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Restoration Nation:
Motion Picture Archives and "American" Film Heritage

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Restoration Nation:
Motion Picture Archives and "American" Film Heritage

by

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Dedication

for my parents

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Preface

Before arriving at the University of Texas at Austin in the autumn of 2000, I held a number of positions in the film preservation field. My involvement with older moving images began as far back as high school, when I volunteered at the American Film Institute offices in Washington, DC and later in college for the Museum of the Moving Image in London. While an undergraduate, I interned at the Library of Congress' film preservation facility in Dayton, Ohio, site of one of the largest nitrate film collections in the world and home to original negatives of Hollywood's most iconic classics. When not wandering through the vaults looking for obscure Cary Grant titles, I had the good fortune of speaking with David Francis, former curator of the UK's National Film and Television Archive, who was managing the Library of Congress' motion picture preservation efforts before assuming the position as chief of the division in Washington.

Mr. Francis informed me of the new MA degree program in film archiving being offered at England's University of East Anglia and the East Anglia Film Archive, one of that nation's leading regional film archives. The first of its kind in the world, the program combined traditional, critical media analysis with hands-on, practical film preservation training. The UEA program challenged my understanding of what a "film" essentially is. In the morning, students would find themselves discussing Hitchcock's approach to suspense and, by afternoon, repairing sprocket holes of damaged 1930s East Anglian home movies. At UEA, "film history" meant not just Hollywood or British entertainment features, newsreels, and short subjects, but also moving images encompassing the true breadth of material produced over time – advertising footage, films of 1920s heavy horse ploughing competitions, and industrial training material.

Upon my graduation from UEA, I worked with a variety of film-related organizations across the United States: the American Movie Classics cable channel, the Library of Congress, the National Archives California's Stanford Theatre (the only American movie palace dedicated solely to older films and operated by the largest private sponsor for film preservation efforts in the country), and Warner Bros. With the Library of Congress and American Movie Classics, in particular, my work allowed me to introduce regional footage in programming and public events as a complement to Hollywood features. Often, to my surprise, regional film fare proved just as popular, if not more so, than familiar Hollywood entertainment. For example, at a Library of Congress event in Boise, Idaho, a screening of a 1920s advertisement film shot in the state sold out while many seats remained for Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*.

My experience at one of Hollywood's most legendary companies, Warner Bros., continued to demonstrate the increasingly connected levels of film preservation efforts. In my position in the film preservation department at Warner Bros., I worked almost daily with international, publicly funded-film archives and the largest American moving image collections. These included venerable institutions such as the Museum of Modern Art, the George Eastman House, and the UCLA Film and Television Archive. In addition, the network extended to include even the smallest of the nation's infra-national organizations, such as Maine's Northeast Historic Film whose discovery of a small piece of film helped with Warner's restoration of the 1930 Lionel Barrymore directed feature, *The Rogue Song.*

My decision to return to academia for a doctorate has afforded me the unique opportunity to step away temporarily from the film archiving field and to gain some distance with which to analyze the preservation movement, the institutions within which I have worked, and my own role within the field over the last several years. This

dissertation serves as a product of this experience. The project combines my archival training, professional endeavors, coursework, and teaching experiences here at the University of Texas at Austin, with my own passion for the subject. The dissertation's specific questions have been informed by all of these important factors.

For academic readers, the dissertation encourages a further broadening of what is considered "film history" within the United States. With this project, I hope to promote more advanced communication and exchange between media preservation professionals and academics – to grow beyond the traditional relationship of scholar and archivist.

From archival readers, I ask the most leeway, license, and perhaps forgiveness. Thinking about moving image preservation through a more theoretical prism has allowed a more polemical approach to the field as concept, practice, and convention. This dissertation reflects more than the view from the "ivory tower," the archive's perennially windowless office space, or the corporate boardroom. By incorporating all three of these perspectives, and employing the unforgiving lens of critical analysis, I hope to offer a vision for the future of moving image preservation.

Restoration Nation:
Motion Picture Archives and "American" Film Heritage

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With the inception of cinema in the late 1890s, discussions relating to the preservation of film emerged in countries around the globe. Early motion picture collectors, enthusiasts, critics, scholars, and producers justified film preservation by appealing to cinema's role as art or artifact or through the medium's capacity to document historical events. In the mid to late twentieth century, however, film preservation advocates increasingly validated their work by defining and celebrating cinema as cultural heritage. This dissertation investigates the emergence and growth of the film preservation movement throughout the twentieth century on all levels of the film archiving network, from the international and national to the infra-national. Using a wide range of archival documents and organizational records, this project creates a more complete discursive history of key institutions involved in the film preservation movement. Moreover, the project examines the ramifications of this movement upon

what constitutes “American” film heritage for the scholar, practitioner, and global audience. This dissertation illustrates that moving image archives have not merely preserved movie history, but have, instead, actively produced cinematic heritage.

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Chapter One

The Politics of Preservation

So for [Librarian of Congress] Billington and others in the world of film preservation, it's welcome news that Roger Mayer will be honored [at the Oscars] for his long-time commitment to saving this important part of America's heritage: 'I call Roger the Billy Graham of film preservation, because no matter where he is, he's always had this as a central piece of his consciousness.'

CBS News Sunday Morning Report, "The Movie Savior,"
with Charles Osgood and Rita Braver[1]

Overuse reduces the term to cant. So routinely is heritage rated a good thing that few ask what it is good for…'There is no such thing as bad heritage…everything the government calls heritage is holy.'

Historian David Lowenthal and journalist Neal Ascherson in
The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History, 1998[2]

INTRODUCTION

On December 16, 2004, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, announced that Roger Mayer, president of Turner Entertainment, Co., would receive the 2005 Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award. The unique award, embodied in the familiar gold "Oscar" statuette and given only when the Academy's Board of Governors deems it appropriate, recognizes the significant achievements of an Academy visionary whose actions have "brought credit" to the industry.[3] Mayer's contributions to the Hollywood community spanned from his early days as Columbia Studios lawyer and executive to his lengthy leadership experience at MGM and, subsequently, Turner Entertainment. Mayer

had become involved in motion picture preservation, work for which he was receiving the award, through his supervision of MGM's film laboratory and library where, in the late 1950s, he reported that the company's film assets were "secure,…unlikely to be stolen, but…deteriorating like mad."[4] Over the following forty years, Mayer spearheaded the preservation of the MGM/Turner film library and assumed a leading role in the U.S. moving image preservation movement through his work with the National Film Preservation Board and Foundation.

In the weeks leading to the February 2005, Academy Awards ceremony in Hollywood, CBS News decided to devote a segment of their popular Sunday morning show to the Academy's Hersholt Humanitarian Award recipient. Like the majority of popular discourse surrounding motion picture preservation, this national news story celebrated both Hollywood film restoration achievements and non-commercial conservation projects, positioning such work, however, as separate and unaffiliated efforts. Rather than uniting the plight of these "orphan" films *with* the relatively recent success in "restoring" Hollywood's classics to explicate a larger, more holistic history of "American" cinema, the CBS report struggled to make sense of the films' relationship to each other and to an American film history heretofore defined as the story of Hollywood.

The program began with scenes from two of MGM's biggest films, *A Star is Born* and *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers*, followed by an introduction to Mayer as the "movie savior." Reporter Rita Braver described him as the executive that "saved the day *and* the movie."[5] Throughout the program, iconic images of Hollywood's most familiar and popular films testified to the significance and import of the executive's work in film preservation. As Braver shifted focus from Mayer's career to a more general discussion of the hazards of motion picture decomposition, the images shown changed as well. Walking through the rooms of Colorlab, a company specializing in film restoration in the

Washington, D.C. suburbs, Braver conversed with the lab's co-owner, Russ Suniewick, about so-called orphan films, a "whole other class of films that desperately need to be saved."[6] As Suniewick explained the concept of the orphan film to the CBS reporter, footage less familiar to audiences appeared to help reinforce the idea of these films' vulnerable status as unprotected and on the verge of extinction without the careful attention of preservation experts and generous funding.

This film material, selected by Colorlab and carefully edited by CBS news staff, was of residents of Kannapolis, North Carolina, shot in 1941, by itinerant filmmaker, H. Lee Waters. Throughout the depression, Waters and other itinerant movie men traveled around their regions and, for some, across the country documenting towns and communities so that residents could see themselves on the big screen. Although Braver's report accomplished the task of explaining the orphan film concept to the audience, the more complicated context of the North Carolina film's rescue and connection to the Academy recipient remained unaddressed and confused. In fact, the Kannapolis footage had been restored with funding from the organization led by that very same "savior" of high profile Hollywood movies.

In a broad sense, the inability of CBS to articulate a clear connection between the North Carolina footage and *A Star is Born* in a story ostensibly about saving the country's film heritage underscores a large structural question for moving image studies and media preservation practice for the twenty-first century – that of defining what is meant by a "film" in contemporary archival, academic, and popular discourse. Earlier generations of collectors, archivists, critics, academics, movie men, and pundits battled for decades to justify the study and preservation of motion pictures based upon rationales appealing to cinema's public function as art, history, and, most recently, cultural heritage.

The “archive,” imbued with powerful connotations of authority, served as a central factor and force in these discussions.

This dissertation investigates the emergence and growth of the film preservation movement throughout the twentieth century – a history that remains largely unwritten. Moreover, the project examines the ramifications of this movement upon what constitutes “American” film heritage. The early generation of film archivists from the 1930s and 1940s maintained interest in and actively pursued the collection, exhibition, and conservation of motion pictures, actions justified by their passionate appeal to consider moving images as art or history rather than mere entertainment. Early successes, such as the growing film library at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, helped define and, indeed, limit the range of material deemed worthy of preservation and future scholastic inquiry.

Following trends within international cultural organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization during the post-World War II era, motion picture archivists increasingly adopted heritage-based rhetoric to appeal to a more diverse and truly global constituency. This linguistic shift served both to broaden the scope of media product included and prioritized in film archiving work as well as to place greater emphasis – both literal and discursive – on preservation practice. This dissertation illustrates that moving image archives have not merely preserved movie history, but have, instead, actively produced cinematic heritage.

The project prioritizes three separate, but truly equal, goals. First, the dissertation offers a general overview of the film preservation movement on all levels of the film archiving network, from the international and national to the infra-national. The few histories of the field’s development remain limited to biographies of celebrated film archivists or anecdotally driven chronicles. This project creates a more complete

discursive history of key institutions involved in the film preservation movement based upon archival documents and organizational records that, somewhat surprisingly, are found in disparate institutional folders, cabinets, and even attics around the world. Archives, busy with the preservation of moving image history, tend to neglect their own institutional stories. The history of the film preservation movement is a century-long process that remains relatively understudied and undervalued in academic work relating to film or media studies.

Second, this dissertation polemically argues for a reevaluation of the field's central tenet: Preservation. A more thorough investigation of the history and context for specific archival decisions and actions reveals how preservation practice, and its commonly invoked heritage rationale, has been employed at particular moments and for particular reasons over the course of the past century. Although earlier eras incorporated historical artifacts into contemporary culture in vastly differing ways, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' increased emphasis upon preserving material culture have produced and prescribed a very specific approach to "saving" moving image heritage in the Western world, i.e., to conserve the artifact (celluloid) so that the original format's "full visual and aural values [are] retained."[7] In a digital era, is this traditional, European or British approach to, and definition of, what constitutes acceptable "preservation" standards still the most important priority for moving image collections?

New technologies are, of course, critical to this discussion, and have received the bulk of attention and analysis within the field, in academic communities, and amidst public discourse. But a techno-centric approach obfuscates the larger stakes in re-evaluating fundamental assumptions underlying moving image preservation. Archival practitioners and scholars examining technology without greater historical context remain focused on a fairly limited range of issues that adhere to traditional principles and biases.

Digital technologies offer the potential to create innovative approaches to historical conservation as well as to empower a more democratic, wider variety of individual participants in this dialogue, but only if the larger traditions and underlying tenets of the field's practice are questioned as well. This project's discursive analysis of the heritage preservation rationale presents a more critical reappraisal of film preservation theory and method.

Third, the dissertation demonstrates that a greater understanding and analysis of moving image archives, their history and practice, opens new avenues of research within media studies. Traditionally, media scholars have visited archives to utilize the collections within to research particular topics, rather than investigating the institutions and their relationship to what has been collected and preserved. This project encourages more significant and substantive discussion between archivists and academics to broaden what is currently considered "viable" film history, particularly within the U.S. context. Although new work continually emerges focused upon new or "alternative" texts (e.g., home movies or amateur cine-club product), this dissertation further expands these efforts by approaching more critically the institutions or individuals who have enabled such studies to occur. Research on the role of moving image archives in creating, solidifying, and promoting film "canons" impacts the future (and the past) of media studies. Just as students in film history classes study aspects of film production, distribution, and exhibition, so too should they be aware of the film archiving community's participation in the industry and in global cultural discourse throughout the last one hundred years. Academics interested in this topic, however, find limited relevant resources.

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORY, AND METHODOLOGY

Archivists are used to speaking of our film heritage as 'priceless'…

from the International Federation of Film Archives'
This Film is DANGEROUS: A Celebration of Nitrate Film[8]

Discussions relating to the collection and preservation of celluloid film have existed since the inception of the motion picture in the late nineteenth century, but critics and scholars have traditionally viewed film archives as institutions within which to research, rather than as sites of inquiry themselves. During the 1970s and 1980s, as film studies emerged as an accepted academic discipline, archival-related articles proliferated from within the humanities. Such articles, however, primarily worked to justify the validity of films as worthy of study and tended to address archival institutions as a conduit for this brand of research and inquiry.[9]

Instead, most material specifically focusing on the subject of motion picture archives and archiving has emerged from within the ranks of the practice itself. Several participants in the film preservation movement have authored what are essentially anecdotal histories of key motion picture archives and celebrated archivists. These histories, in turn, have provided the basis for most of the articles, analyses, and trade press on the topic which proliferated throughout the heightened "film preservation" awareness era of the 1990s.[10] In the last few years, library science theses and dissertations on motion picture archiving have multiplied. Such an increase is unsurprising, as it reflects the influence of several M.A. programs in film archiving created during the 1990s in Europe, Australia and North America.

All of the work produced thus far appears to suffer from a somewhat similar perspective: that of advocating for film preservation with almost messianic-like zeal.

For the authors, discovering, saving and conserving film heritage is inherently a moral imperative to a culture's existence and future. Rather than actively or critically contextualizing the emergence and growth of the film preservation movement of the last one hundred years, academics and film archivists alike rely and build upon key, common-sense assumptions toward the value of film preservation in their histories, policy documents and reports. For the purposes of this dissertation, what follows is a categorization and brief overview of the most pertinent material related to film archiving that best illustrates the trajectory and shifting assumptions surrounding preservation's role in the creation of so-called "American" film heritage.

From Quirky Collectors to Professional Journals

Throughout the twentieth century, the most significant body of work referencing film preservation has been generated by film archivists themselves. Reflecting their individual work and organizational missions, archivists have primarily published information, such as general surveys, guides to archives, or preservation "how-to's." These works serve to steer fellow archivists and/or researchers in particular directions or offer technical advice rather than investigating the socio-cultural, institutional roles of archives. Another series of quasi-technical articles related to the film preservation movement was a result of the debates over colorizing and editing films for video release in the 1980s. Impassioned commentaries proliferated about the ethics of these business practices, lauding the "triumphs" of restored or "original" versions of otherwise altered films. Academic journals as well as more popular press worked to explain the film preservation ethos and process to a much wider audience.

Journals and association newsletters specifically devoted to film preservation, nevertheless, have circulated since the 1960s and 1970s (see the International Federation of Film Archives' [FIAF] journal in particular), but articles within them tend to be about the day-to-day workings of archives, more pragmatic, hands-on approaches to particular problems, rather than providing critical examinations of the field and its practice.[11] Supplementing professional trade discourse, the film preservation-related literature most referenced and popular within the field has tended to fall into two basic categories: (1) biographies or autobiographies of early film collectors-cum-archivists and (2) books and journal articles presenting sweeping and often highly subjective overviews of the film preservation movement in North America and Europe. Significantly, both types have focused upon the national and international levels of moving image collection building, with little to no mention of such movements on the sub-national or regional level that are increasingly vital to the contemporary film archiving community. The centrality of the "nation" within archival discourse are addressed more specifically in Chapters Two and Three of this dissertation, but is referenced here because this nationalist tendency reflects, if not helps create, similar predilections within media studies literature.

Contemporary film scholarship devotes significant emphasis to the work of the original "auteurist" theorists and directors of the French New Wave: Francois Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, and Andre Bazin. These individuals, editors for Cahiers du Cinéma during the 1950s and 60s, drew inspiration from the films they viewed in Paris in large part due to the work of the legendary film collector (now described as early motion picture archivist), Henri Langlois. It is unsurprising, then, to note that some of the earliest works related to the field of film archiving are biographies of this charismatic figure who founded the Cinémathèque Française in Paris during the 1930s. Indeed, Truffaut writes an eloquent and emotional foreward to author Richard Roud's 1983

biography of Langlois, A Passion for Films: Henri Langlois and the Cinémathèque Française, proudly calling himself one of the "children of the cinémathèque."12 Roud's work and Glenn Myrent's 1995 Langlois biography, First Citizen of Cinema, depict the often problematic evolution of the Cinémathèque Française primarily through anecdotal accounts of the collector-cum-curator.

These books, while important resources for documenting the emergence and growth of film collections around the world, wield an awkwardly adulatory tone towards their subject, the authors' approaches often sounding more sycophantic than objective.13 In a sense, these biographies evoke similarities to the early twentieth century "film histories" which generally consisted of personal recollections by Hollywood "insiders" and fans. Henri Langlois and other early film archivists were both movie lovers and avid film collectors with a fan's passion and devotion who literally hoarded thousands of reels of film (and in Langlois' case, purportedly buried them all over France) for protection.14

Langlois' fervent belief in film's status as art, not merely entertainment, was echoed in the mission statements and policy documents of the first international film archive association, the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF), which Langlois co-founded in Paris, 1938. From the 1930s through the 1980s, FIAF conferred membership, within strict guidelines and a scrupulous application process, on national repositories for moving image material rather than including a variety of archival institutions, e.g., specialist collections or regional archives. (The important role of FIAF to the international film archive movement and the establishment of preservation as central tenet to heritage conservation is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Four.)

FIAF has published a number of significant books and guides in addition to its annual journal, The Journal of Film Preservation, mentioned above. Most recently, FIAF produced a beautiful, 800 page homage to film preservation and technology: This Film is

DANGEROUS: A Celebration of Nitrate Film. Although published in 2002, the book was originally envisioned to be a component of the many events in 1995-6 commemorating one hundred years of cinema, particularly those events held by FIAF members in nations around the world. This Film is DANGEROUS is an impressive work that contains key anecdotes (and even poetry) relating to the flammable nature of nitrate cellulose (the material used by the global motion picture industry until the 1950s) from trade journals, filmmakers, and archivists.

This Film is DANGEROUS takes its title from a 1948 British military training film well-known and popular with motion picture archivists around the world. The title's "inside joke" illustrates how the book's appeal resides principally with motion picture archivists. The articles are penned by the archival community's "usual suspects" – well known leaders in the field and film historians, such as Kevin Brownlow, who share archivist sympathies and often collaborate on preservation projects. Thus, intentionally or not, the book reads like an attempt to reify further key moments in film archiving history. For example, film actor, producer, and director Lord Richard Attenborough contributes to the quasi-mythological early days in film archiving lore:

> But for film archivists, the history of nitrate still represents the soul, the excitement, and the real drama of conservation in action: the race against time, archaeological rescue, the tragedy of loss….And this timely book, with its fund of knowledge and personal testimony, tells us how it was, how it is, and how it will continue to be on the front line of their professional lives.[15]

Rather than critically engaging with key concepts underpinning preservation tenets, the work reflects an avowed intention to "celebrate" the celluloid era and its keepers.

This most recent work on the subject of film archives and preservation exemplifies the discourse analyzed throughout this dissertation. Perhaps as an

unintended by-product of being an official FIAF publication, *This Film is DANGEROUS* works to further establish yet limit the field of motion picture archiving, delimiting the field's insiders and outsiders, and defining a profession. Although the book appears to be pitched to a broad audience, evidenced by its beautifully-produced glossy pictures and celebrity introductions, there is a pronounced subtext that declares the book is really for the film archivists. Individual anecdotes and curatorial snippets throughout *This Film is DANGEROUS* provide incredibly engaging, sometimes apocryphal, tales particularly enjoyed by those familiar with the material under discussion. The staff of London's Imperial War Museum, for example, offered:

> The belligerent tribes of the Khyber Pass area of India and also those of the Kurdish region of Iran and Iraq…used to raid the local cinemas periodically and cart off all the movie film on hand, which they would later shred up for gunpowder. It worked fine, and put British patrols in the tragic-comic predicament of being decimated by an early edition of *Beau Geste* or *The Great Train Robbery*.[16]

Provocative and wildly entertaining, no doubt, but such examples illustrate how the book's intent and purpose mitigate more probing questions relating to who participates in preservation discourse, the content of the organizations' collections, and what they seek to "preserve."

A similar adulatory tenor permeates another recently published book on film archives and archivists, this time with a focus on the United States. *Our Movie Heritage* is primarily a coffee table piece with beautifully reproduced photographs of Hollywood films from the "classic" studio era – films "saved" through the efforts of film archives and archivists. Published in 1997, the book's introduction, general tone, and preface by Leonard Maltin confirm that *Our Movie Heritage* is written by Hollywood movie fans for Hollywood movie fans.[17] Uncritical and capitalizing upon the high profile film

preservation efforts during the 1990s that featured well known Hollywood titles and celebrities, authors Yeck and McGreevey's book epitomizes the easy conflation of "Hollywood" film preservation and "American" film preservation during this period.

Over the last thirty-five years, the term "heritage" has been employed quite effectively by film archivists as both a rallying cry and fundraising mechanism for moving image preservation and restoration. Yeck and McGreevey's utilization of the word in the title for their work illustrates the success the film preservation movement has had in establishing film as a natural and worthy component of U.S. heritage. Over the last three decades, U.S. film archivists increasingly validated their preservation agendas through a careful articulation of an American "heritage" ethos. In doing so, the U.S. film community echoed, even mimicked, similar claims by European archivists most especially those from the United Kingdom where the concept of heritage sites and tourism have evolved into a potent source of revenue and income. Significantly, the early film archiving movement in the United States was largely spearheaded by British expatriates during the 1930s, and the authors of the most important histories of the film archiving profession hail from the U.K. as well.

In 1992, British film historian and former UCLA motion picture archivist, Anthony Slide authored the first overview of the American film archiving movement. His title, *Nitrate Won't Wait: A History of Film Preservation in the United States*, is a familiar one because it has been the rallying cry for film archivists and enthusiasts around the world since the mid-1960s and early 1970s.[18] Anecdotal yet solidly researched, *Nitrate Won't Wait* offers a chronology as well as practical, technical appendices to assist the non-archivist in understanding more completely the intricate process of photo-chemical preservation. Although Slide does expand his notion of what constitutes a film archive to include smaller, non-government supported institutions, those that most often

merit inclusion because of the "artistic" nature of their collections, e.g., the Anthology Film Archives in New York or the Pacific Film Archive in San Francisco, which achieved fame and notoriety through their rescue of "important" art works, such as the films of Andy Warhol or other avant garde filmmakers.[19]

Slide is the only author of the major film archiving texts to include mention of anthropological collections, e.g., the Smithsonian Human Studies Center in Washington, D.C. Nevertheless, he views these and other ethnically or regionally focused archives through a narrow lens that places these collections in a subordinate position when compared to the Hollywood or federal agency focus of the largest U.S. film archives: The Library of Congress Motion Pictures Division, The Museum of Modern Art Film Department (New York), The National Archives Motion Picture Branch, The George Eastman House, and the UCLA Film and Television Archive. Slide's work offers a solid overview of the film archiving and preservation field, but its admittedly "highly opinionated" tone diminishes its impact and significance for scholars.[20]

Only two years after the publication of *Nitrate Won't Wait*, Penelope Houston, former editor of the esteemed British Film Institute (BFI) journal *Sight and Sound*, offered another chronicle of the film preservation movement with specific emphasis upon European collections and participation. Although well regarded, Houston's historical survey, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* illustrates the current limitations of the material available about the subject, especially this first generation of literature that has relied primarily upon experience and anecdotal evidence. Houston writes eloquently and passionately about her subject, but *Keepers of the Frame* allots too much space to retelling and rehashing the well-known personality conflicts and quasi-star qualities of early film archivists like Langlois and the BFI's Ernest Lindgren. Houston's, Slide's, McGreevey's, and Yeck's books well exemplify the bulk of work on film archiving thus

far – recycling and further narrativizing the field's development with familiar characters and the "victories" of non-profit or government archives against significant obstacles. Furthermore, the view of moving images as accepted, vital components of national cultural heritage underlies all of the contemporary film preservation literature produced by participants in the process. This definition of film as heritage has become increasingly central to film archiving literature, but it has been presented without adequate historical context of the heritage concept.

Archivist and scholar Paolo Cherchi Usai's *Silent Cinema: An Introduction* (2000) illustrates an attempt to blend the archivists' technical "how-to" literature and basic preservation histories with a more academic perspective. Cherchi Usai's work provides a useful model for combining historical analysis with archival technique, but primarily reads like a defense of silent cinema as art form. Although cloaked in detached academic rhetoric, the book's tone expresses a fan's agitation by the neglect and prejudice towards his subject. In fact, the first edition of *Silent Cinema* was the more emotionally titled *Burning Passions*. In altering his book's title from a dramatic and vivid description (*Burning Passions*) to a more staid, acceptable identifier (*Silent Cinema*), Cherchi Usai allegorically illustrates the general transition of the film preservation field in general, from the legacy and traditions of a collector or fan's mentality into an archivists' professionalized, standardized domain.

The Emerging Academic Interest

During the latter part of the twentieth century, moving images garnered greater status within cultural, government, and academic institutions. Concurrently, film preservation discourse and practice acquired high profile attention and increased funding.

Media studies scholars discovered new research topics through greater access to archival film collections, particularly important as the young film studies discipline shifted from an emphasis upon critical analysis towards film history throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. In 1996, the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* dedicated an entire volume to a special edition on American film collections. Although the journal's archives edition illustrates the increased prominence of the major U.S. film collections during this period, the articles merely reinforce the central role and perception of motion picture archives as sites for research. For example, the article on the Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division provides a brief description of the collections and how best to access them, rather than investigating the contested evolution of the Division itself and its important cultural role in selecting films for both preservation and sanction as American heritage "treasures."

In the last few years, however, a stronger scholarly interest in film archives has slowly emerged that reflects the prism of the traditional critical/cultural studies paradigm. *Stanford Humanities Review*'s 1999 edition, entitled "Inside the Film Archive: Practice, Theory and Canon," illustrates one of the first attempts to interrogate and integrate the larger role of the film archive, its institutional impact upon film texts, and the relationships between media researchers and archival organizations. Articles from well-known film studies scholars, such as Jeanine Basinger and Steven J. Ross, abut work from archivist-historians like Paolo Cherchi Usai and Brian Taves, wherein each assumes a different stance and approach to ethics of film "restorations" and the viability (and sustainability) of historical film canons.

Despite the edition's promising title and several solid pieces, the authors are generally unable to challenge the centrality of the film text in favor of a focus upon the archive as institution and active participant in contemporary (or historical) film culture.

Indeed, out of the journal's twelve articles, eleven prefer to discuss individual directors, film genres, or specific cinematic restorations (e.g., two articles deal with further celebrating the "genius" of director Alfred Hitchcock and recent digital treatment of the "master's" work.)[21] Traditional academic debates defining film texts as "art" vs. "commerce" or the politics of homosexual representation are couched within a reified idea or concept of an "archive," rather than investigating the underlying frameworks and assumptions of existing collections or archives.[22]

Only Professor Karen Gracy's article in "Inside the Film Archive: Practice, Theory and Canon" provides more relevant discourse for the purposes of this dissertation. Entitled "Coming Again to a Theater Near You: The Lucrative Business of Recycling American Film Heritage," Gracy's article focuses upon the "business" of preservation that has boomed since the early 1990s. In particular, Gracy is interested in how "film preservation and restoration are now the buzzwords in Hollywood as corporate owners rediscover and capitalize upon their valuable assets."[23] The article presents a comprehensive overview of the U.S. film preservation movement from the early 1990s forward and posits the important role of intellectual property and copyright law in the American preservation context. Gracy sees the non-profit film archives at odds with the major motion picture producers, particularly those associated with Hollywood corporations. Viewing film heritage as a concrete entity embodied by the major American "film classics" of the studio era, Gracy extols the work of the film archives against corporate greed and worries about what she views as the "crucial question about who is to be responsible for the safeguarding of America's cultural heritage:…the creators…or the institutions now in place which sprang into existence in response to the neglect of such corporate owners?"[24]

Gracy's passionate and, at times, romantic view of the film preservation landscape at the twenty-first century testifies to the success of film archives in linking their preservation work with the growing imperative and importance of material heritage in national life – real, substantive gains from "jumping on the heritage bandwagon." Gracy positions her argument even more fully in her doctoral dissertation, "The Imperative to Preserve: Competing Definitions of Value in the World of Film Preservation," submitted in 2001 to the School of Library and Information Sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles. Gracy's research is an excellent example of the very few works that investigate film archives as cultural institutions.

But Gracy's goal is one of more accurately defining the stakeholders in the field and clarifying the motives behind the work of the varied institutions participating in preserving moving images. Gracy focuses intensely on defining film archives as separate and important cultural organizations in their own right. This issue is better understood as a project that emerged from within the discipline of library science, where moving image archives remain viewed as awkward and dubious step-children. Film archives are, indeed, young organizations when compared to the more established cultural institutions that have evolved from nineteenth century museum models. Writing for a library science audience, Gracy works to prove that film archives serve a vital role in intellectual growth and development. Moreover, Gracy strives to differentiate moving image archives from film studios or other for-profit media producers in mission, intent, or project.

But Gracy's specific agenda compromises the thoroughness of her research. In her attempt to distance non-profit archives from studio practitioners/asset managers, Gracy avoids the larger and more complicated issue that studios *and* non-profit or government organizations have capitalized both culturally and economically from Hollywood films assuming national and even international heritage status throughout the

twentieth century. Gracy's concern appears to be that non-profits are being pushed further into the commercial marketplace:

> Ultimately, the film archive may serve as a harbinger for the evolution of other cultural institutions into quasi-commercial roles, as their authority as legitimizing agents is also challenged by large-scale producers in their respective areas of expertise. By leveraging intellectual property rights and technological innovations, mass producers of cultural information may overtake the authority of libraries, museums, and archives to function as legitimizing agents in the work of producing cultural heritage.[25]

More interesting for the purposes of this dissertation is the fact that both the commercial and non-commercial sectors, privately-funded or state-funded, members of the film preservation community are seen by the public as "legitimatizing agents" behind the celebration of national film heritage. To a certain degree, Gracy's work seems to suggest that many of the larger non-profit film archives materialized out of a vacuum during the 1990s. More detailed histories of these organizations, which remain heretofore unwritten, reveal that certain periods, not merely the 1990s, are critically important to the film preservation movement and its relationship to commercial film producers as well as the nation at large.

Although Gracy and other scholars view non-commercial film archives as the logical inheritors of American motion picture heritage, these authors do not consider how, when, and why non-profits have employed the concept of heritage throughout the last one hundred years. Rather than existing as opposing enemies, what Gracy views as the "Don Quixote"-esque non-profits vs. the mega-conglomerates, all of the players in the film preservation community have capitalized upon the growing "heritage crusade" of the late twentieth century to justify (and pay for) their work projects, passions, and pleasures.[26] The activities of many film archives, outgrowths from the individual agency

of multiple film collectors and fans, are well-justified and funded through cogent appeals to national and political heritage preservation programs and interest. As will be discussed later in this chapter, heritage appeals are virtually unassailable when compared to earlier archival pleas (by both non-profit and commercial entities) to consider older films as artistic or historical texts.

Importantly, Gracy's work does appear to be the only example of film preservation literature that places discussion of the field within the framework of cultural heritage as concept. But although she proclaims a desire to "deconstruct 'the cult of the artifact,'" referencing key cultural theorists such as Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu, and Walter Benjamin, she succeeds only in providing a very brief look at the topic within quite narrow parameters. She prefers instead to examine the signification and values associated with films as they relate to defining film as art, as culturally significant, and worthy of archival preservation. For Gracy, Bourdieu's conceptual framing of cultural production and hierarchies functions to delineate critical differences between film archives and the commercial sector, and views distance between the two sectors as an imperative to the future of the field. In essence, Gracy writes primarily for archivists and library science scholars with the goal of providing both an ethnography of archival practice and manifesto for archival activism.

Gracy's desire to place her otherwise very pragmatic archival discussion within a Bourdievian context is indicative of her background in critical studies (M.A. from UCLA's critical studies program) as well as library science (M.L.I.S. and Ph.D. from UCLA's Library and Information Science program). Another scholar investigating the construction of film archives as cultural institutions shares Gracy's critical studies training, but writes for a very different, more humanities-oriented academic audience. In her dissertation, "Modern Ideas About Old Films: The Museum of Modern Art's Film

Library and Film Culture, 1935-39," Haidee Wasson provides a chronicle of that institution's creation and cultural context. The parallels between these two scholars are interesting and reflect emerging interest in film archiving as academic topic. Both women are in their early thirties, which marks them as having grown up in the cable era (where American Movie Classics and other cable channels made millions of dollars airing "classic Hollywood" fare) and having studied at the university level during the film preservation awareness heyday of the 1990s. Wasson's work utilizes a more objective, socio-historical approach, however, in comparison with Gracy's library science-based ethnographical method.

Wasson's work serves as the most pertinent, useful material for this dissertation. Like Gracy, Wasson's focus is ostensibly on film's purported value, another take on the proverbial "what is film-what is art" debate. Wasson investigates the role of film archives, specifically the Museum of Modern Art's (MOMA) film library, in changing how film was to be perceived in a wider cultural context. Considered the earliest "film archive" in the United States, the MOMA film library is a fascinating and complex subject through which to analyze the transformation of "worthless" silent cinema into valued historical objects. Wasson's primary objective is to provide an in-depth history of the formative first four years of the film library through which she additionally "considers links between the archive and longstanding concepts in film culture – utopianism, cinematic knowledge and art."[27]

Wasson rectifies important, commonly-held assumptions about the film library and of its first curator, Iris Barry. Significantly, Wasson offers an interesting overview of the American film library movement, its key players, and the institutions which remained responsible for distributing educational and training movies throughout the country in the pre-television era. Integral to the context of early film archives, this understudied

moving image distribution network continues to be too often ignored by film archivists. But Wasson's outsider status as professional academic with very little archival experience presents the greatest problems to her otherwise fascinating history. She writes with a very romantic view as to the impact and importance of both the MOMA film library and the early archiving movement in general. At times, Wasson ascribes greater influence on the part of her characters than they likely merit:

> Film archival ideas had persisted from the inception of the medium, nevertheless, the resources required to assemble and maintain a comprehensive record of films and related materials had simply not been made available. With the founding of the Film Library this dearth of resources was remedied.[28]

More specifically for the purposes of this dissertation, Wasson does not investigate the concept of heritage as such; rather, she utilizes the term as common-sense justification for the labors of Barry and other MOMA employees. Wasson proposes that Barry, counter to conventional views of the curator's highly subjective selection criteria for a film's inclusion into the evolving motion picture canon, was, in fact, less concerned with film's artistic merit and more interested in historical relevance. But Wasson's attempt to chronicle how early film was packaged into early film history during the late 1930s in Manhattan, again overlooks the broader context of the contemporary, commonly held view of moving images as national film heritage in countries around the globe. The commodification of film's value as both art *and* history into the powerful idea of *heritage* by both commercial and non-profit film preservationists is a far more complex history with even broader implications for both scholar and archivist.

Heritage Studies

As a common name for banks, commercial businesses, and public policy initiatives, the word and concept of "heritage" pervades every component of contemporary Western civilization. Heritage connotes strong notions of possession, authenticity, and exclusivity, albeit tied to a variety of eclectic identities and forms. Travel destinations in every part of the globe manage and exploit their particular, often peculiar, heritage sites to generate revenue that comprises an increasingly important component of national economies – from Cambodia's Angkor Wat to England's Bleinheim Palace. For those "living in an old country," such as the United Kingdom and many other European nations, heritage, heritage conservation, and heritage tourism are familiar, ingrained, and imbued with class distinctions such that heritage is complicated with positive as well as pejorative connotations.

Some historians argue that the essentially Western idea of heritage stretches back into antiquity. Our more contemporary notion of heritage, however, is associated with the traditional European practice of filial inheritance – the transfer of property, as well as more spiritual legacies, from father to son throughout the Middle Ages and ensuing centuries. With the emergence and proliferation of new nation-states in the 1800s, the private, familial arena of heritage became associated with the general civic or societal values, and communal property of the nation. Australian historian Graeme Davison articulates the work of a number of heritage scholars in stating that "as new nation-states fought for legitimacy, people began to speak of a 'national heritage' as that body of folkways and political ideas on which new regimes founded their sense of pride and legitimacy."[29]

The growth of nationalism in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries further solidified connections between geographical location, sites, artifacts, and national ideology. Rather than a spiritual embodiment of a living national outlook or ideal, heritage assumed historically tangible (and costly) forms. In the aftermath of the decimation of World War II, government officials around the globe prioritized issues related to the restoration and future protection of national cultural and material assets – issues particularly critical for countries engaged in reconstruction. International treaties which advocated and supported heritage preservation grew exponentially, especially in the years following the war. In fact, 95% of all museums in existence today were created since 1945.[30]

In 1954, the newly-created United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sponsored the Hague Convention for the protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. Yet by the early 1970s, "cultural property" no longer served as the appropriate or suitable term for the purposes of the organization, and the more appealing utilitarian "concept of the common heritage of mankind" grew to prominence.[31] In 1972, UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was agreed upon in France, and further solidified an important discursive shift in global terminology if not practice. UNESCO, amongst other international non-government organizations, has worked strenuously to validate the merit of preserving historical artifacts, sites, and customs around the world, and in doing so, has helped institutionalize the contemporary understanding and utilization of the term "heritage" on a global scale. As Davison describes:

> 'Cultural Heritage' was a concept well adapted to the purpose of an international agency such as UNESCO. It enlarged the concept of heritage from a familial or national setting to an international one…[cultural heritage] 'strengthened the moral claims of the would-be custodians of cultural property, while side-stepping difficult distinctions between its 'high' and 'low', popular and elite forms…[it serves as] a convenient omnibus term.[32]

The increased utilization of the word "heritage" in all countries around the world indicates the success and confidence with which the term has been employed, albeit for often contradictory aims. Historians point to cultural heritage policies of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy as examples of overt propagandistic attempts to mobilize nationalist sentiments through heritage towards a very specific and pernicious political agenda.

Much contemporary analysis of heritage discourse focuses upon the concept's uniting capacity and potential within a largely socio-economic context. Oppositional, and even adversarial, interest groups can join together behind the rubric of heritage and its emotional, if indefinite nature. Indeed, its basic very imprecision makes the term heritage as acceptable, sexy, and useful as it is. In Patrick Wright's celebrated 1985 diatribe against the growing central role of heritage in the U.K., *On Living in an Old Country*, the author deplored the term's generality with despair:

> [The National Heritage Memorial Fund stated] 'we could no more define the national heritage than we could define, say, beauty or art…let the national heritage define itself.' So one is left wondering what cultured generalism and commonsense in the world of art actually amount to in practice. The individual grants awarded over the first two years told a fairly predictable story: awards are made to museums, trusts, universities and even to the British Film Institute…the preservation of buildings, nature reserves, and even (in the BFI's case) old film stock.[33]

Wright's consternation that films, in addition to fine art, higher education, and ancient architecture, would be slated for nationally funded preservation is one of the very few references to moving images in any heritage literature. In fact, the National Heritage Memorial Fund's (NHMF) initial decision to sponsor preservation of a noted British film, *The Fallen Idol*, was due to a complicated set of negotiations and rationales. As a new organization, the NHMF needed to distinguish itself from numerous other heritage charities and other bureaucratic strata of the U.K. government. The inclusion of moving images was an important step in garnering media, particularly television, attention, rather than a purely intellectual interest in advocating media as heritage product.[34]

Since the mid-1970s, heritage has become a huge socio-cultural and economic force. Massive amounts of literature have been produced for heritage management, for and by heritage industry "practitioners." This phenomenon has not gone without notice and concern on the part of the world's academics. Since 2000, the International Journal of Heritage Studies, published in the United Kingdom, brings together scholars from a range of disciplines including museum studies, legal history, and cultural studies. In the United States, sociologists and cultural historians have rationalized the rise of national heritage preservation plans as a result of a post-modern longing for the past, and have postulated that nostalgia linked with heritage allows disjointed and alienated American communities to deal with their present.[35] Moreover, many scholars pose that in so-called "new world settler" countries, like the United States, Canada, and Australia, heritage assumes a uniquely potent role in identifying and defining segments of a pluralistic society as well as in assisting in the ongoing discourse surrounding the participatory creation of "new" nations. Academics additionally point to the difficulties that post-colonial nations face in creating a solid base for their "imagined communities." The Australian government and members of the cultural elite, scholars argue, appear to utilize

heritage in a conscious effort to mobilize nationalism in support of their young country. Heritage sites and artifacts help produce for populations of immigrant citizens "a more clearly and more completely autonomised national past."[36]

In Canada, heritage restoration projects ignite serious questions relating to the continued efforts to construct a Canadian identity – from Québec City to Vancouver. Unlike its neighbor's "melting pot" mythos, Canada's "salad bowl" or "mosaic quilt" approach continues to challenge its nation's politicians and intellectuals over how best to define its nation's citizenry. Heritage occupies a central role in these decades old arguments. One example lies in the 1970s demolition of a noted Montreal mansion which, to Francophones represented "an American-born, English-speaking, union-busting tycoon."[37] To Anglophones, however, the mansion's destruction assisted to motivate the creation of "Heritage Canada," the Ottawa-based foundation whose mission aims to: "preserve and demonstrate and to encourage the preservation and demonstration of the nationally significant historic, architectural, natural and scenic heritage of Canada with a view to stimulating and promoting the interest of the people of Canada in that heritage."[38]

Neo-Marxist British scholars have offered the most passionate and prolific justifications and hypotheses for the heritage industry, or as others have described, the "heritage crusade." UK-based academics point to the 1980s as the watershed period for the heritage movement in that country. The "Thatcher years" witnessed the economic and socio-cultural upheaval wrought by the denationalization of major British industries, the dismantling of much of the welfare system, and increased power of multi-national corporations. During this same period, heritage preservation grew exponentially all over the country. Whereas The National Trust and other prestigious charitable institutions had acted on behalf of the nation's elite in saving country mansions and patrimonial sites for decades, the 1980s witnessed heritage status being endowed upon recently defunct coal

mines or industrial ports. These traditionally working-class communities now possessed a new industry, tourism; these new "heritage sites" now hustled tourists alongside, or even competed with, the Tower of London or Stonehenge.

Although U.K. heritage studies literature mostly stems from the frustrations of the left wing intelligentsia of the 1980s, the evolving role of British heritage throughout the eighteenth to twentieth centuries presents a significant case study for much of the Western world and particularly for this dissertation. In many ways, principles underlying the essentially British concept of film archiving have been "colonized" the world over – from the recently founded Hong Kong Film Archive to Northeast Historic Film in Bucksport, Maine. This issue will be explored at greater length in later chapters in this project, but it is worth noting here that heritage, as a socio-cultural and economic phenomenon, plays a central role in British culture and academic literature. Indeed, the majority of scholars and heritage industry "managers" or "practitioners" agree that Great Britain is the European, if not global, leader in heritage tourism. Further, Britain's turbulent economic structure over the last two centuries – rapid industrialization followed by a fairly precipitous dismantling of this system – and its contemporary context of a "service dominated, leisure oriented society [exemplifies a nation] in which historicity in various forms has become of increasing importance."[39] The British conception of heritage, and most especially film heritage, provides an important model for analysis and comparison.

U.K. film and television departments contributed to the rise of heritage studies literature throughout the last several decades not through an analysis of media archives, but rather in the definition and analysis of "heritage film" as genre. Coinciding with the emergence and growth of media courses at the university level during the 1980s, the heightened nostalgia and fascination with heritage was reflected in the large number (and

rampant success) of feature films produced celebrating the luxurious view of a glorious British past. Influenced by such films and television series as *Another Country* (1984), *A Passage to India* (1985), and the extraordinarily successful *Brideshead Revisited* (1981), Professor Andrew Higson deemed the "heritage film" phenomenon as a genre unto its own, one tied to nationalism in concrete and significant ways.

For Higson and others, heritage films "render history as spectacle, as separate from the viewer in the present, as something over and done with, complete, achieved. Hence the sense of timelessness rather than historicity in relation to a national past which is 'purged of political tension' and so available for appreciation as visual display."[40] Higson's initial consideration of heritage media product was heavily influenced by the larger societal discussion of heritage at the time – one quite critical and dismissive of the trends under scrutiny. As historian David Lowenthal has noted, much of the criticism of the heritage industry in the 1980s stemmed from arguments over accuracy and authenticity. Historical "facts" were increasingly tainted by history's sly, dubious and very rich cousin, heritage.[41]

But the initial, almost vitriolic discourse surrounding the heritage industry, the heritage film and its capitalist underpinnings, has been replaced by an updated, ameliorated, and certainly quieter tone. In the early years of the twenty-first century, the mutually-beneficial relationship between heritage, business, and culture is viewed as a less problematic, nearly positive, trend. Higson himself acknowledges that for cinema scholars of the 1980s, the British film industry appeared "to be on its last legs," a worry and understanding that bore directly upon their analysis of contemporary cinema.[42] Conversely, now media industries are themselves capitalizing upon both their national and corporate heritage. Increasingly, film and television companies, from the halls of the BBC to the Warner Bros. lot in Burbank, California, offer museums, packaged set tours

and souvenirs and happily exploit tourists' seemingly unquenchable thirst for this new brand of heritage.

Similarly, film and television archivists employ the concept of heritage to support their current actions and projected budgets. Corporate and non-profit film archives have both assumed the role of protectors of global motion picture heritage. They proceed with this weighty (and nobly viewed) task by utilizing very specific, rigid methods and standards without questioning the powerful connotations of what is meant by "heritage." A growing number of formal academic programs train "professional" film archivists fortified by a seemingly infallible moral rationale to save the world's moving image heritage. The preservation of, rather than the promotion of public access to, the global film heritage "treasures" remains the foundation of contemporary motion picture archival practice and training. But, as this dissertation illustrates, the centrality of preservation was a choice made by specific individuals and institutions within a very particular socio-economic, legal, and political context, a context that gave rise to the heritage phenomenon. Lowenthal explains:

> Instances of preservation can be documented from time immemorial, to be sure….But to retain a substantial portion of the past is signally a latter-day goal. Only with the nineteenth century did European nations closely identify themselves with their material heritage, and only in the twentieth have they launched major programmes to protect it….Preservation is now a ubiquitous crusade.[43]

The preservation of national or state heritage is not, and has never been, a neutral concept, although it is presented as such by politicians, the press, intellectuals, and archivists.

Moreover, heritage preservation, as a primarily nineteenth and twentieth century mode of dealing with history, remains inextricably related to nationalism. Newly formed nation-states needed tangible remnants of a united past for its future to be better insured; thus, a site or artifact assumed the more potent status of a monument that celebrated state achievement or a fallen hero. In the eighteenth century, ancestors "lost consequence as democracy and citizens' rights curtailed inherited privilege…lineage mattered less to individuals, [but] it gained potency as a manifest of group merit…folk traits spelled collective spirit…Milieu and tradition, culture and consciousness were organic, natural and genetically transmitted."[44]

Eric Hobsbawn's important work on "invented traditions" contributes to this body of theory and suggests such reified national customs or practices served to further establish and indoctrinate particular norms of behavior. Hobsbawn elucidates one important component of why this literature bears significance upon this project's archival analysis: "the ideology of nation, state or movement is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized *by those whose function it is to do so*" [emphasis added].[45] Although Hobsbawn's work is focused towards an audience of professional academics and historians, his contribution bears great significance for archivists and archival practice.

The concept of inherited traditions and heritage with their important connection to national identity was merely reinforced throughout the twentieth century, the era that witnessed the rise of the moving image and the increased presence of media in everyday life. Outside of the British discussion of the heritage film, however, heritage studies discourse and analysis remain a separate body of literature, its discussions outside the traditional historical arguments within the media studies discipline. Just as media scholars have neglected heritage studies literature, however, heritage studies has

neglected media artifacts. With the exception of a few references to media's ability to compress society's perception of the passing of time, heritage studies scholars focus instead on architecture, the fine arts and battlefield relics with a much longer history than one hundred years. This predilection may be a result of the field's emergence from within academic departments such as history or geography that remain somewhat ambivalent in their view of film and television as subjects worthy of study. This dissertation aspires to fill a gap in both media histories and heritage studies through its analysis of film's twentieth century transition from ephemeral product, modern art, and popular history into heritage.

The Archaeological Method and Study Data

The larger framework of heritage studies literature is vital to contextualizing and further understanding the film preservation movement and its implications for archivist and scholar. Additionally, the creation of a more holistic history of the movement provides much needed data for tracking the shifting language utilized by motion picture archivists in both practice and public discourse. Language, as historian and cultural theorist Michel Foucault demonstrates, embodies systems of thought and knowledge which, in turn, empower specific individuals and institutions to gain and deploy valuable resources for specific and varying agendas. Foucault's archaeological, or genealogical, method offers an appropriate, indeed critical, approach through which to analyze the shifting language surrounding the collection and conservation of older moving images. Contemporary motion picture preservation is an extraordinarily expensive process – the funding for which is at stake in the definition and utilization of film heritage rhetoric. Specifically, this dissertation borrows Foucault's theoretical framework in viewing film

preservation and archiving practices as *discourse*, or significant body of statements, in which "heritage" emerges as a key "discursive formation."

