

NOTES

Introduction: A Walking Tour

- 1 Richard Abel, *The Ciné Goes to Town: French Cinema 1896–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 9–58; Abel, *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915–1929* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 251–60; Christophe Gauthier, *La Passion du cinéma: Cinéphiles, ciné-clubs et salles spécialisées à Paris de 1920 à 1929* (Paris: Association Française de Recherche sur l’Histoire du Cinéma, 1999); Annie Fee, *Male Cinephiles and Female Movie-Fans: A Counter-History of French Cinephilia, 1918–1925* (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2014).
- 2 Jean-Jacques Meusy, *Paris-Palaces, ou, le temps des cinémas (1894–1918)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995); Meusy, *Écrans français de l’entre-deux-guerres, volumes I et II: Les Années sonores et parlantes* (Paris: Association Française de Recherche sur l’Histoire du Cinéma, 2017).
- 3 For an examination of the shift in film studies from an emphasis on texts to an interest in audiences, see my introduction, “The History of Film History,” in *Looking Past the Screen: Case Studies in American Film History and Method*, ed. Jon Lewis and Eric Smoodin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 1–33. See also Kathy Fuller-Seeley, “Introduction: Spectatorship in Popular Film and Television,” *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 29, no. 3 (2001): 98–99. Annette Kuhn writes of the spectator “constructed by the film text” in *Dreaming of Fred and Ginger: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (New York: NYU Press, 2002), 3–4.
- 4 Christian-Marc Bosséno, “La place du spectateur,” *Vingtième siècle: Revue d’histoire* 46 (April–June 1995): 143–54. See page 143 for the shift from the “screen” to the “cinema” and page 144 for the list of questions.
- 5 Emilie Altenloh, “A Sociology of the Cinema: The Audience (1914),” trans. Kathleen Cross, *Screen* 42, no. 3 (2001): 249–93; Kathryn Fuller-Seeley, ed., *Hollywood in the Neighborhood: Historical Case Studies of Local Moviegoing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Lee Grieveson, *Policing Chicago: Movies and Censorship in Early-Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Ben Singer, “Manhattan Nickelodeons: New Data on Audiences and Exhibitors,” *Cinema Journal* 34, no. 2 (2001): 5–35; Gregory Waller, *Main Street Amusements: Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City, 1896–1930* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

- 6 The three case studies come from Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby, eds., *American Movie Audiences: From the Turn of the Century to the Early Sound Era* (London: BFI, 1999). See Judith Thissen, “Jewish Immigrant Audiences in New York City, 1905–14,” 15–28; Leslie Midkiff DeBauche, “Reminiscences of the Past, Conditions of the Present: At the Movies in Milwaukee in 1918,” 129–39; and Gregory Waller, “Hillbilly Music and Will Rogers: Small-Town Picture Shows in the 1930s,” 164–79.
- 7 For details about the Finsbury Park as well as Greta Garbo’s popularity in London and the system for films to play in cinemas there, see John Sedgwick and Clara Pafort-Overdun, “Understanding Audience Behavior through Statistical Evidence: London and Amsterdam in the Mid-1930s,” in *Audiences: Defining and Researching Screen Entertainment Reception*, ed. Ian Christie (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 96–110, in particular pages 96 and 99.
- 8 Renaud Chaplain, “Les Exploitants des salles de cinéma lyonnaise: Des origins à la seconde guerre mondiale,” *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d’histoire* 79 (July–September 2003): 19–35; Pierre Berneau and Jeanne Berneau, *Le Spectacle cinématographique à Limoges de 1896 à 1945: Cinquante ans de culture populaire* (Paris: Association Française de Recherche sur l’Histoire du Cinéma, 1992); see also Jean A. Gili’s preface to the volume (7–13), which cites studies of such places as Marseille, Toulon, and Nice; Sylvia Rab, “Le Cinéma dans l’entre-deux-guerres; une politique culturelle municipale impossible? L’exemple de Suresnes,” *Le Mouvement social* 184 (July–September 1998): 75–98.
- 9 For a discussion of new approaches to national cinema, see my essay “American Madness,” in *America First: Naming the Nation in US Film*, ed. Mandy Merck (London: Routledge, 2007), 65–82. For a full rethinking of national cinema, and particularly in terms of internationalizing our notion of the term, see Andrew Higson, *Waving the Flag: Constructing a National Cinema in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Ruth Vasey, *The World according to Hollywood, 1918–1939* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).
- 10 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). See in particular chapter 7, “Walking in the City,” 91–110, and page 100 for the “rhetoric of walking.”
- 11 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Theodore Reff, “Manet and the Paris of Haussmann and Baudelaire,” in *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature*, ed. William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 135–67; Deborah Epstein Nord, “The City as Theater: From Georgian to Early Victorian London,” *Victorian Studies* 31, no. 2 (1988): 159–88.
- 12 Jean-Michel Renaitour, ed., *Où va le cinéma français?* (Paris: Éditions Baudinière, 1937), 99. For information about sound technology in various European exhibition industries, see “Le Nombre des cinémas en Europe et la proportion des salles sonorisées,” *Livre d’or du cinéma français*, January 1931. Germany at the time had converted 27 percent of its just over five thousand

cinemas to sound, while Great Britain had converted 65 percent of 4,200. In France, which had the same number of cinemas as the UK, the conversion rate was just 14 percent.

- 13 “Les Présentations,” *Le Figaro*, October 25, 1931, 8.
- 14 Charles O’Brien, in *Cinema’s Conversion to Sound: Technology and Film Style in France and the U.S.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), discusses the “sound” categories of films in France at this time. Besides the *film parlant*, there was also the *film sonore*, that is, the film that “had been shot silent and then supplemented with a separately recorded soundtrack.” See pages 68–69.
- 15 *Le Figaro*, October 31, 1931, 9. The advertisement referred to Capra’s film as the “grand film Américain parlant français.”
- 16 For a discussion of film journalism in France between the late teens and early 1930s, see Colin Crisp, *The Classic French Cinema, 1930–1960* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 216–22. Crisp discusses the founding of *Pour Vous*, and Bailby’s interest in cinema, on page 220. Abel, *French Cinema*, 245–50, also examines film journalism from about the same period.
- 17 *Pour Vous*, January 22, 1931, 15.
- 18 *La Semaine à Paris*, January 16, 1931, 52.
- 19 *Pour Vous*, January 22, 1931, 15. For news of *À l’Ouest rien de nouveau*, see, for instance, Morienvall, “Toutes les horreurs de la guerre dans *Quatre de l’infanterie*,” *La Semaine à Paris*, December 19, 1930, 60–61.
- 20 For news of the radio show in Nantes featuring music from *Mon coeur incognito*, see, for example, issues of *L’Ouest-Éclair*, from February 24, 1931, 10; March 10, 1931, 14; and March 14, 1931, 9. For the film’s play dates in Nantes, see *L’Ouest-Éclair*, September 8, 1931, 5.
- 21 For *Les Quatre Plumes blanches* in Paris, see *La Semaine à Paris*, May 9, 1930, 76. For the film in Marseille, see “Aux quatre coins de la France,” *Pour Vous*, July 17, 1930, 15.
- 22 Henri Hugault, “Au Moulin-Rouge: Le public manifeste contre la projection d’un film sonore américain,” *Le Figaro*, December 9, 1929, 3.
- 23 For the movement of *J’étais une espionne* through Paris, see *La Semaine à Paris*, November 17, 1933, 33; December 15, 1933, 43; January 5, 1934, 39; January 28, 1934, 36; February 16, 1934, 37; and April 10, 1934, 38.
- 24 *La Revue de l’écran*, May 11, 1934, 7.
- 25 François Garçon, in his book *La Distribution cinématographique en France 1907–1957* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2006), discusses the dominance, by 1950, of Hollywood through the example of the Paramount studio, which that year distributed at least one hundred films in France. See page 194.
- 26 Crisp uses the term in the title of his book, *The Classic French Cinema*. See also the conclusion, “The Classic French Cinema and the New Wave,” 415–22.
- 27 Frédéric Hervé, “Encombrante censure: La place de la Commission de contrôle des films dans l’organigramme de la politique du cinéma (1959–1969),” in *Le Cinéma: Une affaire d’état 1945–1970*, ed. Dimitri Vezyroglou (Paris: Comité d’histoire du ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2014), 123–32.
- 28 Garçon, *La Distribution cinématographique*, 124–25.

