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Annie Fee

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Cinephiles, Criminals, and Children: Discourses and Practices of Cinema Education in 1920s Paris

Annie Fee

In the June 2014 report “For a European Film Education Policy,” commissioned by head of the Centre National du Cinéma (CNC), Frédérique Bredin, Xavier Lardoux stressed the need to bring schoolchildren into cinemas, “a sacred space where others have gone before us, and have experienced moments of intense feeling, drama or joy,” so that they might “discover works of cinematic art” and thus create “Europe’s film-loving cinema-goer of the future.”¹ The following year Lardoux, by then head of film at the CNC, shared the results of his report at the Cinémathèque Française for the launch of the MEDIA funded program “A Framework for Film Education in Europe,” headed by the British Film Institute (BFI). The program, though Europe-wide in scope, was launched at the symbolic seat of French cinephile culture, and Lardoux’s report had its origins in the former French Minister of Culture Aurélie Filippetti’s speech at the 2013 Cannes Film Festival. From the perspective of French cultural institutions, then, efforts to implement film education in twenty-first century European schools take place through a framework of classical cinephilia and should, in Frédérique Bredin’s words, pay particular attention to “the artistic dimension of film” and “its very particular relationship with the movie-theatre.”²

This close connection between cinephilia as an intellectual culture of film appreciation and contemporary notions of film education has origins so deeply rooted in the early history of cinephilia that the two are difficult to distinguish. Cinephilia has from the beginning defined itself as an antidote to mere commercial film production, the bulk of which comes from Hollywood studios, giving cinephilia an identity both European and highbrow but also forcing it to

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continuously work to ensure financial support and cultural recognition from official circles. The task of initiating new generations of cinemagoers to cinephilia has therefore always been a matter of life and death. As Pascal Laborderie reminds us, “cinephilia was founded” on “educational terrain” during the interwar period, when “the combined actions of the *Offices du cinéma éducateur* and of the secular teaching league *Ligue de l’enseignement* prepared the ground for a popular secular educational cinema which would foreshadow non-commercial cinema legislation and prepare the explosion of the ciné-club movement.”³ The non-commercial cinema legislation to which he refers is the 21 September 1949 decree granting tax exoneration for non-commercial film, followed in 1959 by the *avance sur recettes* policy, a hard-won set of decrees that recognized artistic film as an alternative to what had since the interwar years been widely seen as the “immoral” entertainment of commercial cinema by relieving them of punitive taxes. To the issue of morality one might add the perception, common in the interwar French film industry, that French audiences were being inundated with American productions, a cultural invasion that threatened interwar French cinema with irrelevance but also furnished the struggling industry with an effective argument with which to convince statesmen of the importance of supporting filmmakers who sought to elevate French film to the level of high art.⁴

The eventual success of classical cinephilia in achieving official recognition as a practice of critical spectatorship and creation worthy of state support, thanks to the efforts of Louis Delluc and the French First Wave critics, has overshadowed the myriad ways in which various other communities, from state elites to working-class social activists, envisioned cinema as a pedagogical and political medium amenable to objectives that were not necessarily in agreement with those of the cinephiles. Louis Delluc, Ricciotto Canudo, and Émile Vuillermoz used ciné-club lectures and film journals as sites of cinephile training for their target audience, an audience that was largely limited to the small number of upper-middle-class Parisians who could further their agenda. Because the existing historiography of the ciné-club movement focuses on this elite community of intellectual filmmakers, we are left to wonder how communities outside of their rarified circles saw cinema as an educational tool in 1920s Paris, when the meaning and practice of “film education” had yet to crystallize into a cinephile appreciation of film art. Scholarship on educational cinema has focused on pioneers such as Jean Benoît-Lévy⁵ or Gustave Cauvin⁶ and associations such as the *Ligue de l’enseignement*⁷ or the *Offices du cinéma éducateur*,⁸ which are largely treated as proto-cinephile sites that had in the 1920s not yet found their true mission of cultivating a cinephile audience. Yet a glance back at the beginning of the 1920s, before the institutionalization of cinephilia as a cultural entity distinct from mere instructional film,

reveals a melting pot of various ideas of what cinema's role in society should be and the ways in which it could be used to shape the French public.

