

## “The Knowledge Which Comes in Pictures”

### *Educational Films and Early Cinema Audiences*

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Early cinema in the United States was long mythologized as an entertainment form for immigrants and the working poor. Although several generations of critics writing on silent cinema before the late 1970s (such as Gilbert Seldes, Lewis Jacobs, and Garth Jowett) may have perpetuated the idealization of early cinema as a democratic social utopia, the myth was actually forged during the early cinema period itself.<sup>1</sup> Labor writer Mary Heaton Vorse summed up the myth in 1911, writing: “You cannot go to any one of the picture shows in New York without having a series of touching little adventures with the people who sit near you, without overhearing chance words of a *naïveté* and appreciation that makes you bless the living picture book that has brought so much into the lives of the people who work.”<sup>2</sup> Judith Thissen has characterized this type of idealization as “the founding myth of Hollywood’s democratic nature.”<sup>3</sup>

Since the Brighton revolution of 1978, film historians have been challenging this myth.<sup>4</sup> Scholars have variously argued that early cinema was frequented by more middle-class patrons than originally thought, or that immigrant and working-class spectators did indeed comprise the bulk of early cinema audiences in urban locations, albeit in a more complex way than the original mythology indicated, or that attention to non-urban audiences can expand our understanding of early cinema spectatorship.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps more than anything, this revisionist research reveals that it is difficult to fix the identity of early cinema audiences, and perhaps impossible to generalize about different kinds of audiences in different locations, much less know what they thought about the films they saw.

In the rush to track down elusive empirical research about early film audiences watching fiction films, scholars have mostly neglected the different mode of

address that early non-fiction films presented to early cinema audiences. As the archival discoveries of the 1990s and 2000s have demonstrated, non-fiction or “educational” subjects such as travel films, science films, industrials, nature films, and so forth constituted a significant – if minority – share of screen time in the early cinema period.<sup>6</sup> Modeled after reformist notions of cultural “uplift,” these films complicate our understanding of early cinema spectatorship. To be sure, interest in early non-fiction has been growing, as the appearance of several new publications attests.<sup>7</sup> But in the beginning years of the rediscovery of early cinema, non-fiction film garnered just a mention here and there. Noël Burch, who viewed early cinema as a “populist cinema,” approached non-fiction as an open question: “how are we to explain the craze for ‘actuality’ cinema, for the ‘scenic,’ typical of the ‘enlightened’ bourgeoisie *all over the then industrialized world?*”<sup>8</sup> In Burch’s estimation, non-fiction subjects appealed only to an educated, middle-class audience. Charles Musser later made a more sustained yet similar argument about the actuality film programs of traveling exhibitor Lyman Howe, arguing that the “high-class” appeal of Howe’s shows should be understood as “a cinema of reassurance”: “Nothing critical enters this view of America. All is right within a screen world where all fill their designated roles.”<sup>9</sup>

In these accounts, a contradiction arises between early cinema’s mythic status as a populist form of “cheap amusement” versus the early non-fiction film’s purportedly “genteel” appeal. I question this binary opposition, arguing that although the early film industry may have touted educational subjects as the antidote to early cinema’s bad reputation, non-fiction films were not simply reassuring or solely bourgeois in their appeal, but instead were characterized by unpredictability and fluidity of meaning. In this chapter, I outline the campaign to promote educational films in commercial motion picture theaters in the early 1910s. I locate non-fiction’s designated role as a form of “educational” cinema in the discourse of the day (and discuss the different meanings of “non-fiction” and “educational”), arguing that although the film industry appropriated the Progressive Era discourse of social “uplift,” in fact the industry was adopting a compromise position that attempted to chart a middle course between commerce and reform. Ultimately, commercial interests won out, and the early educational film did not yield the commercial bonanza some had hoped for. Instead, educational films found a home in schools, where new distribution circuits were established around small-gauge film stocks such as 28 mm and eventually 16 mm, which debuted in 1923. Moreover, as I shall show by analyzing two extant films from the period, “educational” films of this era did not necessarily serve the ideology of middle-class reform, but instead were open to a range of responses from early film audiences.

Not every audience was occupied with reading films against the grain, of course, and here questions of audience and exhibition context become paramount. Research on film spectatorship has constituted an important wing of film studies since the late 1980s, but it is notoriously difficult, particularly in the early cinema period. As Susan J. Douglas has put it, “[w]e will always know more about the

motives and assumptions of the producers of media images and messages—including their assumptions about the audience – than we will about the audience itself.”<sup>10</sup> There are several possible approaches to reception studies, but each has its limitations. One can analyze the films themselves for their representational techniques and mode of address, as I will do below, but this approach can only yield informed speculation about how viewers *might* have actually received the films. Another pitfall of this method is that it becomes tempting for the critic to produce his or her own historically contingent interpretations of the films – what Carlo Ginzburg calls “physiognomic” readings, which do not necessarily yield new insights about a distant age.<sup>11</sup> A second approach analyzes the early film trade press and other contemporary published sources for their accounts of actual scenes of spectatorship, which are rare, or for their attempts to construct an “ideal spectator,” which are abundant but replete with clichés (envisioning spectators as children, or spectators as good and humble immigrants). A third method analyzes actual spectator responses to films, but these are almost non-existent in the early cinema period, so this is the least likely strategy here.

A fourth solution to the difficulty of researching early film audiences has been to focus on individual case studies of ethnic and racial moviegoing experiences in specific geographical locations, such as Judith Thissen’s work on the filmgoing practices of Eastern European Jews in New York’s Lower East Side, Giorgio Bertellini’s work on Italian immigrants living in New York City, or Alison Griffiths and James Latham’s work on African American filmgoing in Harlem.<sup>12</sup> All of this work is exemplary, but it is necessarily limited in scope to a particular audience group and location – and as this list of articles shows, research on early cinema audiences has tended to focus on cities, particularly New York City. Mary Carbine’s work on film exhibition for African American audiences on the South Side of Chicago and J. L. Lindstrom’s work on nickelodeons in downtown Chicago demonstrate some of the wide variation in movie exhibition and attendance in different cities.<sup>13</sup> Gregory Waller’s work on the exhibition practices of Lexington, Kentucky offers an alternative view of moviegoing in a smaller, Southern city.<sup>14</sup> More recently, Jan Olsson’s work has begun to map cinema exhibition in Los Angeles in the years before Hollywood.<sup>15</sup> In all of this work, information about exhibition has been easier to gather than research on reception. After all, buildings and commerce leave many traces, while audiences leave very few. Moreover, although this work offers rich information about local communities, it does not offer the broader explanatory scope that a genre-focused analysis can afford.

