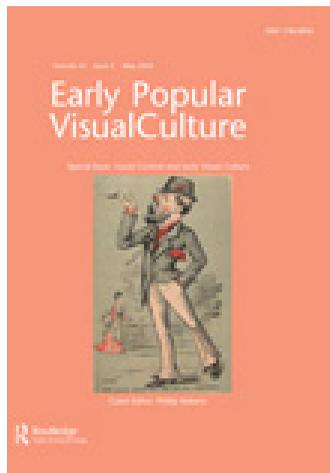


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Subscribing to publicity: Syndicated newspaper features for moviegoing in North America, 1911–15

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This article charts how movies were integrated into the existing popular print culture of weekend newspapers in North America between 1911 and 1915. Neither the movie theatre nor the newspaper should be given priority as the primary site of cinema culture. The practice of reading a newspaper's film page would be incomplete without a trip to join the mass audience at a movie theatre; conversely, a moviegoer's pleasure could be whetted by the print supplement. Early, isolated experiments in metropolitan newspapers led to syndicates offering film pages for reproduction in small town papers. With the proliferation of moving picture publicity in newspapers throughout 1913, film studios began to collaborate with newspaper syndicates on a continental scale. Movie stories appeared in daily and weekly forms in various newspaper chains, well beyond the familiar 'serial queen' fiction tie-in. A subscription to the newspaper could become a commitment to engage with the mass market for movies. Insofar as a public is constituted through publicity, audiences are conjoined to readerships through the periodic call to participate in mass leisure with other readers.

Keywords: cinema publicity; newspapers; reading publics; syndication; mass markets; North America

Introduction

The regulation of moviegoing doesn't only involve legislated policing and censorship. For the surveillance of audiences to become a normative routine of social control, the public itself needed to incorporate cinema into its regular routines and habits. A key mechanism for this conditioned, hegemonic regulation was the periodical address of newspaper publicity and advertising, which transformed the varied possibilities for cinema into the mainstream variety of 'harmless entertainment' (Grieverson 2004). Consider, for example, how a newspaper page profiling 'Vancouver's Best Moving Picture Theatres' editorialized in March 1913 against 'ignorantly opposing' the movies for their supposed lack of moral refinement:

To hamper the development of the moving picture is as much of a crime as it was in the old days to hamper the development of the printing press. [...] The whole task of the human race is to get into the minds of the young and the old the knowledge accumulated by those that have gone before. The moving picture machine will do this as no other power could do it. Show children the real world! The moving picture – the great educator of the future. (*Vancouver World*, 22 March 1913)

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The same argument appeared in *The Toledo Blade*'s new film page a few months later, reprinting a speech to the nascent Motion Picture Exhibitors' League, which exhorted showmen to forge strong ties with the local press:

The greatest educational factor the world has ever known, and ever will know, is the daily newspaper. It reaches the very heart of our nation. It maintains a confidence among its readers which is unimpeachable and almost beyond belief. [...] One commendatory story in a daily newspaper singles out and establishes him [a movie exhibitor] as one engaged in a legitimate and worthy occupation, and not the perpetrator of cheap, uninteresting amusement, produced simply for profit. (*Toledo Blade*, 30 July 1913)

The advice to showmen was to consider the profit motive as peripheral to their professional concerns as stewards of the public sphere, just as newspapers and journalists employed commerce for the public good. Returning the favour of publicity with the contract of advertising allied the two commercial media as partners in forming the mass public.

During the proliferation of nickel shows in North American cities from 1907 to 1910, journalists often reported investigations of the unregulated danger of urban nickelodeons, their uncensored moving pictures and their unsupervised audiences. A marked change came in the transitional period from 1911 to 1915, when mass-circulation newspapers across North America became partners with the film industry. Newspaper reading and movie viewing became twin pastimes, newly allied to form an intermedial mass public. Novel forms of daily and weekly newspaper features began to address readers as actively interested in the stories, stars and business of movies. This movie publicity had only recently been given a forum in moving picture story fan magazines and such collectibles as postcards (Bowers 1989; McLean 2003; Shail 2008). Fiction tie-ins then also became a periodical feature of the daily press, especially its leisure-focused Sunday editions (Singer 1993; Johanningsmeier 2004). Isolated, local efforts had an early role in marking out the potential for the new partnership between newspapers and cinema (Abel 2006). Once mutual benefits were evident, the film industry's distribution branch took a central role in coordinating the efforts (Luckett 2013; Overpeck 2014). Newspapers adapted the print content of film-related magazines and memorabilia to their periodical form. Cinema features were notably added to the existing leisure supplements of illustrated Sunday editions.