In this article I untangle the web of discourses on film education from daily newspapers, the emerging film press, the trade press, municipal council meetings, speeches, and lectures during the early 1920s in order to unveil the cultural complexities of the historical moment in which cinephilia emerged. I show that before the concept of film education became retrospectively identified with cinephile education, it was used in overlapping but distinct and sometimes clashing senses by several different groups: the State and municipal council, secular republican leagues, and the burgeoning group of Parisian film critics and filmmakers of the French First Wave.

An Industry in Crisis

The spring before war broke out in 1914, Adrien Collette, headmaster of the rue Étienne Marcel elementary school and pioneer of educational cinema, co-organized a film screening in the covered courtyard of the Rue des Jeûneurs elementary school with Léopold Bellan, a stone's throw from the central boulevard cinema palaces.⁹ During these months before the outbreak of war, the *Ligue de l'enseignement*, supported by future Minister of Education Paul Painlevé, were busy preparing to introduce the "general use of film as a teaching tool when children return to school in October."¹⁰ By then the French state and local government were busy with more pressing matters than classroom cinema, and yet, despite the national crisis, Painlevé took time to set up a commission to study the implementation of cinema in schools.¹¹

At the same time that ministers like Paul Painlevé advocated for cinema as a pedagogical tool, however, other government officials rallied against cinema as a "demoralizing school giving lessons in crime."¹² The mayor of the Parisian suburb of Argenteuil banned crime films after the Pearl White serial *Les Mystères de New York* (a condensed 22-episode serial of *The Exploits of Elaine*, *The Romance of Elaine*, *The New Exploits of Elaine*) inspired an armed robbery in the town,¹³ and the mayor of Nice asked exhibitors to cut violent scenes in the same serial.¹⁴ The public outcry against the serial culminated in "public morality" groups led by senators and municipal councilors who lodged a formal complaint to the Minister of the Interior, Louis Malvy, about "the 'criminal' cinematographe's influence on young people" in June 1916.¹⁵

It was to counteract the negative effects of cinema as "a school of passions, vice and crime" that the *Ligue de l'enseignement*, under the presidency of former Minister of Education Arthur Dessoie, began Thursday matinées for Parisian school children, with the first screening on 4 October 1916 at the League's purpose-built

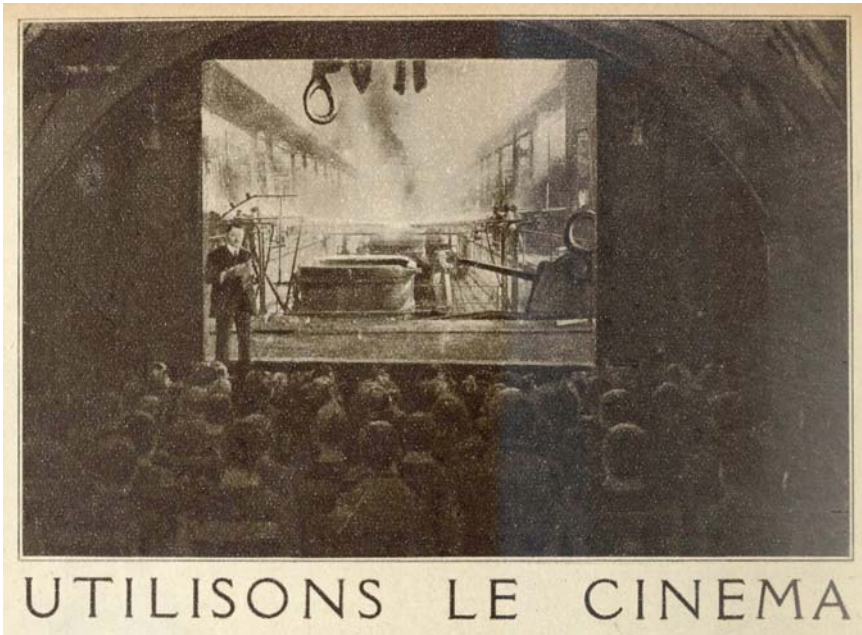


Figure 1. *Lectures pour tous* (April 1, 1917): 1666. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