- 29 Garçon, *La Distribution cinématographique*, 105.
- 30 SNEG, *Étude du comportement des spectateurs du Gaumont* (Paris: Societé nouvelle des établissements Gaumont, 1948).
- 31 Renaitour, *Où va le cinéma français?*; Claude Degand, *Étude de marché du cinéma français* (Paris: Centre national de la cinématogoraphie, 1954).
- 32 For a more extensive discussion of cinema chains in Paris, see Garçon, *La Distribution cinématographique*, 98–104.
- 33 Admission prices are very difficult to determine from the available sources. See, for example, *La Semaine à Paris*, March 31, 1931, and the listing and advertisement for the Rex cinema on pages 39 and 41.
- 34 For historical information about the Gaumont-Palace, see Wikipédia en français, s.v. “Gaumont-Palace,” accessed September 24, 2016, <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaumont-Palace>; and also Xavier Delamare, “Gaumont Palace,” *Cinema Treasures*, accessed September 24, 2016, <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/6787>.
- 35 “L’Équipement et l’outillage; Une date dans les annals du spectacle; La réouverture du Gaumont-Palace,” *Les Spectacles*, July 24, 1931, 4.
- 36 “Supplément du #81,” *L’écran français*, January 15–21, 1947, 4.
- 37 Lorenz Jäger, *Adorno: A Political Biography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 62.
- 38 *Le Petit Parisien*, March 27, 1938, 7.
- 39 *Paris-Soir*, March 17, 1938, 13.
- 40 As just one example among many, the daily newspaper *Le Petit Parisien* gave *L’Impossible Monsieur Bébé* a featured review. See André Le Bret, “Cinéma,” March 21, 1938, 8.
- 41 “Autour d’Alger,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, June 20, 1939, 4.
- 42 “Aujourd’hui,” *L’Ouest-Éclair*, June 13, 1940, 3.

Chapter 1: The Cinemas and the Films

- 1 “Voici les films qui passent à Paris,” *Pour Vous*, October 12, 1933, 15.
- 2 For a discussion of the development of the Champs-Élysées in the 1920s as a location for shopping and going to the movies, see Meusy, *Écrans français*, vol 2: 120.
- 3 In 1931 the population of the eighteenth arrondissement was around 290,000, while the first arrondissement had only 42,000 inhabitants. The fifth, sixth, and ninth had 118,000, 100,000, and 103,000, respectively. See Wendell Cox Consultancy, “Paris Arrondissements: Post 1860 Population and Population Density,” *Demographia*, last modified March 24, 2001, <http://www.demographia.com/db-paris-arr1999.htm>.
- 4 For a discussion of the development of multiple film programs in France, see Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 15–17. Just as in the United States, these programs were not uncontroversial. Many film distributors and producers argued against them and also argued against film screenings that began after midnight. There were various injunctions passed in France against double bills and early morning screenings in the 1930s, but none was ever implemented.

- 5 *Pour Vous*, October 12, 1933, 15; October 5, 1933, 15.
- 6 *Pour Vous*, October 12, 1933, 15; October 19, 1933, 15.
- 7 “Paris Hideaway Coins Money with Silents,” *Variety*, June 7, 1932, 11.
- 8 *Le Chanteur de jazz* opened in Paris in January 1929 at the Aubert-Palace on the boulevard des Italiens. See *La Semaine à Paris*, January 25, 1929, 85.
- 9 *Pour Vous*, January 8, 1931, 15; April 9, 1931, 15; November 5, 1931, 15.
- 10 *Pour Vous*, April 9, 1931, 15.
- 11 *Pour Vous*, April 9, 1931, 15.
- 12 For a history of the building, see the website of the Bellevilloise at <http://www.labellevilloise.com/>.
- 13 For details of the opening of Chaplin’s film in Paris, see Lucette Benissier, “Lettre à M. Charlie Chaplin,” *Pour Vous*, March 26, 1931, 2; “L’accueil de Paris à Charlie Chaplin,” *Pour Vous*, March 26, 1931, 3; and for information about the opening at Théâtre Marigny, see *Pour Vous*, April 9, 1931, 15.
- 14 Benissier, “Du monde entier . . .,” *Pour Vous*, March 5, 1931, 11.
- 15 For a discussion of German screenings of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, and the subsequent banning of the film in Germany, see Thomas Doherty, *Hollywood and Hitler, 1933–1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 1–10.
- 16 For *All Quiet on the Western Front* in Germany, see Guido Enderis, “Nazis Renew Fight on Remarque Film,” *New York Times*, December 10, 1931, 10. For *À l’Ouest rien de nouveau* in Paris, see, for example, *La Semaine à Paris*, February 6, 1931, 59.
- 17 For *La Fin du monde* and *L’Énigmatique Mr. Parkes*, see *La Semaine à Paris*, February 6, 1931, 68; for *No, No, Nanette*, see page 61; for *Le Chant de bandit*, see page 67; for *The Love Parade*, see *La Semaine à Paris*, July 4, 1930, 23.
- 18 Raymond Villette, “Jeunes Filles en uniforme,” *Hebdo*, July 2, 1932, 44.
- 19 Villette, “Quatre dans le tempête,” *Hebdo*, July 2, 1932, 43.
- 20 Villette, “Frankenstein,” *Hebdo*, July 2, 1932, 42.
- 21 *La Semaine à Paris*, July 1, 1932, 30; November 4, 1932, 26.
- 22 François Ribadeau Dumas, “Le Shanghai Express,” *La Semaine à Paris*, April 28, 1932, 11.
- 23 “Why Paris Goes to the Movies,” *Literary Digest*, March 9, 1929, 21–22.
- 24 “Why Paris Goes to the Movies,” 21.
- 25 “Paris Raps Our Movie Methods,” *Literary Digest*, April 11, 1931, 17.
- 26 For an examination of Matthews’s career as well as his experiences reporting on Castro, see Anthony DePalma, *The Man Who Invented Fidel: Castro, Cuba, and Herbert Matthews of the New York Times* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2007).
- 27 Douglas Gomery, one of the few film historians to discuss air-conditioning, writes that “Balaban & Katz’s Central Park Theatre, opened in 1917, was the first mechanically air cooled theatre in the world,” and then further examines the Balaban and Katz theatre chain’s efforts to bring the technology to other sites. See Gomery, *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 53–54.
- 28 Herbert L. Matthews, “The Screen in Paris,” *New York Times*, September 18, 1932, X4.

- 29 Matthews, "The Screen in Paris," X4.
- 30 Matthews, "Paris Views New Films and Theatres," *New York Times*, January 15, 1933, X4.
- 31 Matthews, "Paris Views New Films and Theatres," X4.
- 32 Matthews, "A Glimpse at the Cinema of Paris," *New York Times*, April 2, 1933, X4.
- 33 Jacques Chabannes, "Les Nouveaux films," *La Semaine à Paris*, December 16, 1932, 25.
- 34 *La Semaine à Paris*, January 29, 1937, 23.
- 35 Matthews wrote about the Marignan in "The Cinema in Paris," *New York Times*, June 11, 1933, X2. The Marignan was "less pretentious than the Rex, but its simplicity and comfort make it quite as attractive." The Gaumont-Palace, in the eighteenth arrondissement, was even larger than the Rex, with around six thousand seats.
- 36 "More Theatres in Paris," *New York Times*, April 23, 1933, E3. This report also noted increases in Parisian theatrical venues, from 509 in 1930, to 641 in 1932. In addition, 1932 "saw 12 street fairs in Paris, and 156 in the suburbs," while "ten gambling halls opened," and the city hosted "two hundred and thirty-seven open air concerts."
- 37 For a discussion of the French preference for French films, see, for example, Matthews, "Paris Screen Notes," *New York Times*, May 1, 1932, X4.
- 38 Matthews, "The Cinema in Paris: To Dub or Not to Dub Films—Successful Original American Pictures," *New York Times*, June 4, 1933, X2.
- 39 *La Semaine à Paris*, May 5, 1933, 37.
- 40 *La Semaine à Paris*, May 26, 1933, 46.
- 41 *Pour Vous*, September 8, 1933, 15.
- 42 My listings from *Pour Vous* begin on June 9, 1933, when *L'Ange bleu* was already playing at the Corso-Opéra. *Pour Vous*, June 9, 1933, 15. On November 24, 1933, the film finally was replaced by *Jeunes Filles en uniforme*, the famous Leontine Sagan film that also enjoyed a long run at the Corso. *Pour Vous*, November 23, 1933, 15.
- 43 In the second arrondissement, the Cinéphone and the Cinéac showed only newsreels, with the latter presenting only those made by Fox, the American film company. In the ninth, the newsreel cinemas were the Ciné-Actualités and the Ciné-Paris-Midi. The Pathé-Journal showed Pathé newsreels in the tenth, and the Ciné-Paris-Soir, associated with the newspaper *Paris-Soir*, showed newsreels in the eleventh.
- 44 The Italian-French coproduction was *Je vous aimerai toujours* (1933), directed by Mario Camerini, and starring French actors Lisette Lanvin and Alexander D'Arcy. The Spanish-French film was *Pax* (1932), directed by Francisco Elias, with Gina Manès and Camille Bert. The French-Belgian film was *Le Mariage de Mlle Beulemans* (1932). It is also possible that, for instance, the Italian-French coproduction was an Italian film made in multiple languages.
- 45 Films made by American, German, and British corporations, produced in French and often in France, were relatively common during the early 1930s. For

example, MGM made its French films in Hollywood, while Paramount made French films at the Joinville studio outside Paris. German companies, which, after the US film firms, produced the most French films, made them at the Neubabelsburg studio near Berlin and at the Epinay studio in France. During this period, René Clair, Julien Duvivier, and Jacques Feyder all made films for German concerns. See Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 24.

