather the Parisiana joint-stock company, which was also based in Petrograd but had been established two months previously (fig. 7).¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, subsequent advertisements published in the trade press to coincide with the premiere of Cinema-nature in Al'bert Broksh's Artistic Film Theater in Moscow on December 14 indicate that the licensee for the Moscow region and elsewhere in Russia (but clearly not Petrograd) was Khanzhonkov & Co., one of the leading production companies and film importers in Russia at this time, which had acquired the rights directly from the Parisiana joint-stock company (fig. 8).¹⁰⁸ This information is confirmed by listings for the film theaters that hosted Cinema-nature screenings after the premiere: the Kinema Theater in Moscow, which was owned by Khanzhonkov; and the Parisiana Theater on Nevskii Prospekt in Petrograd, which was owned

Представительство на всю Россію
на новое изобрѣтеніе
цвѣтную синематографію

Синематоръ

передано нами

Акц. 0-ву
А. А. ХАНЖОНКОВЪ и К°.

Акц. 0-во „ПАРИЗІАНА“
Петроградъ.

Fig. 8: Advertisement in December 13, 1914, edition of *Sine-fono* confirming Khanzhankov's acquisition of distribution rights to Sinema-nature throughout Russia.

by the Parisiana joint-stock company. These listings, despite the film titles being translated into Russian, make unambiguously clear that the screenings in question consisted of the extensive library of Kinemacolor materials, among them the military sequences that had been recycled for inclusion in *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*. The technological roots of the new process in Kinemacolor

were also reported: several correspondents describe Cinema-nature as a “modification” or “improvement” of the existing Smith-Urban (Kinemacolor) process,¹⁰⁹ and one draws an explicit distinction between Cinema-nature and other recent experiments in color-film technology, for example Chronochrome, the three-color process developed by the French film company Gaumont, and the process patented by Prokudin-Gorskii.¹¹⁰ As far as the latter is concerned, there is little or no evidence that this process ever received a demonstration in prerevolutionary Russia, either publicly or privately. Even as late as 1921, when the inventor was trying to interest British investors in the process after his decision to emigrate abroad as a result of the October Revolution, it was still not, on his own admission, a “finished product.”¹¹¹

To some extent, clearly, the declaration of war provided Urban with an opportunity to take advantage of his Kinemacolor library of materials, albeit at times repackaged in new combinations. The commercial value of this material was only enhanced by the absence of Kinemacolor screenings in Russia since the abortive attempt to market the process in late 1910 and early 1911. Furthermore, the Cinema-nature programs were far more ambitious in terms of the quantity and generic range of the material exhibited. Screenings lasted more or less uninterruptedly from December 1914 to October 1915 during a period when foreign imports were ostensibly in short supply; moreover, the programs in question offered examples of actuality footage, topicals, travel films, animation shorts, comic trick films, dramatic comedies, and, of course, the military footage that formed the bulk of *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*. Apart from showings in the theaters owned by the Parisiana joint-stock company and Khanzhonkov & Co., evidence suggests that traveling Kinemacolor shows toured provincial cities in Russia as well, for example Rostov-on-Don and Nizhnii Novgorod, and also very possibly the Baltic region, where an exclusive license had been acquired by the Riga-based agency S. Mintus.¹¹² The knowledge that in April 1915 Khanzhonkov ordered the importing of sixteen Cinema-nature projectors suggests that he harbored ambitious plans for the creation of permanent venues for Kinemacolor showings in provincial cities.¹¹³ The screenings in question also provoked a much more extensive reaction in the media than in 1910 and 1911. Apart from reports in the trade press, they received echoes in the memoirs of literary figures, for example Vladimir Nabokov, who alludes indirectly to Cinema-nature showings at the Parisiana in his autobiographical memoir *Speak, Memory* (1951).¹¹⁴ They also prompted a creative response in the form of a short story by Mikhail Kuzmin, the well-known poet and prose writer. Entitled “Otlichitel’nyi priznak” (The Distinctive Feature), this first appeared in the popular literary magazine *Ogonek* and was later reprinted in a Khanzhonkov-owned trade gazette based in Rostov-on-Don.¹¹⁵

Judging from press reports and program listings, the initial screenings of *Sinema-nature* consisted largely of military or military-related footage. On January 1, 1915, for example, the *Parisiana* presented material described as “The President of the French Republic Raymond Poincaré and Officers of the French Army before their Dispatch to the Front”; this matches closely the description of the footage in the French section of *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*.¹¹⁶ This was followed on January 21 by the above-mentioned footage of the imperial procession along Nevskii Prospekt as part of the tercentenary celebrations; reports drew attention to the vibrant colors of the cavalry regiments’ uniforms and the “extremely decorative” garments worn by the imperial suite.¹¹⁷ These materials were also screened at Khanzhonkov’s *Kinema* Theater, along with footage entitled *Lord Kitchener and his Army* and *The Belgian Army*, the titles of which echo the relevant sections in *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*.¹¹⁸ Reviews of the *Sinema-nature* premiere in Moscow, and listings for screenings at the *Kinema* Theater during the summer of 1915, refer to the *Delhi Durbar*, in all probability the repackaged material (“Review of British and Native Troops at Delhi”) that had featured in *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*.¹¹⁹ Reports also mention a topical entitled “In the Serbian Army”; this presumably relates to the section entitled “Servia—At War with Austria,” much or most of which had been recycled from Kinemacolor footage shot during the Balkan wars of 1912–13 (this material was reshown at the *Parisiana* on February 15, 1916, as part of Serbian Day, a charity fund-raising event for Serbian victims of the war).¹²⁰ The same reports also refer to scenes showing the maneuvers of the British naval fleet and the activities of torpedo destroyers, in all likelihood a reference to *Submarine and Torpedo Destroyers*, excerpts from which had been included in the “The ‘Shield of the Empire” section of *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*.¹²¹ Last but not least, particular praise in the trade press was lavished on a topical which in Russian was entitled simply *Italian Cavalry*, but which is presumably a reference to *Wonderful Exploits of the Italian Cavalry*, a topical lasting around eleven minutes that showed the fording by mounted troops of a “swift” river.¹²² This constituted a relatively late addition to *With the Fighting Forces of Europe* and is now publicly available courtesy of the recent Cineteca di Bologna release on commercial DVD.¹²³ The references in the Russian report to the hot weather conditions, the images of dust rising from beneath the horses’ hooves, and the myriad colors produced by splashes of water, make the connection unambiguous (fig. 9).