Since the 1890s, illustrated, serial supplements distinguished weekend news-reading from the daily information of weekday news (Barnhurst and Nerone 2002). For Sunday newspapers, women's magazine sections and children's comic pages were developed in the early 1890s in the metropolitan newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston; in the first decade of the 1900s, they became standardized in form and syndicated to newspapers across the continent (Gabriele and Moore 2009). Syndication did not simply distribute a particular text farther in space; syndicated leisure features linked local readers to a mass market by self-evidently promoting the parallel, concurrent circulation of a standardized, popular feature in all regions at once. The Sunday newspaper is an object that inscribes a mass, routinized public through its regulated, standardized form (Latour 1992, 2005). While the newspaper business was rooted in print sales, many weekend supplements experimented with intermedial forms, inserting tabloid novels and song sheets, glossy magazines, and even collaborating to produce newsreels. As Sandra Gabriele and I have noted of the subsequent relation of early radio to newspapers, publishers were practiced in adopting intermedial strategies for expanding

circulation, as the paper itself included cut-out toys, puzzles and collectible inserts; its amusement and sporting columns helped schedule leisure time, as its advertising helped schedule consumption (Gabriele and Moore 2012). A subscription to the newspaper was a commitment to engage with the offerings of modernity and the mass market. The idea of a subscription can thus be cast in terms of governmentality (Foucault 2000), insofar as it inscribes a normative arrangement of social relations atop a market transaction.

In this article, I chart how movies were integrated into the existing popular print culture of weekend newspapers, not through journalism but rather through periodical forms of standardized features. A sense of the entire mediated environment is necessary to understand how newspapers transformed cinema. A modern mass public is always intermedial, with readers and viewers defined through the knowledge and leisure of each other. Neither the movie theatre nor the newspaper (nor fan magazine, souvenir postcard, etc.) should be given priority as the primary site of cinema culture. The practice of reading a newspaper's film page would be incomplete without a trip to join the mass audience at a movie theatre; conversely, a moviegoer's pleasure could be whetted by the print supplement. Publicity has a social function extending well beyond its commercial form. Insofar as a public is constituted through publicity, audiences are conjoined to readerships through the periodic call to participate in mass leisure with other readers.

Advertising the movies

Newspapers' cinema publicity in early 1910s has most often been considered through a gendered prism – the lynchpin transforming young 'movie-struck girls' into dedicated fans (Fuller 1996; Luckett 1999; Stamp 2000). The female readers of melodramatic film serial fiction tie-ins become prototypical consumers in (and of) modernity (Singer 2001). When the ideological effect is broadened to include men's viewing of newsreels and westerns, the social control of 'movie-mad' audiences becomes an 'Americanizing' process, both for socially marginal audiences and the movies themselves (Abel 2006; Olsson 2008; Thissen 2008). In this article, my research stays closer to the material object of the newspaper and considers the importance of its mass readership becoming interchangeable and integrated with the movies' mass audience. The result is a conclusion both more concrete and more abstract than spotlighting print publicity as a gendered or socially integrative force. I do not deny the feminine slant of most newspaper features, and I acknowledge the context of the movies becoming synonymous with American culture; and yet, the more general – and more overt – form of social control at play is the emergence of an inter-regional transmedia public. The mass audience for moviegoing was thus an extension and a supplement to the readership of popular print culture.

The newspaper industry had already developed a means for circulating its features on a continental scale: syndication and serialization, especially for its illustrated, leisure features such as comic strips, magazines and fiction stories (Johanningsmeier 1997; Gordon 1998; Phillips 2013). The film industry became direct partners by similarly syndicating movie news columns, film stories and ad campaigns across the United States and Canada. Cinema's emerging mass medium was wedded to newspaper's old anchor of mass society. The occasion was cause for celebration within newspapers' own nascent film pages; newspapers had become an ally with the movies after the previous decade's partnering instead with reformers and legislators to warn