900-seat cinema.¹⁶ The films were a far cry from the cinephile classics that were later to take center stage for film educators. For the inaugural matinée, Adrien Collette screened *Wood carving in the Jura*, Léonce Perret's 1913 film *Un cœur de poupée* for "moral schooling," and a film about birds with webbed feet.¹⁷

When arguments in favor of educational cinema bubbled back up to the surface at the war's end, there were many more forums for cinema advocates. *Ciné-Tribune* wrote on 15 July 1920, "The question of teaching through cinema is the order of the day. It is just about impossible to open up any specialist cinema newspaper without finding an article or interview on this interesting question."¹⁸ By 1921, almost all Parisian evening newspapers had cinema columns, and as Lucien Wahl wrote, "Many concern themselves with educational cinema."¹⁹ Central to this discourse were two intertwined issues. The question about whether cinema could and indeed should be an educational medium was being asked "most everywhere," and depended, in turn, on the question of whether cinema was really an art form worthy of study in itself. As Canudo wrote in April 1921, "Do we still have to ask whether cinema is an art? We know that the question is being asked with a particular forcefulness this year. It is being discussed most everywhere."²⁰

Perhaps none of the texts circulating in the film press embodied this issue as forcefully as the film industry float at the 1921 mid-Lenten day parade. A more public forum than the specialized press, it was there that the film industry took its arguments into the streets of Paris in the eye-catching form of lavish floats, props, and disguised extras. Parisian carnivals were suspended during a six-year period from the beginning of the Great War in 1914 to 1920, but by the time of their reinstatement in 1921, cinema had become, in the words of *Le Film*, “King of the Carnival.”²¹ On one of the protest floats in the parade that day, a papier-mâché cow represented the French film industry. Unlike the traditional *bœuf gras*, or fattened calf paraded by butchers during the Paris Carnival, this one was emaciated and, like the film industry itself, seemingly on its last legs. Signs on each udder indicated the culprits for the cinema cow’s poor state: State tax took 10–25%, the mayor 7.5%, *assistance publique* 10%, followed by firemen and doctors.²² Leading the float was an old bespectacled woman representing “Anastasié the censor,” who carried a huge pair of scissors. Behind her, pulling the cow by its tail, was the taxman, and walking besides the float, a cowboy attempting to lasso the cow, an allegory for the threat of U.S. film imports to the French industry.²³

This starving cow float is glaringly illustrative of how leaders of the French film industry perceived their situation in a postwar society in economic and spiritual crisis. In the summer of 1920, seeking to boost tax revenues as well as public morale, Minister of Education André Honnorat, one of the politicians who complained to Malvy about “the criminal cinematographe” four years earlier, introduced a municipal tax on all entertainment or *spectacles*. In addition to boosting state funds, it was thought that higher taxes on popular entertainment would encourage the public towards the more wholesome entertainment of the theatre, which accordingly was protected from tax increases.

The film industry reacted to the 1920 tax increases²⁴ by preaching the importance of French cinema. On the one hand, they argued that cinema should be seen as a respectable art form no less worthy of state protection than the theatre or classical music. On the other hand, they also suggested that cinema could be a valuable instrument for educating young minds. In January 1921, Louis Forest (Louis Nathan), a filmmaker and journalist for *Le Matin*, told a film industry commission, “The invention of cinema is as important as the invention of the printing press. [. . .] The public authorities have no more of a right to kill the cinema through their ignorance than they do the printing press.”²⁵

Louis Forest’s ideas were incarnated in the carnival float that followed the emaciated cow. A royal figure on top of the float represented cinema as *le roi du spectacle*, “the entertainment king.” Instead of a scepter he held a light, representing cinema as the universal language bringing light to all, and a huge globe indicated cinema’s international reach. Behind him stood a Pathé home cinema projector