Foucault's discursive theory is particularly appropriate for the analysis of film preservation because of the archival field's scientific basis. Film archivists refer to a specific body of scientific literature and terms that are primarily limited to the practitioners. Heritage, like Said's "orientalism," is a naturalized concept – understood by society at large as a common-sense, logical mode of preservation defense that serves to justify the work of the film preservationist. Furthermore, the heritage rationale has traditionally worked to reify and strengthen ties to a particular level of authority and power, the nation, and thus legitimize particular players and artifacts in the archival process.

This dissertation proposes that preservation be viewed as discourse or as structured practice, rather than the natural, logical way of incorporating historical moving images into contemporary life. It may seem tautological to state that preservation discourse is a social construction, but it is worth doing so, particularly as film archivists work with artifacts, material items that deteriorate in a very real sense. Moving image archivists, in general, shy away from intellectual theory and instead pride themselves in technical, practical approaches to stabilizing film or video material. With a scientific basis, both chemically (with film laboratories) and socially (through library science or archival method), motion picture preservation discourse is grounded in the "common-sense." Thus, Foucault's theoretical intervention is most acutely relevant within the moving image archival context.

A discourse analysis of the field assists in clearing away the emotions evoked through heritage rhetoric to more clearly identify the players who have participated and continue to construct film preservation discourse. The nineteenth and twentieth

centuries' heritage movements have successfully created what Foucault would identify as the "manifest discourse" of preservation practice: it is now rational to save the physical remnants, or the "original" artifacts, of a national past. Rather than offering a unified, narrativized chronicle of the film archiving movement and the personality conflicts therein, this dissertation constructs an "archeology" or "geneaology" of motion picture preservation and heritage. According to Professor Carmen Luke, theorizing the potential benefits of a Foucauldian based methodology, a more discourse oriented history aspires to:

> look at how and why ideas are ordered as they are; how institutional systems reflect the ideas and knowledges they in fact produce; in what mode of articulation ideas are encoded…under what conditions epistemological boundaries are weakened at specific historical junctures to enable new ideas and practices to dislodge traditional norms and assumptions; which individual and institutional 'authorities of delimitation' have the de facto and de jure right to reject or legitimate new ideas; and, finally, which historical conditions sanction authority in the first place."[46]

This dissertation identifies and analyzes the historical junctures or moments in which moving image preservation discourse appears to change or, indeed, be transformed. The elucidation of these important discursive shifts offers the evidence with which to help encourage substantive change in both preservation practice and the traditional film history canon.

Because of the vast nature of the project, spanning one hundred years of cinema and of the participation of moving image archives both domestically in the U.S. as well as Europe, the project utilizes a variety of data collecting procedures through which to trace the emergence, development, and discursive choices of archival institutions, associations, and networks influential in the film preservation movement. Following

upon Foucault's approach to the textual mapping of discourse in which power relationships are defined and formal systems established, key policy documents relating to the structure and practice of moving image archives offer the basis, or starting point, for the study data. Mission statements, collection principles, and implemented outreach strategies of influential archival organizations act as authoritative statements guiding the focus and limitations of discourse. Such documents present vital source material as they reveal sites or moments where organizations articulate identity, purpose, and practice and further define discursive boundaries. Through policy language, practitioners communicate clear demands and priorities that emerge and morph into formal structures and, perhaps most importantly, funding mechanisms. Legislation and national level government strategy statements incorporate these efforts to create the ultimate authoritative documentation that, too, play an important role in this study.

Archival association member lists, conference agendas and proceedings, newsletters, journals and listserv communication detail junctures at which organizations speak to each other and collaborate to answer questions and to generate plans for direct action within the field. This data additionally provides institutional rationales and help illustrate the perceived or idealized role(s) of moving image repositories. Film archiving exists as a highly specialized field with a fairly closed network of participants and players. Semi-structured interviews with the curators and staff of selected national, regional, and local archives are necessary, indeed imperative, to elucidate the realities behind textual documentation and to indicate more clearly how human agency has played a key role in the development of these institutions. These conversations provide crucial information related to the rationales and procedures informing the decision-making process. Traditional historical data, such as industry trade journals and national popular press, offer the important socio-cultural context within which to better understand when,

how, and why preservation and archival decisions have been made and mobilized to benefit particular players.

STRUCTURE OF STUDY

This dissertation consists of six chapters structured thematically in relation to the three key and interconnected levels of moving image practice and participation: the national, the international, and the infra-national. The majority of literature on the subject published thus far utilizes a chronological or geographical organizational system. A thematically oriented project, however, offers a more flexible framework with which to analyze the discursive shifts that emerge from a variety of locations and often overlap or cross several time periods. In a sense, this dissertation aspires to de-naturalize the perceived linear trajectory of the growth of film archives as detailed in the few extant histories of the field. Several competing strands of thought relating to moving image preservation percolated throughout the twentieth century, a few of which assumed central positions within archival practice for specific reasons at particular times. This project hopes to clarify more carefully the range of discursive positions and perspectives by following a thematic structure rather than creating a linear, narrativized history of the field's evolution.

Chapters Two and Three address the most familiar and often discussed level of film archiving: National. The chapters, "Defining the National: Rationales for "American" Film Preservation" and "Saving "American" Film Heritage: Justifications for a National Movement," combine to provide an overview and analysis of the heretofore unwritten work towards the creation of a national film library for the United States. Of particular interest here is the evolution of the Library of Congress, Motion

Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, home of the largest moving image collection in the world, and The Museum of Modern Art Film Department in New York (MOMA), the first official film "archive" in the United States. Although MOMA's film library has been well documented in articles and dissertations over the last ten years, what remains unexplored is a similar investigation of the federally-supported institution of the Library of Congress.

The intermittent, contested growth of the Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Department provides an important opportunity to analyze the shifting role and value of American film heritage. Chapter Two looks at the early years of collecting film at the federal level in Washington and the variety of participants from institutions such as the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the MOMA film library. This chapter registers particular emphasis upon the early contributions of Will Hays, the motion picture industry "czar," and the years during World War II in which the LOC's film policy changed dramatically under the leadership of the Librarian of Congress, and MOMA trustee, Archibald MacLeish. Chapter Three provides an overview of the years following the war and the substantial progress in film preservation legislation at that time. Following the assassination of President Kennedy, and the announcement of President Johnson's "Great Society" policies in reference to art and the humanities, American moving image heritage, priamarily defined as Hollywood entertainment features, attained a heightened presence in public discourse and a more significant federal role that resulted in the birth of the American Film Institute (AFI) and the "repatriation" of U.S. film heritage to the Library of Congress in the 1970s and 1980s.

High ranking officials in the U.S. motion picture industry and trade associations were very involved in the national film preservation movement throughout the twentieth century beginning in the 1920s, albeit for an eclectic array of motives. In part, the

relationship between the federal government and Hollywood representatives helped promulgate the centrality of LA entertainment features in early national film preservation discourse, policy, and action. Advocating for the preservation of "American" film heritage has always been a complicated task, whether for international film archives, U.S. non-profit organizations or even the studios themselves, because so many of the movies associated with the nation's traditional, and highest profile, cinematic legacy are privately owned with copyright vigilantly defended and maintained. Thus, Chapters Two and Three additionally offer insight into the close relationship between both "national" level preservation efforts, that of the Hollywood film studios and of their sometimes contentious, sometimes mutually beneficial, relationship with federal conservation efforts.

Chapter Three features a specific look at the changing ways in which Warner Bros. executives viewed the company's motion picture assets. With its contemporary preservation program one of the most respected (and well publicized) in the Hollywood community, WB spends millions of dollars annually to preserve its collection, by selecting particular films for "restoration" and limited release. The company's shifting approach to its moving image collection throughout its history reflects the changing socio-cultural and economic values associated with film preservation throughout the century – from the confusion resulting from mergers and acquisitions, to the largely unknown, yet important, "co-productions" between a major Hollywood studio library and international or regional archives in the restoration of older titles.

Studio preservation efforts, and their relationship to the American non-commercial film archives, are relatively unique to the U.S. film archiving context, particularly when compared to other national film heritage movements around the globe. Chapter Four focuses specifically on the power and influence of the international

networks of moving image preservation efforts by investigating the most significant international film archiving association, the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) and its evolving relationship with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). These two global organizations offer the most relevant and helpful sites for observing and tracking general trends in film preservation discourse.

From its beginning in the 1930s, FIAF's organizational structure was predicated upon international exchange through nationally mandated or recognized organizations and functioned in a traditionally European-based national network system. Membership in FIAF continues to be a sought after recognition for moving image archives and cinémathèques throughout the world. Influenced by its work with a variety of UNESCO programs, FIAF's shifting agendas and complicated discussions over membership guidelines of the 1980s and 1990s help illustrate the underlying tensions and difficulties faced by international cultural organizations with the exploding number of new national and sub-national participants of the Cold War era. In addition, Chapter Four provides a closer look at the early days of the British Film Institute's National Film and Television Archive, an incredibly influential organization that helped center moving image preservation practice within both FIAF, and, consequently, UNESCO discourse.

Chapter Five continues by examining the derivation and success of the emerging infra-national moving image archiving programs. Scotland's preeminent film archive grew to prominence during the 1970s and provided both a model for change and an illustration of the complications inherent in defining a "regional" and/or "national" collection policy. The U.K. specific model merits attention and inclusion due to the fact that Britain's regional moving image archive network leads the global film archiving field. Its loose affiliations of institutions focused towards the collection, preservation,

and promotion of access to sub-nationally relevant moving image material function as important harbingers for how the American film archiving community appears to be developing. Although the U.K. and U.S. possess significant cultural similarities and differences, the countries share an additional and important commonality in that each of their "national cinemas" have been dominated, or at the very least, overshadowed by Hollywood feature entertainment.

After a thorough description and explanation of the so-called "Film Archive Forum," an organization made up of all national and regional film archives around Great Britain, Chapter Five contrasts the relatively-recent emergence of the North American based film archival association, the Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA). A brief look at when, where, and why this organization surfaced is particularly relevant to the topic of sub-national or regionally based heritage collections which is of developing importance to federal legislation involving preservation funding and copyright protection. To a certain degree, American film preservation efforts' initial emphasis and prioritization of Hollywood features as "national heritage" helped mitigate or impair the preservation and accessing of sub-national moving image material.

Over the last decade, initiatives like the National Film Preservation Board and Foundation have reversed this trend and are moving even more aggressively to challenge traditional canons. The most recent federal legislation re-authorizing the NFPB's activities reflects the rising influence and activism of self-proclaimed "orphanistas," film archivists agitating for greater attention to the country's abandoned home movies, industrial and educational films, and additional moving image ephemera. This chapter offers an initial attempt at tracing the derivation of the "orphan" term and of the implications of its successful co-optation by non-commercial film preservation advocates. Furthermore, exchange and membership cross-over among all of these archival

organizations assist in clarifying the various arenas of heritage preservation from the well-established international and national levels to the relatively recent phenomena of more formalized regional and local efforts. Chapter Six concludes the project with a summary of the research presented and conjectures as to the impact of alleged paradigm shifts within the film preservation field. Such shifts bear significant implications for both scholars and archival protectorates of "American" film heritage.

CONCLUSION

> *For a nation accustomed to overcoming far more daunting challenges, preserving American cinema should be an attainable goal. Far too many films have already been lost, and yet so very much of inestimable value remains and can still be saved. In the words of Martin Scorsese, 'We should all view ourselves as film's custodian.'*
>
> Library of Congress program, "Preserving America's Film Heritage," for National Film Registry Tour audiences, 1997

> *'A Star is Born' with Judy Garland was a big movie event back in 1954. Now, thanks to a campaign launched by one of Hollywood's behind the scenes stars, it's been re-born better than ever. Plenty of other films are enjoying a successful take two as well – so many, in fact, that even Oscar is taking notice.*
>
> Introduction to CBS News Sunday Morning Report, "The Movie Savior," with Charles Osgood and Rita Braver[47]

In awarding Turner Entertainment President Roger Mayer what is arguably the film industry's highest honor, the members of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences appeared to have come a long way since the "colorization" debates of the late 1980s in which famous directors and stars such as Frank Capra and Jimmy Stewart stormed Capitol Hill to decry film industry efforts to add color to black and white films for video sale and rental. In the mid-1980s, entertainment mogul Ted Turner had

announced plans to colorize many of his company's most popular older titles, mainly beloved studio fare from MGM, RKO, and Warner Bros.[48] The Directors Guild of America and other associations that had been lobbying for greater residual shares in the era's flourishing cable and video markets, seized upon the colorization issue, reframing the argument by advocating for their "moral rights" to archival material. Colorization, the guilds claimed, was an aesthetic affront to – and outright violation of – the integrity and moral rights of motion picture artisans.[49] Although the dispute clearly centered on substantial disagreements over intellectual property and copyright protection, the language utilized by all of the conflict's stakeholders centered upon what Professor Paul Grainge described as profound notions "of authenticity, canonicity, and cultural heritage."[50]

One of the most articulate staff members speaking in defense of Turner's provocative actions was none other than Turner Entertainment President Roger Mayer. The charismatic executive voiced extreme irritation with the directors and artists campaigning against what they viewed as improper or ill treatment of archival material. In a 1987 interview with the *L.A. Times*, the ever direct Mayer stated "that the owners or licensees of the copyrights bought the rights 'fair and square' and have the legal and moral rights to decide if the films should be colored. This is not a contest between art and commerce…All those who worked on these movies were paid, and usually paid handsomely. Moreover they didn't return their salaries with an apology if the movies flopped."[51]

Although the moral rights argument failed to sway congressional support to end colorization specifically, the perceived cultural "crisis" and its accompanying media frenzy prompted Congress to pass The National Film Preservation Act of 1988 that successfully established The National Film Preservation Board (NFPB) and the National

Film Registry (NFR) programs with which Roger Mayer has participated since their inception. The NFPB, comprised of a rotating group of individuals representing the film industry, media educators, and archivists, advises the Librarian of Congress on general preservation policy and in his selection to the registry every year of twenty-five film titles, those deemed "culturally, historically, and aesthetically important."[52] The films, earmarked for preservation and to remain "unaltered," are selected to represent best what the Library calls "the vibrant diversity of American film-making" and are additionally labeled the nation's film heritage.[53] Since its inception in 1989, the NFR has grown to encompass 400 films from quite obscure titles, like H. Lee Waters' 1941 footage of Kannopolis, North Carolina, to *Gone with the Wind*.

Through its extensive network of archival advisors, the National Film Registry, National Film Preservation Board, and National Film Preservation Fund have attempted recently to challenge traditional notions of American film heritage by denoting as national "treasures," regional film artifacts, ephemeral advertising films, and personal or home movies alongside Hollywood product. This work is having concrete impacts, whether in its coverage by network news or in the increased funding of sub-national endeavors like the proposed "Home Movie Center" at the Library of Congress. This work, in conjunction with the growing numbers of Library staff funded by Hollywood studios to work specifically on corporate assets held at the federal institution, underscores the importance of viewing archives as increasingly active participants in the nation's motion picture industry.

Although the drive for profit offers one reason for a corporate decision to protect and promote a particular title (1942's *Casablanca* will likely sell in greater quantities than 1935's *Biography of a Bachelor Girl*, starring Ann Harding), rationales behind the decisions made by the seemingly more venerable, quasi-academic non-commercial film

archives remain more opaque and generally inscrutable. Those that are most invested and committed to preserving so-called "U.S. film heritage" – film collectors, archivists, and, more recently, the American film industry – have their own agendas and rationales for what they hope to achieve through film conservation.

The choice by film archivists of what and how to collect, protect, and preserve moving images have been born out of specific socio-cultural and economic contexts. The complicated history of preservation discourse and practice merits significant attention due to the archive's imbued political implications and its privileging of specific voices and agendas. Research into the politics of preservation sheds light upon the creation of heretofore established "American" film history and traditional canons. Moreover, questioning archival theory and action impacts the ever-sought after funding dollars that profoundly affect the field's practitioners, their decision-making processes, and, in turn, an increasingly global audience.

Notes: Chapter One

[1] "The Movie Savior, " *CBS News Sunday Morning*, Rita Braver and Charles Osgood, CBS, 20 Feb. 2005.
[2] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 94.
[3] Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, "Roger Mayer to Receive Hersholt Humanitarian Award at 77th Academy Awards," press release, Beverly Hills, 16 Dec. 2005.
[4] "The Movie Savior," *CBS News Sunday Morning*, Rita Braver and Charles Osgood, CBS, 20 Feb. 2005. Mayer was honored for both his work in film preservation and for his charitable involvement with the industry's health care facility for retired motion picture and television employees. At the ceremony, Mayer articulated a pointed, interesting connection between taking care of the industry's employees as well as the industry's older product.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *Film Preservation 1993: A Study of the Current State of American Film Preservation*, 4 vols. (Washington: National Film Preservation Board of the Library of Congress, 1993). Vol. 1, Report, 5.
[8] Roger Smither, Catherine A. Surowiec, eds., *This Film Is DANGEROUS* (Brussels: FIAF, 2002) 31.
[9] See as examples, Karsten Fledelius' "Audio-visual History – the development of a new field of research" in the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1989; Warren I. Susman's "Film and History: Artifact and Experience" in *Film and History*, 1983; and Nicholas Pronay's "The 'Moving Picture' and Historical Research" in *Journal of Contemporary History*, SAGE, Vol. 18, 1983.

[10] See Anthony Slide and Penelope Houston. While the term "archivist" may not be specifically applicable in the case of Houston, her work and association with the British Film Institute as archive and study center places her in a unique vantage point for her discussion.
[11] Film archiving as a field has developed as an almost "step-child" to the field of archiving or library science. While the relationship between American archiving and the film archiving community is not the focus of this dissertation, it is relevant to note that traditional archival journals such as *American Archivist* have featured several articles focused upon media issues. Such articles, however, are not central to larger societal discourse surrounding film preservation due to their specialist and removed status within the fields.
[12] Richard Roud, *A Passion for Films* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1983) viii.
[13] Henri Langlois' work with the Cinematheque is imperative to understanding the film preservation/archiving movement as it developed throughout the 20th century. Langlois' involvement with FIAF and close friendships and associations with global film curators will be discussed further in chapter four of this dissertation.
[14] Langlois' self-proclaimed American counterpart, James Card, didn't wait for a biography to be written about him, but rather produced his own nostalgic work detailing his preservation efforts as, first, a movie collector, then as co-founder of the film department at George Eastman House in Rochester, New York. Entitling his book, *Seductive Cinema*, Card offers readers more of a rambling film studies lecture than an archiving history. As the book jacket proclaims: "*Seductive Cinema* is a book that everyone seriously interested in moviemaking has been awaiting for years: the book on the silents by *the* man who knows more about them than anyone else" [emphasis in original].
[15] Roger Smither, Catherine A. Surowiec, eds., *This Film Is DANGEROUS* (Brussels: FIAF, 2002) 15.
[16] Roger Smither, "Fiery Tales," Roger Smither, Catherine A. Surowiec, eds., *This Film Is DANGEROUS* (Brussels: FIAF, 2002) 497.
[17] The book's dedication also yields further testimony to its fan-like tone: "To Willa and John, who knew the magic of Ingrid Bergman's smile, and to Zan, who has yet to discover it."
[18] See Slide for an attempt at an etymology of the phrase itself. Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait*, (Jefferson: McFarland Publishing, 1992) 1.
[19] Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait*, (Jefferson: McFarland Publishing, 1992) 90-92.
[20] Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait*, (Jefferson: McFarland Publishing, 1992) ix.
[21] See "Hitchcock: The Conceptual and the Pre-Digital" by Stephen Mamber and "Restored to Color: Ghosts of Art Past in Hitchock's *Vertigo*" by Lynne Vieth. Richard Martin Benjamin, ed., *Inside the Film Archive: Practice, Theory, Canon*, spec. issue of *Stanford Humanities Review* 7.2 (1999): 1-216.
[22] David Anthony Gerstner's article, "Queer Angels of History Take It and Leave It From Behind," well illustrates this tendency: "The archive of the cinema conjures the dream of historical re-enactment. For some queer film historians this dream place has provided hope for 'reclaiming' an historical past – a return to an originary site of knowledges where non-queer writers have, consciously or unconsciously, neglected the dark crevices of homosexual activity. This essay…looks at the ways that historical queers creatively re-presented (and took pleasure in) the remains of history. Their archive is a stash of tarnished gems that turn history into a work of art. Thus, the archive is not a place where history reveals itself as such. For these queers, it is a place where the debris of history aestheticizes the here and now." Richard Martin Benjamin, ed., *Inside the Film Archive: Practice, Theory, Canon*, spec. issue of *Stanford Humanities Review* 7.2 (1999): 1-216. 150.
[23] Karen F. Gracy, "Coming Again to a Theater Near You: The Lucrative Business of Recycling Film Heritage," Richard Martin Benjamin, ed., *Inside the Film Archive: Practice, Theory, Canon*, spec. issue of *Stanford Humanities Review* 7.2 (1999): 180-192. 180.
[24] Karen F. Gracy, "Coming Again to a Theater Near You: The Lucrative Business of Recycling Film Heritage," Richard Martin Benjamin, ed., *Inside the Film Archive: Practice, Theory, Canon*, spec. issue of *Stanford Humanities Review* 7.2 (1999): 180-192. 189
[25] Karen Frances Gracy, "The Imperative to Preserve: Competing Definitions of Value in the World of Film Preservation," diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2001, 2.
[26] Gracy specifically refers to non-profit film archivists as Don Quixote-like figures within her dissertation.
[27] Haidee Wasson, "Modern Ideas About Old Films: The Museum of Modern Art's Film Library and Film Culture, 1935-39," diss., McGill University, 1998, abstract.

[28] Haidee Wasson, "Modern Ideas About Old Films: The Museum of Modern Art's Film Library and Film Culture, 1935-39," diss., McGill University, 1998, 2.
[29] Graeme Davison and Chris McConville. *A Heritage Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin Australia, 1991) 1.
[30] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 3.
[31] Alice Erh Soon Tay, "Law and the Cultural Heritage," *Who Owns the Past?*, ed. Isabel McBryde (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985) 122.
[32] Graeme Davison and Chris McConville. *A Heritage Handbook*, (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin Australia, 1991) 3.
[33] Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso, 1985) 47.
[34] David Francis, personal interview, 1 Nov. 2004.
[35] See introduction to Graeme Davison and Chris McConville's *A Heritage Handbook* for overview of U.S. heritage scholarship versus other national studies.
[36] Graeme Davison and Chris McConville, *A Heritage Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin Australia, 1991) 4-5.
[37] J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, "Canada: Heritage Dissonance in a 'New World' Settler Society," *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1996) 199.
[38] May 16 2005 <http://www.heritagecanada.org/eng/main.html>
[39] G. J. Ashworth and Angela Phelps, "The Cultural Construction of Heritage Conservation," *The Construction of Built Heritage: A North European Perspective on Policies, Practicies, and Outcomes,* eds. G. J. Ashworth, Angela Phelps, and Bengt O.H. Johansson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) 5.
[40] Andrew Higson, "Re-presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film," *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism*, ed. Lester Friedman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) 113.
[41] See Lowenthal's *The Heritage Crusade* and *The Past is a Foreign Country* for an excellent overview of this theoretical evolution.
[42] Andrew Higson, *English Heritage, English Cinema: Costume Drama Since 1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 1.
[43] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 385, 386-7.
[44] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 194.
[45] Eric Hobsbawn, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 13.
[46] Carmen Luke, *Constructing the Child Viewer: A History of the American Discourse on Television and Children, 1950-1980* (New York: Praeger, 1990) 13.
[47] "The Movie Savior, " *CBS News Sunday Morning*, Rita Braver and Charles Osgood, CBS, 20 Feb. 2005.
[48] See Edgerton, Gary, "The Germans Wore Gray, You Wore Blue," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 27.4 (2000): 24-32.
[49] Klawans, S., "Colorization: Rose-Tinted Spectacles," *Seeing Through Movies*, ed. M. Miller (New York: Pantheon, 1990) 150-85.
[50] Paul Grainge, "Reclaiming heritage: Colourization, Culture Wars and the Politics of Nostalgia," *Cultural Studies* 13.4 (1999): 621-639. 625.
[51] Penny Pagano, "Colorization Gets a Senate Hearing," *Los Angeles Times* 13 May, 1987: C6.
[52] 16 May 2005 <http://www.loc.gov/film/>.
[53] 16 May 2005 <http://lcweb.loc.gov/film/vote.html>.

Chapter Two

Defining the National: Rationales for "American" Film Preservation

The fame of the movies is a chemical fame. The exotic loveliness of a Garbo, the romantic passion of a Valentino are held caught in a film of jelly smeared on a substance composed of guncotton and camphor, ether and alcohol. This is celluloid.

Lynn Fairfield, "Is Time Rotting Our Film Records?," 1928[1]

In the same breath we commend national patrimony, regional and ethnic legacies, and a global heritage shared and sheltered in common. We forget that these aims are usually incompatible…heritage is normally cherished not as common but as private property. Ownership gives it essential worth

David Lowenthal, The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History[2]

INTRODUCTION

American film preservation histories have focused largely on disagreements over the responsibility for publicly mandated, but privately owned, cinematic "treasures." In repeating familiar anecdotes surrounding the contested terrain of art vs. asset, of private vs. public property, however, such histories ignore that there has always been a mutually beneficial relationship between major American film producers (often grouped together as the "Hollywood studios") and the U.S. federal government. This often unlikely and, at times, uneasy alliance has commanded its share of media coverage, particularly early anti-trust legislation and the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of Hollywood. Press and academic interest in investigating the relationships between big

business and the federal government has served customarily to highlight the animosity between each camp, rather than collaborative efforts.

Media historians have well documented the potential threats posed to studios by government interest in censorship and regulation. Conversely, the major motion picture companies scrutinized federal or non-commercial forays into film production, distribution, and even exhibition with understandable wariness. Although American film producers viewed early non-profit or government archival interest in building and distributing libraries of older motion pictures with some ambivalence, they primarily responded with support. Moreover, studio press executives capitalized upon the perceived prestige and power bestowed upon their companies and film assets when collaboration with government agencies occurred – which it did throughout the twentieth century.

The U.S. government and major motion picture studios have engaged in a reciprocal relationship surrounding privately produced cultural property that played a key role in defining and establishing Hollywood's corporate product as *American* film heritage. The national film preservation program in the United States at the dawn of the twenty-first century is a result of a complicated dance between the major commercial and non-commercial film agents in the country – one that traditionally has served to privilege research into national film production over more regionally focused investigations.

Chapter Two details the various players and plans involved in the creation of a national film library for the U.S. in the first half of the twentieth century. More specifically, the chapter provides a historical overview of the emerging rationales put forth by the key individuals, institutions, and funding agencies in support of early film collection and/or preservation policies. Motion picture industry leaders, government officials, film critics, and historians mobilized specific justifications in support of

collecting and/or preserving films on the national level. Whether non-commercial or business oriented, those organizations advocating early film collection pursued their goals based upon particular, and at times, contradictory, rationales – e.g., film as art and/or corporate product, as history or propaganda. Although motion picture preservation rationales in the pre-World War II era possessed a number of dissimilarities, the discourse maintained one key commonality: Representatives from American museums, studios and government organizations never invoked the protection of film "heritage" as justification for conserving motion pictures.

LEGISLATION, WILL HAYS, AND THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL ARCHIVES

> *The schoolboys of 3000 or 4000 A.D. may learn about us from the venerable news reels and dramas. Instead of reading corpulent volumes of history, they will troop to the school movie houses to hoot their forefathers and write exercises on 'The Slow Motion Era' and 'Factors That Retarded the Development of the Early Twentieth Century Brain.'*
>
> From *New York Times* article,
> "Films Put on Ice for Fans Yet Unborn," 1926[3]

Within a few years of cinema's birth, national governments around the world observed the motion picture's ability to document events (particularly those that featured well known monarchs and politicians) and theorized how best to preserve them for posterity. Most early discussion of film's historic value, however, was primarily in relation to its depiction of human combat and conflict, especially with the advent of World War I. In 1917, even as the battles continued in the fields of Europe, the British Cabinet mandated the creation of the Imperial War Museum (IWM) to house material related to the "great war." By the time the museum was formally opened in 1920, the institution had already begun collecting films as part of its originating mission. The IWM's first "Government Cinematograph Advisor" stated at the time of the museum's

founding, the war films would assist men and women of the future in understanding "how we fought our battles and heroically met death."[4]

In the United States, early film preservation discourse of politicians, motion picture producers, and scholars echoed these European discussions, referring to a general historical import to justify motion picture conservation. Additionally, as early as 1915, Congress registered concern over film's role in depicting, promoting and/or participating in civic conflict. U.S. politicos and film industry leaders pointed to the capacity of film to serve as propaganda, guardedly noting, even before the nation's participation in the First World War, European film organizations such as the newly created German "film corps."[5]

Growing interest in cinema's ability to document wartime sacrifices, to serve as propaganda, and the increasing economic successes of the Hollywood feature film industry in the immediate post-World War One era, combined to create the first attempt at incorporating motion picture protection into U.S. federal policy. On February 24, 1921, California Senator James D. Phelan introduced a Congressional Bill for the creation of an American film collection that aspired to preserve "noteworthy motion-picture films…if,…a motion-picture film so registered records a historical or otherwise noteworthy event.[6] Senator Phelan's proposed bill was referred immediately to the Committee on Education and Labor, where it died with minimal fanfare or discussion.

Although little information exists to explain Senator Phelan's motivation in proposing the bill, he did maintain a general interest in the arts and frequently entertained well known Hollywood personalities such as Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks at his picturesque mansion in the hills outside San Francisco. Furthermore, safeguarding and promoting the California economy during the first years of the business-centric Harding administration served as a central mission for the Senator. Though the press did not

prominently feature Phelan's proposal to enshrine and preserve important (and largely California-produced) motion pictures with federal funds, numerous other articles relating to the burgeoning Los Angeles film community dominated mainstream headlines and indicated the importance of the industry to the state's prosperity.

On February 16, 1921, only eight days prior to Senator Phelan's film preservation proposal in Congress, an article discussing domestic competition to Hollywood's preeminence in motion picture production appeared on the front page of the *L.A. Times*. "FLORIDA AFTER FILM INDUSTRY," the headline proclaimed, "Serious Challenge to Local Supremacy Planned." Of particular concern to Hollywood producers, the article noted, was the purported regional preference for New York bankers towards funding Florida-based production:

> Florida…is making a determined bid to attract cinema producers, and the Florida boosters are being aided by New York bankers, who consent to loan money to New York producers who want to move to Florida, but will advance nothing to move their productions to Los Angeles…Unless deals of this kind can be counteracted, Los Angeles will lose millions of dollars worth of profitable business.[7]

Although one does not want to overstate or exaggerate the threat indicated by such an article, its very presence, tone, and outlook merit inclusion. Very few film histories broach Florida's successful early years in film production and the state's viable alternative to Hollywood. Indeed, traditional industry surveys seldom include references to sub-national or regional cinema production and distribution networks within the U.S. context, preferring instead to work at the international/national level. This absence in U.S. film scholarship has produced a somewhat distorted picture that Hollywood's success domestically was easy and uncontested. In discussions relating to challenges to

the Hollywood centered industry, most media historians have chosen instead to highlight the recurring federal investigations of the industry's conduct and film product. But this familiar contretemps serves as only one high-profile example of industry conflict.

In 1921, the same year that California Senator Phelan would propose the first National Film Preservation Bill in Congress, industry leaders shrewdly hired Postmaster General, Will Hays, revamping and renaming their original trade association the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA).[8] The creation of the MPPDA stemmed from the industry's desire to sustain its emerging dominance in both domestic and international production, distribution, and exhibition outlets amidst the growing challenges of federal regulation and increased competition.[9] At the same time, debates flourished over the merits of a federal plan to preserve historical films for posterity; the value in creating a National Archives (within which films would be included and enshrined); and the increasing calls for congressional action against the content and practices of the film companies represented by the "Hays Office."

The popular, but privately owned, motion pictures produced by the major Hollywood studios were quickly assuming national cultural value in the first decades of the twentieth century. Concurrently, various civic and church organizations assailed many of these very same films for purportedly salacious content and influence. Within this complicated context, Hays strove to rally support for a government funded film archive of studio produced motion pictures. Professional politician and lobbyist, Hays' relationship with both the executive branch of the U.S. government and with executives of the major motion picture companies allowed him to project studio approval of the proposed federal film preservation plan, even if corporate ambivalence persisted amidst the producers and distributors. A revealing recollection of the era by Hays, himself, survives in his memoirs:

> This was also the period when great public institutions woke up to the importance of establishing motion picture archives – a recognition that certain films are documents of permanent value. It was my privilege to discuss this repeatedly with President Coolidge and President Hoover….In many cases I was able to arrange for more generous, practical co-operation by the member companies than the public ever discovered.[10]

Although public and private interest in preserving films for historical importance had been a global concern years before Will Hays became involved with motion pictures, his interest in the subject evinced the MPPDA's desire to ally itself with educational organizations and prestigious government officials and agencies – even if primarily for good, old fashioned image management.

On the first day of his tenure as "motion picture czar" in 1922, Hays presented an initial "ten-point program" for the organization. One relatively understudied component of this list, grandly labeled "Securing the Practical Co-Operation of Educators," illustrated and ensured Hays' interest in the growing film education and film library movement of the period.[11] Throughout his time at the MPPDA, Hays continually pursued collaboration with schools and libraries across the United States. Thus, the idea of film preservation or a national film collection, particularly when sanctioned by a federally mandated archive with an educational purpose, fit neatly into the MPPDA's mission. The organization's well publicized willingness to assist the nation in securing historical films for future generation of American scholars would become even more high profile as increased scrutiny fell upon the industry during the interwar years.

Within the first year of his work with the MPPDA, Hays maintained his personal and professional connections with President Harding, under whom he had served as Postmaster General. In May, 1923, the *Washington Star*, *Baltimore News*, and other area

papers reported that Hays persuaded the President to acquire a nitrate film vault for the White House in which films of historical importance would be safeguarded for future generations. Like all early film collections, the motion pictures under discussion for inclusion focused upon politicians and war heroes, such as a film of the burial of the unknown soldier in Arlington. Although Harding died shortly after the press detailed these plans, Hays continued to push for a White House film collection. In 1924, Hays wrote to the Department of the Bureau of the Budget for an allocation with which to "preserve valuable films until such time as a larger building might be erected in connection with the Library of Congress, or some similar building belonging to the Government."[12] The MPPDA even employed a D.C. based lobbyist to work specifically on convincing federal commissions of the importance in collecting historical motion pictures.[13]

Amid the growing congressional efforts to regulate content and to curtail the monopolistic trade practices on the part of the companies represented by the MPPDA in the mid-1920s, Hays and the MPPDA successfully garnered headlines around the country painting a much rosier view of relations between the federal government and the film industry.[14] In autumn of 1926, the *New York Times* announced: "HAYS ASKS COOLIDGE FOR FILM ARCHIVES: Confers with President on Housing of Historic Moving Pictures by Government."[15] Following this lead, the newspaper published a number of stories about the proposed national film collection to be housed and preserved for "future generations" in the new National Archives facility in Washington, D.C., that had recently been approved by Congress. The focus of these stories was not on the Archives, per se, but rather upon the joint presidential and industry support of a federal film preservation program.

In his article on the film preservation effort, reporter Alva Johnston proclaimed: "Will Hays has sent a call to the motion-picture companies to search their vaults for ancient films of all kind and for newsreels of possible historic interest.…They will be placed in steel boxes and kept forever…for the benefit of historians and students centuries hence."[16] The proliferation of articles also testified to the media's general fascination with Hays and his organization. Hays' role in establishing a U.S. film preservation mandate at this time appears critical, according to the press accounts, which were, no doubt, assisted by the film industry's ease in garnering publicity:

> It must have come to a blow to the talkies to learn that the Bishops put them in a class with cheap fiction…as a menace to morals. Almost at the moment when the Church authorities were describing promises of future decency as 'ending in growing degradation,' Mr. WILL HAYS was telling the motion picture engineers that…he has the consent of President HOOVER to preserve film records of historical events in the public archives. This mixture of ecclesiastical denunciation and governmental sanction might prove confusing to the two-year old talkies [sic].[17]

The few film archive histories that have covered this period in the U.S. have mirrored these newspaper accounts, depicting Hays' influence as the crucial factor in the nascent motion picture "preservation" lobby in Washington during the early 1920s. *Nitrate Won't Wait* author, Anthony Slide, goes as far as to argue that "agitation for a government-sponsored national film archives" was prominent in the movement towards a National Archives for the U.S.[18]

Contrary to the headlines and film centered historical accounts, however, Hays likely served as a vital but somewhat secondary player in the story of the evolution of a National Archives. Similar to the appearance of major stars on the Capitol Hill steps during the colorization debates decades later, "Hollywood" interest and support for a

national film archive as voiced by Will Hays helped garner widespread media attention far more easily than the decades of persistent and conscientious work on the part of the American Historical Association (AHA). With a number of key editorials criticizing the rapid growth of the government in Washington and fretting over the cost of another massive federal agency, a little celebrity support assisted the legislators in enlisting greater support for the Archives program. Hays' expressed interest in supporting film preservation programs – enshrining the movies as important historical records for the nation – served to strengthen the industry's reputation and partly fulfilled the MPPDA's mission to "have the industry accorded the consideration and dignity to which it is just entitled" or, more specifically, to "[develop] the educational as well as the entertainment value…of the motion picture."[19]

Although films undoubtedly played a role in the twentieth century manifestation of the National Archives, historians, politicians, and citizens had been lobbying for a federal repository since the country's earliest days. In the nineteenth century, the movement received a potent boost with the creation of the American Historical Association (AHA) in 1884, which would petition most effectively for a national depository. Significantly, non-media historians of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) point neither to the AHA nor to Hays and the MPPDA as the most critical agent in its creation. Rather, they focus upon an independent, and influential, Massachusetts genealogist who managed to convince his Senator that what the U.S. needed was its own version of England's Public Record Office.[20] In 1906, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge first proposed a bill for an American institution to serve as custodian to the nation's growing number of federal documents. From 1907 through the early 1930s, numerous versions of this bill were debated in Congress, with each new draft directly referring to European, and most often, British models as standards to which to

aspire.[21] (Later in the century, U.S. film archives would mirror NARA's progression, looking not only towards the UK for expertise, but even finding the American film preservation movement spearheaded by British expatriates.)

The decades of debate over why, where, and how the National Archives would be established, witnessed the dawn of the motion picture age, and politicians and producers alike acknowledged and capitalized upon the new technology to support the creation of a new federal agency. But one central question remained: What films should be collected by the National Archives to be saved for future generations? Indeed, the *Congressional Record* contained numerous references to proposed motion picture amendments to the Archives bill during the 1930s, that indicate the difficulty in answering this difficult conundrum.

During the continued debates over amending language, the Hollywood film industry (represented by the MPPDA and Will Hays) wielded its influence most successfully. In 1932, Capitol Hill officials stated that, due to building requirements and demands, the National Archives would likely only collect government-produced films.[22] Feature film critics like Terry Ramsaye and the MPPDA leadership bristled at the suggestion that feature films would fail to be included in the national repository and pointed to the significant assistance offered on the part of the industry. In June, 1930, the film industry had gone so far as to craft an entire document enlisting corporate support of national film preservation efforts: "Resolution for Industry Cooperation in Selecting and Preserving Film Records of Historical Events."[23]

Significant political wrangling accompanied the various versions of the motion picture amendment to the National Archives legislation for over several months. On April, 1934, New York representative Sol Bloom introduced H.R. 8910 that restricted the National Archives motion picture collection to films "pertaining to and illustrative of the

United States Government."[24] One week later, after swift and serious lobbying on the part of Will Hays and the MPPDA, a new version appeared on the House floor that would be signed into law that summer. The final act ensured that *any* films "pertaining to and illustrative of historical activities of the United States" – not just government produced motion pictures – should be accepted into the collection.[25]

FILM SOCIETIES, FOUNDATIONS, AND MOVIES AS MODERN ART

How could movies be taken seriously if they were to remain so ephemeral, so lacking in pride of ancestry or of tradition?

From Iris Barry's article, "The Film Library and How it Grew"[26]

By the early 1930s, U.S. legislators, even those unconvinced of motion picture's place in the archive itself, could not ignore feature films when discussing the documentation of American culture and history. Not only was "Hollywood" an international economic force, but the explosion of interest in commercial feature films had been instrumental in the creation of hundreds of film societies and clubs in Europe – a trend which was slowly emerging in the United States as well. Several authors have documented the birth of the international film society movement in the years following World War I. Richard Abel, Haidee Wasson, Richard Koszarski, among others, provide solid research that by 1927 film societies and the early generation of cinephiles who created these organizations assisted in promoting new attitudes towards cinema. Led by noted European intellectuals, film societies often agitated for film to be seen as art and, as such, lobbied successfully that movies deserved greater study and investigation.[27]

For many countries, especially the United Kingdom, whose influential Film Society began in 1925, American or, more specifically, Hollywood cinema's dominance

motivated critical thought and legislative action to preserve and protect home-grown "national" cinemas. The London based Film Society, founded by British public intellectuals and artisans after visiting German film studios and witnessing the development of French cine-clubs in the early 1920s, was established to show, discuss and write about films outside of the commercial mainstream.[28] One of the most influential of early Film Society members was the young *Spectator* and *Daily Mail* film critic, Iris Barry.

Iris Barry would go on to become instrumental in the formation of the Museum of Modern Art Film Department in New York City and to help create the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) in 1938. Haidee Wasson, Penelope Houston, Anthony Slide and others provide excellent overviews of the evolution of MOMA's film library and Barry's influence. Indeed, most histories of the film archiving movement spend a great deal of time discussing Barry and her contemporaries such as Henri Langlois, of the Cinémathèque Française, and Ernest Lindgren, of the British Film Institute. These biographically-centered histories are understandable, due to the rather eccentric personalities (and the fairly legendary battles) of these early and influential archival leaders. But such character-driven narratives detract from a broader analysis of the actions taken at this period and tend to overshadow the work accomplished before the creation of FIAF in the 1930s. For the purposes of this dissertation, a brief discussion of Barry and the MOMA film library serves to illustrate how the discursive rationales for the museum's program compared and contrasted with other early U.S. endeavors.

A notoriously smart and opinionated author who strove to put her words into action, Barry wrote passionately about film as contemporary art form and of the importance of national cinemas and native film culture to a country's growth and development.[29] In 1926, only one year after the establishment of the Film Society in

London, Barry published her first book of film criticism and thought. Entitled *Let's Go to the Pictures*, Barry's work reflected the various aspirations she held for cinema audiences, critics and producers. Barry strove to strengthen cinema's reputation, particularly within the higher echelons of British society – an effort that would prove acutely relevant to the future accolades and critiques she would receive through her work at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York. Key strategies she and other members of London's film society employed were to establish rules, and hierarchies, and to encourage selectivity and expertise to appeal to cultural elites. "Critics arise," Barry wrote, "invent terms, lay down canons, derive from your categories, heap up nonsense with sense, when you have done, the cinemas will still be open and we can all flock in as proudly as we do now to the theatre and the opera, which indeed it is regarded as meritorious and noble to support."[30]

When Barry's book was printed in the United States, the publishers carefully altered the title from *Let's Go to the Pictures* to *Let's Go to the Movies*. Such a change underscored Barry's personal view that a nation's cinema, like its vernacular, was unique. In chapter thirteen, "Speaking of International…," Barry attempted to better define "the national character of films:"

> We are always being told that the cinema is international: like music or eggs. It is true that films are no respecters of frontiers. You may see Harold Lloyd in Pekin, Sydney, Salzburg, Paris of South America; Emil Jannings in Tokio or Atlanta. But films are not international. There is no mistaking an English film for an American one, or an American film for a German, and Swedish films are easily detectable, though few and far between. Shall I say that American films are slick and speedy, English films pedestrian, German films ponderous, Swedish films severe, French films blustering?[31]

Barry's view of American movies, i.e., Hollywood films, was quite complicated, particularly as she was largely responsible for selecting the titles for MOMA's first film collection upon joining the Museum in 1932.

In actual fact, MOMA's founding director, Alfred Barr, had originally planned for films to be a component of the Museum when it opened in 1929. Although the Board of Directors rejected his initial request, film remained an important component of the museum's long term strategy when Barry joined the museum as its first librarian. Within the first two years of her arrival at the museum, Barry and her husband John Abbott, who became the director of the film library, were working on the logistics of creating a film department for MOMA. Abbott and Barry made several trips to Hollywood, now well chronicled, to develop contacts with major producers and stars, replete with dinners at Pickfair and meetings with studio executives.

In a 1946 article for *Hollywood Quarterly*, Barry noted that Hollywood-based motion picture companies prioritized films already in production and worked strenuously to ensure the development of future projects, rather than focusing care upon their older product. Additionally, the critic-cum-archivist emphasized that "nothing [had] ever been done by the industry itself to make it possible to <u>see</u> the screen classics of the past."[32] Barry's desire to obtain prints of older Hollywood material, an acute interest shared by all film collectors and early archivists of this period, reflects the significant emphasis upon *access* as imperative. Preserving older motion pictures was not the only goal for the majority of early film archivists, many of whom had been actively involved in (or even had been founders of) the film societies in their individual communities. Indeed, for many of the first generation archivists and/or collectors, success might consist purely in obtaining access prints with which to share to similarly minded fans, the general public, and young scholars.

Although a formal, quasi-national Film Society, like that in the U.K., failed to materialize in the United States, the country did experience a developing cinema club culture in cities and towns across the nation throughout the 1920s. As in Europe, those individuals most actively involved in these groups became familiar names by producing the first generation of film studies in the United States.[33] What is less known about these men – and, outside of the lone, celebrated figure of the British born Iris Barry, they were primarily men – is that they also actively participated in the creation of the country's emerging film archives. Individuals such as Theodore Huff, Lewis Jacobs and Vachel Lindsay wrote passionately on behalf of film as art and history and offered screenings of both popular and esoteric titles in museums and schools across the country. These actions assumed even greater significance with the arrival of sound in 1927, an event that ushered in an era redefining what constituted "old" or "ephemeral" films.

Even prior to the talkie revolution of the late twenties, motion picture industry trade journals, especially those that focused upon the role of the exhibitor, began noting the interest in repertory programming by individuals and other civic organizations – both commercial and non-commercial. Exhibitors around the country shrewdly noted the lucrative nature of such endeavors:

> A number of successful pictures of the past were brought back for the week's program. We are informed that the business of the week exceeded substantially recent averages…Another fact in this connection which is of pertinent interest to the exhibitor is that the program of old subjects afforded the house management a substantial saving over the cost of even a mediocre subject of recent production[34]

Moreover, habitual and successful film screenings in non-commercial venues attracted the attention of theatre owners across the nation during the first half of the twentieth century. In both urban and rural communities, movies, frequently shown in

town halls, churches, and other civic centers, attracted significant industry attention throughout the 1920s. For example, the independent Community Motion Picture Bureau (CMPB) garnered tremendous success in programming "quality" or "family" series for churches and social groups for decades in the post-World War I era.35 By the early 1920s, the CPMB ran a minimum of fourteen motion picture exchanges and maintained a center at the popular and influential Chautauqua Institute in New York.[36]

World War I contributed greatly to CPMB's achievement (and financial windfall) during this period as the company assumed responsibility for entertaining the millions of servicemen and women in the United States and abroad.[37] This lucrative endeavor would not be lost on those participating in the booming motion picture business of the post-war era. Within his very first weeks spent in the MPPDA offices in New York, Will Hays received numerous letters and telegrams from his member companies registering concern over the growing interest and success of non-"legitimate" motion picture venues, e.g., non-MPPDA member organizations.

In mid-April, 1922, S. R. Kent, General Manager, Distribution for Famous Players-Lasky, sent a tersely worded letter to the MPPDA. In it, he specifically addressed the American Foreign Legion's interest (and initial success) in establishing a formal film distribution and exhibition network throughout the country. Asking for Hays' advice and assistance, Mr. Kent acknowledged that the Legion's work was one of many such instances "so far reaching in its consequences that it ceases to be a one organization proposition."[38] This exchange provides just one example of many. In general, when groups approached individual MPPDA members for assistance and permission for public screenings, distribution employees of the major studios expressed annoyance and worry. These non-commercial venues required enormous effort that far exceeded the companies' interests. In the business world, these studios representatives

explained, general civic interest in film appreciation was welcomed, but simply proved too difficult, unwieldy, and expensive.

When the independent distribution and exhibition networks in the U.S. continued to encroach upon the increasingly corporate theatre chains during the interwar period, the "majors" loudly announced their presence and perspective:

> To show entertainment pictures – the sort we see in the motion picture theatre – either free or at a low price or at whatever price, in school or church, is to set up an altogether unfair, unjust and uneconomic competition to the theatre owner whose livelihood comes from the showing of pictures, who has a large investment in his property, his building, his music and his film rentals, and who pays extra-high taxes, insurance rates and the like from all of which the churches and schools are free39

The words of the above speech made to the Philadelphia Women's City Club in 1925 contained a very clear message from MPPDA president Will Hays to non-commercial venues across the country and globe. Although the MPPDA generally supported the educational use of films, specific and direct competition to industry efforts in this arena would be fought.

With the increasingly entrenched vertical integration on the part of the major film studios, however, new and alternative sources emerged to sponsor and develop educational opportunities to analyze and discuss motion pictures. Philanthropies, such as the Carnegie or Rockefeller Foundations, played a central role in developing film libraries and archival collections in the first half of the twentieth century. According to Professor William Buxton of Montreal's Concordia University, the MOMA film library served as one of the Rockefeller Foundation's (RF) most preferred charities that received $338,730 from the Foundation in the years between 1934 and 1954.[40]

The amount of money tagged for Barry and Abbott's foundling organization comprised a significant percentage of the total amount given to film related activities during this period. RF historians posit that the Foundation's approach to film and education differed from the work of other foundations, including the well known Payne studies and its investigation of the purported effects of film and other media on American children. Instead, the Rockefeller Foundation looked to the United Kingdom and the work of London's Film Society and the British Film Institute for inspiration and influence. Moreover, Iris Barry's close affiliation with the Film Society contributed to the Foundation's aspiration to help create "something along the same lines…under the auspices of the Film Library." [41] These trans-Atlantic links between New York and London played a critical and markedly influential role in the development of the film library at MOMA and in the American film preservation movement at large.

