

## the harlot's progress

### myth and reality

### in european and american film,

### 1900-1934

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The harlot's progress in the first three decades of American film is a distinctive one. While the treatment of fallen women in American films is nearly uniformly sympathetic, the reasons ascribed for their downfall, their degree of individual autonomy and the options available to them evolve markedly during this period. The earliest films like *The Downward Path* (1902) and *The Fate of the Artist's Model* (1903) assumed that women were innocent victims of male repacity doomed to disgrace or even death for as much as a single lapse.<sup>1</sup> The very passivity encouraged by the cult of true womanhood meant that the only way that these women could avert such a cruel fate was by male intervention preventing any sexual lapse, as in D. W. Griffith's *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (Alexander Library, 1912) in which the Little Lady, played by Lillian Gish, is saved from disgrace when the street smart hoodlum Snapper prevents her from taking a drugged drink from a dance hall panderer and thus restores her to the sanctity of family life.<sup>2</sup> The American film industry even developed its own genre, the white slavery film, to dramatize the findings of urban vice commission reports in the early Teens. The most famous of these films, *Traffic in Souls* (MPS/LC) and *The Inside of the White Slave Traffic*, (MPS/LC) both released in 1913, shared the assumption of the earlier films that only a timely rescue from violation would preserve a woman from the inevitable doom that accompanied entering "the life."

By the end of the three decades the fallen woman had been transformed on the silver screen. In 1927 *Street of Forgotten Women* (MPS/LC), a film in many respects reminiscent of the white slavery genre of the Teens in its condemnation of the perils of urban vice and male repacity, nevertheless allows the rescue of a fallen woman even after her sexual violation, and even though it was her own foolish vanity that led to her rape and fall. In *Barriers of the Law* (1924, U.C.L.A. Film Archives, Los Angeles) the heroine no longer has to rely on the *deus ex machina* of male rescue; although incarcerated in a whorehouse and stripped by a brutal madam, Rita is resourceful and spunky enough to elude her captors by escaping in a kimono. In *Romance of the Underworld* (1928, FSC/MOMA) former B-girl Judith Andrews, played by Mary Astor, is able not only to work her way up to respectable employment, ultimately becoming a secretary and wedding her boss, but to become a tender mother and loving wife, irrefutable proof that redemption of the fallen woman could take place. In fact, by the end of three decades there are films like *The Sea Wolf* (FSC/MOMA) and *Ladies of Leisure* (MPS/LC), both released in 1930, that demonstrate that not merely are fallen women capable of being redeemed but that their honesty and spunk allow them to redeem drifting men from lives of aimless mediocrity.

In the United States the ability of film-makers to treat the plight of the fallen woman always was circumscribed by the ever present threat of censorship and the need to devise strategies to avert it. Although the federal government has been relatively inactive in film censorship and film gradually has been accorded the protection of the states' and federal guarantees of freedom of speech and press, the issue of censorship has been complicated by the centralization accomplished by the film industry's own system of self-regulation and the conflict between efforts at state and local censorship and the guarantees of free expression in federal and state constitutions.<sup>3</sup>

Attempts at censorship coincided with the arrival of film as a popular medium. Shortly after Thomas A. Edison's Kinetoscope made its commercial debut in a Broadway parlor in New York City on April 14, 1894, the first recorded protest against a movie, *Dolorita in the Passion Dance*, the rage of the peep-show parlor on the Boardwalk in Atlantic City, occurred, and in 1908 the mayor of New York tried to close all nickelodeons because he deemed them places of public immorality. When official attempts to curb movies via local business-licensing laws failed, from 1907 to 1909 Chicago and New York introduced pre-exhibition censorship of the movies through governmental licensing and nongovernmental regulations endorsed by the film industry itself, methods that were antecedents of the major controls imposed on films in later years. In 1909 in *Block v. Chicago*, the first movie censorship case, the Illinois Supreme Court upheld the municipal ordinance, and a spate of the state censorship laws followed, with ten states ultimately enacting such legislation, the last being Louisiana in 1935.<sup>4</sup> In 1915 the United States Supreme Court released a unanimous decision in *Mutual Film Corporation v. Industrial Commission of Ohio* that hampered freedom of expression in the film industry for years by

holding that the movies were merely another commercial enterprise engaged only in purveying entertainment for profit and, therefore, not entitled to constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and press.<sup>5</sup>