against the ‘socially combustible’ fad of nickel shows and push for legislation and policing (Moore 2008). Marrying news reading to film viewing required more than simply embedding movie publicity in newspaper pages; the intermedial mass public had to be addressed continually in a form that was self-referentially standardized beyond the local scale. I have described this process for cinema in reference to Edison’s early publicity for the Vitascope (Moore 2012), drawing upon theories of the public sphere as conditioned by periodical reading (Warner 2002). Mass practices on a continental scale are specifically stewarded by the circulation of newspapers across metropolitan regions and beyond. Localized publicity might list particular theatres showing specific films in any given day or week, but continent-wide syndication of periodical forms allowed readers to identify and join the wider mass public (see also Carey 1983, on the communicative basis of mass markets). Film publicity took on forms long associated with newsprint amusements – but not until early movie theatres became a familiar part of the cultural landscape.

A confluence of factors led to the proliferation of ‘picture shows’ or nickelodeons around 1906 across North America (Abel 1999). The fictional story film became the predominant product of commercial filmmaking around 1903; the standardized program of short moving pictures interspersed with illustrated songs became common among high-profile inter-regional itinerant exhibitors; film rental exchanges introduced a distribution network to act as intermediary between local exhibition and studio production. Thousands of independently-run picture shows opened on almost every urban shopping street and in almost every small town across North America. They were cheap to run and largely unregulated, and they were often run by immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurs, especially in the biggest metropolises. The more overt social problem was how moving picture shows catered to children and families, and especially young women, as an affordable pastime. In a campaign well reviewed by film historians, *The Chicago Tribune* whipped up controversy leading to new bylaws and police patrol of the hundreds of nickel shows in the continent’s second-largest city (Lindstrom 1999; Grieverson 2004; Luckett 2013). Local film histories have repeatedly shown parallel moments in cities from Toronto to Los Angeles to Pittsburgh and beyond (Moore 2008; Olsson 2008; Aronson 2010). The moral panic subsided after the widespread implementation of fire regulations, local censorship and bylaws curtailing children’s attendance, all begun around 1907 in various jurisdictions (Couvares 1996). At the same time, showmen began to construct larger, purpose-built movie theatres that could hold many hundreds more people in audiences far larger than the first storefront nickel shows; more of them became advertisers.

The cost of newspaper advertising in the biggest cities’ metropolitan newspapers was prohibitive to early picture showmen. Added to the cost was the difficulty in targeting a particular reading public for any particular show – downtown shows had highly transient audiences; neighbourhood shows, highly localized audiences. Picture shows in smaller cities and towns, and in suburban areas, advertised in their smaller circulation newspapers earlier and more consistently (Moore 2011). What was needed in the biggest cities was collective action, gathering many shows under one ‘At the Movies’ banner. Before 1913, there are only a handful of exceptions to note. A few newspapers printed full-page pictorial reviews of local movie theatres as one-time only special advertising features, such as *The Washington Herald* (25 July 1909), *The St Louis Republic* (6 February 1910) and *The Detroit News-Tribune* (18 August 1912); another ran just three weeks in *The Boston American*

(17–31 March 1912). One of the many theatres on *The Washington Herald* page in 1909 page was Tom Moore's Plaza, promoting its construction for comfort and safety. Moore, on his own, purchased several lavish half-page ads for the Plaza in the next couple of years, and for six months in 1911 printed something entirely unique in a big city paper – a full-page Sunday program for upcoming shows at the Plaza for the public to clip-and-save, illustrated with pictures from the week's movies and synopses of their stories. The idea of a weekly full-page program was unprecedented, even for vaudeville or stage theatres. The expense must have been mammoth, especially compared to the alternative of distributing the same display ad as a handbill downtown. Moore took his final full-page ad in *The Herald* to publish a thank you letter, 'To the Public: Your response to my page advertisements [...] has been so liberal and persistent [...] I take this opportunity to thank you for your very liberal patronage' (*Washington Herald*, 12 November 1911).

