A COMPANION TO EARLY CINEMA

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Contents

22

Bound by Cinematic Chains

Film and Prisons during the Early Era

Alison Griffiths

While New York City, along with Chicago, may be considered one of the key hubs of the early American motion picture industry, with hundreds of storefront theaters serving a new popular audience, thirty miles up the Hudson River, in the small town of Ossining, New York, a separate system of film exhibition culture was taking shape within the infamous Sing Sing prison. The fact that in 1914 one could sit in the Sing Sing chapel and watch the same theatrical film comedy or popular melodrama currently playing before Manhattan audiences, perhaps seated next to a "lifer" who may have never seen motion pictures before, underscores how the experience and historical meaning of film viewing are profoundly shaped by the exhibition context.[1] My goal in this chapter is to construct a more nuanced account of silent cinema spectatorship by considering how film first entered the penitentiary before 1915 and what this means for our understanding of early non-theatrical exhibition. Both American cinema and the movement known as the "new penology" came of age between 1900 and 1920, inviting an inquiry into the fascinating ways in which they informed one another.

I begin by examining some of the earliest instances of film being shown in US prisons, followed by a case study of cinema's emergence at the infamous Sing Sing prison north of New York City and a brief discussion of the role of gender in cinema's early history in the penitentiary. From an examination of the archival record, Sing Sing was a vibrant space of popular entertainment beyond cinema, including boxing, football (with its famous "Black Sheep" football team), and vaudeville acts (Houdini, a personal friend of Lewis E. Lawes, Sing Sing's warden from 1920 to 1941, both performed and screened his films there). Motion picture companies, including Vitagraph, Fox, Metro, and Paramount, loaned hundreds of films to the prison. Cinemagoing was integrated into the complex daily routines

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of this public institution, routines governed by the need to control large numbers of incarcerated men and built upon a long history of pre-cinematic entertainments such as lectures, concerts, performances, and sports.

More specifically, as part of this transvaluation of early cinema spectatorship I will explore the following questions: how did cinema confirm or undermine disciplinary or penal authority, and what determinative weight should be placed on the prison as exhibition venue? How did film in prison comport with pre-cinematic entertainments already in place? What was the rationale for showing film inside prisons? Who chose what the prisoners viewed, and how and where did the films fit into the institution's disciplinary apparatus? Did cinema help build community within the prison and what kinds of affective habits did prison spectatorship engender? And, finally, what can this case study around motion pictures and prisons tell us about the nature of cinema spectatorship when so many of filmgoing's public protocols were either eschewed or transformed in the prison? Experiencing cinema under the veil of punishment is hardly a commonplace occurrence, and while we can't fully grasp the intersubjective complexities of groups of men and women viewing film under the watchful eye of guards who are themselves *de facto* spectators, this chapter can at least consider the history of non-theatrical cinema in the unlikeliest of venues.

This chapter paints a multifaceted portrait of filmgoing and fan culture, reading the experience as much against the grain as with it, borrowing anthropologist Anne Laura Stoler's metaphor of the historical watermark to recapture the experiences of inmates watching film in prison.[2] While traces of what cinema inside was like, for either a guard or an inmate, can sometimes be found in the archive, and of course is retrievable to some extent in contemporary instances of inmates attending film screenings while incarcerated, the historical experience, especially when the motion picture industry was still nascent, is a bit like a watermark, permanently inscribed but not immediately obvious. Reconstructing a "thick description" of cinema in prison – which films were viewed, where they came from, and how cinema fit into the institution's daily rhythms – is an exercise that involves imagining that "what might be [is] as important as knowing what *was*."[3] With this in mind, let us begin by journeying into the entertainment world of the incarcerated.

Film Spectatorship in Prison: The Early Years

> From the Oldest lifer to the latest arrival, they sat in the dark hall of the prison … and enjoyed a bill comprised [of] the very best films and vaudeville numbers. (*Hartford Courant*, 1914)[4]

In 1901, several years before the earliest reference to inmate screenings in New York State, the *Star of Hope* (Figure 22.1) (called the *Star Bulletin* from 1916

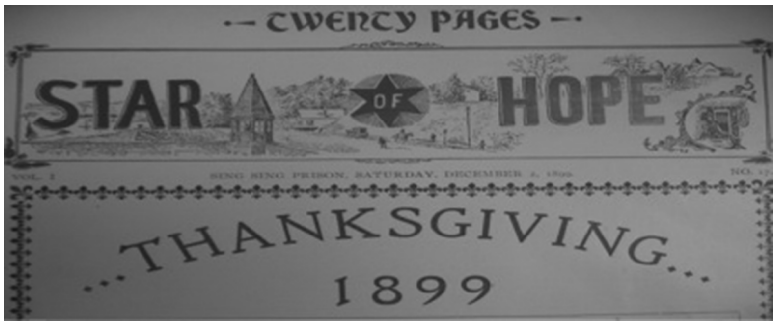

Figure 22.1 Masthead of *Star of Hope* published at Sing Sing prison, December 1899.

onwards), an inmate-written magazine published at Sing Sing from 1899 to 1920, featured a cover story entitled "Reformed by a Picture." The article was a morality tale told by an inmate of Clinton Prison (in upstate New York) about a friend and former Sing Sing prisoner who reformed after seeing Edison's 1895 Kinetoscope film *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* sometime in the late 1890s:

> Small things have changed the course of many of our lives, and, by some mysterious power influenced us for good and evil. A kinetoscope is an innocent looking piece of machinery and one would hardly credit it with the reformation of the crook, but it did. One of its pictures, projected upon a square of canvas in the city of Columbus, Ohio … was the means by which a notorious crook was made to realize his position.… It was as thorough a conversion as I have ever witnessed. That little picture accomplished more in five minutes than all of his term in prison did, or could ever accomplish, if he was incarcerated for the remainder of his natural life.[5]

The prisoner's elaborate account of the screening is fascinating not only for the prescient way in which it foregrounds cinema's role as a moral reformer, but for the inmate's extraordinary recall of the minute details of the film. Despite misremembering its length at five minutes instead of an elliptical twenty seconds, the lengthy description compensates for the fact that few of the *Star of Hope*'s readers would have ever seen motion pictures let alone this film. The painstaking detail is also a writerly move designed to underscore the emotion of the public execution.[6] The decapitation at the end of *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*, an early example of stop-camera photography, left both men deeply moved: "the execution was done so quickly that it rendered me speechless. Turning to my friend, I saw his face was pale, and if his life depended upon it he could not of [*sic*] spoken one word. When he recovered from the shock he turned to me and said: 'That was meant for me, and I'm going to heed the warning'."[7] Combining the shock factor of the early cinema of attractions with the literal shock of seeing Queen Mary's head suddenly roll to the ground, *Mary Queen of Scots* delivered a gut-wrenching reminder of the irreversibility of execution (her actual execution in 1587 was not nearly as swift,

with accounts suggesting it took at least two attempts to sever her head). Although a reconstruction, the film was the closest thing to seeing an actual execution these two men had ever witnessed, and the visceral effect of seeing the Queen's head tumble to the ground in a communication medium barely four years old must have been striking.

