



# Weekday Matinée:

## The Scene of the Daydream in Workaday Life

Paul S. Moore

A city must allow a scene for daydreaming. On weekday afternoons at the movies, the *matinée* provides this intersection of busy-ness and boredom. Like daydreaming at school, the *matinée* retains a hint of truancy. Done successfully it is unnoticed. Done as an audience it becomes a scene. Both participants and critics of the *matinée* would agree it is unnecessary. And yet, the city needs it.

Talk of the *matinée* crowd at one point concerned frivolity and vacuous consumption. American élites in the 1920s, according to one account, “cast a disdainful eye on the cultural tastes of the movie-goer and negative impressions of the *matinée* crowd... that valued opportunities for illusion and escape above all else” (Marchand 1985, 62). Aspersions aside, this was a rare city space open to nearly everyone. But even this openness created disdain for the massiveness of the audience. In Germany at the same time, *Zerstreuung* (diversion) was used to mock films and the mass audience. The press referred to film as *Zerstreuung*, accusing the masses of diversion, as a way to combine “disdain for the new medium and its uncultivated adherents with an obsessive fascination” (Hake 1987, 147).

Even writers excited and admiring of the movies, qualify the *matinée* as clearly wasteful. David Nasaw, in his recent review of public amusements, *Going Out*, speculates that, “Nooning at the nickel theater must have been an exhilarating—and slightly scandalous—break from routine. The trip to the nickel theater was an act of almost pure hedonism—in the middle of the workday, where it most certainly did not belong” (1999, 164). It is this assumption of hedonism, of scandalous escapism, that needs to be unpacked. Escapism could instead be linked to the work of cities. The availability of *matinées* would be a small measure of the culture of cities. The practice of *matinée*-going would be seen as indicative of the way the work of the city is done.

In the first part of this essay, the logic of the scene of the weekday *matinée* is outlined. The argument pursued here is that the weekday *matinée*, as a demonstration of excess and luxury, is a mirror of the workaday life of the city. It provides just enough distance to put the normal routine into perspective. In the second part, a historical context for that logic is constructed from an overview of existing studies of the *matinée*. Here, the *matinée* is dealt with as a women’s space in the city, as one of the first public places to specifically invite women to participate. Finally, a short



conclusion contemplates the current scene: a small collection of strangers enjoying their estrangement, the UnScene.

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It is not necessity but its contrary, 'luxury,' that presents living matter and humankind with their fundamental problems (Bataille, 1988).

Movies are easily conceived as escapism because they are segregated from the workaday world. For the audience, work exists in a separate place. The theatre serves only this one function of putting on a show. The space of the cinema is carefully separated from the sidewalk and publicity. There is a designated and designed entrance and a clear exit. The time allotted is discrete, too; there is a beginning and an end. The experience of a movie is constructed as distinct from the workaday world through a series of entrances and exits. So much of the invention of movie-going is tied to the creation of the movie as a time set aside from routine, and the design of the theatre as a space apart. Bright lights and marquees mark off the portal between city sidewalk and auditorium. Ticket booths, ticket takers, lobbies, concession stands and ushers each contribute to a ritual layering of the act of taking a seat. Once seated, the illuminated EXIT signs stay in peripheral vision as an important reminder of the transitory space of cinema. The movies are scheduled, advertised and publicized in order to make sure the entrance can be timed, planned, and executed with skill. The show itself is composed as a textured set of openings. Musical prelude, rising curtain, trailers and previews, studio logo, credit sequence. Finally, THE END, lights up and one last entry back into the city.

This performance of separation from routine makes it difficult to imagine that the darkened public space of a cinema could substitute for the everyday world. The life of the city, life in the city, continues outside. Siegfried Kracauer, in 1926, described films not only as the "mirror" of society, but the "daydreams of society" (1995, 292).

By extension, going to a *matinée* is a form of daydreaming in the city. This is almost literal since it happens during the day and takes place downtown, where the city works. Because a daydream happens while awake, the content and direction of the fantasy is highly controlled and it is never a trap. It cannot become a nightmare. The daydream is an anticipation, where the fantasy of potential is explored, much in the same way that each step of the entrance into the cinema anticipates and explores the potential of pleasure embodied in the movie.

The *matinée* is necessarily enjoyed as a respite, in the context of the business of the city outside. It is haunted by work. Thomas Elsaesser finds in film theory a recurring "disquiet about pleasure: what the spectator buys is the 'possibility of pleasure,' 'images that haunt our minds,' effects



which we are 'pleased to call pleasurable'" (1984, 51). This unease indicates that pleasure is itself a "composite," that only takes on meaning in the context of other events and does not have "a first cause" (1984, 51).