Concurrent with the original myth about *who* was in the audience, in the early cinema period there were two contradictory myths about *what* motion pictures were doing to this audience: cinema was said to be either a negative force for moral corruption or a positive force for education and “Americanization.” The reformist and disciplinary efforts that were made in response to the first idea have been well addressed by recent historiography, which has tracked the early reputation of nickelodeon theaters as “dens of vice” and the response of the film industry to

distance itself from these accusations. William Uricchio and Roberta Pearson have analyzed the Vitagraph "Quality Films" of 1908–12 (Shakespeare, historical, and biblical subjects), as part of the American film industry's efforts to "distance itself from forces perceived as disruptive ... while seeking to ally with the emerging mainstream mass culture."<sup>16</sup> More recently, Lee Grieveson has shown some of the many ways censorship and regulation shaped early cinema's discursive practices, in particular arguing that "[t]he reformation of cinema was tied together ... with the reformation of masculinity and, following that, domesticity."<sup>17</sup>

But this instrumental work on early cinema reform has focused on fiction film, leaving aside the important role that non-fiction played in the film industry's drive to redefine itself as a respectable form of entertainment in the nickelodeon era. Moreover, the repressive forces of censorship in the early film industry have received more attention than that other wing of reform discourse that embraced cinema as a positive force in the new realm of visual education. Grieveson does acknowledge the important rhetoric of education in early cinema, arguing that this rhetoric was one of "three principal strategies" utilized by the film industry "to sever cinema's associations with 'vice'" (along with self-regulation and the reformation of masculinity by providing an alternative to the saloon).<sup>18</sup> Grieveson does not consider, however, any non-fiction subjects such as nature films, science films, or scenic films, instead choosing to focus on the "uplift dramatic films" of the day, along with boxing films (which are certainly non-fiction subjects, but which circulated quite differently from these other non-fiction genres).

In fact, there was a concerted effort on the part of certain figures in the early American film industry to promote educational films in commercial nickelodeon theaters, particularly during the years 1910–13.<sup>19</sup> Outside the commercial theaters, traveling exhibitors such as Lyman Howe and Burton Holmes were also important purveyors of educational cinema; these exhibitors were in some ways the vanguard of the educational film movement, even if they saw themselves as businessmen and entertainers rather than educators. Efforts were also made to show films in schools, although these screenings were sporadic in the early 1910s, and did not become widespread until the early 1920s when a distinct distribution network for non-theatrical films was established.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, another difficulty of researching early educational films is their varied exhibition contexts: commercial moving picture houses, schools, public halls, private homes, churches, businesses, trains, and ships, to name a few. Janet Staiger has argued that for film, "context is more significant than textual features in explaining interpretive events."<sup>21</sup> In other words, place, time, and exhibition context arguably affect film spectatorship as much as the film itself. More than early fiction films, the same educational films were regularly shown in different kinds of exhibition spaces and reused over a period of many years, effectively rendering the films a different experience depending on the type of venue in which they were shown.

Unlike the first accounts of early cinema, which idealized it as an Arcadia for immigrants and the working class, and somewhat differently than recent analyses

focusing on censorship, which tend to read early cinema as an overwhelmingly repressive institution, I argue that attention to the “uplift” dimension of social progress discourse allows us to expand our understanding of the forces shaping cinema and its audiences at the time. This uplift discourse, which particularly coalesced around educational cinema, expands and complicates our understanding of what Lee Grieveson has called the “mode of regulation” in early cinema.<sup>22</sup> Municipal and state censor boards certainly played a dominant role in these regulatory efforts, but the ideology and strategy behind the campaign to reform early cinema was not monolithic. Uplift discourse, including even the rhetoric of “Americanization,” had both repressive and potentially liberating functions in early cinema. As Miriam Hansen has shown, one of the strategies for defending silent-era cinema against censorship was to define it as a kind of “new universal language” that emphasized “egalitarianism, internationalism, and the progress of civilization through technology.”<sup>23</sup> As Hansen explains, film’s non-verbal means of communication was thought to be particularly useful for the “Americanization” of immigrants. The logic of film as a “new universal language” runs very close to the rhetoric of those who praised educational films for their visual immediacy, as we shall see. Moreover, while uplift discourse and the educational film movement can be understood as participants in early cinema’s regulatory mode, the films themselves were in no way guaranteed to produce the pious and patriotic responses they were meant to encourage. Early non-fiction films may have been intended for sober purposes of education and assimilation, as abundant documentation in the motion picture trade press attests, but the actual films, as well as their actual audiences, were more heterogeneous than reformers may have liked to admit.

### The Campaign to Promote Educational Films, 1910–13

In January 1912, *Moving Picture World* remarked upon a change of opinion about cinema in the mainstream press. “It is beginning to appear now that the press is everywhere taking up the beneficial side of the moving picture.”<sup>24</sup> This praise was “in striking contrast to their former adverse criticisms,” the journal later explained.<sup>25</sup> *Moving Picture World* ascribed this public change of heart to a new appreciation of the educational force of cinema. This appreciation of cinema’s educational potential, “though tardy, is still timely,” the journal stated, taking care to credit itself with first promoting the concept: “It will interest the readers of this page to know that nothing appears in the excellent article in ‘Munsey’s’ but that which has already appeared here many times in one form or another.”<sup>26</sup>

In fact, despite its undisguised self-promotional rhetoric, *Moving Picture World* was correct in detecting a favorable change of opinion in the popular press in early 1912. Although articles praising educational moving pictures had been published before, these had been restricted to the trade press. Now the mainstream press was

getting interested. The Hearst newspaper chain, for example, ran an editorial in its papers in November 1911 entitled, "Show Children the Real World: The Moving Picture – The Great Educator of the Future." This article lays forth what was already becoming an important argument for the motion picture industry: the idea that images are better educators than words. "What we see is forever stamped on the mind," the editorial explained. "All children and a great majority of adults dislike and instinctively push away knowledge which comes to them in written form. Yet the whole human race greedily accepts the knowledge which comes in pictures.... When the picture is accompanied by motion, by action which intensifies its reality, the educational power of the picture is absolute."<sup>27</sup> This argument about the superiority of moving pictures for visual education was to become a cornerstone of the film industry's legitimization campaign in the early teens.

The groundswell of mainstream attention to cinema's educational potential in late 1911 and early 1912 was a result of several years of effort already undertaken by certain figures in the film industry, in particular George Kleine. Educational films were produced, imported, and exhibited in the United States in the nickelodeon era (roughly 1907–15) in larger numbers than has been generally acknowledged. Chicago-based film distributor George Kleine was the most important importer of non-fiction films from Europe – he distributed films from the UK-based Charles Urban Trading Company beginning in 1907, and by 1908 he was also distributing films from a dozen other European production firms, including Gaumont and Urban-Eclipse, two companies that manufactured a great many non-fiction subjects. By his own estimate, during the years 1909–13, Kleine's company imported between 20 and 50 prints each of 385 different educational film titles, which means that he distributed roughly 12,000–19,000 prints of foreign educational subjects to commercial theaters in the United States.<sup>28</sup> In addition to these films from Europe, most American film companies were also producing at least some non-fiction subjects. At this time, non-fiction films were typically released as part of a split reel with a comedy or a drama.