When Barry and Abbott began initiating plans for the MOMA film library in 1931, they conferred with a variety of American cultural groups as well as with more established film institutes and collections around the globe. Although the couple's trips to Hollywood and countries such as the Soviet Union, Germany and Sweden have been well documented, less known were the hundreds of letters sent to educational and government organizations in the United States.[42] Iris Barry and the museum's staff, often critiqued for their European biases, actively communicated with an eclectic array of American associations, if only to announce their emerging plans. Abbott and Barry consulted, early on, with the key intellectual institutions in the U.S. such as the National Board of Review, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Department of Agriculture, and the brand new National Archives in Washington, D.C.[43]

The Rockefeller Foundation's financial support of this early research and work by the Museum of Modern Art's film library was understandable in large part due to

MOMA's educational mission, its New York City base, and its influential Board of Trustees, which included Abby Rockefeller. But the RF's assistance in the promulgation of the motion picture collection at the federal level – specifically at the Library of Congress, contemporary keeper of "America's Treasures" – remains relatively unknown.[44] In fact, RF funds, teamed with the leadership of Iris Barry and her film library staff, substantially furthered the work of the Library of Congress' nascent film department and its influential Librarian, Archibald MacLeish, a noted poet, intellectual and, not insignificantly, MOMA trustee. Important changes were occurring at the Library of Congress, in the executive branch of the U.S. government and throughout the world that facilitated the collaboration between the Museum of Modern Art and the federal government during the late 1930s. In the years following the 1938 opening of the National Archives, a proactive agenda for a Washington based film library program emerged, albeit in the shadow of its more glamorous New York neighbor.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, F.D.R., AND WORLD WAR II

> *In all civilized nations of Europe there are national libraries….In a country of such general intelligence as this, the Congressional or National library of the United States [should] become the great repository of the literature of the world.*
>
> Washington D.C.'s National Intelligencer, July 15, 1815[45]

The Library of Congress was created to serve the U.S. members of the Senate and House of Representatives, advising and responding to Congressional requests since the early nineteenth century. In its departure, following the occupation of the District of Columbia during the War of 1812, the British army significantly and purposefully burned the Capitol building, the White House, and the young Library of Congress (LOC) as a

message to the former colonies. The U.S. government's response to the loss of the LOC reference collection illustrates the complicated and somewhat contradictory path offered to the Library from that point forward. Although the original 1800 legislation creating the LOC gave the institution a fairly narrow mandate to supply literature for which the members of Congress might have need, the government's purchase of former President Thomas Jefferson's personal library widened the range of intellectual subjects covered.

The importance of this early episode in the LOC's history is significant in the eventual creation of a federal film preservation program for two key reasons. On both ideological and pragmatic levels, Jefferson's belief in an all encompassing view of knowledge and education helped establish the broad acquisition policy for Library practice that would eventually justify the collection of motion pictures in the twentieth century. Secondly, the government's concerted attempt to begin structuring a national collection, rather than merely rebuild a more narrowly focused Congressional research library, demonstrates the expansion of a cultivated "American" culture. According to Library of Congress historian John Cole, "many Americans, aware of the cultural dependence of the United States on Europe, were anxious that their country establish its own traditions and institutions."[46]

President Andrew Johnson appointed an influential former journalist from Ohio by the name of Ainsworth Spofford as Librarian of Congress. Influenced by the flourishing European libraries of Paris and London, Spofford fervently believed in the idea of a national library and his leadership resulted in one of the most crucial decisions for the country's future film collection. Spofford and other key leaders of the period convinced Congress to move the U.S. copyright office to the Library. The 1870 copyright act that stipulated that copies of any protected work were to be placed with the Library on Capitol Hill proceeded to increase and develop the LOC collections. The

films first registered for copyright at the turn of the twentieth century (a.k.a. the "paper prints") represent one of the most important collections in motion picture history.[47] The so-called "rediscovery" of these films, and their subsequent restorations, embodies one of the most apocryphal tales of the film preservation movement over the last fifty years. Several articles have been written about the collection's preservation, but very few histories exist detailing the emergence and development of the motion picture department which holds custody over them.[48]

Although the copyright office's placement in the Library had ensured the donation of early films into its collection, the inflammability of the medium, the dearth of human and economic resources in the institution, and the passage of a 1909 copyright amendment resulted in the return of the majority of films produced from 1912 through 1941 to their creators.[49] Furthermore, the presidential appointments of a number of relatively conservative (or, at least, book-centric) Librarians guaranteed that films would not be made a particular priority. The Great Depression and the subsequent election of Franklin Delanor Roosevelt, however, prompted a number of changes for the Library's interest in the motion picture.

F.D.R.'s New Deal program, the quasi-welfare state policy designed to stimulate the economy during the 1930s, contributed to the expansion of the federal branch of government, generally, and stimulated change in Library practice, specifically. The president's impact was primarily through his nomination of the Librarian: the poet, public intellectual, but non-librarian, Archibald MacLeish. Well educated at elite East Coast boarding schools and Yale, MacLeish served in World War I and, following his graduation from Harvard Law School, joined the celebrated American expatriate community of Paris in the 1920s. Returning to the U.S. as a published and highly

regarded poet, MacLeish wrote for a variety of magazines and, eventually became involved in politics as a speech writer for the man that would nominate him as Librarian.

In a 1939 letter to President Roosevelt, newly appointed Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote of his profound admiration for Mr. MacLeish and offered several key points as to why MacLeish presented an excellent choice for the position of Librarian of Congress. In talking about the selection, Frankfurter further illustrated the era's interest in both emulating and creating anew European trends and indicated the growing importance that media held in cultural life:

> But in the educational influence of our democracy two new media are already competing for primacy with the printed page – the radio and the movie. In both of these educative forms Archie has been a pioneer….With television entering the phase of practicality, the Government, through the Federal Communications Commission will be presented with the most subtle and difficult problems pertaining to the movie industry.[50]

Frankfurter's focus upon media in his letter acknowledged the President's keen interest in the power (and pleasure) of radio and film. A lifelong movie fan, President Roosevelt can be viewed as the nation's first media savvy commander-in-chief, one who utilized radio and cinema to his advantage via campaign coverage and his famous and influential fireside chats. F.D.R. watched countless films at the White House and even brought prints starring his favorite actress, Myrna Loy, on board when he and Winston Churchill convened at sea for the Atlantic Charter Conference.[51] The President enlisted Hollywood actors in a variety of political events even before the declaration of war in 1942. Perhaps most importantly, Roosevelt continually reviewed and debated the use of film as propaganda tool and influential mass media, particularly in monitoring film's role amidst the emerging political climate in Hitler's Germany. Thus, the president's

commitment to ensuring the study and protection of films in the Library of Congress and National Archives would only escalate after Pearl Harbor.

Archibald MacLeish served as a logical choice to lead the Library during an expanding and challenging transition period in which media would play a central role. MacLeish unequivocally supported the president and his New Deal policies that served to enlarge the role of the federal government in the nation's economic, cultural, and political life. Furthermore, MacLeish's experience in film and radio production, combined with his appointment as a member of MOMA's Board of Trustees in 1940, provided him with an excellent background and knowledge of contemporary cinematic trends in the archival/museum communities. Letters, telegrams, and memos between MacLeish and Alfred H. Barr, MOMA's founding director, in respect to film collections at both institutions represent a significant portion of MacLeish's personal papers held at the Library.[52]

Biographies of MacLeish reveal that the poet-cum-social activist received scathing critiques from both the left and right of American political thought. At the same time that liberals denounced him as a fascist, MacLeish is credited for causing J. Parnell Thomas to invent (or at least publicly utilize) the term "fellow traveler" when nominated by F.D.R. as Librarian in 1939.[53] When appointed to the MOMA Board of Trustees in 1940, MacLeish immediately involved himself in the left-leaning Museum politics as well. At the same time, MacLeish began receiving numbers of letters from infuriated MOMA staff members (some recently fired by Barry and Abbott) in reference to the increasingly political atmosphere at the museum and its foundling film library.

Theodore Huff and Seymour Stern, mentioned earlier in this chapter as important (indeed, celebrated) players in the evolution of the U.S. film society and study movement, collaborated with other film fans collectors to write impassioned appeals to

the Librarian. Such letters help illustrate the potential difficulties experienced by MacLeish in balancing his positions as both public official and MOMA Board member:

> The Library has attempted to create its own authoritarian tradition – to set up new standards which will be those of the Film Library and will make the Film Library the sole authority in the field of the films. Its circulation of programs throughout the country plays an important role in this effort – a dictatorial effort to suppress any criticism other than the official dogma, and to impose its own idea of 'film art' upon the public.[54]

Although MacLeish responded to these complaints in a brusque but diplomatic fashion, the letters merit attention due to their alternative view of MOMA's work and achievements during this period.[55] Routinely lauded in contemporary film scholarship, Barry accrued a significant amount of criticism as a result of her tenure at the museum. Barry's "uninformed obtuseness and arrogantly dogmatic doctrines," her detractors claimed in a scathing 1945 article, was largely due to her British and intellectual elitism – a context from which she made "little time to understand or salvage many important aspects of the American motion picture."[56]

Throughout the 1940s, Stern and Huff who by 1947 had begun teaching film production and history at New York University, communicated regularly in reference to the emerging film program at the LOC and of MOMA's involvement in it.[57] Huff continually denigrated the work of Iris Barry and the MOMA film library; furiously noted several times that "IB <u>was</u> the FL" [emphasis in original]; and gleefully boasted that the growing LOC film collection would cause the MOMA to be "nothing but a distributor for British Documentaries!"[58] Without wanting to overstate the importance or impact of such individuals, many of whom were avid film fans and collectors virtually obsessed with their subject, these exchanges reveal the overt sexism, extreme competitiveness, and cross-cultural distrust that embodied a significant component of

early film preservation efforts. This complicated dynamic, and the remnants of it that exist in the field today, are far too often glossed over in the panglossian, celebratory histories of the movement.

The dramatically worded exchanges seemed to have little effect on the professional relationships between the MOMA and LOC leadership. Barry, MacLeish, Barr and others at both institutions shared basic cultural proclivities and a penchant for admiring the European, or at least British, approach in gathering and protecting national "treasures." In late July, 1941, MacLeish launched a new era for federal film collection in a confidential letter to MOMA's Barr in which he broached how he might change the LOC's film acquisition policy – a scheme that would undoubtedly ruffle Congressional and Hollywood leadership.

What proves most pertinent in retrospect is MacLeish's underlying rationale for proactively building a motion picture library at the LOC. Unlike the MOMA or other museums initiating art or historical programs across the country, the LOC's mandate to update its motion picture copyright deposit program, as defined by MacLeish, was for "obvious reasons connected with the present emergency," e.g., the increasing possibility of American involvement in the European and Pacific conflicts.[59] MacLeish agreed with President Roosevelt that images, and in particular, motion pictures, were of critical importance in propaganda and national defense efforts. Significantly, MacLeish jointly held leadership positions as Librarian of Congress and as director of the Office of Facts and Figures, the department that would become the Office of War Information in 1942. According to longtime LOC film archivist and historian, Paul Spehr, MacLeish agitated early on for American participation in the war and viewed a Library of Congress film collection as "a research, training and study source for the military and federal government agencies."[60]

The Librarian's funding request, sent to the Rockefeller Foundation in mid-December, 1941, put forth the initial plan. Before the Library could launch a complete film collection and preservation program, MacLeish believed a "trial period" of three years to be necessary, with the MOMA staff the logical source for guiding and informing the project. In his letter, MacLeish explicated the rationale for his interest: "It is clearly in the national interest to see to it that the most important portion of such indispensable source materials is not lost to us and to those who come after us."[61] The emphasis placed upon the program for both contemporary audiences as well as for future generations bears noting because of the MOMA and LOC's profound interest in showing films to audiences, not just preserving them for posterity. As discussed earlier in this chapter, vertical integration, firmly in place by the 1940s, guaranteed the interest of major motion picture producers in LOC/MOMA plans.[62]

Moreover, a more detailed version of the LOC/MOMA national film collection proposal, originally drafted for the Carnegie Foundation, reveals the significance placed upon the value of exhibiting films:

> The importance and value of preserving motion pictures under such circumstances that they may be permanently accessible for examination and study at least by historians, sociologists, government administrators or agents and research students generally has been urgently recognized of late years. Although the producers of films do preserve the negatives of motion pictures, it has not been their practice to preserve prints….Considerable if not insurmountable difficulties and expenses are usually entailed in any attempt to obtain prints from these film-owners even for the most socially useful purposes.[63]

The few moving image archiving histories in existence have focused upon the work of early, non-commercial film archivists during the 1930s in elevating film from its perceived role as ephemeral, commercial product to the more prestigious status of "art"

or "history." Greater emphasis upon the interests of these people and organizations in creating formal mechanisms for increased access to older film material reveals an important and more complicated context to early archival endeavor. Since the early 1920s, motion picture producers, trade associations, and government officials agreed that film deserved a place in archives, there to remain preserved/enshrined for the vaguely termed "future generations." Exhibition of these films was a far trickier proposition, fraught with inherent conflicts of interest. Wartime, however, offered archivists an additional rationale for obtaining and studying films both privately and publicly produced. Newsreels and feature films piqued the interest of MacLeish and his teams at both the LOC and the Office of War Information. Conveniently, these organizations could work together on behalf of "preserving" the nation's film product in the early 1940s.

Even before the RF's agreement to fund the project in 1942, the Library staff consulted with attorneys and initiated drafts to motion picture producers informing them of the LOC's intent to update the copyright requirements and renew requests for film print deposits. By mid-February, the copyright office had met with industry representatives in Washington and, subsequently, sent letters all over the country announcing that: "effective February 1, all depository films will be retained by the Library, subject to return to the depositors only if they are found, after screening, to be undesired for permanent retention."[64] Although the logistics and specific wordings of the new copyright agreement occurred several months later, the cooperation of both Hollywood and independent film producers had come readily. When, in April, 1942, the formal agreement between MOMA and the LOC was signed, the majority of motion picture producers assisted in a smooth launching of the program the following month. Iris Barry and her staff in the film library began viewing feature films and newsreels in

New York, in screening rooms at the museum and at private/studio facilities around town, with discerning eyes (and hundreds of pages of reports) for the Library and additional federal agencies including the Office of Facts and Figures and the Office of Inter-American Affairs. The MOMA film library easily acquired a number of important government contracts throughout the war – a situation fraught with ethical conflict due to the substantial war roles assumed by the museum's board of trustees and executives.[65]

Although Iris Barry offered the first draft of selection criteria for the Library of Congress national film collection project, MacLeish quickly entered the debate, sought advice and insight from his colleagues at the Library and with fellow intellectuals, authors and critics such as Robert Penn Warren, James Agee, and Terry Ramsaye. In the 1943 annual Library report, in which the first detailed discussion of the new LOC film program was presented to Congress, MacLeish first addressed the film collection most specifically related to the war. The Office of Alien Property (OAP), managed by Senator Harry S Truman, had deposited thousands of reels of captured German and Japanese produced films with the LOC. This collection would grow exponentially during the war and create substantial storage, preservation, and distribution problems that will be discussed more fully in Chapter Three.

MacLeish's reference to the OAP films and to the importance of collecting the "likenesses of the statesmen who are shaping national policy…including the portraits of more than 300 Members of Congress," illustrated the Librarian's political savvy in convincing the federal body of the importance of national film collection. Public statements about the plans for the collection stressed MacLeish's all-encompassing, generalist approach. The Librarian repeatedly clarified that the national collection would not be one of the year's "best" films. Rather, he hoped that they would choose "those films which [contained]…the most truthful and revealing information as to the life of the

period, the interests of the period, the taste of the period, and the picture of themselves which the people of the period accepted."[66]

The Librarian's broad rhetoric mirrored that of earlier attempts by Will Hays and Presidents Coolidge and Hoover to embrace support of a universalist approach to film preservation – saving American films for the benefit of the American public and the nation's scholars. Whereas at the Museum of Modern Art, internal discussions and debate had focused the collection to align itself more with the museum's overall mandate. In fact, Alfred Barr's initial response to discussions of LOC and MOMA collaboration revealed that the museum director's original concept for the MOMA film collection was most specifically *not* an attempt to create an overarching nationally representative film library: "I seriously question the Museum's acting as a general archives or repository for all films good and bad. The Museum is an art museum concerned with art – and this means quality, discrimination – not wholesale collecting and storing in bulk."[67]

Barr's emphasis upon the qualitative approach to MOMA's collection approach foreshadowed the future clashes between MacLeish and Barry regarding what best constituted an American film library: art, history, news, entertainment and/or propaganda. In fact, throughout the program's duration, Barry and MacLeish continued to debate the criteria for the project, even as they prepared the lists to release to the press. Iris Barry, the witty, opinionated, and acerbic film critic/archivist, well understood and likely supported MacLeish's broad collection mandate. But her biting, often hilarious, opinions peppered her exchanges with the Librarian, especially in the months leading to MacLeish's first announcement of Library held titles in June, 1943.

ARCHIVAL COLLABORATION AND THE TROUBLE WITH *BAMBI*

> *I am against you on For Whom the Bell Tolls…because the film, bad as it was, throws a good deal of light on the state of the American mind during this war. The same thing is true of Random Harvest, which is worth preserving precisely because it was as dreadful as it was…*
>
> Memo from MacLeish to Barry, July 6, 1944[68]

Barry and her staff reviewed over three thousand film reels to create the initial list of films from which the Librarian would select for permanent retention at the LOC. Upon receiving Barry's annotated list in January, 1943, MacLeish somewhat surreptitiously forwarded copies to several illustrious colleagues including James Agee, early film critic at *Time* and *The Nation*, and Leo Rosten, humorist, scholar and author of 1941's *Hollywood: The Movie Colony, the Movie Makers*. The Librarian requested that both of these men review the MOMA team's suggestions and critique them accordingly, particularly as MacLeish admitted to "never get[ting] to the movies these days."[69]

Agee's and Rosten's lively and entertaining responses resulted in MacLeish's challenging and supporting a number of key MOMA selections. In particular, Rosten shared MOMA's contempt for MGM's *A Yank at Eton* and called "monstrous" what Barry had described as of "dubious taste and disconcerting to the English:…an example of an elaborately made and doubtlessly entertaining American film which, however, had unfortunate repercussions abroad and tends to bring this country into contempt."[70] However, Rosten's personal enjoyment of *Bambi* ("a swell Disney") embroiled the Librarian in a battle with the formidable critic turned archivist, Iris Barry.

MacLeish's handwritten comments indicated an often terse, irritable reaction to Barry's and her staff's well-annotated, but subjectively-worded, selections. In mid-May,

1943, MacLeish wrote a strongly worded letter to Miss Barry in which he requested that she and her team reevaluate a number of her proposed films. In it, MacLeish referred to the absence of Rosten's favorite, *Bambi*. One week later, Barry's response indicated that although she and her team had debated the film's inclusion at length, they declared it unworthy.[71] MacLeish's rather vociferous reply (and a promise of a personal visit to New York expressly to discuss the project with Barry) revealed more of his professional frustration with MOMA's general approach, than a personal attachment to Disney's deer: "I think we still have a good deal to clear up. For example,…[your staff's decision in reference to *Bambi* indicates that they] rather missed the point…Not having seen *Bambi* myself, I have no idea of its value as a film. I am, however, fairly certain that its acceptance, and the currency of its symbols meet precisely the requirements" as put forth.

In a handwritten response to MacLeish that was likely never sent, Barry angrily wrote: "reviewers still unwilling [unable to agree is lined through] to recommend *Bambi* despite delightful skating episode in it and despite our admiration for Disney's work. But why don't you speak for yourself Librarian and request it anyway…"[72] In the end, MacLeish acquiesced to the preferences of MOMA's film library staff (who the Librarian privately referred to as "the gals at the Museum of Modern Art") and declared: "You win on *Bambi*. I am sorry to have been the occasion of your seeing the film. At least you have put my mind to rest as well as your own."[73]

The *Bambi* debate provides only one example of many discussions during the sometimes contentious but generally smooth three year working relationship between the MOMA film library and the nascent Motion Picture Department at the Library of Congress, granted official status in 1943. The dispute over the popular animated film illustrates the complicated discourse surrounding the early notions of what moving images merited preservation and what individuals and organizations were ultimately

responsible for making these decisions. The national film collection project with MOMA, however, was just one of several priorities laid down by MacLeish in his attempt to build a federal film program. The Librarian, made well aware of the turn of the century paper prints moldering "still in the South Cellar" by his staff, aspired to transfer these images to film.[74] Furthermore, MacLeish intended to build a substantial collection of films from the years that the Library had been returning celluloid prints, 1912-1942.

Armed with such ambitious plans, MacLeish and the new Motion Picture Division staff encountered one central and immediate problem: a serious lack of space for the millions of feet of film coming into the collection. The Librarian turned to the newly appointed Archivist of the United States, Solon J. Buck, currently overseeing the institution's move into the agency's new film-equipped building. In fact, MacLeish's annual report to Congress for 1943 took great pains to note the collaborative work between the two federal branches in reference to their plans for collecting and preserving motion pictures for the nation.

What the Librarian reported was that the new Archives structure, so heralded by Will Hays and other industry leaders in the 1920s and 1930s, proved less amenable to the challenges of storing films than originally planned. Nitrate film's flammable nature, combined with the sheer volume of motion pictures produced by the government and the thousands acquired by the Office of Alien Property, contributed to a situation bordering on bureaucratic pandemonium. MacLeish presented to Congress a request that he and the Archivist had already broached with President Roosevelt years earlier: "a facility, serving the various agencies of government concerned in the preservation of motion pictures, would…provide housing for a great national collection."[75]

Beginning in March, 1943, MacLeish and Buck regularly discussed plans relating to motion picture acquisition and storage on behalf of the nation's growing collection – estimated at the time to be millions of feet, even before counting the material generated since Pearl Harbor. Undoubtedly, the exponential growth in film material due to the war itself accelerated these discussions and support for them by members of the government's executive branch. By July, the Librarian drafted a letter to the President indicating that a building geared specifically to motion picture conservation represented a particular initiative for both the Archives and the LOC upon the conclusion of the war.[76] MacLeish's concerted attempt to fuse together the interests of the Library, with its renewed attention to commercial, entertainment films, and the Archives' inherent provenance over government produced material, indicated a well-thought out rationale appealing to F.D.R.'s interest in planning for post-war construction.

The rationale proved an effective and successful one. President Roosevelt responded quickly to MacLeish's initial suggestion and agreed that "housing for films," preferably somewhere "sufficiently deep to give protection from possible future bombing," merited priority status in preparing for the next year's Congressional budget appropriations.[77] In August, the President allocated several thousands of dollars from his emergency fund towards initial studies for the project. Building upon plans he had crafted in as early as 1938, NARA's Division of Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings Chief, John Bradley, served as the key individual charged with the responsibility of drafting early policy documents and requests related to the proposed National Film Library.[78]

Drafts of the initial plan for the National Film Library reveal a broad mandate, similar in many ways to the European archival models established during the 1930s – albeit, with specific acknowledgments of its powerful domestic producers: "nothing in

this Act shall be interpreted as authority to invade or invalidate the creative or authorship prerogative of others."[79] Although Bradley's enthusiasm for a large, sweeping motion picture program likely appealed to MacLeish's personal interest in the project, the Librarian's personal papers indicate his grave concern that such a large appropriation would ever be approved by Congress. MacLeish rightly assumed that the proposed National Film Library would face serious questions as to why its role would not be better served by semi-autonomous or private interests. Plans continued to move forward throughout the wartime period, with additional ideas put forth by the President (who viewed military "locations not too near human habitation" as ideal for the program), MacLeish and Bradley.[80]

With MacLeish's appointment as Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural and Public Affairs in 1944, followed by the death of President Roosevelt in April, 1945, the central figure responsible in pushing forward the National Film Library initiative became John Bradley. After years of planning and complex negotiations, Bradley moved from the National Archives to the Library of Congress where a June, 1945, press release announced the creation of the Motion Picture Project (MPP) and of Bradley as its director. The energetic, but appropriately tempered federal rhetoric proudly claimed that Bradley's appointment illustrated the "continuation of a movement for a national film collection set in motion many years ago by Will Hays, Terry Ramsaye,…and others, and which the Library is now trying to implement.[81]

The press release's careful acknowledgment of the important role played by the major motion picture trade association was mirrored in both the legislation pending before Congress in 1945, and, perhaps most eloquently, in the Librarian's Annual Report on the subject. In it, the Librarian projected that the "national repository proposed by President Roosevelt [would] be realized, a monument to cooperation between the

Government, the motion picture industry, and to the assistance derived from such disinterested groups as the Rockefeller Foundation."[82] In retrospect, the Librarian's word choice alludes to the emotional power of a "monument" to industry, government and foundation collaboration. In the waning days of World War II in which hundreds of thousands had given their lives, and in the months following the death of the nation's president, evoking the idea of monuments to fallen heroes was familiar, effective, and unassailable – at least, temporarily.

CONCLUSION

> *What a heritage to our children and our children's children to pass on down through the ages the voices of our great men and women of this age before it is too late?*
>
> John G. Bradley in a 1935 article, "Our National Archives Building – What Shall We Do With It?"[83]

John Bradley's impassioned plea, published in the *Washington Star* and reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, for Congressional leadership on behalf of the National Archives employed heritage rhetoric evocative of that used by the film preservation movement later in the century. The young archivist's 1935 utilization of the term "heritage" in relation to historical media product, rather than "heritage" as national ideology and/or a general value system, proves significant as it appears to be one of the earliest (and relatively anomalous) examples from this period.

Bradley's view of the importance of privately-produced cultural property as national heritage, collected, preserved, and shared with the public, echoed the influential film archivist rhetoric beginning to emerge out of Europe, and specifically the United Kingdom. But the motion picture's role as art or its importance as historical text, rather

than its status as cultural or national heritage, ultimately remained the reason for preserving films in the pre-Cold War era. Moreover, as demonstrated throughout this chapter, emphasis for leaders in the non-commercial film libraries focused initially upon access to older film material and not primarily preservation. In the years following World War II, this emphasis upon access, particularly the distribution of archival prints, would become a more contentious issue between the federal government and the motion picture studios in the creation of a national film collection.

Several key factors had contributed to the growth of the national film library movement within the U.S. context. Specific federal legislation creating the National Archives rendered official approval for historic preservation, particularly noting the heretofore uncelebrated role for the motion picture as historical artifact. Furthermore, MacLeish's success in enforcing the deposit component of the federal copyright laws ensured the Library of Congress' future bargaining power with the major motion picture producers. Educational endowments, such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the numbers of anonymous private donors, allocated the first rounds of funding and support for the early work of the Museum of Modern Art film library and its collaboration with the LOC national film collection. These organizations provided a critical service to the young film preservation movement that too often remains unknown and misunderstood.

General economic trends and the powerful context of the Great Depression impacted the growth and evolution of national film preservation projects as well. In addition to the obvious import of F.D.R.'s New Deal programs and executive level interest in the nation's motion pictures, the increase in studio profits and the MPPDA's interest in ensuring the industry's economic success engendered both rhetorical and physical support of early film archive plans. Furthermore, World War I and II generated significant amounts of concern over film's potential power upon the masses and, perhaps

most importantly for the foundling national film libraries around the world, guaranteed funding to explore issues related to media, education, and propaganda. The individual men and women involved in the earliest phase of turning personal passion for film into nationally mandated programs were products of this specific era.

As Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish couched his support for a national film collection in both cultural and political rhetoric, espousing his belief that an American motion picture collection at the LOC would assist national defense efforts. Although MacLeish was referring specifically to the approaching wartime conflict, film libraries around the world viewed a national film collection as "defense." For much of Europe and the United Kingdom, support for the creation of national film institutes and general industry subsidies grew out of the perceived need to defend its nation's cultural product against the "Americanizing force of Hollywood cinema." For the United States, the most vitriolic discussions over conserving its motion picture history, and the accompanying legislative protection and celebration of American film heritage, came decades later. U.S. film product became American film heritage not during wartime, an era which featured films as past and future history, but rather when the nation's own motion picture industry was threatened with foreign invasion (i.e., investment) in the waning years of the Cold War.

Notes: Chapter Two

[1] Lynn Fairfield, "Is Time Rotting Our Film Records?" *Motion Picture Classic*, September 1928, 58-59. 58.
[2] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 228.
[3] Alva Johnston, "Films Put on Ice for Fans Yet Unborn," *New York Times* 24 Oct. 1926: SM7.
[4] Stephen Bottomore, "'The sparkling surface of the sea of history' – Notes on the Origins of Film Preservation," *This Film Is DANGEROUS*, eds. Roger Smither and Catherine A. Surowiec (Brussels: FIAF, 2002) 93.

[5] See *The New York Times*, May 10, 1915, pg. 1,5 in which the following is noted: "The German General Staff has organized what is styled the "Film Corps" of the German Army, the members of which are charged with the taking of moving pictures of the German activities both behind and at the firing lines."
[6] S. J. Res. 262 66th Congress, 3rd Session. 24 Feb. 1921. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
[7] "Florida After Film Industry," *The Los Angeles Times* 16 Feb. 1921: 1.
[8] The role of the Postmaster General in the U.S. federal government prior to F.D.R.'s administration merits some attention here. At the time Will Hays served in this position, Postmaster General was one imbued with substantial political patronage. The choice of Hays as MPPDA director indicates the industry's concerted effort to hire someone very politically connected with key players in the relatively small world of 1920s federal government.
[9] Many historians have chronicled the work of the MPPDA and the film industry in their opposition to repeated federal censorship attempts. Books and articles too numerous to detail here have been written on the Production Code Administration's self-regulating mechanisms which Hays had firmly established by the early 1930s. Recently published works on the MPPDA have offered a critical reevaluation of the organization, however. Scholars argue that the formation of the Association and the hiring of Will Hays during the 1920s was not, as it is often claimed, strictly a result of an industry 'panicked' by threats of censorship and star scandal.
[10] Will Hays, *The Memoirs of Will H.Hays* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955) 397.
[11] Ibid. 331.
[12] Letter from Will Hays to Brig. Gen. Herbert M. Lord, 24 April 1924, Planning and Control Case Files, no. 144-143, part 1, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Reprinted in Marjorie Heins Ciarlante, "The Origin of Motion Picture and Sound Recording Policy in the National Archives," unpublished essay, date unknown.
[13] See Ciarlante for more information. The Motion Picture Theater Owners of America, early film historian Terry Ramsaye and other influential players of this period supported the MPPDA's request for a national film collection and published numerous articles on the subject in trade press.
[14] S. 1667 70th Congress, 1st Session. 13 Dec. 1927. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
[15] "Hays Asks Coolidge for Film Archives," *The New York Times* 1 Sept. 1926: 1.
[16] Alva Johnston, "Films Put on Ice for Fans Yet Unborn," *New York Times* 24 Oct. 1926: SM7.
[17] "For and Against the Films," *The New York Times* 9 May 1930: 21.
[18] Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait* (Jefferson: McFarland Publishing, 1992) 26.
[19] Raymond Moley, *The Hays Office* (Cornwall: Cornwall Press, Inc., 1945) 35, 37.
[20] Donald R. McCoy, "The Struggle to Establish a National Archives in the United States," *Guardian of Heritage: Essays on the History of the National Archives*, ed. Timothy Walch (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1985) 6.
[21] Donald R. McCoy, "The Struggle to Establish a National Archives in the United States," *Guardian of Heritage: Essays on the History of the National Archives*, ed. Timothy Walch (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1985) 6-10.
[22] Indeed, by this time, divisions such as the Department of Agriculture, the Treasury Department and, most importantly, the War Department possessed a growing number of films.
[23] See Marjorie Heins Ciarlante, "The Origin of Motion Picture and Sound Recording Policy in the National Archives," unpublished essay, date unknown. 7-8.
[24] *Cong. Rec.* 1934: 12150.
[25] See, for example, *Cong. Rec.* 1934: 12161.
[26] Iris Barry, "The Film Library and How it Grew," *Film Quarterly* 22.4 (1969): 20.
[27] The majority of research on this topic, however, emanates from the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries. U.S. based film scholars such as Janet Staiger and Chris Horak have chronicled the evolution of film societies in the U.S. context – in particular, those based in New York – but these studies focus more on the post-World War II era and the advent of the American avant-garde.
[28] See chapters by James Sexton, Gerry Turvey and Haidee Wasson in Andrew Higson's *Young and Innocent?: The Cinema in Britain, 1896-1930*. Also, see Jen Samson's "The Film Society, 1925-1939" in Charles Barr's *All Our Yesterdays: 90 Years of British Cinema* (1986) and Haidee Wasson's forthcoming publication on Iris Barry and the MOMA Film Library.

[29] Iris Barry, "The Bad Films of Wardour St.," *The Daily Mail* 20 May 1926: 9.
[30] Iris Barry, *Let's Go to the Movies* (New York: Payson & Clarke Ltd., 1926) ix.
[31] Ibid. 239.
[32] Iris Barry, "Why Wait for Posterity?," *Hollywood Quarterly* 1.2 (1946) cited in ed. Eric Smoodin, *Hollywood Quarterly: Film Culture in Postwar America 1945-1957* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002) 243.
[33] For more information on this topic, see Richard Koszarki's discussion of the "Better Films Movement" in *An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915-1928* (1990).
[34] "Revivals," *Exhibitor's Herald* 16: XIV (April 15, 1922), 36.
[35] See Kathryn Fuller's *At the Picture Show: Small-Town Audiences and the Creation of Movie Fan Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).
[36] Kathryn Fuller, *At the Picture Show: Small-Town Audiences and the Creation of Movie Fan Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996) 92. Also, see Wasson's solid overview of the early film library movement in her dissertation on MOMA and Iris Barry.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Letter from S. R. Kent to Will Hays, 22 Apr., 1922, *Will Hays Papers*, eds. Douglas Gomery and Blair Hydrick (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986).
[39] *Exhibitor's Trade Review* 18:1 (May 30, 1925) 11. Reprinted in Kathryn Fuller, *At the Picture Show: Small-Town Audiences and the Creation of Movie Fan Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996) 94-95.
[40] William Buxton, "Rockeller Support for Projects on the Use of Motion Pictures for Educational and Public Purposes, 1935 – 1954," 2001, Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports Online, 16 May 2005 <http://archive.rockefeller.edu/publications/resrep/rronlinemain.php>.
[41] Ibid. For more information on the Rockefeller Foundation and the MOMA, see also David Culbert's article "The Rockefeller Foundation, MOMA's Film Library and Kracauer" in the *Historical Journal of Film and Television* 13:4 (1994): 495-511.
[42] See Haidee Wasson, "Modern Ideas About Old Films: The Museum of Modern Art's Film Library and Film Culture, 1935-39," diss., McGill University, 1998, 197-198, for a more complete listing of international and domestic organizations consulted by the duo.
[43] Ibid.
[44] While conducting my dissertation research at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., banners publicizing the Library's collections as "America's Treasures" were prominently displayed around Capitol Hill's three LOC buildings.
[45] John Y. Cole, "Jefferson's Legacy: A Brief History of the Library," *LC Information Bulletin* 50.7 (1991): 125.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ironically, the drive for protection of corporate assets ensured the survival of the nation's earliest films. In the late nineteenth century, early motion picture producers attempted to foil the rampant theft and pirating of their material through filing for copyright at the Library of Congress. As films were not legally recognized as such, the copyright office printed paper copies of each individual frame of a motion picture – offering copyright protection for these still images as photographs. Several decades later, these paper prints were "rediscovered" and promoted as eloquent illustration for the importance of film preservation.
[48] Doug Herrick's 1980 article entitled "Toward a National Film Gallery: Motion Pictures at the Library of Congress" remains one of the very few works providing an overview and/or attempting to piece together the evolution of the division. The underlying tone of Herrick's otherwise excellent article, however, appears a product of his professional training as librarian and film programmer. Written during the heady era in which the American Film Institute generated massive amounts of publicity in support of film preservation and before the video revolution virtually killed art or repertory movie houses, Herrick's article places a significant amount of blame upon early LOC employees (and upon librarians in general), strongly stating that these individuals and the institutional leadership had "failed the national film collection." Herrick's article relied primarily upon the Annual Reports of the Librarian of Congress for evidence of his concise and well-crafted history. Nearly twenty-five years on, it seems an appropriate time to offer an

alternative chronicle, particularly as increased access to both the division's archives and the personal files of the Librarians themselves now exists.
[49] Although these are the traditional reasons put forth for the copyright office's decision, 1912 memos indicate that a leading motion picture company had successfully lobbied Congress to change the deposit agreement, citing expense and logistical problems.
[50] Letter from Felix Frankfurter to President Franklin Delanor Roosevelt, 11 May 1939, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[51] James Kotsilibas-Davis and Myrna Loy, *Being and Becoming* (New York: Primus, 1987) 179.
[52] See Barr's Mackay Radio Telegram to MacLeish (24 Sept. 1940) inviting the Librarian to the MOMA penthouse for a celebration with Pathe News following the Museum's acquisition of the "entire Pathe news film library from 1910 to 1930," MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[53] See for example, David Barber's article on "MacLeish's Life and Career" for the Modern American Poetry website, <http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/m_r/macleish/life.html>
[54] Letter from Kirk Bond, B.G. Braver-Mann, Theodore Huff, and Seymour Stern to MacLeish, 8 Jul. 1940, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[55] In an October 16, 1940 letter to the Librarian, Seymour Stern denounces the MOMA film library staff as "Communihilists," defining this term as particularly appropriate as "the major cultural orientation of our time…utopian, urban materialism." MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[56] Herb Sterne, "Iris Barry: Attila of the Films," *Rob Wagner's Script* 14 April 1945. 14-15.
[57] For more information of Theodore Huff, see Chuck Kleinhaus, "Theodore Huff: Historian and Filmmaker," *Lovers of Cinema: The First American Film Avant-Garde*, 1919-45, ed. Jan-Christopher Horak (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995) 180-204.
[58] Letter from Theodore Huff to Seymour Stern, November 27, 1942, film historian Buckey Grimm's private collection, Mt. Airy, MD. It is also interesting to note that between Huff's personal vendetta against Miss Barry, interesting facts emerge referencing the evolution of film history's traditional narrative: "The biggest news is that we finally located "Adventures of Dollie"!!! Although 500 or more Biographs, we hadn't come across this yet…Still more exciting (for reasons to come) was the discovery of Porter's "Life of an American Fireman". This is the "lost" film as you know on which Jacobs and Barry predicate their contention that Porter discovered the flashback. Well, I went thru the entire film by hand, frame by frame. There are no flashbacks!...remember all this is still confidential. Especially nothing should be written at this point. I have told you because my part in this will probably never be known – except when and if the final history is written. But I have achieved the things I wanted to do: saved early film and started the ball rolling that will put IB out of business…[In reference to an MGM film short about the MOMA film library] Usual blah about documentary and how the FL and IB discovered and sponsored them…Well, you might turn it to your own use. After all, she can't be wrong about everything – she has some brains…she said there were those at the MMA (meaning only herself of course) who were better able to judge trends, etc. than any one [sic] too close in the industry or elsewhere. In a Tribune Sunday article she was billed as "the omniscient source of all film wisdom"!!! I would like to see her face when the NEWS breaks." Letter from Huff to Stern, March 3, 1943, Buckey Grimm's private collection.
[59] Letter from MacLeish to Abbott, 28 July 1941, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[60] Paul Spehr, "It Was 50 Years Ago This Month: Motion Picture Division Celebrates Its Golden Anniversary," *Library of Congress Information Bulletin* 20 April 1992: 170.
[61] Letter from Luther Evans for Archibald MacLeish to Dr. David H. Stevens, Director of the Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation, 17 Dec. 1941, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[62] Interest in the burgeoning distribution programs sponsored by the MOMA film library was not reserved for the major studios, however. D.W. Griffith sent MacLeish letters regarding a potential lawsuit the director planned to file in 1941 against MOMA. His allegations, subsequently refuted by the museum, focused upon his claim that the Film Library had exploited/screened his films for commercial gain during

the 1930s and 40s. See MOMA minutes from this period and Letter from John Hay Whitney to MacLeish, 5 June 1941, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[63] Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[64] A memo from MacLeish to Abbot revealed that the motion picture companies, while generous and helpful toward the project, requested that their donation of film prints would follow the end of their first-run engagements. 17 Feb. 1941, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[65] Nelson Rockefeller, President of MOMA since 1939, was made the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In turn, Rockefeller created a motion picture division within the new agency and appointed John Hay Whitney as its director. Whitney, at this time, served as president of the MOMA's film library. These relationships, in addition to MacLeish's role in the OWI and Library ensured MOMA's central position to negotiate key media related government contracts during the war.
[66] Memo from MacLeish to Barry, 28 Feb. 1943, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C. Barry's handwritten comments next to MacLeish's outlined selection policy noted her general response – both negative and positive – to his ideas.
[67] Letter from Barr to Abbott, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[68] Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[69] Letter from MacLeish to Agee, 6 Feb. 1943, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. In all exchanges with his friends and colleagues, MacLeish clearly asked for the utmost in confidentiality.
[70] Letter from Rosten to MacLeish, 16 Feb. 1943, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[71] Letter from Barry to MacLeish, 20 May 1943, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[72] Undated telegram draft, Barry to MacLeish, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C. Barry's eventual response on May 27th was a bit more gracious, acknowledging that she and her reviewers had just seen the film and felt that "it really is rather artificial and pretty-pretty, except for a few charming inventions such as the skating sequence and the skunks." Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[73] Letter from MacLeish to Agee, 22 Sept. 1944, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C and letter from MacLeish to Barry, 31 May 1943, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, MBRS Division, Washington, D.C.
[74] Memo to MacLeish, 17 Nov. 1941, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[75] *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress*, GPO: Washington, D.C., 1943. 38.
[76] Letter from MacLeish to F.D.R., 14 July 1943, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[77] Letter from F.D.R. to MacLeish, 16 July 1943, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[78]Although the tentative, somewhat informal, division between the responsibilities of the National Archives and the LOC proved an acceptable enough arrangement with which to move forward with budget and logistical planning, the confusion over what films "belonged" with what agency would continue to plague the organizations through the years immediately following the war.
[79] Memo from John Bradley to Solon Buck, 9 Sept. 1943, Motion Picture Division Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[80] Memo from F.D.R. to MacLeish, 1 June 1944, MacLeish Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.
[81] Library of Congress, Information and Publications Office, No. 271, 22 July 1945, Washington, D.C.
[82] *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress*, GPO: Washington, D.C., 30 June 1945. 35.
[83] *Cong. Rec.* 1934. 12184-12185.

Chapter Three

Saving "American" Film Heritage: Justifications for a National Movement

Grass grows…mothers sigh, people sing in Baghdad as they do in Kalamazoo. Tolerance bred from the moving image leads to understanding, understanding leads to peace. It appears that we are on the threshold of a new renaissance. Films have great impact on national thinking and national conduct.

LOC Motion Picture Project Director, John Bradley, 1946[1]

INTRODUCTION

In the immediate post-World War II era, the Library of Congress' Motion Picture Project (MPP) appeared successful in uniting participants and clarifying the mission of the national film library movement. For nearly fifty years, collectors, critics, and the country's major industry trade association had agitated for a U.S. film collection. The growing federal bureaucracy of the 1940s seemingly approved of the idea, agreeing that motion pictures – films produced by government agencies as well as private corporations – served as a vital component of national repositories. Indeed, the first months of John Bradley's tenure as director of the MPP served as an incredible era of growth and ambition for the foundling program. Within two years, however, the Library of Congress (LOC) agenda had been dismantled by Congress, and motion pictures returned to a less prominent position within the Library for over a decade.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the varying rationales and motivations behind the accelerated federal push to protect U.S. motion picture product during the second half of the twentieth century. Film libraries, collections, or vaults occupied an

increasingly central position both culturally and financially for corporations, for government funded programs or agencies, and within public discourse. Unlike the relatively benign tone underlying early calls to keep films for historical value, late twentieth century pleas for film preservation acquired a quasi-alarmist tone: If action was not taken *immediately*, precious American film treasures would be lost *forever*. Archival discourse adopted European promulgated notions of national heritage to apply to their moving image collections – a more appropriate term with which to evoke the need to protect and preserve important films with equally precious public funding. Throughout this period, the Library of Congress retained its central role in these discussions, transitioning into its contemporary status as film preservation leader and as established keeper of American cinematic heritage.

The structure and practices of the U.S. motion picture industry, itself, experienced significant change in the post-World War II era. An influential 1948 Supreme Court ruling, frequently referred to as the "Paramount Decision," required the studios to divest themselves of their exhibition branches and to revise their distribution practices. Along with the massive success of television and larger socio-cultural and economic trends associated with the baby boom era, the mid to late 1940s insured a new age for moving image producers in which film libraries would increasingly become valuable assets – monetarily and symbolically. Studios' old movies assumed new and lucrative status as television programming and underscored the importance and priority of copyright protection. Moreover, the latter part of the century's concern over foreign, specifically Japanese, takeovers resulted in a new, panicked tone amid American public discourse in which "Hollywood" films assumed even greater representative value as national icons. The 1989 purchase of Columbia Studios by the Japanese techno-conglomerate, Sony,

sparked intensely heated rhetoric on Capitol Hill and in industry trade papers, further inciting national concern over the fate of sacred American film heritage.

Although academic attention to the clashes between "Hollywood" and the federal government has proliferated through analyses of the Paramount Decision and the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of the New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago entertainment industries, there was also substantive and sustained collaboration between motion picture producers and Washington civil servants during the post-war era. Throughout the Cold War period, studio executives, non-profit agencies, academics, critics, and government representatives worked together towards the creation of a new federal program for film preservation that encouraged the nation's citizenry to view Hollywood product as their cinematic heritage. This chapter's look at Warner Bros. illustrates the complicated relationship between studios and public institutions and presents a more holistic depiction of a studio's shifting view, utilization, and discussion of its older film product.

The establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1965 authorized the creation of the American Film Institute (AFI), a significant step towards uniting efforts on behalf of the federal government, educational initiatives, and the Hollywood film industry. The AFI's well publicized repatriation of "lost" American films from across the country and overseas assisted in attracting momentum and attention to an increasingly preservation centered moving image campaign. By the time major directors like Martin Scorsese and Steven Spielberg arrived on Capitol Hill to protest the colorization of older films in the late 1980s, the video age audience was familiar and sympathetic with the celebrity-directors' impassioned appeal: halt the destruction of the country's cinematic treasures (i.e., popular and high profile Hollywood films).

In essence, Chapter Three provides the context surrounding the emergence of the film heritage mantra and movement that arose in the United States during the second half of the twentieth century. By the 1980s, heritage preservation had assumed its contemporary, familiar role in American cultural and intellectual life. Although film preservation was an international idea from the birth of cinema, celebrating the conservation of national film heritage emerged as a relatively recent phenomenon.

THE LOC MOTION PICTURE PROJECT AND THE END OF AN ERA

> *I don't know what this motion picture business is coming to…I share sympathy with the 1914 Librarian of Congress, Dr. Putnam [and his] theory to throw the stuff out and not be bothered with it. I suppose times have changed, and I couldn't get away with it. So, I must capitulate and accept the inevitable – a national library in this field as others.*
>
> Librarian of Congress, Dr. Luther Evans, 1946[2]

By the time the Museum of Modern Art Film Library had completed its three-year contractual obligation with the Library of Congress in April, 1945, Archibald MacLeish had resigned as Librarian to become President Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of State for cultural affairs. Dr. Luther Evans, MacLeish's deputy for several years, assumed the position of Librarian and proceeded to work with John Bradley towards the creation of a substantive national film library and motion picture department at the Library of Congress. By the time peace was declared in August, 1945, the LOC/MOMA Film Library project, several donations of private film collections, and the Office of Alien Property's massive amount of captured German and Japanese material combined in the millions of feet of film housed at the library. At an LOC staff meeting in the spring of 1946, Bradley wryly noted that he and Evans were attempting to keep the "motion picture tail from wagging the library dog," acknowledging a burgeoning LOC concern that the

film program was assuming too prominent a position at the federal institution.[3] The Librarian described their work more bluntly, indicating the more tenuous reality of the young motion picture project, when he stated that "before you know it, you are going to see a motion picture nightmare right here in this auditorium."[4]

Indeed, the Motion Picture Project (MPP), only officially launched in July, 1945, had by early 1946, acquired a staff of seventeen people – six more than the more established Prints and Photographs Division.[5] Furthermore, Bradley worked to increase the scale and power of the MPP in an attempt to create a U.S. version of European film archives/societies. Bradley looked to The British Film Institute, the Swedish Film Archive and the Cinémathèque Française as role models, successfully involving themselves in the collection and study of films and actively distributing, and even producing, films of their own.

Numerous letters and conversations between Bradley and key studio representatives in L.A. indicated studio support for the foundling LOC program. Bradley concertedly wooed industry attention and collaboration, articulating two key reasons why the studios should be interested and involved with the program: "(1) [a national film collection was] a matter of pride on the part of the industry and (2) a profit motivation."[6] From the ambitious MPP Director's perspective, studios would further benefit from the massive amounts of stock footage available via the LOC collection. Bradley had shrewdly witnessed the exchange between the National Archives and the studios during the war that had resulted in the Archives supplying well over 100,000 feet of film for private sector production use. Bradley viewed this public-private exchange as "a service they [the studios] appeared to appreciate greatly…[which offered] a sound economical foundation for mutual effort."[7]

Bradley arranged trips during late 1945 and 1946 to both New York and Los Angeles to meet with the "key men in the industry."[8] Following his trip to New York, Bradley happily noted that Will Hays virtually "bounced with enthusiasm…grabbed the idea between his teeth, and was all for calling a meeting of his board of governors to rededicate the industry to the cause…[saying] 'By God, we will throw our weight behind the [national film library program] anyhow whether through a cooperative movement or through the Copyright Act."[9] In addition, representatives on both coasts further buoyed Bradley's spirits by offering assistance with the LOC film collection and preservation efforts. Studios such as MGM, Universal and Warner Bros. initiated formal policies to donate negatives and prints of selected features and newsreels directly to Bradley's staff.[10]

In addition, Bradley appealed to some of the Library's closest film celebrity contacts, some of whom had become important LOC allies as a result of the Library's interest in their personal motion picture collections. Mary Pickford, William S. Hart and Harold Lloyd were three of the many stars whose films were sought after early on in the motion picture department's history. Indeed, Pickford's collection served as particular interest to Harold Walls, the "Keeper of Collections" and the department's sole, bonafide film-fanatic staff member. In Library memos, Walls indicated that the star/producer had attempted to donate her films to the young National Archives in the early 1940s.[11] The Archives, however, refrained from accepting Pickford's collection, citing their interest in primarily government produced material.