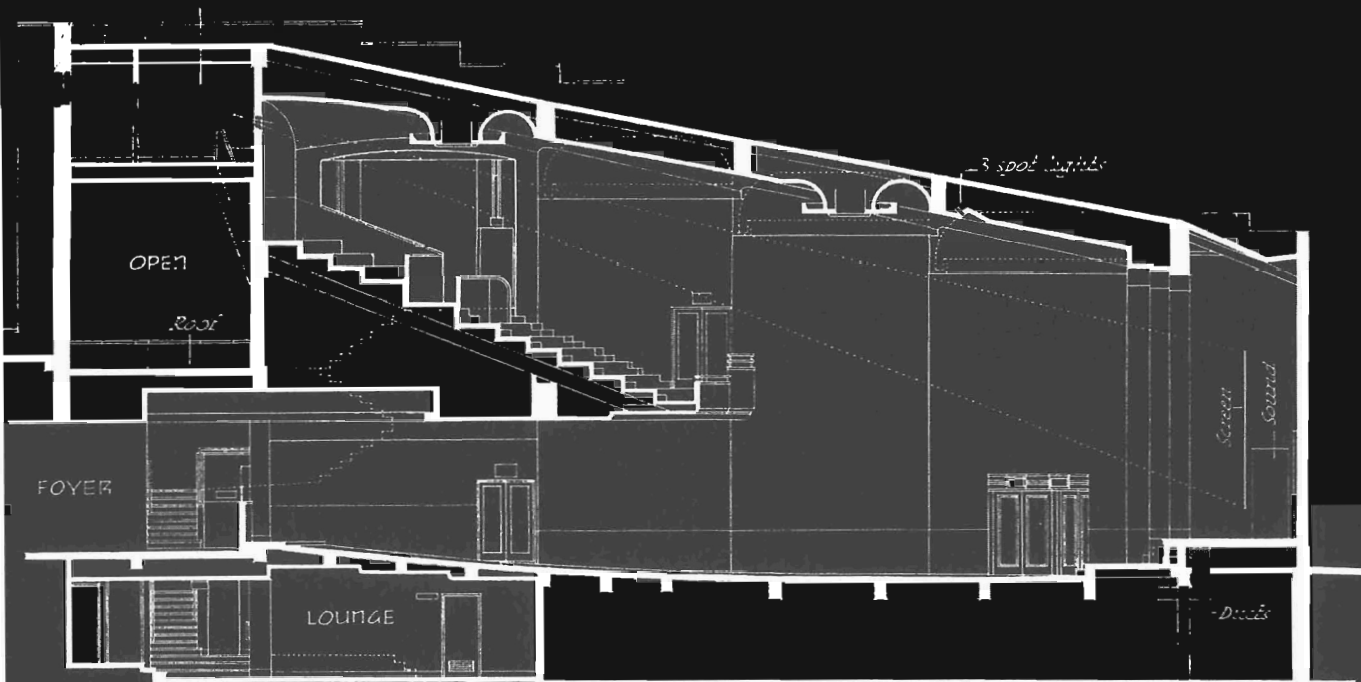
The pleasure of the *matinée* is tempered by the workaday, heavy with the ghost of responsibility. When Gerry Flahive laments the passing of the "guilty pleasures" of the 1970s *matinée*, he acknowledges this mediating role of taking time out in the city: "The 12:30 afternoon show at the Imperial was an important one as it catered to fedora-clad businessmen playing hooky from sales calls. They cared little for what was playing, just what time it got out" (1998, 35). This type of daydreaming in the city is merely a break before rejoining the workaday rather than an avoidance of it. But playing hooky, like daydreaming, is not automatically delinquency. It is temporary and strongly oriented to the routine of daily life. The goal is not escape but anticipation.

What is the actual action of seeing a movie? It is purchasing a ticket to a disposable spectacle, renting a seat for just two hours at a price that is knowingly too high. And then there is the money spent on the popcorn and drinks, again at prices that compare with the most extravagant restaurants. Given the prices, the masses are not duped by this culture industry. The payment is so extraordinary that nobody could be hoodwinked by some type of movie-going hegemonic ideology. Giving the movie-goer her agency, awareness and pleasure, it must be assumed that this expense is pure waste, simple decadence, and that it is done for that reason. This is a treat, not a trick. The movie-goer can afford to spend a little cash in order to have a little bit of a good time, to treat herself.