This parable about *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*' reformative power adumbrates cinema's role within an optic of execution that long predates motion pictures (woodcuts published in broadsides and photographs satisfied an audience's desire for images of public execution long before motion pictures).[8] Such filmic spectacles also created a unique spectatorial entry point for those inmates on death row who faced the prospect of electrocution. Incarcerated at a prison where executions were part of the grisly cycle of men exhausting the appeals process and being scheduled to die, this film hit a raw nerve as a reminder of the fate awaiting those on death row. According to the inmate's account, the reformed criminal gave away a roll of bills to a female beggar and her children and turned his back on crime, becoming a respected citizen.

The earliest account I have found of film being shown *in* a prison is from a fall 1907 edition of the *Washington Post*, which described the aftermath of moving pictures exhibited at Western Penitentiary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. With the intriguing title "Convicts Hiss Chaplain," the article described the increased security required in the prison chapel as an anti-riot precaution after the motion pictures that had previously been shown on Sunday afternoons were replaced by hymn singing. The reason for the suspension of screenings was described as follows: "More than a month ago permission was given by the penitentiary authorities for the exhibition of some so-called religious pictures in a moving-picture machine in the chapel. The operator got hold of the wrong films and treated the convicts to some pictures of bathing resorts for girls. That ended the motion picture."[9]

We can glean several things about the nature of filmgoing in the prison from this account: the venue (a chapel); the time (Sunday afternoon); official supervision of the content of the films shown (mild stag films substituted deliberately or inadvertently for religious films); and concern over the short- and long-term impact of cinema on prisoner morality and discipline. Programmed in a similar fashion to a children's Sunday school meeting, the decision to exhibit religious films to prisoners in the prison chapel (the logical space to accommodate large groups with minimum disruption) can be viewed as a safe foray into motion pictures for the institution. Despite its sanctified status, however, the prison chapel was paradoxically one of the more risky spaces where breaches of conduct were routine; indeed, under the "separate system" introduced in the United Kingdom in the mid-nineteenth century, which prohibited prisoners from speaking to one another, the chapel pews seen in Figure 22.2 were modified through the addition of partial screens to prevent the men from seeing or communicating with one another and to assist the officers on duty with the task of surveillance.

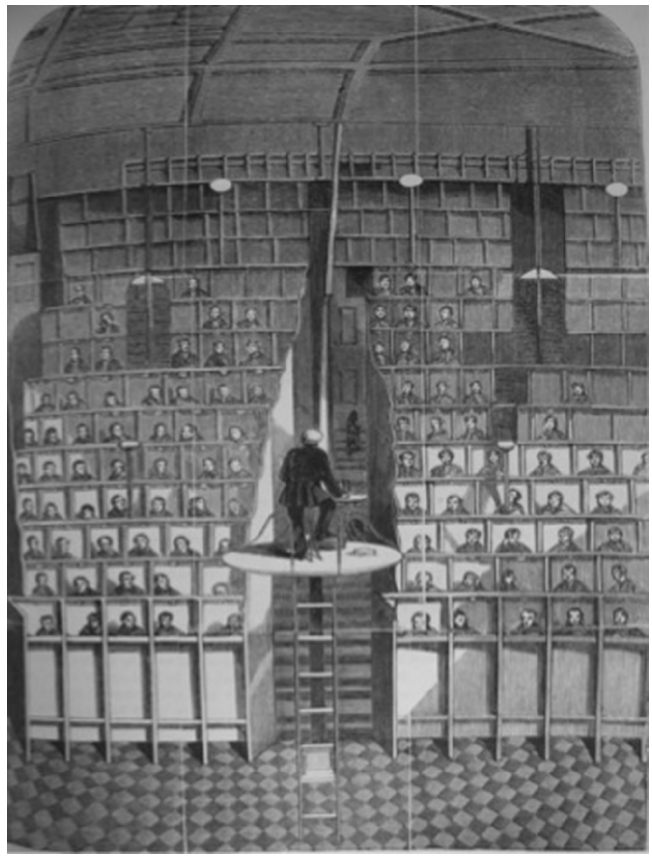

Figure 22.2 "Separate System" in chapel at Surrey House of Corrections, Wandsworth, UK, 1852.

The separate system was largely a failure, and, as the authors of the 1852 prison survey pointed out, daily chapel attendance "may be termed the golden period of the day to most of them; for it is here, by holding their books to their faces and pretending to read with the chaplain, that they can carry on the most uninterrupted conversation."[10] It is also worth mentioning that the only other time people sat on pews at Sing Sing was as witnesses to an electrocution, seen in Figure 22.3 in a reverse angle of the death chamber showing the seating for the twelve witnesses (mandated by New York state law); the spittoon, for those with weak stomachs, looks a bit like a collection tray, although in this instance it was the contents of stomachs and not money that flowed. While a great deal could obviously be said about how the social experience of cinema was affected by the chapel as an exhibition site within a larger penal context, and the extent to which film screenings occasioned unsanctioned behavior, any pronouncements on the irony of showing (potentially sacrilegious) popular amusement must be tempered by the fact that

Figure 22.3 Pews for twelve witnesses in Sing Sing's Death House showing electric chair and spittoon, ca. 1920s.

the chapel has always been a highly adaptable space.[11] Moreover, when chapels are integrated into larger institutional structures such as airports or hospitals, their meaning is shaped not only by the informing context of their surroundings but also by the motivation for attending. Thinking through some of these qualifiers can suggest how prisoners might have made sense of watching film in the chapel, where habits of displaying respect and proper decorum might, at least in the mind of the prison authorities if not in actuality, have been automatically transferred from the religious to the secular context.