Walls immediately alerted the Librarian Archibald MacLeish of the Archives' decision, passionately articulating the value of Pickford's collection to the Library and to their national endeavor. For the next couple of years, MacLeish attempted to curtail Walls' enthusiastic and emphatic pursuit of Pickford's material, instructing Walls to wait

until adequate storage was prepared before approaching the star/producer herself.[12] With the advent of Bradley's accelerated and ambitious tenure at the LOC, Walls encouraged the MPP director in returning to the project of wooing Miss Pickford and other stars and/or producers who owned their own film product – even if in direct competition with the MOMA film library's similar endeavors.

Bradley's L.A. meeting with Miss Pickford in October, 1946, resulted in the donating of her films to the LOC for permanent retention and preservation. Pickford's negotiations with the LOC offer insight into some unique issues relating to the preservation and exhibition of older films:

> She made only one reservation and that is that the Library not exploit her films publicly; that is, exhibit them for people 'walking in off the sidewalk' as she phrased it. She stated that she had seen people giggling at Valentino's films when they were shown publicly and that she did not want during her lifetime to be compared unfavorably with women who had had the advantage of modern techniques….In fact, she specifically stated that the reason she had not given her film to the Museum of Modern Art Film Library was based upon the factor of public showings.[13]

Pickford's pronounced reservations towards the MOMA Film Library's screening programs serve to illustrate the era's general view that MOMA's interest in older films largely stemmed from its access – or exhibition – centered program. This approach of highlighting the importance of access to the films themselves alongside, or even prioritized over, preservation itself, differed significantly from the preservation centered agenda that would emerge in archival mission statements several decades later, during the 1970s and 1980s.

In addition to meeting with Mary Pickford during his visit to Los Angeles, Bradley discussed the LOC motion picture program with the popular silent comedian,

Harold Lloyd, who also had retained ownership of many of his own starring vehicles. Lloyd agreed to donate his "non-current" films to the Library collection, and more of his two-reelers and features once they were taken out of circulation.[14] Of particular note in this exchange is the idea that several of Lloyd's films remained in some form of active distribution in the 1940s. A savvy businessman, Lloyd and his staff worried that should his film titles become full property of the Library, the star might not have adequate access to the prints for future commercial use. Although he "doubted that there would be very many calls" to utilize the prints, Lloyd's secretary (like Pickford) expressed unease related to potential non-profit oriented exhibition of the star's material.[15]

To appease such concerns, Bradley placed significant emphasis upon the MPP as a research and study centered program, rather than one actively engaged in distribution and exhibition. The motion picture collection at the LOC, Bradley averred, intended to serve future scholars venturing to the Library for research purposes. This educative strategy, most obvious during his discussions with high profile stars, differed from his approach to selling the project to studio executives. In conversations with the Hollywood production companies, Bradley stressed how the LOC film collection policy would benefit each individual company through positive public relations and through LOC reference and stock footage services offered to productions. After constructive meetings with studios, as well as with the Independent Motion Pictures Producers Association, Bradley declared his trip a success.[16] In as early as 1945, some studios registered their keen interest in donating entire libraries of film negatives to the motion picture department.

Working with stars and the studios, however, served as only one (albeit high-profile) component of an increasingly complicated position for Bradley. The MPP director additionally labored to smooth relations with the eclectic array of other federal

departments and agencies involved in film production and distribution. For several decades, and particularly following World War I, several government agencies had actively created and exhibited moving image product. The amount of federal film material, a key factor in discussions surrounding the creation of the National Archives, grew steadily throughout the 1930s and the years during the Second World War. Internal government battles over moving image product proved to be just as delicate, and even more contentious, than Bradley's project discussions with the most notoriously difficult studio moguls.

Beginning in late 1945, the Library initiated meetings with various branches of the federal government including the War Department, the State Department, and the Department of Education to ascertain what films these agencies owned and how the LOC might be able to obtain surplus prints for collection and distribution. Several department heads expressed displeasure with the LOC's questions. For example, the Department of Interior registered consternation over the LOC's growing ambitions. An internal memo to the Librarian explicated Bradley's difficulty with a key Interior Dept. staffer, illustrating the diplomatic nature of inter-government negotiations:

> Mr. Leopold is one of the oldest men in the Government engaged in motion picture work….In brief, he has a sweet job and is over-jealous of his prerogatives and over-fearful of any evidence of invasion. The 'boys' in Government film circles understand this….I might add that there have been several attempts in the past to set up bureaucratic controls over motion picture production and distribution, that they have all been wrecked because of over-ambition, and that Mr. Leopold has contributed no little part in helping to wreck them….[17]

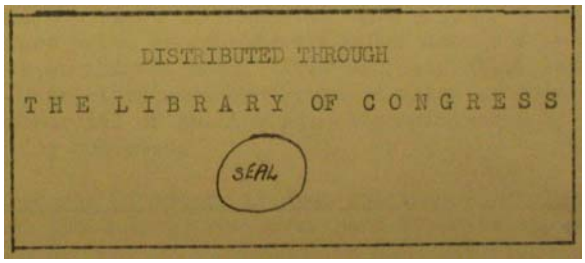
Bradley succeeded in quelling the Department of Interior's agitation, which primarily stemmed from confusion over what the LOC envisioned for its future film production and distribution rights. This exchange proved one of many contretemps between the LOC's

motion picture branch and other government agencies.[18] The Department of Education, for example, indicated that it might be willing to relinquish its own film distributing arm only if another Government agency developed a distributing competence enough to satisfy their needs; Bradley strenuously attempted to do so. In many cases, Bradley found himself in the unenviable situation of negotiating with anxious federal bureaucrats and studio executives at the same time.

During the spring of 1947, the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) wrote to Bradley in reference to the Library's interest in acquiring the OIAA films relating to the federal "Good Neighbor Policy" and produced specifically to "interpret the other American Republics."[19] In discussions regarding many titles such as *Der Fuehrer's Face*, *Chicken Little* and *Education for Death*, concern emerged regarding the films' distribution rights. OIAA noted that the agency retained fairly limited rights and any plan for more extensive distribution would have to be approved by the films' contractor: Walt Disney. Moreover, specifics varied with each individual motion picture, a situation that served to exacerbate bureaucratic red tape. Confusion was most acute with particularly sought after films such as *Saludos Amigos* and *The Three Caballeros* where, as OIAA admitted, their original contract with Disney had been lost.[20]

Clearly, distribution rights occupied a central and important role in the negotiations and efforts of the LOC's young Motion Picture Division. Bradley aspired to create a National Film Library which would actively collect and distribute films throughout the United States. In the spring of 1947, the Library of Congress released a formal press statement announcing the Division's intent to "supplement" existing programs to produce and distribute motion pictures.[21] Although the LOC repeatedly expressed that its program would not conflict with any other program, commercial or otherwise, their actions indicated a truly ambitious and massive undertaking. Bradley

prepared numerous drafts of contract solicitations looking for companies to manufacture and sell new projection prints for LOC distribution. They even began crafting a logo for their own films:



(Library of Congress film distribution logo)

The announcement that the LOC would be assuming the role of a "clearing-house" for government films resulted in over 1,700 letters per month from all over the country looking for particular motion pictures.[22] State libraries, individual citizens, representatives of international governments, and congressional staffers contacted the Division, asking very specific questions and communicating very specific concerns. For an understaffed, brand new department, the onslaught of letters, telegrams, and telephone calls produced an overwhelming task. Furthermore, confusion reigned within the growing federal bureaucracy as to *who* exactly would be handling *what* aspects of distribution with *which* of the millions of films produced.[23]

The LOC distribution plans were not just confusing, but, indeed, "caused a great stir" in the Hollywood and New York offices of the major studios.[24] The LOC's own legal department expressed serious concern over the fact that the release announcing their distribution aspirations appeared premature and somewhat foolhardy: "In issuing this release we did not take the trouble (nor did we see deeply enough into the problem) to

say that we would not violate copyright and that we would not distribute films unless [sic] they were free of restrictions or until such restrictions were waived."[25]

In fact, the Motion Picture Producer's Association had been investigating the problems associated with underlying rights in studio produced government films for several years prior to the LOC's 1947 press statement. In May, 1946, Eric Johnston sent a congenial, but clearly stated, refusal to authorize a federally requested "blanket waiver" regarding copyrighted material in wartime government films. The waiver query, put forth by numerous federal agencies, did offer Johnston an opportunity to address a number of key issues affecting private-public collaboration between the film industry and the U.S. national bureaucracy:

> We know of cases where films, composed chiefly of copyrighted footage provided to the government during the war as a patriotic service, are now being rented and exhibited without any restrictions. I bring this phase of the matter to your attention because obviously it will not be possible to respond favorably to specific requests for further waivers unless the members of our Association can be assured that material supplied their government…is not to be used commercially for the profit of private individuals and groups, contrary to the expressed terms of the grant. Now that the fighting is over, the rights of these contributors of film should be fully protected….[26]

Distribution emerged as an increasingly complicated issue in the immediate post-World War II period, largely due to the rise and success of commercial television in the United States and the impact of the Paramount Decision.[27] At the same time Eric Johnston was politely communicating the motion picture industry's refusal to grant government films a blanket copyright waiver, LOC staffers attended several meetings and lectures by early television executives seeking cheap, government-produced films for broadcast. The assistant to the general manager of NBC discussed the network's desire

to obtain government films with "full commercial rights" and its sincere interest in collaboration with federal agencies.[28]

Working with federal agencies made both pragmatic and financial sense for the young networks as they scrambled to acquire film material for broadcast in the early 1940s. Television executives bemoaned the lack of suitable films to the LOC motion picture staff: [the networks] "Get old Hollywood films from 'junk man' who buys it up for low price, old film that couldn't be shown again anywhere in U.S. and sells [these old films] to television. Television people take it, out and edit it, add commentator, present as a takeoff on old movies, humorous, etc."[29] Indeed, the motion picture division's own "keeper of collections," Howard Walls, had worked regularly with producer/director Richard Fleischer since the mid-forties on such a series with Fox Movietone.[30] Walls' impassioned and indefatigable interest in collecting and exploiting older motion pictures resulted in numerous memos to his superiors at the Library, imploring them to prioritize the growing demand for their material by film producers as well as with television.

In 1944, Walls attended the first annual conference of the Television Broadcasters Association. He reported that he had "derived from these meetings a better understanding of the forthcoming uses of the motion picture in nation-wide television programs…television broadcasters will depend largely upon the motion picture to facilitate program presentation and to overcome the limitations, both financial and physical, peculiar to the new medium."[31] Although LOC staff, from the Librarian on down, expressed their continued frustration with Walls' almost messianic zeal for the institution's motion picture collection, they, too, grew increasingly cognizant of the exploding demand for their material. Although the majority of networks appeared most interested in wartime product, in particular the films produced by the Office of War Information and the Office of Alien Property's captured German and Japanese footage,

Bradley and his staff in the Division worked constantly to prepare some sort of a distribution network for a wider variety of films in their possession and domain.

But Bradley's view of the LOC's national film library had grown exponentially from the program originally envisioned by MacLeish, Ramsaye and others years before. With progressively more ambitious plans, but fairly slow execution and development, Bradley's efforts attracted growing concern on the part of the Librarian and others in the institution. In a memo dated April 2, 1947, Bradley expressed worry and frustration that the Librarian, Dr. Evans, seemed "increasingly critical" of the Motion Picture Division.[32] Bradley noted that even basic procedures were being delayed and "more and more we have been called on to justify routine steps in our development program."[33]

Although Dr. Evans had expressed support for the program in the years following the establishment of the division, boldly proclaiming in a 1946 address to the National Board of Review that "the film collection itself, if we have our way, will be world-wide in scope with no field of human knowledge…taboo," the Librarian reported directly to Congress who, in the end, determined the motion picture project's fate.[34] Since the 1920s, appeals for a national film collection had been focused towards the executive branch of the government. With the growth of the federal bureaucracy during the Depression and World War II, American presidents had gained significant power. Although Presidents Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and most importantly, F.D.R., had agreed in principle to the creation of a broadly conceived U.S. Film Collection, the LOC was forced to restructure its rhetoric when approaching Congress.

In their Capitol Hill appeals, the LOC focused upon the motion pictures that had been produced by government agencies, especially military films of sacrifice and battle, and the importance of saving these films for future scholarship and study. But although it served as central to their pitch, reports indicated that preservation was not the Division's

primary mission.[35] Senate Bill 1216, proposed in June, 1945 to "establish a national library of motion pictures," revealed that anticipated duties for the LOC film division even included "manag[ing] and direct[ing] the *production* of all Government motion-picture films" [emphasis added].[36] Preserving historical, scientific and/or other "worthy" films served as the Library's very last priority, should the legislation pass.

By 1946, as Bradley prepared motion picture related speeches and petitions, the Librarian and his staff were increasingly irritated with the growing program. One of the key problems for Library officials lay in Bradley's overarching rationales and explication of the project. An internal memo from the Librarian's office complained:

> [Bradley's] argument is neither substantial in content, nor rewarding because of emotional appeal…[it] is on the level of a bureaucratic intramural discussion of procedures, rather than an organized communication of the objectives of the film project….There is no overtone of integrity, no emotional conviction, no intellectual brilliance (!),no, not even 'sound good sense'….[Bradley calls] attention to the fact that motion pictures are a 'universal language.' Maybe; so is mathematics, logic, art, stamp collecting [scratched out], charts, maps, music….Argues thatmotion pictures [sic] 'one of the most powerful mediums' for universal understanding among all peoples of the earth. Not really an argument, but a conclusion stated, not justified. Therefore not convincing as presented…fools though they [Bradley's audience or public] are, they won't be fooled.[37]

Bradley's highly critiqued justification for legislative support of a U.S. National Film Library did indeed fail against a Congress hoping to reduce federal growth and possibly seeking a little partisan revenge. Bradley's disparate plan that featured film collection, production, distribution, and preservation proved inadequate, and downright problematic, in an era of restricted federal funding. Interestingly, it was only after Congress rejected the 1947 appropriation for the Division that Bradley focused upon preservation as a Division task of highest importance.

On July 31 of that year, the Motion Picture Division was liquidated by Congress and given only $12,000 with which to store the films in the Stacks and Reader Division of the Library. In the end, the extensive appropriation request for the program likely served as the primary reason for the elimination of the Motion Picture Division.[38] Early on in the national film library movement, Librarian Archibald MacLeish had addressed the futility of creating an LOC motion picture department without adequate congressional support. In a prescient 1943 memo to Luther Evans, MacLeish shrewdly noted that regardless of F.D.R.'s and the film industry's cooperation, the Congressional committee in charge of overseeing the LOC would question the necessity of a film division that would duplicate efforts or offer services already managed by other agencies and copyright owners.[39]

Although arguments and plans for National Film Library appeared futile following the demise of the LOC's motion picture project, a new, more refined version of the argument merited federal support and widespread acclaim only a decade or two later. A national plan to *collect and preserve American film heritage* – rather than produce and distribute history, art or cultural product – succeeded, fully supported by legislation in a new era of more pronounced executive leadership during the 1960s. In the forties, Bradley and his staff did not utilize the term or concept of national "heritage." As discussed, heritage connotes a complicated negotiation between the fundamentals of material possession and identity. For the United States, the motion picture heritage movement emerged following significant changes in the private sector and its relationship to its own cultural product.[40]

STUDIO PRESERVATION STRATEGIES: FROM SILVER RECLAMATION TO ASSET MANAGEMENT

IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT DETERMINES AN OLD MOTION PICTURE FILM?

Warner Bros. telegram from their New York offices to Burbank, 1956[41]

In as early as 1943, Archibald MacLeish realized that due to the short-term nature of Rockefeller Foundation funding, he would need to turn to other kinds of subsidy for the Library's motion picture project. Building upon the initiatives taken by Will Hays and others at the MPPDA, the Librarian approached Hollywood studio executives requesting financial aid as well as donations of film material. As he told Howard Walls in February of that year: "I have already cast my net toward the Pacific, and I hope to catch some large and silver fish."[42] For months, MacLeish regularly corresponded with corporate leaders such as Universal Studios film producer Walter Wanger and Twentieth Century Fox President, Spyros Skouras. Skouras appeared to be the executive most interested in supporting the program, although he eventually declined MacLeish's $23,600 appeal to cover staffing and printing costs associated with the MOMA/LOC project.[43]

Although the MPPDA fully embraced the general concept of a national film library, several decades of tweaking and developing the original plan resulted in some specific qualifications on the part of entertainment executives and their trade industry in the post-W.W. II period. In 1930, the MPPDA had adopted a resolution in support of a National Film Library, grandly offering "the facilities of the motion picture industry to the end that our Government may take a position of appropriate leadership in the creation and development of this great library of the future…."[44] By 1946, however, the drafting of a new resolution amended general studio positions: "the motion picture industry…renews its pledge of support to the development of the national film library…to the end that preservation and reference copies of significant film ['selected by

the Library' penciled in] may be deposited and preserved in the Library's film collection…"[45] The studios were making it very clear that their donation was to ensure the preservation, not potential access or distribution, of the films. During these early days of the television era, older motion pictures were assuming a new, if ambivalent, value to their producers/owners.

Motion pictures, however, have always existed as important corporate assets for production entities. Although apocryphal narratives of film preservation possess an easy villain in general studio decisions and policies that purposefully destroyed superfluous reels of film to reclaim silver before 1927, the true story of how many films remain from cinema's first decades is much more complicated. Film preservation advocates continue to utilize the familiar refrain that nearly 80% of American silent films have been lost, but many moving image archivists now quietly acknowledge the inaccuracy of this statistic. Formerly with the American Film Institute, Lawrence Karr even admitted that the "figures may well have been spur-of-the moment," manufactured during the heyday of the late 1970s and 1980s film preservation movement.[46]

In actual fact, tracking early studio "film preservation" efforts, or, in corporate-speak, the trajectory of media asset management, proves difficult, if not impossible. A lack of company records and documents, beginning with the earliest days of the studio era through the contemporary confusion created through mergers and acquisitions, contributes to the complexity of generalizing corporate policy and action. Furthermore, the majority of literature on the subject relies upon anecdotal evidence or popular press discourse. One notable exception lies in film historian David Pierce's 1997 *Film History* article, "The Legion of the Condemned – Why American Silent Films Perished." Pierce offers eight key rationales for the destruction of early commercial cinema including storage costs, film's changing value, nitrate film decomposition, and just simple

"indifference and benign neglect."[47] Nitrate fires, with their inherent drama of a spontaneously combustible film stock, also destroyed thousands of films and continue to provide motion picture archivists with exciting tales of danger and devastation.

Less explosive, but just as provocative, is the unique photo of an early studio employee hacking films apart with an axe:

(Unknown studio employee destroying nitrate film to reclaim silver content, Los Angeles, 1920s)

This well-known image appears in every book on film preservation, serving to underscore the value of the work of the non-commercial motion picture archives and the short-sightedness of corporate policy. In truth, there are a number of different factors that could have contributed to this action. Studios frequently entered into contracts which obligated them to destroy negatives and prints when an original film was sold for its underlying literary rights, or for remake purposes. For Warner Bros. in 1956: "normal and customary [sale] procedure is for the purchaser, who is acquiring the literary property,…to insure that the seller's photoplay is never released again i.e., either require

the delivery to the buyer of the negative and all film material or else require the seller to agree to destroy same."[48]

A significant number of Warner legal files pertaining to films sold to other corporate entities, however, indicate that not all materials relating to individual titles were destroyed. For the majority of sales, the company retained a minimum of one or two prints for library use. This basic library collection policy, while appearing straight forward, could get very complicated in actual practice. In 1946, Warner Bros. acquired the literary property and a 1932 film version of Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* from Paramount as part of a trade deal. When Warner Bros. sold the property's literary rights to David O. Selznick in 1955, Warner Bros. additionally supplied a print of the film as a component of a convoluted legal settlement over rights involved over *A Star is Born*.[49] Selznick agreed to use the *Farewell* print for reference only; Warner Bros. kept its negative for library purposes only. In an additional agreement factor, Selznick maintained access to the *A Star is Born* negative to exercise distribution rights – but only in Germany.[50] Rights negotiations were particularly acute in the late 1940s as Warner Bros. and other studios contemplated creating television networks of their own.

Warner Bros., however, had effectively utilized its older titles prior to the advent of television, if primarily for marketing purposes, public relations, and/or nostalgic tributes. The company's exploitation of its early sound films served as one key example of this phenomenon. Warner Bros., officially formed in 1923 by Harry, Albert, Sam and Jack Warner, had taken a gamble to develop new sound technology for motion pictures during the mid-1920s. Working through its subsidiary, Vitagraph-First National, and in conjunction with Western Electric, Warner Bros. succeeded in furthering the "talkie" revolution and gained pedigree and status as one of the Hollywood "majors" – a position much sought after by the brothers.

Although contemporary film preservation histories pitch early film archivists, with their mission to conserve and celebrate older cinema, against production companies, studios such as Warner Bros. actually did participate in early film history discourse by retaining film copies in their libraries and exploiting them – with or without the collaboration or cooperation of non-commercial archives. Indeed, the studio's entry into early broadcasting evinced an interesting duality with which the executives viewed their films. On one hand, film production remained the primary focus of the Warner Bros. entertainment empire of the 1940s. On the other, Harry and his brothers shrewdly viewed their older vault material as a powerful, lucrative form of corporate branding. Warner's readily capitalized on Warner Bros. achievements and notoriety through the exploitation of their "nostalgic" past.

In the mid to late 1940s, Warner Bros. was experiencing a time of financial volatility and corporate confusion. A variety of socio-cultural and economic changes including the decline in foreign revenue and decreased theatre attendance harkened a new phase for the industry following a period of unparalleled success. In addition, the Paramount Decision marked the end of the classical Hollywood era and its mass-oriented, vertically integrated studio system. By 1947, the twentieth anniversary of Warner's launching of sound technology, the studio could look nostalgically, and a little desperately, towards its past successes – particularly Warner Bros.'s involvement with the coming of sound, Vitaphone shorts, and *The Jazz Singer*.[51] In early June, 1946, the Library of Congress' John Bradley met with two Warner Bros. East Coast representatives in reference to Warner's "Celebration of 20th Anniversary of Sound in the Movies." To commemorate the advent of Warner Bros.'s record-breaking talkies of 1926-1927, Warner Bros. initiated plans for what the studio bombastically described as the "biggest single advertising schedule in the [company's] history."[52] Warner Bros. hoped to donate

a copy of one of the company's first talkies to the Library of Congress and a piece of early sound recording equipment to the Smithsonian. These government gifts embodied only one component of many such educational or political partnerships forged to "honor" Warner Bros. on its anniversary of sound technology. Warner Bros. coordinated events across the entire country from exhibits in the windows of small town theatres to an elaborate plaque dedication ceremony in Times Square.

One much heralded project was Warner's interesting co-production with the American Library Association to create a list of books on sound film and technologies for schools, libraries and universities.[53] The list was, unsurprisingly, compiled by the Museum of Modern Art and the Library of Congress.[54] The LOC's involvement with this project served as a factor in the Library's agreeing to participate in a Warner Bros. film donation ceremony in Washington, D.C. More importantly, though, was the Library's interest in further developing their industry contacts – contacts that might "pay dividends later."[55] Thus, on the afternoon of July 24, 1946, Albert Warner represented his family at an auspiciously formal ceremony in which he bestowed upon the Library of Congress a print of 1928's *The Lights of New York*, the first all-talking film produced by Warner Bros..[56]

The event, attended by Congressmen, Warner Bros. and staff from the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), the recently renamed Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, film critics and employees of a variety of federal institutions in the LOC's Whittall Pavilion, merits inclusion here due to the underlying motives and goals of its participants. Studio executives (and the company's marketing team) shrewdly manipulated the government's growing interest in acquiring its film product to create a public relations occasion that succeeded in conferring prestige and validity upon what many critics continued to label as popular trash: movies. The event's

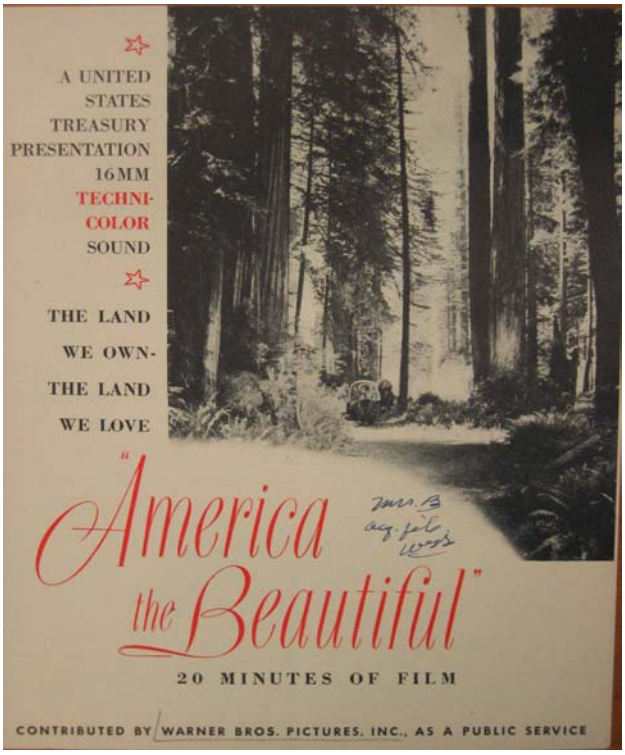
invitation proudly announced its hosts to be the Librarian and Smithsonian Secretary – both prestigious D.C. positions – who induced guests to attend to *honor* the company's achievements.[57] Both government and Hollywood big business benefited from the press attention and acquired socio-cultural cachet from each other as a result of their collaborative efforts. *The Washington Post* carried a front page story on the event, "Pioneer Talking Movie Films Presented Library of Congress," quoting Albert Warner as saying film existed as the "'most potent American ambassador of them all…[imploring the audience to] look forward to the future of the screen as a medium of public service as well as of public entertainment."[58]

For Warner Bros., ensuring that film would be considered a service as well as entertainment meant continued collaboration with public institutions. With the inception of film libraries and archives in the 1930s, Warner Bros. and other studios consistently turned to these cultural organizations in an effort to garner esteem or greater standing amid popular and trade discourse. The corporations, maligned and attacked in the press as detrimental, even threatening, to education, artistic achievement and, most importantly, children's welfare, obtained positive coverage through their work with highly regarded institutions such as film institutes and archives around the world.[59]

Warner Bros. was not the only company benefiting from archival attention. Only three years prior to Warner's 20th anniversary of sound, United Artists (UA) had pursued the same approach with European film libraries. Producer Sol Lesser helped affiliate UA with education and the cultural elite by donating a copy of *Stage Door Canteen* to the British Film Institute for posterity: "A hundred years hence students of the kinema will be able to unreel one of the great films of our time to study the dramatic technique of many of the supreme artistes of this generation….After the prints are deposited they will not be unsealed until the year 2043."[60] With the Museum of Modern Art's Film Library

considered by many as "a colonial outpost" of the British Film Institute, it was ironic that its director, Iris Barry, flatly refused to recommend its inclusion in the National Film Library at the Library of Congress. Barry, instead, viewed *Stage Door Canteen* as "a distasteful and meretricious film not worth preserving."[61]

Studios, in addition to working with a number of early film archives, also collaborated with other branches of the federal government. In the late 1940s, Jack Warner served as executive producer on a 16mm film entitled America the Beautiful – "a camera painting of the land we love" – on behalf of the Treasury Department.



(Brochure for the Treasury Department film produced by Warner Bros.)

In the marketing material for the film, Warner Bros. pitched: "You will come away thinking 'This is the land we own….To manage this rich estate is our

responsibility…to pass it on to Americans yet unborn, stronger, finer and fairer than it was when it came to us."[62] Also noted by the Warner Bros. producers was the underlying Department of Treasury message of buying U.S. Savings Bonds – "shares in America…security for *your* future." Warner Bros.' work with the government on *America the Beautiful* to produce a new public service motion picture offers an important contrast to when, only a few decades later, Warner Bros.' older film product, itself, would be celebrated as the nation's cultural heritage and responsibility.

Warner Bros.' post-war foray into the educational film market with movies like *America the Beautiful* was not a wholly unprecedented or surprise move for the studio. When Bradley and his peers at the Library of Congress had begun work on creating a motion picture department, representatives from the MPAA informed them that Hollywood executives continued to maintain an active interest in the 16mm field. Arthur De Bra, the MPAA's educational consultant at the time, told Bradley that Will Hays employed specific strategies to deter studio involvement in educational films. According to Bradley's 1945/6 notes, De Bra believed that should the majors enter the market full scale, "there would be many casualties [from the approximately two hundred 16mm producers] with only the stronger ones surviving."[63] De Bra pointed to Warner Bros. as a studio with particularly acute aspirations towards the small gauge market. In 1929, the MPAA consultant claimed, the Eastman Teaching Films Project had been introduced "as a counter-irritant against Harry Warner's plans" in this area.[64]

Like the initial endeavors of his brother Harry, Jack pursued all aspects of the film business from educational and training films to investing in the early days of broadcasting. Christopher Anderson, in his excellent study of film and television during the 1950s, well demonstrates that contrary to anecdotal and apocryphal tales of Jack's publicized disgust for broadcasting media, the mogul guided the company to expand into

radio and television markets in as far back as the 1920s. Anderson states that the studio actually "founded its first radio station in 1925, produced radio programming during the 1930s, conducted TV research throughout the 1940s, and during the late 1940s planned to construct one of the country's first television stations."[65]

Following the phenomenal success of Walt Disney's television series in 1954, Warner Bros. joined other Hollywood majors in planning for their own full-scale push into TV production. Warners signed a contract with the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) through which Warner Bros. eventually agreed to provide the network with its first series entitled *Warner Bros. Presents*.[66] In the press release announcing the collaboration between the young network and the now-legendary film studio, Jack Warner expressed an already nostalgic, iconic view of the company, its founding and its achievements – again, particularly with sound films: "My brothers and I approach this new relationship between motion pictures and television with the same zeal and enthusiasm as we had when we first presented commercially successful talking pictures."[67]

As Christopher Anderson notes, "ABC evidently hoped to acquire the prestige associated with specific Warner Bros. features …[with titles selected for] their 'marquee value,' to capitalize on what the network described as the 'familiarity factor.'"[68] *Warner Bros. Presents,* in and of itself, illustrated a new approach at exploiting the major studios' older film successes. MGM and Twentieth Century-Fox also launched series at this time based upon their older film product. In fact, television series based on movies had emerged as early as the late 1940s with shows such as *The Front Page* and *Mama*, based upon the 1948 Irene Dunne film, *I Remember Mama*. Throughout the 1950s, studios launched series derived from popular films both to capitalize on familiar titles and to promote new studio product.[69]

For Warner Bros., their initial plan involved creating new, episodic versions of company films such as *Casablanca*, *Cheyenne*, and *King's Row* – titles deemed representative of "Hollywood's most easily identifiable and, therefore, marketable genres."[70] Each program was introduced by Warner's star, Gig Young, who offered background tidbits, promoted upcoming Warner Bros. features and offered unique glimpses around the studio lot itself. In introducing one of the 1956 *Warner Bros. Presents: Casablanca* episodes, Young visited the Warner Bros. film archive – grandly pointing to the stacks upon stacks of historic Warner Bros. film "treasures" – further branding the company with a motion picture "heritage" grounded by the material held in its vaults. Ironically, in the very same year Young proudly promoted the studio's film assets to the nation's television viewers, the Warner Bros. film library was sold to an unknown, independent distributing company named P.R.M.[71]

Following Howard Hughes' 1955 sale of the R.K.O. film library, many of the major motion picture studios began selling their older film product for television exhibition. At this same time, Jack Warner and his staff initiated the complicated process involved in preparing the material for sale.[72] As he stated to the *Motion Picture Daily* in September, 1956, in reference to why he had chosen to sell the company's film library, "the company head replied that a situation existed which it could not control and, 'since everyone was selling, we did, too. If you hold on to something too long…eventually you have nothing."[73] Privately, however, faced with the expensive costs, and poor returns, on his investment into *Warner Bros. Presents*, Jack sadly noted to Robert Kintner at ABC: "I wish we had gone into a half hour using old shorts with an M.C., to introduce a few people and show clips of forthcoming pictures…Instead, we are spending $75,000 to $80,000 without any studio overhead – this is actual cash."[74]

In late 1954, Warner Bros. staff began to compile a newly revised film element inventory. To create such a list, Burbank employees contacted numerous offices all over the globe, including Argentina, South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Japan, Norway, and France, in search of negatives and prints of Warner Bros. titles.[75] The staff attempted to build a systematic list of the physical materials existent for Warner Bros. films – a process that proved fairly difficult. Approximately 750 features were involved in the 1956 sale to P.R.M., with 191 cartoons having already been sold to Guild Films, Inc. on Valentine's Day, 1955. In February, 1956, Warner Bros. executives set a goal of clearing the rights, and ascertaining the physical properties of, 100 "all-talking feature photoplays" per week, a fairly daunting and intimidating task. Memos flew between New York and California Warner Bros. employees regarding the rising costs of preparing material for sale: "Mr. Warner wanted me to advise you that our costs incurred in transferring film from shrunken negatives to new negatives, putting sound tracks which previously were on separate records onto film and various other mechanical matters required in order to qualify some of the older pictures, now amount to approximately $75,000."[76]

One important issue surrounding and complicating the sale of older film product to television were the industry wide negotiations taking place between the creative guilds and the major Hollywood studios during the early fifties. Organizations such as the Writers Guild of America, the American Federation of Musicians, and the Screen Actors Guild all parleyed new contracts with the production companies, agreeing to renounce any financial right to films made prior to 1948. Additional legal issues surrounding these sales mounted causing Warner Bros. lawyers to meet repeatedly with the IRS commissioner in Washington, D.C. throughout 1956. Of concern was the threat that the deal would be delayed if the Government contended that the sale constituted a capital

transaction and, thus, was liable for a capital gains tax. In an attempt to prove to the IRS that the Warner Bros.-PRM deal should be considered a sale of physical assets, Warner lawyers continually referred to its traditional policy of negative/print destruction:

> Since its organization in 1923 there have been a few occasions when Warner has sold literary properties previously used in the production of photoplays but it has been the invariable practice for the parties to agree that negatives of the pictures would be destroyed and prints, if not destroyed, would be kept only for library and reference purposes.[77]

Warner Bros. tax attorneys successfully argued that just like the company's selling of equipment and land, films constituted yet another physical entity to be placed on the market for the highest bidder.

Associated Artists Productions (AAP) quickly acquired PRM and promoted the Warner Bros. collection for sale to broadcasters. AAP grandly flaunted the Warner Bros. brand in its publicity material, vaunting the collection's prestige, quality, and "consistent success," describing Warner Bros. as "one of the greatest names in the most popular medium of entertainment."[78] Although Jack registered hope that AAP would refrain from utilizing his company's brand logo, the Warner Bros. shield, the mogul begrudgingly agreed to not object should they do so.[79] Warner, understandably, worried that the public would be confused as to who was involved in specific broadcasts – in essence, putting his TV show, *Warner Bros. Presents*, against an AAP contract screening of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. Letters flew between the studio and AAP during 1957 as the companies wrangled over how to best market the studio library collection.

In the decades following Warner's sale of their pre-1948 motion pictures, changes came even more quickly to the studio. Jack sold his shares of the company, the last of the brothers to do so, and a Canadian company, Seven Arts Productions, bought the studio in

1967. Only two years later, a New York based conglomerate, Kinney National Services, bought Warner Bros. and pushed the company to diversify into music and book publishing. (The conglomerate, formed in 1966 through the merger of the Kinney Parking Company and the National Cleaning Company, also operated funeral homes.) Time, Inc. merged with what was by then known as Warner Communications in 1989.

When, in 1995, Ted Turner's cable network joined the Time Warner empire, one of the key motivations for Time Warner was Turner's extensive film library – a collection, ironically, partly comprised of the pre-1950 Warner features and short subjects that Jack had sold back in 1956. How Turner ended up with the Warner titles was a result of a series of convoluted business deals. In a most simplistic overview, United Artists acquired AAP and their extensive film distribution library in 1957. MGM merged with UA in 1983, a decision that proved to be a financial disaster. Turner purchased MGM/UA in 1986 and immediately sold UA back to MGM mogul, Kirk Kerkorian, but retained the film library.[80]

With each of these transactions involving thousands of feature films, short subjects, cartoons, and, eventually, movies of the week, television series, etc., tracking the physical property and underlying copyrights proved challenging for even the industry's top corporate lawyers. For scholars, critics and fans interested in studying older commercial films, a growing number of people throughout the pre-video era of the 1960s and 1970s, ascertaining print ownership and gaining access to the material proved even harder. Simply finding where the films had gone, or if some titles even still existed after the seemingly endless cycles of mergers, proved one important reason for the creation of a new organization: The American Film Institute (AFI).

THE AFI, JOHN WAYNE'S GRAVE, AND THE RISE OF THE HERITAGE MOVEMENT

> *[American film] history is now being rewritten as forgotten masterworks are rediscovered. What we are gradually learning is that the films also have significance as historical and sociological documents. They retain the power not only to delight us, but to enlighten us as well. As art and as history, they are being secured and preserved as a valuable part of our cultural heritage.*
>
> Actor and AFI Board Member Gregory Peck, 1972 [81]

When President Lyndon Johnson signed the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act in September, 1965, he was not just viewing the nation's film product as important corporate assets for the Hollywood entertainment industries. Rather, the president referred to the motion picture as a vital component of the country's artistic and cultural product. He dramatically stated: "Art is a nation's most precious heritage. For it is in our works of art that we reveal ourselves and to others, the inner vision which guides us as a nation. And where there is no vision, the people perish."[82] The path towards the creation of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities (NEA/NEH) paralleled the convoluted and lengthy struggle by those pushing for a federal film preservation program. From as far back as the early nineteenth century, legislators and citizens lobbied for federal support of the arts and humanities, receiving the most significant endorsement by President John F. Kennedy just months prior to his assassination in 1963.

To an extent, LBJ's support of the NEA/NEH legislation can be seen as a quasi-memorial to the slain president; Washington's National Cultural Center was renamed The Kennedy Center and rededicated as JFK's official monument in the nation's capital. LBJ's speech employed a nostalgic tone, evoking American values and traditions – its

intangible heritage – which well suited the socio-cultural context of a nation still in shock and mourning the tragic death of its young leader. By the end of the next several years, heritage was so often used to describe an astonishing array of the country's material or tangible components in art, history, and culture it became an understood and ingrained component of U.S. rhetoric – both popular and legislative.

During the same Rose Garden ceremony creating the NEA/NEH, the president specifically referenced the nation's need for a "Film Institute" through which to unite artists, educators and students aspiring to a career in the motion picture industry.[83] Nearly two years later, the NEA, in conjunction with the MPAA and the Ford Foundation, officially launched the American Film Institute with George Stevens, Jr. as Director and Gregory Peck as the Chair of the Board of Trustees.[84] Stevens served as a logical selection for program head. As the former chief of the United States Information Agency's film program, a "Kennedy pal," and son of a highly esteemed Hollywood director, George Stevens, Jr. participated in and navigated both D.C. and L.A. political circles.[85]

Importantly, Stevens was also involved in the international film community, attending European festivals throughout the 1960s. It was in 1963 at the Cannes Film Festival that Stevens claimed to have first learned of film preservation through Henri Langlois, founder of the Cinémathèque Française and the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF). According to Stevens:

> Henri Langlois accosted me, sat down and started this tirade about the failure of America to preserve its films. I was very ignorant of these circumstances and he was a missionary preserving films in Europe, but he also had this great love and affection for American films and it was provocative and stimulating. In the immediately ensuing years when we were planning the American Film Institute, it certainly put preservation at the forefront of my mind and made it a cornerstone when the AFI was founded.[86]

As they had in the first half of the century, European film institutes, archives, and archivists remained influential in the U.S. film preservation movement, and particularly on Stevens and his chief consultant for the creation of the AFI, Richard Kahlenberg. (Previously, Kahlenberg had studied in London and completed a doctoral dissertation on the British Film Institute at Northwestern University.)[87] The earliest documents relating to the structure and implications of an American Film Institute reflected European aspirations and ideals. A 1961 *Film Quarterly* article, penned by their L.A. editor, called for an AFI emulating the British Film Institute and Cinémathèque Française.[88]

By invoking these organizations, proponents for the AFI communicated their desire for a European "film institute" approach (i.e., an organization that would be involved with production, distribution, publishing, educational, and archival issues). The AFI's co-optation of European models' institutional rationale, the preservation of national film heritage, solidified a cross-Atlantic allegiance. Indeed, the press release announcing the AFI's creation proclaimed: "It is as important to conserve as to create, and the founders wish emphatically to bring attention…to the necessity of preserving this Nation's film heritage."[89] Even though the AFI possessed a number of disparate goals related to film education and production, its most highly touted endeavor was the AFI's effort to acquire and preserve American film heritage.

Although the concept of preserving cultural heritage promulgated by primarily European and international cultural organizations will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Four, it is important to address it at this point for clarification within the American context. The AFI and its partner archives, the Library of Congress, the Museum of Modern Art, and the George Eastman House, continually utilized the heritage

justification during the 1970s and 80s in their successful push for federal film preservation legislation, finally passed by Congress in the late 1980s.[90] Earlier attempts by U.S. film preservation advocates referred to the motion picture's general historical and artistic merits, but, in the 1960s and 70s, American film archivists joined the European cultural community in focusing on ensuring the safety of national film heritage. Underlying this rhetorical shift was an increased emphasis upon preservation as the foremost archival practice. National film heritage became defined, enshrined, and properly maintained through moving image collection and preservation, rather than by promoting access.

A by-product of the Cold War era, cultural heritage discourse reflected post-colonial discourse in which global participants from the emerging nations of Asia and Africa challenged existing socio-cultural policies and canons. International cultural organization such as the United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) utilized and validated heritage rhetoric in global conferences and policy documents. Countries emerging out of former colonies in the developing world were defining and creating new national narratives that demanded a new language. Western concepts of art history might not find an equivalent in Zimbabwe, but all countries possessed a unique cultural heritage. American motion picture archivists, too, adopted film heritage preservation as their messianic mantra – echoing LBJ's impassioned, yet nostalgic, speech with which he had created the nation's first arts and humanities organizations.

However, due to its relatively late start (a good thirty years after its British or French peers) and Hollywood's unparalleled profile and dominance, U.S. film preservation plans could not simply mimic European programs. Furthermore, AFI archivist Sam Kula stated that the AFI could not function "like the British Film Institute

because other organizations in the U.S. already existed. AFI's purpose was to accelerate the work of the other organizations and to acquire films in the national interest."[91] As one of its first projects, the AFI published a "rescue list" of American films considered to be missing or in serious threat of decomposition. This 1967 list, compiled by several film archivist/historians including the influential British expatriate and film collector, William K. Everson, was primarily made up of Hollywood produced motion pictures. The 250 title list included such well known films as *Stagecoach* (1939), *Tillie's Punctured Romance* (1928), and *The Cheat* (1923).

While the earlier generation of Will Hays, Iris Barry, John Bradley, and Archibald MacLeish had acquired selected film prints and rhetorical support from the country's major motion picture studios, the AFI founders were in the unique position to not only request more extensive donations, but to accept them as well. For studios, donating essentially useless (and potentially dangerous) nitrate material, or duplicate safety prints, proved an excellent tax write off and public relations boon. Production companies, many of whom no longer held the complete rights to the material sitting in their vaults, further benefited in offering their collections to the AFI by obtaining free storage and protection for the films themselves.

The RKO feature film library served as the AFI's first significant acquisition, particularly appropriate as the studio had been offering its material to the various iterations of the U.S. national film library since the mid-1940s. In 1948, the Librarian of Congress determined that, "in good conscience," the LOC should not accept the material – primarily due to their lack of storage and the general instability of the program. By the creation of the AFI in the 1960s, storage served as one of the key enticements offered by the federal agency and proved one of the most successful. A large collection of Paramount silents, Hal Roach films and a major United Artists donation (which included

the Warner Bros. material referenced earlier in this chapter) all arrived in the following years.

In addition, the AFI worked to repatriate a number of "lost" American films from overseas. One of the most influential examples was the AFI's discovery of African-American filmmaker Oscar Micheaux's 1919 film, *Within Our Gates*, an important feature considered lost for decades. The AFI's Susan Dalton accessioned a print that had been distributed in Spain. Re-titled *La Negra*, the Spanish print remains the only surviving original material of Micheaux's controversial motion picture and has helped re-shape the research and teaching of African-American film history. Of greater renown is the AFI repatriation of 500 reels of Hollywood film material from Dawson City in the Yukon Territory. Found buried underneath a Canadian swimming pool-cum-hockey rink, the film collection held original elements of Ernst Lubitsch titles, a few Harold Lloyd films and many unknown, "lost" silent pictures.[92]

In a sense, these celebrated stories of cinematic repatriation assisted in clarifying what films Americans rightly *owned*. The Twentieth-Century-Fox films found in the Australian swimming pool were hailed as returning, almost stolen goods that belonged in the country's federal repositories – to be protected by the nation's tax dollars. These high-profile repatriations occurred at the same time the American film preservation movement was gaining greater publicity, and, subsequently, helped further its momentum. During the 1970s and early 1980s, press coverage of the AFI and its non-commercial film archive cohort accelerated at a tremendous rate. Clippings files from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences hold hundreds upon hundreds of separate articles from throughout this period with sources ranging from small town newspapers to the front page of the *New York Times*.[93] The articles share one commonality, an

increasingly heightened sense of crisis that the nation's film heritage was on the verge of imminent and irreversible disappearance.

To illustrate the progression of this changing tone, a 1968 *L.A.Times* article featured a commercial Hollywood film library whose director stated, "Old features never die – they are sent to South America and Africa. In fact, films which were big here in the '30s are popular now in other parts of the world. The international distribution of motion pictures and some television series, coupled with reruns for television and movie houses keep the library jumping."[94] The article's emphasis upon life for older motion pictures as being their continued access and enjoyment around the world differed greatly from news stories merely five years later whose headlines screamed:

"Nitrate Won't Wait" (*IATSE Bulletin*, 1972)

"Preserving the Cinema: The Art of Keeping Films Alive"
(*The Hollywood Reporter*, 1977)

"Old Films Never Die; They Fade" (*People*, 1981)

With coverage in technical journals, to Hollywood trade press, and even national gossip and entertainment magazines, the message that American film heritage was on the verge of distinction resonated amid all levels of U.S. press discourse. By the time Martin Scorsese and his fellow directors of the Film Foundation arrived on Capitol Hill to protest the decimation of Hollywood films, the nation was familiar with the rhetoric employed in the high profile event. Moreover, general press and public discourse fully supported and even advocated that the nation's citizenry possessed an inherent right in ensuring the protection and survival of American motion picture history – even if the same films remained the corporate assets of privately held companies. This complicated but widely publicized view towards a nation's proprietary right to primarily corporate film product

served as the context for solidifying – ideologically and pragmatically – the collaborative relationship between the national government and L.A. production companies.

In the 1980s, the American motion picture and television industries encountered significant change with federal deregulation and structural transformation in which conglomerates reorganized themselves through a variety of measures. Successful companies downsized, regrouped and, most importantly, several were sold to foreign entities. Although British, Australian, or Canadian companies had purchased Los Angeles based production companies without significant public commentary, rumors began to swirl in both the trade and popular press when the Japanese commercial powerhouse, Sony, registered interest in buying Columbia Studios.[95]

In early 1989, *Variety* and the *Hollywood Reporter* broke the story that the Columbia buy-out could prove to be "a high-stakes battle for a major American studio – pitting a Japanese company against an American concern."[96] From the outset, reporters noted the national rivalries with great zeal. Articles reported the immense concern and general teeth gnashing on the part of national pundits, politicians and the public at large towards the unprecedented number of corporate acquisitions by Japanese companies during the decade.[97] *The Los Angeles Times*, amongst other media outlets, noted: "The library that Japanese electronics giant Sony will get with its pending takeover of Columbia Pictures includes the greatest film ever made about its country's bombing of Pearl Harbor – Fred Zinneman's 1953 Oscar-winner 'From Here to Eternity.'"[98] Other papers utilized images to present just as effective a commentary:

(Cartoon referencing the Sony-Columbia deal, *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 1989)

Echoing this cartoon-like sentiment, American politicians pontificated about the Sony-Columbia deal on the House floor in Washington with comments tinged with resentment, fear and racism. Representatives from all over the country, as always, found "Hollywood" the perfect allegory for discussion of the nation's general ills – particularly those caused by the Japanese:

> Once upon a time there was a magic tinsel town called 'Hollywood, USA.' All good young boys and girls dream of living there, making movies and playing roles of their heroes and acting out their dreams. The grand masters of the town were the studio owners who searched and found the boys and girls everywhere, some at the famous Schwab Drug Store where starlets were discovered, and some driving trucks, but they were all found…Then one day the 'Wicked Witch of the East' captured Hollywood – and the young boys and girls were told – you must dream my dream – do as you are told – you cannot be a god or goddess – you must be working class and owe allegiance to me, to the company – the 'Wicked Witch of the East' – and not to America or your dreams.[99]

Ohio Congressman, James D. Traficant, currently serving jail time for mail fraud, appeared to trump all political rhetoric by invoking the ultimate national icon:

> Today, Congress, the Sony Corp. bought Columbia Pictures. John Wayne is rolling over in his grave. The biggest film library in the world, 40,000 movies, are now owned by the Japanese; in addition, 27,000 hours of hit television programs such as…'Married with Children' and 'Who's the Boss.'….There is no doubt in my opinion who will be the boss. It seems that Congress and Washington is evidently very comfortable in watching reruns now owned by the Japanese.[100]

Working behind the scenes, however, were Congressional representatives and Sony-Columbia executives, carefully explaining and planning how Sony (as "boss") would, in actual fact, benefit the nation.