This examination of weekday *matinée* amusement, then, relies on some of the premises outlined in Georges Bataille's *The Accursed Share*.<sup>1</sup> No activity can be wholly productive, and seemingly non-productive acts establish their basic value as well. Luxury presents people's lives with their fundamental problems, and the general economy of all interactions is abundant with energy and thus living necessarily squanders surplus and creates pleasures. These ideas are used to avoid discussing movie-going as escapism because such a wasteful activity is viewed as productive in its own ways. The waste, the luxury, involved is taken as a deliberate and valuable act. It becomes a way of orienting to the dominance of the workaday world of the city. It rejects, it can't help but reject, the mandate that excess be reinvested rather than squandered on amusement.

What's more, especially at a *matinée*, not only cash is traded for a treat, but so is time. Time in the middle of the day that everyone, including the movie-goer, knows is worth money. The city person knows that time isn't free. Yet the *matinée*-goer flagrantly wastes time and exhibits this free time in public. Even if the movie-goer is a shift worker or someone with a weekday off, there is still a thrill to doing something as pampering and





Even in this casual activity there is an orientation to being occupied.

In *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, Georg Simmel characterizes the city as a cacophony of sense impressions, as a space where the senses are overloaded with discontinuous messages and constantly changing orders (1971). Rationality and thoughtfulness in this city schema become a retreat from the disorder that surrounds the thinker. Order and planning, intellectualism becomes an especially urban sort of coping mechanism within this disorderly environ. The cinema in this line of thought, can be seen as supporting that rational order, as reinforcing to the extreme the orderliness of city life. It is an ushered, seated, and focussed space besides the ordered narrated happily-ending stories watched there.

Rather than a retreat or escape from the usual order of city life, the movie theatre is a place of pastime where the planned, rational and thoughtful urban way of living is carried over into times and places away from work. The escapism of city life, following Simmel, is found in the ergonomic, intellectual inclination of work. Rather than retreat from this escapism of organization in a city of chaos, the cinema broadens the spheres of city life that fall under the mindset of business. It is this mindset that is actually escapist, in the way busy-ness organizes the scattered randomness and excess of the senses in the city.

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Furtively, the little shopgirls wipe their eyes and quickly powder their noses before the lights go up (Kracauer, 1995).

Kracauer writes that films are the daydreams of society in a 1927 essay titled "The Little Shopgirls Go to the Movies" (1995). Although excited by the social potential of films, he finds none of that potential in the women who form a large part of the audience. Time and again in this essay, after each melodramatic scenario, the female movie-goer fails to grasp the complexity of the film. As Sabine Hake's feminist reading of Kracauer makes clear, inconsistencies in his analysis of diversion, namely the pleasure and diversion of women, "were reduced to the problem of women's deficits" (1987, 159). In this aspect, Kracauer replicates common complaints and parodies of women and the movies. Andreas Huyssen, in *Mass Culture as Woman*, outlines this recurring feature of commentary on new forms of art and amusement. Writing with direct reference to Kracauer and the Frankfurt School, Huyssen points out that "the inscription of the feminine on the notion of mass culture, which seems to have its primary place in the late nineteenth century, did not relinquish its hold, even among those critics who did much to overcome the nineteenth-century mystification of mass culture as woman" (1995).

A cursory look at research on matinées provides material dealing with



theatre in the 1850s, through vaudeville in the 1890s, and movie palaces in the 1920s. Consistently and almost exclusively the *matinée* scene is associated with the appearance of women.<sup>3</sup> Here, the ‘*matinée* girls’ in the audience were caricatured and used as examples of inappropriate and distracting behaviour; they are the distraction from the distraction. The visual co-presence of women and movies is repeatedly presented as incompatible, one attraction too many.

In one example, “The Matinee Girl” from 1914, a theatre columnist complains that, “the pleasure has been spoiled for the majority of people present by the silly giggling and continued talking during the play by girls” (Costillo Bennett, 241). The problem of this misconduct is not its outright inappropriateness, but its happening at the theatre. The writer concludes, “the matinee girl may be very sweet, cute and fascinating away from the matinee, and managers could scarcely do without her patronage; but why should these girls... ruin the finale of every matinee” (Costillo Bennett, 241). By allowing the behaviour of the *matinée* girls its place away from the theatre, it is the presence of the young women themselves, not their actions, that is an affront to the attentive, occupied *matinée*-goer. The girls’ ‘deficit’ is their inability to be focussed, to act civilized.

Although the explicit complaint is the intrusive behaviour, the wealthy, privileged *matinée* girl is also breaking the understood order of the *matinée*. Perhaps, she is derided because she is attending the *matinée* and enjoying free time even though she hasn’t ‘earned’ the right to do so. She hasn’t worked hard, earned money, established an occupation, hasn’t stored up her spare time at all—she is disturbing the busy-ness of the city. The *matinée* in general does this too, because it lays bare the contradictions of the excess wealth and time produced by the work ethic on which the city is based. So much free time and spare cash spent in the middle of the day.