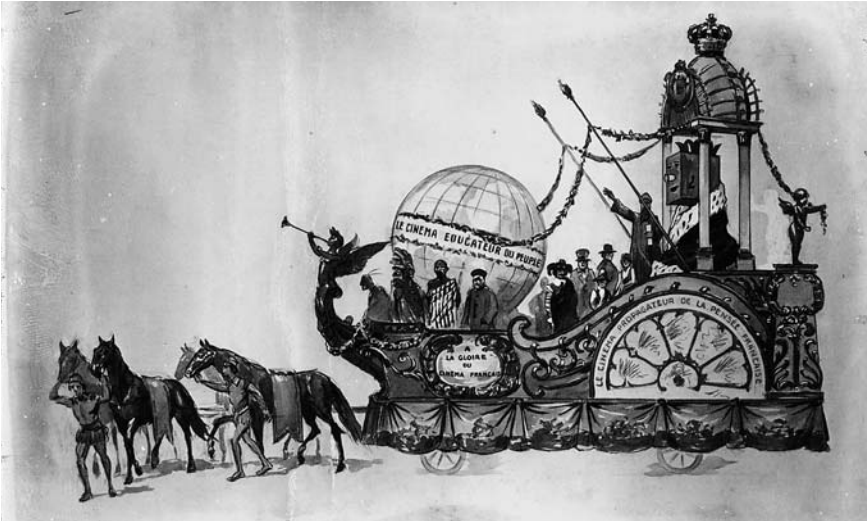


Figure 2. Drawing by Joë Bridge representing the educational cinema float at the Mid-Lenten Parade (February 28, 1921). Agence Meurisse. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

and next to it Gutenberg, the inventor of the printing press, reinforcing Forest's statement that cinema was to 1920s Frenchmen what the newspaper and book were to older publics: a teacher and a vehicle of enlightenment.²⁶

The 1920 tax increase thus triggered a wave of soul-searching that reached into the highest ranks of the industry. Louis Forest told exhibitors in January 1921, "the seriousness of your case comes from the fact that you have only ever been considered as entertainment men who make a lot of money by putting on immoral shows. You have to fight against these prejudices weighing down upon you!"²⁷ At the banquet held for the 25th anniversary of the cinema in June 1920, Louis Lumière himself declared that his only regret about inventing the *cinématographe* was that "often—too often—cinema is only used to show ridiculous or horrible scenes where the gangster, the revolver and the knife play a domineering role."²⁸ His thoughts were echoed by Georges Lecomte, President of the *Société des gens de lettres*, who declared in December 1919, "Enough burglars, enough policemen! Enough fingerprints, masks, hide outs, safe boxes ripped open and other despicable nonsense! Adventure doesn't always necessarily mean crime."²⁹

"Why shouldn't our children have their own "cinema house" [...]?"³⁰

The *Ligue de l'enseignement's* activities provide a glimpse into how rival views of cinema as an educational and artistic medium played out in the exhibition

landscape of 1920s Paris. In the evenings, the League leased out its cinema on the rue Récamier to a private exhibitor, a M. Guido, under the name of the cinéma Récamier. Guido's programs differed greatly from the League's wholesome matinée offerings on webbed-footed birds during the war. In 1920, *Le Radical* newspaper complained, "To be sure, the League offers cinema screenings to Parisian schoolchildren every Thursday afternoon—but its magnificent cinema on the rue Récamier is leased to an ordinary exhibitor, and in the evening he shows the same programs as everywhere else: *Fantômas* [Louis Feuillade, FR, 1913–1914] or *Main rouge* [*L'Empreinte, ou la main rouge*, Paul Henry Burguet, FR, 1908], *Cercle de la mort* or *Mysteries of whatever* (*Mystères de n'importe quoi*), with the next serial episode available to read in whichever newspaper."³¹ *Le Radical* criticized the charitable organization for making a profit from the very films it ostensibly opposed and argued that it would not have to compromise its charitable work to make a profit.