Prior to the sale of Columbia studios to Sony in 1989, the film related story garnering the highest profile press coverage, and the issue rousing the greatest public sentiment, was that of film preservation. Martin Scorsese "starred" in front page headlines across the country with his "CAMPAIGN TO SAVE A FILM HERITAGE."[101] With Sony's well publicized control of one large portion that same film heritage, company executives shrewdly addressed the concern when they appeared before the House Sub-Committee on Telecommunications and Finance in November, 1989. Michael P. Schulhof, Vice-Chairman of Sony Corporation of America, invoked the rhetoric of the film preservation movement with his statement to the committee. Schulhof directly acknowledged the widespread concern that Sony's new role as owner and rights holder of American cultural product "somehow mean[t] that a part of the national character has passed into foreign hands."[102] "'I'm confident,' Schulhof continued, 'that this feeling will ease as Sony America continues to demonstrate that it is a concerned and responsible naturalized corporate citizen of the United States.'"[103]

Citizens of a nation, as film archivists had been proselytizing over the previous twenty years, possessed the inherent right in the protection of their country's material heritage. Sony capitalized upon the movement's success by pledging:

> The Columbia library contains some of the greatest film classics of 20th century America. I know that some…might be concerned by the thought of these classics being removed from the United States. Sony has no intention of letting this happen. In fact, it's my pleasure to announce today that Columbia Pictures is prepared to work with the Library of Congress to make selected films from its library available on a permanent basis, as a way to guarantee that the heritage that these films represent will forever be preserved.[104]

Schulhof's testimony proved much more than political grandstanding and rhetorical assurance – it was an ideological and financial investment in the Library of Congress film preservation program, itself having been resurrected through the work of the AFI and its accompanying legislative support. Sony-Columbia began paying for archival staff positions at the LOC nitrate film vaults and for the Library's growing film preservation laboratory in Ohio. With this private-public partnership in place, one high profile component of American film heritage was, quite literally, secured under lock, key and military command at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio.

Sony-Columbia's investment in the federal film preservation program at the Library of Congress set a precedent for its fellow motion picture studios to follow. By the end of the century, all Hollywood studios that owned the rights to their substantial film libraries had entered into contracts with the LOC to pay for storage, protection and access to their material. These agreements supplied a mutually beneficial arrangement between the nation's famous film companies and the federal branch of the U.S. government. Public-private collaboration in the field of film archiving both helped

ensure the preservation of historic motion pictures and, for a time, at least, an easy conflation between Hollywood and American film heritage in public discourse.

CONCLUSION

> *So each country 'clings to the memory of its glorious past…and mounts guard, jealously and suspiciously over its unique heritage'…. Since people treasure most what distinguishes them from others, each nation vaunts a special legacy based on its own unique origins. Distinctiveness not only begets nations but is seen essential to their survival.*
>
> David Lowenthal, The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History[105]

The inflamed rhetoric and discourse surrounding Sony's purchase of Columbia's film library illustrated the power and profile of the heritage rationale which, by the late 1980s, was fully entrenched in political and popular rhetoric. In an earlier era, Will Hays reflected upon his first few months as motion picture czar and noted that he had discovered a new "cause" due to his new job. "This movement," Hays stated in several public speeches, "to maintain the highest possible moral and artistic standards of motion picture production and to develop the educational as well as the entertainment value…of the industry is a cause. I say again, a Cause, with a capital C."[106]

For Hays and the MPPDA, the creation of a national film library served as a vital component in their mission to improve the reputation of film and the Hollywood industry amidst its domestic and worldwide audience. Due to the changing dynamic and structure of the American film industry throughout the twentieth century, the film library "cause" developed, shifted, and finally succeeded when the various players, the socio-economic and cultural climate reached a mutually beneficial standing during the late 1980s. The era's incredible success in the home video market that radically extended the "shelf-life"

of vault material caused both Hollywood studios and non-commercial film archives to benefit from a high profile, populist celebration of the cultural importance of older motion pictures. The 1970s economic recession spurred a serious concern over the increasing trade deficit, acutely illustrated with the fears over Japanese takeovers of good old "American" industries – the automobile and the movies.[107]

It was in this same period that the corresponding language or idiom of the moving image archiving cause altered as well. The film preservation movement originated and developed out of the interest in retaining and celebrating film history and a corresponding desire to view the motion picture as art (or, at least, more than mass produced trash.) Film preservation advocates pushed for the creation of an American cinémathèque, or film institute, within which a national film library could provide access and preservation, in that order, for the motion pictures deemed worthy of collection.

In the 1970s and 1980s, however, the idea or model of the cinémathèque or film library was re-prioritized. Preservation, with climate controlled vaults and strictly defined technical methods, assumed precedence over access to material. Distribution of older motion pictures, once seen as an ostensible archival enterprise, remained entrenched within the domain of the private sector – a private sector that shared in the celebration of Hollywood film as hallowed American film heritage. The U.S. mirrored a general European and global view of heritage as a precious, essential element, critical to a nation's identity, and something to be preserved. To a certain degree, a preservation driven rationale enabled those within the movement to justify their work with Hollywood films. The preservation argument stems from the notion of a unique element – the historically accurate original – manifested with great import and influence. So, while some form of a popular studio film might exist via television or 16mm prints, the loss of the "right" or original version necessitated the creation of a federal protection program

and repatriation efforts. Quality issues maintained a central place in the preservation argument, and remains so to this day. The studios, the AFI argued, did not properly take care of the national treasures under their control; thus, an intervention was needed.

Heritage scholars posit that national heritage is most acutely articulated and considered most relevant when perceived as under threat. No better example can be found than the U.S. push for federal film preservation legislation that received enormous assistance with villains such as nitrate decomposition and, perhaps just as potently, the incredible success of high profile Japanese corporations in the 1980s – from Sony and Matsushita to Honda. For the Hollywood film industry, a desire to gain prestige, standing, and (at a critical point) free storage, for their corporate product was made even easier and more apparent when their libraries and collections became defined (and, in the Sony case, defended) as "classic" American treasures.

The last two chapters have demonstrated that the crafting of American film heritage encompassed nearly a century – almost the entirety of its existence – and followed a far more convoluted path than contemporary anecdotal overviews indicate. U.S. motion picture heritage was constructed from within a very specific temporal and cultural context with a variety of goals set forth by seemingly contradictory players. In the United States, the mixture of federal government and corporate influence combined into a complicated dance of ownership and identity, public and private possession. These disparate arenas, while markedly drawn and defended, engaged in a mutually beneficial relationship that privileged national level players. For the film preservation movement in countries outside U.S. borders, the context of national subsidies and Hollywood's tremendous industrial dominance gave rise to a differing role and rationale for the motion picture archive and library.

Significantly, many of the key participants in the U.S. film preservation movement emerged from countries other than that which had produced American movies in the first place. Throughout the twentieth century, European – and most specifically, British – traditions helped define what constituted film heritage and the methods with which to take care of it. This next chapter explores how film archivists in the international community struggled, and succeeded, in defining national film heritage around the world.

Notes: Chapter Three

[1] John Bradley, Professional Staff Forum on the Motion Picture Project, 6 March, 1946, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [LOC Transcription LWO 5309]
[2] Luther Evans, Professional Staff Forum on the Motion Picture Project, 6 March, 1946, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [LOC Transcription LWO 5309]
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Doug Herrick, "Toward a National Film Gallery: Motion Pictures at the Library of Congress," *Film Library Quarterly* 13.2-3 (1980) 15.
[6] Letter from Bradley to Paramount executive, Claude F. Lee, 28 Aug. 1945, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[7] Memo from Bradley to Evans, re Operation of Agreement with Producers, 27 Aug. 1945, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[8] Bradley's list of contacts was created by the MPPDA and several noted film critics such as Terry Ramsaye and Bosley Crowther. Letter to Walter Trumbull, MPPDA from Bradley, November 2, 1945, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Note: In several of the letters between the MPPDA and Bradley, the MPPDA representatives repeatedly point out the influence wielded by the industry in reference to the MOMA film library. For ex., on Nov. 9, 1945, Trumbull writes: "As to the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, we are pretty well acquainted with it for the reason that we helped to set it up, that we helped to finance it and that we have always had representation on its Board," Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[9] Letter from Bradley to Ramsaye, 29 Mar. 1945, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[10] Although this activity had been in place since MacLeish's wartime project, Bradley succeeded in establishing a more formal, clear-cut process of deposit.
[11] Memo from Walls to MacLeish, 21 June 1943, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[12] Walls repeatedly received harsh rebukes from the Librarian and other LOC administrative staff as a result of his animated passion for film. In fact, Walls had been actively involved with the Washington, D.C. film societies in the early 1940s and even "organized and directed the LOC Art Cinema League, which operated for two years as an on-profit organization for the benefit of LOC employees." Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[13] Memo from Bradley to Evans, 6 Nov. 1946, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Studios Bradley met with included MGM, Twentieth Century-Fox, Republic Pictures, Warner Bros., RKO, and Paramount Pictures.
[17] Memo from Bradley to Luther Evans, 23 Jan. 1946, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[18] The LOC had actually been commissioned with the difficult task of determining the location, allocation and disposal of surplus government prints by a Senate committee investigating the problem in November, 1946.
[19] Memo from Herbert Edwards, Dept. of State, to John Bradley, 18 April 1947, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[20] Memo from Herbert Edwards to Fred Teal, Library of Congress, 24 April 1947, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[21] Library of Congress, Information and Publications Office, Press Release, No. 318, Washington, D.C., Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[22] Memo from Bradley to the Chief Assistant Librarian, 2 April 1947, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[23] Within only a few months of Bradley's tenure, an internal memo to the motion picture division director indicated significant frustration and disarray: "'WOW!!!!...this seems confusing, lets forget it until the weather gets cooler" [sic]. Memo to Bradley, 23 Aug. 1945, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[24] Internal LOC notes from the legal department written on press release, ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Letter from Eric Johnston to Robert Patterson, 8 May 1946, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[27] Furthermore, film production on the part of government entities served as a valid concern for industry executives. During the war, precedents had been set for non-profit film archives and/or libraries to produce their own films by the MOMA film library who received grants to create a number of documentary/educational films. As demonstrated through MPAA memos, the educational market was one that the commercial industry maintained an active interest in wooing.
[28] Motion Picture Division notes, 12 Dec. 1946, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Fleischer, the son of *Popeye* and *Betty Boop* animator, Max Fleischer, had begun his lengthy film career by directing RKO short subjects during the war. He would go on to direct noted films such as *Soylent Green* (1973), *The Jazz Singer* (1980), and *Dr. Dolittle* (1967). Around 1944, Fleischer initiated correspondence with the LOC's Howard Walls, looking for early films "showing old time sporting events, etc…" to cut together in a quasi-parody of silent cinema. Walls worked with Fleischer to obtain copies of paper prints such as the *Opening of the Belmont Race Track* (1904), the *Johnson-Flynn Fight* (1912), and the *Faust Family of Acrobats* (1901). Walls also spent significant time researching and acquiring early film titles for Fox Movietone – even viewing himself as an extension of Movietone because of his "familiarity with early screen material." Memo from Walls, 17 Nov. 1944, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[31] Memo from Walls to LOC Research Division, 19 Dec. 1944, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[32] Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Luther Evans, "Library of Congress Plans Large Film Collection," *Library Journal* 71 May 1, 1946. 634.
[35] In drafting notes for proposed film legislation, Bradley listed "Preservation" and "Service" as the division's key roles. Preservation, according to Bradley, "encompass[ed] the proper installations and

practices to meet the hazards of chemical deterioration, misuse, weather, fire and unlawful entry." His definition of "service," however, took several paragraphs to explain and was pitched as "the lifeblood of the project." (In fact, several memos and press stories from the 1920s and 40s indicated that many outside of the technical associations of motion picture engineers viewed film's preservation problem as "solved.") John Bradley, "The Proposed Government Film Repository," June, 1945, p. 5-6, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[36] S. 1216, 79th Congress, 1st Session, 30 June 1945, GPO, Washington, D.C.

[37] Comments on Bradley's draft of a speech about the Motion Picture Project by Frances Harmon (most likely) to the Librarian of Congress, April, 1946, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The comments also critique vague language on the part of the MPPDA and their support of the program: "Eric Johnston pleads for unity and urges that we accept the 'challenge to utilize films of various kinds, in various lengths and widths (!), for various audiences.' Why? Does he own film stock?"

[38] It is additionally possible that the interest of the Division in producing films served to alienate Congressional support. Doug Herrick, in his article on this history of the Division, purports that it was the filmmaking component of the legislation that accounted for its demise: "In the eyes of the Republicans, films were irrevocably associated with the New Deal, lauding achievements and programs they considered partisan and unnecessary." Herrick, Doug. "Toward a National Film Gallery: Motion Pictures at the Library of Congress." *Film Library Quarterly*. 13: 2-3, 1980. 15-16. Although Herrick is likely right in some aspects of this supposition, I have found no supporting evidence. Email correspondence with former Motion Picture Division chief, Paul Spehr, indicates that a number of LOC programs (amongst several government programs in general) were axed in the same year. After fifteen years of federal expansion, the LOC film program may just have been a case of the wrong program at the wrong time.

[39] Memo from MacLeish to Evans, September 13, 1943, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[40] Following the congressional liquidation of the motion picture division in 1947, Bradley frantically drafted memo after memo regarding different ways to resurrect the LOC film program. In January, 1948, he revealed that, "the more I stew on this motion picture thing, the more it seems to me that we should have promise of substantial support from the industry – $200,000 - $500,000 a year – then go to Congress with [it] – [it will] give us simple authorization to run a National Film Library and the money to 1. acquire, 2. preserve MP film – all the rest, the industry would pay for." Although Bradley's appeals fell on deaf ears within both the LOC and within the Hollywood entertainment industry at the time, the perceived ideal scenario of formal (or financial) industry collaboration with U.S. government film preservation programs was one revisited throughout the entire twentieth century.
Handwritten memo to the Librarian, 19 Jan. 1948, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[41] P.R.M. Deal File, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.

[42] 22 Feb. 1943, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[43] Letter from MacLeish to Skouras, 20 Sept. 1944, MacLeish subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[44] Un-attributable memo in Producers File, 10 April 1946, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait* (Jefferson: McFarland Publishing, 1992) 4-5.

[47] David Piece, "The Legion of the Condemned – Why Silent Films Perished," *Film History: An International Journal* 9.1 (1997) 5-22. According to Pierce, other factors include: contractual obligations, "intentional destruction," nitrate fires, and the low number of initial distribution prints.

[48] Memo from Harold Berkowitz to R. W. Perkins, 5 May 1956, P.R.M. Deal File, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.

[49] P.R.M. Deal File, "West Coast Correspondence," Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.

[50] Ibid.

[51] In a larger sense, the global film industry's shift to sound technology in the late 1920s helped usher in a new, quasi-nostalgic or archival era in film history. Those that mourned the loss of silent films, and took pleasure in the expertise that knowledge of the era afforded them, were able to more successfully lobby for the acquisition (legal or otherwise), access, and the preservation of "historic" motion pictures. Now celebrated early film archivists and scholars like Iris Barry, James Card, and Henri Langlois articulated fan-like nostalgia, rationalizing the preservation of silent films as a way to protect the memory of a bye-gone era. Card freely admitted they did so with "an addiction, with fierce passion for the medium. We were militant and protective…" James Card, *Seductive Cinema: The Art of Silent Film* (New York: Knopf, 1994) Foreward.
[52] Exhibitor Press Booklet, Warner Bros. Twentieth Anniversary of Talkies file, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid. It appears that the Los Angeles Public Library also contributed to this work.
[55] Memo from Bradley to the Librarian, 5 June 1946, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[56] During the event, a heated exchange occurred between Dr. Evans and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. Alexander Wetmore. Following the formal handing over of the film to the Library, and Dr. Evans' loquacious speech about the national film library plans, a Warner Bros. employee asked, "I'd judge then the Library is more hospitable than the Smithsonian Institution to historic objects?" To which Dr. Evans agreed and Dr. Wetmore strenuously objected. The Warner Bros. staff member quickly jumped to deflate the inter-government feud and diplomatically asked what would happen to the film itself. Dr. Evans then stated that the film would be made a part of the Library's "growing collection of historic motion pictures…for the reference benefit of scholars, producers and other both in our time and in the years to come." Warner Bros. event minutes, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[57] Ceremony invitation, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[58] Press clippings of the Warner Bros. event, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[59] Other studios that contacted the Library included those on "poverty row," such as Republic Pictures who registered thrill that their film, *Youth Aflame,* had been selected for preservation, to the esteemed United Artists distribution company.
[60] *Kineweekly*, 29 April 1943, 15.
[61] Barry notes to MacLeish, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Also: James Card, *Seductive Cinema: The Art of Silent Film* (New York: Knopf, 1994) 102.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Memo from Bradley to Dr. Evans, 18 Dec. 1945, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 5.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Christopher Anderson, *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the 1950s* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) 23.
[66] See Christopher Anderson's *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the 1950s* for a detailed history and analysis of this programming venture and executive decisions leading to it.
[67] Ibid., 165.
[68] Ibid., 168.
[69] Additional examples are *Stage Door*, *A Date with Judy*, *My Friend Irma*, *Life with Father*, and *Topper*. See Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh, The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network and Cable TV Shows, 1946-Present (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999) 1269-1274.
[70] Christopher Anderson, *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the 1950s* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) 167.
[71] Although a number of historians including Hilmes and others indicate that Warners sold the collection to Associated Artists Productions, P.R.M. was the initial buyer that was then acquired by AAP at a later date.

No information exists as to P.R.M. and archivists at both Warner Bros. and USC agree that the company remains an unknown entity in the history of tracking the Warner Bros. film library.
[72] Although the idea of established motion picture companies' providing older films for televised programming appears logical in retrospect, it was initially resisted for a number of reasons. Most media historians agree that studios remained wary of damaging not only their increasingly tenuous relationship with cinema exhibitors, but were also concerned about harming their box office revenue. In addition, incredible wrangling over what networks would actually pay for the films was a necessary, and difficult, first step in the process. Noted broadcasting scholar Michele Hilmes states that "in 1951, *Variety* estimated the value of the films in Hollywood's vaults – features, shorts, and cartoons – at nearly $250 million, counting 4,057 features and in excess of 6,000 shorts form 1935 to 1946 alone." Michele Hilmes, *Hollywood and Broadcasting: From Radio to Cable* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990) 157. For more information regarding this transitional period, see work by William Lafferty, Tino Balio, William Boddy and Christopher Anderson). Hilmes further notes that three major issues delayed the studios' distribution of older titles to television, including exhibitor-studio relations, alternative (theatrical) means of television exhibition and the networks' low bids for studio product. Guild negotiations; the continued rumor that color television was imminent, potentially weakening the market for older, black and white films; and the impact of color and widescreen processes upon the second run theatrical market impacted decision-making in a volatile market. William Boddy, *Fifties Television: The Industry and Its Critics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990) 136-137.
[73] Sherwin Kane, "Warner Sees Era of Film Quality Ahead," *Motion Picture Daily* 20 Sept. 1956: 1, 11.
[74] Jack Warner memo, 14 Oct. 1955, Jack Warner files, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California. Unfortunately, Warner Bros.'s new television production endeavors worked to further confuse the inherently difficult negotiations over selling the Warner Bros. film library. Memos from Jack's son, Jack, Jr., who was working on the company's television projects in Burbank, conveyed an almost frantic tone over particular films he hoped could be held back from sale. Working on a television program based upon a successful Warner Bros. short subject series, Jack, Jr. realized that sixteen of the original series would be lost in the PRM sale and hurriedly contacted Warner Bros. executives with the problem: "We are moving fast with our….JOE McDOAKES series and I should hate to see us torpedoed by our own acts." Memo from Jack Warner, Jr. to Harold Berkowitz, 6 Mar. 1956, P.R.M. Deal File, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[75] Jack Warner files, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[76] Memo from P.D. Knecht to Robert Perkins, 14 June 1956, P.R.M. Deal File, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[77] Memo from Warner Bros. counsel, Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam and Roberts, to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, 7 March 1956, P.R.M. Deal File, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[78] *Movies from A.A.P.: Programs of Quality from Quality Studios*. Publicity Sales Book, 1957. (from author's personal collection).
[79] Memo from Obringer to Berkowitz, 28 Feb. 1956, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[80] For a detailed analysis of these business transactions, see Tino Balio's *United Artists: The Company that Changed the Film Industry* (1987).
[81] Kathleen Karr, ed., *The American Film Heritage: Impressions from the American Film Institute Archives* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, Ltd., 1972) Foreward.
[82] National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, Public Law 209, 89th Cong., 29 Sept., 1965.
[83] Ibid.
[84] For an excellent overview of the creation of the American Film Institute, see Sarah Ziebell Mann's MA thesis, *American Moving Image Preservation, 1967-1987* (University of Texas at Austin, 2000)
[85] *Newsweek* clipping, 11 Dec. 1972, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[86] Tom McGreevey and Joanne Yeck, *Our Movie Heritage* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997) 68-69.

[87] Stevens' experience provides an interesting parallel to his generation's film's directors – the "movie brat" generation – who shared their awe of Henri Langlois and his opinions towards their country's motion picture product. Also, nearly everyone involved in executive positions of the movement had trained or studied in the United Kingdom. This included the Librarian of Congress, Daniel Boorstin who studied at Oxford for undergraduate and graduate degrees and served as an American history professor in Paris.
[88] Colin Young, "An American Film Institute: A Proposal," *Film Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1961): 44.
[89] Lawrence F. Karr, "The American Film Institute and the Library of Congress," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 37, 3-4 (1980): 355-369.
[90] Imperative to understanding the operation of the American Film Institute is its collaborative structure. Material donated as a result of AFI solicitation was doled out to the big three film archives working at the time: the Library of Congress, the Museum of Modern Art, and the George Eastman House.
[91]Sarah Ziebell Mann, *American Moving Image Preservation, 1967-1987* (University of Texas at Austin, 2000) 16.
[92] Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait* (Jefferson: McFarland Publishing, 1992) 99; Also, see McGreevey and Yeck for a nice overview of repatriations, 71.
[93] Indeed, in 1985, Bob Rosen of the UCLA Film and Television Archive and AFI's National Center for Film and Video Preservation sent out a set of film preservation press clippings about which he stated: "It's a fat package because collectively the media paid a lot of attention to us this year." Preservation clippings file, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Beverly Hills.
[94] Shari Wigle, "Where Film Industry Stores its Canned Goods," *The Los Angeles Times*, 8 Sept. 1968, 18.
[95] For example, Australian Rupert Murdoch's 1985 purchase of Twentieth Century-Fox, and adoption of American citizenship to do so, elicited very little public response at the time. For more information see Alisa Perren's PhD dissertation, *Deregulation, Integration and a New Era of Media Conglomerates: The Case of Fox, 1985-1995* (University of Texas at Austin, 2004).
[96] "Colpix' future is subject of speculation at market," *Variety*, 1 Mar. 1989, 36.
[97] By the time Sony completed its takeover of Columbia Pictures, *Newsweek* published the results of its poll which indicated that 43% of respondents indicated that the high profile business deal was a "negative development." "Col buy puts Yank 'money-shuffling' under microscope," *Variety*, 11 Oct. 1989, 1, 21.
[98] Nina Easton, "Sony to Cash In on Columbia's Cache," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 Sept. 1989, 1, 27.
[99] United States. Cong. House. *America's Bedtime Story*. Statement by Mrs. Bentley (MD). 10 May 1989 < http://thomas.loc.gov/>.
[100] United States. Cong. House. John Wayne if Rolling Over in His Grave. Statement by Mr. Traficant (OH). 27 Sept. 1989 <http://thomas.loc.gov/>.
[101] Robert Lindsey, "Martin Scorsese's Campaign to Save a Film Heritage," *The New York Times*, 5 Oct. 1980, 19-20.
[102] LOC MBRS Division Files.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 233-234.
[106] *Will Hays Papers*, eds. Douglas Gomery and Blair Hydrick (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986).
[107] For a nice overview of this period's discursive trends, see John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986). Epilogue.

Chapter Four

Defending the National:
International Discourse and the Global Film Heritage

We have recently had a request for deposit of films with the Norwegian (!) Film Institute, which is to forward a copy of the Swedish (!!) Film Institute's deposit agreement. Norway, however, has expressed a willingness to go by the British Film Institute type of government…I think we should add the entire subject once again to the copyright agenda.

Warner Bros. memo to MPAA, 1970[1]

I will add the Norwegian Film Institute to the next copyright meeting agenda. We are having, at this time, difficulties with film institutes all over the world, which institutes are proliferating madly and which problem, because of print exchanges and loans, etc., might become a very serious one.

Warner Bros. Legal Department memo to WB International, 1970[2]

INTRODUCTION

Although U.S. moving image archives and production companies collaborated throughout the twentieth century towards an evolving national film preservation program, the relatively informal exchange of information often led to confusion – particularly in reference to preservation efforts outside American borders. In testimony given before a Capitol Hill committee in the mid-1970s, the head of the Library of Congress motion picture division, John Kuiper, responded to a question about European film archiving programs. Kuiper stated:

> In the Eastern countries, film archival activities tend to be part and parcel of the industry…what happens to film archives there is they tend to be sort of the re-releasing agent of the industry. But they do their share of preservation, no doubt about it. Sweden has a very good program…France is, I think, can only be described as a disaster area. Italy is in the same boat…England is in relatively good shape. Of course, the problem with the English is that they can't really decide which pictures are theirs.[3]

The United Kingdom was not, as Kuiper intimated, merely in "good shape," but had, in fact, virtually colonized the world's moving image collections (including Kuiper's own) by spreading its nation's film archiving theory, method, and zeal around the globe. Ernest Lindgren, the influential, almost revered curator of Britain's National Film and Television Archive, and his International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) associates, helped institute guidelines and policies for the field throughout the twentieth century. By the mid-1960s, preservation practice had assumed its central role within film archival discourse and was firmly established around the world via FIAF and other international organizations. Archival emphasis upon the science and technology associated with preserving films, seen by some historians as Lindgren's overriding passion, further assisted in shifting the field away from the cinémathèque model proffered by Langlois and others.[4]

Most histories of European and other international motion picture archives have focused on the tempestuous relationship between Henri Langlois, Lindgren and the general film archiving community during the 1950s and 1960s that caused representatives from Japan, Rochester, NY, and Langlois, himself, to resign from FIAF. Due to the attention upon personality conflicts, however, what has been lost is a more comprehensive understanding of how preservation, as ideal and practice, served to delimit participants in archival film discourse. Amid the growing number of film institutes, libraries, and motion picture archives desiring to join FIAF in the post-World

War II period – whether for prestige, information, and/or access to rare prints – preservation, as defined by the international organization itself, helped determine who could obtain membership.

U.S. film archives co-opted the larger heritage argument that emerged and proliferated within global cultural institutions during the late 1950s through the early 1980s. At this time, international organizations such as the United Nations Education and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) struggled with how to incorporate the differing needs and viewpoints of the exploding number of new nation-states out of former African and Asian colonies. The organization's sincere desire and moral imperative to include this much larger array of cultures encouraged an important institutional discursive shift. From advocating for the exchange of information relating to Western notions of culture, art, and science, UNESCO moved to development agendas celebrating global heritage. Moreover, as funding for these programs fluctuated, an increased emphasis was placed upon the *preservation* of this heritage – increasingly couched in terms highlighting material culture's precious and ephemeral nature. Without funding, international agencies warned, important and irretrievable artifacts would be lost.

FIAF members worked extensively with UNESCO programs and followed a similar trajectory throughout the twentieth century. When faced with radically shifting national boundaries and infra-national challenges in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly those emerging out the Americas, FIAF members engaged in acrimonious debate over membership requirements and, in essence, the future of the organization and field at large. FIAF's rhetorical and pragmatic shift – from sharing preserved prints of the world's cinematic art and iconic film texts to saving and protecting global motion picture heritage – influenced film archiving practice in every part of the world.

This chapter focuses upon FIAF's changing membership policies and analyzes the influence of the British Film Institute's National Film and Television Archive in pushing preservation practice to the center of film archiving discourse. Furthermore, FIAF's collaborative projects with a variety of international cultural agencies provide an overview of the changing dynamics and context of film heritage discourse. Although FIAF, like all other organizations, served as more flexible in reality than its bureaucratic rules indicate, institutional structures, member priorities, biases, and interests enabled or empowered specific global participants in archival discourse that, in turn, ensured the centrality of heritage preservation to the field's identity and practice.

THE BFI, THE NATIONAL FILM AND TELEVISION ARCHIVE, AND THE PRESERVATION DOCTRINE

> *I object. In fact, I protest against a new and dreadful menace to our peace of mind. The British Film Institute is inviting subscriptions for the creation of a National Film Museum. What a horrible thought! Is it not enough that we should have to look at films, while they are comparatively alive without having to nurse the harrowing knowledge that these films have been preserved in a museum and may spring at us again at any moment?*
>
> Walter Webster's "Should Our Films be Preserved?" published in the U.K.'s *Sunday Pictorial*, July 14, 1935[5]

The creation of the British Film Institute (BFI), and the subsequent establishment of the National Film and Television Archive (NFTVA), in the early 1930s substantially impacted archival practice and the film preservation movement around the world. In a sense, the United Kingdom's global/imperial role, and its corresponding concerns, validated the perceived national need for a film institute and virtually guaranteed its creation. "The Film in National Life," a report published in 1932 by the British Institute

of Adult Education, proposed the formation of a film institute "to promote the various uses of the film as a contribution to national well-being."[6] From its inception, the BFI concerned itself specifically with education, culture and, most importantly, the nation. The commission responsible for the 1932 report concernedly referred to the success of film institutes in other countries: "Almost every other country of comparable civilisation has designed to its own needs some form of permanent central organization….Japan vigilantly protects her youth against the influence of Western films and compiles a national film library showing the history, the traditions and the social life of her people."[7]

The commission fervently believed the creation of a U.K. film institute to be an "urgent national necessity" for both its domestic citizenry and for the education of "backward races within the Empire."[8] Britain's imperial concerns and assumed responsibilities over their dominions served as a major factor in the decision to establish the BFI. As in other aspects of colonialism, proponents for the BFI saw a mutually beneficial situation arising from the creation of an organization putting more emphasis upon the role of film in the dominions. Increased film production in countries making up the British Empire would offer important footage to be used advantageously in U.K. educational motion pictures (e.g., images from Africa and India would assist in teaching domestic audiences more about particular regions and would reinforce the important obligations of empire.) From London, the proposed film institute would respond, in kind, by supplying films for the colonies that would better educate residents there as to the British national culture and value system. The commission stated: "The backward races within the Empire can gain more and suffer more from the film than the sophisticated European, because to them the power of the visual medium is intensified. The conception of white civilisation which they are receiving from third-rate melodrama is an

international menace, yet the film is an agent of social education which could be as powerful for good as for harm."[9]

In referencing "third-rate" films, the Commission particularly pointed to the popularity and prevalence of American films in the colonies. The British government and film community were acutely aware of Hollywood's increasingly high profile around the world. Viewing film as the most powerful medium with which to advertise a nation's culture and ideology, the British Institute of Adult Education resoundly supported and advocated the establishment of a British film institute with which to combat other nations' propaganda. Moreover, increased industry competition with American film production companies spurred protective legislation and a heightened imperative to encourage "better" British-made films. The BFI appeared to be the logical instrument through which to raise the movie-going tastes of the U.K. public and to lobby the industry for more educative and quality filmmaking. Although the U.K. film industry expressed some concern that the organization might exert some form of censorship, or might even begin producing films itself, it nonetheless served as the primary funding mechanism for the British Film Institute. Signed into effect in 1933, initial financing for the institute came from the "Cinematograph Fund," a tax on Sunday earnings paid by cinema owners in England and Wales.

Upon the advent of its one year anniversary, the BFI viewed the creation of a national film library as one of its central and most prioritized tasks. Internal memos detailed specific rationales for such a film library with its first concern being the distribution of educational and "outstanding" entertainment films, from the U.K. and elsewhere, to cinema societies and schools everywhere in the empire.[10] Comparing their organization's aspirations with successful European circulating film programs, the BFI planned their own educational film network. The proposed program captured the public

imagination, inspiring one particular newspaper critic to proclaim rather prematurely: "No More Dunces!"[11]

As a result of the work of the Imperial War Museum, among other government agencies, and of the BFI's specific mandate to better the nation's commercial product, the U.K.'s National Film Library, from the outset, focused upon all genres – entertainment, government, and educational motion pictures – thus avoiding much of the tension ridden deliberations suffered in the United States by the Library of Congress and the National Archives in the 1930s and 1940s. The BFI immediately planned the creation of a national repository of films "of outstanding merit and historical importance."[12] In 1935, the BFI's small library of books and a few donated films was assigned to Ernest Lindgren, a young film enthusiast so desperate to join the new organization that he had agreed to serve as their information officer/librarian – although never having trained nor knowing anything about librarianship.[13]

Thus, Lindgren influenced the BFI's film library from its very inception. Working in conjunction with an advisory committee that viewed film from the varying perspectives of the "scholar, critic and producer," Lindgren supervised the selection and acquisition of films for the library. He additionally collaborated with the British Kinematograph Society and other trade associations in the technical research towards preserving and ensuring the longevity of the motion picture.[14] By the early 1940s, Lindgren's justification for the library had grown to echo his colleague Iris Barry's rationalization of the MOMA film library program, becoming more closely linked with entertainment, rather than educational, films. In 1941, Lindgren stated:

> The need for such a library was shown by the continual disappearance of important films….In the earliest days, films were sold outright so that they became the unqualified property of those that handled them. For the last twenty-five years…all copies in circulation are ultimately handed to special firms which formally undertake to destroy them, thus avoiding all danger of illegitimate distribution, and incidentally recouping a proportion of their original cost by the recovery of waste celluloid and silver.[15]

In his pitch for the need of the national film library, Lindgren additionally acknowledged the important cultural role of private collectors. Rather than dismissing film collectors as mere fans, or, even worse, illicit, copyright violating thieves, Lindgren posed that film collectors were untrained and simply did not possess the technical information and skills for storing and preserving films. Lindgren maintained that his national repository, the archive, offered the scientific knowledge, ability, and expertise needed to preserve moving image treasures. "Only such a body as the National Film Library," Lindgren wrote, "enjoying the confidence of the film industry, collecting films on a national scale, and keeping them under proper technical supervision, can ensure that film records are systematically preserved for the future."[16]

The NFTVA, and the BFI at large, worked relatively well with the British motion picture industry and, for the most part, even with Hollywood. Beginning in as early as 1936, the archive appealed to British and American commercial film producers who mostly responded favorably to requests for film prints. In fact, producer Alexander Korda found the archive's interest in obtaining two of his films "a great honour."[17] Ironically, the second of these films was Korda's 1935 comedy, *The Ghost Goes West*, a film regularly referenced in many contemporary studies of heritage as expressing Britain's growing twentieth century concern over the loss of sacred national property. (The film's plot revolves around the purchase of a historic Scottish castle by a portly, successful American businessman who plans to rebuild it in Florida.)

Despite such deleterious portrayals of U.S. corporate executives, an increasingly popular phenomenon in British films, 1930s American film production companies such as Twentieth Century-Fox, Columbia, and Warner Bros. were, for the most part, sympathetic and helpful with the NFTVA's requests. According to author Penelope Houston, Paramount Pictures was the Hollywood studio most suspicious and reluctant to assisting the British archive with its early collecting efforts. In the late 1930s, Paramount sent a strongly worded missive to the BFI indicating their concern and confusion over the library's interest in their material:

> The three subjects you have mentioned are all American subjects produced in Hollywood and would therefore have no direct connection with…a *National* film library such as is operated by your institute. We do not want in any way to appear antagonistic to the National Film Library idea which you are developing in this country; we assume you are aware than in America similar steps have been taken….[18]

Although Paramount eventually agreed to donate used film prints eight years following the original request, terse exchanges between Hollywood studios and BFI/NFTVA staff were sent East to West as well.

Under Lindgren's leadership, the collection had grown substantially and the curator's priorities increasingly focused upon the importance of preserving the thousands of reels stored in the organization's vaults. In 1955, the British Film Institute renamed the "National Film Library" the "National Film Archive" to illustrate, or more clearly define, the organization's primary mission: preservation. Lindgren famously registered his aversion to the term 'archive,' viewing the word as almost a "deathly sound in the world of the cinema, which is so young, vital and dynamic," and claimed there to be no reason that a "film archive should be a mausoleum."[19] But when Walter Jacks, an

executive with Warner Bros-Seven Arts in London, wrote to Lindgren in reference to material held by the NFTVA on a WB title, he quickly discovered the protective way the curator guarded his archival collection.

On behalf of WB-Seven Arts, Jacks asked Lindgren to borrow the archive's negative of Frank Capra's 1927 film, *Long Pants*, featuring Harry Langdon in one of his last starring comic vehicles.[20] Lindgren politely, but firmly, rejected Jacks' request. The NFTVA curator further stated:

> The negative…is part of our preservation master material which we require to keep in the National Film Archive in order to preserve the film for posterity….We are anxious to preserve the negative with the minimum of wear….Please be assured that…we are anxious to help you in every possible way, because your Company has always been extremely kind to us, but I do ask you not to press us to impair our archival preservation of this great American film classic.[21]

As this exchange illustrates, Lindgren may have theoretically opposed the utilization of the term 'archive' and its connotation of a rather closed or impenetrable institution, but, in practice, the NFTVA curator employed a clear view of the archive's position whether in reference to this "American film classic" or any other of the collection's "treasures."

The BFI's occasionally contentious relationship with the Hollywood film companies, however, occupied a central role in much of the domestic press coverage of the national archive's work and cultural function. Anti-American sentiments grew particularly acute when popular British or European films were remade in Hollywood. Such circumstances served to clarify, cement, and valorize the role of the National Film Archive in defending its country's prestige and honor. For example, articles proliferated in every major and minor British newspaper when a Hollywood studio purchased the

rights to Marcel Carnè's popular 1939 film, *Le Jour se Lève*. Eventually remade as *The Long Night* by RKO in 1947, the purchase of the original film rights, and the subsequent declaration that prints of the French version would be taken out of distribution and destroyed, produced massive outcry and condemnation. According to one article, "Purchase by Hollywood of that magnificent French picture, *Le Jour se Lève*, is ominous. They propose to remake the whole thing in bigger and bouncier form….This is a fate worse than death. It is akin to the horrible American habit of pulling flowers to pieces and rearranging the petals to make them look more 'attractive.'"[22]

Responding to the public outrage, Ernest Lindgren, himself, offered an editorial labeled "Hollywood Vandalism" in which he pointed out that "the suppression of *Le Jour se Lève* [was] by no means the first case of its kind."[23] Lindgren continued by referencing Hollywood's purchase of the film *Gaslight*, of which the only remaining copy of the original British version lay in the National Film Archive vaults. Reporters seized upon this story, printing several articles hailing the work of the NFTVA in reference to *Gaslight*, with one paper asking their New York based film critic to do an investigative report on the topic. (Final assessment, the paper stated: "Hollywood rehash is new and bad instead of being old and good.")[24]

Celebratory stories featuring the loss of old film "treasures," discovered as "saved" in the vaults at the British Film Institute's library/archive proliferated throughout the 1940s. By the 1950s, a general British attitude towards "Hollywood's way with classics" appeared to have been established and popularly reinforced in the press:25

(Cartoon from the U.K.'s *TATLER and Bystander*, February 15, 1950)

In the article featuring this cartoon, cinema critic Freda Bruce Lockhart reported upon her enthusiastic response to a programme of Marx Brothers and Buster Keaton films – screenings that resulted in her "mopping up tears of laughter."26 Such film events, she wrote, served as the key reason for the work of film archives and cinema societies. Moreover, the critic referred to Hollywood's "vandalism" towards British and European films such as Gaslight, amongst others, and claimed that "we should possess very few of the cinema's early masters were it not for the work of such bodies as…the British Film Institute's National Film Library, where the only existing copies…[are preserved].27 Lockhart and other critics reflected Lindgren's own rhetoric in looking at the films featured in these screenings as the embodiment of cinematic treasures – art and historic novelties, perhaps, but not heritage. For this discursive shift to occur, the National Film Archive, its curator, and his European archival peers worked in close

collaboration with the growing presence and influence of international agencies such as the United Nations Education and Scientific Organization.

UNESCO, EMERGING NATIONS, AND THE IDEA OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

> *Can any good thing come out of Hollywood? Can any good thing come out of UNESCO? To both of these questions, which the public at large may ask itself sometimes without being too sure of the answers, Myrna Loy...returns an emphatic* Yes.
>
> Interview with UNESCO representative, and Hollywood star, Myrna Loy, August, 1949.[28]

Although international associations related to general trade practices emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, organizations with cultural or educational missions remained national priorities until the creation of the League of Nations in 1920. Two years later, the League established the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) as one of its advisory councils – members of which included distinguished scholars, scientists and personalities such as Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, and Henri Bergson.[29] One of the ICIC's three main sections was the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI), sometimes referred to as the International Film Institute, headquartered in Rome.

Seemingly, the primary purpose of the IECI was to develop and further encourage the international exchange of "educational and cultural" films.[30] Internal discussions about the organization within the British Film Institute indicated that the IECI would acquire films of educational interest for a worldwide audience, but it would remain within the jurisdiction of individual nations to determine if such films were suited for their specific domestic citizenry (and, most importantly, exempt from customs tax). The BFI assumed the role of the United Kingdom's designated agent to the IECI – responsible for

determining if the films selected and promoted by the IECI met national standards and requirements.[31] But before the IECI's rather vaguely worded agenda could be more fully developed, Italy withdrew from the League in 1937, helping put an end to the League, the foundling IECI, and its projects.

In addition to early League of Nations endeavors such as the IECI, historians point to the atrocities and destruction wrought by World War II as central in pushing for UNESCO's eventual creation. The slaughter of mass numbers of intellectuals, teachers, and artists combined with the general decimation of institutions of higher learning to occupy a foremost position in the wartime concerns of European educators and cultural elite. Furthermore, military attacks during the war had specifically targeted cultural icons, architecture and national "treasures" all around the globe – actions that further assured issues related to culture and education as international imperatives in the post-war era.

Many individuals involved with the League of Nations prior to the outbreak of World War II believed education to be an important area neglected by the organization. Thus, when encountering significant problems with the influx of wartime refugee families in as early as 1942, the British Minister of Education and the Chairman of the British Council assembled a Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME), many of whom had left their own countries when the war began.[32] UNESCO's roots lay in this particular conference and a subsequent committee whose agendas focused upon the education and cultural concerns of the Allied powers, especially that of Great Britain. CAME discussions, echoing earlier ICIC conversations, developed throughout the war into a broader aspiration of creating an international organization – one dedicated to promoting peace via education, intellectual, and cultural exchange.

In San Francisco on June 26, 1945, the United Nations Charter was signed into effect, calling for "Specialized Agencies" to assist in their mandate that included the encouragement of "international cultural and educational cooperation…."[33] Two months later, upon suggestions from CAME members and UN conference participants, an assembly convened in London to create the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. Drawing upon CAME's earlier work and of the League of Nations before that, UNESCO were open to the inclusion of moving images to their discussions from the beginning. In the decades following UNESCO's birth, films grew to complement architectural, historic, and artistic artifacts in comprising what the organization defined "the cultural heritage of mankind."[34]

Although the delegates agreed that the protection and dissemination of cultural heritage served as an important component of the UNESCO mission, they additionally ensured that this exchange would occur through a system predicated upon national boundaries. Earlier versions of international intellectual cooperation, such as ICIC, had relied upon the individual participation of educators and scientists representing his/her own interests and the views of extra-governmental organizations and associations. UNESCO, the delegates argued, would be comprised of individuals that would "represent…the government of the State of which he is a national."[35] This important decision would bear tremendous impact on the organization, on the U.S. film industry's involvement in UNESCO, and on the global film heritage movement during the 1950s-70s.

In the immediate post-World War II era, however, UNESCO's members continued to hone and revise the organization's theoretical and conceptual framework. Initially, divisions arose between those members who advocated for an ideological or a broadly pedagogical role for the organization and those who wished for a pragmatic,

hands-on approach. Representatives from all over the globe argued either for ethical guidance or practical action, compromising in UNESCO's loosely termed goal of "ethical action." Although these debates remain a component of contemporary UNESCO discourse, the early discussions of the international organization demonstrated that members preferred a combination of efforts – a "twofold concern" which joined "efforts to promote international intellectual cooperation and the practical assistance." [36] As UNESCO quickly prioritized the socio-economic growth of the developing world, along with the United Nations at large, the organization increasingly worked on practical projects supported by a developmental functionalist theoretical framework.

Following its leadership in CAME and the ICIC, and its subsequent hosting of the organization's founding conference, Great Britain served as one of UNESCO's chief national participants from the very beginning. Unsurprisingly, the British Film Institute remained the U.K.'s choice representative for film related projects within the international community. Media-centered programs, initially not a top priority for UNESCO amid the restructuring of war decimated educational systems, slowly rose on the UNESCO agenda throughout the 1940s and early 50s. By 1952, the BFI and UNESCO worked in collaboration on a number of diverse projects. The BFI, with its representative serving as a member of the Film Sub-Committee for UNESCO's "National Cooperating Body for Mass Communication," participated in a project to consolidate and organize the cataloguing of motion pictures to increase film's use in schools, particularly those in developing nations.

UNESCO viewed the cataloging project as one small step in its endeavor to bring more films into classrooms worldwide. With its "film coupon" scheme, launched in early December 1950, UNESCO hoped to make further progress with their agenda. The organization collaborated with the BFI and other film institutes around the globe to

facilitate greater access to "educational, scientific, and cultural" motion pictures in the world's poorest countries. The international film coupon program hoped to encourage "soft currency" countries to acquire such films from "hard currency" nations. This program, however, appeared an attempt to enter the motion picture distribution market, a potentially controversial move in the eyes the global film industry.

(Film Coupon from UNESCO's distribution program brochure)

Indeed, newspapers rather bombastically announced that the film coupon scheme offered the United Kingdom's production entities new markets, or at least a unique opportunity to "export such films to countries which have hitherto had insufficient sterling resources."[37] Seemingly unconcerned with the possible conflict of interest posed with the scheme, the BFI served as a central distribution center for the films exchanged through the program. In addition to its role as the program's film exchange, the BFI also helped supervise the selection of titles by participating countries. UNESCO rules

dictated that countries wanting to acquire films via the film coupon scheme would first have to ensure that the specific film in which they were interested qualified as "educational, scientific or cultural, on which matter they [would] be given guidance by the British Film Institute."[38] In March, 1950, a UNESCO press release announced that India had purchased over $10,000 worth of film coupons to apply towards raw stock, negatives, and prints. UNESCO and the BFI strove to communicate that the program would not hinder nor impede commercial film distribution, a strategy that seemed to work. The film coupon scheme appeared amenable to UNESCO members – even those countries that possessed strong and politically powerful film industries.

The Hollywood film companies initially supported UNESCO's postwar endeavors, even seeing industry collaboration with the United Nations as a mutually beneficial relationship. A front page *Variety* story in September, 1950 reported upon the Los Angeles trip of a UN official, proclaiming a new view of "H'WOOD AS WORLD PEACE ENVOY."[39]

> At a mature, respectable age, the motion picture industry has decided to assume a position of greater responsibility in the world community. Hollywood is increasingly recognizing that a world organization exists and that motion pictures constitute the most effective method of making that organization – the United Nations – familiar to the peoples of the world….Production up to now has been concentrated in other countries, the films involved being chiefly of a documentary nature detailing various aspects of UN work….Hollywood's part in the program, however, is more dramatic. The primary goal is to inject a UN theme into entertainment pictures so that the basic message of the organization – the need for cooperation on a world scale – can be delivered without distorting or impairing in any way the entertainment value of the film in question.[40]

Variety was quick to point out, however, that Hollywood's support of UN themes should in no way be considered propaganda, but seen instead as simple assistance in

familiarizing the world audience with UN projects and personnel: "Eventually the hope is that filmmakers will accept a UN character in a picture as naturally as they now accept, say, a script differentiation between a T-Man and G-Man."[41] Advocating this approach for several years was UNESCO's first official Hollywood representative, Myrna Loy – President Roosevelt's favorite star at the time of his support of early Library of Congress film preservation efforts.

In fact, several Library of Congress employees and figureheads dominated early UNESCO projects. Former Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish, served as the preeminent U.S. delegate to the first UNESCO conference in London, assisting in the formulation of the organization's mission statement and central policy documents. MacLeish's successor at the Library, Dr. Luther Evans, who had worked so closely with Bradley during the heyday of the Library's Motion Picture Project left the Library, becoming the UNESCO's third director from 1953-1958. While still serving as Librarian, Dr. Evans found himself collaborating extensively with Ms. Loy to garner Hollywood support of UNESCO endeavors in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

In October, 1949, while attending the UNESCO conference, Evans, Loy, and MPPA President Eric Johnston met in Paris to discuss strategies with which to engage Hollywood producers with UNESCO aims. Loy strongly believed that she and the Hollywood UNESCO committee would be most successful in "selling" the organizational mission and concept to a wide variety of writers and directors, rather than enlisting industry producers and executives "to tackle specific UNESCO jobs."[42] Returning to Los Angeles, Ms. Loy arranged for several meetings between her Hollywood UNESCO committee members, Dr. Evans, and industry artisans to take place that December.