These two early accounts of film in the penitentiary suggest the differences between viewing film in a theatrical setting versus non-theatrical spaces such as schools, churches, museums, clubs, or prisons. While some exhibition practices are similar across these sites, there was something unique about going to the movies behind bars. One of the most obvious features was the fact that attendance at prison screenings, like those in schools, was coercive rather than elective, unless an inmate was too sick to go to a screening and was in the prison hospital. Despite being inseparable from the larger disciplinary apparatus, filmgoing was egalitarian, free (which particularly annoyed the "anti-coddlers" who opposed the prison reform movement of the time), and united the prisoner community around a shared experience, doubtless spawning conversations about the films. At Indiana State Prison in 1911, films were shown immediately after military drills, the prison

authorities regimenting and disciplining the incarcerated body *before* exposing it to cinema, almost as a way of inoculating the prisoner against the potential deleterious effect of film or using it as a reward after the ordeal of the drills.[12] Both drills and cinemagoing relieved the dull routine of convict life and, in theory, kept the prisoners in compliance with prison regulations; according to Warden E. J. Fogarty, "the subjects are to be religious in character, with an occasional comic film that is clean and bright."[13] One would imagine, however, that cinema was nowhere near as effective as military drills, and the risk of raucous or dangerous behavior under the conditions necessary for cinema – a darkened space in order to view the image and a large group of assembled men – must have served as a deterrent to the introduction of motion pictures in some prisons. And if we can learn anything from the historical record about prisoner behavior in chapel, it is that these spaces simply increased the likelihood of infractions of prison rules such as passing contraband around, plotting, or more seriously, executing an escape.

The poignant figure of the inmate spectator who first encountered cinema within the penitentiary attracted the attention of journalists and others in the early twentieth century. At Joliet prison in Illinois in 1912, for example, a lifer told Warden E. J. Murphy: "I didn't know their wuz [*sic*] such things," referring both to the cinematic apparatus and to the racing car, airplane, and submarine depicted on the screen. The idea of the initiate spectator so late into cinema's transitional era, along with the idea of cinema as metaphoric escape for the prisoners, were popular tropes in prisoner and journalistic accounts of early cinema, although everything prisoners were reported to say about cinema was censored by the prison authorities and filtered by the sensibilities of investigating journalists. The lifer at Joliet, for example, described prison time transformed by the experience of watching motion pictures, since these weren't ordinary minutes but "deliriously happy" ones, "thirty minutes of freedom," where "glimpses of various bits of science which many of the men had never seen, flashes of European scenery, American skyscrapers, and other strange things whirled before the child-like audience."[14] Cinema was doubly hailed as a benevolent force in these accounts, bringing a ray of light (literally) into the lives of the inmates and reminding readers of cinema's unsurpassed capacity for virtual travel. Nor surprisingly, the prisoner audience was often infantilized in a manner consistent with the othering of so-called vulnerable groups such as women, children, and people of color.

Indeed, the theme of the first-time moviegoer behind bars was ubiquitous. In 1913 the *Atlanta Constitution* ran an excerpt from the prisoner publication *Good Words*, written by a prisoner-reporter who sat between two lifers experiencing cinema for the first time in a federal prison (former sailors, one had been inside since 1880, the other since 1897). "'Why, it's just like you was lookin' at folks!'" said one of the men. That cinema's belated appearance behind bars should have attracted the interest of journalists writing during the early cinema period should come as no surprise; to this day, how prison authorities negotiate what parts of the modern world prisoners have access to is newsworthy, as seen in a

2011 *New York Times* article about the large number of letters written by inmates to the editors of men's magazines (coined "jail mail") and their very limited internet access.[15] As constructed by the press, filmgoing in the penitentiary takes on the feel of a social experiment, in which the prisoners serve as guinea pigs for testing the impact of motion pictures on naïve spectators. The sense of glee in these accounts seems premised both upon the idea of incongruity – the films versus their reception context – *and* the idea that the venue might alter the perceptual experience of cinema, that prisoners might in fact *see* something different by dint of their incarceration.

Another feature of prison film spectatorship is its homosociality, a phenomenon that undoubtedly shaped the meanings of the heterosexual dramas projected on the screen and the rituals attending motion picture exhibition where, outside of prison, men often went to the movies with their wives or girlfriends (although younger men probably went mostly with peers as they do today). And while access to images of women greatly increased when commercial releases started appearing in prisons by the mid 1910s, we shouldn't forget that cinema complemented rather than replaced pre-cinematic entertainments in prisons that had routinely included women, such as Mrs. Field's Bible Class at Sing Sing, which began in 1890.

Cinemagoing at Sing Sing: The Emergence of Film Culture Behind Bars

> Watch the play of expressions on our faces when the machine is in action, and if we do not convince you that we are grateful nothing else would. (Sing Sing Prisoner, 1915)[16]

Despite its size and proximity to New York City, Sing Sing was not one of the first penitentiaries in the United States to show moving pictures; in fact, its sister New York state prison in Clinton got a Power No. 6A projector (donated by the Auburn Film Company) six months earlier and started a regular Sunday screening series.[17] The first exhibition of motion pictures at Sing Sing, a prison that opened in 1826 to replace Newgate Prison in New York City, was in October 1914, around the time that many other prisons began to show film. The conditions for showing film at Sing Sing were established long before the first projector was delivered to its chapel screening room, however; as in many other public institutions, what allowed film to gain a foothold were pre-cinematic initiatives that performed similar institutional functions to film, including the prison library, which opened in 1848 under the stewardship of librarian Chaplain John Lucky. In addition to the library, prisoners enjoyed (or not as the case may be) "Sunday religious services, Bible class, [lectures by members of] the Volunteer Prisoner's League, and other uplifting influences," all of which led the way for organized sports and motion pictures.[18]

In this context, lectures delivered by public religious figures and prison reformers were a regular occurrence at Sing Sing and other prisons. One of the most frequent and popular visitors was the English-born Maude Ballington Booth, also known as Little Mother, who founded the Volunteer Prison League and made her first appearance at Sing Sing on May 24, 1896, when she was invited by Warden Omar V. Sage to conduct a chapel service. From prisoner accounts of her visit, Mrs. Booth mesmerized the convict population, not merely because of her gender and physical appearance (she was described as a "petite, modest-looking little woman in a shovel bonnet"): "The chapel seemed to be aflame with restlessness, appreciative of the presence again of *one* whom they have learnt to love and revere."[19] Doubling up as the prison's town hall, the chapel had a long history of igniting excitement in the prison population, and not primarily because of the religious services that were held there.