Not only young women were lampooned as out-of-place at the *matinée*. Older women, too, were caricatured for similarly inattentive attendance. “Mrs. Blabb at the Matinee” (Hobart 1922, 146, 194), fictionalizes a poorly-spoken mother who can recount every detail of the afternoon show for her curious children, except the play itself. “What was the story of the play, Mumma?”... “Why, my dear, I don’t know. I was so busy listening to the nice language that I didn’t hear any story,” she finally admits, although she knows the inside scoop on the playwright, the actors, and the critic’s opinions (Hobart, 1922, 194). She transgresses the construction of the theatre as a serious artform by being more pre-occupied with the discourse that surrounds the show than the story itself. This mandated focus on the content of the stage, rather than the context, was applied to film as well when it developed into a feature-length, ‘serious’ artform.



Shelley Stamp, in *Movie-Struck Girls*, explains that the inclusion of women in the space of the early movie house, done to create a more respectable and profitable place, did not happen without tension:

However actively courted, women remained a contested component of movie audiences well into the teens [1910s]. By using theatres as sites for socializing, self-display, and consumption, women altered the tenor of exhibition space in ways that alarmed many commentators, who worried that women's tendency to parade themselves at leisure outings shifted visual attention away from the screen and onto the circulation of gazes in lobby areas and entranceways, and that women who were encouraged to incorporate movies into their socializing might simply talk too much during the show (2000, 196).

Stamp documents the proliferation of disparaging images of early female movie-goers (2000, 24–40). In addition to the giggling matinée girls, the chattering shopgirls, and Mrs. Blabb, other problems and caricatures emerge, linked to women being demanding or arrogant, putting on airs, and over-dressing with the infamous view-blocking hat.

For Richard Butsch, the matinée girls invited popular parody and criticism as a consumer culture youth market, “the predecessors of movie and rock and roll fans” (1994, 397). Butsch traces the re-gendered ‘feminization’ of nineteenth-century theatre space to the introduction of matinées in the 1850s.

Business records are sparse, but it is likely that increased competition from minstrelsy, a depression in the mid-1850s, and declining profits in the 1860s encouraged the pursuit of a female market through the introduction of regular matinees at more theaters. It still was not considered proper for ladies to attend evening performances without male escorts, but, by the 1860s, male escorts were becoming less necessary for women in public during the day (1994, 389).

A rather smooth transition is described from rowdy male-only early theatres, where a woman would be taken as a prostitute, to a female-centred respectable theatre scene. Gradually, each offensive aspect of the space is trimmed. Alcohol, lewdness, and rowdiness all find their respective places in saloons, burlesque, and professional sports arenas. Each one is a late nineteenth-century place that substituted in part for the bawdy male-only space of the early nineteenth-century theatre.

Amusements and consumption are linked through the concept of feminization. But, what is really being described when public spaces, especially of amusement, are feminized? What if instead of feminization, the





process is more generally the management, the re-ordering of vices and desires? The taming of crassness and vulgarity into manageable amusement rather than uproarious debauchery is a civilizing process,<sup>4</sup> not merely a feminizing one. The feminization of amusement, then, is not the introduction of spare time and wasting time into the predominant asceticism of the city, but the orientation of that excess time to the ascetic organization of civility and city culture. As much as the city encourages the work ethic and spirit of capitalism, it also encourages the temporary denial of that ethic and the flagrant but temporary reversal of the rules of asceticism. With the *matinée* that reversal is tamed, but not to the point where it is no longer pleasurable.

In fact, part of the pleasure of a movie is participating in a civil, urbane crowd, one that includes women. Gunther Barth connects the decorum and etiquette of vaudeville theatre behaviour to a willingness and need to participate in the modern crowd of the city. "Most depended on reserved behavior and a modest appearance to demonstrate their identity as city people. With that frame of mind, the audience eagerly absorbed the mores of the vaudeville house, which refined howls of approval into enthusiastic applause, shrill dislike into deadly silence, and exuberant participation into rapt attention" (Barth 1980, 215). Here, modesty and restraint, even in leisure, are the markers of urbanity itself. Vaudeville, theatre, film, each successively as part of the modern, urban scene required a modern, urban discipline of their audiences. This discipline was not 'feminine' because it included women. It was modern, it was urban, because of their presence.