In his five day visit to L.A., Dr. Evans, then acting Librarian of Congress, met with a number of "key men" in the Hollywood film industry such as MGM executive

Dore Schary and many of his writing staff, Ronald Reagan, and Charlie Brackett, then serving as President of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Twentieth Century-Fox moguls, Darryl Zanuck and Spyros Skouras, arranged for Evans to address a luncheon gathering at the studio which was attended by over eighty-five producers, directors, and writers – some of whom commented later that Evans presented "the best practical outline they had heard on how the industry can contribute to international understanding."[43] Nearly every night of his visit, Dr. Evans served as the guest of honor at dinners and cocktail parties including one hosted by the Screen Writer's Guild at the home of the noted screenwriter, Leonard Spigelgass. The UNESCO report on the event strove to describe the affair as one that, while informal, revolved around discussions of UNESCO programs with over 200 influential attendees.

(Ethel Barrymore, Luther Evans, and Myrna Loy at the Spigelgass event, December 1950)

Although the Los Angeles film community received Evans with exuberant Hollywood hospitality, Loy and the Librarian found themselves repeatedly listening to two key issues of concern on the part of industry leaders and representatives. One of these was the familiar frustration, or cultural inferiority complex, from within the ranks of Hollywood's creative staff: LA filmmakers suffered public critique and ridicule, with "little recognition…given to their good products."[44] Individuals such as Dore Schary, amongst others, appealed to Evans to compare the number of "good" films to the number of "good" radio broadcasts or novels produced in a year. Furthermore, several writers pointed to their success in already "getting UNESCO ideas" into films such as *Miracle on 34th Street, Pride of the Marines,* and *Apartment for Peggy*.[45] Loy, Evans, and Mogens Skot-Hansen, the permanent UN representative in Los Angeles at this time, publicly acknowledged these achievements and expressed their hope that writers and directors would continue to feature UN themes in high quality Hollywood fare.

To a certain degree, the LA group's endeavors served as an Americanized version of UNESCO's preliminary European drafts for film oriented programs – repackaged for corporate consumption. Initial proposals deploring the contemporary state of film as commercial product were submitted to UNESCO's commissions mirrored earlier attempts to create film institutes and archives in major cities around the world during the 1930s. In 1946, UNESCO received a proposal to create an "International Association for the Encouragement of the Film Arts." An idea first proffered by German avant-garde filmmaker Herbert Seggelke, the concept grew to formal application status with the incorporation of additional comments and "instructions" by UNESCO and fellow German film director, Helmut Kaütner.

Seggelke believed there was "an international crisis of the film, in its essence, a crisis of the film arts" and offered a solution, to be carried out via UNESCO and partner

international agencies.[46] The director dramatically intoned: "The time has come, half a century after the invention of the film camera, at last to divorce show-business in cinematography from the artistic forum for the benefit of both. The Muse of 'films' will in return reward her 'Maeceneses' with works of art."[47] Essentially, Seggelke's proposal centered upon a UNESCO sponsored film producing co-operative, or conservatory, to which would be appointed twelve "artists of international renown, whose personalities and mental standards [were] likely to warrant accurate and unbiased decisions." These twelve individuals would then select and approve a finite number of "artistic" film projects to oversee and distribute around the world.[48] The proposal clearly intended for a quasi-studio system to be created under the auspices of UNESCO, or at least, to be affiliated with the organization in some way.

Although the authors envisaged a much larger film production and distribution scheme than what eventually emerged out of UNESCO's administration, the project well illustrates what some organizational members viewed as cultural priorities in the immediate postwar period. The moving image as "art" remained central in the global discourse surrounding film and its role in the aims of the United Nations. Moreover, the majority of participants in these international conversations focused upon the opportunities presented in *producing* and *distributing* artistic, educational, or culturally important films – not *preserving* media product as global heritage.

Moreover, film was primarily viewed as an important means through which larger UN aims could be popularized and attained. For an international agency like UNESCO, media assumed the role of multiplier for, or assistant to, larger educational or development oriented projects. Coming out of the wartime's socio-economic context, film, broadcasting, and the visual arts in general, were best understood as artistic or cultural product through which quasi-propagandistic aims could be communicated and

relayed to an increasingly global audience. Although cultural preservation served as a key component of the UNESCO mission at the outset, film's role remained one of an audio-visual aid towards larger development and humanitarian goals throughout the immediate post-World War II era.

Beginning in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, however, UNESCO increasingly turned to a cultural heritage, preservation driven agenda – and film projects mirrored this general trend. One of the key components in this discursive shift was the increased priority of a more inclusive, truly global approach to culture and its preservation. For example, Luther Evans helped draft one of UNESCO's earliest statements "Promoting the Preservation and Best Utilization of Cultural Heritage of Mankind" in the early 1950s. This initial plan, and the accompanying commission devoted to the topic, merely echoed traditional Western definitions of culture, dedicated to the "preservation, protection, and restoration of monuments, sites of art and history, and archaeological excavations."[49] One of the key projects undertaken at this time was the preservation of a sacred church and its "priceless mural frescos" in Yugoslavia – "a monument of considerable importance in the history of Byzantine art."[50] Similarly, the postwar reconstruction in Poland featured UNESCO's interest in "the protection and preservation of surviving works of art; and the reconstruction of those monuments…vital to…national culture."[51]

Ten years later, however, as UNESCO grappled with the new perspectives and needs of the large numbers of newly independent nations arising from former colonies in Asia and Africa, the organization prioritized and successfully promoted the "International Campaign to Save the Sites and Monuments of Nubia" – a historically important location increasingly jeopardized by the fluctuations of the Nile River. Between 1950 and 1972, the number of UNESCO member states had grown from 51 to 126 – a massive jump and

one with substantial impact upon the organization's activities. Due to the demands and expectations predicated upon the acceptance to UNESCO membership of these new nation-states, the organization shifted more assuredly into providing concrete, technical assistance and adhering to a new, more "practical" approach to development.[52]

Within UNESCO organizational and member discourse, the preservation of a nation's "art" grew less and less prominent. "Heritage," a more ubiquitous and universal term, assumed its familiar, central role in development discourse – all countries, regardless of social, economic, or cultural status possessed a unique heritage. Development concerns, particularly the heightened imperative to encourage economic growth in the "third world," steered UNESCO to adopt an overriding policy towards strengthening the power and importance of a nation's exclusive "cultural identity" in every country around the world. The concept of "heritage" better served the articulation and exploitation of these varied, but specifically state-driven, identities. According to UNESCO itself, preservation projects embodied:

> a response to a need and a profound aspiration on the part of peoples who wish to preserve and enhance that which expresses their distinctiveness and their identity, that which constitutes their contribution to world culture and civilization and which makes them the equals of other peoples and asserts the equal dignity of cultures. UNESCO may take pride in having been the first worldwide organization to come to a clear understanding and to discern…the power of the cultural and ethical factor and motivation…those of the young states in particular.[53]

International organizations such as UNESCO, predicated upon the structure and sustainability of the nation-state, served as exceedingly influential in the changing global discourse surrounding cultural heritage in the postwar era. The nation remained central to these discussions, both in terms of defining participants and in deciding beneficiaries

of the decisions or actions taken by UNESCO and other non-governmental organizations. Even before international agencies began viewing motion pictures as a component of the global heritage, rather than as a conduit through which development could be encouraged, the American film community struggled over these same participation issues – attempting to figure out who could speak and represent the pluralist voices of those invested in culture, history and art within the United States on the international stage.

Although Myrna Loy and Luther Evans had empathized with the Hollywood film industry's frustration with the world's casual disregard of their product as ephemeral, and culturally inferior "show business," the UNESCO representatives were unable to grant the LA film community's repeated demand for direct involvement with UNESCO decision making. By the late 1940s, the writers, producers, actors, and directors interested in UNESCO plans and programs complained to the Librarian of Congress and UN agents, declaring that the Hollywood committee/interest group embodied and preferred to exist as its own "'national group' rather than [tying] into local or regional UNESCO movement."[54] Furthermore, Hollywood's UNESCO committee believed their efforts well illustrated "the potentialities of an expanded organization associated with the National Commission."[55] Evans, and those involved with UNESCO issues at the State Department, disagreed, and the formal links forged with Hollywood, the entertainment film industry, and the international organization largely dissipated.

Educational film producers, distributors, libraries, museums, and institutes of higher learning – more familiar and inherently linked to government bodies – assumed the prominent advisory positions to Washington's UNESCO representatives. As the motion picture grew into its new role as "global heritage" during the latter postwar era, the Hollywood film industry remained absent from UNESCO and international agency discourse. At the same time, burgeoning non-commercial film preservation programs in

the United States continued to fight for domestic recognition and power, unable to focus specifically on similar needs in other parts of the globe. (In fact, early American Film Institute appeals utilized UNESCO's influential rhetoric and reputation to explicate and defend the organization's creation and existence in the U.S. itself.)[56] Advocating for the preservation of the world's film heritage thus remained the powerful domain of one frequent UNESCO collaborator, the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) – the association founded in the 1930s by the BFI's Olwen Vaughn, Henri Langlois, Frank Hensel, of the Riechsfilmarchiv in Berlin, and Iris Barry who, with the MOMA Film Library, represented U.S. interests and helped define "American" cinema as Hollywood product in non-governmental organizations around the world.

FIAF: "ROMANTIC PIRATES" AND THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL FILM HERITAGE(S)

> *The BFI Board of Governor's Decision to split the National Film Archive…has resulted in almost certain expulsion from the International Federation of Film Archives….Even one of FIAF's severest critics, who described it as a 'protection racket and a cartel of the most pernicious nature,' concedes the dire consequences of expulsion.*
>
> "Re-Splicing The National Film Archive," *Time Out*, 1974[57]

Around the same time that Iris Barry and John Abbott were working to create the Museum of Modern Art's Film Library in New York, similar moves were occurring in France, Germany, Sweden, Japan, and the United Kingdom.[58] A Paris meeting in June, 1938, between Abbott, Barry, Henri Langlois and representatives from the Reichsfilmarchiv and Britain's National Film Library created the first international association for film libraries, archives, and cinémathèques. With representatives from over twelve countries in attendance, the group convened several months later in New

York, signing documents to officially launch the organization which, according to press coverage in the *New York Times*, was "open to organizations having as their prime object the conservation of films, compilation of film records and projection of films for noncommercial purposes."[59]

Although this citation implied a relatively inclusive approach to membership by the young and idealistic organization, from its inception, FIAF held strong views as to who could participate in this first international film archiving network. Its original constitution and rules clearly and emphatically stated: "Rigorously excluded from the Federation are all institutions or organisations whatsoever which use their films for a commercial purpose."[60] The organization's virulently anti-commercial stance emerged largely because the young film archives and cinémathèques were acutely aware of their delicate relationships with the world's production companies, in particular, those in Hollywood. Early and influential FIAF members like Barry, Lindgren, and Langlois were film enthusiasts first – critics and collectors that either wittingly or unwittingly became the world's first generation of moving image archivists.

The line between film collector and film archivist, particularly in the first decades of the European film preservation movement, was a thin one. Indeed, reflecting upon the early generation of film archivists, FIAF described its field's ancestors as "romantic pirates, working secretly and in isolation, film enthusiasts of the nitrate underground."[61] Even decades after the first FIAF meetings, articles in the organization's newsletters continued to try and clarify their vocational efforts, attempting to distance their work further from the collectors that were a source of irritation for the major studios and their legal teams:

> Avid collectors are a race apart from the rest of men and it is not by accident that as a social type they have been subject to examination by psychoanalysts, who have instanced the neurotic and obsessive characteristics of many who have sought to covet all manner of objects in private collections. Sometimes the passion for collecting has destroyed all sense of morality; men of normally impeccable social standing have resorted to theft and other dishonest practices to satisfy their possessive instincts.[62]

Henri Langlois, the passionate film fan and founder of the Cinémathèque Française, has been often, and almost gleefully, described as the consummate film collector – fanatical, secretive, and willing to bury films underground rather than see them fall into what he viewed as the wrong hands. In actual fact, Langlois best exemplified the group of cinema enthusiasts whose priorities lay in the showing and sharing of the film experience. He might have been a collector to obtain a vast library of films, but, above all, he desired to present "his" collection to an audience, albeit an audience under his control and subscribing to his perspective.

World War II brought a temporary end to FIAF's aims, but the organization's leaders quickly rebuilt in early 1946. That same year, Langlois wrote the BFI's Ernest Lindgren a passionate letter expressing his hope that the growing number of film collections cum archives across Europe would participate in the organization: "I am absolutely convinced that the individual development of each cinémathèque can be effective only in relation to the development of cinémathèques around the world. Without international cooperation and an international understanding of the problems, we will not be able to make progress…."[63] According to author and film critic Penelope Houston, Langlois' impetus for this missive was the rising number of cinema societies looking for prints in the postwar era – a movement that WB executives had acknowledged years later as a real copyright "problem."

Langlois' concern was understandable, as one of the chief benefits for joining FIAF was the exchange of film prints between members – which, throughout the 1950s, were made up primarily of representatives from Europe's national film archives. FIAF's strict rules and regulations, argued Langlois and other FIAF executive officers, helped mitigate their members ability to antagonize film producers, and, in so doing, one another. Although the major histories of film archives have focused upon FIAF's preservation related activities, the organization maintained an ongoing interest in developing international distribution networks of "classic" films throughout the 1950s.[64] FIAF distribution plans divided the world into four separate zones, the European Zone, the East Zone ("comprising countries such as India and Japan), the North American Zone, and South American Zone."[65] Nations could either pay directly for prints from the Paris based "archive," FIAF envisaged, or individual archives could work in some sort of consortium with other countries in their particular zones. Thus, the "film library" or "cinémathèque" model, featuring the prioritization of motion picture access over strictly defined archival preservation, remained the most influential ideal within FIAF discourse and practice during this period.

When the Library of Congress received an invitation from the FIAF executive officers to attend the organization's 1952 conference in Amsterdam, over 80% of the organization's full members hailed from Europe. Not really knowing "these people" or their organization, the Library of Congress declined FIAF's invitation.[66] The Assistant Librarian, however, requested that a representative from the American Embassy in the Netherlands attend the Congress and report on the event for them.[67] Subsequently, a Foreign Service Dispatch from the State Department was relayed to the Library of Congress, explaining what FIAF was, its organizational aims, and, of course, who was participating:

> FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES ARCHIVES DU FILM is said to be a non-political organization with purely cultural aims. Its practise has always been to send invitations for congresses to all countries, including the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has always sent representatives to these conferences and has seemed interested, but up to the present time their interest has not resulted in active cooperation. The FEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES ARCHIVES DU FILM officers expressed keen disappointment that the Library of Congress did not send a representative to this Congress and did not respond, in any way, to their invitation.[68]

For the next several years, the LOC, in conjunction with the National Archives, continued to turn down FIAF invitations, while sending State Department representatives to observe and report upon conference proceedings. Repeatedly, these representatives conveyed the ardent interest held by FIAF in better determining what was happening to American films, most specifically, Hollywood "classics." A 1953 report from the FIAF Congress in Vence, France, bluntly stated that the European community, with its "methodical mind," was very "disconcerted" by "typical American factors" involving the U.S. approach to film preservation.[69] Unsurprisingly, of particular concern was the lack of a centralized U.S. agency for cultural functions and private enterprise's involvement in areas fully sanctioned by, or "entrusted" to, the European public sector.[70]

The U.S. government, however, appeared uninterested in what Europe thought of their work. Instead, Washington bureaucrats worried more over FIAF's international distribution goals. As LOC staff discussed, FIAF's plan possessed an almost activist stance, rather than a purely benign, educative exchange of informational or historical films. FIAF distribution aspired to send films to "all member nations of the FIAF and the nations where the directing committee of the FIAF deem it necessary to encourage or stimulate the creation of a national cinema archive with a view to its ultimate entry in the

FIAF."[71] In addition, the LOC representatives expressed concern over the fact that FIAF worked both with older film material and promoted the "circulation" of new motion pictures as well. Such a program lay outside of, if not contradictory to, the Library's guiding mission – particularly, if the U.S. could not control the distribution of product to specific areas of the globe.

Despite incipient U.S. concerns over the Soviet Union's participation in FIAF activities, the Cold War bore little impact upon the organization – barring some difficulties in obtaining visas to Eastern European conferences for some members. In fact, one FIAF member acknowledged that the organization "was always split between the film enthusiasts and the administrators, never between East and West."[72] The schism between advocates for a more informal, cinémathèque-oriented model and those interested in creating strict, scientific based standards for archival practice became even more pronounced over the ensuing decades. In addition, television's growing influence in showing older films, heretofore the domain of the cinémathèque or archive, pushed FIAF further towards a focus upon science, technology and the practice of preservation. Without their relatively exclusive role of gatekeeper to film's past, moving image collections around the globe mirrored the BFI film collection's move from "library" to "archive," placing more discursive emphasis upon guarding their sacred "treasures." FIAF minutes rather dispassionately reported that directors of member organizations were becoming "more and more 'archivists' (in the technical sense of the word,)" and less "curators" and "historians," with "the scientific and technical character of our archives getting every day more specific."[73] Committees, and sub-committees, dedicated to specific preservation and documentation aims proliferated and multiplied within FIAF – as did the number of countries interested in joining the international federation.

From its inception, FIAF's rules and regulations, like many international non-governmental organizations, appeared exceedingly complex in nature. In particular, the bureaucratic requirements governing membership have elicited much vociferous debate throughout the organization's history. Beginning in the mid-1960s, and continuing through the following decades, the organization wrangled over how best to manage the exploding numbers of motion picture archives – many of which were emerging from within nation-states with well-established film archives already claiming FIAF membership and territorial dominion.

During the postwar period in which newly created nations assumed a central role in a proliferating number of international organizations, FIAF members worked closely with UNESCO, and representatives of the UN's cultural agency regularly attended FIAF congresses. Moreover, influential FIAF members, such as the BFI/NFTVA's staff, worked directly with UNESCO projects. It was unsurprising then, that the International Federation of Film Archives discourse would mirror, if not directly refer to, UNESCO as a working model with which to approach its own programs and ideals. Addressing the 1966 Congress, FIAF's president, the Warsaw film archivist, Jerzy Toeplitz, evoked UNESCO rhetoric in stating that "the main role of films is to brings nations closer together and to construct a bridge between continents, cultures, societies, and political and social systems….Through its love for the cinema, the Federation remains aware that the encouragement and development of international contacts in its field represent its contribution to better understanding among the nations of the world."[74] One year later, Toeplitz's opening speech to FIAF delegates further reflected UNESCO' evolving agenda with its increased emphasis upon a more proactive involvements with the world's youngest nations. He emphatically stated, "To be without a film archives is an indication of the cultural underdevelopment of a country."[75]

By the early 1970s, FIAF members had moved from engaging in general idealist rhetoric to the creation of specific strategies to encourage the creation of film archives in developing countries. In addition to the formation of a working group devoted to this area of interest, FIAF delegates completed a survey that compiled a master list of non-member states FIAF members were already in contact with or the countries with which FIAF members would most like to communicate. The organization appeared most interested in rallying archival interest in Iran, Indonesia, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda due to the active film and television production in those areas and the corresponding lack of national repository for such media product.[76]

Furthermore, FIAF began working more closely with other international organizations, particularly UNESCO, the International Federation of Film Producers, and the International Archive Council, during this period. Such groups were increasingly aware of the cultural role, and economic potential, of moving image archives in the developing world. In the early 1960s, a *Screen* (India) article from Madras reported that UNESCO pledged a new prioritization of disseminating information about the preservation of moving images and photographs.[77] As a result of efforts on the part of its French delegation, UNESCO committed to raising the profile of media preservation around the world so that action would be taken "as had been done in respect of books, archives and objects preserved in museums of art, science and technology at the national level."[78] Significantly, the motivation for this new impulse appeared to remain in the view of films (and broadcasting) as important mass media products – mechanisms through which the world's population was greatly influenced. Researchers' lack of access to these media served as a central force in UNESCO's interest, and financial support of, film archiving programs.

Most importantly for members of the International Federation of Film Archives, UNESCO had indicated its eagerness to work in conjunction with international associations and established national organizations that already served as technical experts in the field. With FIAF members already linked with UNESCO through related projects, the Federation grew even more involved in the growing number of preservation oriented UNESCO programs. FIAF and its enthusiastic members undoubtedly played a role in shifting UNESCO's view of the moving image from research tool to global heritage product. By 1972, UNESCO had circulated a questionnaire in reference to global film preservation projects to its member states, and FIAF was energized at the idea of collaborating with the UN in encouraging and establishing film archives, particularly in southern Africa's newest countries.[79] FIAF shrewdly noted that its increasingly close relationship with the UN agency could expedite specific FIAF interests and goals – particularly the funding of training courses in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[80]

Another UNESCO project proved an ongoing, substantive, and sometimes contentious one for FIAF's membership throughout the 1970s: "The UNESCO resolution on the importance of film archives for the national film heritage."[81] Beginning with the 1972 FIAF Congress in Canada, discussions over the evolving drafts for the UNESCO resolution dominated FIAF sessions for several years. In 1975, UNESCO convened a "Committee of Experts" to help examine if, why, and how to create and implement an international "recommendation or convention to protect moving images from being destroyed." FIAF played a central role in these discussions, both with individual member participation and through the submission of several key reports that proved influential in the final recommendation's language. Although FIAF members likely bristled at UNESCO's continued reference to the concept of film archiving as a "new" one, having been dealing with such issues as copyright, statutory deposit, and

technical preservation practice for years, the organization's representatives supported and facilitated discussions with the eclectic gathering of participants – non-profit and commercial alike.

FIAF members involved with the UNESCO project reported in 1976 that the Federation's working group papers had "served as the basis for most of the [UNESCO] discussions."[82] Although the program was proceeding more slowly than they had hoped, FIAF representative, Wolfgang Klaue, suggested that the organization begin a more systematic mechanism with which to communicate with the UN – primarily to better follow the UNESCO decision process and to further assure that FIAF's viewpoints were incorporated into the final recommendation language. By late 1979, Klaue announced that UNESCO had produced its first round of drafts for the International Recommendation to Safeguard and Preserve Moving Images. UNESCO had incorporated a number of FIAF suggestions and requests such as an acknowledgment of the work already achieved by member film archives in the field and acceptance of the inherent rights of established archives.[83]

In 1980, FIAF was granted official UNESCO non-governmental organization (NGO) status which formally provided for a mutually beneficial relationship between the two institutions. FIAF offered expert advice, reports, and participated in relevant UNESCO events. In return, UNESCO included FIAF in its information exchange, supplying the NGO with data regarding UN programs of particular interest in accordance with FIAF's constitution. In 1972, UNESCO signed the "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" through which the organization's original aims of artistic and cultural preservation fused into a universal policy of "heritage" conservation and management. Concurrently, the success of television and video as the contemporary mass media most utilized in global entertainment, education,

and development programs contributed to a growing view of iconic films as "classic" within the popular imagination. The films that comprised the world's archival collections began to fit more easily within the international heritage framework predicated upon national boundaries and national film production.

In 1980, UNESCO published its "Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Images" which, in conjunction with sanctioned NGOs, advocated and supported "the creation and strengthening of…film, television, and audio-visual archives throughout the world."[84] The Recommendation clearly stated that global moving image preservation policy would best be implemented through nationally "recognized archives of appropriate resources in terms of staff, equipment, and funds, to [protect] effectively their moving image heritage."[85] Thus, by the early 1980s, the position of film as international heritage was ingrained, formally sanctioned, and accepted in all nations around the world – or, at least in all of UNESCO's 153 member states who unanimously supported the Recommendation.[86] At the same time, however, issues that had been percolating within all levels of FIAF membership throughout the 1960s and 1970s, erupted into full blown debate and argument.

Although FIAF representatives had successfully impelled UNESCO's acceptance of a number of the Federation's key principles within the Recommendation, FIAF's proposal to create a central agency in each UNESCO member nation was soundly rejected. FIAF envisioned such entities as managing and executing film related legal or business agreements for national collections, particularly those transactions which involved motion picture producers with whom FIAF continued an ambivalent, and sometimes adversarial, relationship. The concept of one centralized, or formally recognized, organization or archive per nation was one that made sense in the late 1930s and 40s when FIAF first began its work. Through the ensuing decades, however, the idea

of one archive-one country became contentious, problematic, and downright antiquated as the number of archives (and nations) proliferated in the post-war era.

Discussions over UNESCO's influential and politically imbued "Recommendation" incited much internal debate at FIAF congresses and behind the closed doors of FIAF executive council meetings. With the UNESCO document sanctioning the existence and validity of more than one "officially designated" archive in a country, FIAF executives and members argued over the decades-old organizational policy which allowed for one primary archive, or one vote per nation, regardless of how many other institutions existed within the country. More importantly, the "official" film archive had the ability to veto another archive's ability to join the Federation as a full member.

Ever since the organization's inception, debates had raged within FIAF over the requirements for membership, growing particularly complicated when the organization escalated its solicitation of representatives from the developing world. In 1972, as a response to the exploding numbers of new archives, FIAF's executive committee discussed the group's "character," stating that its organizational priority remained the "preservation of the art of moving images." [87] The committee further declared that those institutions preserving films with no relationship to film as "art," could not become full FIAF members – only associates. These strong declarations clearly rattled the organization's membership, many of whom felt that an art-centered approach would unnecessarily restrict archival activities and efforts.

Objecting to these critiques, the executive committee maintained that the decision was not intended to restrict archival endeavor, but served to limit the numbers of potential FIAF members – something, the committee members argued, was "urgently needed." [88] Although the small staffed, under-funded organization understandably hoped

to retain control of member numbers, the underlying concern related more to internal power struggles and the interests of the established national film archives and longtime FIAF players: "If we admitted those archives as full members of FIAF, we archives whose primary interest had always been the art of cinema and who had always been linked by this common interest and spirit would rapidly be overtaken...."[89]

In fact, the rising number of members from the developing world was not the sole or primary reason for FIAF strife over membership policy. During the early 1980s, the rapid proliferation of regionally based film archives and cinémathèques in Italy elicited consternation over the increasing lack of "distinction…made between seriously-minded archives and amateur collections."[90] Hoping to refrain from antagonizing FIAF's official Italian delegation, several executive members suggested that the organization take a conservative approach and not formally recognize the growing number of smaller and specialized film collections.[91] In response, influential FIAF member and longtime leader, Jerzy Toeplitz, stated:

> That there was nothing new about [the] proliferation [of film archives]….But…he thought it was time for FIAF to make a declaration of principles to make it clear that an organisation must have sufficient <u>means</u> to create and maintain an archive, which, after all, was a very different proposition from <u>establishing</u> a small collection of films for teaching or screening purposes….The new declaration should affirm why a serious archive was absolutely essential to preserve the national production of a country.... This declaration…[needed to be] conveyed to UNESCO and its national commissions…[as] the present situation was dangerous.[92]

Advocates from Eastern Europe appeared particularly adamant, strenuously advocating for FIAF to help mandate a "centralised archive to carry out the task of preserving the national heritage" in countries around the globe.[93] Mr. Tikhonov, FIAF

representative from Moscow's Gosfilmofond, acknowledged that while a centralized archive wasn't feasible everywhere, several organizations in one country "led to a dissipation of energies…[and there needed] to be a leading archive in every country and that the smaller ones must be made aware of their wider, national responsibilities."[94] This complicated, and very heated, discussion continued, resulting in an official FIAF statement "on the role of film archives" being sent to members in May, 1981. The declaration clarified that FIAF members should be those working on the "national level," whose main objective [was] in the "preservation of film" [emphasis in original.][95]

In essence, this debate merely reinforced the ongoing tensions surrounding FIAF's institutional mission and the tenuous links between the film archives themselves. During this era, FIAF co-opted UNESCO's heritage preservation rhetoric. The international film organization's solid re-dedication to preservation as its central tenet and core mission value had the pragmatic effect, perhaps unintentional, of privileging those film archives who addressed a national audience in intent, purpose, and practice. Film preservation grew from an institutional goal to, increasingly, a method through which to delimit participants in global film heritage discourse. With the forceful statement of FIAF's executive arguing that preservation served as an archive's central focus, without which "no real cultural activity" could take place, cinémathèques or smaller, specialized film collections that prioritized access to material remained peripheral within the organization.[96]

For other FIAF members, however, the concern over the proliferation of smaller collections was due to a very basic concern: funding. Preservation, increasingly defined along technical specifications created from within the organization, cost significant amounts of money – money that usually only existed in state-run organizations such as the National Film and Television Archive. Representatives from a variety of countries

advocated for FIAF to allow as full members only those who as "national archives…gave priority to the preservation of the whole national production…and encourage the creation of new archives in countries where they did not exist yet, rather than to multiply film archives in one same country. The reason therefore was obvious: to avoid the division of legal and financial support of the fund dispensing authorities and to ensure the preservation of the greatest possible number of films in the world."[97] Moreover, many of these "nationalist" FIAF members demonstrated their interest in assisting developing nations through preserving their films in the large, established film archives in Europe and other more affluent locations, rather than encouraging a further proliferation of film archives.

One particular area of the world that took particular affront to this well-meaning but problematic suggestion was Latin America. FIAF members from this region and their accompanying alternative perspective towards the role of film and its preservation proved consistently difficult for FIAF – struggling to reconcile its organizational aim to include all parts of the globe with a different understanding of "preservation." In the early 1970s, a FIAF delegate from the Cinemateca de Cuba gently chided some of the European members, saying that he "had the impression that they did not fully understand what the cinema meant for Latin-American countries. Their films were not museum rarities which could be preserved abroad. They were living vehicles of propaganda and decolonization, a medium for culture in the widest sense of the word and must therefore be shown as much as possible."[98] In places such as Guatemala, Venezuela, Paraguay, and Chile, the politically imperative dimension of film exhibition overrode the prioritization of preservation. Indeed, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Latin American representatives argued that while they understood the importance of moving image preservation, they felt

it to be more urgent to disseminate "films representative of a truly national culture and to use these films to promote their culture and to defend it against foreign imperialism."[99]

Separate from some of the politically charged rhetoric, what constituted much of the key concern over the work of film archives in Latin America, seen by many FIAF members as "mere film screeners of cine-clubs," was funding sources for the organizations. European film archives, the majority of which existed in some relationship with the state government, found it troubling that the regional film archives existing in Latin America were largely privately run, often relying upon the money generated from screening or other archival activities. In the 1930s, the original FIAF members emphatically and universally proclaimed that no archive that used their films for commercial gain could participate in Federation activities. By the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, however, the once suspect Latin American model looked increasingly attractive to the traditional European archives as their state funding grew less and less dependable. The dismantling of the welfare state system in the U.K. and other European countries forced even the most established film archives to seek new economic sources, and a more strident conservation rhetoric, with which to preserve their increasingly expensive moving image heritage.

CONCLUSION

> *A filmarchive has many tasks. To preserve the national film heritage. To preserve film in general. To stimulate a national film production. To awaken an awareness for film as a cultural heritage. This happens in different ways. And differently in every country. It depends on the history of a country.*
>
> "A Visit," FIAF Bulletin, April, 1983

'How many preservationists does it take to change a light bulb?' Four: One to change the bulb, one to document the event, and two to lament the passing of the old bulb.[100]

According to United Nations statistics, 750 million people, nearly a third of the global populace, lived in colonial territories when the agency was created in 1945.[101] By the early 1990s, merely two percent of the world's population remained in areas still reliant upon colonial powers.[102] Perhaps more significantly for the world's moving image archives, over eighty former colonies have attained independence and recognition as autonomous nation-states since the final days of the Second World War.[103] The International Federation of Film Archives, created in the pre-war era of intellectual, international collaboration, illustrated the successes and frustrations of an organization with global aspirations, but conflicting views of what these aspirations should be – and how they should be achieved. When the Federation began, the film library and cinémathèque models passionately advocated for by Henri Langlois and other film enthusiasts guided their mission and principles.

As rapid decolonization occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, and the numbers of film archives proliferated, a different, preservation-centered discourse – one more interested in the technological aspects of conservation – assumed a prominent position within the most influential moving image archival association. Until the year 2000, the film archive recognized by FIAF as the official repository for a specific nation retained exclusivity over its dominion. In essence, one particular film archive ostensibly held the power to accept or reject another institution within the same country. With the preservation of national film heritage as the key, motivating rationale for film archives associated with the Federation, state run archives maintained leadership positions and helped delineate global practice for the young field. Publicly funded organizations, rather than private,

commercially driven corporations, participated in these influential discussions and attempted to defend the nation-state as the primary player in film preservation.

Although numerous countries and regions represented in FIAF, from Italy and Germany to several Latin American nations, resisted and rejected the notion that there should be one central organization devoted to the preservation of national film heritage, influential FIAF members turned to UNESCO and its programs to help sanction a nationally driven rationale. UNESCO's accepted role as cultural arbiter and global legitimizing agent influenced film preservation practice throughout the century – particularly when its 1980 Recommendation advocated that each country give priority to its "national production."

As FIAF assisted in the creation of the UNESCO document, so did it assist in the defining of "national production" around the world. By 1988, FIAF had grown to an organization with 78 members – "78 places across our planet…where people are busy examining, sticking together, patching up and caring for all these images that life and the imagination of man have produced since the moment when a certain train entered Ciotat Station."[104] Indeed, responsibility for the "patching up" of the world's film collections had grown from the early film archives, organizations, and infrastructure developed in the 1930s and 40s – ones predicated upon national boundaries and parameters. These early film archives were essentially a small number which rather informally communicated and shared similar interests and ideals. Regardless of whatever conflicts emerged, all originally came to the field from their background (and passion) as film enthusiasts.

With changing technologies, and a successful push to redefine film art and film history as film heritage, the first generation of film archives and film archivists struggled with a new era. Regardless, FIAF's founding organizations such as the British Film Institute, the "BFI's colonial outpost" (aka, the MOMA Film Library), and the

Cinémathèque Française, wielded significant influence in building and supporting the world's film canons. For the United States, FIAF's power and presumed cultural authority affected its national film preservation movement through active participation by the nation's largest and first moving image archives such as the MOMA film library and the LOC.

FIAF's preservation-centered discourse influenced and dominated American archival practice. Furthermore, this powerful international organization collected, preserved and helped define what "American" national film production was: Hollywood. From Lindgren's refusal to a Warner Bros. request over the company's own film, on behalf of "preserving American film heritage," to accepting as members only the major U.S. archives whose collection was made up of classic Hollywood films, FIAF assisted in conflating American and Hollywood into the nation's "film heritage." But in the 1980s, as FIAF's membership battles assumed greater potency, North America launched the beginnings of its own archival association – one that allowed a much wider array of members and would begin to further challenge Hollywood's hegemonic position in American moving image heritage discourse.

Notes: Chapter Four

[1] Memo, 6 Feb. 1970, Warner Bros. legal files, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[2] Memo from Vivienne Nearing, 6 Feb. 1970, Warner Bros. legal files, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[3] United Artists Corporation memo from Herbert T. Schottenfeld to John Kuiper, 5 Feb. 1975, Division files, Motion Picture Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[4] See, for example, Penelope Houston's discussion of Lindgren in *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994).
[5] Walter Webster, "Should Our Films Be Preserved?," *Sunday Pictorial* 14 July 1935: 15.
[6] The British Institute of Adult Education, Commission on Educational and Cultural Films, *The Film in National Life* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1932) 140.
[7] Ibid., 141.
[8] Ibid., 140.
[9] Ibid., 126.

[10] Undated internal BFI memo re "the need for a projection theatre and a national film library," NFTVA files, British Film Institute Library, London, U.K..
[11] Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994) 26.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ivan Butler, *"To Encourage the Art of the Film:" The Story of the British Film Institute* (London: Robert Hale, 1971) 55-56.
[14] See Lindgren's October, 1941 contribution to the BFI newsletter entitled "The Work of the National Film Library," NFTVA files, British Film Institute Library, London, U.K..
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994) 31.
[18] Ibid., 32.
[19] Ernest Lindgren, "The Importance of Film Archives," *Penguin Film Review*, No. 5 (London, 1948).
[20] Film archives frequently ended up with feature negatives from studio distribution offices around the world.
[21] Letter from NFTVA Curator Ernest Lindgren to Walter Jacks, Warner Bros.-Seven Arts, 5 July 1968, Warner Bros. legal files, Warner Bros. Archives, University of Southern California.
[22] Untitled 1947 *Daily Mail* editorial, NFTVA clippings file, BFI Library, London.
[23] Ernest Lindgren, "Hollywood Vandalism," *The Spectator*, 7 June 1946: 586.
[24] Stuart Gelder, "'Not Guilty' Says Hollywood," *News Chronicle* 5 May 1946, NFTVA clippings file, BFI Library, London.
[25] Freda Bruce Lockhart, "At the Pictures," *The Tatler and Bystander* 15 Feb. 1950: 286.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] "Film Star with UNESCAN Outlook Visits the Courier," *Unesco Courier* August, 1949.
[29] Peter I. Hajnal, *Guide to UNESCO* (London: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1983) 2.
[30] Undated internal BFI memo re "the need for a projection theatre and a national film library," NFTVA files, British Film Institute Library, London, U.K..
[31] Ibid.
[32] For overview see Hajnal and *Unesco on the eve of its fortieth anniversary* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985).
[33] United Nations, Charter, Article 55.
[34] *Unesco on the eve of its fortieth anniversary* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985) 15.
[35] Ibid., 16.
[36] Ibid., 19.
[37] "International Film Coupon Scheme," 12 Dec. 1950, UNESCO clippings file, British Film Institute Library, London, U.K..
[38] Ibid.
[39] Mike Kaplan, "H'WOOD AS WORLD PEACE ENVOY: UN Sends Rep to Film Capital," *Variety* 180.3 27 Sept. 1950: 1.
[40] Ibid., 1, 62.
[41] Ibid., 62.
[42] Department of State "Memorandum of Conversation," October 18, 1949, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[43] Howard Vickeray, Summary Report on Film Discussions in Hollywood, U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Department of State, Dec. 27, 1949, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 3.
[44] Ibid., 5.
[45] Ibid.
[46] For a complete overview of the proposed institute, see draft in the UNESCO file, BFI Library, London.
[47] Ibid., p. 4.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Undated UNESCO memo from Luther Evans, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 5.

[50] Ibid.
[51] UNESCO, "Protection of Mankind's Cultural Heritage," (Paris, June, 1970). 24.
[52] *Unesco on the eve of its fortieth anniversary* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985). 24.
[53] Federico Mayer and Sema Tanguiane, *UNESCO: an ideal in action* (Paris, UNESCO Publishing, 1997) 112.
[54] Howard Vickeray, Summary Report on Film Discussions in Hollywood, U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Department of State, 27 Dec. 1949, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 2.
[55] Ibid.
[56] In July, 1982, the AFI's Lawrence Karr and the LOC's Paul Spehr wrote a report entitled "Preserving America's Moving Image Heritage: Current Problems, Past Achievements, and Future Directions." The report began with a strategic and highlighted key UNESCO quote from the organization's 1980 "Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Images:" "moving images are an expression of the cultural identity of peoples, and because of their educational, cultural, artistic, scientific and historical value, form an integral part of a nation's cultural heritage."
[57] *Time Out* Editorial, "Re-Splicing the National Film Archive?," 25-31 Jan. 1974, 16.
[58] From Barry's perspective, visiting Germany to acquire motion picture material for the Library in the mid-1930s, the Reichsfilmarchiv "has met the problem of preserving films more adequately than any other European country." Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994) 20. In many ways, the German film preservation program provides a more appropriate comparison model for the United States as it is a federal system. World War II, however, curtailed the influence of the German film archive(s) and the British approach was more firmly entrenched around the globe.
[59] "Film Libraries Organize World Archives Group," *New York Times* 11 Dec. 1938: 74.
[60] Houston, 60.
[61] Robert Daudelin, "Introduction" to *50 ans d'Archives du Film FIAF* (FIAF: Brussels, 1988) 8-9.
[62] "the curator-collector," *FIAF Bulletin*, no. 1, Mar. 1972, 1.
[63] Houston, 61.
[64] The 1952 Congress described this project as "an INTERNATIONAL FILM POOL for handling film classics." Operations Memorandum from the American Embassy, the Hague, to the State Department, Washington, DC., November 26, 1952, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 2.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Memo from Verner W. Clapp, Chief Assistant Librarian, to Mr. F. Yaffac, FIAF, 25 Aug. 1952, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[68] Operations Memorandum from the American Embassy, the Hague, to the State Department, Washington, DC., 26 Nov. 1952, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[69] Rapport de Mr. Elmer S. Dorsay, Délégué de l'Ambassade des Etats-Unis et de la "Library of Congress," Au Congrès de la Fèderation Internationale des Archives du Film, Vence, France, 24 Oct. Nov. 1953, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [Trans. by author.]
[70] Ibid.
[71] Memo to Burton Adkinson, LOC Reference Department, from James Culver, Motion Picture Collection, 24 Feb. 1953, Motion Picture Files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 3.
[72] Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994) 62.
[73] *FIAF Bulletin*, December, 1972.
[74] General Meeting Minutes, XXII FIAF Congress, Sofia, 30 May-5 June 1966. ii.
[75] General Meeting Minutes, XXIII FIAF Congress, Berlin (GDR), 8-13 June 1967. 2-3.
[76] General Meeting Minutes, XXVIII FIAF Congress, Bucharest, 31 May-3 June 1972. 19-20.
[77] "UNESCO to Aid Nations to Preserve Films," *Screen* (Madras, India) 29 Dec. 1961: UNESCO file, BFI Library, London.
[78] Ibid.
[79] General Meeting Minutes, XXVIII FIAF Congress, Bucharest, 31 May-3 June 1972. 19-20.

[80] General Meeting Minutes, XXX FIAF Congress, Ottawa and Montreal, 20-25 May 1974. 12.
[81] Ibid.
[82] General Meeting Minutes, XXXII FIAF Congress, Mexico, 24-27 May 1976. 12.
[83] General Meeting Minutes, XXXV FIAF Congress, Lausanne, 30 May -1 June, 1979. 22.
[84] *Unesco on the eve of its fortieth anniversary* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985) 161.
[85] General Meeting Minutes, XXXVII FIAF Congress, Rapallo, 3-4 May, 1981.
[86] Although it was a unanimous vote, a few objections were noted in regard to the Recommendation's inclusion of a formal deposit agreement. A somewhat complicated argument which countries such as India, Japan, France, Austria, Switzerland, USA, amongst others, found problematic. Ibid., 15.
[87] General Meeting Minutes, XXVIII FIAF Congress, Bucharest, 31 May-3 June 1972. 18.
[88] Ibid., 24.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Executive Committee Minutes, Karlovy-Vary, 15-17 June 1980. 10-11.
[91] Such collections, particularly in Europe, appeared more of a "cinémathèque" model and many FIAF executive members felt it imperative to delineate between "preservation" minded archives and such collections or museums.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Executive Committee Minutes, Karlovy-Vary, 15-17 June 1980. 12.
[94] Ibid.
[95] FIAF, "Statement on the role of film archives," May 1981. Internal Files, FIAF Headquarters, Brussels, Belgium.
[96] Ibid. According to Penelope Houston, the National Film and Television Archive's Ernest Lindgren frequently expressed his frustration with young archives' "stamp collector mentality" – building up poor quality collections – and their tendency to rely upon larger, national level archives as a quasi-"lending library" Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994) 62.
[97] General Meeting Minutes, XXVIV FIAF Congress, Moscow, 7-12 June 1973. 10.
[98] Ibid., 12.
[99] Ibid., 36
[100] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 12.
[101] See <http://www.un.org/Dept/dpi/decolonization/history.htm>.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Robert Daudelin, "Introduction," *50 ans d'Archives du Film FIAF* (FIAF: Brussels, 1988) 9.

Chapter Five

Challenging the National:
Towards a More Inclusive Film Heritage

The Library of Congress must be a national and international library because the Congress' interests have become national and international.

Handwritten note on internal LOC memo, March, 1947[1]

National film archives are often very international in scope, with collections of international interest and purpose. Sub-National collections often have more significance to the nation.

Christian Dimitriu, FIAF Senior Administrator, July, 2004[2]

INTRODUCTION

By the mid-1970s and early 1980s, members of the International Federation of Film Archives had grown increasingly aware that their 1930s organizational model required major revision. Furthermore, FIAF members discussed with mixed feelings the regional developments that were occurring with or without FIAF sanction and overview. Representatives debated the pros and cons of encouraging regional FIAF meetings, an important issue due to the enormous expense involved in traveling to the organization's conferences that many young archives could neither afford nor justify. Throughout this period, growing attendance at North American regional gatherings, responding to the area's unique geographical and political contexts, illustrated well the central tensions underlying FIAF concerns over the proliferation of non-national collections.

Importantly, the FIAF conference in 1974 was held in both Ottawa and Montreal – respectively, the political and cultural "capitals" of Canada, a nation undergoing socio-political turmoil as a result of regional, ethnic, and linguistic divisions. Canada's moving image heritage was also divided, with formal film archives and/or cinémathèques in Vancouver, Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal. Offering first-hand, eyewitness accounts and experiences, North American FIAF members reported that the exploding interest and de-centralized efforts in film archiving in their region increasingly demanded a new approach to the field. Moreover, U.S. and Canadian successes in raising the profile, appeal, and support of film preservation helped create alternative film archiving associations.

Another key factor in the film preservation movement's de-centralization at this time was the emerging cognizance and re-prioritized thinking that *all* films, not just nitrate, suffered decomposition at a rapid rate when unprotected. Indeed, the popular rallying cry of "nitrate won't wait" that had mobilized many within FIAF's ranks had virtually petered out by the late 1980s. To a certain degree, the slogan had functioned by restricting both rhetorically and pragmatically the film preservation movement to the world's national archives that were best positioned, well funded, and legally sanctioned to cope with significant amounts of nitrate material.[3] In addition, the increasingly valuable role of older entertainment, sports, and news footage as "corporate asset" encouraged the preservation of these primarily nitrate films by copyright holders. These preservation efforts were rewarded (and paid for) through the materials' continued exploitation in the expanding video and cable markets. Thus, the largest of the nitrate collections were being protected and distributed by major corporate agents – which ranged from European newsreel companies and stock footage companies to Hollywood studios.

Concurrently, the U.S. Congress passed legislation specifically referencing film preservation for the first time. In 1988, the National Film Preservation Act authorized the creation of the National Film Preservation Board and established the National Film Registry program at the Library of Congress. As a result of this process, careful scrutiny over the nation's film archives, individual mission statements, and program agendas necessitated and hastened the rise of a new, powerful metaphor during the 1990s which remains central to film preservation discourse: the "orphan" film. The Library of Congress and other film archiving organizations currently define the "orphan film" as moving pictures "abandoned by its owner or caretaker," embodied in works such as home movies, industrial films, educational movies, outtake material, medical and training films, etc…."[4] Throughout the 1990s, saving the country's orphan films grew from a creative justification for public policy into a full blown popular movement. By the end of the decade, orphan films, the poster children of national film heritage, generated academic conferences, substantial media coverage, and, in 2005, their own federal preservation legislation.

Although the effort to define largely public domain material as "orphan films" emerged as a truly U.S. phenomenon, positioned in opposition to the country's specific copyright and corporate structures, the term and its strong connotations have been slowly appropriated by film archivists around the globe. In the U.S. context, however, the orphan film preservation movement and its passionate lobbying force, the self-proclaimed "orphanistas," have worked to further classify, reify and politicize this material as "anti-corporate" and "alternative." This phenomenon, a fascinating socio-cultural process with a quasi-cult following, merits even more significant attention due to its contemporary role and presence in very real debates and legal battles over copyright decisions and new technologies – from the California courts to Capitol Hill.

Chapter Five presents an overview of the key developments leading to the reframing of the film heritage argument during the latter part of the twentieth century. The shift from defining Hollywood corporate product as American film heritage to celebrating so-called orphaned material allowed for and, indeed, pragmatically encouraged a further de-centralizing of the preservation movement – i.e., away from federal or state-funded repositories in national capitals towards an eclectic array of regional or thematically driven organizational models. Professional trade associations played an essential role in the growing orphans film movement in North America. The morphing of the American Film Institute's early advisory groups into the Association of Moving Image Archivists in the early 1990s illustrated growing generational differences, shifting power dynamics, and foreshadowed many of the schisms still experienced by the film archiving field at large. Furthermore, the chapter analyzes the rise of the orphans film movement within the larger context of global infra-national challenges to traditional state-run film archives during the same period.

In particular, the rise of regionalism and the accompanying push for self-government by Europe's national minorities provide an important area of comparison and contrast for concurrent American shifts. The chapter begins with a close look at the British regional system that, although a recognized global leader and an inspiration for North American change, remains understudied within academia and virtually unmentioned in contemporary film archiving texts. Although the U.S. infra-national challenges largely emerged from a context within which interest group and professional association networks encouraged individual, rather than organizational, membership, the U.K. system wielded enormous influence, and members within both systems increasingly participate in cross-cultural professional exchange.

Continuing its historical leadership in the film preservation field, moving image archives in the United Kingdom experienced a fundamental restructuring from the 1970s through the 1990s. These changes resulted in three "national" film archives, located in London, England, Edinburgh, Scotland, and Aberystwyth, Wales, working in conjunction with a formally recognized regional film archive network in England. These regionalist, and nationalist, institutions provide an important barometer for the field's sub-national developments through their proactive, successful, and relatively collaborative film preservation programs. Moreover, this examination of the U.K.'s complicated cultural balance between increasingly empowered self-governing nations offers a unique prism through which to investigate further the de-centralized re-appropriation of moving image heritage discourse.