Another vital force in the prison reform movement was Thomas Mott Osborne, who had posed as prisoner Tom Brown to witness first hand the abuse of prisoners at Auburn Prison and helped the penal community organize into union-style groups. In 1914 Osborne became warden of Sing Sing and replaced the prison's Golden Rule Brotherhood with the Mutual Welfare League (MWL) whose responsibilities, according to Warden Lewis E. Lawes, who took over the reigns of Sing Sing six years after Osborne's hiring, were as follows: to "have charge of recreation on the field and in the chapel … to provide musical entertainments, arrange the schedule of moving pictures, engage in whatever social welfare work that was called to its attention by prisoners on behalf of their dependents; in fact, all extra-administrative demands of a community such as the prisoner population is [*sic*] represented."[20] The MWL ran the *Star of Hope* and elected an Entertainment Committee Chairman whose job it was to procure films and schedule screenings. The MWL also sponsored other prisoner welfare initiatives at Sing Sing, such as fundraising for the family members of the incarcerated and the annual show.

Of course, long before cinema was a mainstay of entertainments organized for inmates, prisoners wrote about using their imaginations to escape the drudgery and tedium of confinement, or what one inmate in 1899 referred to as building "air castles." According to Auburn number 25,551: "It is when we build 'air castles' with the eyes shut that our mental vision is clearest.… Distance is overcome so easily that thought may be one moment in America, the next in Europe.… We may cross the wildest mountain passes, span the broadest desserts.… What a wonderful journey, how cheap, how enjoyable, how free.… And all this journey can be mentally made in a single hour."[21] Reminiscent of an early cinema travelogue and poignantly acknowledging the large immigrant make-up of the prisoner population (roughly 40 percent by the early 1900s), this description of the mental castles seems aware of the fact that immigrant prisoners would have vivid memories of what the old world looked like.[22] Mentally constructing "air castles" was a way, therefore, of bringing the large and expansive into the small and

confined, as the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard argues in his discussion of the miniature in *The Poetics of Space*:

> How many times poet-painters, in their prisons, have broken through walls, by way of a tunnel! How many times, as they painted their dreams, they have escaped through a crack in the wall! And to get out of prison all means are good ones. If need be, mere absurdity can be a source of freedom.[23]

Gendering the imagination, Kierkegaard compares the relative quiet of the daytime mind, like a "diligent maid who sits quietly all day at her work," to a force that upon the fall of darkness becomes more active, more dangerous, and "can speak so prettily for me that I just have to look at it even if it isn't always landscapes or flowers or pastoral idylls she paints."[24]

Jack London's 1915 novel *The Jacket*, published under the title *The Star Rover* in the US, is an extraordinary take on the air-castle theme. In it, convicted murderer and former professor of agronomics Darrell Standing is strapped so tightly into a straitjacket as punishment for abusing the guards at San Quentin that he loses all sensation in his body and hallucinates time and space travel. Standing's out-of-body experiences can function as a metaphor for cinema's capacity to dissolve spatial and temporal barriers – the book opens with the line "All my life I have had awareness of other times and places" – and in chapter eleven, when Standing feels that his expanding brain has moved outside his skull, he recalls: "Time and space, in so far as they were the stuff of consciousness, underwent an enormous extension. Thus, without opening my eyes to verify, I knew that the walls of my very narrow cell had receded until it was like a vast audience-chamber."[25]

Given such literary descriptions of the acute imaginations of individuals in prison, it is hard to overestimate just how excited the inmates of Sing Sing must have been seeing motion pictures for the first time in the prison chapel. The inmates did not learn of the motion picture screening until early in the morning of Saturday, October 17, 1914, a gray, rainy day with low-lying clouds over the Hudson River. Despondent at the prospect of spending the entire day locked inside because of the inclement weather, "all disposition to complain was removed" when the men learned that a "moving picture machine had arrived at Sing Sing and a 'show' would be given in the afternoon."[26] During the inaugural screening, seven reels were projected in the chapel in two sittings, consisting mostly of Kalem comedies and Mack Sennett's *What the Doctor Ordered* (1912). After the final film, the projector was turned off to allow Chaplain Lucky to thank the individuals who had made the screening possible and to award Mr. E. R. Cass honorary membership in the Golden Rule Brotherhood.[27] A Miss Ella H. Davidson of New York City donated the motion picture projector along with enough films for three months' worth of weekly screenings. She made a guest appearance to thunderous applause at the second screening the following Sunday. Davidson was just one of many women active in organizations and benevolent societies who trumpeted the reform

movement and did their bit to improve the lives of the incarcerated. Indeed, it is tempting to read a great deal into the gendered connotations of this gift, and to have seen Miss Davidson walk into Sing Sing's chapel with the men cheering must surely have been an amazing sight. If we go along with the idea of cinema as a source of comfort to these men, then Miss Davidson might well be perceived as the Florence Nightingale of the effort to introduce motion pictures to one of the world's most notorious prisons.

Several protocols of the emergent model of theatrical film exhibition were modified in this and subsequent screenings at Sing Sing, imbuing the experience with something of an anachronistic feel, reminiscent of the early years of cinema's inclusion in the vaudeville program: first, the films were interrupted by musical performances, vaudeville acts, and occasionally speeches (for example, on October 24, 1914, live musical performances of songs about distant loved ones and the plight of an aching heart were interspersed between the films); second, the price of admission was "not a Broadway price [but] simply a decent regard for the rules by which we are all governed."[28] The commercial underpinnings of cinema were negated, since no money was required for admission (instead, attendance was contingent on good behavior both prior to and during the screening); and third, the newsworthiness of the screening provoked prisoner commentary in the weekly *Star of Hope*, inscribing the distinct pleasures of motion pictures within an informal institutional memory.

And so began the tradition of showing films at Sing Sing, a ritual involving "700 or more of us sit[ting] in the chapel watching the pictures, instinct with life, that are thrown up on the screen and listening between the reels, usually six in number, to the very excellent music, both vocal and instrumental."[29] Within three weeks of the inaugural screening, the *Star of Hope* had established a weekly column (the first was on November 7, 1914) reviewing the entertainments under the column "At the Movies." Holidays such as Thanksgiving and Christmas were no longer the only times of year when special entertainment and improved food were available; motion pictures soon became a weekly occurrence, sometimes more frequently, depending on the availability of films.

The introduction of motion pictures into the prison undoubtedly added ammunition to those critics who, already skeptical of cinema's supposed role in lowering moral standards among the general public, felt prisons should be places of unrelenting punishment rather than spaces of entertainment. Yet the idea of yoking one insalubrious institution with another is suggested by the case of Sing Sing, where one of the rationales for the evening and weekend screenings was to prevent inmates from engaging in sex after doubling up in cells become the norm during the 1890s. The other reason for film screenings was to get the prisoners out of their damp cells, where at the end of the nineteenth century they spent three quarters of the day. Living in cells that measured seven feet long, six and a half feet wide, and six feet high (just 168 cubic feet of air, not including the air space taken up by furniture, far below the minimum of 400

specified by the New York Board of Health), prisoners frequently contracted pulmonary, upper respiratory, and dermatological diseases.