If the geographical range of this material alone would undermine any attempt to attribute authorship to Prokudin-Gorskii, the program listings for screenings of other *Sinema-nature* works in Moscow and Petrograd offer further evidence that the material derives from Urban’s extensive Kinemacolor library. From December 27, 1914, onward, for example, the programs at the *Parisiana*



Fig. 9: Image-still showing dust rising from horses' hooves in *Wonderful Exploits of the Italian Cavalry*. (Courtesy of Cineteca di Bologna).

advertise the following works (the Russian titles are given in parenthesis): *Lake Garda, Italy* (Ozero Garda) (fig. 10);¹²⁴ *The Wonders of Japan* (Zhivopisnye vidy Iaponii);¹²⁵ *Strange Mounts* (Razlichnye zhivotnye);¹²⁶ *Modelling Extraordinary* (Skul'ptor-Volshebniy);¹²⁷ *Life in the Animal World* (V mire zhivotnykh);¹²⁸ *Choice Bouquets* (Izbranniki flory);¹²⁹ *With a Travelling Circus and Menagerie in Scotland* (Brodiachi zverinets v Shotlandii);¹³⁰ *Carnival at Nice, 1911* (Karnaval v Nitsse);¹³¹ *Mystic Manipulations* (Magicheskie eksperimenty);¹³² *Magicians of the East and West* (Magi vostoka i zapada);¹³³ *Dwellers of the Deep* (Zhiteli morskikh glubin);¹³⁴ and *A Spanish Bull Fight, Madrid* (Ispanskii boi bykov v Madride).¹³⁵ The most striking precision in terms of matching titles occurs in relation to *Paris before the War* (Parizh do voiny), a series of scenic views of the French capital.¹³⁶ The title of this collection in English and Russian is interesting in the sense that, while the material itself is very probably drawn from earlier Kinemacolor travel films, for example *Paris, the Gay City* (1910) and *Rambles in Paris* (1912), its recycling and new title clearly postdate the declaration of war in August 1914.¹³⁷ The Parisiana listing follows precisely the running order of the individual episodes and their titles as subsequently detailed in the Urban Colorfilm catalog of 1916.¹³⁸



Fig. 10: Frame-still from *Lake Garda, Italy*. (Courtesy of Cineteca di Bologna).

The listings for Khanzhonkov's Kinema Theater during this same period are less precise, but even here titles can be matched with reasonable confidence to existing Kinemacolor works. Thus, for example, we encounter references to *Likery i sigary* (Liqueurs and Cigars), a short film made in 1910 that featured none other than Urban himself;¹³⁹ the Egypt series, which was filmed in 1911 and later collected into a single product, *In the Land of the Pharaohs*;¹⁴⁰ and *Ceylon, the Pearl of the Eastern Seas*.¹⁴¹ A number of titles advertised at the Parisiana suggest that alterations may have been introduced as part of their translation into Russian. It may be conjectured, for example, that *Malen'kaia volshebnitsa* (The Little Girl Magician) is the Russian title for *Little Lady Lafayette*, a 1911 trick film that showed a young girl causing people and objects to magically appear and disappear.¹⁴² By the same token, *Avtomobil'naia katastrofa* (The Motor-Car Accident or Catastrophe) may possibly be the Russian title for *Golliwog's Motor Accident*, an animation comedy released in early 1913 by the Kinemacolor Company of America.¹⁴³ Judging from the Parisiana listings and descriptions in the trade press, where it is referred to as an "American comedy in two acts," the film given in Russian as *Sorochka prelestnoi Miss Broun* (The Shirt of the Charming Miss Brown) may well refer to *A Note in the Shirt*, another product of

the Kinemacolor Company of America, which was released in Britain in August 1912.¹⁴⁴ It may also be suspected that what the Parisiana advertises as *Sem' krasavits mira* (Seven Wonders of the World) refers to *Round the World in Two Hours*, an extensive compilation of travel films and scenic views which, it was claimed, cost £40,000 to produce.¹⁴⁵ Finally, there are a number of reviews that, while not identifying specific titles, nevertheless describe the footage in sufficient detail to trace its Kinemacolor provenance. Thus descriptions of a “cat’s eye” diamond worth £50,000 and references to images of the coronation crown of King George V match the catalog descriptions of *Gems and Jewels*.¹⁴⁶ In the same vein, the precise and poetic evocation of images showing the slicing and squeezing of blood oranges points unambiguously to “A Squeezed Orange,” one of the more infamous episodes in *Refreshments* (1910).¹⁴⁷

KINEMACOLOR IN RUSSIA, 1914–1916: RECEPTION

As pointed out above, Russia was very much part of the international film market in the prerevolutionary period, and audience exposure to applied and natural-color processes differed little from that in Europe and North America. Identifying the nature and extent of this exposure is complex in the sense that, as elsewhere, advertisements and descriptions of content in the Russian trade press do not always specify the precise nature of the coloring system. There is sufficient information, nevertheless, to indicate that films colored by hand, for example those produced by Georges Méliès, were imported into Russia from 1908 onward, if not before.¹⁴⁸ Distributors of foreign imports and Russian production companies also offered tinted and toned versions of monochrome films, with prices varied accordingly; this can be witnessed, for example, in the advertisements for one of Khanzhonkov’s early productions, *Pesnia pro kuptsa Kalashnikova* (Song about the Merchant Kalashnikov), which was released in early 1910.¹⁴⁹ Interestingly, stencil-colored films from Pathé Frères, which had offices in Moscow from 1904 onward and established a winter studio and film-processing laboratory in 1910, were released in Russia on occasion earlier than in France.¹⁵⁰ The first of such films, *Proizvodstvo bambukovykh shliap na Zondskikh ostrovakh* (The Production of Bamboo Hats on the Lesser Sunda Islands), was misleadingly labeled “color cinematography” when it appeared in June 1909, but its novelty value, even if the process itself was poorly understood, was widely commented upon.¹⁵¹ Developments in the sphere of color still-photography were also carefully monitored in the trade press. Thus, one of the reviewers of the second wave of Kinemacolor screenings in Russia invoked comparisons with the Autochrome photographs of Leonid Andreev, the Expressionist prose-writer and dramatist.¹⁵² It may not have been entirely coincidental that Andreev’s early anticipation and enthusiastic embrace of moving pictures in color was recorded (literally,

on gramophone) in September 1909, only a few months after the arrival of the stencil-color process on Russian screens.¹⁵³

This information suggests that the reception of Kinemacolor in Russia did not lack a mode of aesthetic comparison and therefore cannot be dismissed as naïve. Urban's promotion of Kinemacolor as a natural-color process, one which, unlike applied processes, could boast fidelity to nature and the illusion of stereoscopy, was uncritically embraced by Russian commentators; in part, no doubt, this was prompted by the improvements observed since the first exhibitions in 1910, which had given rise to a broader color spectrum and a reduction in the perception of "fringing."¹⁵⁴ The educational value of the material, with its impressive range of landscapes and wildlife, was also remarked upon.¹⁵⁵ For the Russian imagination, however, the British subjects and landscapes on display were as interesting and enchanting as those deriving from more obviously exotic locales. Correspondents were equally captivated by the pale faces, white helmets, and bright-red uniforms of British officers at the Coronation Durbar and the "pitch-black" hair, "dazzling white teeth," and "hazel-brown eyes" of the Indian troops under their command. Likewise, the tartan kilts and "green-grey" bagpipes of Scottish regiments, and the maneuvers of British ships flying the Union Jack on seas "of a thousand hues," commanded their attention no less than the Indian "princes" riding under howdahs on elephants decorated with gold medallions and brightly colored precious stones.¹⁵⁶ According to one enthusiastic correspondent, the succession of images produced a kaleidoscopic effect, a veritable "bacchanalia" of color.¹⁵⁷ The impact of certain close-ups, such as the images of blood oranges being sliced and squeezed, their "raspberry-red" juice spilling on to white plates, bordered on the sensuous and physiological; indeed, such was the impression that one reviewer reached for a biblical parallel by citing the opening words of the "Song of Simeon," and thus equating the sensation to that of profound spiritual revelation.¹⁵⁸