In 1909 a group of public-spirited citizens in New York City created the National Board of Censorship (later renamed the National Board of Review) to avert governmental censorship by previewing and evaluating films prior to public release. The Board came into existence as a direct response to threats by New York officials to shut down local movie houses and to demands from exhibitors for an imprimatur of respectability that would reassure both censors and their audience. Despite the cooperation of the majority of American filmmakers and nearly ninety per cent of the Europeans, the Board met with considerable criticism for undue control by, and subservience to, the film industry, for its own failure to censor the entire national output of motion pictures, and, particularly in the post-World War I era, for its permissiveness in approving films considered objectionable by some of the moviemakers themselves.<sup>6</sup> The Board's 1913 annual report, which contained its first fully expressed declaration of censorship standards, not only prohibited all obscenity and all vulgarity that did not serve an adequate moral purpose, but also alluded to white slavery films then popular by asserting its right to forbid all filmic material that might "have a deteriorating tendency on the basic moralities or necessary social standards."<sup>7</sup> The Board exhibited its boldness in allowing films that presented prostitution in a sincere, dramatic manner and attempted to offer viable means of repression of this social evil or methods to reform the prostitute herself. But it simultaneously announced that it would ban films that dwelt on the satisfaction of desires, the lucrative nature of white slavery, or even the vulnerability and dreary lives of prostitutes. By 1916 the Board was forced to retreat further under public pressure as a result of a vigorous campaign by George Nicolson of the city's Corporation Counsel office against white slave film promoters in which Nicolson was joined by numerous civic and social organizations. A survey of motion picture exhibitors, correspondence, newspaper clippings and public statements led the Board to institute an unequivocal ban on all films concerned wholly with the commercialized theme of white slavery or advertised as a lurid white slave film.<sup>8</sup> Despite its efforts to woo public opinion, the Board lost ground, as can be seen by its change of name in 1916 from National Board of Censorship to National Board of Review as its function shifted to one of purely previewing films and categorizing them for the guidance of subscribers and the public, by New York State's passage of a licensing law in 1921, and by the assumption of the Board's former censorship functions by the newly formed Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. under the direction of ex-Postmaster General Will H. Hays.<sup>9</sup>

Hays had assumed his new function in the wake of the sexual scandal surrounding Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle and the alleged love triangle involved in the murder of director William Desmond Taylor, with moralists and reformers ascribing the drop in movie attendance in 1922 to

public dismay at the moral conduct of its stars. But Hays' vigilance could not inhibit the new freedom of filmic discourse that accompanied the Jazz Age as directors like Cecil B. DeMille and Erich von Stroheim brought to the screen formerly taboo sexual subjects treated now with sophistication and wit.<sup>10</sup> In 1924 Hays' first positive response to renewed demands for censorship by reformers was the "Formula," whereby the members of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. voluntarily agreed not to produce, distribute, or exhibit any films that failed "to establish and maintain the highest possible moral and artistic standards of motion picture production." However, the absence of sanctions and the new difficulties involved in the use of *double entendre* once sound was introduced compounded Hays' problems, and his power over the industry was further undermined when the filming of Somerset Maugham's *Sadie Thompson*, the tale of a convent-bred girl who becomes madam of a notorious brothel in Africa, and Sidney Howard's *They Knew What They Wanted* was announced by the producers without prior sanction by the Hays Office and other plays and novels rejected by the M.P.P.D.A. such as *The Plastic Age*, *The Constant Nymph* and *White Cargo* were filmed by nonmember companies and distributed independently.<sup>11</sup> By 1927 there was a need for a more explicit set of prohibitions, which came to be known as "The Don'ts and Be Carefuls" and which forbade "any licentious or suggestive nudity—in fact or in silhouette" or even by allusion and any mention of white slavery or the sale of a woman's virtues.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately for Hays "The Don'ts and Be Carefuls" were far too vague and subject to a variety of interpretations to serve as a satisfactory regulatory device.<sup>13</sup> When the leadership of the censorship campaign passed to Catholic clergymen, the effort gained a unity of ideology and organization that it had lacked under Protestant direction, and threats by the Legion of Decency to coordinate a campaign to boycott movies deemed immoral by the Catholic Church led to the Hays Office's imposition of the Production Code in 1934 upon the film industry.<sup>14</sup> The Code narrowly circumscribed the screen's ability to deal forthrightly with sex and demanded that all evil acts be counteracted by punishment and retribution or reform and regeneration of the malefactor. Initially accepted by the film industry in 1930, the Code became effective only with the appointment of Joseph Breen to administer it in 1934. It forbade explicit treatment of seduction or rape and any mention of white slavery and sought to eliminate all salacious material from film.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the Code rendered unavailable to American audiences any serious or sophisticated treatment of the theme of fallen womanhood in the post-1934 period.