However, as Stamp explains, the mode of watching, of being in the audience, at vaudeville or the movies, had to be learned. Another cartoon figure, Mrs. McGabb, "offers a gentle corrective to the practice of talking through pictures... The 'rule of silence' was a learned custom" (Stamp 2000, 25).<sup>5</sup> Even if talking during the film was a bad habit for many, the lessons often came at the expense of women, who were lampooned as counter-examples of what was expected. Women, writes Stamp, "were frequently accused of being unable to adopt the viewing position demanded of classical cinema, because they were too distracted by friends or too consumed with their own appearance" (1991, 95). But, perhaps mockery of women's pretensions also gently reminded men of an important part of theatre etiquette: women at the movies expected to be treated respectably.

A question remains: why are weekday *matinées* written of almost only as women's space. It seems the idea of women at *matinées* attracts commentary and study precisely because it requires explanation. How could they have earned the time, money and skills needed to participate? And yet, the space is theirs. Of course, men in the city with free time and money to spare in the afternoon are assumed to have earned it. Shift workers, businessmen, students, entrepreneurs; when they are at a mat-

inée they have earned their place. They have earned the free time, saved up the spare money, established the right not to be questioned and studied for their presence.

Elizabeth Ewen writes that the movies allow for and are designed for filling the “gaps and fissures of experience” (1980, S47) in a society. But what gap is filled by women at the movies and what fissure released energy through the chattering *matinée* girl? If women were going out and the public sphere was ‘feminized,’ then what was the corollary in the private sphere? Perhaps home was beginning conversely to exist within a consumer mass culture, resulting in a ‘masculinization’ and rationalization of private life. Indeed, Ewen herself offers hints of this by writing about movie-going in the context of a new form of homelife for the immigrant women she studies (1980, S56-57). This strange, urban existence was dominated by budgets and wage labour, where all supplies, even food, came with a fixed cash price. Lauren Rabinovitz, too, discussing the relation of amusement and shopping, points out:

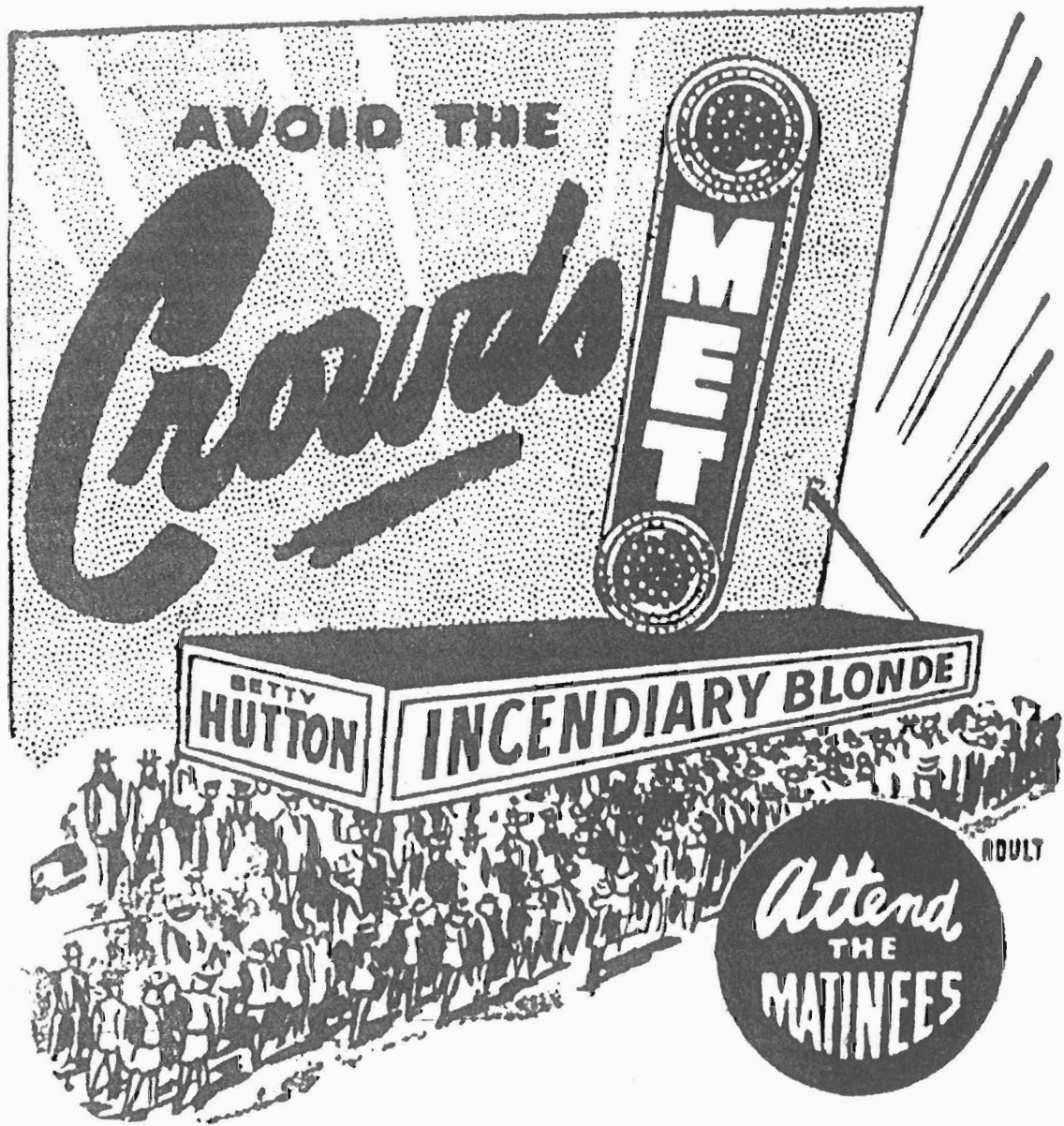
It may be difficult to consider women shopping as women working because they were also enjoying themselves. But women’s purchases of commodities outside the home became an essential part of their work routine for the household, and even here the pleasure of shopping could easily have been undercut by a woman’s financial inability to purchase what she needed. Many women had to learn how to “make ends meet” (1998, 77).