- 46 For information about exhibition strategies and practices in the United States during the period, see Tino Balio, *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise, 1930–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), and especially chapter 4, “Feeding the Maw of Exhibition,” 73–107.
- 47 The two cinemas in the ninth arrondissement showing *La Maternelle* were the Ciné Vol-Opéra and the Agriculteurs. *Pour Vous*, September 7, 1933, 15; and September 21, 1933, 15.
- 48 Lucien Wahl wrote the review of *King Kong* for *Pour Vous*, in “Les films nouveaux,” September 14, 1933, 6.
- 49 For play dates for *Théodore et Cie*, see *Pour Vous*, June 8, 1933, 15; and August 31, 1933, 15.
- 50 “Sur les écrans d’Alger,” *L’Echo d’Alger*, January 18, 1934, 4; “Au Régent Cinéma,” *Oran-Sports*, February 9, 1934, 4.
- 51 “Tout clair d’optimisme *Toto* amusera,” *Le Petit Parisien*, September 8, 1933, 6.
- 52 A very partial list of these problems would include the French film industry’s inability to exploit fully the foreign market during the early sound era; egregious government taxes on the motion picture industry; and the inability of film firms to stay in business (in 1933, fifty-eight film production companies faced bankruptcy, and by 1935 both Pathé and Gaumont had collapsed). Colin Crisp has written the most extensive history of the magnitude of the problems facing the French film industry at this time. In *The Classic French Cinema*, see page 19 for details about France’s conversion to sound as well as the country’s foreign markets; for the effect of tax issues on the industry, see pages 17–18; see page 21 for information about firms going into bankruptcy, and page 31 for the collapse of Gaumont and Pathé. Crisp discusses the problem of postmidnight screenings on page 17. Other histories of French national cinema also discuss the industry’s chronic problems. In Alan Williams’s *Republic of Images: A History of French Filmmaking* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), see chapter 3, “The Golden Age of Sound Cinema,” 157–212. For a more measured view of the industry’s problems during the 1930s, see Yann Darré, *Histoire sociale du cinéma français* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2000), 49–58.
- 53 In France and the United States, there has been only sporadic historical interest in charting the film cultures of France’s colonies. See, for example, Roger Aubry, “Le Cinéma au Cameroun,” *African Arts* 2, no. 3 (spring 1969): 66–69; Peter Bloom, *French Colonial Documentary: Mythologies of Humanitarianism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); and Harold Salemon, “A Film at War,” *Hollywood Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (July 1946): 416–19 (about Tunisia).

- 54 All of these examples come from one issue: "Sur les écrans des quatre coins de la France," *Pour Vous*, July 7, 1932, 14.
- 55 Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, "Introduction," in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, ed. Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 3.

Chapter 2: The Ciné-Clubs

- 1 André de Fouquières, "La Semaine à Paris: Annoncée et commentée par André de Fouquières," *La Semaine à Paris*, April 12, 1935, 6–7.
- 2 Abel, *French Cinema*; Dudley Andrew, "Cinematic Politics in Postwar France: Bazin Before Cahiers," *Cinéaste* 12, no. 1 (1982): 12–16.
- 3 See, for instance, Darré, *Histoire sociale du cinéma français*, 61.
- 4 Paul Légglise, *Histoire de la politique du cinéma français: Le cinéma et la IIIe république* (R. Pichon et R. Durand-Auzias: Paris, 1970), 234.
- 5 Geneviève Guillaume-Grimau discusses the founding of the Cinémathèque but not the club that came before it. See Guillaume-Grimaud, *Le Cinéma du Front Populaire* (L'Herminier: Paris, 1986), 32.
- 6 The materials from the Bibliothèque nationale de France can be found in its digital library, Gallica, at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/?lang=EN>.
- 7 For examples of screenings at these locations, see *La Semaine à Paris*, March 29, 1935, 32; and April 12, 1935, 34.
- 8 *Annuaire général des lettres* (Paris: Annuaire general des lettres, 1933), 466. After the war, as well, while the ciné-club movement remained centered in Paris, there were clubs throughout France. See, for example, Suzanne Frère, "Les Loisirs à Auxerre," *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* 7 (1949): 101–8.
- 9 For a discussion of the economic upheaval of the period, see Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 1–42.
- 10 For a discussion of the Congrès des ciné-clubs, see "Le Congrès des ciné-clubs," *Cinéa-Ciné*, December 1, 1929, 25–28.
- 11 For the founding of *La Tribune Libre* du Cinéma, see Abel, *French Cinema*, 251–57. For the *Tribune* radio program, see "Les Propos d'Antonio," *Le Figaro*, May 24, 1939, 4B. Bessy was known as a screenwriter, novelist, actor, and journalist.
- 12 For information about the club Des Amis de *Pour Vous*, see, for instance, *Pour Vous*, May 22, 1940, 15; the film that Friday would be a sneak preview of Christian-Jacque's *L'Enfer des anges* (1941).
- 13 "Cinémas," *Le Temps*, June 4, 1940, 2.
- 14 "Une soirée en l'honneur de Jean Grémillon à *La Tribune Libre* du Cinéma," *La semaine à Paris*, December 26, 1930, 64–5. Grémillon became a ciné-club favorite after the war, when he appealed especially to secular cinéphiles, while at the same time Catholic enthusiasts championed the work of Robert Bresson. See Roxane Hamery, "Les Ciné-clubs dans la tourmente: La querelle du non-commercial (1948–1955)," *Vingtième siècle, revue d'histoire* 115 (2012): 76.
- 15 "Les 'Clubs' de cinéma," *Le Temps*, January 18, 1936, 5; *Le Temps*, February 17, 1938, 5; "Cinémas," *Le Temps*, March 9, 1940, 5.

- 16 *La Semaine à Paris*, October 11, 1935, 35; *La Semaine à Paris*, January 1, 1937, 7; “Un vrai festival René Clair,” *Le Temps*, March 18, 1937, 5.
- 17 For a sense of the excitement in the French film press when a new Clair film appeared, see the constant coverage in *Pour Vous* of the Paris opening of *Le Million*: January 8, 1931, 14; February 12, 1931, 2; March 26, 1931, 8–9; April 9, 1931, 2; April 23, 1931, 12.
- 18 *La Semaine à Paris*, May 22, 1936, 38–9.
- 19 *La Semaine à Paris*, May 22, 1936, 39.
- 20 “Les ‘Clubs’ de cinéma,” 5.
- 21 *Le Temps*, December 21, 1938, 5, for Méliès and Zecca; January 11, 1939, 5 for *Le Golem* and *La Charotte fantôme*; and January 18, 1939, 5 for *Metropolis*.
- 22 “Paris Hideaway Coins Money with Silents,” *Variety*, June 7, 1932, 11.
- 23 For the program of British documentaries, see “Petits Nouvelles,” *Le Temps*, February 17, 1940, 5; for the German and Russian films, see “Cinémas,” *Le Temps*, March 1, 1940, 3; for the program on “films fantastiques,” see “Le cinéma,” *Le Temps*, April 3, 1940, 3; the Marey-to-Renoir series is mentioned in “Cinémas,” *Le Temps*, April 16, 1940, 3; and for the conference on the erotic in cinema see “Petites nouvelles,” *Le Temps*, May 5, 1938, 6.
- 24 *La Semaine à Paris*, May 22, 1936, 40.
- 25 “Le Problème du film en couleur,” *L’Humanité*, April 9, 1927, 4.
- 26 “Les films à voir: *Ivan le Terrible* et *La Grande Parade*,” *L’Humanité*, April 9, 1927, 4.
- 27 “Ciné-Informations,” *L’Humanité*, February 5, 1935, 6.
- 28 “Petites nouvelles,” *Le Temps*, February 17, 1938, 5.
- 29 *La Semaine à Paris*, May 22, 1936, 40.
- 30 *La Semaine à Paris*, March 31, 1933, 42, 49.
- 31 Darré, *Histoire sociale du cinéma français*, 61.
- 32 Légèlise discusses the ciné-club legislation in *Histoire de la politique du cinéma français*, 224–5.
- 33 For a discussion of Dulac’s significance to the ciné-club movement during the 1920s, see Abel, *French Cinema*, 251–7.
- 34 “Avant-Garde et clubs,” *Ciné Pour Tous*, November 15, 1929, 27.
- 35 Raymond Villette, “Le cinéma au Conseil national des femmes françaises,” *Hebdo*, February 13, 1932, 11. For a brief history of the Conseil national des femmes françaises, see Wikipédia en français, s.v. “Conseil national des femmes françaises,” accessed September 1, 2014, http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conseil_national_des_femmes_françaises.
- 36 “La Femme moderne,” *Le Populaire*, April 5, 1931, 1.
- 37 *La Semaine à Paris*, October 10, 1930, 51.
- 38 Derain’s article in *Cinémonde* is cited in Pierre Leprohon, “La Leçon de *La Foule*,” *Cinéa*, May 1, 1929, 10; *Cinéa* cites her opinion about Florey, March 1930, 6 (it is unclear where Derain’s essay about Florey first appeared).
- 39 *Cinéa*, November 1, 1927, 24.
- 40 *Annuaire général des lettres*, 459–63.