The term "educational" was still being defined, but it primarily referred to what we now call non-fiction subjects. George Kleine wrote in a 1909 letter to Charles Urban, "[i]t is the intention of the Motion Picture Patents Co. to give a liberal interpretation to the word educational, but in no case are dramatic, sensational, comedy or other films of that character to be included."<sup>29</sup> The proliferation of non-fiction genres in early cinema is striking; a list of some of the categories in *The Nickelodeon's* regular column "Record of Current Films" includes: Scenic, Sports, Nature Study, Trick, Scientific, Topical, Industrial, Acrobatic, and Historical. Non-fiction films were inconsistently classified: all of these categories were not always listed, and film classifications appear unstable – for example, the label "scenic," which usually indicates a travel film, was sometimes applied to other kinds of actuality titles such as *Un hôpital pour petits animaux* (*Hospital for Small Animals*, Éclair, 1910) or *The Chicago Stock Yards Fire* (Imp, 1911) both of which were listed in the trade press as scenics, but which might have been classified as topical films,

judging from their titles.<sup>30</sup> Despite these inconsistencies, what is clear is that generic classifications proliferated around non-fiction, while fiction films, in contrast, were divided simply into Drama and Comedy categories (although Drama and Comedy were more numerous than non-fiction titles).<sup>31</sup>

In this essay, I use “non-fiction” and “educational” as more or less interchangeable terms, but I do not mean this to imply an imprecise equation of all non-fiction categories. In fact, “non-fiction” is a contemporary term, used by today’s film scholars, whereas “educational” was the preferred term for such films in the 1910s. Along these lines, Kleine’s assertion that an educational subject is simply anything that is not fiction needs some clarification. First of all, the opposition between fiction and non-fiction, one of the more rigidly observed distinctions of classical cinema, was not always clearly drawn in the early film era; many hybrid films combined non-fiction elements with a fictionalized narrative, such as Edwin S. Porter’s well-known film, *The European Rest Cure* (Edison, 1904).<sup>32</sup> In addition, several important early feature documentary films used a quasi-ethnographic framework to integrate fiction with non-fiction: Edward S. Curtis’s *In the Land of the Head-Hunters* (1914) and Robert Flaherty’s *Nanook of the North* (1922) are the most famous of these. Given that the term “documentary” was not well established (in English) until after John Grierson introduced the concept in 1926, it seems worthwhile to emphasize early non-fiction cinema’s difference from the later, more well-known feature-length documentary framework.<sup>33</sup>

By October 1911 *Motography* had begun separating non-fiction out from its regular film review section, “Recent Films Reviewed,” creating a new column entitled “Current Educational Releases.” “Educational” was an umbrella term that gathered together all kinds of non-fiction, including scenics, industrials, and topical films, under its mantle, as this column demonstrates. And yet confusing the picture is the fact that these other, more specific categories did not disappear once the “educational” category gained traction; instead, they all stood alongside each other well into the 1910s. To make things even more complicated, although some non-fiction categories – such as sports films and topical films (the term used to designate news films before 1915) – might seem to us today to contain very little “educational” material in the sense of a traditional school curriculum, these too were promoted in the educational section of the trade press. For example, *The Joining of the Oceans – the Panama Canal, October, 1913* (Edison), classified as a topical, is described in *Motography*’s “Current Educational Releases” column.<sup>34</sup> When weekly news serials such as the *Hearst-Selig News Pictorial* began to appear in 1914, these were finally described in a different section of the trade press (in *Motography* they appeared before the fiction films under “Brief Stories of the Week’s Film Releases”), but additionally, in different sections of the trade journals, these continued to be listed for some time as topicals alongside less “newsreel”-sounding titles.<sup>35</sup>

As certain non-fiction genres were beginning to be labeled “educational,” it might seem puzzling that earlier distinctions between scenic, industrial, and topical

persisted. I would suggest, however, that the educational label was a nascent attempt to differentiate non-fiction from fiction. And as I have been arguing, the educational category was also a marketing tactic, the film industry's attempt to capitalize on the educational rhetoric used by reformers. While not all non-fiction was necessarily "educational" in a traditional sense, much of it was promoted as such at the time, which is precisely my point: these films did not always embody what the champions of educational cinema seemed to promise. More than a description of any actual educational function, perhaps the category "educational" should simply stand as one film industry development on the way to the Griersonian model of theatrical documentary film that emerged in the late 1920s.

Although it was short-lived, the efforts of the commercial motion picture industry to promote educational films for *theatrical* venues were systematic enough to constitute a movement between 1910 and 1913. Several important developments in the film industry's nascent educational film movement took place in the early 1910s. Kleine published his influential *Catalogue of Educational Moving Pictures* in April 1910. *Moving Picture World* began its regular column "In the Educational Field" on January 21, 1911, while its Chicago-based competitor, *Motography*, began its own column "Current Educational Releases" in October 1911, as previously mentioned. Kleine's *Catalogue* and the columns in *Moving Picture World* and *Motography* were all focused on promoting educational films in commercial moving picture theaters. In this era in which the future of cinema was unclear, Kleine was not alone in thinking that educational films might have a bright economic future. According to *Motography*, one exhibitor exclaimed in 1911, "[p]ut on an educational film and advertise it and crowds will flock to your theater, while the fellow across the street, who is running blood-and-thunder stuff, will have a slim crowd."<sup>36</sup> Such statements were common in the trade press during these years.

Of course, *Motography* and *Moving Picture World* must be understood as publications whose purpose was to promote the film industry. As such, the overwhelming presence of reform discourse and articles praising educational films in these journals is not representative of actually existing conditions, but of the film industry's own desire to ally itself with the powerful forces of legitimate culture. Even though *Motography* was careful to print on its Table of Contents page, "This publication is free and independent of all business or house connections or control. No manufacturer or supply dealer, or their stockholders or its representatives, have any financial interest in *Motography* or any voice in its management or policy," it was clearly engaged in the business of promoting the industry at large, and one of its strategies for doing so was to regularly implore producers and exhibitors to uplift their film shows. *Motography's* more well-known rival, the New York-based *Moving Picture World*, pursued a similar strategy of uplift, issuing proclamations such as, "The MOVING PICTURE WORLD sincerely believes that the educational branch of the film industry will before long, rival the amusement branch in extent and importance."<sup>37</sup> The policy of promoting educational films extended to the top of the hierarchy at this journal: when, in



March 1912, *Moving Picture World's* editor James P. Chalmers suffered an untimely death by falling down an elevator shaft on his way to the Motion Picture Exhibitor's League of America convention in Dayton, Ohio, the journal was prompted to praise its late proprietor for his support of educational films. "He was a lover of the educational pictures and in company with [this] writer visited many manufacturers with the purpose of impressing upon them the great and permanent value of the educational film."<sup>38</sup>