In this city world, the *matinée* allows for a temporary space apart from this home life of budgeting, planning and responsibility. The gap in experience of women that the afternoon *matinée* filled is a space of their own and free from the overriding urban imperative to care for the home and family through money management.

As for the segment of privileged giggling *matinée* girls, the fissure of experience that releases here is the ability to be amongst one’s own, to skirt the direct supervision of family and home. Ewen discusses many of the tensions between daughters and families arising from dating, earning and spending money, or independence in general. The movies, compared to homelife, better reflected the pace of city life. The *matinée*, because it was before sundown, between work and night, was often the only place to go unsupervised. Enjoyed either with other women or with men, for romantic or platonic intent, the darkness of the *matinée* allowed a minimal privacy to explore friendships outside of family scrutiny.

In general, then, a recurring theme around the *matinée* is the temporary and limited re-fashioning of the prevalent organizing principle of one’s life. Be that independence, civility, sales, work, budgeting, boredom or drudgery. And of course, the limited time and space of the *matinée*, its



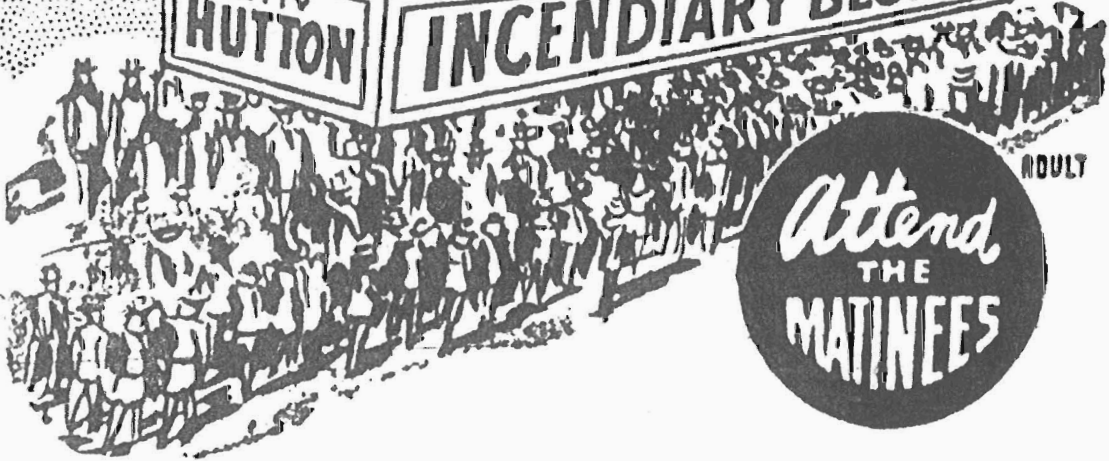


AVOID THE

*Crowds*

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BETTY  
**HUTTON** **INCENDIARY BLONDE**



Attend  
THE  
**MATINEES**

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impermanence and organization, the very darkness of it, the ticketing of it, the extravagance and fantasy of it, reinforces that dominant theme. Rather than escapism, the routine can be recognized and perhaps more appreciated. The *matinée* gives a reference point to describe the workaday and account for it by its temporary absence. This daydreaming fosters a healthy imagination, a glimpse at the possible. It is how the actual can be recognized, by stepping just outside of it. The *matinée* is a guilty pleasure, and the importance is on the guilt rather than the pleasure. Not the negative lingering guilt of sins, but a guilt that recognizes the transgression of the pleasure followed up by the commitment to live without that little extravagance.