Le Radical's solution was the creation of a separate exhibition venue for educational film. Such a cinema would not have to lose out financially, but rather, "a *specialized cinema* in Paris would make as much of a profit as any other."³² Indeed, Edmond Benoît-Lévy, exhibitor, journalist, and close collaborator of the Pathé company, was an early advocate for such a separation of cinemas. Together with Louis Forest he created *Juvenia*, a production and distribution company for educational film.³³ The idea was to make educational and instructive films (*films d'enseignement*) available to educators and persuade exhibitors to give matinées for children every Thursday.³⁴ Although they abandoned the project after only four months, Benoît-Lévy and Forest's initiative raised awareness about the possibilities of educational cinema and led politicians to pay more attention to film.³⁵

Throughout 1920 and 1921, it seemed that Serge Sandberg's 2,400-seat cinema, the Cirque d'Hiver, had become one of the specialized educational theaters sought by advocates like Benoît-Lévy. The cinema began to show *L'Expédition Shackleton / South* (Frank Hurley, AU/UK, 1919) on 30 April 1920 with Victor Marcel as accompanying lecturer, and in the space of one year the film screened 550 times to groups of schoolchildren, soldiers, and the general public.³⁶ In *Ciné-Tribune*, E. L. Fouquet includes two descriptions of the Shackleton expedition film from Parisian schoolgirls Marcelle D. and Suzanne P. as proof that the government is wrong to tax cinema the same as any "fairground amusement."³⁷ For Jean-Louis Croze in *Comœdia*, it is "one of the most convincing examples of the incontestable utility of educational cinema,"³⁸ and for *Le Journal du Ciné-Club*, the Parisian public had revealed "that they are intelligent enough to appreciate at their true worth films that are not simply objects of amusement."³⁹

Louis Forest sought to profit from the success of *South* and put his ideas into practice by screening his own big-budget educational film, *Les Mystères du*

ciel, exclusively at the Cirque d'Hiver in October 1920. His efforts only served to prove the unfairness of the tax scheme: The government took a 37% share of the cinema's profits. After this experience, Louis Forest shared with *Le Journal du Ciné-Club* his idea for a proposal whereby cinemas would not be taxed if they showed instructional and educational films as well as French national productions.⁴⁰ Forest's sentiments were echoed in Parliament by the lawyer Vincent de Moro-Giafferri, who stated that inversely to "dramatic adventures of foreign origins [. . .] French film is something else. It is more artistic, more sentimental, more moral." The lawyer insisted upon the duty of politicians to support French national cinema, in particular educational and scientific film, by exempting from tax "cinemas showing French films, especially instructive, scientific or simply picturesque films."⁴¹ Émile Vuillermoz had put forward a similar idea earlier that year when he argued in *Ciné-Tribune* that "the State alone can rebalance the scales by freeing the repertory of French art and not taxing efforts to intellectualize the screen and [instead] penalizing the over-commercialization of the screen."⁴²

Note that here Vuillermoz is making distinctions not between educational cinema and commercial cinema but between art cinema and commercial cinema, thus foreshadowing the later identification of highbrow cinema with "cinema education." For Vuillermoz, the government was neglecting art cinema's potential as an "intellectual weapon." Rather than taxing cinemas according to their profits, therefore, he proposes that cinemas be taxed according to "the quality of entertainment offered."⁴³ Yet at this point in history, discourses on the value of cinema for artistic education and for schooling in broad scientific topics overlapped in that they both proclaimed that the goal of their cinema was to contribute to nation building. It might be surprising today to discover that Marcel L'Herbier, for example, asked to be released from military service on the grounds that his films *Torrent* (René Hervil and Louis Mercanton, s. Marcel L'Herbier, FR, 1917) and *L'Ange de minuit* (*Bouclette*, René Hervil and Louis Mercanton, s. Marcel L'Herbier, FR, 1918) "served French propaganda abroad" at a time when it was crucial "to triumphantly spread French thought abroad, especially in countries where it finds itself competing with enemy thought, which is very active on the screen."⁴⁴ Indeed, it was widely claimed that the tax regime would prevent French ideas from having any influence abroad and that even at home the ever-increasing influence of foreign films would pollute French thought. One of the goals of Ricciotto Canudo's *Club des Amis du Septième Art* (C.A.S.A.) was precisely to counteract foreign influence by creating the first French Film Festival (*Festival Cinématique Français*) and to co-organize the first congress of "Latin Film" (*Congrès du Film Latin*).⁴⁵ The hope of the first ciné-club was, in Canudo's words, "to affirm throughout the whole world the eternal beauty of our race which for centuries has dominated the world of the mind."⁴⁶ As Verhille, the editor