The physiological impact of Kinemacolor, in particular those images that involved close-ups, can be detected in other responses, most notably the short story by Mikhail Kuzmin mentioned earlier. As his diaries testify, Kuzmin was a regular visitor to the Parisiana in late 1914 and early 1915.¹⁵⁹ He visited the film theater on January 19, when the program in question featured the tercentenary footage of the tsar and tsarina;¹⁶⁰ he was also present on April 25, when the two-reel comedy *A Note in a Shirt* was showing, and later that same evening, we learn, he wrote a short story.¹⁶¹ Although the title of this story is not indicated in Kuzmin's diary, it may be regarded as significant that "The Distinctive Feature" includes a visit to a Petrograd cinema in precisely the same month and offers detailed descriptions of images from an unspecified Cinema-nature program: "silken" horses flicking their tails; butterflies looming out of the screen

“like carriages”; the slicing of a “pomegranate”; and footage of British infantry regiments preparing to be dispatched abroad, serving in Belgium, and marching, playing games, and eating food.¹⁶² The ostensible plot of this story concerns an English governess, Miss Wood, who is employed in Petrograd and, after watching the military footage, comes to recognize her younger brother, Charlie, with whom she has lost contact; as a result of the screening, she becomes convinced that this is a prophetic sign that he will not die in the war. The story dramatizes and sentimentalizes the separation and potential loss of life associated with the war even at this relatively early stage. Nevertheless, the optimism expressed by Miss Wood after watching the program is undercut by the description of the severed “pomegranate,” its “dark-red innards” being “frightening” in terms of their “juicy immensity.” This image is disturbing in the sense that it evokes the idea of injury and physical vulnerability, especially so when it is recalled that in an earlier description of her brother, the governess has conjured an image in her mind of his embarrassed face “flushed with red.”¹⁶³ This involuntary association via the color red suggests that the passage which contains the seemingly random assortment of Cinema-nature images in fact constitutes a subjective point of

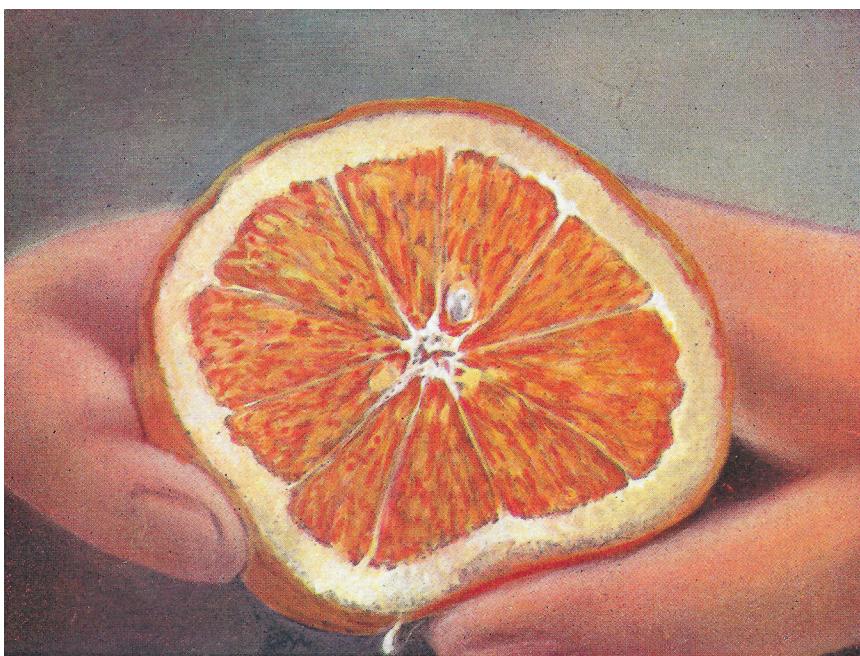


Fig. 11: Artist's hand-painted reproduction of image-still from *A Squeezed Orange*, which features in the official 1913 Kinemacolor catalog. (Courtesy of Luke McKernan).

view, rather than an objective authorial description; in other words, it expresses Miss Wood's anxieties in relation to the possible fate of her brother before the act of recognition takes place. In some respects, therefore, Kuzmin's poetic exploitation of Kinemacolor images is reminiscent of the quasi-apocalyptic response on the part of certain British reviewers to screenings of the same or similar material. James Douglas, for example, writing about "A Squeezed Orange" in *Refreshments*, described the sequence in the following terms: "It is a dreadful sight. It is like a planet in liquidation, a star in deliquescence. The orange looks as large as the earth, and it pours forth Niagaras of juice, you feel you are with Lord Roseberry watching the end of all things" (fig. 11).¹⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

The screenings of Kinemacolor between 1914 and 1916 were not the last occasion on which Russian audiences were presented with material filmed by Charles Urban's camera operators. This occurred courtesy of Urban's involvement in *Britain Prepared*, a lengthy compilation documentary commissioned in 1915 by the British War Propaganda Bureau at Wellington House, which included naval sequences (footage of Admiral Jellicoe's fleet in the North Sea) that had been filmed by Urban's camera operators in both black and white and color.¹⁶⁵ *Britain Prepared* was transported to Russia in January 1916 by Captain A. C. Bromhead, and responsibility for distribution was awarded to Gaumont because it had offices in Petrograd.¹⁶⁶ *Angliia v Velikoi Voine* (England in the Great War), as it was called in Russian, was screened initially on March 5 at the Aleksandrov Palace in Tsarskoe Selo (now Pushkin) before an audience consisting of the tsar and tsarina, Tsarevich Aleksei, and members of the imperial suite.¹⁶⁷ This was followed by a general release in the nation's film theaters from April 16 onward and periodic open-air screenings for the benefit of troops fighting along the eastern and southern fronts.¹⁶⁸ The logistical difficulties of transporting special projectors for traveling shows meant that the substantial footage shot by Urban's camera operators in Kinemacolor was not ultimately included in *Britain Prepared*.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the fact that Urban was contemplating the relocation of his Kinemacolor archive to the United States in 1916, organized a special screening of his back catalog in the Wurlitzer Building in New York in the November of that year, and was working with Henry Joy on modifications to the Kinemacolor process—the new system, Kinekrom, was patented in the same year—suggests that he still harbored plans for exhibiting his extensive library of materials for educational purposes.¹⁷⁰ Contrary to McKernan's assertion, while the production of new Kinemacolor material did more or less cease from mid-1914 onward, exhibitions took place in Britain and other countries of the world well after this date, albeit admittedly on a far less ambitious scale than in preceding years.¹⁷¹