- 41 “L’artiste Janie Marèze (sic) tuée près de Sainte-Maxime dans un accident d’auto,” *Le Petit Parisien*, August 16, 1931, 1.
- 42 “Cinéma,” *Le Matin*, November 24, 1936, 6; “Cinéma,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, December 2, 1936, 4; February 2, 1937, 4; March 25, 1937, 4.
- 43 Émile Vuillermoz, “Le Cinéma: Les ‘clubs’ de cinéma,” *Le Temps*, January 18, 1936, 5.
- 44 For the screening of *L’Aurore*, see *La Semaine à Paris*, May 17, 1935, 29; for Clair, see *La Semaine à Paris*, October 11, 1935, 35.
- 45 *La Semaine à Paris*, March 29, 1935, 32. For a discussion of Netter’s celebrity in France at the time, see Joelle Neulander, *Programming National Identity: The Culture of Radio in 1930s France* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 109–110.
- 46 *La Semaine à Paris*, April 12, 1935, 34. For Chaumont’s career, see Mary Lynn Stewart, *Dressing Modern Frenchwomen: Marketing Haute Couture, 1919–1939* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 50.
- 47 *Pour Vous*, May 15, 1940; May 22, 1940; May 29, 1940, 15.
- 48 For both club locations, see *Ciné-Mondial*, January 21–28, 1944, 2.
- 49 “3me séance de notre club,” *Ciné-Mondial*, January 7, 1944, 3.
- 50 “Notre club,” *Ciné-Mondial*, July 7–14, 1944, 1.
- 51 “Notre club,” *Ciné-Mondial*, July 7–14, 1944, 1.
- 52 *Ciné-Mondial*, March 31–April 7, 1944, 1.
- 53 “Notre club,” *Ciné-Mondial*, January 21–28, 1944, 2.
- 54 “Gabriello au club,” *Ciné-Mondial*, May 26, 1944, 2. In *Death in the City of Light: The Serial Killer of Nazi-Occupied Paris* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2011), 181, David King writes of how “electricity, gas, and many other services no longer worked” toward the end of the Occupation. As early as June 1943, Sartre’s *Les mouches* opened during the afternoon rather than the evening, because of mandated “electricity cuts” (see page 61).
- 55 Vuillermoz, “Le Cinéma,” 5.

Chapter 3: Chevalier and Dietrich

- 1 *Cinéa*, no. 12, February 2, 1931.
- 2 *Annuaire général des lettres, 1933–34*, 463–65.
- 3 For a discussion of Tedesco as an early enthusiast of the film archive and film history, see Christophe Gauthier and Laure Brost, “1927, Year One of the French Film Heritage?” *Film History* 17, nos. 2/3 (2005): 289–306.
- 4 I am indebted here to a significant tradition of scholarship regarding the phenomenon of French stardom, in movies as well as in other forms. See, for example, Susan Hayward, *Simone Signoret: The Star as Cultural Sign* (London: Continuum, 2004); Kelley Conway, *Chanteuse in the City: The Realist Singer in French Film* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Ginette Vincendeau, *Stars and Stardom in French Cinema* (London: Continuum, 2000); Jean-Michel Guiraud, “La Vie intellectuelle et artistique à Marseille au

- temps du Maréchal Pétain,” *Revue d’histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* (January 1979): 63–90; Gerry Harris, “Regarding History: Some Narratives Concerning the Café-Concert, Le Music Hall, and the Feminist Academic,” *TDR* 40, no. 4 (winter 1996): 70–84.
- 5 *Mon Film*, July 11, 1930, 9. Chevalier won in a landslide, with more than thirteen thousand votes, while Jean Dehelly, in second, received slightly more than two thousand.
 - 6 *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, December 30, 1931, 2.
 - 7 *Cinéa*, April 1930, 14–24.
 - 8 *Cinéa*, April 1930; in this issue, see Jean Tedesco, “Vers un théâtre mécanique,” 2; Paul Romain, “Réflexions sur un film mal compris: *Un chien andalou* de Luis Bunuel,” 6–7; Pierre Mac Orlan, “À propos de *La Petite Marchande d’allumettes*,” 37; Henri Baranger, “Opinions de cinéastes: Valery Inkischinoff,” 35.
 - 9 Jean-Michel Frodon and Dina Iordanova, eds., *Cinemas of Paris* (Edgecliffe, Scotland: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2016), 246–49.
 - 10 *La Semaine à Paris*, December 12, 1930, 67.
 - 11 For the movement from *Whoopie* to *Cocoanuts* to *Reaching for the Moon*, see issues of *Pour Vous* from 1931: March 5, 1931, 15; May 21, 1931, 15; June 11, 1931, 15; August 6, 1931, 15.
 - 12 *La Semaine à Paris*, February 2, 1932, 10.
 - 13 “Bruits de studios,” *Paris-Soir*, December 27, 1931, 5.
 - 14 “Voici les films qui passent à Paris,” *Pour Vous*, October 12, 1933, 15.
 - 15 J. M., “Le Cinéma ‘les Miracles’ inauguré avec *Hallelujah*,” *La Semaine à Paris*, December 26, 1930, 61–62.
 - 16 For attitudes toward *À l’Ouest rien de nouveau*, see the film review in *Les Spectacles d’Alger* and also “Chronique d’Argus et de Judex,” December 9, 1931, 2, 4. For reports about *Sous les toits de Paris* and its global importance, see *Pour Vous*, January 8, 1931, 8; and February 19, 1931, 10.
 - 17 Charles de Saint-Cyr, “Vingt chose à propos de *L’Ange bleu*, le très grand succès des Ursulines,” *La Semaine à Paris*, December 26, 1930, 62–64.
 - 18 “Dans les maisons de production,” *Les spectacles*, June 3, 1931, 4.
 - 19 M. P., “*L’Ange bleu*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, June 17, 1931, 3.
 - 20 Patrice Petro, “*The Blue Angel* in Multiple-Language Versions: The Inner Thighs of Miss Dietrich,” in *Dietrich Icon*, ed. Gerd Gemünden and Mary R. Desjardins (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 159n1.
 - 21 “*La Chanson de Paris*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, January 28, 1930, 11.
 - 22 “Régent Cinéma,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, January 21, 1930, 9.
 - 23 “Splendid Select Cinéma,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, February 4, 1930, 12–13.
 - 24 “*Le Chanteur de jazz*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, February 25, 1930, 7.
 - 25 Paul Bachellion, “Les tendances actuelles du cinéma,” *Cinéa*, April 1931, 3.
 - 26 Aline Bourgoin, “Qui préférez-vous: Greta Garbo ou Marlène Dietrich,” *Pour Vous*, February 5, 1931, 11.
 - 27 Aline Bourgoin, “Résultats d’une petite enquête: Greta Garbo? Ou Marlène Dietrich?,” *Pour Vous*, February 19, 1931, 7.

- 28 For *Grand Hôtel* in Hanoi, see “Prochainement au Chanatecler,” *Chantecler Revue*, May 12, 1934, 2, which seems to be the newsletter for a major cinema in the city.
- 29 *La Semaine à Paris*, March 31, 1933, 49.
- 30 Philie, “Splendid Cinéma: *La Belle Ténébreuse*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, June 24, 1931, 2.
- 31 Philie, “Splendid Cinéma: *La Belle Ténébreuse*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, June 24, 1931, 2.
- 32 René Lehmann, “*Anna Christie*,” *Pour Vous*, March 19, 1931, 9.
- 33 “C’est un film Paramount,” *Les Spectacles*, January 23, 1931, 7.
- 34 “*Un dimanche à New York*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, January 21, 1930, 10.
- 35 “*Une heure près de toi*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, February 22, 1933, 2.
- 36 “Mistinguett dans ‘C’est Paris,’” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, December 24, 1930, 2; “Mistinguett,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, December 28, 1932, 2.
- 37 Bernard Gervaise, “Les gaietés de la semaine,” *Le Journal amusant*, August 31, 1930, 2.
- 38 References to *Parade d’amour* and “M. C.” come from *Cinéa*, April 1930, 10, 17.
- 39 “*La Chanson de Paris*,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, January 28, 1930, 11–12.
- 40 “Les succès du jour,” *Hebdo*, September 5, 1931, 5.
- 41 “*L’Ange bleu*,” *Les spectacles*, March 20, 1931, 6.
- 42 “En courant la prétentaine,” *Pour Vous*, March 5, 1931, 2.
- 43 *L’Association Médicale*, December 1931, 656–7.
- 44 For Chevalier’s departure from Hollywood, see Edward Behr, *The Good Frenchman: The True Story of the Life and Times of Maurice Chevalier* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), 210–16.
- 45 “Débobinons,” *Ciné France*, December 3, 1937, 5.
- 46 “Maurice Chevalier,” *Les Spectacles d’Alger*, March 16, 1938, 2.
- 47 For a discussion of the charges against Chevalier and the French Communist Party’s interest in his case, see Behr, *Good Frenchman*, 285–318.