Notwithstanding the prison authority's desire to use cinema to (attempt to) stave off sexual activity and ill-health, cinema could also be utilized for ideological purposes, inculcating American values and keeping as many as fifteen hundred men docile for the duration of the film program (there were always two screenings at Sing Sing to accommodate the nearly 1,500 inmates). The self-governance of the Mutual Welfare League (MWL) was publicly credited in the pages of the *Star of Hope* "for the order and fine discipline which is being maintained in the chapel," and Sunday film screenings gave the men a much-needed break from their cells where they would otherwise have spent an inordinate amount of time over a typical weekend. The Chairman of the Entertainment Committee was routinely thanked in the *Star of Hope* for obtaining donated films from such production companies as Vitagraph, which regularly supplied films for the inmates.[30] But how did the prison authorities feel about prisoners watching virtually the same line-up of films as their free brethren? And surely the endemic moral panic about the negative effects of film on so-called vulnerable groups must have applied to those who were already on the wrong side of the law? (Or perhaps the stakes were lower because they were considered beyond redemption?)

I have come across no discussion of censorship of films by the prison authorities or the MWL, although this is not to say that some titles were rejected. The most obvious reason for this is Hollywood's role as an effective conduit for ideologically sanctioned narratives, that despite charges of glamorizing criminals and their lifestyles, drove home the message that crime seldom paid (the case of *Alias Jimmy Valentine* discussed below validates this). Less than five months after the inaugural screening at Sing Sing, a nascent motion picture culture was established at the prison; films were being shown on a regular basis, inmates had access to home-grown film criticism in the *Star of Hope*, and film studios began shooting on location at Sing Sing, including Maurice Tourneur's 1915 *Alias Jimmy Valentine*, which featured actual prison drills. The experience of watching *Alias Jimmy Valentine* at Sing Sing became an act of self-witnessing for the 1,700 inmates, as the prison's *Star of Hope* reviewer put it: "The play was full of action and the scenes were very realistic, especially those laid in Sing Sing.… And of the companies of men marching through the yard to the mess hall were men – scores of men – who sat in the audience viewing the pictures, and, of course, they and their comrades had no trouble identifying them."[31] Being in prison and recognizing yourself on the screen must have been a bizarre experience, triggering an existential jolt about the reality of the situation. And even though the men purportedly cheered loudly when Warden Osborne appeared in the opening shot of the film, several of them lower their heads and tip their caps to conceal their identity as they march before the camera. Resembling a "perp walk" where arrested individuals are paraded from the police precinct to a waiting car before the assembled news media, Tourneur's footage of Sing Sing prisoners doing their drills is redolent with layers of signification,

especially when we factor in the film's exhibition at the prison. While seeing yourself on screen in the company of fellow inmates might have lessened the embarrassment of being identified as a convicted criminal, being seen by family members, friends, or future employees outside the institution was a different kettle of fish.

The motion picture industry was quick to exploit the prisoners' new status as film fans, with Carl Laemmle of the Universal Film Company launching a contest to find the best name for an untitled film tragedy, which premiered at Sing Sing in February 1915 (the winning convict would receive $50). This publicity stunt quickly spawned imitators, including another film company offer of a prize of the same amount for the best "scenario written and submitted by any 'guest' in warden Thomas Mott Osborne's 'detention home' up the Hudson." According to the *New York Tribune*, "the winning scenario will be produced in Sing Sing before being released. Comedies, dramas or melodramas are available but 'biographies' are barred."[32]

By 1927, films were shown to Sing Sing inmates living in the original brick cell house at 10:00 p.m. every single night of the week, as F. Raymond Daniel reported in the *New York Evening Post*: "They have movies every night but that's just to get out of the unhealthy cells. The three hundred men in the new sanitary block are not allowed to go to the show."[33] The prisoners were offered the choice of staying in their damp cells and watching film every night or relocating to new, dry cells and seeing films on Tuesdays and Fridays. The *New York Times* quoted Lawes as saying that "contrary to general belief, nightly shows were given not primarily to entertain the prisoners, but rather to keep them out of the insanitary, stone cells, most of which have been abolished."[34] As ways of mitigating damp cells and sexual activity, the screening of films at Sing Sing put an intriguing spin on the moral panic about cinema's corrupting influence. In the prison at least, representations of sexual activity on screen were tame compared to what went on off-screen, and while concern about homosexual relationships had been voiced for a very long time (and was a factor in Sing Sing reformist warden Thomas Mott Osborne's resignation after he was accused in 1916 of having sex with several prisoners), it is striking that cinema should be employed in the fight against them.[35] But if men's status as film spectators in prisons received validation from both the MWL and the emerging film industry, can the same be said about women in penitentiaries or reformatories? It is to the situation affecting women prisoners that we now turn in the penultimate section of this chapter.

Reform and the Female Prisoner: Uplift and Knowing One's Place

> Many a poor girl is in prison just because she had faith in the spoutings of some empty-headed idiot with more wind than brains. (State Prison for Women, Auburn prisoner number 321, 1901)

One of Sing Sing's lesser-known claims to fame is that it housed the first separate women's prison in the United States, Mount Pleasant Female Prison, which opened in 1839 and continued to accommodate female inmates until 1877.[36] While space precludes a detailed discussion of the double standard to which women were held as law breakers, it is worth noting that behavior that would have gone virtually unnoticed in men was criminalized in the case of women; failure to conform to standards of female propriety came at a very steep price, and as prison historian Lucia Zedner argues, the "lack of concern, or worse, systematic exploitation meant that women often endured much poorer conditions than men convicted of similar offences."[37] Beginning in the 1870s, the women's reformatory movement, which modeled itself on juvenile reform, aimed at creating what historian Nicole Hahn Rafter calls a set of "feminized penal practices" that eschewed the model of the nineteenth-century brick prison in favor of cottage-style dwellings located around a central administrative building, far away from the "city's demoralizing influences." Women were sometimes sentenced to these reformatories for longer periods of time than men, since reformers believed that a change of morals could take years.[38] For the most part, though, women often received shorter sentences than men, since they "came before the court for the most trivial offenses of drunkenness, disorderly conduct, prostitution and petty theft."[39] A powerful group of women was pivotal in spearheading the reform movement in the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, including the formation of the American Prison Association in 1870. Between 1870 and 1935, twenty reformatories were established in the United States, founded upon the argument that women alone should be responsible for their day-to-day management.[40]