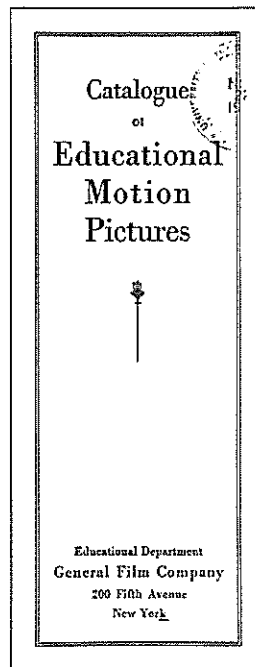
Alongside these industry efforts to promote educational films in commercial theaters, there were also some important gestures made toward placing films in schools in the early 1910s. Kleine stopped importing Gaumont films in 1912, when that company set up its own US distribution outlet through the Independent circuit, and in April 1913 Gaumont explicitly targeted schools with its advertisement, "MOTION PICTURES FOR Schools, Colleges, and Churches" distributed through its educational department.<sup>39</sup> More famously, in 1911 Thomas Edison began proclaiming that films would soon replace books in schools, with statements such as: "The moving picture art will largely supplement the art of printing for the transmission and diffusion of knowledge."<sup>40</sup> In 1913, Edison hosted a demonstration of his new series of educational moving pictures for prominent educators at his laboratory in West Orange, New Jersey. Staged like a classic Edison publicity event, the demonstration garnered coverage in the popular press with a series of articles in *The Survey*.<sup>41</sup>

As the industry began shifting toward multi-reel features, however, the push to promote educational films as commercial subjects began to run its course. By July 1914, a *Motography* columnist wrote that the "puny, inadequate supply of educationals that did exist [had] dwindled; or, rather, the dramatic releases soon increased in number and glory at a pace which soon left the little split-reel educational buried in oblivion." This writer went on to explain that educationals have "never really had a fair show," announcing with excitement the release of Éclair's new "Scientia" series of educational films.<sup>42</sup> Educational films were indeed released with regularity until the distribution of films from Europe was disrupted by the outbreak of World War I in fall 1914, and they continued to appear with less frequency from European and American manufacturers throughout the 1910s. The earnest campaign to promote them within the industry had effectively died out by 1914, however. Newsreels emerged as a significant new form of non-fiction in the mid-1910s, receiving a boost due to their role in the documentation of World War I, but this development of a distinct non-fiction genre only underscores the demise of the general-purpose educational film that was promoted before 1914.<sup>43</sup>

Although the campaign to promote educational cinema in commercial theaters was brief and not the financial boon Kleine and others had hoped for, the campaign to promote visual education in schools had much greater success and longevity. Even the Motion Picture Patents Company got in on the act. It is well known that the MPPC was interested in more than just limiting competition and controlling the industry; it also made a show of pledging its allegiance to the

mission of social uplift. Indeed, one of the MPPC's slogans was "Moral, Educational, and Cleanly Amusing."<sup>44</sup> As mentioned above, the MPPC strove "to give a liberal interpretation to the word educational."<sup>45</sup> In order to encourage the dissemination of educational films, the MPPC did not subject these titles to the same rental restrictions as other kinds of film: in addition to being regularly released to licensed theaters alongside fiction films, they could also be delivered to unlicensed lecturers or schools.<sup>46</sup> The MPPC strove to influence not only film content but also exhibition by requiring that licensed theaters be "clean, well ventilated, well lit, and safe."<sup>47</sup> Grieverson has traced the close relationship between the Patents Company and the New York Board of Censorship in 1909.<sup>48</sup> This organization, largely staffed by volunteer women reformers, became the National Board of Censorship in May of that year. One of its members, in fact, went on to play an important role in the MPPC's promotion of educational films in schools.

The General Film Company (GFC), the distribution arm of the MPPC founded in May 1910, formed an Educational Department in fall 1911, which was headed by Ruth Gould Dolesé, a former member of the National Board of Censorship. The GFC's Educational Department issued a *Catalogue of Educational Motion Pictures* in December 1911 (see Figure 15.1).<sup>49</sup> At this time George Kleine was vice-president of the General Film Co. Kleine had sold his film exchanges to the GFC in 1910, and the



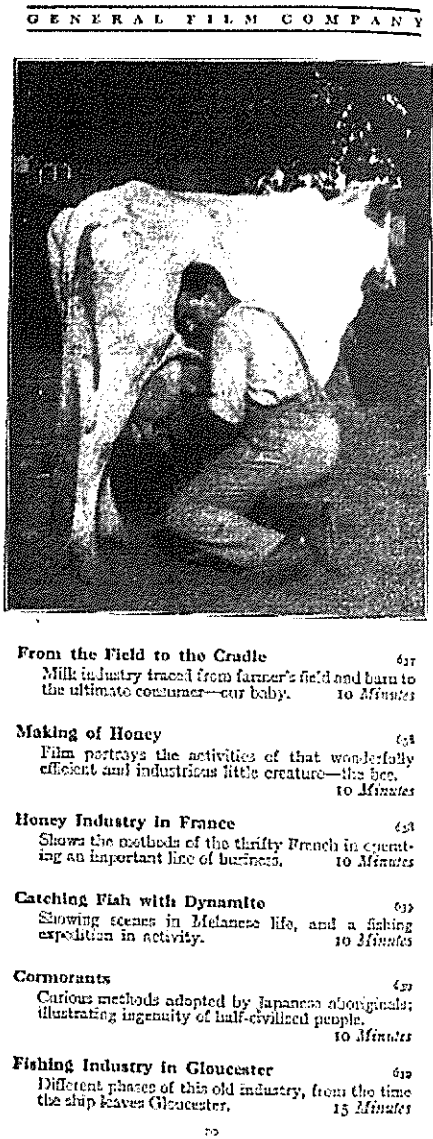
**Figure 15.1** The General Film Company's Educational Catalogue, compiled by Ruth G. Dolesé, 1911.

GFC's catalogue shares the same title as Kleine's 1910 *Catalogue of Educational Motion Pictures*. It also contains some of the same films, but its organization is quite different.

Although the GFC's *Catalogue of Educational Motion Pictures* lists no author, Dolesé is credited with compiling the *Catalogue* in several articles in the trade press at the time. Dolesé, who was apparently French (she is occasionally referred to as "Mme. R. G. Dolesé" or "Madame Dolesé"), granted interviews and wrote articles praising educational motion pictures in 1911 and 1912, and regularly repeated educational cinema's commitment to uplift and social reform. She explained, "[t]here are plenty who never travel beyond the boundary of their home State, but who, going to a motion picture theater, come away impressed and amazed by a street scene of a great metropolis with its masses of humanity, cars and vehicles rushing here and there. Their minds have been opened to a new and wonderful train of thought."<sup>50</sup> In another interview she argued that travel films were valuable for giving their viewers "a feeling of sympathy and fellowship with the peoples of the great world that will broaden their outlook on life, give them higher ideals of duty, and have a powerful influence in bringing nearer that 'brotherhood of man' the idealists for ages have striven to obtain."<sup>51</sup> Dolesé's words echo a particular strain of reform rhetoric that strove to depict film as a progressive new universal language. These utopian sentiments were not necessarily borne out in practice, but they indicate the burden of expectations some reformers had for educational films.