Chapter 4: Violence at the Cinema

- 1 “Au Moulin-Rouge: Le public manifeste contre la projection d’un film sonore américain,” *Le Figaro*, December 9, 1929, 3. I learned of the incident at the screening from Greg M. Colón Semenza and Bob Hasenfratz, *The History of British Literature on Film, 1895–2015* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 155.
- 2 Xavier Delamare, “Moulin Rouge Theatre,” Cinema Treasures, accessed December 4, 2018, <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/7133>. For information about the Moulin Rouge as part of the Pathé chain, see *Comœdia*, November 9, 1930, 5.
- 3 “Paris pêle mêle,” *La Rampe*, November 1, 1929, 15.
- 4 “Le gala d’ouverture du Moulin-Rouge-Cinéma,” *Les Spectacles*, December 13, 1929, 8.
- 5 “Au Moulin-Rouge Cinéma,” *Cinéa*, December 15, 1929, 6.
- 6 “Au Moulin-Rouge,” *Le Figaro*, 3.

- 7 “Au Moulin-Rouge,” *Le Figaro*, 3; *Les Trois masques* was playing at the Max Linder cinema in the ninth arrondissement. See *La Semaine à Paris*, December 13, 1929, 78.
- 8 “Au Moulin-Rouge,” *Le Figaro*, 3.
- 9 Claude Jeantet, “L’Écran de la Semaine: La chute des *Folies-Fox*,” *L’Action française*, December 13, 1929, 4.
- 10 Jeantet, “L’Écran de la Semaine,” 4.
- 11 R. L., “À propos des progrès du cinéma,” *La Renaissance*, December 14, 1929, 12.
- 12 Philippe Soupault, “Le cinéma,” *Europe*, March 15, 1930, 427–9.
- 13 For the reopening of Studio 28, see Paul Hammond, *L’Âge d’or* (London: British Film Institute, 1997), 64. For the listing of the films at Studio 28 that week, see *Pour Vous*, March 5, 1931, 15. The Starevich film is unnamed in the *Pour Vous* listing.
- 14 Emilie de Brigard discusses *Les Mangeurs d’hommes*—and the hoax—in “The History of Ethnographic Film,” in *Toward a Science of Man: Essays in the History of Anthropology*, ed. Timothy H. Thoresen (Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1975), 42.
- 15 For a narrative of the actions of the Jeunesses patriotes and Jean Chiappe, see Hammond, *L’Âge d’or*, 60–61. See also Georges Sadoul, *Dictionnaire des films* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965), 9.
- 16 “Police Check Joyous Parisians at Showing of U.S. Newsreels,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1944, 1.
- 17 “Scène et l’écran: Les premiers films étrangers à Paris,” *Combat*, October 18, 1944; collected in “*Eve a commence*,” film de Henry Koster, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arts du spectacle, 8-RSUPP-1535, accessed May 10, 2018, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb426750620>.
- 18 See, for instance, Steve Neale, “*Triumph of the Will*: Notes on Documentary and Spectacle,” *Screen* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 63–86.
- 19 Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 33–35.
- 20 Darré, *Histoire sociale du cinéma français*, 49–50.
- 21 In fact, no French cabinet “lasted longer than three years, and several collapsed within days.” Benjamin F. Martin, *France in 1938* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 9.
- 22 For a review of this debate, see Steven Ricci, *Cinema and Fascism: Italian Film and Society, 1922–1943* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), and in particular pages 1–18.
- 23 See Robert Soucy’s two volumes, *French Fascism: The First Wave, 1924–1933* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986); and *French Fascism: The Second Wave, 1934–1939* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995). Soucy takes on the argument as to whether or not these groups were fascist in the first volume. See “Preface,” xi–xix.
- 24 Zeev Sternhell, “Anatomie d’un mouvement fasciste en France: Le faisceau de Georges Valois,” *Revue française de science politique* 26, no. 1 (February 1976): 5–40. See page 6 in particular.
- 25 Meusy, *Écrans français de l’entre-deux-guerres*, volume II, 196–97.

- 26 Sean Kennedy provides an excellent history of the development of French fascist groups during the period in *Reconciling France against Democracy: The Croix de Feu and the Parti Social Français, 1927–1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007). See especially pages 18–19.
- 27 Soucy, in *French Fascism: The First Wave*, provides an outstanding review of the motivating forces in the development of French fascism. See in particular chapter 1, “Origins and Background,” 1–26.
- 28 Philip Nord, in *France’s New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), provides a compelling history of the contributions of the French right to the construction of “modern” France in the 1930s and the immediate postwar period. See in particular chapter 1, “The Crisis of the Thirties,” 25–87.
- 29 See chapter 1 of Kennedy, *Reconciling France against Democracy*, 17–50, for the issues motivating French fascists and their frequent common cause with other rightwing groups.
- 30 Kevin Passmore establishes this historiography of French fascism during the period in “Boy Scouting for Grown-Ups? Paramilitarism in the Croix de Feu and the Parti Social Français,” *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 2 (autumn 1995): 527–57. See in particular pages 527–32.
- 31 Soucy, *French Fascism: The First Wave*, 3–4.
- 32 Precise numbers of cinemas in the two chains would vary over the 1930s. My numbers here come from the Parisian newspaper *Comoedia*, November 9, 1930, 5.
- 33 “Violentes manifestations dans un cinéma des boulevards,” *Ciné-Comoedia*, November 9, 1930, 1.
- 34 For new films and reissues that week, see *La Semaine à Paris*, November 7, 1930, 62, 66–67, and 82–83.
- 35 For a discussion of the two films, see Morierval, “Toutes les horreurs de la guerre dans *Quatre de l’infanterie*,” *La Semaine à Paris*, December 19, 1930, 60–61. For a discussion of the opening of the Ermitage cinema, see Meusy, *Écrans français de l’entre-deux-guerres*, volume II, 125.
- 36 In French periodicals from the period, the version of *À l’Ouest rien de nouveau* in Paris is advertised as being “sonore” rather than “parlant,” which typically indicated a silent version with sound effects rather than a speaking version. As just one example among many, see *La Semaine à Paris*, January 16, 1931, 51.
- 37 For cinema listings regarding *À l’Ouest rien de nouveau* and *Quatre de l’infanterie*, see *Pour Vous*, page 15 of each issue, from December 1930 to February 1931. For listings for the week of February 27, see the issue from February 26, 1931, 15.
- 38 SNEG, *Étude du comportement*, part 2, section 2.
- 39 The name of the station itself has a political charge. September 4, 1870, marks the end of Napoleon III’s reign and the beginning of the Third Republic. By 1931, many French fascists would have had enough of the republic’s various center-right and center-left governing coalitions.

- 40 In assessing metro routes to the Aubert cinema, I am relying on the 1929 and 1934 metro maps provided by Mark Ovenden in *Paris Underground: The Maps, Stations, and Design of the Métro* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 63, 69.
- 41 “Un incident dans un cinéma des boulevards,” *Le Petit Parisien*, January 19, 1931, 2.
- 42 Soucy, *French Fascism: The First Wave*, 11.
- 43 At least by 1900, those arrondissements, like the eighteenth, in the northern and eastern sections of the city accounted for many of the new members of fascist organizations, and for many of the newly emigrated Eastern European Jews. See Peter M. Rutkoff, “The Ligue des Patriotes: The Nature of the Radical Right and the Dreyfus Affair,” *French Historical Studies* 8, no. 4 (Autumn 1974): 585–603. See in particular page 597. See also Rutkoff, *Revanche and Revision: The Ligue des Patriotes and the Origins of the Radical Right in France, 1882–1900* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1981), 116.
- 44 “Au Mozart et à l’Aubert Palace: Steeg, chauté au ciné par des camelots du roi,” *L’Humanité*, January 19, 1931, 1.
- 45 Martin, *France in 1938*, 39. Camelots du roi has come to be translated in several ways, but it is very roughly “Newsboys of the King,” a reference to the members selling the newspaper *L’Action française* on the street.
- 46 For the meeting of November 8, see “Conférences, enseignement,” *La Semaine à Paris*, November 7, 1930, 90. For the December meeting, see “Communications diverses,” *Le Populaire*, December 27, 1930, 5.
- 47 See Wikipedia, s.v. “Théâtre de l’Ambigu-Comique,” accessed June 14, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Théâtre_de_l%27Ambigu-Comique.
- 48 For La Rocque’s letter, see “L’Affaire Dreyfus et les Croix de feu,” *Comoedia*, March 4, 1931, 2; see also “La représentation de l’Affaire Dreyfus à l’Ambigu n’a pas eu lieu hier soir,” *Le Matin*, March 5, 1931, 3; and “Le scandale de l’interdiction de l’affaire Dreyfus: L’opinion publique exige la reprise de la pièce,” *Le Populaire*, March 8, 1931, 5.
- 49 “Le gouvernement et sa police aux ordres du fascisme,” *Le Populaire*, March 6, 1931, 1–2.
- 50 Martin, *France in 1938*, 41.
- 51 “Échec au fascisme à Drancy,” *L’Humanité*, May 25, 1934, 2.
- 52 “Bagarres à Moulins,” *L’Humanité*, May 30, 1934, 2.
- 53 “Toute la population de Cachan dressée contre les fascistes,” *L’Humanité*, May 25, 1934, 2.
- 54 “Ce soir, à Saint-Denis, front unique d’action contre le fascisme,” *L’Humanité*, May 30, 1934, 1.
- 55 “Manifestation fasciste avortée à Vitry,” *L’Humanité*, March 3, 1935, 2.
- 56 “. . . Et à Argenteuil,” *L’Humanité*, May 25, 1934, 2.
- 57 Magali Della Sudda, “Right-Wing Feminism and Conservative Women’s Militancy in Interwar France,” in *The French Right Between the Wars: Political and Intellectual Movements from Conservatism to Fascism*, ed. Samuel Kalman and Sean Kennedy (New York: Berghann Books, 2014), 97–111.