If investigation into the fate of surviving Kinemacolor materials remains an ongoing project, the ambition of Urban in relation to disseminating his archive to the audiences of the wider world deserves greater attention than it has enjoyed hitherto.¹⁷² In many respects, the materials assembled as part of his 1916 Colorfilm catalog parallel, if not considerably exceed, the realization of Alfred Kahn's "Les Archives de la Planète," a project that sought to document in color photographs and moving images the peoples, cultures, and landscapes of fifty countries around the world in the interests of "universal peace."¹⁷³ Furthermore, the particular nature of this type of ambition was not without its echoes in pre- and postrevolutionary Russia. The impulse to assemble libraries of images, albeit enhanced by a particular artistic and poetic sensitivity, underpinned Sergei Prokudin-Gorskii's project to document photographically the Russian empire in three colors, an undertaking that lasted six years (1909–15), involved extensive travel throughout the empire, and was financially supported by the tsar, although it did not result in portraits of the tsar or his family.¹⁷⁴ After the October Revolution, although in black and white, this vision acquired a more revolutionary dynamic thanks to the vision of avant-garde filmmaker Dziga Vertov; his desire to document the emerging postrevolutionary landscape across the length and breadth of the Soviet Union is witnessed by the multiple shelves of film reels, each one allocated a specific title and location, that are revealed during the editing sequences of *Chelovek s kinoapparatom* (Man with the Movie Camera, 1928). It might also be speculated that Lenin's oft-cited view of cinema as the most important of the arts, rather than formulated solely on the basis of topical or educational material in monochrome, may partly have been the result of his exposure to Kinemacolor's natural-science films. Although the commercial name is not explicitly mentioned in the reminiscences of his private secretary, Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich, Lenin's reported references to the "English" producers of the films, to the fact that they showed wild animals and birds "not in monotone and chromatically unvaried color ..., but in the natural, rich colors of which the landscapes of untamed nature are abundant," and to the galvanizing effect that they produced on their audiences, are surely evidence of this.¹⁷⁵

Notes

1. For a detailed history of Kinemacolor, see Luke McKernan, *Charles Urban: Pioneering the Non-fiction Film in Britain and America, 1897–1925* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2013), 75–124. I am indebted to the author for his assistance in the research for this article, in particular his willingness to share his considerable knowledge and personal collection of Kinemacolor printed materials. For studies within the wider context of silent-era color film, see Sarah Street, *Colour Films in Britain: The Negotiation of Innovation, 1900–55* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 9–21.

2. Adrian Wood, interview with author via Skype, April 4, 2016. The discovery was reported at the time in the British media; see York Membery, "Film of the British Raj in living colour found in Russian archive," *Sunday Telegraph* (London), March 11, 2001, 7.
3. For more details on this event, see McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 104–5.
4. In 1992, for example, the Cineteca di Bologna film museum acquired a small repository of Kinemacolor materials from a private donor in Genoa, among which were five minutes of footage from "The Pageant Procession"; this showed the royal visit to Calcutta on December 30, 1911, and also formed part of the Coronation Durbar. The materials from this repository, lasting around seventy-five minutes in total, have been restored and released on commercial DVD. See *I colori ritrovati: Kinemacolor e altre magie / Kinemacolor and Other Magic*, curated by Mariann Lewinsky and Luke McKernan (Bologna: Cineteca di Bologna, 2017), DVD.
5. The material in the Krasnogorsk archive is listed under the title *Indo-Britanskie voiska na zapadnom fronte* [Indo-British armies on the western front], and has been given the catalog number 12496. See the Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents (RGAKFD) website, <http://www.rgakfd.ru/catalog/films>. The website has not been updated to reflect the reattribution of the material.
6. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 99.
7. See, for example, Nikolai Mayorov, "Soviet colours," *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema* 6, no. 2 (2012): 241–43.
8. One exception is Victoria Jackson, "The Distribution and Exhibition of Kinemacolor in the UK and USA, 1909–1916" (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2011). My thanks to the author for granting me access to her thesis.
9. Unless otherwise stated, all dates in the body of this article and the notes are given according to the Western (Gregorian) calendar. In the prerevolutionary era, dates in Russia were given according to the Eastern (Julian) calendar and were therefore thirteen days earlier than in Europe and North America. The dates of prerevolutionary publications in Russian cited in these notes are nevertheless given according to the Julian calendar.
10. *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–13* (London: The Natural Color Kinematograph Company, [1913]). Henceforth, where significant in terms of identifying dates of release, the catalog numbers of Kinemacolor works and their lengths in feet will be given in the notes in parentheses. My thanks to Luke McKernan for granting me access to his personal copy of this catalog. For studies based on this catalog, see Eirik Frisvold Hansen, "Colour and the Construction of Film History in the *Catalogue of Kinemacolor Film Subjects* (1912)," in *La età del cinema / The Ages of Cinema*, ed. Enrico Biasin, Roy Menarini, and Federico Zecca (Udine: Forum, 2008), 165–73.
11. The Charles Urban Collection of Papers Relating to Early Motion Pictures, located at the National Science and Media Museum, Bradford, UK, consists of thirteen boxes of documents in total. Some of these boxes contain press cuttings and other materials (including booklets and catalogs) which have been pasted into albums. Other boxes contain booklets, catalogs, typescripts, and assorted materials which have not been pasted into individual albums. References to this collection are based on the museum's catalog description. This description uses a capitalized abbreviation of Urban's name (URB) followed by the number of the box in which the materials are preserved, the volume number in those cases where the material has been pasted into albums, and the pagination relating to each individual album. In those cases where the boxes contain individual booklets, catalogs, or typescripts which have not been pasted into an album, the number given after the box number refers to the item number only.
12. *Kinemacolor: Supplementary List of Film Subjects to Catalogue 1912–13* (London: The Natural Color Kinematograph Company, 1913). It is preserved in URB, box 3, vol. 1 (Press Cuttings and Programmes), 36.