As a representative of licensed film exchanges, the GFC's *Catalogue* contains only those films released by licensed companies, but the list (see Figure 15.2) includes many familiar names of travelogues, industrials, and other educational subjects that had been regular releases just a year or two before, including Charles Urban's *The Fly Pest* (1910) and the Pathé film *Le Champignon, sa culture, sa croissance* [*Mushroom Culture*, 1911] which I will discuss below. Films are listed by title only; production company and release year are not mentioned. Films are classified under topics such as Religion, Sociology, Natural Science, Useful Arts, Fine Arts, Literature, and History. Scenic films, classified as "Geography and Travel," are listed by region, beginning with Europe and moving to Asia and Africa, then moving to a category labeled "Indians" which apparently signifies North America, and finally concluding with South America. A section at the back of the catalogue entitled "Suggestions as to how motion pictures may be applied to school work" lists film programs that can work with established curricula, and indeed, Dolesé explained in an interview that "I cover practically the same ground as the schools."<sup>52</sup>

One year after the GFC's Educational Department was established, *Moving Picture World* reported that its *Catalogue* had been a financial success. W. Steven Bush wrote, "I am glad to add that Mrs. Dolese [*sic*] does not regard the financial success as the real touchstone or as the full scope of her great undertaking. To be sure, she is immensely pleased that the department has stood so practical a test, but she looks far beyond mere financial gains. The most valuable mission this department has fulfilled in the one brief year of its existence has been its propaganda

**EDUCATIONAL MOTION PICTURES**

- Oyster Industry** 619  
Processes from fishing through to various manipulations by which this favorite reaches market. 10 Minutes
- Whale Fishing** 620  
Grosses and hazardous enterprise, additionally interesting because the industry is decadent. 10 Minutes
- Herring Fishing Off Boulogne** 620  
Visually attractive as well as interesting in treatment, this industry is carefully portrayed. 10 Minutes
- Life of a Salmon** 619  
Canyon of Caldara, near Vancouver, B. C., the catching of the salmon and delivery to the cannery. 15 Minutes
- Sardine Industry** 620  
Fishermen mending nets; cutting nets; process of canning; and finally the consumer. 15 Minutes
- Opening an Oyster** 620  
Showing an oyster feast; picturesque fishermen gathering oysters for market. 10 Minutes
- Catching the Deep Sea Turtle** 620  
Shows how they catch the turtles in the Caribbean Sea. One of the turtles weighs 210 pounds. 10 Minutes
- Angling in Norway** 620  
Methods used by the sea-loving Scandinavians in securing fish. 10 Minutes
- Sponge Fisheries** 620  
Shows processes by which this water product is converted into profitable article of commerce. 10 Minutes
- Astrakhan Fisheries** 620  
Gives special methods used by these Eskimoes in pursuit of their arduous trade. 10 Minutes
- Tunny Fishing Off Palermo** 620  
How these delectable fish are captured to supply man's table. 10 Minutes
- Wool Industry in Austria** 626.13  
Native methods used in a most profitable industry that has been long operated. 10 Minutes
- Making Artificial Flowers** 626.17  
Showing delicate manipulations in the development of marvelous imitations of nature. 15 Minutes
- Ostrich Plume Industry in France** 616.17  
Interesting process in one of the most profitable forms of industry. 10 Minutes
- A Visit to a Public Nursery** 629.1  
Operations in detail of a day nursery. Born to poor mothers.

Figure 15.2 The General Film Company's Educational Catalogue, pp. 20-1.

among the best classes of the country... It has disarmed criticism and conquered prejudice ... where before ... the moving picture was held in small esteem."<sup>53</sup> Even as its possibly exaggerated financial success was touted, the *Catalogue's* function in raising cinema's cultural capital was singled out for the highest praise.

According to Arthur Edwin Krows's exhaustive history of non-theatrical film published in installments from 1936 to 1944, "Motion Pictures – Not For Theaters," Dolesé may have been the head of the GFC's Educational Department, but the

management of the department was handled by one Louis R. De Lorme. Krows explains that the Educational Department took old reels of educational films back from the exchanges when they were considered exhausted of their commercial value, and rented them to schools, churches, and clubs. Krows argues that the activities of this Educational Department were undertaken "primarily to engender good will in public relations."<sup>54</sup> Krows also maintains that "To General Film the enterprise remained just a form of salvage and an encouragement to theatergoers; but to old De Lorme it was much more."<sup>55</sup> When the General Film Company dissolved in 1915, De Lorme acquired a large library of its educational films and formed the Public Educational Film Company, which he soon sold and which was then sold again. One conclusion to be gleaned from the fate of these films is that educational subjects had a long shelf life; they could be reused and redistributed to schools for years on end, their audience share perhaps small but guaranteed.

### Spectators and Educational Films

At present, it is possible only to construct fragmentary and speculative accounts of early educational film spectatorship. Given that their experiences were almost never recorded, the actual responses of early film audiences are difficult if not impossible to ascertain. When writers did occasionally report on scenes of reception, their descriptions tend to be brief, focusing on aspects other than the audience's experience. For example, a series of educational moving picture exhibitions was given in Brooklyn schools in late November 1911, but the account in *Moving Picture World* does not mention the schools at which the shows took place, nor does it list the film titles shown. Its description of the audience is perfunctory: "The attendance varied from twelve hundred to nineteen hundred, according to the size of the auditoriums used, in each case the full number of seats being used, and still larger buildings could have been filled. Every proper care was taken to observe lawful conditions. Parents accompanied their children; authorities used every safeguard, so that any mishap seemed impossible."<sup>56</sup> This writer seems more interested in asserting the safety and propriety of the exhibition than giving any specific details about the film show or its audience.

Even though historians today want to know about early film audiences, for the most part we are left only with the films that remain. Although they were shown in some classrooms, early educational films were not made for particular classroom grades, but for general audiences. This one-size-fits-all model was still true even in the 1920s, when a full-fledged educational distribution network for schools had been established. As one writer put it in 1926, "[p]ictures are not as easily assigned to specific grades as are books; the gradation should be done by the teacher in handling the picture; the kinds of questions and supplementary facts which she uses will depend on the age and ability of the child. The same picture may be used

with a fifth grade child and a high school graduate, but the treatment will be entirely different.”<sup>57</sup> Given that we lack scripts or recordings of these different live “treatments” of the same film shown to fifth graders and high school students, we are missing the key piece of evidence that would indicate how a given film changed in different showings.