"HIDDEN TREASURES:" SCOTLAND, WALES AND THE U.K. REGIONAL NETWORK MODEL

> *During the last fifteen years the Archive has uncovered evidence of films that it has not been able to locate…. As the centenary of cinema approaches the Archive is launching a special effort to find any surviving copies of these elusive titles. Not all of them would appear to be screen classics (!) but they have a part to play in telling Scotland's cinema story….*
>
> "Lost But Not Forgotten: The Scottish Film Archive's Search for Missing Scottish Film Heritage," 1995[5]

The majority of Scottish scholars and historians agree that the region's most recent nationalist movement emerged in the post-World War II era. According to Professor Tom Nairn, this period marked "the chronological companion of anti-imperialist revolt and Third World nationalism."[6] Thus, it is not surprising that the

creation of the Scottish Film Archive occurred concurrently with the heated debates over sub-national participation taking place at FIAF conferences around the world during the 1970s and early 1980s. The Scottish Film Archive (SFA) was formally established in 1976, but the roots of its formation stretched back to even before the launching of the British Film Institute in the early 1930s.[7] When "The Film in National Life" was published in the late 1920s by the British Institute of Adult Education, a public meeting by that organization's Scottish branch was held in Glasgow. Although the meeting was interrupted in a spirited fashion due to a vitriolic attack by a "well-known educationist," opposing the use of film in Scottish classrooms, the meeting's attendees gathered again to unanimously support the creation of the British Film Institute.[8]

One year later, in 1934, the Scottish Film Council (SFC) of the British Film Institute was formed as a result of the work by many film related organizations in Glasgow and across Scotland. Sharing the motivations of those behind the BFI's creation – i.e., the "desire to improve and extend the use in Scotland of films for cultural and educational purposes, and to raise the Scottish standard in the public appreciation of films" – the founding Board of the SFC agreed that a Scottish based branch of the Institute would best suit their aims.[9] The early participants of the SFC served as an interesting combination of those in the commercial filmmaking trade, educators, civic leaders concerned with industrial development, and, of course, the Scottish film enthusiasts. Although the SFC began as a quasi-national organization, initially receiving £100 per year from London with which to coordinate BFI programs in the region, the years following its creation witnessed an era of ambitious and autonomous expansion.

By the end of World War II, the SFC prioritized a number of film related projects involving an eclectic variety of participants. The Council worked to facilitate amateur and professional filmmaking in the region, showcasing Scottish filmmaking in festivals

beginning in the 1930s featuring well-known adjudicators such as directors Alfred Hitchcock, Alexander Mackendrick, and Michael Powell. Such judges apparently took their roles quite seriously, marking shrewd and fairly hard-hitting comments regarding competition entries. For example, 1937's celebrity adjudicator, the Honorable Anthony Asquith, director of such works as *Pygmalion* and *We Dive at Dawn*, described an amateur film entitled *Myself* as "altogether an interesting failure."[10]

The SFC's creation occurred, in part, due to the significant film interest that had been fostered by the region's strong film society movement since the 1920s. Inspired by the London Film Society, Scottish film societies emerged in cities such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee – urban areas in which members of the cultural elite expressed frustration with contemporary cinema fare. In a 1955 article on Scotland's film societies, SFC executive and filmmaker, Forsyth Hardy, wrote of a familiar disdain for a familiar foil – Hollywood.

> Many people who had become accustomed to going to the cinema were dissatisfied with the entertainment being provided for them. The industry had by then come completely under the domination of the Americans….Furthermore, American films had lost their own spirit and were on the whole markedly inferior in quality to those of the earlier twenties.[11]

Guided by cinema criticism in avant-garde journals and newspaper articles about Film Society screenings in London, Glasgow's Film Society gathered to watch and discuss non-Hollywood fare, initially meeting (somewhat ironically) in the private theatre of the city's local Twentieth Century-Fox office.[12]

Working in conjunction with Scotland's film society movement which, by the mid-1950s had grown to over 45 cities, the SFC established the framework and audience for its next project: a film library. The Scottish Educational Film Society, dedicated to

expanding the role of films in the classroom, and the Scottish Churches Film Guild, committed to "developing the wider use of the film in the service of the churches," also played key roles in the creation of a film library for the region.[13] The key problem for all of these organizations, however, remained the dearth of films available for these purposes. Thus, the Scottish Film Council turned to the Carnegie U.K. Trust for possible funding with which to develop its own film library.

Significantly, representatives of the Carnegie Trust expressed concern that should the foundation grant financial support to the SFC film library plan, the Trust would also need to provide funding to other regions of the United Kingdom for similar projects. Such a large program would be impossible, the Trust indicated, due to the organization's own financial commitments and structure.[14] At this point in the negotiations, however, the British Film Institute stepped in and, in a formal statement to the Carnegie Trust, "recognise[d] Scotland as the region most likely to benefit from such an experiment…."[15] Based upon this recommendation, the Carnegie Trust agreed to donate £5000 towards the development of a "Scottish Regional Library of Educational Films."[16]

The BFI's early sanction of Scotland as the "region" most appropriate, prepared, and capable of "benefiting" from the film library enterprise is important on a number of levels. The BFI supported Scotland as competent and autonomous enough to merit its own film collection. Although a great deal of documentation does not exist from this period, it would be important to compare similar requests, if any, from other parts of the U.K. to see if the BFI and other quasi-government agencies deemed these as deserving. Scotland's film community clearly benefited from its formal relationship with the BFI, and this early recognition of its self-sufficiency and autonomy reinforced Scottish film interests in obtaining and maintaining its own moving image material well north of

London's domain – a decision that enabled and established the infrastructure for the creation of a Scottish film archive several decades later.

The Scottish Film Library program grew quickly, and successfully. By 1959, the Library storage facility held over 15,000 separate prints that were distributed to schools, universities, industrial groups, churches and social organizations.[17] The rising popularity of television, however, generated both enthusiasm and consternation. In as early as the mid-1940s, members of the educationally minded Scottish Film Council appreciated the pedagogical benefits brought by the new mass media, particularly to the harder to reach, far flung rural areas of the country, but worried over its more pernicious qualities. The SFC pointed out that the flourishing film library had already begun collecting television material during the mid-1950s that had found a new audience in schools and clubs.[18]

Despite their appearance of a somewhat open attitude to the new medium, the SFC harbored grave concerns that broadcasting might be the harbinger of the death of cinema. After all, while the organization fostered a significant educational component in its public programs and outreach, the SFC had been founded by film enthusiasts for film enthusiasts and amateur filmmakers. Film, as physical material – as celluloid – was valued highly by those in the Scottish filmmaking community and influential film societies. This increasingly nostalgic view of producing and watching movies on *film* gained even greater import during the 1950s-60s.

Moreover, SFC reports and committee minutes indicated that "another activity which has occupied the Council's attention from time to time, and which will continue, is the search for early films for preservation or, where this is justified, for restoration in modern form."[19] The discovery and subsequent restoration of a 1906 film featuring King Edward VII's dedication of Marischal College's new building in Aberdeen served as one of SFC's earliest and most significant undertakings of this nature. Once preserved, the

film's eventual home at the National Film Archive in London (NFA) appeared perfectly amenable, even quasi-prestigious, for SFC members writing of the project in the late 1950s. By the early 1970s, however, the perception of the somewhat casual method, or even disregard, with which the NFA approached Scottish made material grew to be an increasing concern for SFC officers, members and the increasing numbers of interested nationalist parties.

In 1973, the SFC formed a special Committee on Archive Films as a result of the frequent discussions between their members and other Scottish institutions about "the fate of film and related media of Scottish interest."[20] The Committee contacted the NFA in London stating:

> It was generally felt that [Scottish] material was not finding its way to the Archive in as great quantities as it should. It was felt that the Archive, quite naturally, was inclined to base its selection on principles and practice which did not take much account of the situation in Scotland. The lack of agency with an interest in film of a historical nature in Scotland therefore meant that much material of significance was simply deteriorating or being lost through neglect.[21]

In both private deliberations and public statements, the SFC's Committee on Archive Films accurately, and diplomatically, recognized the important value and expertise provided by the NFA in London, pointing to the NFA's assistance in preserving heretofore discovered material from Scotland. The Committee additionally noted, however, that any attempt to follow up such preservation work on Scottish films with access related programs – from screenings to simple research or cataloging – remained difficult at best. The Committee worked to raise interest and funds towards the creation of Scotland's own archival organization throughout the early 1970s – a period in which

resurgent Scottish nationalism worked to reestablish Scottish traditions, culture, and heritage.[22]

Broadcasting, inherently imbued with "regional" or "local" relevance, played a critical role in this movement as well. Beginning with the first meetings of the Archival Committee, members clarified that they wanted to "ensur[e] that a truly representative selection of television programmes broadcast in Scotland [would be] preserved for posterity."[23] Furthermore, the SFC, in collaboration with the NFA in London, created a viewing panel through which to advise and commend particular items for preservation – a panel that would "have an 'eye for Scottish interests.'"[24] By the summer of 1976, the SFC Committee on Archive Films realized the need for funding specifically targeted for archival work in order to move the project to the next stage. In November of that year, with initial financial support from the U.K. "Job Creation Scheme," the Scottish Film Archive (SFA) was formally launched.

Prior to the SFA's official creation, however, the SFC had publicized its interest in acquiring older film material. As a result, an eclectic array of individuals, organizations, government agencies, and social groups contacted the Council with moving images to share or donate. Reporting on the Archive's first year, future SFA curator, Janet McBain, expressed to the Committee the excitement generated by the program and their tremendous success in obtaining moving image material – from regional newsreels and cine-club narratives, to home movies.[25] Following her report, the Committee entered into an animated discussion over the relative value of this heretofore denigrated "amateur" footage, adamantly stating that from the Scottish perspective, no material should be "overlooked." Voicing support, the National Film Archive Curator, David Francis, commented that his institution had recently "altered its attitude towards

'domestic' film, and now considered that all such footage had considerable virtue in documenting domestic and local matters."[26]

Amateur footage maintained a prominent position within SFA acquisition efforts and policies throughout the following decades, but the early feature film industry in Scotland also figured importantly in SFA endeavors. As a result of the Archive's substantive research in the years since its creation, the SFA published a pamphlet entitled *Lost but not Forgotten: The Search for Scotland's Missing Film Heritage*. Dedicated to the history of feature filmmaking "in Scotland, by Scots," the pamphlet evoked the high profile and successful film searches that had taken place in countries like Australia and New Zealand during the 1980s. Similarly, the SFA hoped to mount "one last effort to rediscover…the lost history of Scottish film-making" and offered background and data of eight missing films that the archive staff were "especially keen to find."[27] One of the missing titles, 1911's version of *Rob Roy*, illustrated both national and regional interest as the film served as Great Britain's first three-reel feature and the first narrative motion picture shot in Scotland, itself.

Denoting these indigenous feature film productions as lost "treasures," the SFA clearly conveyed the important value of these missing films to Scottish culture and heritage through their passionate rhetoric. The notable lack of surviving films from this period helped illustrate the Scottish industry's difficulties in combating the lure of both London and Hollywood – "the depressing spectacle of clever young film producers and technicians going south in search of wider experience and greater opportunity."[28] Moreover, Scotland's "proud" filmmaking legacy served as material evidence that solidly resonated within larger claims of the nation's unique heritage and traditions – "tales of Jacobite heroes and Highland rogues have provided generations of film-makers with a supply of good adventurous theatrical tales, the very stuff of cinema."[29] That this

relatively unknown film history was pitched as on the verge of extinction and disappearance 'forever' additionally strengthened its inherent value:

> [Scottish feature filmmaking] is a history of selling Scotland that has been hugely overshadowed by Hollywood and never grew in stature to rival the studios at Elstree or Ealing….Perhaps one reason why this aspect of Scottish film history has been so neglected is that so little of it survives today as actual moving images. Most of the indigenous feature films made by Scots in the first half of the century are lost, as opposed to the wealth of topical, sponsored and documentary film that is now preserved in the British film archives…time is sadly against us….It may already be too late!...The search is the race against time to find and copy these original reels before they are lost to all, to rediscover the lost history of Scottish film-making.[30]

Many times, however, these celebrated "Scottish" films demonstrated the difficulties with which film archivists, government officials, and others have packaged and marketed "indigenous film heritage." Featured on the cover of the "Lost" pamphlet was a still from 1927's Huntingtower, in which a well-known Scottish actor and songwriter starred as a Glaswegian grocer who, with a group of "local lads," battled "enemy Bolsheviks" and saved a kidnapped Russian princess.31

(Publicity material for the Scottish Film Archive's "Lost but Not Forgotten" program)

In actual fact, *Huntingtower*'s production history well illustrated British filmmaking frustrations experienced throughout the entire country during the pre-World War II era. The film's director, George Pearson, had obtained the movie rights to the popular novel, an expensive choice, particularly as the production team had signed the popular Sir Harry Lauder to star. Thus, Pearson later said, "An American tie-up was essential, the only way to meet the Quota's dead hand."[32]

The notorious British film quota policy, a protective measure passed by the government to encourage native cinema production and exhibition, resulted in complicated negotiations, and, at times, subterfuge, by the country's film community in their necessity to comply with the Act's restrictions. Pearson decided to pursue an Anglo-American contract and traveled to Paramount Studios where he signed a cinematographer, screenwriter, and even a Hollywood starlet to play his Russian princess. Although the film featured Scottish settings, a Scottish popular entertainer, and a number

of Glaswegian youth, Pearson shot the film in a variety of locations in and out of the United Kingdom with a trans-Atlantic cast and crew.

For the purposes of the Scottish Film Archive, however, the film's "behind the camera" story remains entertaining, anecdotal context to the film's rightful place and designated role as Scottish film heritage. From the Archive's inception, justifying Scotland's need for its own film library and archive remained predicated on the notion that the region/nation deserved to collect, protect, and celebrate its individual and unique historical artifacts. The SFA's success in doing just that marked it as one FIAF's earliest quasi-national, or sub-national, film archives with SFA curator, Janet McBain, attending the organization's congresses by 1978.

In essence the Scottish Film Council's experience through the twentieth century well illustrated the larger transitions of the global film archiving community. During the first half of the century, the SFC created its own film library that mimicked traditional canons and celebrated the world's cinematic icons like Méliès and Griffith. In 1947, a meeting of the Council's book library committee prioritized their most sought-after items which included Pudovkin's work on film technique and Leo Rosten's *Hollywood*. Meetings included no mention of Scottish film history and any reference to the region's media remained restricted to the amateur festivals popular around Scotland at the time. By the mid-1980s, however, the Scottish Film Council's mission statement proclaimed the organization as purely Scottish in intent and purpose, proudly touting the Archive's leadership and success in preserving Scotland's moving image heritage. In November of that year, the Council hosted FIAF's executive committee meeting to celebrate the Archive's tenth anniversary and to participate in a one-day seminar focused on the problems faced by sub-national film archives. Entitled "Whose Heritage?" the colloquium centered on the "role of regional and specialist film collections and their

relationship to centralized national archives."[33] The eclectic "delegates" attending the session included FIAF members from countries such as Sweden, the DDR, and Australia along with representatives from the Irish Film Institute, the Dundee City Archives, and the U.K.'s National Tramway Museum Archive.

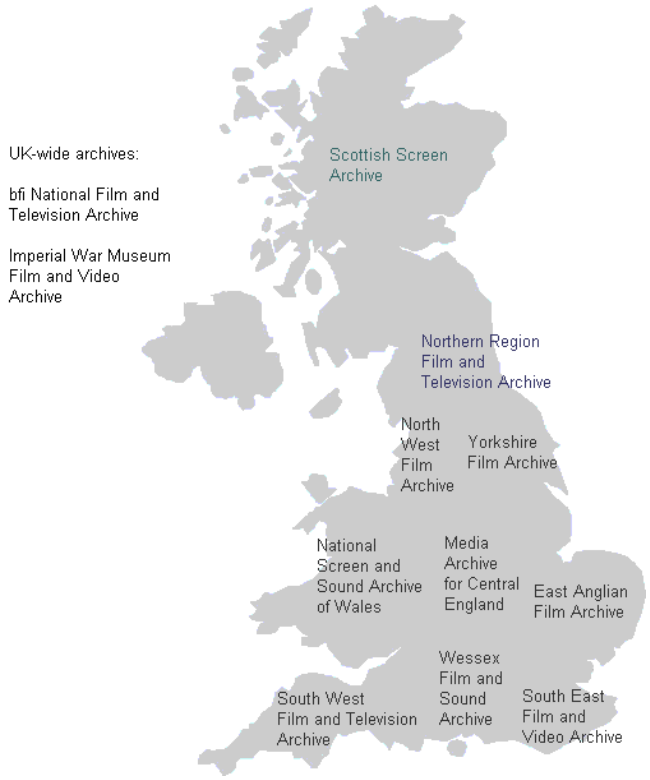
Sam Kula, then serving as the Director of the National Film Television and Sound Archives of Canada, delivered the seminar's keynote address in which he discussed the national film archive model and its success and/or failure in speaking for varied sub-national participants and interests. Echoing years of FIAF discourse, Kula referred to the critical responsibility of national moving image archives to commemorate domestic film product as well as to act as "a conduit to world cinema."[34] National repositories acted on behalf of a diverse array of historical and cultural interests, and perhaps most importantly, retained a central role in the acquisition and dissemination of government funds. Kula, like other attendees, viewed the national film archive as economic manager or "resource base" for sub-national collections, "more specialized in their functions."[35]

Kula added that he did not intend to "cast the role of the regional archive as somehow secondary," but that he felt sub-national film archives to be best positioned and prepared to serve *local* communities.[36] Some regional archivists present at the day-long seminar, however, disagreed with Kula's interpretation of the sub-national film archive's role. The late Maryann Gomes, former film archivist at the North West Film Archive (NWFA) located at Manchester's Polytechnic University, spoke on behalf of the three infra-national archives in the U.K. at that time – NWFA, the SFA, and the East Anglian Film Archive. Although Gomes' speech at the seminar focused on general administration issues and policies of a regional film archive, she pointedly addressed the notion that sub-national collections primarily served their surrounding communities, seemingly domesticated and engendered inferior. Rather, Gomes vociferously stated:

> the work undertaken in regional film archives generates benefits throughout Britain. As we actively search out films in our region, we unearth collections that would, otherwise, almost certainly have been lost to posterity… our intention is not to deflect material from [national] archives – but to enrich them….When we find films that are not relevant to the specific regional nature of our collection, we re-direct such titles to more appropriate collections, e.g., feature films to the National Film Archive. Regional film archives are very conscious of a responsibility to promote similar establishments throughout the country – before it is too late to rescue the filmed heritage of other regions and it is lost forever.[37]

Gomes' speech to the seminar delegates ended with a passionate appeal for a collaborative effort to encourage the creation of regional film archives in every area of the United Kingdom**.**

One year later, in 1987, Gomes and representatives from four regional moving image collections attended the inaugural meeting of the U.K.'s Film Archive Forum (FAF) – an organization founded to facilitate information exchange between the country's non-profit moving image archives and to collaborate towards the creation of a formal policy statement for the growing number of British institutions interested in film preservation. From the beginning, the FAF also aspired to delineate more clearly the specialist role of the media archive within the larger archival discipline, an issue of continued contention within the field.[38] By 2004, eleven institutions, located all over the country, comprised FAF's membership, having further developed into a well respected organization and serving as an "advisory body on national moving image archive policy."[39]



(U.K. Audio-Visual Archive Map, 2005, courtesy of the BUFVC, London)

To a certain degree, the FAF's extensive lobbying efforts represented the organization's greatest success and assisted in the increased recognition of the imperative for regional moving image archiving. By the late 1990s, with regional collections launched and established in nearly every part of the country, FAF concentrated upon positioning itself and its members within national policy discourse. FAF's advocacy documents, such as *Moving History: Towards a Policy for the U.K. Moving Image Archives* (2000) and *Hidden Treasures: The U.K. Audiovisual Archive Strategic Framework* (2004), have served as influential in the creation and implementation of a larger U.K. media plan, linking the moving image archival communities with investment driven film initiatives. Moreover, FAF's agenda advocated a more systematic national

network, from the BFI to the regional film archives, such as the NWFA, to local urban or rural councils. FAF and its members view such a network as vital in "ensuring…a distributed national collection."[40]

Over the last thirty years, the significant work towards the creation of a strong de-centralized national moving image archival community and collection in the United Kingdom illustrates a significant paradigm shift within the worldwide film archiving discourse from the early days of the British Film Institute and the founding of the International Federation of Film Archives in the 1930s. This shift, however, did not occur in a smooth, linear, or coherent fashion. Rather, the move towards an increased number of disparate participants in the film archiving community progressed in a dynamic nature in which organizational change and trends often trailed citizen driven action. The U.K.'s regional film archive network was largely the result of individual human agency. In a sense, the work of the founder of the East Anglian Film Archive, David Cleveland, mirrored earlier collecting efforts undertaken by film enthusiasts like Henri Langlois. Cleveland, however, focused upon the media product created in his native region, acquiring newsreels, home movies, and industrial training films and commercials that reflected a geographically specific location and perspective.[41]

The North West Film Archive in Manchester, whose curator spoke so poignantly and passionately in the SFA's 1986 sub-national film archive seminar, possessed a somewhat similar history. Beginning with two individuals, funded separately to research the possibility of creating a film collection for the region, the young film archive grew to a collection of over 1,000 motion pictures by its tenth anniversary in 1987.[42] But when the NWFA applied for FIAF membership in 1994, the request prompted significant debate among the international organization's executive committee members. In theory, FIAF had agreed in the early 1990s that regional film archives could join the organization

as full members. The definition of what constituted such a "regional" organization, however, continued to plague the organization years later.

In 1988, the FIAF executive committee argued over what was meant by a regional collection. Several respected European archivists noted that while some "regional" archives might be located "in the provinces," much of their work "had a universal, national and supra-national dimension."[43] Attempts at creating new definitions for regional collections failed, particularly with the growing presence of the influential U.K. sub-national film archive network whose archives were spending money on preservation efforts as well as justifying their collections' national relevance. Thus, when the NWFA's application came under consideration at the FIAF executive committee meeting in Tunis, the "'regional' character of the institution was the object of some controversy."[44]

Then acting curator for the U.K.'s National Film and Television Archive (NFTA), Clyde Jeavons, quickly explained to concerned committee members the somewhat complicated British context in which the word "'regional' was only an expression so that the candidate could also be designated in the United Kingdom as a national archive with the responsibility for the North West region."[45] Although several other committee members again pushed for a reworking of the original statutes, other FIAF representatives noted "that the interpretation of 'national' had always been very open" and the committee voted, with one abstention, for the NWFA to become a provisional member.

Thus, even as late as the mid-1990s, FIAF still struggled with sub-national film archiving work, finding it easier to understand even the smallest and complication-fraught of nations over their regional peers. One year prior to NWFA's acceptance into FIAF, the Welsh National Film and Video Archive (founded in 1989 -- over ten years

after the NWFA), applied for membership in the international association. Illustrating the continued definitional confusion for the field, the NFTA's Clyde Jeavons referred to the archive as "regional," but with the exact goal as the Scottish Film Archive: "to be regarded as an independent film collection looking after a 100% Welsh national culture."[46] Moreover, Jeavons explained, the Wales National Film and Video Archive was "complementing the work" of the National Film and Television Archive. The FIAF executive committee unanimously welcomed the Wales National Film and Video Archive into the Association.

Within the U.K. context, the small nation of Wales had experienced a more lengthy developmental process, if not simply a more difficult time, in creating its own national film archive and collection. With its economy hard hit during the twentieth century due to the large scale closures of mines and an ongoing general economic depression, Wales' resurgent patriotism obtained formal recognition with a separate national assembly only in 1997. Currently, the now renamed National Screen and Sound Archive of Wales (NSSAW) resides in the National Library, itself "formed from the pennies of the working masses" when the English Parliament denied their request for their own national institution over a century ago.[47]

To a certain degree, the NSSAW represents or embodies the more recent generation of regional (national) film archives in the U.K. Created in an era already familiar and comfortable with the "film heritage" justification, the NSSAW could refer to the decades of work and discourse honed by regional film archivists across the country to craft its mission statement: "safeguarding and celebrating our sound and moving image heritage." The promotional film screened in NSSAW's state of the art cinema, *Against the Dying of the Light*, features clips from the media "treasures" held within the archive accompanied with testimonials by Welsh, English, and American film historians

validating the historical import of this material. Furthermore, the film spotlights well-known, contemporary Welsh film talent such as Rhys Ifans (*Notting Hill*, *The Shipping News*) championing the work of the archive: "If you believe that Wales is a culture…get in there [the NSSAW] and see films!" The final moments of the archive's promotional piece underscores much of contemporary film preservation discourse as a dramatically pitched message states: "Hundreds of films are found each year, many by the general public. *It's your heritage…It's your heritage…*"

Through both individual programs and collaborative efforts, U.K. regional film archives have worked through an increasingly formal network of exchange – a network that has served to empower their claims and, indeed, has complicated both regional and national film history. One key example lies in the impish cartoon character, "Jerry The Troublesome Tyke," created by two Cardiff projectionists in the 1920s. Screened in theatres from New York City to Sicily, over forty short films featuring Jerry have been restored and are finding an entire new life via BBC Wales. The silent cartoons, some featuring new scores provided by the BBC and played by the National Orchestra of Wales, have been televised repeatedly and have become popular with the Welsh populace, particularly school children who line up during special events for face painting with Jerry:

(Welsh child with knitted “Jerry” doll, Aberystwyth, Wales, July, 2004. Photo by author.)

Nearly forgotten until very recently, “Jerry the Troublesome Tyke” serves as an excellent example of the many “regional” films re-discovered and resurrected through the collaborative efforts of the U.K. Film Archive Forum, the National Film and Television Archive, and a variety of interested and invested public and private groups across the nation. Jerry and other newly popular historical characters and figures continue to refigure and revise their national film histories and canons. For the United States, a country whose film history contains a more familiar and omnipresent cartoon mouse, change would come as a result of a less formally structured, but increasingly influential group of infra-national participants.

ACRONYM ACTION: NORTH AMERICA'S FAC/TAAC, AMIA, AND THE INTEREST GROUP MODEL

Colleagues from countries other than from North America were attending the AMIA [Association of Moving Image Archivists] conference…Because as far as North America is concerned, the real association is nowadays AMIA. It is no longer FIAF. The set up is, however, different: AMIA is an association of individuals.

Concerns voiced within FIAF Executive Committee meeting, 1999.[48]

AMIA is like a child seventeen years old – they want us to come to the party, but we can only stay until 10 pm.

European FIAF member to author, 2004.[49]

Several longstanding, prominent North American FIAF representatives, themselves, were often as conflicted as their European peers over the changes wrought as a result of non-FIAF film preservation meetings and exchanges in the latter part of the twentieth century. In the association's 1973 discussion over increasing amount of sub-national participation, the Museum of Modern Art Film Library's FIAF delegate noted that for some nations (such as the United States), the "task" of preserving the national film production was so big that "it was impossible to have only one national archive representing it."[50] That following year, however, as the debate continued, the MOMA member re-articulated her position by explaining that for American film archives, the term "national" was "to differentiate between those major archives which had a responsibility to their national production and to their whole country…and regional archives."[51] She further indicated her own institutional and personal ambivalence towards the increased number of sub-national participants as they had the potential effect of "diluting the idea of 'true' preservation archives."[52]

Indeed, growing numbers of infra-national film collections and archives proliferated across the United States throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Organizations in major cities like New York or San Francisco, with collections focused upon independent and high profile film "artists" like Andy Warhol, acquired the greatest amount of notoriety and attention. In fact, quite soon after the creation of the American Film Institute (AFI), avant-garde filmmaker Stan Brakhage appealed directly to the organization's director, George Stevens, Jr., to advocate for the inclusion of more experimental or independently produced works in their preservation programs.[53] "It was obvious," however, noted author Anthony Slide, "that both the Institute and the Library of Congress had higher preservation priorities."[54]

The period also witnessed an explosion of individual repositories for other types of specialized collections, such as the National Center for Jewish Film containing Yiddish language films or the Smithsonian's Human Studies Film Archive maintaining a wide array of anthropological films from around the world.[55] The Los Angeles Japanese-American Museum worked with local families to create an unparalleled collection of home movies taken by West Coast communities, particularly those affected by displacement in World War II internment camps. The American Archives of the Factual Film, based at Iowa State University, built a substantial repository for educational and industrial films as well.

Furthermore, large number of very small film collections in disparate state institutions across the U.S. were either acquiring new material or becoming more aware of conservation related issues due to the larger, national film preservation movement taking place in Washington, Los Angeles, and in the country's newspaper headlines. Similar to the early situation in Scotland, Wales and in a number of English regions, film

material in American historical societies, universities, and abandoned commercial warehouses lay scattered and uncollected in communities across the country.

Although this material may have appealed intellectually to some film archivists involved with the major national repositories, national level preservation efforts remained focused on Hollywood feature production. It would take significant change within the American Film Institute, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the all important funding mechanisms for film preservation projects to challenge this situation. Anthony Slide's early 1970s report on the "American" situation to the International Association of Film Archivists, when compared to later FIAF submissions on the topic, well illustrates the shift occurring within the U.S. film archiving community during this period. British expatriate and former AFI staff member, Anthony Slide, whose 1992's work *Nitrate Won't Wait* features a glowing overview of the work undertaken by U.S. specialized or regional collections, offered only a cursory glance at non-feature related material in his 1974 report to FIAF. Out of Slide's several page description of "source material on American film production prior to 1920," only three short sentences reference any sub-national, or non-Hollywood, efforts.[56]

By FIAF's 1987 Congress in West Berlin, AFI curator, Susan Dalton, announced a very different agenda for the organization. In October of that year, the AFI's National Center for Film and Television Preservation hosted a conference for over one hundred historical societies, universities, and interested individuals on the problems associated with archiving local news media.[57] Two years later, in 1989, Ms. Dalton responded to FIAF's continued concerns over its own growing membership by suggesting that "it might be instructive" for the international organization to "watch" the work of the U.S. Film and Television Archives Advisory Commission [F/TAAC]. F/TAAC launched in the 1970s as a relatively unstructured group, had recently grown so large that it was

beginning to necessitate separate sub-meetings and sub-committees for its membership.[58] In response to Dalton's comments, one noted FIAF member from Australia registered unease with the idea of such uncontrollable growth: "It would be horrifying to think of FIAF congresses in 30 years having 200 members. They would never get to know each other!"[59]

Behind the closed doors of the FIAF executive committee meetings, discussions had already begun in earnest over the North American situation and its implications for the international association and its membership. By the late 1980s, F/TAAC had grown from a few individuals to over 60 some organizations that ranged from the largest of the nitrate based archives to small historical societies. A FIAF executive committee member from one of the most prominent U.S. nitrate film archives noted with dismay that already F/TAAC discussions had "become so diffuse" that he found little of interest there for his institution and the other national film archives.[60] When the representative from the U.K.'s National Film Archive expressed his sympathies, worrying that FIAF was itself "becoming too large and too diverse," the Swedish delegate to the board, in a somewhat irritated manner, demanded that the organization decide quickly whether to "accept diversity or not…[as] it was after all a fact of life…with the changing media scene."[61] As demonstrated in chapter four, these discussions had been ongoing within FIAF for decades, even since the inception of the organization itself. What differed during the 1980s, however, was the increased challenge and competition provided by alternative, and specifically North American, film archiving associations.

Upon the creation of the American Film Institute in the late 1960s, George Stevens, Jr. had set up an official alliance with the country's already established and internationally influential film archives: the Library of Congress, the Museum of Modern Art, and the George Eastman House. Originally named the Archives Advisory

Committee, the group primarily served to advise the AFI on its acquisitions which it did, in part, through creating relationships with film collectors who possessed both important feature film material and an increasingly justified fear of vigilant copyright infringement lawsuits brought by the Hollywood studios.[62] As the AFI attempted to get more aggressively involved in sponsoring film preservation efforts, the then renamed Film Archives Advisory Committee (FAAC) assisted the AFI in "divvy[ing] up the [NEA] funding pie."[63] With the termination of its initial funding, however, and the organization's increased emphasis upon its Los Angeles based filmmaking program, the AFI's ability to influence and instigate film preservation projects began to wane within just a few short years after its creation.

As the AFI became more embroiled with a number of disparate and expensive projects, its advisory committee continued to meet, brainstorm, and advocate for film preservation funding, particularly understandable as the members of the committee were very much film enthusiasts, passionate about their topic. Moreover, the few institutions represented on the small committee had financially benefited from the program, funding many feature-oriented preservation efforts with NEA/AFI administered grants. In her excellent MA thesis on the topic, film archivist, Sarah Ziebell Mann, provides a survey of the era's film preservation movement and notes that "the FAAC of the mid-1970s suffered from schizophrenia – induced by alternating moments of cooperation *and* competition."[64] FAAC's membership, perhaps increasingly frustrated, if not furious, with the AFI, attempted to convince the NEA to allow them to supervise and distribute public preservation funds. Although thwarted in this particular request, FAAC continued its campaign to raise money towards film, and with the inclusion of television interests, *moving image* preservation.[65]

Throughout the first few years of the AFI's preservation program, and FAAC's involvement with it, beneficiaries of the limited federal funding were made up largely of FAAC members themselves (MOMA, LOC, and the GEH). In the late 1970s, however, the NEA altered its grant requirements, enabling any organization interested in film preservation projects to apply. Thus, 1978's grantees were comprised of an eclectic array of institutions such as the Center for Southern Folklore, with home movies from aging plantation families in 1920s Mississippi, or the Oregon Historical Society, with its state-wide distributed, Depression era newsreels, the "Webfoot Weekly." The NEA's shift in supporting infra-national conservation projects served as an important indication of the country's changing film preservation context. By restructuring their funding procedure, the NEA program assisted in legitimizing new archival players within domestic preservation discourse. Additionally, these sub-national participants represented an important component influencing North America's emerging film preservation organization: The Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA).

The inclusion of those interested in, and committed to, television and video preservation also bore significant impact in creating AMIA and its institutional ethos. From the beginning, AFI's Television Archives Advisory Committee (TAAC), created in 1979, was a more open and inclusive organization, welcoming a variety of members and participants in an exploding field which had a history of preservation concerns almost as long as film itself. Furthermore, the AFI's creation of the National Center of Film and Video Preservation (NCFVP) in the early 1980s, solidified a "moving image" preservation movement for the nation – a significant difference from Europe's older, film driven associations and organizations. By the late 1980s, FAAC and TAAC had united into F/TAAC, coordinated through the NCFVP offices in Los Angeles and Washington,

D.C. and were already publishing newsletters with updates from its eclectic membership roster.

In 1989, F/TAAC disseminated a survey to 56 member organizations that already indicated another significant difference between the foundling North American association and its European predecessors.[66] Already, members included government departments, stock footage libraries, commercial or corporate archives as well as the traditional "public" archives. In fact, many of the organization's most influential early members emerged from these profit driven archives or companies. Moreover, data compiled by these members proved invaluable in the increasingly high profile lobbying efforts for film preservation funding. Research produced via the publication of *Footage '89*, a commercially driven, massive guide to sources for film material around the country and world, offered tangible evidence to the significant impact possible through a more structured media preservation program. By 1987, the *Footage '89* producers had contacted each and "every actual or suspected" media archive, collection, or organization in North America.[67] The end result, stated *Footage* editor, Rick Prelinger, was "in the neighborhood of 1750 sources…[with] many we could not list or for whom we could not elicit information."[68]

With several thousands of potential members for a North American moving image preservation association, it was no surprise that staff at the NCFVP and the region's FIAF member archives suggested that F/TAAC join with already long established organizations like the Society of American Archivists or the American Library Association, among others. F/TAAC's 1989 survey, however, well illustrated the individualistic approach preferred by its members. In attempting to gauge the preferred vision for a future organization, the survey's final question asked the current membership to indicate whether or not they would "favor joining the Society of American Archivists, provided

that [F/TAAC members] remain together as a film and video group" and could continue to meet separately.[69] A strong majority answered a definitive,"no," and F/TAAC quickly moved towards the creation of its own association – outside of both domestic and international archival organizations. AMIA, like many other U.S. professional organizations, committed to welcoming an eclectic membership made up of *individuals* rather than official representatives of particular institutions, another important difference from FIAF and other multi-lateral international groups.

After several years of complicated and increasingly bureaucratic machinations, F/TAAC legally became the Association of Moving Archivists (AMIA) in 1990/1 – an organization comprised of interested members "concerned with the collection, preservation, exhibition, and use of moving image materials."[70] Reporting on AMIA's work to FIAF in 1992, current LOC Chief, Greg Lukow, noted that the association included 150 total members. By the following year's FIAF congress, then Eastman House curator, Jan Christopher Horak reported that AMIA had increased by over a hundred more members and that its second conference had further solidified the new association as the ideal place of a new era "for cooperation between film archives and the commercial film industry."[71] AMIA's commitment to encouraging a wide range of participation within the association signaled a radical departure from FIAF's longtanding, structuring pledge to refusing membership to any for-profit enterprise. AMIA's leadership has pulled from both Hollywood studio staff as well as state historical society managers, illustrating the complexity of the field at large and North America's pluralist ambition.

AMIA has grown from a relatively informal meeting place for passionate film and video preservation advocates, to an increasingly politicized and active professional association. In 2005, AMIA will convene its fifteenth convention and trade show in

Austin, Texas, featuring the latest media preservation technology, advice, and sales opportunities for the field. With a full time staff, AMIA has a profitable annual conference, an academic cum professional journal (*The Moving Image*), and a growing membership totaling nearly 800 – with an influential internet listserv involving well over a thousand film archivists throughout the globe.

Although the association was created principally for domestic U.S. aims, and with a mostly North American (U.S., Canadian, and Mexican) constituency, AMIA has witnessed a substantial rise in international membership and influence over the last couple of years. As a result of an influential member request to host an AMIA conference in Australia, the association attempted to poll subscribers to its listserv to determine how many countries were participating in its on-line discussions. With well over 1,000 members, the 40 countries represented included a wide-ranging international array – from Japan, Uruguay, and Slovenia, to Hong Kong, South Africa, and Tuvalu.[72]

Over the last several years, the North American based film archiving association has experienced a great deal of soul-searching and debate over "how international" AMIA had become, and, more importantly, "how international" it aspired to be. At its 2004 conference in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the association featured an open forum, "AMIA at Thirteen," within which to debate the future of the field and to attend to particular member concerns. Although the forum devolved quickly into what several attendees bemoaned as a "love fest" for the organization, failing to address any of the significant issues percolating within the membership ranks, AMIA, like the moving image preservation field in general, is facing unprecedented challenges in the digital era. Many of these challenges have been hastened by new technologies, new industrial structures, and changing markets for media product. Such transitions have been well documented in both academic and trade press, and even within the pages of the AMIA

newsletters and journals. Just as significant, however, is the underlying, relatively unaddressed issue of the field's "human resources" crisis: a growing generation gap, fueled, ironically, by the first generation of media preservationists formally trained and mentored by both AMIA and FIAF members, themselves.

SAVING THE "ORPHANS:" FROM INDUSTRY TRADE TALK TO NEO-PRESERVATION MOVEMENT

> *I think if we assume, and I will assume on my behalf, that the majors [Hollywood studios] are taking care of their assets, then in a national plan, we would…like to see a similar care taken [for] the orphans. Naturally that is the first real issue here, because as the days go by they deteriorate further and further.*
>
> Walt Disney representative, Harrison Ellenshaw, speaking in the National Film Preservation Board LA hearing, 1993.[73]

> *What is powerful about the term orphan film is not only its effectiveness, it is something that is fairly easy to understand without much explanation, but also its emotional resonance. Oh, let's save these poor, poor orphan films. That's what potential donors say, even those who know nothing about film.*
>
> Film Archivist, Paolo Cherchi Usai, in his keynote address, "What is an Orphan Film?" to the University of South Carolina's "Orphans Film Symposium," 1999[74]

AMIA's open forum at the 2004 conference featured one short-lived controversy, however. Despite the large number of graduates from degree programs in moving image preservation around the world, current Director of Australia's National Screen and Sound Archive Paolo Cherchi Usai expressed concern over the potential leadership vacuum in the field. Cherchi Usai's statements acquired significant attention due to his esteemed reputation and successful career as founder of a highly regarded Italian silent film festival

and as former curator at the George Eastman House film archive. More importantly, Cherchi Usai had assisted in the creation of the first film preservation training program in the United States, the L. Jeffrey Selznick School of Film Preservation at George Eastman House in Rochester. Since its inception in 1996, the Selznick program has launched the careers of several dozens of young film archivists around the world. With an audience made up of many of these same students, Cherchi Usai's comments surprised and rankled many of the "AMIA at Thirteen" attendees.

Although the potentially volatile confrontation or debate posed by the curator's words was quickly defused, the circumstance bears noting due to the increasing differences between the traditional film archivist approach, represented by curator/directors like Cherchi Usai, whose careers began and continue in national level collections around the world, and the generation of film archivists who not only studied media in college, but additionally attained postgraduate degrees or certificates in film archiving. While some of these individuals left their film preservation training to work at venerable institutions such as the Library of Congress or the British Film Institute, countless more have worked for over a decade at eclectic places such as Northeast Historic Film in Bucksport, Maine, the Alaska Moving Image Preservation Association, or many other organizations representing the thousands of archives or collections referenced in *Footage '89.* With backgrounds in sociology, history, communications, anthropology, in addition to pragmatic media production experience, work in traditional paper based archives, and, themselves, raised in the cable television era, this younger demographic is providing much of the catalyst in the newest facet of the film preservation movement, known in the field now by one name: "Orphans."

The website for the increasingly popular Orphans Film Symposium, held bi-annually at the University of South Carolina since 2000, details a variety of explanations

for emergence of the term in archival discourse. Most of these hypotheses deem film archivists, or those involved in crafting federal film preservation policy, as those responsible for launching the effective metaphor. The National Film Preservation Act of 1992, the first federal legislation specifically focused on motion picture preservation, commissioned the Library of Congress to solicit input from the country's film archiving community with which to determine needs, priorities, and to "establish a new mechanism for increased preservation funding support."[75] Data gathered as a result of the Library's LA and DC hearings, as well as hundreds of pages of written submissions, was edited, compiled, and published as a formal report, rather bureaucratically titled *Film Preservation 1993*. Supporting and substantiating the nation's need for a federal film preservation program, *Film Preservation 1993* served as one of the first public documents to utilize, highlight and focus on the orphans film metaphor.

The derivation of the orphans term in relation to moving images, however, appears to have arisen from the context of the Hollywood motion picture industry itself – somewhat ironic, as the 21st century's self-proclaimed "orphanistas" often assume a strong anti-"big business" stance. Within corporate discourse or context, an orphan denotes a product that appears unprofitable and, therefore, unworthy of substantive marketing, promotion, or extensive circulation. Those involved in motion picture distribution, still a relatively understudied component of the film industry, have used the term orphan to convey this exact sense of commercial value, or lack thereof. For example, in a 1989 *Los Angeles Times* article about the "art of bringing [movies] to market," film critic and author Charles Champlin valorized the rise of the videocassette as giving "orphan films – the ones that didn't find their customers in the first release – another shot at it."[76]

On the East Coast, *New York Times* film reporter Bernard Weinraub offered another iteration of the orphans metaphor, this time tied to the early 1990s machinations of the new era of Hollywood's corporate executives – particularly those at Sony Columbia, that still remained the target of much popular attention. In a section entitled "Adopting Orphan Films," Weinraub stated:

> One of the more expensive and ego-driven traditions of the movie business is the way new studio chairmen often discard the unreleased films of their predecessors, reducing the films' promotion budgets and otherwise treating them as unwanted orphans….[Although former Columbia CEO Frank Price] said it was 'something of a myth' that new studio chiefs trash the movies of outgoing executives…other executives say privately that the tradition endures. 'When I came to Columbia following Dawn Steel, I had 'Flatliners' and 'Awakenings,' films that Dawn had committed to,' he said, referring to this own predecessor….'You sort of adopt them. Maybe they're somebody else's children, but once you're in the job they're yours.'[77]

By the time the Library of Congress arrived in Los Angeles to conduct its film preservation hearings in 1993, the orphans film metaphor had already begun to pervade the rhetoric of non-commercial motion picture archivists as well. Unsurprisingly, the first film archivists that appear to have co-opted the industry's utilization of the term emerged out of the shadow of the studios, themselves. Based out of the old Technicolor film laboratory in downtown Hollywood, the UCLA Film and Television Archive grew from a small university collection to one of the largest moving image archives in the world, second in size only to the Library of Congress.

In 1992, UCLA's premiere film restoration expert, Robert Gitt, spoke with a *Los Angeles Times* reporter for an article discussing the growing success in re-releasing "used movies."[78] Titled "Mining Hollywood's Old Movie Gold," the article included Gitt's perspective on the growing film preservation movement in which studios were actively

participating. Although acknowledging the significant corporate contributions, particularly due to the "generation of studio executives…[who] went to film school and [understood] the heritage," Gitt cautioned against declaring an early victory for film preservation efforts by focusing on the "'orphan' films that have gone into public domain or were enmeshed in ownership issues and…unprotected."[79] This *LA Times* article also featured a number of interviews with several key studio managers responsible for older material at their respective companies. Many of these executives were the same ones called to testify at the Library of Congress hearings on February 12, 1993 – and, perhaps even unwittingly, helped solidify orphans film discourse and helped launch a populist movement.

Studios providing testimony in the 1993 film preservation hearings included Walt Disney, Twentieth Century-Fox, MGM, and Sony Pictures Entertainment. Representing Paramount Pictures, Philip E. Murphy, the Vice-President of Operations for the Television Group, provided an overview of Paramount's preservation work, referencing his company's own, proud "visual heritage" and noting that by 1987, the company had developed a plan to "[assure] the studio's vast library would, in fact, be preserved for future generations." Indeed, by the early 1990s, the major Hollywood studios had invested multi-millions of dollars in restoration costs, laboratory fees, and the building of new storage facilities for corporate heritage. Countless headlines in the trade press had declared "Paramount Dusting Off its Heritage," "Lights, Camera, Restore! Warner Bros. is Spending Millions…," and "Raiders of the Lost Negatives."[80]

As a result of public-private collaboration through efforts of the AFI and the National Film Preservation Board, in addition to Hollywood's high profile, growing commitment to its very own corporate heritage, the major non-profit film archives in the United States were increasingly in need of a new approach with which to substantiate

better their preservation goals and, most importantly, congressional funding requests. Thus, when Philip Murphy concluded his testimony about the Paramount film preservation program with a plea for the country's "orphan" films, LOC staff listened intently to the executive's words. "There is a great need," Murphy said, "for the Library of Congress and Congress to focus on parts of our American visual heritage which do not naturally fall under someone's ownership."[81] Murphy continued:

> Those titles are called orphans because they have no protectors, no organization with the wherewithal to transfer the material to safety film to assure that future generations will have the opportunity to view what the early part of our century looked like on film. It's our suggestion that a national preservation policy address this great collection of material before time, its greatest enemy, takes it away from us forever.…It's gratifying that the U.S. Congress recognizes the need to preserve our visual cultural heritage. It's likewise impressive to know that the Librarian of Congress is marshalling the effort. We offer our cooperation, our expertise. As for Paramount, we will continue to protect and preserve our visual heritage with total commitment and dedication.[82]

Following Murphy's testimony, the meeting opened to questions for the studio executives – questions that illustrated an interesting tension on the part of the LOC representatives in their quest to both preserve "American" cinema and these so-called "orphans." David Francis, former curator of the U.K.'s National Film and Television Archive and, in 1993, acting chief of the LOC's Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division, struggled to balance and secure institutional interests in both Hollywood and public domain material. Responding to general studio testimony, Francis picked up and repeatedly invoked the orphans terminology, stating: "I'm very heartened by what I have just heard. I think the public archives would like nothing better than to concentrate their efforts on the orphans. I also feel, however, the public archives, in their plurality of locations, should have a first class copy of every important American film in

their collections…to satisfy the need to present in their own locations the history of the American cinema."[83]

Francis' conflation of American film history with Hollywood history reflected the interests of most representatives on the National Film Preservation Board, the body organizing these hearings. Serving members included representatives from the national, or feature film oriented, moving image archives embodied by North American FIAF member, the MOMA Film Library, National Association of Theater Owners, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers, and the National Society of Film Critics. In addition, the major Hollywood industry guilds (e.g., The Directors Guild of America, the Writers Guild, and the Screen Actors Guild) also participated.

Thus, industry collaboration with the project factored extensively into these discussions – particularly as the Board had emerged out of 1988's National Film Preservation Act, that while having little to do with actual film preservation, appeased the late 1980s film colorization controversy and subsequent artists rights protests on Capitol Hill. Although the Board, and several of the archival staff in attendance, many of whom had maintained FIAF leadership positions for several years, shared a priority in preserving and generating larger numbers of 35mm motion picture prints of Hollywood feature films, Hollywood was countering with an alternative suggestion – focus a national plan on the nation's most needy films, the orphans.

Although any attempt at tracing a linguistic trend is difficult and nearly impossible to verify, one of the key influences in this particular discursive shift was the wide ranging participation in the North American interest group or professional association, the Association of Moving Image Archivists. Before Paramount's Philip Murphy began his formal testimony in the LOC hearing, he joked of his familiarity with

many of the individuals attending, and even those organizing, the hearing through previous meetings and AMIA conferences. Particularly during AMIA's early years, studio executives mingled with representatives from U.S. national film archives as well as with curators from historical societies across the country. Sessions echoed the decade-long work of the American Film Institute and the National Endowment of the Arts in preserving a vast array of historical material by featuring an eclectic range of what was considered "film preservation" from a variety of groups. The final night of the annual AMIA conference, for many, the highlight of the entire week's activities, showcased preservation work from the smallest of collections to premiering Hollywood restorations of the most well-known titles.

The adoption, so to speak, of the orphans metaphor by the Library of Congress in its official capacity as the federal body charged with creating new means and methods to support film preservation funding, "eliminated a political problem," according to the current Chief of the LOC Motion Picture Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, Gregory Lukow. [84] For years, and arguably decades, Congress resisted funding a federal film preservation program due to a very real concern over the potential of duplicating the conservation efforts of Hollywood studios. Even if a Warner Bros.' restoration of *Casablanca* would not meet FIAF standards, for the purposes of an American film preservation program, Congress didn't care – the film was preserved. Earlier, failed efforts to focus Congressional interest on the diversity of American media product, particularly by the NEA and the AFI in the late 1970s and early 1980s, helped significantly to prepare the way for the eventual success of the LOC and the orphan metaphor in the mid-1990s.[85]

With the important clarification between those films remaining under copyright (and thus, under the protection of their corporate parents) and the "orphan" films

(primarily public domain material or media heretofore unpreserved by public institutions), the National Film Preservation Act of 1996, and the subsequent launch of the National Film Preservation Foundation, at last guaranteed some Congressional funding for national film preservation efforts – albeit, nearly seventy years since Will Hays and his presidential friends first tried in the 1920s. Although Congressional support for the program remains in flux from one legislative session to the next, the National Film Preservation Board and its Foundation have continued, with slight exceptions, to be reauthorized. Indeed, the orphans metaphor has guided and virtually ensured the Foundation's emotionally charged mission to "save America's film heritage" as unassailable.