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Avoid the crowds... attend the matinees.<sup>6</sup>

Having defined the *matinée* as a framed alleviation of norms, as a break from the workaday, what are we to make of the current state of the *matinée* in the city? The *matinée* is no longer used as a women's space, no longer needed to escape family pressure or work pressure. What organizing principle does today's *matinée* defy, and what does it provide a daydreaming respite from, if not work? The *matinée* is unique in offering a public place where one is left alone with room, space, and privacy. As one newspaper ad wisely advised, it is a place to "avoid the crowds." And yet, a *matinée*-goer is still part of a crowd, if a small one, and is in a public place. Could this be The Scene of the UnScene?

A scene in the city is a collective awareness of the group's uniqueness as a collectivity, the awareness of sameness that congregates around an activity. But the *matinée* as it now is practiced illustrates a space in the city where a small group of people each alone (in pairs maybe but not large groups) congregates around an activity organized for their collective disparity. It emphasizes their collective separation and aloneness, rather than uniqueness around a positively phrased trait or style. People go the *matinée* to be alone but not solitary, to have some room and respect for personal space without strict privacy or solitude. The *matinée* 'crowd' is directed together toward a group activity, the movie, without having to feel that they are part of a mass audience. The city used to organize the mass, the crowd, around fast-paced urban directedness or consumption, which the *matinée* allowed some people to squander and neglect. Now the city organizes around lifestyles and demographics, but the *matinée* allows for a group of individuals to feel they have no interaction and self-definition.

But who can and does take advantage of being UnScene? The *matinée* is still, by definition, an audience of outsiders to begin with, people free



during the day (still after all the banking day) and thus serves or is available only to those with more or different types of spare time. This corresponds with types of people who have the inclination to assert their individuality, their lack of identities or at least identification with others. Now it is artists, students, entrepreneurs, management, retirees, all forms of self-directed people who by definition are able to extend their lunch late or start their evening early. The matinée is for people who want to see movies as individuals rather than being carried along with the mood of a crowd. A sociologist of film, interviewed for a newspaper article on the best theatres and times to see movies, says, "I want to be alone in the film. I don't want to deal with some moron's idea of what a funny line is" (Pomerancz 2001, F4-5). Not surprisingly, he recommends a weekday matinée.

The movie theatre is still a palace, of sorts. Even if the 1920s movie palace paradigm of architectural excess was short-lived, each bare multiplex auditorium relies on the idea of the palatial for effect. Lewis Mumford, in *The City in History*, discusses amusements and pleasures in the city as traces of a baroque age, of the palatial (1961, 377-382). His definition of the palace is an extravagant display of spaciousness and self-sufficient power. The palaces, baroque hotels, or hotels de ville, were arranged explicitly for the accommodation of strangers in luxury. Designed, then, with plush suites, each separated with a high degree of formality and anonymity.

How appropriate that the movie palaces should so frequently be named the 'Palace.'<sup>7</sup> These twentieth-century temples of strangers in luxury came to provide a trace of the baroque in the modern city—commingled city folk in a hotel of amusement, arranged carefully according to structures of pleasure and luxury, still going hand-in-hand with a strict formality and anonymity. The pleasure of the movie palace, again as a remnant of the baroque and still found in the anything-but-baroque movie theatre of today. But only at the weekday matinée is there a flaunting of wasted space and a pretense of estranged anonymity among the audience. Today the spaciousness of the auditorium has been curtailed, but at the weekday matinée it can still be found. There is no need to sit close together. There is room for everyone, a separate seat even for parcels or coats. This extra room, importantly found in public, not purchased or patrolled or gated, is what underpins the display of self-sufficiency. A display of independence in the city, a small forum where the social ties of urban interdependence are cut, where one finds a temporary illusion of the society without sociality.

#### Notes

- 1 The ideas are condensed from the Part One of Volume One on Consumption.
- 2 The word "entertainment" as opposed to "free time busy-ness" is found in an alternate version by the same translator in *New German Critique* 40 (Winter 1987), 93.
- 3 Also, of course, weekend matinées for children (see for example, Staples 1997; Nasaw



**APOLLO** 2001 Dundas—2 Hits  
EDMUND LOWE  
"KING SOLOMON OF BROADWAY"  
Buck Jones BOSS RIDER OF GUN CREEK

**EASTWOOD** Gerrard-Ashdale  
MARION DAVIES  
CLARK GABLE "CAIN & MABEL"  
Barton MacLane "THE BENGAL TIGER"

**GROVER** Danforth at Dawes Rd.  
2 Hits—Binnie Barnes  
Randolph "LAST of the MOHICANS"  
Scott  
Ches. Morris "THEY MET IN A TAXI"