13. The first is a booklet entitled *Kinemacolor Films: 1915–16* (London: Kinemacolor Ltd., 1916); it is preserved as a separate item in URB, box 9, item 2. The second is an unpublished but paginated typescript entitled *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library: Comprising Scenes from All Parts of the Living World*; it is preserved as a separate item in URB, box 9, item 4.
14. Vl. Bonch-Bruevich, "Lenin i kino—po lichnym vospominaniiam," *Kino-front*, nos. 13–14 (1927): 3–4. For further discussion, see the concluding paragraph of this article.
15. For more on the beginnings of Soviet color, see Philip Cavendish, "Ideology, Technology, Aesthetics: Early Experiments in Soviet Color Film, 1931–1945," in *A Companion to Russian Cinema*, ed. Birgit Beumers (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 270–91.
16. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 31–46.
17. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 47–51. For British press reports, see the cutting from *St James's Gazette*, April 27, 1904, as preserved in URB, box 2 (Kinemacolor—Press Appreciations 1908–1912), 77.
18. The films were given the following titles: *Arrival of General Kuropatkin at Mukden, Manchuria* (3023, 150 ft.); *Extraordinary Feats of Horsemanship by a Squad of Siberian Cossacks at Mukden, Siberia* (3025, 275 ft.); *Arrival and Departure of the Ice-crushing Steamer "Baikal" at Baikal, Siberia* (3029, 125 ft.); *Panorama of the Mountainous Ural District of Siberia, including view of Convict Settlement* (3030, 200 ft.); and *Railway Panorama along the Banks of a Siberian River* (3031, 75 ft.). See *Charles Urban Trading Co., Ltd Catalogue* (London: Charles Urban, 1905), 97, 98, 100, and 101, respectively. It is preserved as a separate item in URB, box 10, item 2.
19. *Kinematographic Film Subjects: Urban, Eclipse, Radios* (Urbanora House [London]: Charles Urban Trading Co., Ltd, 1909), 335, 336, and 337, respectively. It is preserved as a separate item in URB, box 10, item 7.
20. *Kinematographic Film Subjects*, 336, 337, and 212, respectively. *Chasse à l'ours* [A Russian Bear Hunt; Okhota na medvedia (Russian)], is listed in *Catalogue of Urban-Eclipse-Radios* [in Russian] (n.p., n.d.), 98. It is preserved as a separate item in URB, box 10, item 19.
21. The opening was advertised in the Russian film-trade press; see *Sine-fono*, December 15, 1908, 20.
22. *Catalogue of Film Subjects: January 1912* (London: Kineto, 1912), 82. It is preserved as a separate item in URB, box 10, item 13A.
23. Advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], January 18, 1912, xxx–xxxii.
24. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 109–15.
25. "Melochi," *Sine-fono*, May 15, 1908, 10.
26. Inzh. B-n, "Sinematograficheskie kartiny v natural'nykh tsvetakh," *Sine-fono*, August 1, 1908, 1–3.
27. "K voprosu o sinematografii v natural'nykh tsvetakh," *Sine-fono*, August 15, 1908, 4–5.
28. "Iz zagranichnykh zhurnalov," *Sine-fono*, July 15, 1909, 9. For details of this private screening, see McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 90.
29. Inzhener M. B-n, "Fotografija v natural'nykh tsvetakh," *Sine-fono*, March 1, 1910, 5–6.
30. Inzh. M. B-n, "Stereoskopicheskaja sinematografija v natural'nykh tsvetakh," *Sine-fono*, August 15, 1910, 5–6.
31. Inzh. M. B-n, "Stereoskopicheskaja sinematografija v natural'nykh tsvetakh," *Sine-fono*, September 1, 1910, 5–6.
32. "Iz zhizni firm," *Artist i stsen*, no. 10 (1910): 21–22.
33. Advertisement, *Sine-fono*, July 15, 1910, 20.

34. *Raznye izvestiia, Artist i stsenia*, no. 15 (1910): 22.
35. *Khronika, Sine-fono*, August 15, 1910, 9.
36. "Kinemakolor," *Sine-fono*, October 15, 1910, 11. See also *Kinemakolor* 1 (1910): 9.
37. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, October 31, 1910, 3.
38. A. Z-na, "Kinemakolor," *Kinemakolor* 2 (1910): 9.
39. See the advertisements on the back cover of *Kinemakolor* 2 (1910); and *Obozrenie teatrov*, October 31, 1910, 3.
40. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, October 31, 1910, 3.
41. A. Z-na, "Kinemakolor," *Kinemakolor* 3 (1910): 8.
42. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, November 5, 1910, 9.
43. A. Z-na, "Kinemakolor," *Kinemakolor* 2 (1910): 9.
44. Correspondent in *Peterburgskaia gazeta*, cited in A. Z-na, "Kinemakolor," *Kinemakolor* 2 (1910): 9–10.
45. The first issue, priced five kopecks, appeared on November 9, 1910, and advertised itself as a "weekly journal of cinematography and social life." The editorial offices were located "provisionally" at the Casino de Paris film-theater. See *Kinemakolor* 1 (1910): 6.
46. *Raznye izvestiia, Artist i stsenia*, no. 9 (1910): 25–26.
47. *Obozrenie teatrov, Artist i stsenia*, no. 17 (1910): 21; and *Kinemakolor* 5 (1910): 9.
48. *Obozrenie teatrov, Artist i stsenia*, no. 1 (1911): 27.
49. Advertisement, *Sine-fono*, November 1, 1910, 12; and *Obozrenie teatrov, Artist i stsenia*, nos. 18–19 (1910): 32–33.
50. *Obozrenie teatrov, Artist i stsenia*, no. 24 (1910): 20.
51. *Obozrenie teatrov, Artist i stsenia*, no. 4 (1911): 22; and *Obozrenie teatrov, Artist i stsenia*, no. 10 (1911): 23.
52. For example, *Kul'tura georgin* (The Cultivation of Dahlias; La culture du dahlia, vue de plein air) was released in Russia on February 21, 1911, and advertised as a Kinemacolor product in the Komik and Akvarium theaters on February 22. See advertisement, *Peterburgskii kinematograph*, no. 11 (1911): 1. The French original was not released in Paris until March 18. See "Nouveautés Cinématographiques," *Ciné-journal*, March 18, 1911, 32.
53. Sorskii, "Po peterburgskim teatram," *Sine-fono*, April 1, 1911, 16–17.
54. See "List of Kinemacolor patents sold to foreign countries April 1911 to March 1914," n.d., URB, box 3, vol. 2 (Press Cuttings and Programmes), 44.
55. It has been speculated that Kinemacolor screenings were boycotted by film entrepreneurs who feared competition from the new process, but there is little evidence for this in the trade press of the period. For this speculation, see Anna Kovalova and Iurii Tsiv'ian, *Kinematograf v Peterburge, 1896–1917* (Peterburg: Seans, 2011), 50–52.
56. Advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, August 5, 1909, 604.
57. Trade News of the Week, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, August 19, 1909, 701.
58. See press cuttings from *Financial Times* (August 5), *Daily Chronicle* (August 6), *Sporting Times* (August 7), *The People* (August 8), *Observer* (August 8), and *Modern Society* (August 14), URB, box 2 (Press Appreciations 1908–1912), 75, 77, 79, and 83, respectively.