Not until the fall of 1911 did a major metropolitan newspaper introduce a film page for the general public, when *The Cleveland Leader* solved the problem, in that city, of a solitary movie showman bearing the expense of Sunday newspaper advertising. Beginning as a coupon give-away scheme for free admission to dozens of movie theatres across the entire city of Cleveland, or in the regional edition across much of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, *The Sunday Leader* claimed to be the first weekly page devoted to news 'In the Moving Picture World'. The page was not merely advertising; editor Ralph P. Stoddard wrote stories about the regional film business and sympathetic articles about the movies' struggles against needless censorship and moralistic accusations of their corrupting children. The page was, of course, ad-supported with dozens of small block-display ads for picture theatres across the city, but also ads from the wholesale part of the regional film industry based in Cleveland, with ads from film exchanges promoting their branded supply of movies, each affiliated with its own movie studios. It was a simple idea: a Sunday newspaper page devoted to moving pictures – just the same as had long existed for theatre and vaudeville – combining advertising of upcoming programs with promotional articles about local and national show business. As simple as it seems in hindsight, it first appeared in a metropolitan newspaper in Cleveland as a coupon scheme – and not until September 1911, despite the fact that dozens of picture shows had been operating daily business in every big city in North America for five years. A half-page 'In the Land of Photoplays and Players' was edited by society columnist Ona Otto in *The San Francisco Bulletin*, beginning at Christmas 1911. She combined news, opinion and local theatre advertising in much the same style as the effort in Cleveland, but the feature lasted only six weeks. Chicago papers would soon introduce moving picture news columns (*The Tribune* in November 1911, *The Inter-Ocean* in April 1912), but these Sunday film features were not supported by ads, and thus not presented as equivalent to theatre listings.

The only other major metropolitan daily newspaper to introduce a moving picture page before 1913 was *The Philadelphia Times*, which began publishing a daily block ad, listing programs 'At the Leading Moving Picture Shows' in June 1912, and nearly a full-page of local picture theatre and film industry news 'In the World of Photoplays' for its Sunday edition. Some weeks *The Times* movie news spread over two full pages. Only around 1912, then, did the link between newspaper reading and movie attendance become institutionalized, with just a few scattered precedents. A page, or inset part of a page, could list what was playing at dozens of theatres across a major city, and the reader could either choose a theatre close to home or work, or

travel on streetcar to find a specific film. In clear distinction from the earlier concerns about safety and immoral influence, but as if counteracting that lingering suspicion still held by many readers, the editors of film pages and the individual showmen advertising within them emphasized the value of the now-mainstream practice. ‘Attend the Moving Picture Shows! Amusing, Educational, Recreative’, announced *The Philadelphia Times* soon after beginning its film department. ‘The moving picture shows, as conducted by the houses represented on this page, offer a delightful form of clean amusement for old and young’ (*Philadelphia Times*, 8 September 1912). Just as important was the newspaper’s own endorsement and umbrella explanation of why the reading public should attend the photoplays:

The photoplay acts as a sort of rest producer, a sort of check valve on the human nerves, bringing refreshment and rest to a troubled mind, instead of filling sanitariums with human wrecks, being the direct result of overworked nerves. Spend an hour each day at one of these rest producers. Try it; it is real. Motion pictures are universally popular the world over. (*Philadelphia Times*, 31 August 1913)

Going to the movies was presented as a psycho-social technology for the mediation of modern stress, counteracting the mechanical, repetitive machine-like work and rhythms of city life and labour by using the same modern technologies for pleasure – not unlike the leisure of newspaper reading itself.

Early in 1913 came a flurry of locally edited movie pages: *The Vancouver World* in January, *The Indianapolis Sun*, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and *Pittsburg Leader* in February, *The Minneapolis Tribune* and *Buffalo Times* in March. The last mentioned was overtly produced in association with Buffalo’s film showmen and its first weeks included a half-page list of all the local members of the Motion Picture Exhibitor’s League of America – a national association for professional organizing, political lobbying and public awareness. The intentions of the weekend movie page were often spelled out explicitly:

Important Announcement to Our Readers. [...] *The Sunday News-Tribune* will devote one whole page to this great educational industry – and will give its support to the future progress of animated photography. [...] This department will contain all the latest photoplay news of interest, and will be kept thoroughly up to date. (*Duluth News-Tribune*, 27 April 1913)

Just as the names of early movie theatres connoted how moving picture technology was the secret needed to enter Wonderland, the banners given on Sunday movie pages routinely presented the screen as an imaginative space, as if audiences were transported out of the present and the near, escaping the limitations of space and time. The page itself, too, took on this transportative capacity of the screen, as readers were sent into the ‘Realm of Photoplays’, travelled to the ‘the Moving Picture World’ and arrived ‘In Movieland’ just as if buying a five-cent ticket to Dreamland or Starland. Soon enough, as the movie studios rebuilt their industry in Hollywood, they would build actual spaces for the mass production of dreams, at ‘Universal City’ and in ‘Paramount’, so that the word Hollywood itself eventually became shorthand for the same technological escapism.