Lacking this evidence, we can at least observe that the simple mode of address in these films has as much to do with the state of education at this time as it does with the state of educational film style. Public schooling was one of the major social achievements of the Progressive Era. In the late nineteenth century, the public high school was an elite training ground for the upper- middle class. In 1890, high school enrollment was only 6.7 percent of the US population. By 1920, high school enrollment had reached 32.3 percent.<sup>58</sup> The public education movement was anchored in ideologies of nationalism and capitalist productivity: education was broadened for the purpose of training better workers, and the new public schools were “designed to prepare boys and girls for jobs in the higher reaches of blue collar labor and the lower echelons of white collar work.”<sup>59</sup> As theorists such as Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault have taught us, education is one of the primary means by which a society initiates its citizens into dominant ideologies. Educational cinema may have been a modern form of instruction, but in the end, all that up-to-date technology was driven by a desire to more efficiently train better workers and obedient citizens. But of course, students can always be counted on not to learn their lessons the way they are supposed to.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, cultural studies became known for its method of analyzing texts in terms of their audiences’ preferred readings, oppositional readings, or negotiated readings.<sup>60</sup> While gesturing toward a multiplicity of audience responses may have become reflexive by now, it is still important to emphasize this point: audiences could respond to educational films in many different ways. Audience members might identify with the uplift discourse the films implied, and respond as the reformers hoped. Alternatively, they might resist the uplift discourse undergirding the films, and respond as resistant spectators. Or, they might have responded in a range of different ways, their reception negotiated moment-by-moment as the film unfolded on screen.

In contrast to the dualistic model of audiences envisioned in the 1910s (either as dupes of the film or beneficiaries of the film), film scholars in recent decades have argued for a more nuanced understanding of how early film audiences might have interpreted cinema’s ideological messages. Audiences not only receive a film’s ideological messages, but transform and make use of them for different purposes. While we may lack the empirical data to support it, we can hypothesize that audiences found a myriad of ways to process and negotiate educational cinema’s message of uplift. What is fascinating about these films is how different they are from the discourse that surrounds them. In the absence

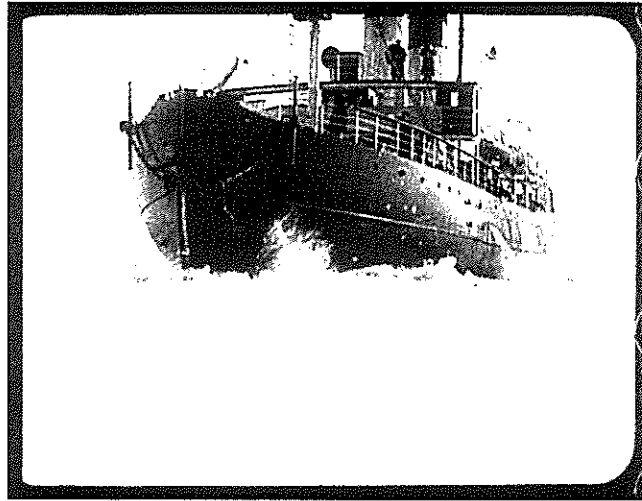
of data about actual audience responses to these films, we are left to analyze how the films themselves speak.

The following two educational titles are from a collection of 28 mm films at the George Eastman House (GEH) in Rochester, New York. 28 mm film stock was introduced in France by Pathé in 1911 under the brand name Pathé Kok, and in the United States in 1914 as Pathéscope. As Anke Mebold and Charles Tepperman have shown, the Pathéscope was marketed in the United States to patrons in the home market, schools, churches, clubs, and businesses. Pathéscope films were reduction prints of 35 mm theatrical releases. At first, these titles were almost exclusively French Pathé films, but by mid-1915 some American-made films were also available.<sup>61</sup> I have selected these two films for analysis because they are among the first from the GEH 28 mm collection to be preserved, because they are both exemplary educational films, and because they were found on the same reel at the archive.

The Pathé film *Brise-glace en Finlande* (*Ice Breaking in Finland*) was released in France in November 1909, and classified under the category "scènes de plein air."<sup>62</sup> It was released in the United States as *Breaking Ice in Finland* on July 25, 1910, and listed as an industrial in *The Nickelodeon's* "Record of Current Films."<sup>63</sup> The trade press regularly printed film descriptions issued by the manufacturing company, along with its own independently written reviews. In this case, *Brise-glace en Finlande* was issued with the following description from Pathé, which appeared in *The Nickelodeon*: "The Port of Helsingfors is in the grip of ice and frost and a wide expanse of frozen water meets the eye, with vessels held fast in the ice. Great ice-breaking vessels swing slowly out of the port, plow through the frozen field and masses of splintered ice fly on either side of the thin furrow of water left in the wake of their stern. The ice-breakers' work is not yet finished, however, for ships caught in the ice have to be assisted and towed back to dock."<sup>64</sup>

The Pathéscope print of the film held by the GEH contains no intertitles and appears to be incomplete, for it does not contain the first and final sections described above showing ships at the Port of Helsingfors and ships being towed back into dock. What the film does show, however, is a series of dramatic shots of giant icebreakers plying the frozen waters. Several ships are pictured stuck in the ice, and two icebreakers are shown coming to the rescue, the *Sampo* and the *Tarmo* (see Figure 15.3).

These icebreakers billowing smoke would have seemed very modern in 1910 as they easily plied the icy waters that trapped smaller and older vessels. The theme of modern technology meeting primitive nature was a popular one in the early part of the twentieth century, and this film that ostensibly depicts "how things are done" also conveys a distinctly modern confidence about technology's ability to overcome the forces of nature. In so doing, the film presents a vision of progress that mirrors reformist discourse. Viewers might have missed this message, however, instead focusing on the film's depiction of icy landscapes and the graphic spectacle of large ships moving across the screen. One shot, taken from the rear of



**Figure 15.3** Frame enlargement from Pathé's *Brisce-glace en Finlande*, released in France in November 1909, and released in the United States on July 25, 1910 as *Breaking Ice in Finland*. Image courtesy of George Eastman House.

one of the icebreakers, shows a barren icy landscape receding in the background, bisected by the path just carved in the ice by the ship. Such a shot might have provoked a range of responses in the spectator, ranging from awe at technology to awe at nature. In addition, we must not overlook the fact that some viewers might have simply found educational films boring; these images may have just as easily inspired the viewer to daydream about something else.

*Le Champignon, sa culture, sa croissance* was released by Pathé in France in June 1911 and classified as a "scène de vulgarisation scientifique." It was released in the United States as *Mushroom Culture* on December 28, 1911, where it was classified as an "educational" subject.<sup>65</sup> Pathé's description of the film contains basic information: "The fungus that occurs most often takes the form of a small whitish umbrella."<sup>66</sup> The film itself illustrates the catalogue description, presenting giant close-ups of mushrooms; these images take on an abstract quality due to their large scale (see Figure 15.4). While this film emphasizes traditional methods of cultivation such as digging in manure, it also makes a show of modern methods of documentation: the last portion of the film contains time-lapse photography in which three weeks of growth are shown in twenty seconds of cinematography.