59. "Royalty and Kinemacolor," *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, June 29, 1911, 590.
60. "Kinemacolor at Sandringham," *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, August 3, 1911, 669.
61. "Royal Visit to the Scala," *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, May 18, 1912, 212.
62. Letter dated April 29, 1912, in *The Letters of Tsar Nicholas and Empress Marie*, ed. Edward J. Bing (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1937), 269. The date of this letter is given according to the Julian calendar.
63. *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–13*, 162. It is symptomatic of the couple's relative lack of social status that the wedding was not reported in London's society magazines, for example *Tatler*, unlike that of Countess Nathalie Benckendorff, daughter of the Russian ambassador to Britain at the time, whose wedding to the Hon. Jasper Ridley took place two months previously at the same venue. It was attended by King George and Queen Mary, as well as Herbert Asquith, the British prime minister. See *In Town and Out, Tatler*, April 26, 1911, 83.
64. Marriage announcements, *Times* (London), June 17, 1911, 13.
65. Ol'ga's mother, Nadezhda Nikolaevna Panet (née Pavlishcheva), was the daughter of the poet's sister, Ol'ga. Her first husband is given in genealogical records as Vasilii Vasil'evich Denisov. See Evgenii Pazhitnov, "Rodoslovnaya sem'i A. S. Pushkina," <http://www.proza.ru/2015/07/16/1084>.
66. *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 162.
67. "Walter Winans Dies in a Race," *New York Times*, August 13, 1920, 9.
68. "Mr Walter Winans on Women," *Sporting Times*, January 14, 1911, 8. In the novel, Winans appears barely disguised as the character known only by his surname, Rensselaer. His country estate, called Elsinore in the novel, features replicas of Russian architectural structures in the grounds and examples of paintings and sculptures inspired by Russian themes within the manor house. It is described in some detail in chaps. 22 and 23. See Helen Mathers, *Gay Lawless* (London: Stanley Paul, 1908).
69. *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 155. The Kinemacolor footage of the horse show itself was entitled *The Royal Horse Show, Richmond, June 1911* (279, 1100 ft.). See *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 158–59.
70. "Parade of Mr Walter Winans' Stud of Prize Harness Horses" [review], *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], June 15, 1911, ix. The Kineto version of the 1911 Coronation Derby is numbered 700 in *Catalogue of Film Subjects: January 1912*, 79.
71. "The International Horse Show at Olympia," *Sporting Times*, June 17, 1911, 3.
72. "The Royal Richmond Horse Show," *Sporting Times*, June 10, 1911, 3.
73. *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 68.
74. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 90.
75. See the theater listings for the dates in question in *Times* (London).
76. "The Theatrical Garden Party," *Times* (London), June 4, 1913, 11.
77. Press cutting from *Evening News*, July 10, 1913, URB, box 3, vol. 1 (Press Cuttings and Programmes), 32. On the success of Kinoplastikon, see "Kinoplastikon as seen from the stalls," *Bioscope*, May 8, 1913, 391.
78. *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 69.
79. Advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], October 9, 1913, liv–lv.
80. *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 69.

81. *Kinemacolor: With the Fighting Forces of Europe* (program at the Scala), November 2, 1914, 4. My thanks to Luke McKernan for permitting me access to his personal copy of this program.
82. Press cutting entitled "Kinema Kings," *London Referee*, April 13, 1913, URB, box 3, vol. 1 (Press Cuttings and Programmes), 2.
83. "Kinemacolor Notes," *New York Clipper*, April 12, 1913, 5.
84. "Russia" [review], *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, May 29, 1913, 593; and advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], May 22, 1913, lxviii.
85. "The Imperial Hunt at Gatchina" [review], *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, May 29, 1913, 574; and advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, May 29, 1913, 593.
86. Advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, June 12, 1913, 793; and "St. Petersburg, Russia" [review], *Bioscope*, June 26, 1913, 985.
87. Film Listings, *Bioscope* [supplement], May 8, 1913, vi.
88. *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 5.
89. "Winter in Moscow, Russia" [review], *Bioscope* [supplement], June 26, 1913, xxxiii; and *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 5.
90. Film Listings, *Bioscope* [supplement], October 2, 1913, i.
91. *Kinemacolor: Supplementary List of Film Subjects to Catalogue 1912–13*, 11. *Both Times* (London), June 2, 1913, and *Daily Telegraph* (London), June 2, 1913, list *Romanoff Tercentenary* as part of the Kinemacolor program at the Scala for that week.
92. Cinema Notes, *Daily Telegraph*, June 4, 1913, 16. See also press cuttings from *What's On*, June 1, 1913, and *Sunday Times* (London), June 8, 1913, URB, box 3, vol. 1 (Press Cuttings and Programmes), 33 and 34, respectively.
93. *Kinemacolor: With the Fighting Forces of Europe* (Scala program), 4.
94. Alexander Bokhanov et al., *The Romanovs: Love, Power, and Tragedy*, trans. Liudmila Ksenofontova (n.p.: Leppi Publications, 1993), 248–56.
95. Ven. E. Vishnevskii, *Dokumental'nye fil'my dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii, 1907–1916* (Moscow: Muzei kino, 1996), 229. For the title of this material in the contemporary Russian trade press, see *Khronika: Moskva, Vestnik kinematografi*, January 15, 1915, 30; and advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, January 6, 1914, 5.
96. *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 5.
97. Film Listings, *Bioscope* [supplement], April 22, 1915, xxvii.
98. *Kinemacolor: Supplementary List of Film Subjects to the Catalogue 1912–13*, 7; and *Times* (London), July 21, 1913, 8. Listings on subsequent days show that this film ran at the Scala only until August 3.
99. *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 5.
100. Advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], October 21, 1914, xlvi.
101. Trade Notes, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, December 3, 1914, 27; advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], December 10, 1914, xlvi; and "Russians and the Czar" [review], *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], December 24, 1914, xiv.
102. "Russians and the Czar" [review], *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], December 24, 1914, xiv.
103. "Kinemacolor and a chat with Mr Charles Urban," *Bioscope*, October 15, 1914, 259.