- 58 “The Paris Riots,” *Spectator*, March 19, 1937, 2, accessed July 31, 2017, <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/19th-march-1937/2/the-paris-riots-the-riot-which-broke-out-at-clichy>.
- 59 Tyler Stovall, “French Communism and Suburban Development: The Rise of the Paris Red Belt,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 24, no. 3 (July 1989): 437–60. See especially page 438.
- 60 “1937: L’émeute de Clichy divise le front populaire,” *Alternative Libertaire*, accessed June 29, 2016, <http://www.alternativelibertaire.org/?1937-L-emeute-de-Clichy-divise-le>.
- 61 For Clichy population figures in the 1930s and currently, see Wikipédia en français, s.v. “Clichy,” accessed June 11, 2019, <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clichy>.
- 62 My information comes from the July 8, 2015 issue of *Pariscope*, 85.
- 63 For a description of the geography of the battle, see “Les témoins établissent avec éclat les responsabilités fascistes et policières,” *L’Humanité*, March 18, 1937, 2.
- 64 *La Semaine à Paris*, January 26, 1934, 34; March 9, 1934, 37; July 26, 1935, 18.
- 65 See advertisement for *Le Jardin d’Allah* in *Le Matin*, March 17, 1937, 6.
- 66 For Farrère’s fascism, see Kennedy, *Reconciling France against Democracy*, 63. For a discussion of the literary and intellectual followers of the fascists, see Alice Kaplan, *The Collaborator: The Trial and Execution of Robert Brasillach* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- 67 Mary-Elizabeth O’Brien discusses the theatre and cinema as sites of Nazi surveillance in *Nazi Cinema as Enchantment: The Politics of Entertainment in the Third Reich* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004). See in particular pages 143–4.
- 68 “Says Nazis Seize Priests,” *New York Times*, September 2, 1941, 6.
- 69 “Says Nazis Seize Priests,” 6.
- 70 There is at least some anecdotal evidence of Nazi authorities patrolling the interiors of Parisian cinemas during the Occupation. In *Death in the City of Light*, David King tells the story of a woman who was almost arrested for walking out of a Nazi newsreel and going to the powder room. See page 140.
- 71 “Deux agitateurs communistes sont arrêtés à Melun,” *Le Matin*, September 1, 1941, 4.
- 72 “Le film *Face au bolchevisme* projeté dans les salles parisiennes et de banlieue,” *Le Matin*, September 8, 1941, 2.

Chapter 5: Occupied Paris

- 1 *Le Matin*, January 1, 1941, 4.
- 2 For a listing of cinemas before the surrender, see *Pour vous*, June 5, 1940, 2 (the journal’s final issue). The exact number is difficult to determine. The latest listing readily available, in *La Semaine à Paris* for January 29–February 4, 1937, 21, names 233 cinemas, but this does not include the myriad specialty cinemas or cinema clubs. Regarding the closure of all cinemas at the time of the surrender, see Evelyn Ehrlich, *Cinema of Paradox: French Filmmaking under the German Occupation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 10.

- 3 Simone de Beauvoir, *Wartime Diary* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009). As early as September 1, even before France's official entry into the war, de Beauvoir writes of all of the Parisians leaving the city, and the "unending line of cars passing on the quay, crammed with suitcases and sometimes with kids" (see page 38). David King writes of Parisians leaving the city early in 1940, and then claims that "The scale of departures from the French capital had accelerated in May 1940," with the exodus increasing in June, after the surrender. See King, *Death in the City of Light*, 9. See also Hanna Diamond, *Fleeing Hitler: France 1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- 4 See film listings in *Pour Vous*, June 5, 1940, 2.
- 5 Jean-Pierre Jeancolas provides an excellent, brief history of cinema during the first few months of the Occupation in *Histoire du cinéma français* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2015), 45–48.
- 6 In Ehrlich, *Cinema of Paradox*, see pages 1–43 for discussion of the film scene in Paris as the war started and the German policy toward cinema once the Occupation began, including the formation of Continental Films. See pages 147–48 for an analysis of German "benevolence" toward the French film industry. Jean-Pierre Jeancolas, in *15 ans d'années trente: Le cinéma des français 1929–1944* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 1983), discusses the closing and reopening of cinemas, Continental Films, and the ban on American films; see pages 300–312. For the ban on British films (as well as those films with Jewish actors or production talent), see Jean-Pierre Bertin-Maghit, *Le Cinéma français sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994), 8, 39. For information about the surprisingly high film attendance during the early months of the war, see François Garçon, *De Blum à Pétain: Cinéma et société française (1936–1944)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 27–28.
- 7 Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception* (London: Verso Books, 1989), 8–9.
- 8 "Les Programmes," *Le Matin*, July 6, 1940, 2.
- 9 For listings of these reopened cinemas, see *Comoedia*, June 28, 1941, 8.
- 10 *Comoedia*, September 13, 1941, 8.
- 11 For these listings, see *Comoedia*, June 28, 1941, 8.
- 12 *Comoedia*, June 28, 1941, 8.
- 13 *Comoedia*, June 28, 1941, 8.
- 14 Eric Rentschler discusses the making of *Münchhausen* in *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 194.
- 15 Issues of *Ciné-Mondial* listed the weekly closures. See, for instance, the issue of April 28, 1944, 13.
- 16 Robert Gildea cites two example of cinema surveillance, although not in Paris. One took place in Saint-Nazaire and the other in Le Mans, when men were arrested during newsreels, in the first instance for causing "a disturbance," in the second "for applauding the bombing of a German hospital by the RAF." See Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: In Search of the German Occupation 1940–1945* (New York: Macmillan, 2002), 152.

- 17 Ronald C. Rosbottom, *When Paris Went Dark: The City of Light Under German Occupation, 1940–1944* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2014), xxxi.
- 18 Susan Quinn, *A Mind of Her Own: The Life of Karen Horney* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1988).
- 19 Quinn, *Mind of Her Own*, 238–39.
- 20 For a review and analysis of Harvey’s film career, see Antje Ascheid, “Nazi Stardom and the ‘Modern Girl’: The Case of Lilian Harvey,” *New German Critique* 74 (Spring–Summer 1998): 57–89.
- 21 For information about the prewar popularity of MacDonald, see the discussion of her 1939 film *Broadway Serenade* in “Cinemas,” *Le Matin*, February 5, 1940, 4.
- 22 “On travaille activement à Neubabelsberg,” *L’Afrique du Nord*, January 19, 1935, 14.
- 23 H. T. S., “The Screen,” *New York Times*, May 25, 1935, 12; June 25, 1938, 7; September 11, 1939, 24; May 27, 1939, 19.
- 24 See the advertisement for *Les Mains libres* in *Le Petit Parisien*, December 20, 1940, 3.
- 25 François Vinneuil, “Le Cinéma,” *Le Petit Parisien*, December 22, 1940, 2.
- 26 “Cinemas,” *Le Matin*, December 20, 1940, 4.
- 27 “Dossier: Les Champs-Élysées et les salles de cinéma,” Salles-Cinéma, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://salles-cinema.com/actualites/les-cinemas-des-champs-elysees>. For a brief history of the Cinéma des Champs-Élysées, see Meusy, *Écrans français*, volume II, 133.
- 28 *Pour Vous*, April 2, 1931, 15.
- 29 *Pour Vous*, January 10, 1940, 15.
- 30 See, for instance, Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. Kathleen A. Johnson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001). For the “new woman” in National Socialist Cinema, see Ascheid, “Nazi Stardom.”
- 31 *Le Petit Parisien*, December 23, 1940, 2.
- 32 “Le Grand Gala de Radio-Paris,” *Ciné-Mondial*, April 24, 1942, 12.
- 33 See the film listings in *Le Petit Parisien*, December 22, 1940, 2.
- 34 Ehrlich, *Cinema of Paradox*, 154, 220n31.
- 35 See the advertisement for *Les Mains libres*, *Le Matin*, January 18, 1941, 3.
- 36 For a description of the Congress of European Writers, see Olivier Corpet and Claire Paulhan, *Collaboration and Resistance: French Literary Life under the Occupation*, trans. Jeffrey Mehlman et al. (Brooklyn, NY: Five Ties Publishing, 2010), 150.
- 37 Guy Bertret, “Hello! Miss Marika,” *Ciné-Mondial*, April 17, 1942, 1–2. The citations come from captions on page 1.
- 38 For Chevalier’s performance at the camp, see Behr, *Good Frenchman*, 280–84.
- 39 The trip has received scant scholarly attention. The best source for information is René Chateau, *Le Cinéma français sous l’Occupation: 1940–1944* (Courbevoie: Éditions René Chateau, 1996), 212–19. See also “Il y a un mois, l’Allemagne enthousiaste accueillait nos artistes de cinéma,” *Le Matin*, April 25–26, 1942, 1.