The Pathéscope prints of these films were found on the same reel at GEH, but the films were initially released separately to the commercial market, two years apart. This indicates some of the ways that non-fiction film titles were presented differently in different exhibition contexts. When shown as part of a variety film program in a nickelodeon theater, either of these films might have functioned as a break from the narrative films in the program. When shown



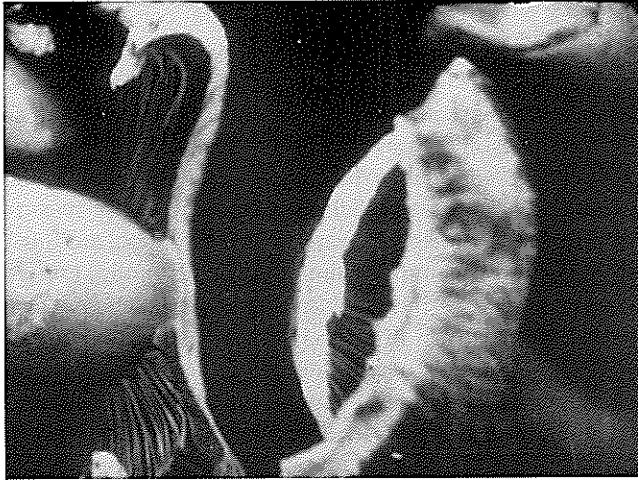


Figure 15.4 Frame enlargement from Pathé's *Le Champignon, sa culture, sa croissance*, released in France in June 1911, and released in the United States as *Mushroom Culture* on December 28, 1911. Image courtesy of George Eastman House.

back-to-back as part of an exclusively educational screening, these two films' discordant subject matter might have struck the viewer as chaotic or random rather than organized and genteel. Moreover, both films emphasize the visual spectacle of their subject matter – the majesty of the ice, the grandiosity of the ships, the abstraction of the magnified mushrooms, the wonder of time-lapse photography – and this kind of spectacle would seem to encourage a spectator captivated by wondrous display rather than a spectator disciplined by the demands of sober educational attention.

As these two films demonstrate, early educational subjects covered a diverse range of topics. In presenting “real,” non-fiction images of the world (rather than fictional representations), they attempted to cultivate a spectator who was knowledgeable about and engaged with the modern world. Both of these films craft a striking visual sensibility, emphasizing the modernity of their subjects and the modernity of cinema itself. But both films are also open to different interpretations by different spectators. Educational films were useful for the film industry's campaign to legitimate itself, even if they ultimately found a niche in schools rather than theaters. More importantly, in their generalized mode of address to an audience comprised of different nationalities, economic classes, ages, and education levels, they perhaps unwittingly began to carve out a new “universal” spectator position, that of the mass audience. A 1911 editorial in *Motography* succinctly captures the way the film industry echoed the reformist rhetoric of educational uplift: “[t]he moral is that from the poor factory worker to the cultured intellectual, the educational picture and the travelogue are the favorite subjects. When will the exhibitors of the world realize that vital truth?”<sup>67</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Gilbert Seldes, *The Seven Lively Arts* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1924); Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939); Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976).
- 2 Mary Heaton Vorse, "Some Picture Show Audiences," *The Outlook*, June 24, 1911, 442.
- 3 Judith Thissen, "Jewish Immigrant Audiences in New York City, 1905–14," in *American Movie Audiences: From the Turn of the Century to the Early Sound Era*, eds. Melvin Stokes and Richard Maltby (London: British Film Institute, 1999), 16.
- 4 I am referring, of course, to the FIAF (International Federation of Film Archives) conference on early cinema in Brighton, England in 1978, which "revolutionized" early cinema studies.
- 5 For a useful summary of these debates see Melvyn Stokes, "Introduction: Reconstructing American Cinema's Audiences," in Stokes and Maltby, *American Movie Audiences*, 2–5.
- 6 See Daan Hertogs and Nico de Klerk, eds., *Uncharted Territory: Essays on Early Nonfiction Film* (Amsterdam: Stichting Nederlands Filmmuseum, 1997).
- 7 See, for example, Oliver Gaycken, "A Drama Unites Them in a Fight to the Death': Some Remarks on the Flourishing of a Cinema of Scientific Vernacularization in France, 1909–1914," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 22, no. 3 (2002): 353–74; Jennifer Horne, "Nostalgia and Non-Fiction in Edison's 1917 Conquest Program," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 22, no. 33 (2002): 315–31; and Bill Marsh, "Visual Education in the United States and the 'Fly Pest' Campaign of 1910," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 30, no. 1 (2010): 21–36. References to other recent work on early nonfiction will be made below.
- 8 Noël Burch, "Porter, or Ambivalence," *Screen* 19, no. 4 (1978–9): 93–4; *Life to Those Shadows*, trans. and ed. Ben Brewster (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 51. Emphasis in original.
- 9 Charles Musser, in collaboration with Carol Nelson, *High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880–1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 55.
- 10 Susan J. Douglas, "Notes Toward a History of Media Audiences," *Radical History Review*, no. 54 (Fall 1992): 131.
- 11 Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 35.
- 12 Judith Thissen, "Jewish Immigrant Audiences in New York City," in Stokes and Maltby, *American Movie Audiences*, 15–28; Giorgio Bertellini, *Italy in Early American Cinema: Race, Landscape, and the Picturesque* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); Giorgio Bertellini, "Italian Imageries, Historical Feature Films, and the Fabrication of Italy's Spectators in Early 1900s New York," in Stokes and Maltby, *American Movie Audiences*, 29–45; Alison Griffiths and James Latham, "Film and Ethnic Identity in Harlem, 1896–1915," in Stokes and Maltby, *American Movie Audiences*, 46–63.
- 13 Mary Carbine, "'The Finest Outside the Loop': Motion Picture Exhibition in Chicago's Black Metropolis, 1905–1928," *Camera Obscura* 23 (1990): 9–41; J. L. Lindstrom, "Where Development Has Just Begun: Nickelodeon Location, Moving Picture Audiences, and Neighborhood Development in Chicago," in *American Cinema's*