of the trade journal *L'Écran*, dramatically asks in a 1921 article, “Will we stand by and watch silently the colonization of the eyes and brains of our workers, of our farmers, of our own children by the ideas of infiltrating foreign authors who impose themselves with the light of the projector and the images of the screen? A sad people we will be the day we realize that we are thinking with the minds of men from another race, perhaps even that of our enemy.”⁴⁷

Similarly, early proponents of cinephile education latched on to these anxieties in order to convince officials of the necessity of supporting the French film industry. After watching a chronochrome color film about French decorative arts at the Gaumont Palace in July 1920, Léon Moussinac writes that “people are finally willing to recognize the educational power of cinema.”⁴⁸ From the ceramics of Étienne Avenard and the stained glass of François Décorchemont presented in the Gaumont documentary, Moussinac transitions to two films whose educational value is perhaps less evident: Louis Delluc’s *La Fumée noire* (FR, 1920) and Marcel L’Herbier’s *Le Carnaval des vérités* (FR, 1920). The critic praises the directors of these “modern films” for popularizing French decorative arts by using French furniture. He continues, “Indeed, how easy it would be to educate the public’s taste, by imposing upon them in modern films, instead of a mismatching piece of furniture from storage or from a faubourg Saint-Antoine seller, sets decorated and furnished by our best designers: Mare, Süe, Dufrené, Ruhlmann, Follot, Jourdain, Nathan, Groult . . .”⁴⁹ Moussinac ends with the line, “For the moment the public still goes to the cinema indiscriminately; it is time we instill in them the love of art and beauty.”

Several months later Louis Forest laments the fact that the lack of French-made educational films forced schoolteachers to resort to foreign films for use in their classrooms. He mentions the example of a Parisian teacher giving a class on domestic poultry: “After all a child has to know what a chicken is!” According to Forest, the teacher showed a foreign film with Dorking and Leghorn chickens, “not one of our magnificent Bresse, Faverolles, or Houdan breeds! They don’t appear on the screen. [. . .] Soon France will only know foreign chicken breeds. That’s what happens when you don’t grasp the modern force of the cinema!”⁵⁰

Exhibitors Become Educators

How, then, would French spectators come away from a screening with the right understanding of a film’s message? Before the separation of cinema publics with the introduction of specialized cinemas in the mid 1920s, some film critics felt that the commercial cinema could be a space where a pedagogical, philanthropic exhibitor could promote audience progression and development with informative introductions to screenings of challenging films. One such philanthropic exhibitor

was Georges Parisot, manager of the Idéal Cinéma in Montmartre, in his words “a modest cinema in an extremely working-class neighbourhood.” Not wanting Léon Poirier’s film *Le Penseur* (FR, 1920) to be interrupted by jeers and jibes of his usually rowdy public, he took the time to give a short introduction before the screening “to put my public on the right path.” In a letter to Léon Gaumont printed in *Comœdia* he writes “at the end of the film, the audience applauded as they never have before, and at the exit many of my clients complimented me for *Le Penseur*.”⁵¹