Despite these changes, closer examination of the kinds of leisure activities available to female inmates versus male prisoners reveals inequities, including the fact that in New York state prisons, film took much longer to reach institutions where women were incarcerated than magic lantern slides and musical and dramatic entertainments. Researching the *Star of Hope*, which includes information on entertainment and educational activities for women housed at the New York State's Women's Prison in Auburn, it seems that motion pictures were not shown in the tail end of the early cinema period (1914–15), even though they had appeared in male penitentiaries. Describing an evening's entertainment in early December 1914, female prisoner number 876 wrote, "We have not been so fortunate as our brothers on the other side of the wall [who] are more up to date with their moving pictures. Still we have enjoyed our magic lantern pictures [of the life of Christ] very much."[41] For this woman, the inequity is framed in terms of modernity, the men simply being "more up to date" and the women less likely to be on the receiving end of modern technology. The complaint falls short of engaging more deeply with the unfairness and even places a positive spin on the fact that women still have their lantern slides, albeit religious subjects that were akin to the kinds of shows put on for Sunday school children.

While I have yet to uncover any official explanation as to why Auburn's Women's Prison did not show films in the mid to late 1910s, one can speculate about several possible reasons for the decision to deprive women inmates of motion pictures: the first is that women were considered more susceptible to the moral corruption associated with the fledgling motion picture industry, and as a doubly othered constituency (female and criminal), the stakes were simply too high. In fact, motion pictures were singled out as causal factors in women's downfall, so showing them in prisons at this time was probably unthinkable for most superintendents and matrons. In light of the double standards imposed upon female prisoners and the high value attached to morality for women – in the nineteenth-century prison "mark system," for example, men were rewarded for diligence and productivity, while female inmates, as Zedner notes, earned marks for "good conduct, honesty, propriety, and 'moral improvement'" – it is no surprise that film was viewed with some suspicion.[42] Given the emphasis upon "'softening' and 'civilizing'" female inmates, film might have come with too much cultural baggage, and was perceived as useless in the fight against moral turpitude.[43] In the less rigidly disciplined environment of the female prison, film might have had less of a crucial role to play as a disciplinary agent; in reformatories, it was the (always married) female warden, as Zedner explains, who maintained order by "setting a personal example, gaining the trust of prisoners, and instilling a sense of loyalty."[44] Given the complex interplay of interpersonal relationships at women's reformatories and the heavy emphasis placed on the modeling of good behavior and the sanctioning of even the smallest infringements, cinema might have fit less comfortably in the larger disciplinary schema.

Second, when we factor in that the Chairman of the Entertainment Committee of the MWL was responsible for acquiring films, might have been easier for men on the MWL's Entertainment Committee to reach out to distributors and exhibitors for the loan of prints than women who were less likely to have worked or moved within this social network. Still, in most instances, films were offered free of charge to prisons such as Sing Sing, so it is quite possible that the inmates at the Women's Prison at Auburn in 1914 were offered film and even a projector at the same time as the men over the wall but the prison authorities declined. Finally, in an all-female environment save maintenance employees, it may have been less likely that someone was able or willing to operate a projector and organize reel changes during a film screening (in contrast to a lantern slide show where the lecturer was in charge of logistics), although I have not come across any references to this being a factor, and, as Haidee Wasson points out, operating instructions would have been standard with most portable projectors after the introduction of 16 mm in the early 1920s.[45]

Women housed in reformatories did eventually get to see motion pictures; on one occasion, when a screening was promised to the female prison population but then denied, the ensuing riot was reported in the *New York Times*, describing events that took place at the Reformatory for Women in Bedford, New York on New Year's Night 1920. Learning from Warden Henrietta Hoffman that they were not going to

be allowed to attend a promised moving picture show, the women "began to scream and shout and varied this by smashing furniture and banging their iron beds up and down the floor. The din became so loud that the reserve guards and matrons were summoned."[46] The prisoners' angry reaction to the loss of the filmgoing privilege suggests the high stakes of the screening and recalls an early period of female incarceration from the 1850s and 1860s when, as Zedner points out, "women's extreme frustration with the monotonous prison regime continued to lead to dramatic outbursts of anger and destruction."[47]

We can detect a contradiction, then, in the idea of women as docile subjects, susceptible to moral conversion on the one hand and their reputation as unruly when provoked to anger on the other, a view premised on the sexist notion that women could not control their violent passions and were more irrational and hysterical than their male counterparts. In the words of Arthur Griffiths, deputy governor of Millbank Prison in London in the 1850s, "they are far more persistent in their evil ways, more outrageously violent, less amenable to reason or reproof."[48] This belief is quite widespread in the historical record, explained in part by the fact that women were engaged in less productive work than men while incarcerated. This might account for why some women acted out as a result of boredom and frustration; for repeat offenders, there was little to be lost in occasionally causing a ruckus. Of course, it was a different story entirely for the women housed in male penitentiaries, who saw the same films as the male convicts, often in mixed-sex screenings; for the Fourth of July holiday in 1914, for example, 638 male and female prisoners watched moving pictures together at Connecticut State Prison, marching to the chapel in pairs, with the women taking their seats before the male prisoners.[49] The excitement and sexual tension that must have ensued from watching motion pictures in the same physical space as the opposite sex, even in a place of worship, was bound to mark these as very special occasions for the prisoners (and they were just that, taking place on Independence Day or at Thanksgiving rather than weekly). The anticipation alone of watching a film in the company of men – a memory from the outside suddenly invoked – must have generated a great deal of excitement, and while all eyes were supposedly on the screen under the watchful eye of presumably male and female guards, there must have been some head turning, as any teenage memory of going to the movies will attest.

For the most part, though, women in single-sex prisons and reformatories had to make the best of the leisure activities offered them, such as the dancing lessons introduced at Auburn Prison for Women in summer 1916. While men at Auburn watched films such as Harry Leverage's *The Girl and the Gangster* (1916), the women inmates were offered the more refined experience of listening to the sisters of St. Aloysius Convent accompanied by young boys and girls. If prisoner number 914's response to the singing is anything to go by, the show triggered maternal longings among several of the women: "Many of *us* have little children of our own.… Did the scene mean that we try for their sakes to help one another while here, to become better women and a credit to those awaiting our return to that haven of rest, home?

Yes."[50] This reflection on sacrifice, motherhood, and cooperative reform is especially significant when we consider that its readership consisted not only of other women housed in the same institution but the men incarcerated in the New York State prisons who received the magazine, as well as civilian subscribers. Given the overt censorship of the *Star of Hope*, it is hardly surprising that such comforting reflections made it into print, but it is interesting nevertheless that a performance, rather than a lecture, religious sermon, or printed book, served as a catalyst for such thoughtful reflection on the reformative value of wholesome amusements.