And the ever present threat of censorship and the existence of self-regulatory industry codes meant that American films employed a variety of strategies to deal with fallen women in the pre-Code era. Films produced prior to World War I tended to be highly pious and didactic, preaching strict late Victorian moral attitudes even if they depicted morally objectionable behavior to illustrate the verities of the prevailing moral order.<sup>16</sup> In the wake of the urban vice commission reports of the early Teens, the

American film industry created its own genre of exploitation films, white slavery films with titles like *Port of Missing Women*, *The Lure of New York*, *Smashing the Vice Trust*, *The Thorns of the Great White Way* and *The Serpent of the Slums*. In accepting much of the language of anti-vice crusaders and reducing prostitution to white slavery, American filmmakers limited their arena of social concern, emphasizing individual vice and corruption at the expense of examining the socioeconomic roots of prostitution. By employing prefatory square-ups and interjecting moralizing remarks, these films



FIGURE ONE: Marie (Edna Purviance) grieves over Jean's suicide as his mother (Lydia Knott) observes her and comes to admire the woman she once had hated for ruining her son in Charles Chaplin's *A Woman of Paris* (1923). The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive.

were able to evade censorship and to present salacious material without fear of incurring public wrath.<sup>17</sup> *The Inside of the White Slave Traffic* underscored its commitment to *exposé* and reform by carrying the advertised endorsement of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain and Frederick H. Robinson, president of the Sociological Fund, and the *Medical Review of Reviews*; as film historian Terry Ramsaye indicated ironically: "Here was the beginning of the testimonial and endorsement method of motion picture exploitation, an application to the screen of the method that has never failed in the patent medicine field."<sup>18</sup> And, as indicated earlier, the film industry evaded censorship by the independent release of questionable films, particularly of the exploitation genre, and once sound was introduced, by the use of *double*

*entendre*. Thus, American films treating fallen womanhood were particularly self-conscious about the need to cater to prevailing morality.

Although the treatment of the fallen woman in American films is distinctive in its evolutionary path, it is instructive to compare these films with the most influential European films on the same theme made during this period: Ernst Lubitsch's *Madame Du Barry (Passion)* (1919) and three films by G. W. Pabst: *The Joyless Street* (1925) *Pandora's Box* (1928) and *Diary of a Lost Girl* (1929). Such a comparison demonstrates that, despite differences within the genre over time, the American films share peculiar cultural assumptions that differentiate them from their most significant European counterparts. For most of the American films redemption of the fallen woman is the chief concern, whether that redemption proves ultimately feasible or not. Films like *The Fatal Hour* (1908) or *The Salvation of Nance O'Shaughnessy* (1914) concentrate on timely rescue, while more complex later films like *A Woman of Paris*, (1923, MPS/LC) (Fig. 1), directed by Charles Chaplin, or the 1923 screen version of Eugene O'Neill's *Anna Christie* (FSC/MOMA) emphasize spiritual redemption, but it is the salvation of the individual woman that most concerns the filmmakers in each case.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, the European films either find the theme of redemption irrelevant or merely incidental. In *Madame De Barry (Passion)* (1919, FSC/MOMA) the heroine never repents her fall, nor does her redemption seem possible once she has become the mistress of the King; in fact, Lubitsch is successful in portraying her as worthy of sympathy despite her sexual lapses.<sup>20</sup> While Greta Rumfort, played by Greta Garbo, may be rescued before her degradation in *The Joyless Street* (1925, FSC/MOMA), that rescue offers only a glimmer of individual hope in a society so utterly corrupt that the downfall of countless others seems inevitable.