Lucien Wahl, film critic at the newspaper *L’Information*, agreed with the principle that a cinema manager’s role should be similar to that of a lecturer (*conférencier*) and that they should give a short introduction to their films “on its origin and originality, even critiquing certain details.” Wahl writes that before a screening of Mauritz Stiller’s *Sir Arne’s Treasure* (SE, 1919) or Victor Sjöström’s *Karin Daughter of Ingmar* (SE, 1920), the exhibitor might, for example, say a few words about the author Selma Lagerlöf.⁵²

Many critics felt that exhibitors had a role in educating their audiences, a responsibility they should take seriously. After a screening of André Antoine’s Émile Zola adaptation *La Terre* (FR, 1921), a reader of the *L’Intransigeant* newspaper writes to complain about the lack of pedagogical provision from the exhibitor. The spectator realized, after discussing the film with a group of “poorly educated people,” that they had taken the negative representation of farmers at face value. The reader concluded from this experience that to avoid misinterpretations “such films should be accompanied by an intelligent and instructive commentary in order to allow the often unsophisticated public to fully appreciate what they are being shown.”⁵³ The *L’Intransigeant* journalist agrees and tells exhibitors that “they are wrong to neglect the liability they incur by circulating unclear ideas among the public.” Later in 1924, a Montpellier cinema exhibitor named M. Rolland takes the initiative of booking Jean Epstein to give an introduction to his film *Cœur fidèle* (FR, 1923) “to give the public more interest in avant-garde works.”⁵⁴

Conclusion

The cinema culture we now know as cinephilia was born in 1920s Paris from a wish to support French culture by spreading its ideas abroad and inoculating French children against unwholesome foreign influences. French film industry representatives, government figures, and the French First Wave critics eventually came to share the idea that French national identity should be bolstered and that French First Wave cinema was going to be the way to achieve this goal. Although elementary school teachers had begun to use cinema as a pedagogical support before the war, the debate about the benefits of educational cinema only took

off in 1920. The notion of *cinéma éducateur* “to hasten and heighten the moral and intellectual development of the country”⁵⁵ thus coincided with the release in France of cornerstone films for classical cinephilia, including both international art cinema from D. W. Griffith, Victor Sjöström, and Mauritz Stiller and French First Wave films.

Thanks to Christophe Gauthier’s *La passion du cinéma*,⁵⁶ we know how Parisian critics made the case for a cinephile education that would be provided by lectures and screenings in elite cinemas, *salles spécialisées*, and ciné-clubs. Indeed, I have argued that the retrospective identification of educational cinema with cinephile cinema education happened precisely because of the success of cinephilia in narrating its own history to the exclusion of other, competing visions of cinema culture. As a result, I contend, we know much less about the rival discourses surrounding educational cinema in the early 1920s and how they played out in the trade press, film weeklies, and daily newspapers.

In this article I have attempted to dust off these forgotten debates and to situate both cinephilia and early discussions on educational cinema within a social and political context in which they shared the goal of convincing French state officials to lower taxes. In early 1920s France, discourses on educational cinema were interconnected with articles promoting cinema as an art form. Both arguments were necessary to convince the French State to end a tax regime that relegated cinema to the status of fairground and circus attractions. By mobilizing discourses about cinema’s potential as both an educational and artistic medium, advocates from within the industry could defend themselves against accusations that cinema was a “school of passions, vice and crime”⁵⁷ and argue, instead, that it could be a school of French nation building.

Annie Fee is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Media and Communication at the University of Oslo.

NOTES

1. Lardoux, Xavier. “For a European Film Education Policy” (report, Paris, June 2, 2014). 19–20, <http://en.unifrance.org/news/11794/a-report-on-film-education-initiatives-for-young-europeans>, accessed 14 August 2015.
2. Letter from Frédérique Bredin to Xavier Lardoux in Lardoux, Xavier. “For a European Film Education Policy” (report, Paris, June 2, 2014). 19–20.
3. Pascal Laborderie, *Le cinéma éducateur laïque* (Paris: Editions L’Harmattan, 2015). 25–26.
4. Richard Abel notes that by 1918, French film production had fallen so low that it made up only 20% of Paris film programs. Richard Abel, *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915–1929*.