104. Trade Notes, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, December 3, 1914, 27.
105. The name of the process is spelled variously in the Russian trade press. Using the Library of Congress transliteration system, these names would be spelled as follows: "Sinemanatiur," "Sinema-natiur," and "Sinema-Natiur." The spelling of *natiur* suggests that the word should be pronounced like the French *nature*.
106. For the establishment of Biokhrom, see I. E. Kheifits, "Khronika: Petrograd," *Sine-fono*, December 13, 1914, 38. On the development of this new process and its possible association with the arrival of Sinema-nature, see S. P. Garanina, "S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii: K publikatsii materialov iz semeinogo arkhiva," *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 29 (1996): 116–31; and N. A. Izvolov, "Neskol'ko zamechanii o Prokudine-Gorskem i tsvetnom kino v Rossii," *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 29 (1996): 131–39.
107. Advertisement, *Sine-fono*, November 15, 1914, 12–13. For the creation of the Parisiana joint-stock company, see Khronika: Petrograd, *Vestnik kinematografi*, October 1, 1914, 23.
108. Advertisement, *Vestnik kinematografi*, December 1, 1914, 1; and advertisement, *Sine-fono*, December 13, 1914, 17.
109. "Sinemanatiur," *Sine-fono*, December 13, 1914, 35; and P. Raevskii, "Moskva, 15 ianvaria 1915 g.," *Vestnik kinematografi*, January 15, 1915, 22–23.
110. "Izobreteniia i usovershenstvovaniia," *Ekran i rampa: Zhurnal kinematografi i teatra*, February 8–12, 1915, 5.
111. "The Gorsky Process of Colour Photography," *Film Renter & Moving Picture News*, April 2, 1921, 40. See also the press cutting, "Films in Natural Colours," *Times* (London), March 17, 1921, URB, box 9, vol. 8, 1.
112. For Sinema-nature screenings at the Kino-Palace in Rostov-on-Don, see advertisement, *Zhurnal "Kinema"*, March 22, 1915, 23. The traveling tour in Nizhnii Novgorod is reported in *Zhurnal "Kinema"*, March 22, 1915, 17. For distribution rights in the Baltic region, see the advertisement in *Kine-zhurnal*, March 20, 1915, 281.
113. Aleksandr Khanzhonkov, *Pervye gody russkoi kinematografi* (Moscow-Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1937), 88.
114. *Drugie berega*, in Vladimir Nabokov, *Sobranie sochinenii russkogo perioda*, ed. N. I. Artimenko-Tolstoi, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: Symposium, 2000), 5: 289.
115. M. Kuzmin, "Otlichitel'nyi priznak," *Zhurnal "Kinema"*, September 1, 1915, 11–14. The story was first published in *Ogonek*, no. 28 (1915): 13–15.
116. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, December 19, 1914, 5. Footage entitled "The President, M. Poincaré, with the Army in the Field" formed part of the French section ("France—Now a Steadfast Friend of Britain") of the Scala program. See *Kinemacolor: With the Fighting Forces of Europe* (Scala program), 5.
117. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, January 6, 1915, 5; and Khronika: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, January 15, 1915, 30.
118. Russian titles are given as *Lord Kitchiner i ego armii* and *Bel'giiskaia armii*. See the advertisements in *Ekran i rampa: Zhurnal kinematografi i teatra*, January 20–24, 1915; and *Ekran i rampa: Zhurnal kinematografi i teatra*, January 24–27, 1915. "Recruits for Lord Kitchener's Second Army" and "Belgium—Loyal and Brave" are both featured in *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*; see *Kinemacolor: With the Fighting Forces of Europe* (Scala program), 6 and 5, respectively. For Khanzhonkov showings of the Poincaré footage and the tercentenary celebrations, see Khronika: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, January 15, 1915, 30.

119. Programmy: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, May 1, 1915, 29. Two weeks later, the program was advertised as being extended "on popular request." See Programmy: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, May 15, 1915, 53.

120. Khronika: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, January 15, 1915, 30. For details of the Serbian Day at the Parisiana, see Khronika: Petrograd, *Sine-fono*, February 29, 1916, 71.

121. "Sinema-Natuir," *Vestnik kinematografi*, January 15, 1915, 26. For *Submarine and Torpedo Destroyers* (1910), see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–13*, 69.

122. Khronika: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, July 1, 1915, 23. For a detailed description of *Wonderful Exploits of the Italian Cavalry*, see *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 43.

123. In the recent DVD release by Cineteca di Bologna, the film is attributed to Luca Comerio, who is believed to have shot several Kinemacolor films under license in Italy. The topical, entitled *Plotoni nuotatori della 3^a Divisione Cavalleria*, is dated 1912. It appears to have been showing in Britain in late April 1915, although it does not feature as part of the November 2, 1914, Scala program for *With the Fighting Forces of Europe*. See *Trade Notes, Bioscope*, April 29, 1915, 388.

124. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, February 27, 1915, 5. For a description of *Lake Garda, Italy* (145, 1040 ft.), first released in 1910, see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 44.

125. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, March 5, 1915, 5. The Japanese material was released in September 1913. It was initially entitled *The Wonders of Japan* and consisted of twenty reels in total. See advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], September 4, 1913, xxv. It was subsequently retitled *Picturesque Japan: Native Life and Customs*; see *Kinemacolor Films: 1915–16*, 10.

126. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, March 6, 1915, 5. For a description of *Strange Mounts* (360, 1585 ft.), first released in 1911, see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 194–95.

127. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, March 22–23, 1915, 5. *Modelling Extraordinary* (635, 1090 ft.) and *Modelling the "Scala"* (636, 320 ft.) were both animated trick films; see *Kinemacolor: Supplementary List of Film Subjects to Catalogue 1912–1913*, 13. They were released at some point in late 1912; see "The Scala Theatre: Panama Canal and Durbar in One Programme," *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [Kinemacolor supplement], December 5, 1912.

128. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, April 25, 1915, 5. The material for this ten-reel collection was taken from a number of earlier Kinemacolor shorts as part of its Natural History series. See advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], July 10, 1913, lxxviii–lxxix.

129. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, April 27, 1915, 5. For a description of *Choice Bouquets* (185, 685 ft.), first released in 1910, see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 70.

130. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, May 10–11, 1915, 5. For a description of *With a Travelling Circus and Menagerie in Scotland* (1191, 1325 ft.), first released in 1913, see *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 68.

131. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, September 15, 1915, 5. Various topicals based on the carnival at Nice were filmed in Kinemacolor from 1909 onward. In all likelihood, the screening at the Parisiana showed footage from the most recent excursion in 1911. See *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 111.

132. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, September 22, 1915, 5. For a description of *Mystic Manipulations* (412, 990 ft.), first released in 1911, see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 234.

133. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, September 25, 1915, 5. For a description of *Magicians of the East and West* (624, 1235 ft.), see *Kinemacolor: Supplementary List of Film Subjects to Catalogue 1912–13*, 13. No date of release is given here, but the catalog number suggests late 1912 or early 1913.

134. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, October 11–12, 1915, 5. For a description of *Dwellers of the Deep* (1088, 995 ft.), see *Kinemacolor Films: 1915–16*, 18.

135. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, October 25–26, 1915, 5. For a description of *Spanish Bull Fight, Madrid* (384, 1015 ft.), first released in 1912, see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 223–24.

136. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, January 27, 1915, 5.

137. For a description of *Rambles in Paris*, see “Some Recent French Kinemacolor Films,” *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [Kinemacolor supplement], March 20, 1913.

138. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, January 27, 1915, 5. The constituent parts are: “The Louvre and the Tuilleries Gardens,” “The Sparrow’s Friend,” “Rue de Rivoli,” “The Grand Boulevards,” “Rue de la Paix,” “Place d’Opéra,” “Rue Royale,” “Madeleine,” “Place de la Concorde,” “Champs Élysées,” and “Arc de Triomphe.” See *Paris before the War (Part 2): Buildings and Parks* (1026, 1205 ft.), in *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 9.

139. Programmy: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, June 1, 1915, 50. For the content of *Liqueurs and Cigars* (179, 510 ft.), first released in 1910, see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 67.

140. The Russian title is given simply as *Egipet*; see Programmy: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, June 1, 1915, 50. For a description of *The Egyptian Series*, which consisted of numerous different episodes and was first released in 1911, see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 197–217.