Moreover, the American films tend to emphasize the individual rather than the social basis of prostitution. While the earliest films may ascribe the fall to feminine *naïveté* and male greed and the later ones, like *Barriers of the Law* and *Anna Christie*, may cite criminal conspiracy, poverty and family abuse as factors, the American genre assumes that the problem of prostitution is essentially an individual one, that some women will be able to elude this fate by dint of strength of character or male support. Thus, *Traffic in Souls* demonstrates that it is the foolish sister who loves finery who nearly succumbs to sexual slavery whereas her more sensible sister aids in her rescue and loves the honest policeman who achieves her release, proof that environmental factors alone do not account for prostitution since members of the same family can differ so dramatically in their fate. In contrast, the European films see social factors as the primary determinants of sexual lapse. Thus in *Diary of a Lost Girl* Pabst portrays the seduction of the heroine Thymiane as being more spontaneous, honest and natural than her previous experience within the context of her hypocritical bourgeois family and the sadistic, authoritarian reformatory, institutions that seek to break her spirit rather than redeem her soul.<sup>21</sup> In *Joyless Street* Greta may yearn for personal adornment as she poses sensuously before a triple

mirror in her glamorous fur coat, but her vanity plays no part in her degradation; rather she is victimized by the rampant inflation in postwar Germany, by the speculative fervor that leads her father to lose all his pension funds in a stock fraud.

The American films do not succumb to the environmental determinism of their European counterparts. The dramatic focus remains on the individual, and, except for an anomalous film like Josef von Sternberg's *The Salvation Hunters* (1925, FSC/MOMA), which likens human vice to the refuse in the harbor where it is bred, a film made deliberately arty to mark its director's debut, the American genre concerns itself with personal factors influencing a woman's fate.<sup>22</sup> Thus in *Docks of New York* (1928, A Film of the George Eastman House Motion Picture Study Collection, Rochester, New York, FSC/MOMA) a suicidal harlot can escape from the degradation of her dockside life via love and marriage, and in *Lady of the Pavements* (1928, FSC/MOMA) a cabaret dancer can escape by wedding an aristocrat even after he learns of her questionable past. In contrast, in *The Joyless Street* the street itself becomes a metaphor for the coercive factors that lead to vice, as women stand endlessly in line to gain a few scraps of meat from the butcher who serves as a panderer as well; in its original uncensored version the butcher is slain by a woman who had been coerced by him sexually only to be denied meat for her child.<sup>23</sup> The street comes to signify the spectre of urban vices which threaten "to seduce the German bourgeois, unable to protect himself in the ways of the rich and influential (who can speculate on the stock market for amusement and avoid arrest with a diplomatic passport), and lead him to destruction."<sup>24</sup> It is instructive to compare how similar sets are used in entirely different contexts in American and European films. Thus, while both the American-made *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1920, FSC/MOMA) starring John Barrymore and *Pandora's Box* use the swirling London fog to induce terror and dread, in the former the fallen woman, the dancer Gina, is victimized by Hyde's despicable character rather than by her environment whereas Lulu in *Pandora's Box* (1928, FSC/MOMA) has been reduced to streetwalking by the men who seek to prey on her vulnerability, and the slums reveal her nemesis, Jack the Ripper, the ultimate symbol of the terror of the streets for women (Fig. 2).<sup>25</sup>