For Heuzé's dispatches, see the following articles from *Ciné-Mondial*: "En route pour Berlin!," March 27, 1942, 1; "Mieux qu'un rêve . . . la réalité de l'avenir," April 10, 1942, 10; "Premier contact avec Berlin," April 17, 1942, 5–6; "Voyage des vedettes françaises en Allemagne," April 24, 1942, 3–4; "Premier rendez-vous à Berlin," May 1, 1942, 8–9; "Avec les artistes dans leur maison," May 8, 1942, 3–4; and "À Berlin dans l'air de Paris," May 15, 1942, 5–6. For his part in the trip, as well as for working for Continental Films and welcoming the German star Heinrich George at the Comédie-Française, Préjean spent six weeks in prison after the war (Chateau, *Le Cinéma français*, 463).

- 40 For Annabella's Berlin trip, see Nino Frank, "Avant son départ pour Berlin, Annabella nous confie ses premiers rêves," *Pour Vous*, April 2, 1931, 7; and "Studios en plein air," *Pour Vous*, April 9, 1931, 14. *Pour Vous* wrote about Illéry's trip to Dusseldorf in "Studios en plein air," February 19, 1931, 14.
- 41 Many of Darrieux's obituaries mentioned the reasons for her activities during the war. See, for instance, "French Film Legend Who Worked for the Nazis 'to Free Her Playboy Diplomat Husband from an Internment Camp' (Before He Ran off with Rich American Doris Duke) Dies Aged 100," *Daily Mail*, October 19, 2017, accessed May 10, 2018, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4996462/French-actress-Danielle-Darrieux-died-aged-100.html>.
- 42 Pierre Heuzé, "Mieux qu'un rêve . . . la réalité de l'avenir," *Ciné-Mondial*, April 10, 1942, 10.
- 43 Heuzé, "Premier contact avec Berlin," *Ciné-Mondial*, April 17, 1942, 5.
- 44 Heuzé, "Voyage des vedettes françaises en Allemagne," *Ciné-Mondial*, April 24, 1942, 3–4. As for the historical importance of *La Nuit est à nous*, it was not the first French sound film. Alan Williams identifies *Le Collier de la reine* (1929) as the first French sound picture, "although this was in reality a silent film with a recorded music score, some sound effects, and a small number of interpolated, synchronous sound close-ups." He goes on to write that "the first real French talkie [was] *Les Trois Masques*" from 1929 and directed by André Hugon. *La Nuit est à nous* was probably the first French sound film to be made in multiple languages; the German version of the film was indeed directed by Froelich. See Williams, *Republic of Images*, 161–62.
- 45 Heuzé, "Premier rendez-vous à Berlin," *Ciné-Mondial*, May 1, 1942, 8.
- 46 Heuzé, "Avec les artistes dans leur maison," *Ciné-Mondial*, May 8, 1942, 3–4.
- 47 Heuzé, "Avec les artistes," 4.
- 48 David Mayers, "Nazi Germany and the Future of Europe: George Kennan's Views, 1939–1945," *International History Review* 8, no. 4 (November 1986): 550–72. For the "cosmopolitan character" of the European aristocracy, see page 565.
- 49 See, for example, Leonidas E. Hill, "The Wilhelmstrasse in the Nazi Era," *Political Science Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (December 1967): 546–70. See pages 565–66 for the discussion of the rightwing "aristocratic cosmopolitanism" of the 1930s.
- 50 Pierre Leprohon, "Un visage sans fard, un jeu sans artifice, un coeur en pleine lumière . . . Brigitte Horney," *Ciné-Mondial*, March 13, 1942, 6.
- 51 "Illusion," *Le Matin*, November 18, 1942, 2.

- 52 For information about the production and historical importance of the film, see “*Les aventures fantastiques du Baron Münchhausen*,” *Ciné-Mondial*, March 1944, 11–12. The link to a period when the cinema was only “hesitantly” (*balbutiait*) beginning seems inaccurate; Méliès made *Les Hallucinations du baron de Münchhausen* late in his career, in 1911.
- 53 “4 ans de guerre, 4 ans de cinéma,” *Ciné-Mondial*, January 7, 1944, 11–12.
- 54 Ehrlich, *Cinema of Paradox*, 42.
- 55 *Le Matin*, June 3–4, 1944, 2.
- 56 “Pour la première fois à l’écran Attila Horbiger et Brigitte Horney,” *Ciné-Mondial*, July 7, 1944, 11–12.
- 57 Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 43–52. The exact number of French films can be difficult to determine. Evelyn Ehrlich lists 219 such films, including thirty films from Continental, the German-run studio, in *Cinema of Paradox*, 193–201.
- 58 Bertin-Maghit, *Le Cinéma français*; Jeancolas, *15 ans d’années trente*.
- 59 Susan Hayward provides the best summation and examination of the period in English in *French National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 1993). She places the war years within a larger period in chapter 3, “From Clarity to Obscurity: French Cinema’s Age of Modernism 1930–1958,” while also remarking on significant shifts and differences not only between 1939 and 1945 but throughout this era. For similar examples in French, see Jeancolas’s *15 ans d’années trente*. In addition, Garçon notes the fluidities as well as the differences in the shift from the Popular Front of the 1930s to the fascism of Vichy in *De Blum à Pétain*.
- 60 *Ciné-Mondial*, May 26–June 2, 1944.
- 61 Françoise Barr, “Si le cinéma n’avait pas existé,” *Ciné-Mondial*, March 17–24, 1944, 3.
- 62 *Le Matin*, May 6–7, 1944, 2.
- 63 For Arletty’s wartime relationship with an officer in the Luftwaffe, see Bertin-Maghit, *Le Cinéma français*, 69.

Chapter 6: Liberation Cinema, Postwar Cinema

- 1 *Le Petit Parisien*, July 22, 1944, 2.
- 2 Louis Daquin, “Ce que nous voulons,” *Bulletin officiel du CLCF*, October 23, 1944, 1.
- 3 “La Reouverture des salles,” *Bulletin officiel du CLCF*, October 23, 1944, 4.
- 4 For the look of Paris just before and after the Liberation, see Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years 1940–1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), especially chapter 23, “Liberations,” 544–70. Jean-Paul Sartre also wrote about the appearance of Paris during the war, and how part of the horror of the Occupation was the manner in which everyday life could seem so unchanged. See Sartre, “Paris under the Occupation,” *Sartre Studies International* 4, no. 2 (1998): 1–15, originally published as “Paris sous l’Occupation,” *Situations III* (Paris: Gallimard, 1949).
- 5 “La Reouverture des salles,” *Bulletin officiel du CLCF*, October 23, 1944, 4.
- 6 *Le Petit Parisien*, August 14, 1944, 2.

- 7 *Le Petit Parisien*, August 14, 1944, 2.
- 8 *Ce soir*, October 1, 1944, 2.
- 9 *L'Humanité*, October 15, 1944, 2.
- 10 "Les Spectacles," *L'Humanité*, October 15, 1944, 2.
- 11 For evidence of Durbin's popularity during this period, see Jackie Stacey, *Star-Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- 12 *Ciné France*, October 22, 1937, 1; "Favoris et favorites du public dans l'intimité," *Le Petit Parisien*, November 29, 1937, 1; Claude Sylvane, "J'ai rencontré Michèle Morgan," *Ciné France*, February 25, 1938, 4; "Vedettes de Hollywood," *La Nouvelliste d'Indochine*, January 16, 1938, 7. For evidence of Durbin on French radio, see "La radio," *L'Humanité*, July 27, 1937, 7. Radio-Cité that night played "Le concours Deanna Durbin" at 10:05 in the evening.
- 13 "Les Spectacles—The Shows," *L'Echo d'Alger*, August 4, 1944, 2; August 27, 1944, 2.
- 14 "Les Spectacles—The Shows," *L'Echo d'Alger*, October 18, 1944, 2.
- 15 "Scène et l'écran: Les premiers films étrangers à Paris," *Combat*, October 18, 1944, collected in "*Eve a commencé*," film de Henry Koster, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arts du spectacle, 8-RSUPP-1535, accessed May 10, 2018, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb426750620>; "Les Spectacles," *L'Echo d'Alger*, November 26, 1944, 2.
- 16 "Scène et l'écran."
- 17 "*Eve a commencé*," film de Henry Koster.
- 18 Roger Leenhardt, "Sunlights et salles: *Eve a commencé*," *Les lettres française*, October 28, 1944; Jeander, "Ciné critique: *Eve a commencé*," *Libération*, October 21, 1944; Paul Barbellion, "*Eve a commencé*," *Carrefour*, October 21, 1944; André Bazin, "L'écran parisien: *Eve a commencé*," *Le parisien libéré*, October 22–23, 1944. All can be found in "*Eve a commencé*," film de Henry Koster." For a history of Bazin's work with *Le parisien libéré*, see Geneviève Sellier, "André Bazin, Film Critic for *Le Parisien libéré*, 1944–1958: An Enlightened Defender of French Cinema," *Paragraph* 36, no. 1 (2013): 118–32.
- 19 Bazin, "L'Écran parisien."
- 20 Bazin, "L'Écran parisien."
- 21 *L'Humanité*, November 7, 1944, 2.
- 22 *Ce soir*, December 28, 1944, 2.
- 23 "La grande quinzaine du cinéma français," *L'Humanité*, December 9, 1944, 2.
- 24 "La grande quinzaine du cinéma français," 2. Also, see Jeancolas, *Histoire du cinéma français*, 52, for a brief discussion of *Goupi mains rouges*.
- 25 "Gros plans," *L'Humanité*, December 9, 1944, 2.
- 26 "À Paris cette semaine," *Cinévie* supplement, November 7, 1945.
- 27 "À Paris cette semaine," *Cinévie* supplement, November 7, 1945.
- 28 "À Paris cette semaine," *Cinévie* supplement, December 24, 1946.
- 29 "À Paris cette semaine," *Cinévie* supplement, October 17, 1945.
- 30 For film listings in this paragraph, see "À Paris cette semaine," *Cinévie* supplement, October 10–November 14, 1945.