At the same time, federal legislation continually has been reworked and honed in the fifteen years since its first success – a reworking in large part due to the efforts of AMIA's interest groups and the orphans film movement. In April, 2005, the legislation reauthorizing the National Film Preservation Board received Congressional approval and was signed into law by President Bush. This particular version, however, is a far cry from 1988's National Film Preservation Act that responded primarily to concern over Hollywood film product and its perceived decimation on the part of corporate owners. Rather, the 2005 film preservation legislation became a component of Senate Bill S.167 – or, more significantly, what has become known as the "Family Entertainment and Copyright Act."[86] Soliciting public support for the bill, the indefatigable Library of Congress liaison to the NFPB, Steve Leggett, mobilized AMIA members by alerting the group's list-serv to the LOC's copyright office's call for submissions on what the association now refers to as "the orphans" bill. By late spring, 2005, over 700 separate testimonials were sent into the Copyright office on behalf of what Senator Patrick Leahy

(D-VT) celebrated as "films…[that] do not enjoy the protection of big studios. Rather…other treasures that shed a great deal of light on America's past."[87]

CONCLUSION

> *I am always struck by the attention and concern that usually follows a deranged person smashing a Michelangelo statue or spray painting an old master in a museum. Yet, as a matter of every-day fact, artistic treasures are left to decay and destruction due to a lack of a national preservation policy of our cinematic heritage.*
>
> Francis Ford Coppola, in a letter to the Library of Congress, 1993[88]

> *The recognition that the world's archives need to protect 'orphan films' has become one of the most challenging aspects of film preservation. How can orphan films be saved, screened, studied and creatively used? The beauty of the orphan metaphor is that it embraces a wide array of neglected genres…. All of these are part of our social and cinematic history…help ensure the survival of our collective film heritage….*
>
> Martin Scorsese, in a letter of support for the annual Orphans Film Symposium at the University of South Carolina, 2003[89]

Having formally established its overarching mission to serve as "guardian[s] of the world's moving image heritage" during the latter part of the twentieth century, the international film archiving community helped engender and empower new participants in both conservation practice and the accompanying professional discourse. Many heretofore ignored or undervalued regions, nations, or entities joined the increasingly popular heritage preservation movement comfortable with the knowledge that although their films might not be considered artistic in certain areas of the globe, such material was undoubtedly vital cultural heritage. Regardless of their films' status (or absence) in traditional film canons, these new participants celebrated, and fundraised for, the conservation of their own cinema "treasures."

In the United Kingdom, “national” and “regional” organizations such as the Scottish Film Archive, the National Screen and Sound Archive of Wales, and the regional members of the Film Archive Forum lead the globe in its approach to infra-national collaboration and preservation efforts. The East Anglia Film Archive, in conjunction with the University of East Anglia whose film studies program remains one of the most prestigious in the country, launched the world’s first postgraduate degree program in film archiving in the Autumn of 1993. The EAFA, one of the U.K.’s leading regional moving image archives designed a program centered on the archive’s unique collection of local material – from 1920s advertising films of Norwich based company, Colman’s Mustard, to BBC East’s nearly entire broadcasting output.

Students coming to the program, even those most steeped in feature films, could not graduate from the program without a radical re-thinking of what constituted a moving image artifact. These same students now comprise more than 90% of the film preservation staff throughout the country, while many international students work in Europe, North America and in FIAF affiliates around the world. Formed during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the U.K.’s regional film archiving network continues to challenge their domestic audiences, as well as international associations, in how specific geographic boundaries impact their understanding of media history – and, in the process, challenge a reevaluation of those very boundaries themselves. Ann Beaton, the Scottish Film Archive’s Librarian, well articulates one of the confusions generated as a result of the U.K.’s regional film archiving model: “I guess we are considered both a 'national' and a 'regional' collection, depending on your viewpoint!! We are sometime, rather annoyingly, slotted in to become a 'region' of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Northern Ireland when it suits, but we do preserve a unique collection of images related to Scotland and the Scottish people.”[90]

In the United States, the push towards de-centralizing film preservation efforts occurred in a less formal, more individualist manner – helped in no small part by the fact that a federal film preservation program had never been fully actualized prior to the late 1980s. With the emergence of the Association of Moving Image Archivists in the early 1990s, an alternative organizational model to both FIAF's international professional association and the U.K.'s structured regional network of a decentralized national film heritage was crafted. AMIA's "interest group" based model presented a unique opportunity for virtually *anyone* passionate about, or even those just mildly intrigued by, film preservation to become involved in an international information exchange and advocacy group. In a very general sense, the organization's first years featured the leadership of those primarily hailing from the large, national, or feature film based, moving image archives. As the years progressed, however, and the membership grew by the hundreds, the focus for the organization shifted.

Interest groups, like AMIA, offer relatively unmitigated possibilities for action with organizational agendas predicated upon individual involvement. Unlike a regional participatory model, like that in the U.K., interest groups can empower a wide range of individual members in a more fluid dynamic and context. But as the composition of that group changes, so do the driving interests motivating its members. Different understandings of what organizational priorities are or should be create schisms and political blocs with which to navigate the increasingly important question of who has center stage – and whose vision will direct group action.

From its inception, AMIA's membership was challenged through its flexible and diverse approach, with several of the "big five" nitrate archives already meeting separately from the larger group as early as the mid-1990s. Until very recently, however, the association maintained a fairly united commitment to moving image preservation, led

largely by those representing feature film collections – both non-commercial and for-profit. The increased centrality of the orphans film metaphor within moving image preservation discourse, however, has underscored, or, indeed, actively caused much of the tension currently felt within the organization. In a sense, AMIA's shifting agendas reflect earlier discursive struggles experienced by its elder cousin, the International Federation of Film Archives. Throughout the post-World War II era, FIAF's cinema or feature film enthusiasts grew increasingly frustrated with the proliferation of sub-national archives whose collections challenged the predominance of the international entertainment or national cinema canons. In his keynote address to the "Whose Heritage?" conference at the Scottish Film Archive in 1986, Canadian film archivist and former AMIA president, Sam Kula, stated in defense of the national film archive system that "in a pluralistic society, you have to wait your turn."[91] For many of North America's new generation of professionally trained "orphanistas," they claim to have waited long enough – and federal legislation appears to agree.

Notes: Chapter Five

[1] LOC memo regarding the Motion Picture Copyright Clearance Committee, 10 Mar. 1947, Motion Picture subject files, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[2] Christian Dimitriu, FIAF Senior Administrator, personal interview, FIAF Executive Offices, Brussels, Belgium, July, 2004.
[3] For the US film preservation context as one example, nitrate film remained the industry standard until the early 1950s. Amateur films, educational films, and industrial films – less valued to early film archivists – had been shot on so-called "safety film" since well prior to World War II.
[4] For an overview and various hypotheses for the origins of utilizing the term in film preservation discourse, see <http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/orphanfilm.html>.
[5] Publicity Pamphlet for the Scottish Film Search: "Lost but not Forgotten," Scottish Film Archive, Scottish Film Council, Glasgow, 1995.
[6] See Tom Nairn, "Scotland and Europe," *Becoming National: A Reader* eds. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 81.
[7] Although the Scottish Film Archive was recently renamed the Scottish Screen Archive, I have chosen to utilize the original organization name as it was used during the period under discussion.
[8] C.A. Oakley, "How the Scottish Film Council Began" *21 Years of the Scottish Film Council* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1955) 6.

[9] John Buchan, "Introduction," *21 Years of the Scottish Film Council* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1955) 4.
[10] Notes by the Hon. Anthony Asquith, Adjudicator of the Fourth Scottish Amateur Film Festival, Feb. 1937, Scottish Film Archive Files, British Film Institute Library, London.
[11] Forsyth Hardy, "The Film Society Movement in Scotland," *21 Years of the Scottish Film Council*, (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1955) 26.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Scottish Film Council, *Report on the Scottish Central Film Library: A Three Year's Experiment (1939-1942)* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, Ltd., ca. 1942) 3.
[14] Ibid., 5.
[15] Ibid., 6.
[16] Ibid., 6.
[17] "Film Library," *Times Educational Supplement* 1 Jan. 1959, Scottish Film Council file, British Film Institute Library, London.
[18] *21 Years of the Scottish Film Council* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1955) 49.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Minutes from the Scottish Standing Committee on Archive Films, Dec. 1973, Scottish Film Archive Files, Scottish Film Archive, Glasgow, Scotland.
[21] Ibid.
[22] The SFC's original plan ensured that the NFA would retain all nitrate material and would continue to carry out all preservation projects. They proposed that Scotland, already owning and operating its own extensive film library, should acquire 16mm prints for research and screening purposes.
[23] Minutes from the Scottish Standing Committee on Archive Films, Dec. 1973, Scottish Film Archive Files, Scottish Film Archive, Glasgow, Scotland.
[24] Minutes from the Scottish Standing Committee on Archive Films, 24 Feb. 1976, Scottish Film Archive Files, Scottish Film Archive, Glasgow, Scotland. It might also be noted that advice from the NFA regarding how best to approach "television monitoring" involved the following three step process: "1. keep a notebook and pencil on the television set; 2. make a note of content of the appropriate programmes; 3. express a clear reason for recommending a particular programme for preservation with particular reference to the 'quality of the moving picture on the screen.'" Ibid.
[25] Minutes from the Scottish Standing Committee on Archive Films, 2 Mar. 1977, Scottish Film Archive Files, Scottish Film Archive, Glasgow, Scotland. 2.
[26] Ibid. It appears that the early (and apparently brief) use of the term "domestic" footage was a British reference to "home movie" type of material.
[27] Publicity Pamphlet for the Scottish Film Search: "Lost but not Forgotten: The Search for Scotland's Missing Films," Scottish Film Archive, Scottish Film Council, Glasgow, 1995. Back cover.
[28] Ibid., 2.
[29] Ibid., 1.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 6.
[32] Ibid.
[33] "FIAF Executive Committee Meets at the Scottish Film Council," FIAF *Bulletin*, Jan. 1987, No. 33. 28-29.
[34] Sam Kula, "'National' Archives and 'Sub-National' Interests," "Whose Heritage?" Seminar, Scottish Film Archive, 28 Nov. 1986. 25.
[35] Ibid., 27.
[36] Ibid., 17.
[37] Maryann Gomes, "The North West Film Archive, Manchester," "Whose Heritage?" Seminar, Scottish Film Archive, 28 Nov. 1986. 9. Examples of material uncovered by NWFA staff to complement national collections are the hundreds of short films from the "Calling Blighty" program in which British servicemen were able to send filmed messages to their hometowns. One particular collection featured military men stationed in Burma greeting their families in Manchester.
[38] See Moving History: Towards a Policy for the U.K. Moving Image Archives (London: BUFVC, 1999).
[39] 16 May, 2005 <http://www.bufvc.ac.uk/faf/faf.htm>.

[40] Ibid.
[41] See David Cleveland, *East Anglia on Film* (North Walsham: Poppyland Publishing, 1987) for more information on the creation of the archive and material in its collection.
[42] David Bridgman, "Manchester's Film Archive Looks Back at Living History," *Manchester Evening News* 16 June 1987. North West Film Archive clippings file, British Film Institute Library, London.
[43] FIAF Executive Committee Minutes, Montreal, 1988. 14.
[44] FIAF Executive Committee Minutes, Tunis, 1994. 12.
[45] Ibid.
[46] FIAF Executive Committee Minutes, Oslo, 1993. 10.
[47] Conveyed during personal tour of the National Film Library and the NSSAW with NSSAW staff, July, 2004.
[48] FIAF Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, Toulouse, 1999. 36.
[49] Author interview with anonymous source, July, 2004.
[50] XXIX FIAF Conference Minutes, Moscow, 7-12 June 1973. 11.
[51] XXX FIAF Conference Minutes, Ottawa and Montreal, 20-25 May 1974. 18.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Anthony Slide, *Nitrate Won't Wait* (Jefferson: McFarland Publishing, 1992) 89.
[54] Ibid.
[55] See Slide's chapter on "Specialization in the Seventies" in *Nitrate Won't Wait* for a more extensive overview of developments in this period.
[56] Anthony Slide, "Source Material on American Film Production Prior to 1920," *FIAF Bulletin* VI, April 1974. 3-5.
[57] FIAF General Assembly Minutes XXXXIII, Berlin, May 1987, 43.
[58] FIAF General Assembly Minutes XXXXV, Lisboa, 17-18 April 1989. 26.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Executive Committee Minutes, Habana, 1987. 15-16
[61] Ibid., 16
[62] George Stevens, Jr. "About the American Film Institute," *Film Quarterly* 25.2 (1971); 38-39. Also, for more information on these early years, see submissions in *Film Preservation 1993: A Study of the Current State of American Film Preservation*, 4 vols. (Washington: National Film Preservation Board of the Library of Congress, 1993).
[63] Sarah Ziebell Mann, *American Moving Image Preservation, 1967-1987*, MA Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, August 2000. 19.
[64] Ibid., 24.
[65] As discussed earlier, a focused analysis upon the evolving television preservation programs throughout the twentieth century is outside the parameter of this study. For a good overview of this important, concurrent movement, again, see Mann and Slide.
[66] F/TAAC files, MBRS Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[67] *Film Preservation 1993: A Study of the Current State of American Film Preservation*, 4 vols. (Washington: National Film Preservation Board of the Library of Congress, 1993). Vol. 3, Washington, DC Hearing, 20.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] "Join AMIA in 1992!" Membership leaflet, F/TAAC files, MBRS Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[71] FIAF General Assembly Minutes, XXXXIV Congress, Moi I Rana, 28-31 May, 1993. 23.
[72] AMIA List-serv postings, November, 2003. Recorded by author.
[73] *Film Preservation 1993: A Study of the Current State of American Film Preservation*, 4 vols. (Washington: National Film Preservation Board of the Library of Congress, 1993). Vol. 3, Los Angeles Hearing, 63.
[74] 16 May, 2005 <http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/archive/orphans2001/usai.html>.
[75] 16 May 2005 <http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/archive/orphans2001/lukow.html>.

[76] Charles Champlin, "Another Chance to Get 'Right,'" *Los Angeles Times* 20 July 1989: 1. For another key example, see Aljean Harmetz's *New York Times* article, "Oscar Race: Some Colorful Campaigning," 24 Jan. 1986: C8.
[77] Bernard Weinraub, "Hollywood Captivated By an Altman Film About How Awful It Is," *New York Times* 18 Feb. 1992: C13.
[78] Robert Epstein, "Mining Hollywood's Old Movie Gold," *Los Angeles Times* 16 July 1992: 1.
[79] Ibid.
[80] See 3 May 1990's *Daily Variety*; 15 May 1990's *Los Angeles Times*; and 2 May 1990's *Hollywood Reporter* respectively.
[81] *Film Preservation 1993: A Study of the Current State of American Film Preservation*, 4 vols. (Washington: National Film Preservation Board of the Library of Congress, 1993). Vol. 3, Los Angeles Hearing, 60.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., 63.
[84] Gregory Lukow, "The Politics of Orphanage: The Rise and Impact of the 'Orphan Film' Metaphor on Contemporary Preservation Practice," Orphan Film Symposium, 23 Sept. 1999. <http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/archive/orphans2001/lukow.html>.
[85] See Lukow's excellent overview for detailed information on the legislative trajectory of this time period. Ibid.
[86] S. 167 109th Congress, 1st Session 2 Feb. 2005 Washington, D.C.: GPO.
[87] Jesse J. Holland, "Family DVD filter bill moves through Congress," *USA TODAY* 9 Mar. 2005 <http://www.usatoday.com/tech/news/techpolicy/2005-03-09-family-dvd-filers-house_x.htm>.
[88] Library of Congress, Report of the Librarian of Congress, *Film Preservation 1993: A Study of the Current State of American Film Preservation, Vol. 4: Submissions* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993) 20.
[89] <http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/archive/orphans2002/endorsements/scorsese-endorsement.html>.
[90] Posting to the AMIA-L listerv, 26 Nov. 2003.
[91] Sam Kula, "'National' Archives and 'Sub-National' Interests," "Whose Heritage?" Seminar, Scottish Film Archive, 28 Nov. 1986. 25.

Chapter Six

Concluding Thoughts

INTRODUCTION

Roger Mayer's humanitarian efforts add luster to the golden statuette. Roger is one of the good guys… As founding chair of the National Film Preservation Foundation, the collector and protector of cinematic treasures, he has ensured that our past will go on for generations of future movie goers. In [Roger's] crucial work in saving films, and those who make films, he has earned this award twice over.

Martin Scorsese's speech presenting Roger Mayer with the 2005 Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Academy Award[1]

Recognizing the impact of the present on the past, we confront anew the paradox implicit in preservation. Vestiges are saved to stave off decay, destruction, and replacement and to keep an unspoiled heritage. Yet preservation itself reveals that permanence is an illusion. The more we save, the more aware we become that such remains are continually altered and reinterpreted….Advocates of preservation who adjure us to save things unchanged fight a losing battle, since even to appreciate the past is to transform it.

David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country[2]

After several weeks of torrential rain and flooding, a beautiful day dawned in Los Angeles for the 2005 Academy Awards ceremony. About halfway through the proceedings, Martin Scorsese introduced the Hersholt Humanitarian Award Recipient, Roger Mayer, with adulatory remarks towards Mayer's work in film preservation – "a cause," the director declared, "close to my own heart."[3] After acknowledging Scorsese's

own significant contribution to the motion picture preservation movement, Mayer addressed the event's attendees and the millions of viewers around the world:

> As for film preservation, I must give credit to the six board chairmen, seven production heads, during my twenty-five years at MGM who either backed our endeavors, or weren't quite sure what we were doing so let it happen anyway. And then came Ted Turner and his cohorts in Atlanta who understood the importance of all this, and kept it going even when funds were pretty short. Preservation and restoration are now led by the studios and organizations nationwide such as the Museum of Modern Art and Eastman House in New York, UCLA, and our own Academy archives here in Los Angeles, and most particularly, the Library of Congress. And as I thank the Academy's Board of Governors for this great honor, I want to remind all of you, the Academy itself, namely you, support film preservation…and the National Film Preservation Fund, so we sincerely thank you.[4]

Mayer finished his speech with a reference to the familiar pundits' refrain that "nothing lasts in Hollywood." The Turner executive voiced his disagreement by stating that "the art of film does…if you take care of it," inducing loud applause from the crowd.[5] Mayer's celebration of studio preservation work, and his easy conflation between movies and art, unwittingly served to illustrate the success of the film preservation movement throughout the previous century.

Almost seventy years ago, the Museum of Modern Art Film Library's co-founder, Iris Barry, accepted a special Academy Award during another Hollywood spring dominated by monsoon-like weather. In March, 1937, the Academy's Master of Ceremonies George Jessel presented Barry with the Academy's scroll certificate for the Museum's "significant work in collecting films…and for the first time making available to the public the means of studying the historical and aesthetic development of the motion picture as one of the major arts."[6] The Academy's formal recognition of the MOMA's endeavors testifies to the longstanding, mutually beneficial relationship between the U.S.

commercial film industry and the nation's earliest and largest film archives. The Hollywood and New York based motion picture trade associations, film archives, and those individuals comprising the Academy's guilds all benefitted from film's inclusion into artistic canons and repositories for the country's historical "treasures."

It was not until 2005, however, that the preservation of American moving image *heritage* received its own Oscar nod. The Academy utilized many of the most familiar and iconic Hollywood images to help explain the importance of film preservation to viewers, much like the CBS special segment on Mayer and the Library of Congress' National Film Registry program, "The Movie Savior," that had aired that same week. Clips from *Ben Hur* (1926), *Casablanca*, and *Gone with the Wind* (before and after restoration) moved across the screen during Scorsese's personal and heartfelt introduction. Throughout the Hersholt award segment of the Academy Awards broadcast, Mayer and Scorsese referenced the National Film Preservation Foundation (NFPF) program by name several times. Their repeated efforts to promote the Foundation during these brief speeches were due, in part, to CBS' failure to link together Roger's Hollywood work and reputation with the nation's "orphan" film product in its report on the federal program.[7]

Despite significant efforts by film preservationists involved with the production of the "The Movie Savior" segment, the broadcast struggled to explain Mayer's connection to non-Hollywood material or, according to motion picture lab owner and orphans advocate, Russ Suniewick, "how profoundly important the funding effort of NFPF has become to saving endangered Orphan Films."[8] Currently, the National Film Preservation Foundation identifies itself as "the nonprofit organization created by the U.S. Congress to help save America's film heritage" whose "top priority" is to help ensure the preservation of films "unlikely to survive without public support."[9] In May, 2005 the NFPF

announced its most recent list of films to be preserved through its federal grant program. Titles included a wide range of material from Martha Graham dance performances and footage of F.D.R. in the polio treatment baths of Warm Springs, Georgia, to early sound films of Jewish cantors and 1930s public health short subjects created to combat malaria and typhoid fever in the state's rural communities.

Over the twentieth century, film preservation discourse shifted from justifying film conservation because of the medium's role as art or as history, to the vital necessity of saving moving image heritage. Moreover, during the latter half of the twentieth century, the movement to preserve national film heritage had grown to encompass a wider range of interested individuals and film repositories. By the late 1990s, film preservation advocates (or devotees) around the world had succeeded in raising significant public awareness of the topic, and in solidifying moving image archives as a familiar and critical component in contemporary cultural life. Testimony to this success, particularly in Australia and New Zealand where the countries' film archives garnered significant public attention with nation-wide "lost" film searches, was director Peter Jackson's 1995 "mockumentary" film, *Forgotten Silver*.

Co-produced by Jackson's own company, the New Zealand Film Commission, and a prominent New Zealand broadcasting company, *Forgotten Silver* chronicles the supposed re-discovery of a lost filmmaker's genius that proves New Zealand filmmakers belong in every film history textbook around the world. A collection of abandoned films made by "Colin McKenzie," the unknown NZ director found by Jackson and his team, revealed McKenzie to be responsible for every important motion picture innovation, from sound technology and tracking shots to the world's first feature length motion picture. Playing on audience familiarity with both the traditional film canon and the prominent position of the film archive as venerable cultural institution, *Forgotten Silver* features

industry figures such as producer Harvey Weinstein, actor Sam Neill, and film historian Leonard Maltin waxing eloquently as to the importance of New Zealand's filmmaking heritage. As Weinstein earnestly states to the camera, "This New Zealand filmmaker is going to rank with the greats, like D.W. Griffith, and I think, in some ways, infinitely better."[10]

The film archive plays a leading role in *Forgotten Silver*, particularly in the beginning sequences of Jackson's mockumentary. The famous director, pretending to have been alerted to the discovery of a large number of old movies in an elderly neighbor's shed, takes the films straight to the film archive where the scholarly looking "archivists" pronounce the films as unique "treasures," perilously on the verge of "disappearing forever" had they remained outside of the archive any longer. The filmmakers pointedly mimic standard news coverage and traditional documentaries on film preservation by interspersing archivist interviews with images of rusty film cans and white gloved technicians carefully examining films on a Steenbeck.

Parodies provide important evidence that a genre or cultural phenomenon has become significant enough, or sufficiently recognizable to the general public, to be lampooned. *Forgotten Silver*'s affectionate send up of traditional moving image archiving and film history's familiar tropes and narratives illustrates the established manifest discourse of film preservation. By the mid-1990s, film preservation had assumed a central and "common-sense" role amid public discourse prominent enough to acquire its own spoof. *Forgotten Silver*'s very existence reinforced the fact that the film preservation movement had "come of age," having acquired a substantive history, presence, and socio-cultural mandate.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

Although film preservation emerged as an important issue soon after the birth of the moving image, few critical histories exist of the movement over one hundred years later. Entertaining, anecdotal evidence supplies the basis for much of the literature that has been produced thus far – a situation that both aggrandizes the work already undertaken and mitigates the potential for change. This dissertation takes an analytical approach to the film preservation movement and its accompanying discourse of heritage. Crucial to this task is a closer examination of the multiple levels within the field, national and international institutions as well as regional or infra-national programs. Different organizational models predicated upon specific membership requirements and demands, in turn, have empowered a diverse array of individual voices and concerns.

From the earliest days of cinema, film preservation efforts largely attended to national interests and were organized in accordance with country-specific agendas. Although European film archives have received the greatest amount of study and attention, interested parties within the United States advocated for a national film repository throughout every decade of the twentieth century. Hollywood representatives joined forces with the executive and legislative branches of the federal government to lobby for a national film collection. Will Hays, Archibald MacLeish, Iris Barry, Calvin Coolidge, John Bradley, F.D.R., and several behind-the-scenes film enthusiasts all played key roles in the development of the American film preservation movement through World War II. Up until the 1970s, however, the emphasis remained upon the desire and necessity for a national film collection and library to facilitate and increase access to motion pictures, rather than on preservation.

During the Cold War period, industrial shifts impacted the major U.S. production studios and diverted the film preservation movement's focus as corporate collections were sold, bought, and sold again. The push for a national film collection waned in the immediate post-World War II period while major Hollywood studios exploited their older commercial product in a variety of ways. These actions and decisions, as well as the growth of television, increased the concern on the part of the nation's film enthusiasts (still primarily focused on the entertainment feature) that the country's older moving images were being destroyed or simply lost in the recurring cycles of corporate mergers and acquisitions. International standards, collaboration, and pressure inspired and assisted leaders of the young American Film Institute (AFI) to prioritize preservation. The AFI, a product of the newly created National Endowment for the Arts in the 1960s, was instrumental in broadening the U.S. film preservation movement and, most importantly, in solidifying its heritage rationale. The Sony Corporation's purchase of Columbia Studios in 1989, followed quickly by Matsushita's acquisition of MCA-Universal in 1990, assisted in intensifying the vitriolic discourse and political grandstanding surrounding powerful and unchallenged notions of appropriate and rightful ownership of Hollywood films as American cultural heritage.

Much of the influence for this discursive shift came out of European or general international networks and associations such as the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) and the United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In particular, the British Film Institute's National Film and Television Archive and its influential leader, Ernest Lindgren, championed preservation as the field's chief and overriding mission. Much has been written about the tempestuous personality conflicts between France's Henri Langlois and the UK's Ernest Lindgren.

What remains buried amid these titillating discussions are two important byproducts for the field at large.

First, Lindgren and his peers' understanding of preservation practice had its roots in a primarily nineteenth-century approach to national material culture. Their view of appropriate or acceptable preservation, the approach that continues to be employed in the field today, was one in which the *original* artifact connotes authenticity and attention, in an almost antiquarian sense. For example, when Warner Bros. wrote to Lindgren requesting a loan of the BFI's negative of Frank Capra's *Long Pants* to create new elements, Lindgren refused; the Warner Bros.-owned film would not be preserved "for posterity," Lindgren stated, unless the negative was kept as intact, and unused, as possible. Contemporary film archivists echo the influence of this first generation of film archivists of the 1930s and 1940s in training students, in their day-to-day practice, and by maintaining allegiance to the original artifact of celluloid, even when faced with an industry shifting quickly to a new medium.

Second, the centrality of this specific approach to preservation within global film archiving practice throughout the twentieth century limited participation in the field's discourse. By ensuring that only those motion picture archives devoting a substantial portion of their budget to traditional preservation endeavors could become FIAF members, the international association privileged national or state-run archives. Film preservation, specifically defined by the majority of FIAF members as the copying of older motion pictures onto new celluloid stock in its most original form remains an enormously expensive undertaking. Although FIAF membership rules were undoubtedly more strict in theory than in practice, the organization's focus on this definition of preservation as the unifying force among members helped ascribe power and influence to

very specific, national level players (with significant feature film collections) within international discourse.

Various members from all regions of the world, however, regularly challenged FIAF's rules, regulations, and priorities throughout the latter half of the century. During FIAF's 1976 congress in Mexico, several members questioned the merits and validity of "100% of archiving energies" going to preservation.[11] Many representatives from Latin America, with its strong and politicized tradition of film clubs and cinémathèques, attended the international film archiving congresses and actively debated many of the field's traditional tenets and practices. Moreover, the explosion of new participants from developing countries around the world engendered significant discussion over how to curtail membership and to retain a unified direction for a growing field with radically different perspectives and agendas. This context brought about new, regional associations and interest groups, many of which were comprised of specialized moving image collections. Infra-national film archives in the United Kingdom, such as the North West Film Archive in Manchester, Glasgow's Scottish Film Archive, and the East Anglia Film Archive in Norwich, led the field in a new direction by appropriating the global cultural heritage argument of the 1980s to justify more geographically oriented, locally focused preservation efforts.

Sub-national moving image archiving programs slowly emerged in North America as well, albeit in a less formalized manner. Representatives from organizations such as the Rhode Island Historical Society, Northeast Historic Film in Bucksport, Maine, and the Alaska Moving Image Preservation Association in Anchorage successfully built significant collections and attained leadership positions in the Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA), the influential professional organization based in North America. The work of AMIA's members was encouraged by

socio-economic and historical trends during the 1970s and 1980s that differed in several key ways from European precedents.

According to conservation historians, the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in the United States during the late 1960s signified an important theoretical and financial restructuring for the preservation movement that focused traditionally on architectural sites. The Act instigated a federal matching grant system in which the national participants managed and distributed funding to states, rather than utilizing monies for specific national projects and efforts. Furthermore, the Act encouraged more participation on the state level, thus expanding historical demarcation from "simply *nationally* important properties…to properties and districts and sites of local and state significance – a change that …led to a massive proliferation of sites, districts and buildings considered significant."[12]

Importantly, all infra-national or regional archives, American, British, and, indeed, around the world, share one overarching commonality. Each of these archives approaches and exploits its individual socio-cultural and geographical identity in relationship to moving images in two key ways. First, moving image archives collect and celebrate their own community or regional film heritage – e.g., locally based professional filmmakers, "amateur" and industrial filmmaking, and even the "personal" home movie making in individual homes. Second, "Hollywood" plays an important role in the justification behind the creation of such new film "canons." A particular region's representation in Hollywood feature films provided one easily understood catalyst for the collection, establishment, and construction of alternative images and viewpoints. For example, Scotland's popularity as Hollywood subject matter – from *Brigadoon* to *Braveheart* – justified or even necessitated the Scottish Film Archive's "Lost but not Forgotten" film search. One of the missing films most sought after by the organization's

archivists was 1911's *Rob Roy*, a title all the more interesting and desirable in light of the 1995 Hollywood version of the legendary Scottish hero starring Liam Neeson and Jessica Lange.

(Rob Roy, 1911)

(Rob Roy, 1995)

Conversely, infra-national moving image archives capitalize upon Hollywood's international presence and notoriety. Local residents that succeeded in Hollywood are important archival subjects and figures. One example of many lies in the Scottish Film Archive's 1997 monograph on Glaswegian born filmmaker, Frank Lloyd, "Scotland's Triple Oscar Winner."[13]

If anything, the first generation of sub-national moving image archives, particularly in the United Kingdom, utilized their locality's representation in Hollywood films (and, at times, other national cinemas) to articulate specific kinds of local identities and to celebrate the unique qualities and quirks of regional difference. Through invoking ideas of authenticity and reality in opposition to an alien, corporate and, for some, a quasi-imperialist viewpoint, sub-national film archives successfully argued to preserve their own motion picture heritage. Somewhat ironically, Hollywood studios have learned from the last several decades of success on the part of these non-commercial film heritage brokers. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, major Hollywood studios created

museums and quasi-amusement park attractions around their corporate "heritage" and identity. A contemporary visitor walking through the Warner Bros. lot discovers bronzed plaques on every sound stage, that mimic the look of state or federal historical markers and denote what important film and television product was produced upon that very site.

Since the passage of the National Film Preservation Act of 1996, U.S. film archivists, with a shrewd eye on Hollywood's own heritage movement and on the ever dwindling federal preservation funds, have also reevaluated the unique relationship between Hollywood and other aspects of their country's domestic film product. With the rise of the orphans film metaphor and movement, a new generation of moving image archivists appears to be creating and packaging an alternative "American" moving image heritage. So-called "orphanistas" gather and lobby for increased attention and, most importantly, funding for a more organic or "real" American film heritage – ephemeral advertising footage, home movies, medical training films, and more. Albeit, armed with an ironic distance and postmodern sensibilities, participants in the orphans film movement hope to place individuals such as Melton Barker, an itinerant Texas filmmaker, next to (or at least, on the same list as) Howard Hawks – and the arbiters of national heritage are doing just that.

When, in 1988, the National Film Preservation Board began selecting American motion picture titles for the Registry as worthy of preservation because of their "cultural, historical, and/or aesthetic importance," all but one of the twenty-five titles, the iconic 1922 documentary film *Nanook of the North*, were Hollywood commercial fare, e.g., *The Crowd* (1928), *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), and *Star Wars* (1977).[14] By 2005, however, the National Film Registry program was experiencing an annual challenge in having to explain increasingly unfamiliar titles to the public. When the press gathered in late December to hear the 2004 list announced by the Librarian of Congress Dr. James

Billington, few were aware of the complicated history that had enabled both the 1959 *Ben Hur* remake as well as 1941 footage of Kannapolis, North Carolina, to be declared American film heritage treasures – the very same North Carolina orphan film featured in the CBS report on film preservation and Roger Mayer's Academy Award.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HERITAGE LITERATURE AND THEORY

This transition has not occurred in an ahistorical vacuum, but scholars wishing to understand more about how and why this shift emerged and gained strength, find little critical literature available in media studies or archival journals. More relevant theory and analysis can be found in the growing field of heritage studies, offering invaluable insight and theoretical hypotheses for such transitions. Heritage literature suggests pragmatic rationales and contextual information to explain the primarily Western world's shifting approach to the past. Although not focused on media per se, heritage scholarship indicates that for the United States, the move towards a more inclusive film heritage was due in part to the growing allure of North American preservation activities. The animated and activist response to federally mandated urban renewal projects and the destruction of particular areas for highway development in the late 1960s and 1970s led to what some refer to as the "neighborhood movement," a growing, and increasingly mandated, interest in regional and cross-cultural difference.[15]

Moreover, heritage literature offers critical theory and suggestions to be used in a more holistic understanding of recent shifts in defining motion picture heritage around the globe and in North America, specifically.

> The sudden interest in all forms of regionalism, where roots and origins are to be found, is not only a form of curiosity or a defensive measure but a tool to refine our sensitivity to differences….preserving a simple country farm in Vermont in North America is just as meaningful for more and more people as contributing to the restoration of Venice.[16]

Although the members of the National Film Preservation Board traditionally have viewed Hollywood "classics" as the most important components of the annual National Film Registry list, the last few years have witnessed a growing interest and enthusiasm for lesser known films that appear to have significant cultural resonance on the national level. That is to say, *Gone With the Wind* may serve as an American "Venice," but Kannapolis, North Carolina (1941) acts for many as the simple country farm in New England referenced above. The orphans metaphor appears to be an essentially American phenomenon, but the phenomenon is assuming an increasingly global stance. At the dawn of a "post-chemical age" that favors a radically new canon of "treasures," film archivists around the world are being forced to reflect upon the field's central tenets and to reevaluate the ever-changing context within which they work.

Writing in the most recent edition of the FIAF publication, the *Journal of Film Preservation*, the Vice-President of Lisbon's Cinemateca Portugesa-Museu de Cinema, José Manuel Costa, offered one of the first formal overviews of the field's contemporary concerns. Costa rather poetically described his own generation of 1970s and 80s film archiving practitioners as "'transitional archivists' – i.e., those who have been dealing with the transition from what was then still the 'world of the founders' ['the mythical men and women of the thirties'] to the uncertain, contradictory world of today, which in many ways still is a 'world to be.'"[17] One of the most perplexing issues facing motion picture archiving, Costa further stated, was the explosion of interest in what Americans

refer to as orphans film movement, but what he and others prefer to call the "non-fiction revolution."[18] Although the "revolution" erupted during the 1990s, Costa importantly noted that orphan films had been a significant component of moving image collections since the inception of film archiving as a field. What had changed was the amount of attention given to them: "Never before had we seen archives investing so much in these collections, which, in a significant percentage, had been kept in their vaults since long."[19]

Costa's article, a version of a paper given to members of the Association des Cinématheques Européennes, seems to be an important harbinger of the contemporary concerns and views held by practitioners, especially as the field ages – both in terms of the longevity of the practice as well as its contemporary baby boomer or "transitional archivists" leadership. Indeed, Costa's overriding concern is one of *identity*, e.g., how can the field sustain itself in an era of increased competition and proliferating interests? In particular, Costa cites frustration with the film industry's successful, and high profile, film preservation efforts:

> Because what the new context is now threatening is of course our identity as specialised bodies dealing with the film heritage. In a time when others do – or pretend to do – things that we used to be the only ones to do, the challenge is to combine our total openness with a *fierce defence of our tasks*, and therefore with a persistent pedagogical role *sustaining its uniqueness*. If the industry itself now also thinks in terms of conservation – because conservation becomes investment – why should it bother with depositing, at least for other than strict storage purposes?....essentially we are the only entities that concern themselves with the real *long term* survival of film works – because we are the only ones to whom that is a *nuclear* concern….Dialogue and openness are one thing, dissolving our own identity is a different one – and a dangerous one at that [emphasis in original].[20]

Ironically, a closer analysis of the heritage paradigm offers insight and assistance for these exact efforts. Although Costa cites the emergence of the heritage paradigm, he

acknowledges his and other practitioners' lack of knowledge as to how, when, and why film archivists appropriated this powerful ethos and discourse.

Heritage scholars posit that heritage preservation, as opposed to historical study, imbues socio-cultural responsibilities for those of a specific identity or identities, most often, along national lines. While history is past and gone, David Lowenthal suggests, heritage "passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose."[21] Heritage management, its legal frameworks and organizational structures, maintain a critical relationship with government agencies and bureaucracies, largely national and, increasingly, infra-national in nature. According to British heritage practitioners, heritage conservation and experience has as its goal "not that the public should learn something but that they should become something."[22]

The convoluted trajectory of the American film preservation movement, and its accompanying rhetorical shifts, throughout the twentieth century illustrates important, acute moments for the motion picture archiving field at large. Early motion picture archivists advocated for a national film collection and library, with which to increase distribution and general access to older film material. By the end of the century, this movement had shifted to a preservation centered message supported by emotional pleas to a nation's responsibility to their cultural heritage. Although the powerful rise of film heritage discourse over the last forty years has succeeded in ensuring legislative dollars and public support for preserving "American" motion pictures, a discursive history, or Foucauldian genealogy, of the movement allows for a greater understanding of the phenomenon and its accompanying real, pragmatic effects.

QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This project approached several large, sweeping topics by focusing on very specific historical junctures and events within moving image preservation discourse. These choices were based upon concrete historical evidence, although selecting different individuals, organizations, and events would have revealed additional information to support or contradict the data offered here. One particular area that invites significant research and study is the different approach to heritage resource management in Asian countries and communities, particularly in reference to media product. Unfortunately, the limitations of this dissertation did not allow for a more thorough investigation of this incredibly important issue. In the last several years, a wide variety of Asian archives, from the national to the local, have organized separate conferences to attend to the specific needs and priorities of that region of the world.

Heritage studies, like film archiving practice, emerged out of a Western context and paradigm. Countries like China and Japan employ a variety of differing methods with which to approach historical artifacts. On Japan's southeast coast, temples in the Ise Shrine complex, considered one of the most holy and valued areas in the country, are torn down every twenty years to be replaced with a new replica built by new craftsmen trained in traditional methods. In 2001, an American journalist and author accompanied a noted Italian conservator to China, where the Italian, or "Western missionary of conservation," was giving a lecture on art preservation to university students. The American noted that, "throughout the visit [to important Chinese historical sites, the Italian] kept shaking his head in disbelief, with a mixture of amusement and horror…they have created a copy out of something real, a fake underground tomb out of a real one!"[23]

The growing push to "preserve" original artifacts and archaeological sites in China and in other non-Western countries around the globe has exploded over the last ten years. The reason: Tourist dollars. For many heritage practitioners, heritage conservation and exploitation is an economic enterprise. Indeed, the head of English Heritage, the organization charged with ensuring that the "historic environment of England is maintained and properly cared for," pledged to shut down "unprofitable sites 'to produce more money' during the early 1990s"[24] The economics of media heritage programs, as well as the larger economic context, serves as another important area not developed to its full potential in this project and well deserving of greater attention.

The underlying gender politics of the film preservation movement also merit significant research and analysis. Gendered readings of heritage developments, accompanied and supported by the substantive body of globalization literature investigating similar issues, suggest an inherent bias toward national and international film production, collection, and study. Hierarchies, both theoretical and practical, "implicitly elevate the international to a male, public realm, and relegate the national to a female, private sphere."[25] Taking this line of reasoning from the global and national, to the next level, the regional or sub-national remains the domain of children. The relegation of American local history to childlike play (or, in fact, the housewives that have often served as instrumental in the creation of local and regional historical societies) is, obviously, a gross overstatement. But, to a certain degree, this metaphor provides an interesting analogy for how some key participants in moving image archiving field view regional and community endeavors. Over the last several decades, AMIA members, whose collections included considerable amounts of nitrate, feature film material, convene regularly in separate meetings to discuss topics seen as more relevant to their organizational interests and needs. Concurrently, AMIA's studio representatives from

Los Angeles or New York attend the association's conferences less and less frequently for much the same reason. One particular representative from a major Hollywood studio barely disguised his near disgust for the significant increase in participation and influence of more local or regional film archivists.

Technologically oriented discussion remains central to archival discourse. In fact, pragmatic, technical advice comprises the vast majority of information exchanged over the Association of Moving Image Archivists' list-serv. Because of this tendency, this project preferred to focus on alternative sites of enquiry, but technological shifts and the changes wrought by them offer a substantive and far-reaching opportunity for future research. The rise of television in the post-World War II era and, just as significantly, the success of cable networks devoted to older film product and video markets during the 1980s provide a critically important context to this project's discursive analysis. Furthermore, these socio-cultural and industrial shifts continue to impact the field's decision-making and development. Video and digital technologies have played a tremendous role in accelerating the growing orphans movement, both through providing new distribution networks through which to access material as well as in creating new and increasingly affordable avenues for individual or "amateur" moving image production. Professional discourse surrounding these topics, however, remains mired in important preliminary arguments and negotiations over copyright protection and the minutia of technical requirements for widespread change. Rather than investigating the change in archival standards for film preservation or focusing on the specific changes in policy and practice wrought by technological shifts, this dissertation preferred to examine how the larger socio-cultural and economic transitions throughout the field's history impacted the definition of worthy motion picture "heritage" and its subsequent preservation.

Media remains outside of traditional heritage study, while, at the same time, moving image archivists resist conducting a careful analysis of the longstanding, shifting understanding of Western heritage in general. This conundrum is unfortunate on a number of levels. For heritage scholars and historians, the moving image as heritage subject offers a unique prism through which to examine underlying tensions and issues related to identity politics and historical transition. Social and cultural historians who choose to focus on regional "movements," interests, and heritage, however, often employ an almost adulatory approach to regionally produced literature, histories, art and socio-political advocacy groups.[26] In the effort to delineate significance and importance for inclusion in a national canon dominated by corporate and other nationwide organizational interests, sub-national culture and artifact frequently become enmeshed in a more idealized concept of "the real." Within this context, sub-national, ephemeral films – or orphans – potentially become too celebrated and somewhat problematically removed from the standard American consumer ethos. Such an approach creates an all too easy binary opposition between mass, "homogenized" culture and an often just as commodified form of regional artifact or text. Rather than merely proselytizing on behalf of the "orphanista" mantra, this project strives to encourage a more complicated academic approach to ephemeral films. This area offers almost endless possibilities and opportunities for future research towards the development of a more holistic "American" film history.

STUDY IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOLAR AND ARCHIVIST

Particularly for film historians, the dearth of a formal network of U.S. regional film archives (as opposed to that in the United Kingdom) creates significant

methodological issues and problems. During the first half of the twentieth century, locally supported films were produced across the nation. From advertising and entertainment short subjects, to community newsreels, and amateur cinema clubs (very popular in every decade since the 1920s), alternative moving image records of American rural and urban neighborhoods were created and can work to complicate commonly held assumptions that "America's love affair with the movies" has been solely a monogamous one with Hollywood. This dissertation hopes to challenge more contemporary film historians to expand their research questions to include this material not just as texts, but as artifacts testifying to alternative sites of production and consumption. Moreover, film archives, themselves, have played important roles in the creation of film histories throughout the twentieth century, but remain outside the realm of traditional academic inquiry.

This situation is due in part to the fact that the histories of many of these organizations are unwritten. This project aspired to begin filling this void through its overview of the Library of Congress film preservation program, one of the most influential institutions within the American film archiving movement, the International Federation of Film Archives, and the regional networks of sub-national moving image archives. Oddly, the request for archival resources of the film archives elicits confused stares and many trips to dusty attics and basements. As these organizations age, film archives may find documenting themselves of increasing difficulty. This project approached these new histories of film archives through a prism informed and influenced by heritage preservation literature. Such literature challenges the fairly vague, hyperbolic rhetoric employed by much of the film archiving community by questioning the traditional preservation methodology in which film material (and the mechanics of its

preservation) becomes almost enshrined. Film archivists, aware of their successes during the late twentieth century, employ impassioned rhetoric in reference to their work:

> The route forward has been figured out. The subjects are defined. Now the moment has come to act without delay….'Nitrate won't wait' has been the watchword of many archives, and so now we proclaim: '**Tradition is…the preservation of the film heritage**.'[27]

With moving image archivists celebrating the establishment, definition and canonization of film preservation practice, this project attempts to challenge some of these "traditions" by offering a polemical intervention. Rather than remaining caught up in the missionary-like zeal of heritage preservation rhetoric, film archivists could perhaps better serve their public and themselves by shaking off their own quasi-nostalgic lens to revisit the underlying meanings of their language.

Understanding more about heritage discourse, and its relationship to moving image archiving, encourages pragmatic change and suggests concrete pathways towards the possibility of theoretical renewal. Combining heritage scholarship with an overview of film archiving's approach to managing and manipulating historical artifacts enables a more thorough investigation of the field's manifest discourse of film preservation. With preservation not just a "common-sense" mode of practice, scholars and practitioners can observe how film heritage has been constructed and invoked at particular times, for specific reasons, and by particular individuals. Although international organizations, such as UNESCO, the International Council of Museums, and even FIAF, continue to champion global heritage preservation as a unifying movement across borders and class or ethnic boundaries, heritage scholars posit alternative visions of the inherent possessiveness of the term and its ability to celebrate one particular view of national traits

and values. Moreover, traditional film preservation relies on what can be seen as antiquarian notions of the sacredness of the original and evokes comparisons to the field's earliest era of collectors' passions and ethos. This particular approach continues to limit new participants with new visions, whether they may be from different regions of the world or alternative disciplines and generations.

The Western understanding of preservation, adopted by film archivists in the 1930s and 1940s, serves as only one way to deal with historical objects – one that reveres artifacts which are increasingly removed from daily life in order to protect them from destruction or besmirching their intended use. Prior to the late eighteenth century, vestiges of earlier times were built upon, copied, or incorporated into contemporary usage in European communities. At the dawn of the digital age, new technologies now carry with them the power to revisit these older conceptions of "preservation" and reconfigure the future of the field. With internet sites devoted to facilitating access to older moving images – for viewing purposes and for re-use in all kinds of new productions and projects – the idea of returning to a pre-nineteenth century approach to history in which the old becomes more of an active component of the new appears a viable opportunity.[28] Rather than just saving the past, greater emphasis should be placed upon preparing for a more innovative future. Film archivists have always agreed that access to moving images is the "flip side" of preservation. In the digital age, perhaps access itself is the new preservation.

Notes: Chapter Six

[1] *The 77th Academy Awards*, dir. Louis J. Horvitz, ABC, 27 Feb. 2005.
[2] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 410.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.
[6] Robert Osbourne, *60 Years of the Oscar: The Official History of the Academy Awards* (New York: Abbeville Publishers, 1989) 51.
[7] Author email correspondence with Colorlab co-owner, Russ Suniewick, 12 April, 2005.
[8] Ibid.
[9] <http://www.filmpreservation.org/>.
[10] *Forgotten Silver*, dir. Costa Botes and Peter Jackson, New Zealand Film Commission, New Zealand on Air, WingNut Films, 1995.
[11] General Meeting Minutes, XXXII FIAF Congress, Mexico, 24-27 May 1976. 12.
[12] Michael L. Ainslie, "Historic Preservation in the United States: A Historical Perspective," *The Challenge to Our Cultural Heritage: Why Preserve the Past?* ed. Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Co-Sponsored by UNESCO and Smithsonian Instiution, and National Trust for Historic Preservation (Paris: UNESCO) 163-168. 164.
[13] E. Mark McLachlan, *A Top Notcher: The Work and Films of Frank Lloyd, 1889-1960* (Glasgow: Scottish Screen, 1997).
[14] Ibid. The only non-Hollywood feature was 1922's Robert Flaherty documentary, *Nanook of the North*.
[15] Andrée G. Paradis, "The Press and Cultural Heritage Preservation: A Canadian Perspective," *The Challenge to Our Cultural Heritage: Why Preserve the Past?* ed. Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Co-Sponsored by UNESCO, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation (Paris: UNESCO, 177-193) 178.
[16] Ibid.
[17] José Manuel Costa, "Film Archives in Motion," *Journal of Film Preservation*, Dec. 2004, vol. 68, 4-13. 4.
[18] Ibid., 6.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 11.
[21] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 128.
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[23] Alexander Stille, *The Future of the Past* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002) 66.
[24] <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/> and David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 99.
[25] Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, eds. *Cultures of American Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) 16.
[26] See for example, Robert L. Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993) and Patricia Zimmerman, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1995.)
[27] Ernst Kieninger, "Tradition Is…the Preservation of the Nitrate Film Heritage in Austria," *This Film is DANGEROUS* eds. Roger Smither and Catherine A. Surowiec (Brussels: FIAF, 2002) 409, 413.
[28] For an excellent example, see <www.archive.org>.

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