In the American films the nature of human corruption is far more superficial than in their European counterparts. Of course, Hollywood is noted for developing the stereotype of "the hooker with a heart of gold," a woman who miraculously escapes taint by her environment.<sup>26</sup> The 1918 version of *Camille* (MPS/LC) starring Helen Hisperia portrayed Camille as untarnished by the depravity of Parisian life: "There was something of candor in her. She was evidently in the virginity of vice." Her young lover Armand recalls her essential purity: "A virgin whom an accident had converted into a courtesan. A courtesan whom a trifle might have converted into the purest and most loving woman." In contrast, Lulu in *Pandora's Box* is portrayed as an amoral earth spirit, whose first protector was little more than a derelict, who inadvertently destroys all the men who

adore her, who attracts the lesbian Geschwitz to sacrifice herself for her and who exhibits no guilt or shame no matter how great her personal degradation.

Moreover, the American films are curiously asexual despite their purported subject matter. Fallen heroines may be victims or vamps, but they do not openly enjoy sex. Even women who are quite forthright about their sexual availability, like Hugh Westcourt's mistress Irma Raymond in *Dancing Mothers* (1926, Alexander Library), who in a blatant Freudian gesture deftly opens her purse so that her lover can slip his money in, nevertheless, exhibit no sexual interest in their prey. In contrast, there is a gaily erotic sequence in *Madame Du Barry* in which the heroine responds gleefully to having her breasts tickled by a scroll wielded by the King (Fig. 3), and Lulu in *Pandora's Box* dances sensually before male admirers, enjoys the image of her own body reflected in mirrors and chooses to have sex with Jack the Ripper even though he has no money simply because she likes him and finds him attractive.<sup>27</sup>

The American films are concerned with perpetuating certain cultural myths while their European counterparts are far more realistic and even serve to demythologize European culture. The white slavery films present

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FIGURE TWO: Lulu (Louise Brooks) lures a stranger, who turns out to be Jack the Ripper (Gustav Diessl), to her lodgings in a London slum in G. W. Pabst's *Pandora's Box* (1928). The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive.





FIGURE THREE: King Louis XV of France (Emil Jannings) playfully uses his scroll to tickle the breasts of Madame Du Barry (Pola Negri) in Ernst Lubitsch's *Madame Du Barry (Passion)* (1919). The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive.

the most obvious examples of cinematic mythmaking. Based on the urban vice commission reports of the early Teens, these films failed to produce a coherent view of the problem of prostitution, often blaming environmental influences and alluding to a nationwide vice network yet posing individual solutions, such as flight or rescue, for what had been portrayed as a social problem. While *Traffic in Souls* claimed to have been based on the long awaited report on prostitution by John B. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Bureau of Social Hygiene, ultimately published as *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, the report actually alluded only incidentally to white slavery, instead provoking controversy by linking extensive prostitution inextricably with rampant police corruption. Robert C. Allen has noted, "Far from being based on the report, *Traffic in Souls* actually contradicts it. White slavery is seen in the film as a highly efficient business enterprise of immense proportions, and it is the police, led by the incorruptible Officer Burke, who expose the slavers and save Mary's sister."<sup>28</sup> Hence *Traffic in Souls* becomes a highly reassuring film that restores audience confidence in

duly constituted authority even when that authority had been challenged in reality. The white slavery films shared the assumption of middle-class reformers that prostitution involved the corruption or coercion of innocent womanhood by evil men who thereby spread urban vices, victimizing the country lass or the immigrant girl lured unwittingly to her doom. In fact, Ruth Rosen's recent book *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (1982) belies the premises of their conclusions. While *Traffic in Souls* portrays a Country Lass arriving at the Western Express Station as an easy victim of the waiting cadet, Rosen notes that most prostitutes tended to come from urban areas or small towns rather than from rural settings. And while *The Inside of the White Slave Traffic* shows an immigrant woman receiving her education in vice and *Traffic in Souls* depicts two Swedish girls duped into entering the parlor house because they believed it to be a Swedish Employment Agency, in fact, Rosen reveals that recent immigrants were underrepresented in the prostitute population.<sup>29</sup> Hence these white slavery films reflected popular ethnocentrism and fear of urban vice rather than depicted accurately prostitutes' true origins. In contrast, the European films indicted a corrupt society in which the wealthy and aristocratic are in no respects morally superior to the fallen women they enjoy. The Count du Barry in Lubitsch's film is little more than an aristocratic panderer, and in *Pandora's Box* the Marquis Casti-Piani seeks to sell Lulu into sexual slavery in Egypt so that he may obtain money for his own vices. If the vices of the poor become merely debased reflections of those of the rich, the filmmakers who openly depict the situation are debunking the illusion that wealth is the true guardian of civilization; they are destroying the mythology that perpetuates caste.