- 31 François Truffaut, *Les Films de ma vie* (Paris: Flammarion, 1975), 208.
- 32 Colin Burnett, *The Invention of Robert Bresson: The Auteur and His Market* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 68.
- 33 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 10, 17, 24, and 31, 1945.
- 34 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 17, 1945.
- 35 Eric Hurel, “Merci, Monsieur René Clair,” *Cinévie*, October 17, 1945, 2.
- 36 J. Roy, “Je compte bientôt de revenir en France dit René Clair,” *Cinévie*, March 26, 1946, 2.
- 37 “René Clair, le meilleur de ses interprètes, a pour vedette un metteur en scène,” *Cinévie*, December 31, 1946, 4.
- 38 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 10, 1945.
- 39 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, February 27, 1946.
- 40 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, November 14, 1945; February 27, 1946; April 2, 1946.
- 41 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 17, 1945; November 7, 1945.
- 42 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 31, 1945.
- 43 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, February 27, 1946; December 31, 1946.
- 44 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, January 9, 1946.
- 45 See, for example, the advertisement for *Quai des brumes*, playing at the Ermitage cinema, in *Le Matin*, October 23, 1938, 6; also the film listings in *L’Humanité*, January 10, 1939, 7, for a sense of the film’s continuous showings in Paris.
- 46 Memorandum of Conversation, October 5, 1941, 811.4061 Motion Pictures/438, NND 730032.
- 47 “Paris a été le cadeau de Noël de Simone Simon,” *Cinévie*, January 2, 1946, 5–6; Simone Simon, “L’Amérique en cinq épisodes,” *Cinévie*, January 16, 1946, 11; January 23, 1946, 12; January 30, 1946, 11.
- 48 On prepare pour vous . . . Le 50me crime de Sessue Hayakawa,” *Cinévie*, April 16, 1946, 7–8.
- 49 Michèle Morgan, “Cinq ans d’Amérique,” *Cinévie*, January 2, 1946, 11.
- 50 “Une nouvelle Morgan est née . . . dans un salon de coiffure,” *Cinévie*, January 23, 1946, 7.
- 51 *Cinévie*, April 16, 1946.
- 52 Feuillère appeared on the cover of the January 23, 1946 issue. See also “Mon histoire: Des histoires, par Edwige Feuillère,” *Cinévie*, March 26, 1946, 11; and April 16, 1946, 11. For Darrieux’s marriage, see “Danielle Darrieux se marie pour la 3me fois!,” *Cinévie*, January 16, 1946, 7–8.
- 53 “*Cinévie* a vu pour vous l’unique représentation du film: *Le Magician d’Oz*,” *Cinévie*, March 13, 1946, 1.
- 54 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 10, 1945; October 17, 1945; November 7, 1945.
- 55 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 31, 1945.
- 56 “À Paris cette semaine,” *Cinévie* supplement, October 17, 1945; November 14, 1945; February 27, 1946.
- 57 *L’Écran français*, supplement 81, January 14, 1947.

- 58 See Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 6, for a graph of French film production from 1924 to 1960, and for the varying estimates of films produced.
- 59 For the play dates of *Symphonie inachevée* at the Studio de l'Étoile cinema, see issues of *La Semaine à Paris*, from July 24 to August 28, 1936.
- 60 "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, March 1948, 7.
- 61 "Dans les ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, November 1947, 6.
- 62 "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, March 1948, 7; "Calendrier des conférences du mois de mars," *Ciné-Club*, April 1948, 7.
- 63 "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, December 1947, 6.
- 64 "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, October 1948, 6.
- 65 "Ciné-Club et ses lecteurs," *Ciné-Club*, May 1948, 8; "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, January–February 1948, 7; October 1948, 6.
- 66 "Programme des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, March 1949, 6.
- 67 "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, December 1948, 6.
- 68 "Programme des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, January 1949, 6.
- 69 "Programme des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, January 1949, 6.
- 70 "Programme des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, January 1949, 6; February 1949, 6.
- 71 "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, January–February 1948, 7.
- 72 "La vie des ciné-clubs," *Ciné-Club*, June 1948, 6.
- 73 There is a great deal of literature about the Blum-Byrnes accords. For a study of the results of the agreement as well as its impact on French thinking about postwar film history and national cinema, see Jacques Portes, "Les origins de la légende noire des accords Blum-Byrnes sur le cinéma," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 33, no. 2 (1986): 314–29. See also Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 73–75. Crisp writes that by the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, 54 percent of all films in France would come from Hollywood, up from 41 percent in 1946 (see page 75).
- 74 Portes, "Les origins de la légende noire," 314.
- 75 H. Raymond, "Maria Candelaria," *Terre et ciel*, June 1947, 21.
- 76 Raymond, "Pour un ciné-club Air France," *Terre et ciel*, June 1947, 21.
- 77 Raymond, "René Clair, le plus français de nos réalisateurs," *Terre et ciel*, June 1947, 21.
- 78 For a discussion of the charges against Chevalier, see Behr, *Good Frenchman*, 285–316.

Conclusion: A Final Stroll

- 1 For immigration figures, see Patrick Weil, *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789*, trans. Catherine Porter (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 153; Leslie Page Moch, *The Pariahs of Yesterday: Breton Migrants in Paris* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 162.
- 2 SNEG, *Étude du comportement*, part 2, section 2.
- 3 SNEG, *Étude du comportement*. See section 2, question 8 for statistics regarding waiting in line; question 32 for dubbing; question 21 for ticket price; and question 26 for attending after work.

- 4 SNEG, *Étude du comportement*, section 2, question 5.
- 5 Claude Degand, *Étude de marché du cinéma français* (Paris: Centre national de la cinématographie, 1954). The phrase comes from the title of chapter 2, on page 8.
- 6 Crisp, *Classic French Cinema*, 64.
- 7 Renaitour, *Où va le cinéma français?* The citations here can be found on page 5. For press reports, see “Notes de lecture,” *L’Humanité*, April 9, 1937, 8; “Où va le cinéma français?” *Le Petit Parisien*, June 22, 1937, 6; “Où va le cinéma français?” *Les Annales coloniales*, June 23, 1937, 6; “Où va le septième art français?” *L’Homme libre*, August 13, 1937, 3; “C’est le moment!” *Marianne*, October 6, 1937, 19.
- 8 Renaitour, *Où va le cinéma français?* For numbers of cinemas, see page 99; for film releases, page 116; shooting schedules and returns, pages 50 and 52; Parisian cinemas refusing to play French films, page 43; the provinces and their taste in stars, page 49.
- 9 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 7.
- 10 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 3.
- 11 Degand, *Étude de marché*. See page 11 for the percentages of men and women, and page 9 for the assessment of Paris attendance.
- 12 Degand, *Étude de marché*. The report discusses the impact of television on page 48.
- 13 Degand, *Étude de marché*. For activities during intermissions and for an assessment of women’s pleasures at the cinema, see page 39.
- 14 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 4.
- 15 Degand, *Étude de marché*. For the age and class of audiences, see page 5; for numbers from Paris, see page 11; for how audiences made their choices, see page 29.
- 16 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 17.
- 17 Degand, *Étude de marché*. See page 12 for national considerations, and page 16 for discussion of Limoges and Nantes.
- 18 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 28.
- 19 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 8.
- 20 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 9.
- 21 Degand, *Étude de marché*, 45.
- 22 *Pariscope*, no. 1108, August 16, 1989. See pages 51–112 for the cinema listings.
- 23 Xavier Delamare, “Louxor,” Cinema Treasures, accessed October 24, 2016, <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/7521>.
- 24 “Cinéma Gaumont les Fauvettes,” Les Cinémas Pathé Gaumont, accessed October 24, 2016, <http://www.cinemalessfauvettes.com/>.