The earliest syndicated film publicity did not come from such film studios as Universal or Paramount. In the newspaper realm, syndication was particularly adept at providing feature material for small city newspapers, which could not

individually afford the resources for their own recurring columns of specialized content. This was especially true for chains of newspapers with common ownership. Responding to the growing importance of cinema, Scripps-McRae newspaper supplied a regular column bannered ‘The Movies’, written by Gertrude M. Price and beginning in November 1912. Most of this chain’s papers were in decidedly second-tier cities, such as *The Des Moines News*, *The Tacoma Times* and *The Wilkes-Barre Times Leader*, although the feature did run in its tabloid ‘adless’ newspaper *The Chicago Day Book* (Stoltzfus 2007). Each of the papers introduced Price to local readers as ‘a member of our staff’ in identical ads, simply inserting its own publication name. ‘*The Daily News*’, (or *The Times* or *The Day Book*, as the case may be) ‘recognizing “the movies” as the biggest, most popular amusement in the world, will tell you all about it from every angle’ (e.g. *Des Moines News*, 11 November 1912; see also Abel 2006). This was not a simple puff piece or mere opinion, for Price was presented as a hard-working, professional journalist striving to understand the film industry from the inside. ‘A member of our staff has been at work on the subject for weeks, traveling, investigating, interviewing – getting facts and pictures [...] she has become an expert’. Her expertise provided newspaper readers, who were also moviegoers, with the knowledge they needed to become *expert* moviegoers, skilled enthusiasts. ‘Read the first “movie” story in today’s paper – and keep your eyes open right along for the appearance of Your Favorites’. The call to read about the movies first in the paper before then going to see them would be the central trope of metropolitan newspapers’ embrace of the film industry. At first, however, movie news was still primarily taken up through syndicated material in provincial cities. Another such page of syndicated movie material was likewise designed for weekend newspapers in smaller markets. The Syndicated Publishing Company had been providing smaller newspapers with premium prizes and give-aways such as souvenir books and almanacs. In February 1913, the company began issuing a stereotyped, illustrated feature page, ‘News of the Photoplays and Photoplayers’, for Saturday and Sunday editions of small-market newspapers such as *The Milwaukee Sentinel* in Wisconsin, *The San Antonio Light* in Texas, *The Ogden Standard* in Utah and *The Columbia State* in South Carolina, among many others.

The daily picture story

One of the first intermedial connections between newspapers and moving pictures drew upon the great popularity of the comic strip form and its association with Sunday newspaper reading for the whole family. For almost than a year, beginning in November 1911 in *The Chicago Sunday Tribune*, moving picture stories were depicted in pictorial form, using photographs from a series of scenes to tell the film’s story, laid out in sequence like a comic strip. The *Tribune*’s moving picture stories were a direct collaboration with Chicago-based studios: Selig, Essanay and American films rotated through the weekly feature. *The Boston Traveler* ran a similar, but more modest version for several months early in 1912, drawing upon East Coast studios such as Kalem and Edison. Of the Chicago studios who had worked with *The Tribune*, American Film syndicated its pictorialized film stories for several months in 1912 in more than 75 newspapers spanning the continent: ‘7,000,000 people read American stories before you show them,’ read its ad to exhibitors (*Moving Picture World*, 16 March 1912). Despite being only sporadically successful

and short-lived, the wide circulation of the American Film syndicated version hinted at the proliferation of film publicity features to come in 1913 and was prescient of the great possibilities to come in a different genre and form: the serial film and its syndicated stories.