Finally, since the American films focused their dramatic concern on salvation of the individual rather than on social reform, they tended to be far more optimistic than the European genre. Even the earliest films like *The Downward Path* and *The Fate of the Artist's Model*, which posited grim endings for the fallen woman's career, were intended as warnings that would save other women from a similar fate. It is significant that the 1924 remake of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, originally released with the novel's final scene with the black flag hoisted above the jail tower to symbolize Tess' execution, had to be altered to conclude happily with a last minute pardon for the heroine in deference to public opinion.<sup>30</sup> In fact, many of the Twenties films like *Sal of Singapore* (1929), *The Street of Forgotten Women*, *Lady of the Pavements*, *Romance of the Underworld*, and *Barriers of the Law* were highly optimistic regarding the salvation of the fallen woman, demonstrating that she was fit for marriage, motherhood, or both.<sup>31</sup> Even films in which women flaunted their sexual independence of men like Josef von Sternberg's *Blonde Venus* (1932, FSC/MOMA) in which a housewife played by Marlene Dietrich turns showgirl and then mistress to save her husband's life by supplying the money for a critical operation, *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933, Alexander Library) in which chorines indicate that they will turn to prostitution if the show fails, using *double entendre* as they sing the film's feature song "We're in the Money," indicating "We've got a lot of



FIGURE FOUR: Helen Faraday (Marlene Dietrich), now an elegant mistress, embraces her son Johnny (Dickie Moore) in Josef von Sternberg's *Blonde Venus* (1932). The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive.

what it takes to get along," and Mae West's *She Done Him Wrong* (1933, FSC/MOMA) in which West as Bowery saloon chanteuse Lady Lou aggressively exploits men as sexual objects all provide happy marriage as the fate of these fallen women, proof that reclamation is always possible under proper male tutelage. And in *Blonde Venus* the errant housewife, who had kidnapped her son and who has tried to shelter him despite her own life of impoverishment and the debauchery of their surroundings only to have him snatched away from her by her husband, is allowed to be reunited happily with both father and son at the end of the film (Fig. 4). The European films are far more cynical regarding the possibility of individual salvation because they despair of the kind of radical social transformation necessary to end prostitution. In *Madame Du Barry* Lubitsch clearly despises both the decadent aristocracy of *l'Ancien Regime* and the bloodthirsty mob that for him symbolized the Revolution; his heroine is victimized by both social orders but forfeits her life on the scaffold when the people rise to power. In all of Pabst's films the legitimate power structure is so corrupt, hypocritical and vicious that any individual escape palls in importance when compared with the masses of women who must be victimized by social decay. In conclusion, the fundamental distinctions between American and European films reveal that when American filmmakers discovered

the fallen woman as a screen subject, their most important discovery lay not in social reality, but in the realm of myth and metaphor.

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## notes

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1. *The Downward Path*, 1902, Motion Picture Section, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., hereafter referred to as MPS/LC; *The Fate of the Artist's Model*, 1903, MPS/LC. References to Alexander Library, Rutgers/The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, New Jersey will be abbreviated as Alexander Library. References to the Film Study Center, Museum of Modern Art, New York City will be abbreviated as FSC/MOMA. All future references to film archives and dates of issue will appear in parentheses within the text.

2. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer, 1966), 151-174.