"An Education in Americanism": Concluding Thoughts

As institution, practice, experience, ritual, and disciplinary tool, early cinema was an exceedingly slippery signifier in the prison: for conservative social commentators, it was a potent example of the untoward coddling of prisoners, whereas for penal reformers film had the potential to uplift, reward, and inculcate American values. Writing in the *Star of Hope* in 1916, Great Meadows prisoner number 1964 addressed the utility of cinema as perceived by the outside world, prison authorities, and inmates: "To the world at large motion picture shows in prison have meant little more than the pampering of prisoners. Even the metropolitan papers … have complained at times that the honest man has to shed a nickel to see a 'movie' while a 'con' saw a two dollar feature for free."[51] Prisoner number 1964 also recognized the role of film in "amusing the prisoners, of helping to keep them contented without turning them out in the air and sunshine." Preoccupying this prisoner the most, however, was cinema's potential to instill American values among immigrant inmates: "A son of Italy enters the prison to pay for a statutory offense that is no crime in his land where women mature at an early age. The day after he enters, by using film, we can begin his education in Americanism. His education does not wait on the tediously acquired alphabet.… In six months he has learned more from the pictures than he could have learned from books in a sixteen-year sentence."[52] In a manner reminiscent of cinema's trumpeting by the industry, trade press, and progressives, the prisoner-author homes in on cinema's potential as an Americanizing force (while taking a mild swipe at the injustice of statutory laws). For Great Meadows number 1964, cinema is front and center in the reform process, the spectator "at the mercy of the mind which created the film." Moreover, via films that he calls "blessed messengers of discontent," defined as narratives with hard-luck characters who serve as negative role models, "you are in a position to make over your man, to inculcate in him, awaken in him, the mightiest of all forces, right desire, whose fruit is always CHARACTER."[53]

But how closely did cinema in prison replicate the social, cultural, and psychological experience of cinema as an increasingly mature and standardized industry in the early to mid 1910s? In terms of the ritualized aspects of filmgoing,

there are several points of convergence and divergence, convergence insofar as the film text was the same as the one shown theatrically, but divergence with respect to pretty much everything else. And while we may never know what the nature of watching films in prison was like during the early cinema period, it is possible to construct a hierarchy of institutional use-value, with the maintenance of compliant subjects somewhere near the top. The manner in which cinema was experienced differently in the penitentiary versus a motion picture theater or in non-theatrical venues such as churches, museums, or clubhouses thus depends on a range of social and psychological issues, a point that encourages us to think beyond the theatrical model of film spectatorship as the only true experience of cinema.

The *habitus* of filmgoing in prison, while a popular trope in countless Hollywood films showing prisoners gathered to watch films, is as complex as this sociological term itself, developed by Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu.[54] The habitus of filmgoing in prison can only be understood through a triangulated approach that locates moving pictures within a tradition of pre-cinematic entertainments and considers what the inmates were actually watching and how these films were reviewed or referenced in prisoner publications such as *Star of Hope* as well as in serious and popular journalism. It also requires searching for the fissures and cracks in all of these "sanctioned" accounts of film exhibition to find traces of the *experience*. When we refer to the escapism of cinema and speculate about what must have been going through the minds of the Sing Sing population when they watched Houdini perform his famous escape tricks or screen his movies, we are once again asked to rethink how spectatorship is resignified by the space of the prison. Inmate spectators were as complex and unknowable as the public film audience; they had taste preferences that were equally variegated and didn't all "love the movies" just because cinema was a break from their mind-numbing routine; when movies are part of the unchanging routine, even when they possess a diversionary quality, they are by no means isomorphic with the filmgoing experience of a free man or woman.

Ironically, in the modern prison, the din from constantly blaring televisions and radios drives some inmates crazy, since not only is peace and quiet hard to obtain, but, as Stateville, Illinois prisoner Sam Guttierez puts it, "the noise from competing radios and TV's in neighboring cells, particularly the rock and country music stations turned on full blast" is something he just can't get used to.[55] Radios and television (but very limited internet use) help distract and placate; they also bring the outside world into the prison, giving it a veneer of normalcy, as suggested in the fact that Britain's HM Prison Service Prisoner Handbook has an image of a portable television on a small table in a cell on the web page, an icon of reassurance to be sure.[56] At the same time, popular culture and the movies have always been markers of normalcy for the prison population, generating countless conversations in the exercise yard, workshop, and cell. "It was all the same and yet oh so different" would be how I'd characterize film in the prison, the same frames flickering through the projector at the same speed as in the theaters but in a unique space and context that most of us will never experience. As historians of early cinema,

we can learn a great deal about cinemagoing at the margins by turning to peripheral, non-theatrical institutions such as prisons to do justice to the subtleties and vagaries of film spectatorship; film on the inside still counts as filmgoing, even if the journey traveled is steps away from where you reside.

Notes

1 First-run pictures were made available to the Sing Sing prison as a result of the cooperation between the Skouras Brothers distributors and Sing Sing's membership in the New York Film Board of Trade. See "These are Your N.Y. State Correctional Institutions," and "Sing Sing Prison," *Corrections* 14, no. 9 (August–September 1949): 8 and 15, respectively, in File no. 16, Correspondence 1931–71 General, Box no. 1 Lawes Supplementary Collection, Lewis E. Lawes Collection, John Jay College of Criminal Justice [hereafter abbreviated to LLC-JJC].

2 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 8.

3 Stoler, *Archival Grain*, 21.

4 "Christmas Movies Delight Prisoners: Local Theater Manager and Two Actors at State Prison," *Hartford Courant*, December 26, 1914, 5. Warden Ward A. Garner had recently undertaken a number of reforms at the state prison in Connecticut, including lifting the ban on talking at meal times.

5 Clinton prisoner number 4,499, "Reformed by a Picture," *Star of Hope* 8, no. 18 (December 1901): 297–8.

6 According to Charles Musser, Mary was played by Robert Thomas, secretary and treasurer of the Kinetoscope Company. Despite the historical subject matter and its stop-camera technique, the film did not generate large sales. Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990), 86–7.

7 4,499, "Reformed," 298.

8 Louis P. Masur, *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776–1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 26.

9 "Convicts Hiss Chaplain," *Washington Post*, October 14, 1907, 3.

10 Henry Mayhew and John Binny, *The Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life* (London: Griffin, Bohn & Company, 1852), 101.