**ACADEMY** 1286 Bloor—2 Hits  
George Brent  
Kay Francis "GIVE ME YOUR HEART"  
Patricia Ellis "LOVE BEGINS AT 20"

**Pr. of Wales**  
Joel McCrea  
Jean Arthur "Adventure in Manhattan"  
Richard Dix "DEVIL'S SQUADRON"

425 P'ment—2 Hits  
Patricia Ellis  
Ricardo Cortez "POSTAL INSPECTOR"  
Rev. Roberts "2 AGAINST THE WORLD"

At Woodbine—2 Hits  
Disney Col'd. Cartoon  
Randolph Scott "LAST OF MOHICANS"  
Ches. Morris "THEY MET IN A TAXI"

Queen at Lewis—Starts  
6.30—BOB BURNS  
Jack Benny, Burns & Allen, Martha Raye  
"The BIG BROADCAST of 1937"  
"HIT AND RUN DRIVER" (Crime Series)

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Matinee Daily  
GEORGE ARLISS—"EAST MEETS WEST"  
Stuart Erwin—"WOMEN ARE TROUBLE"

**CAPITOL** 2402 Yonge—Mo. 2172  
Parking  
GENE RAYMOND-ANN SOTHERN  
"Smartest Girl in Town"  
WALLACE BEERY, "OLD HUTCH"

**PARKDALE** 1605 Queen W.  
La. 1878—Eve. 6.30  
FREDDIE BARTHOLOMEW  
JACKIE COOPER  
"DEVIL IS A SISSY"  
PATSY KELLY-CHARLIE CHASE  
"KELLY THE SECOND"

**COLLEGE** Corner Davenport  
Lo. 6333—Eve. 6.30  
Robt. Taylor, Joan Crawford, Franchot Tone  
L. Barrymore, Mel. Douglas, Al. Skipworth  
"GORGEOUS HUSSY"  
Joan Bennett—Joel McCrea  
"TWO IN A CROWD"

**HUDSON** 4101 **Eglinton** **THE SHOW PLACE OF TORONTO**  
COLLINGTON AT AVENUE ROAD  
FREE PARKING

**Wm. Powell-Kay Francis**  
FRANK McHUGH  
"ONE WAY PASSAGE"  
**Sybil Jason-Guy Kibbee**  
MAY ROBSON  
"THE CAPTAIN'S KID"  
Matinee Daily This Week

Danforth-Pape—Ha. 7226  
Matinee Daily  
**PALACE**  
JOAN BENNETT—CARY GRANT  
"WEDDING PRESENT"  
DOROTHY LAMOUR—RAY MILLAND  
"JUNGLE PRINCESS"

At St. Clair  
LL. 6783—Parking  
Edward Arnold—"COME AND GET IT"  
Martha Raye—"HIDEAWAY GIRL"

2225 Bloor W.  
Ju. 2709—Eve. 6.30  
**Runnymede**  
FRANK McHUGH-JOAN BLONDELL  
"3 MEN ON A HORSE"  
WARNER OLAND  
"CHAS. CHAN AT OPERA"

Bloor-Bathurst  
Matinee Daily  
**ALHAMBRA**  
Joan Bennett, C. Grant "Wedding Present"  
D. Lamour, E. Milland, "Jungle Princess"

3301 Yonge St.  
Hu. 5437—Parking  
Stuart Erwin, "PIGSKIN PARADE"  
Ned Sparks, Mary Brian "Two's Company"

551 Mt. Pleasant Rd.  
HY. 9427—Parking  
Fredric March—Olivia De Havilland  
"ANTHONY ADVERSE"

At Dufferin—Ke. 3851  
Matinee Daily  
Fredric March—Olivia De Havilland  
"ANTHONY ADVERSE"

1669 Queen E.—Ho. 9226  
FRANCIS FARMER  
EDWARD ARNOLD—"COME AND GET IT"  
—JOE E. BROWN—"POLO JOE"

Spadina N. of St. Clair  
Sat. Kids' Show, 12.45  
Jack Benny, Burns & Allen—"Big Broadcast"  
Broadway—Ballet—"BENJAMIN TUMER"

1985; Miller Mitchell 1929).

4 The term comes from Norbert Elias (1994).

5 The term "code of silence" is taken from Miriam Hansen (1991, 95).

6 Ad from the Winnipeg Free Press, 1940s.

7 Canadian "Palaces" included those in Montréal, Hamilton, Calgary, Windsor, and Toronto.

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