3. Neville March Hunnings, *Film Censors and the Law* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967), 151.

4. *Ibid.*, 164-192; Richard S. Randall, *Censorship of the Movies: The Social and Political Control of a Mass Medium* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 10-12.

5. Edward de Grazia and Robert K. Newman, *Banned Films: Movies, Censors and the First Amendment* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1982), 5.

6. Randall, *Censorship of the Movies*, 12; Charles Matthew Feldman, *The National Board of Censorship (Review) of Motion Pictures, 1909-1922* (New York: Arno Press/A New York Times Company, 1977), 20-62.

7. *Report of the National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures* (New York, 1914), 5-6, cited in Feldman, *The National Board of Censorship (Review)*, 64-65.

8. Feldman *The National Board of Censorship (Review)*, 65-66, 125-127.

9. Hunnings, *Film Censors and the Law*, 152-153; Randall, *Censorship of the Movies*, 12.

10. Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of the Movies* (New York: Random House, 1975), 77-103.

11. *Ibid.*, 176; Hunnings, *Film Censors and the Law*, 154-155.

12. "The Dont's and Be Carefuls (1927), Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America," in Gerald Mast, ed., *The Movies in Our Midst: Documents in the Cultural History of Film in America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 213-214.

13. Mast, ed., *The Movies in Our Midst*, 317-318.

14. Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, 173-174.

15. "The Birth of the Production Code (1945), Raymond Moley; The Motion Picture Production Code of 1930, Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America," in Mast, ed., *The Movies in Our Midst*, 317-333; headnote to "The Legion of Decency Campaign (1937), Olga J. Martin," *ibid.*, 333.

16. Ruth A. Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies: A Report on Self Regulation from The Commission on Freedom of the Press* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), 28.

17. "White Slave Films," *The Outlook*, 106 (January 17, 1914), 120-122; Kathleen Karr, "The Long Square-up: Exploitation Trends in the Silent Film," *The Journal of Popular Film*, 3 (Spring, 1974), 107-117.

18. Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture*, Volume II (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1926), 617-618.

19. Kemp R. Niver, *Motion Pictures from the Library of Congress Paper Print Collection, 1894-1912*, edited by Bebe Gersten (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 184; "The Fatal Hour," Biograph Bulletin No. 162, in *Biograph Bulletins 1908-1912*, introduction by Eileen Bowser (New York: Octagon Books, a Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 11; James S. McQuade, "The Salvation of Nance O'Shaughnessy," *The Moving Picture World*, 19 (March 21, 1914), 1507.

20. "Toronto Film Society SILENT FILM SERIES, Season 1956-57, Second Programme," FSC/MOMA files. 1.

21. Lee Atwell, *G. W. Pabst* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), 64-66, 68.

22. William K. Everson, *American Silent Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 291; "The Salvation Hunters, 1925: in "Films from the Archives," The Museum of Modern Art Department of Film, FSC/MOMA files, 1-2.

23. Atwell, *G. W. Pabst*, 31, 34.

24. "Die Freudlose Gasse (*The Joyless Street*) (1925)," *Texas Cinema Program Notes*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (September 28, 1976), A Service of the Department of Radio/Television/Film, University of Texas at Austin, FSC/MOMA files, 4.

25. Another 1920 version of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* starred Sheldon Lewis.

26. Alexander Walker, *The Celluloid Sacrifice: Aspects of Sex in the Movies* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967), 178-183.
27. *Pandora's Box (Lulu): A Film by G. W. Pabst*, translated from the German by Christopher Holme (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), 131. The intertitles in the Jack the Ripper sequence are missing from the version of *Pandora's Box* from the Det Danske Filmmuseum held by the Museum of Modern Art, but the titles do exist in the original script.
28. Robert C. Allen, "Traffic in Souls," *Sight and Sound*, 44 (Winter, 1974), 51.
29. Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 139-142.
30. "Tess of the D'Ubervilles [sic]," *Exceptional Photoplays*, 5 (October-November, 1924), 4.
31. "At the Colony, 'Sal of Singapore,'" *The New York Post*, January 29, 1929, microfiche files, FSC/MOMA.