11 Several scholars have researched motion picture exhibition in chapels during the early era, including Stephen Bottomore & Company, "Projecting for the Lord: The Work of Wilson Carlile," *Film History* 14, no. 2 (2002): 195–209; Dean R. Rapp, "A Baptist Pioneer: The Exhibition of Film to London's East End Working Classes, 1900–1918," *Baptist Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2003): 6–21; Richard Abel, "From Peep Show to Picture Palace: The Early Exhibition of Motion Pictures," in *The Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film*, vol. 1, *Origins–1918*, eds. Cynthia Lucia, Roy Grundmann, and Art Simon (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); and Terry Lindvall, "Sundays in Norfolk: Toward a Protestant Utopia through Film Exhibition in Norfolk, Virginia, 1910–1920," in *Going to the Movies: Hollywood and the Social Experience of Cinema*, eds. Richard Maltby, Melvyn Stokes, and Robert C. Allen (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), 76–98.

12 "Moving Pictures in Prison," *New York Times*, December 2, 1911, 8.

13 Ibid.
14 "Five Hundred Convicts See Outside World – 'By Movies'," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 4, 1912, 1.
15 Jeremy W. Peters, "To the Editor, in an Inmate's Hand," *New York Times*, January 8, 2011, B1 and B4. *Maxim* receives between ten and thirty letters a week and *Rolling Stone* at least one a day.
16 Unidentified Sing Sing prisoner quoted in "Notes Written on the Screen," *New York Times*, March 14, 1915, xii.
17 "Pictures for Prisoners," *Washington Post*, March 22, 1914, SM3.
18 Sing Sing prisoner number 312, "A Study in Criminology," *Star of Hope* 1, no. 3 (May 1899): 1.
19 "The V.P.L. Day: Mrs. Booth Tendered an Enthusiastic Reception," *Star of Hope* 1, no. 13 (October 7, 1899): 7.
20 Lewis E. Lawes, *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1932), 119.
21 Auburn prisoner number 25,551, "Mental Visions," *Star of Hope* 1, no. 17 (December 1899): 2.
22 Denis Brian, *Sing Sing: The Inside Story of a Notorious Prison* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2005), 61.
23 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), 150.
24 Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, trans. Alastair Hannay (London: Penguin, 2003), 63.
25 Jack London, *The Jacket* (London, 1915) published in the United States as *The Star Rover* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 13 and 77–8. A Hollywood film partly based on the book directed by John Maybury and starring Adrien Brody and Keira Knightley was released in 2005.
26 "Sing Sing's Movies: Inaugurating the Golden Rule Brotherhood's New Machine," *Star of Hope* 16, no. 12 (October 1914): 178.
27 Ibid.
28 "The Movies," *Star of Hope* 16, no. 13 (November 1914): 198.
29 Ibid.
30 See "*The Lights of New York* (Van Dyke Brooke, Vitagraph, 1916)," *Star of Hope* 16, no. 8 (December 1916): 32 and "*The Man Behind the Curtain* (C. J. Van Deusen, Vitagraph, 1916)," *Star of Hope* 18, no. 5 (September 1916): 18, for references to prison order in the chapel.
31 *Star of Hope* 16, no. 20 (February 1915): 313. *Alias Jimmy Valentine* was shown on Saturday, February 14, 1915.
32 "'Valentine' Film at Sing Sing: Motion Pictures of Well Known Play Please Convict Audience," *New York Tribune*, February 16, 1915, 9.
33 F. Raymond Daniel, "Sing Sing's Pampering Done in Tiny, Damp Cells," *New York Evening Post*, February 26, 1927.
34 "Sing Sing Cuts Movie Shows, Since Cells are More Livable," unidentified entry in Lawes scrapbook in Folder #48 1926–30, Box 9, Series VI: General Scrap Books, LLC-JJC (page 519 of scrapbook).
35 For more on accusations of sodomy directed at Osborne, his legal travails, and eventual resignation from Sing Sing, see Rebecca M. McLennan, *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest,*

Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776–1941 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 414–16.

36 Roger Panetta, "Up the River: A History of Sing Sing Prison in the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1999), 240.

37 Lucia Zedner, "Wayward Sisters: The Prison for Women," in *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, eds. Norval Morris and David J. Rothman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 331.

38 Nicole Hahn Rafter, "Chastising the Unchaste: Social Control Functions of a Women's Reformatory, 1894–1931," in *Social Control and the State*, eds. Stanly Cohen and Andrew Scull (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 239.

39 Zedner, "Wayward Sisters," 340.

40 Ibid., 353.

41 State Prison for Women prisoner number 876, "Evening Entertainment," *Star of Hope* 16, no. 16 (January 1915): 255. The lantern projector was donated by friends of a Miss McCrea and weekly shows organized for the women at the State Prison.

42 Zedner, "Wayward Sisters," 342.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 344.

45 Personal communication, January 12, 2011. Also see Haidee Wasson, "Moving Picture Anatomy: The Case of the Portable Projector" (paper presented at ARTHEMIS conference "Moving Image Studies: Histories, Methods, Disciplines," Concordia University, Montreal, Canada, June 3–7, 2010).

46 "Girl Prisoners Mutiny," *New York Times*, January 3, 1920, 2.

47 Zedner, "Wayward Sisters," 349.

48 Arthur Griffiths, uncredited quotation in Zedner, "Wayward Sisters," 350.

49 "638 See 'Movies' at State Prison: Chapel Decorated with Flags – Institution's Own Band Plays," *Hartford Courant*, July 6, 1915, 13. Similarly, at the small East Cambridgeshire jail in Boston on Christmas Day 1922, 223 men and twelve women spent the morning being entertained by motion pictures and local vaudeville performers before an afternoon of recreation outdoors and sitting down to a pork dinner. "Prisoners Entertained in East Cambridge Jail," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 26, 1922, 7.

50 State Prison for Women prisoner number 914, "A Fine Entertainment," *Star of Hope* 16, no. 23 (April 1915): 370. My emphasis.

51 Great Meadows prisoner number 1964, "An Essay on Motion Pictures," *Star of Hope* 18, no. 7 (November 1916): 30.

52 1964, "An Essay," 30.

53 Ibid.

54 See Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1973), 3–137; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 78–86; and Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 115–40.

55 Norval Morris, "The Contemporary Prison," in Morris and Rothman, *History of the Prison*, 230.

56 See the "Prison Information Handbooks" (different for male and female inmates) and image of the television next to a barred window at http://www.hmprisonservice.gov.uk/adviceandsupport/prison_life. Accessed January 18, 2011.