After seeing the fantastic escalation of moving picture publicity in newspapers throughout 1913, film studios themselves began to devise collaborations with newspapers on a continental scale. Mutual Movies purchased a series of ads in many newspapers late in 1913, featuring its 'winged clock' and its slogan 'Mutual Movies Make Time Fly'. The ads were arranged locally by Mutual's local film exchanges, so that each ad contained regionally specific directories of movie theatres showing its films, and the campaign was widely heralded within the film trade press as a reason to switch to Mutual's film service. On the other hand, the necessity of such regional fine-tuning meant the ads only appeared in select cities; but these included New York in *The Sunday World* and Chicago in *The Sunday Tribune*, as well as other cities in the Midwest. It was, nonetheless, a national newspaper campaign for movies, which combined branding the studio's films with listing theatres where films could be found. It was immediately followed by the serial film phenomenon. Perhaps best known for Hearst newspapers' collaboration with Pathé's *Perils of Pauline*, the serial craze actually began with the syndication of Thanhouser's *Adventures of Kathlyn* in a wide swath of newspapers across North America: *The Chicago Tribune*, *New York Sun* and dozens of others in smaller markets (Wilinsky 2000). Ads supporting the serial film stories routinely listed where to see which episode across the entire metropolitan region of the newspaper. With Kathlyn's serial film promoted concurrently with syndicated stories of each episode, other film studios followed just a few months behind. Pathé worked exclusively with Hearst newspapers as a chain to bring *Perils of Pauline* to page and screen in March. Universal had its serial *Lucille Love: The Girl of Mystery* in print and on screen in April, widely syndicated by S.S. McClure's to *The Chicago Record-Herald* and dozens of other Sunday papers. These three collaborations had already begun two or three serial stories each by the end of 1914, and hardly a single metropolitan newspaper on the continent remained on the sidelines for the serial film craze.

The serial queen stories had such lasting impact and high profile that it is routinely overlooked how Pathé's venture with Hearst, and Universal's with McClure's, had actually begun slightly earlier in the slightly different form of a *daily* moving picture story – a twist that prompted *The Chicago Tribune* to quickly react to introduce its own version slightly earlier. The daily movie stories begin with a bang on 4 February 1914, exactly one month after the first instalment of Kathlyn, when *The Chicago Record-Herald* published a full-page announcement of its novel collaboration with Universal and McClure's: 'Read the story in the morning. See it in moving pictures at night. [...] The biggest deal in the history of moving pictures to amuse, entertain and educate Chicago' (*Chicago Record-Herald*, 4 February 1914). *The Record-Herald* clearly expected to amuse and educate more than Chicago, just as *The Tribune* had increased regional circulation with Kathlyn, as the ad was reprinted widely throughout the Midwest's small city dailies two days later, from Indiana to Iowa. Again, the emphasis in the promotional rhetoric was the ability of moving pictures to provide newsworthy and sensational experience beyond the capacity of the printed page. 'This is the first time that such a colossal enterprise has ever been undertaken, and one of its striking features lies in the tremendous variety of subjects. [...] They will thrill you, excite you, make you laugh

and make you cry. The educational feature is superb and its benefits cannot be calculated'. If it could not be calculated, the appeal was nonetheless predictable, and the competing *Chicago Tribune* scooped the idea by introducing – without advance publicity – an almost identical feature the very next day, after *The Record-Herald's* announcement but in advance of its first instalment.

The Tribune's twist was independent judgment in having a journalist choose 'Today's Best Moving Picture Story' and write a critical synopsis, instead of having a film studio merely provide publicity:

To more than half million Chicagoans moving picture plays present the drama of daily life. A newspaper man has been assigned by *The Tribune* to view the films in advance of their release, and to write for *Tribune* readers a daily short story of what he considers the best film to be shown each day. The story may be read in the morning. The picture may be seen in the afternoon or at night. (*Chicago Tribune*, 5 February 1914)

Film criticism was thus introduced to newspapers, espousing journalistic objectivity in order to ward off a high-profile similar feature in a competing newspaper. *The Tribune's* daily film story continued for months and in July the reviewer was given a byline, Kitty Kelly (Audrey Alspaugh) – not a 'newspaper man' at all. *The Record-Herald* and Universal Film, apparently caught off guard, printed another full-page promotion of the start of its feature, reproducing the page from two days before – the day before *The Tribune's* feature started – as proof of its leading in innovation. 'Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery – and endorsement [...] *The Record-Herald* appreciates the compliment to its originality and enterprise thus confessed' (*Chicago Record-Herald*, 6 February 1914). In the meantime, yet another imitator sprung to life, as Hearst and Pathé Films began a direct copy of the idea throughout its newspaper chain. 'Read the Story Here – See it in the Moving Pictures Tonight [...] The story may be seen at the moving picture theatres transformed into photoplays by the famous Pathé players' (*Chicago Examiner*, 7 February 1914; see also *New York American*, 7 February 1914).