- Transitional Era: Audiences, Institutions, Practices*, eds. Charlie Keil and Shelley Stamp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 217–38.
- 14 Gregory A. Waller, *Main Street Amusements: Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City, 1896–1930* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).
  - 15 Jan Olsson, *Los Angeles Before Hollywood: Journalism and American Film Culture, 1905–1915* (Stockholm: National Library of Sweden, 2008).
  - 16 William Uricchio and Roberta E. Pearson, *Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5.
  - 17 Lee Grieveson, *Policing Cinema: Movies and Censorship in Early-Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 8.
  - 18 Grieveson, *Policing Cinema*, 80.
  - 19 For a more extended account of the campaign to promote early educational films see Jennifer Peterson, *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, forthcoming).
  - 20 For more on the early history of classroom films, see Jennifer Peterson, “Glimpses of Animal Life: Nature Films and the Emergence of Classroom Cinema,” in *Learning with the Lights Off: Educational Film in the US*, eds. Dan Streible, Devin Orgeron, and Marsha Orgeron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
  - 21 Janet Staiger, *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 30.
  - 22 Lee Grieveson, “Not Harmless Entertainment: State Censorship and Cinema in the Transitional Era,” in Keil and Stamp, *American Cinema*, 268.
  - 23 Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 77.
  - 24 *Moving Picture World* 11, no. 4 (January 27, 1912): 285.
  - 25 *Moving Picture World* 11, no. 12 (March 23, 1912): 1045.
  - 26 *Moving Picture World* 11, no. 4 (January 27, 1912): 285. The mainstream press article being referred to here is Walter Pritchard Eaton, “Education by Motion Pictures,” *Munsey’s Magazine* 46, no. 4 (1912): 519–29.
  - 27 *Motography* reprinted the editorial in full; see “Hearst’s Tribute to Pictures,” *Motography* 6, no. 6 (December 1911): 257–8. The unsigned editorial was published in the *American*, the *New York Journal*, and the *San Francisco and Los Angeles Examiner*. See “Show Children the Real World: The Moving Picture – the Great Educator of the Future,” *New York Evening Journal*, November 10, 1911, editorial page.
  - 28 “Educational Motion Pictures Imported by George Kleine, 1909–1913,” box 26, George Kleine Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. See also “Co-Operation in Visual Instruction,” box 18, Kleine Papers. For a more thorough consideration of Kleine’s role in promoting early non-fiction film, see my forthcoming book, *Education in the School of Dreams*, chap. 4, “‘The Five-Cent University’: Early Educational Films and the Drive to ‘Uplift’ the Cinema.”
  - 29 George Kleine to Charles Urban, July 10, 1909, box 26, Kleine Papers.
  - 30 *The Nickelodeon*, February 18, 1911, 206; *Motography* 5, no. 6 (June 1911): 160.
  - 31 For more on genre in early cinema see Tom Gunning, “‘Those Drawn with a Very Fine Camel’s Hair Brush’: The Origins of Film Genres,” *Iris* 19 (1995): 49–61.
  - 32 See Charlie Keil, “Steel Engines and Cardboard Rockets: The Status of Fiction and Nonfiction in Early Cinema,” in *F is for Phony: Fake Documentary and Truth’s*

- Undoing*, eds. Alexandra Juhasz and Jesse Lerner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 29–39.
- 33 Tom Gunning similarly argues that early non-fiction is very different from what we now call documentary, which didn't emerge until the 1920s. See Gunning, "Before Documentary: Early Nonfiction Films and the 'View' Aesthetic," in Hertogs and de Klerk, *Uncharted Territory*, 9–24.
- 34 "Current Educational Releases," *Motography* 10, no. 13 (December 25, 1913): 488. See also "Motography's Ready-Reference Film Record," *Motography* 11, no. 9 (May 2, 1914): 23.
- 35 See "Brief Stories of the Week's Film Releases," *Motography* 12, no. 18 (October 31, 1914): 605; and "Motography's Ready-Reference Film Record," *Motography* 11, no. 9 (May 2, 1914): 35, where the *Hearst-Selig News Pictorial* is listed alongside other topical films such as *Italian Games and Dances* (Selig, 1914).
- 36 "Concerning Educational 'Stuff'," *Motography* 6, no. 2 (August 1911): 64.
- 37 *Moving Picture World* 9, no. 9 (September 9, 1911): 688.
- 38 W. H. J., "The Late Mr. J. P. Chalmers and the Educational Picture," *Moving Picture World* 12, no. 6 (May 11, 1912): 512.
- 39 *Motography* 9, no. 7 (April 5, 1913): 15.
- 40 Frank Parker Hulet, "An Interview with Thomas A. Edison," *Moving Picture World* 9, no. 2 (July 22, 1911): 105.
- 41 See the series of articles on Edison's demonstration in *The Survey*, September 6, 1913.
- 42 "An Educational Program," *Motography* 12, no. 2 (July 11, 1914): 51–2.
- 43 See Raymond Fielding, *The American Newsreel, 1911–1967* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 69–76.
- 44 Tom Gunning, *D. W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 146.
- 45 George Kleine to Charles Urban, July 10, 1909, box 26, Kleine Papers.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 Grievson, *Policing Cinema*, 98.
- 48 See Grievson, *Policing Cinema*, especially chap. 3.
- 49 Although the General Film Company's *Catalogue of Educational Motion Pictures* is undated, according to Arthur Edwin Krows it was published in December 1911. See Arthur Edwin Krows, "Motion Pictures – Not For Theaters," part 9, *The Educational Screen* (May 1939): 154–5.
- 50 R. G. Dolesé, "The Moving Picture as an Educator," *Moving Picture World* 9, no. 9 (September 9, 1911): 707.
- 51 R. C. Rose, "Education by Motion Pictures: An Interview with Ruth Gould Dolesé," *Twentieth Century Magazine* (February 1912): 43.
- 52 General Film Company, *Catalogue of Educational Motion Pictures* (New York: General Film Company, n.d.); W. Stephen Bush, "The First Moving Picture Library," *Moving Picture World* 14, no. 7 (November 23, 1912): 751.
- 53 Bush, "The First," 751.
- 54 Krows, "Motion Pictures," 154.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 155.
- 56 "Pictures in the Schools," *Moving Picture World* 10, no. 9 (December 2, 1911): 708.
- 57 A. P. Hollis, *Motion Pictures for Instruction* (New York: The Century, 1926), 13–14.

- 58 Robert B. Westbrook, "Public Schooling and American Democracy," in *Democracy, Education, and the Schools*, ed. Roger Soder (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996), 132. These enrollment statistics refer to children age 14–17.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 See Stuart Hall's seminal essay "Encoding/Decoding," in *Media and Cultural Studies: Key Works*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 166–76.
- 61 Anke Mebold and Charles Tepperman, "Resurrecting the Lost History of 28 mm Film in North America," *Film History* 15, no. 2 (2003): 142.
- 62 Henri Bousquet, *Catalogue Pathé des années 1896 à 1914*, vol. 1907–1908–1909 (Bures-sur-Yvette: Édition Henri Bousquet, 1993), 230.
- 63 "Record of Current Films," July 15, 1910, 56. Note that there is a mistake in the printing of this film's title, which is listed as *Breaking Ice in England*. Such typographic mistakes were fairly common in the early trade press.
- 64 "Synopsis of Current Films," *The Nickelodeon*, July 15, 1910, 46.
- 65 Henri Bousquet, *Catalogue Pathé des années 1896 à 1914*, vol. 1910–1911 (Bures-sur-Yvette: Édition Henri Bousquet, 1994), 417; *Moving Picture World* 11, no. 4 (January 27, 1912): 286.
- 66 Bousquet, *Catalogue Pathé*, vol. 1910–1911, 417; translation mine.
- 67 *Motography* 5, no. 5 (May 1911), 63.