141. The Russian title is given simply as *Ostrov Tseilon*; see Programmy: Moskva, *Vestnik kinematografi*, May 1, 1915, 29.

142. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, October 9, 1915, 5. For a description of *Little Lady Lafayette* (413, 975 ft.), see *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 234–35.

143. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, September 27–28, 1915, 5. For a description of *Golliwog’s Motor Accident*, released in early 1913, see *Licensed Film Stories, Moving Picture World*, April 12, 1913, 200.

144. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, April 10, 1915, 5. The film was also released as an independent entity by Khanzhonkov in June 1916; see *Kriticheskoe obozrenie, Proektor*, June 15, 1916, 10; and *Sredi novinok, Kine-zhurnal*, June 28, 1916, 58–59. The comedy was first released in September 1912. For a detailed plot resumé, see the successive reviews in *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], September 19, 1912, xxxiii; and *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], September 26, 1912, xliv.

145. Advertisement, *Obozrenie teatrov*, February 10, 1915, 5. See also advertisement, *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly* [supplement], January 1, 1914, xciv.

146. “Sinema-natiur,” *Zhurnal “Kinema”*, March 22, 1915, 15–16. This film, first released in 1911 as part of *Gems and Jewels* (344, 960 ft.), later formed part of *The Decorative Arts* (1207, 1330 ft.), which is listed in the Urban Colorfilm catalogue of 1916. See *Catalogue of the Urban Colorfilm Library*, 65.

147. Raevskii, “Moskva, 15 ianvaria 1915 g.” 22.

148. See, for example, the advertisement for a Méliès féerie in *Sine-fono*, August 15, 1908, 21.

149. The advertisement specifies a particular price (150 rubles) for a tinted and toned version; see the inside cover (no pagination is given) of *Sine-fono*, February 15, 1910.

150. Khronika: Moskva, *Kine-zhurnal*, March 8, 1910, 9; and Khronika: Moskva, *Kine-zhurnal*, June 23, 1910, 10.

151. For the release, see advertisement, *Sine-fono*, May 15, 1909, 1. For responses, see Rolik, “Tsvetnaia sinematografija,” *Sine-fono*, June 1, 1909, 7–8; and “Tsvetnaia sinematografija Br. Pate,” *Sine-fono*, September 1, 1909, 10.

152. Raevskii, "Moskva, 15 ianvaria 1915 g." 22.

153. "Mysli sovremennikov: L. N. Andreev," *Sine-fono*, October 1, 1909, 10. The excerpt in question is cited from the newspaper *Birzhevye vedomosti*. However, it derives ultimately from the content of a gramophone recording of Andreev undertaken in September 1909 by Orpheon Record, a German-owned company with a factory in St. Petersburg; for a full transcript of the recording, see *Novosti sezona*, September 17, 1909, 6–8.

154. Raevskii, "Moskva, 15 ianvaria 1915 g." 22; and "Sinemanatiur," *Sine-fono*, December 13, 1914, 35.

155. Raevskii, "Moskva, 15 ianvaria 1915 g." 22 and 23.

156. F., "Sinema-Natiur," *Vestnik kinematografii*, January 15, 1915, 26.

157. F., "Sinema-Natiur," 26.

158. Raevskii, "Moskva, 15 ianvaria 1915 g." 22 and 23. The phrase used, "Nyne otpushchaeshi," is the Church Slavonic translation of "Nunc dimittis." It constitutes the opening words of the first canticle of the "Song of Simeon" as given in the Vulgate version of Luke (2:29–39).

159. N. A. Bogomolov and S. V. Shumikhin, eds., *Mikhail Kuzmin: Dnevnik: 1908–1915* (St. Petersburg: Ivan Limach, 2005).

160. Bogomolov and Shumikhin, *Mikhail Kuzmin*, 510.

161. Bogomolov and Shumikhin, 526.

162. Kuzmin, "Otlichitel'nyi priznak," 14.

163. Kuzmin, "Otlichitel'nyi priznak," 13.

164. *Kinemacolor: Film Catalogue 1912–1913*, 86.

165. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 129–42.

166. M. L. Sanders, "British Film Propaganda in Russia, 1916–1918," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 3, no. 2 (1983): 117–29.

167. The film was widely advertised in the film-trade press. See, for example, the double-page spread in *Kine-zhurnal*, March 31, 1916, 6–7.

168. Advertisement, *Kine-zhurnal*, March 31, 1916, 6–7. See also the review in *Ekran Rossii*, March 18, 1916, 21; and McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 143.

169. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 133.

170. See "Educational Color Films," *Moving Picture World*, December 23, 1916, 1804.

171. McKernan, *Charles Urban*, 123.

172. It is possible that other Kinemacolor works have survived in Krasnogorsk. The description of a holding entitled *Ital'ianskaia kavaleriia* (The Italian Cavalry), for example, suggests that it may well be another version of *The Wonderful Exploits of the Italian Cavalry*. The catalog number is 12455, and the length of the footage is 340 meters, which is approximately twelve minutes of screen time. See <http://www.rgakfd.ru/catalog/films>.

173. Kahn's project was the subject of a BBC documentary in April 2007; this, in turn, gave rise to a book publication, which included some of Kahn's Autochrome photographs from different parts of the world. See David Okuefuna, *The Wonderful World of Alfred Kahn: Colour Photographs of a Lost Age* (London: BBC Books, 2008). Although the project envisaged assembling an archive of moving images in natural color, shot using the Keller-Dorian process, only a few thousand meters of footage were

actually filmed. See the website of the Alfred Kahn museum, <http://albert-kahn.hauts-de-seine.fr/archives-de-la-planete/presentation>.

174. See Svetlana Garanina, "Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii: Ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti" / "Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorsky: An outline of his life and work," in *Rossiiskaia imperia Prokudina-Gorskogo 1905–1916 / The Russian Empire as Seen by Prokudin-Gorsky, 1905–1916* (Moscow: Krasivaia Strana, 2006), 4–43.
175. Bonch-Bruevich, "Lenin i kino—po lichnym vospominaniiam," 3–4.

Philip Cavendish is Reader in Russian and Soviet Film Studies at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London. He is a specialist in Russian and Soviet cinema of the silent era. His research focuses primarily on the visual aesthetics of film, the theory and practice of camera operation, the relationship between technological invention and shifts in aesthetic dynamic, and the cross-fertilizations that occurred between film and other visual art-forms during the silent era. He has published articles on the poetics of the camera in prerevolutionary Russia; the vogue for the hand-held camera in Soviet films of the 1920s and early 1930s; and the archival rediscovery and reconstruction of Sergei Eisenstein's first film, *Glumov's Diary*. He has authored two monographs on Soviet cinema of the silent era: *Soviet Mainstream Cinema: The Silent Era* (2007) and *The Men with the Movie Camera: The Poetics of Visual Style in Soviet Avant-Garde Cinema of the 1920s* (2013; paper, 2016). He is currently researching the production and reception of color film in prerevolutionary Russia and the Soviet Union.