In just three days there were suddenly three different versions of the daily moving picture story running in Chicago, with syndication already begun across the country. Within a month, *The Tribune's* independent daily stories were running, for example, in *The Cleveland Leader* and *The Philadelphia Telegraph*, the Pathé stories across the Hearst chain and *The Record-Herald's* collaboration with Universal had been distributed by McClure's Press Syndicate to at least eight other major newspapers, including *The New York Globe & Commercial Advertiser*, *The Detroit Free Press* and *The Atlanta Journal* (see ad in *Washington Herald*, 9 March 1914). The Pathé-Hearst picture-stories were also promoted to picture-goers through slides projected in theatres saying that the picture about to be shown was published that morning (*Moving Picture World*, 28 February 1914). The connection between seeing movies that one first read about in the paper had been explicitly part of the earlier, weekly Sunday pages in various city newspapers since 1911, as well in Gertrude Price's columns for Scripps-McRae and such experiments as American Film's syndicated pictorial versions of its films since 1912. Now, early in 1914 with the well-known serial film craze and the lesser-known daily film story, the instruction to *Read it in the Morning, and See it in the Evening* had become an everyday message across the entire continent.

The Record-Herald subsequently lauded its innovation as 'Making "Movie" History' under an illustration of a crowd entering a newspaper by passing through

a box office (*Chicago Record-Herald*, 16 February 1914). In New York, Hearst's *American* drew upon the longstanding technical expertise of Pathé films to explain its daily story as a technological improvement upon the simple act of reading, which could now be supplemented with moving pictures with only a few hours delay. 'Pathé Frères have been leaders and pioneers in perfecting motion picture production and have been largely responsible for the many improvements which have from time to time been made' (*New York American*, 8 February 1914). In the Hearst papers, lists of theatres playing Pathé films accompanied the story, including those in Marcus Loew's chain across New York and more than 100 more as far as New Jersey and Connecticut. In Chicago, *The Record-Herald* did one better on Hearst's list of theatres possibly playing the films by actually contracting more than 300 of Chicago's independent, entrepreneurial showmen to submit their special Sunday programs for a weekly directory that listed what was playing in two-thirds of the city's movie theatres. 'Read *The Record-Herald* "Movie" Directory for our daily change of program. Another great "scoop" to meet the demand created by the tremendous interest aroused all over Chicago by its great short story-moving picture plan [...] Look for your neighborhood theatre here' (*Chicago Record-Herald*, 12 February 1914). It was the first time a comprehensive movie directory was attempted in a metropolitan city; and it remained without equivalent in New York and other cities for decades to come. *The Chicago Tribune* immediately mimicked it with a slight change in emphasis – listing only a select few dozen 'high-class' moving picture theatres – in other words, only those willing to pay the premium of a larger, more prestigious display ad in the self-proclaimed World's Greatest Newspaper (begins 14 February 1914).

The rivalry in Chicago escalated another step with the introduction in March of lavish colour Sunday magazine pages devoted to moving pictures and their celebrity players. *The Tribune* announced this feature a week in advance for the benefit of its Sunday-only regional subscribers:

Right Off the Reel! [...] It will be different. It will be dignified. It will abound in color and pictures, humor and romance. [...] This department will be entitled *Film and Screen*. It will take you into its confidence, ask your wishes about what you want to read and see in it, and give you any and all information you desire concerning moving pictures and their people. (*Chicago Tribune*, 22 February 1914)

The first 'Film and Screen' page in *The Tribune*'s colour magazine section featured a portrait in colour of Kathlyn Williams, the star of *The Adventures of Kathlyn*, within a filigreed 'Frame of Public Favor'. Vouchers were also included to clip out, nominating those movie stars readers wanted to see inside the frame in future Sunday pages. *The Record-Herald* simultaneously began its Sunday page, 'Reel Drama', and Hearst's *Chicago Examiner* ran a page 'The Motion Pictures' until its serial story *Perils of Pauline* began the following week. Similar pages began in many of the highbrow establishment newspapers across the country. Many were already running serial film story tie-ins or were about to embark on the fad, including papers that had never before included film-related publicity such as *The Cincinnati Enquirer* and *The Toronto Globe*.