- (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984). 12.
5. Valérie Vignaux, *Jean Benoit-Lévy ou le corps comme utopie: Une histoire du cinéma éducateur dans l'entre-deux-guerres en France* (Paris: AFRHC, 2007).
 6. Nina Almborg and Tanguy Perron, "La propagande par le film: les longues marches de Gustave Cauvin," *1895*, no. 66 (2012): 34–49.
 7. Nathalie Sevilla, "La Ligue de l'enseignement et le cinéma éducatif dans l'entre-deux-guerres: à la croisée de l'associatif et du politique," *1895*, no. 75 (2015): 64–83. Frédéric Gimello-Mesplomb, Pascal Laborderie, and Léo Souillés-Debats, eds., *La Ligue de l'enseignement et le cinéma: Une histoire de l'éducation à l'image (1945-1989)* (Paris: AFRHC, 2016).
 8. Raymond Borde and Charles Perrin, *Les Offices du cinéma éducateur et la survivance du muet (1925-1940)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1992).
 9. "L'enseignement par le cinéma," *Le Journal* (May 17, 1914): 3. See also letter from Georges Coissac to Léon Moussinac (March 20, 1923). Fonds Léon Moussinac. BnF Arts du Spectacle. 4e-COL-10/25 (9).
 10. Édouard Petit cited by Le Monsieur du Film, "Le cinéma scolaire," *Le Petit Parisien* (March 20, 1914): 5. See also Jean-Louis Croze, "En attendant . . .," *Comœdia* (August 1, 1914): 4.
 11. For Painlevé's report to the French President Raymond Poincaré see *Le Journal Officiel de la République Française* (March 29, 1916): 2496.
 12. This claim made by the Belgian Minister of Justice Emile Vandervelde is repeated by French senator Gustave de Lamarzelle in a Senate discussion on June 10, 1920. See "Licence et liberté," *Ciné-Tribune* (July 29, 1920): 106–108.
 13. "Les bandits masqués d'Argenteuil," *Le Petit Parisien* (January 8, 1916): 3.
 14. "La censure dans le Midi" *Le Carnet de la Semaine* (May 21, 1916): 19.
 15. "Pour l'épuration des cinémas," *Le Petit Parisien* (June 30, 1916): 2. For more on French cinema censorship see Jean Bancal, *La censure cinématographique* (Paris: Imprimerie J.E.P., 1934).
 16. "Le cinéma éducateur," *L'Humanité* (October 1, 1916): 2.
 17. "Le cinéma éducateur à la Ligue de l'enseignement," *Le Temps* (October 5, 1916): 4.
 18. "Le cinéma de Paris dans les régions libérées," *Ciné-Tribune* (July 15, 1920): 73.
 19. Lucien Wahl, "Il y a une critique cinématographique," *Scénario: Cinématograph Exchange* (February 1921): 633–634.
 20. Ricciotto Canudo, "L'esthétique du septième art," *Le Film* (April 1921): n.p.
 21. Pierre Landry, "Le cinéma à la mi-carême," *Le Film* (March 1921): n.p.
 22. "Une vache à lait," *La Scène* (February 25, 1921): 5.
 23. Léon Brézillon, "Nos échos: le cinéma au cortège de la mi-carême," *Scénario: Cinématograph Exchange* (February 1921): 644.
 24. Article 91 of the 1920 law increased the amount of State tax already applied by Article 13 of the 30 December 1916 law. For the smallest cinemas, those earning less than 15,000 fr. per month, the percentage increased from 5% to 10%. "Texte définitif des taxes," *Ciné-Tribune* (July 1, 1920): 51.

25. Marcel Bonamy, "La grande séance du 15 janvier," *Hebdo-Film* (January 1921): 1–4: 2.
26. Léon Brézillon, "Le cinéma au cortège de la mi-carême" *Scénario: Cinematograph Exchange* (February 1921).
27. "La grande séance du 15 janvier" *Hebdo-Film* (January 29, 1921): 1–4: 2.
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