The newspaper became a tool for organizing moviegoing and leisure time – a tool transformed into a technology of great efficiency for its ability to chart an amusement 'menu' of the selections available across the entire city, which could be

sampled and selected without requiring the time of travel. ‘*The Tribune* places before you an exceedingly appetizing motion picture menu every day in the week – a menu that gives you the widest possible range of choice, with something in it to suit every fancy and every mood’ (*Chicago Tribune*, 24 April 1915). The ‘menu’ motif, as Richard Abel emphasizes in *Menus for Movieland*, his thorough review of this period, displaced the product of the movie-mad culture with the preference of consumer choice, a matter of taste rather than appetite.

People of taste and ideas, with likes and dislikes, no longer wander down the street and take their entertainment from the first movie show they see. They want to know beforehand who the leading player is [...] Get the habit of consulting *The Tribune’s* Motion Picture Directory every day and see the best there is. (*Chicago Tribune*, 10 January 1916)

The point was that the newspaper could replace the effort of inquiring about what was available to see tonight with anticipation and excitement.

You will find listed the ‘movie’ entertainments you are most likely to be interested in. This will save you the trouble of telephoning the theaters in your neighborhood to find out what is appearing there to-night, and the greater trouble of walking to the different theaters and looking at the billboards [...] So when you think of ‘movies’ think of the advertisements in *The Daily News* under ‘Motion Picture Theaters’. (*Chicago News*, 16 October 1915)

The moving picture pastime was now interchangeable with one of the features of newspaper reading. The simple act of listing the movie directory of showtimes, unlike the theatre and music listings that pre-dated them, was technologically driven by the awareness that the movies were a halfway point between the embodied theatrical performance of the nineteenth century and the mediated broadcast transmissions of the twentieth century that were not quite yet at hand.

Where is that Star to-night? Actual stars have a fixed place in the heavens, and few people care where they are. [...] But with stars of the motion picture play [...] among the marvels of this new dramatic art that the genius of the player is freed from the trammels of space and time. The ‘movie’ star is visible at one and the same time in different theaters and on both sides of the globe. The ‘movie’ star that is thrilling an audience to-day may thrill another long after his (terrestrial) light is extinguished. (*Chicago News*, 4 December 1915)

Intermediality and mass leisure

The movies’ popularity was sometimes cast alongside other modern mobilities of leisure – motoring and dancing – as part of a general transformation of the public sphere toward ‘going out’ (Nasaw 1993). The logic linking morning news reading to evenings out was thus extended to modern city life in general. The role of newspapers and the public address of its advertising was poised to steward the change. The *Detroit Free Press*, soon after it introduced Universal Film stories in 1914, published a series of ads directed at its advertisers under the catchphrase ‘The World do “movie”’, noting how more than 800,000 people attended Detroit theatres every week.

Ten years ago there was ‘no place like home’. In 1914 – ‘nobody home’ [...] Theaters, cabarets, boating, motoring, dancing – each of these diversions has its ‘fans’.

[...] The family reads *The Daily Free Press* in the morning when no amusement of any kind interferes with the careful perusal of its pages – when the mind is clear and in a receptive mood. (*Detroit Free Press*, 4 June 1914)

In this sense, distractions from work and from play are a particularly modern problem that the newspaper uniquely solves. By the time all the fuss over serial film stories was started in 1914, the *Chicago Day Book* (20 May 1914) published the headline ‘The Movies to rival newspapers as organs of publicity. Over 600,000 people a day attend Chicago moving picture shows. The time arriving when they will publish news and editorials’; of course, the newsreel already existed, but now it was seen as a threat to the newspaper. The speculation was that the cultural influence and economic power of the picture industry might displace the power and prestige of newspapers as the foremost institution of the public sphere. The threat was already being tempered through intermedial collaboration rather than competition. Newspapers became partners with film companies, marking the contours of the public sphere as supplements of each other. Hearst and Selig launched a first newsreel collaboration early in 1914, just as the daily and serial stories began (see *Moving Picture World*, 7 March 1914). In the sense of making public, or constituting a public, publicity transforms the pursuit of increased circulation into a complex relation of public service and popular appeal, not reducible to maximizing advertising and profits. The relationship between newspapers and movies was not simply commercial. Newspaper readers were addressed as a social and civic public, not just a market. This is not to deny the importance of publicity as the driver of sales and profits, but rather to cast that aspect as only part of the social relations of a mediated society.

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