

A Squalid-Looking Place: Poverty Row Films of the 1930s

by

Robert J Read

Department of Art History and Communication Studies

McGill University, Montreal

August 2010

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by
photocopy or by other means, without permission of the author.

Robert J Read, 2010.

Abstract

Film scholarship has generally assumed that the low-budget independent film studios, commonly known as Poverty Row, originated in the early sound-era to take advantage of the growing popularity of double feature exhibition programs. However, the emergence of the independent Poverty Row studios of the 1930s was actually the result of a complex interplay between the emerging Hollywood studios and independent film production during the late 1910s and 1920s. As the Hollywood studios expanded their production, as well as their distribution networks and exhibition circuits, the independent producers that remained outside of the studio system became increasingly marginalized and cut-off from the most profitable aspects of film exhibition. By the late 1920s, non-Hollywood independent film production became reduced to the making of low-budget action films (westerns, adventure films and serials) for the small profit, suburban neighbourhood and small town markets. With the economic hardships of the Depression, the dominant Hollywood studios were forced to cut-back on their lower budgeted films, thus inadvertently allowing the independent production companies now referred to in the trade press as Poverty Row to expand their film practice.

This dissertation examines the history of the 1930s independent Poverty Row studios from the introduction of sound film production to the end of the independent companies in 1940. Through archival research and textual analysis, this project documents the declining fortunes of independent film production and contrasts this decline to the rise of the Hollywood studios, and the gradual

transformation of silent era independent film production into the Poverty Row studios. Moreover, this dissertation examines how the residual positioning of Poverty Row within the field of 1930s American cinema determines its relationship with the larger, dominant Hollywood studios, as well as its distinct film practice. Although independent Poverty Row film production took place at the same time as that of the classical Hollywood cinema, it did not directly participate in the artistic and technological innovations of the classical Hollywood model of film practice. Instead, these low-budget producers perpetuated the established film aesthetics of the silent period into the sound cinema. As a result, the films produced by the independent Poverty Row studios of the 1930s take on lingering elements of the silent cinema, including genres, film styles, film stars, and outmoded representations of modernity. This perpetuation of a past cinema into the sound era not only defines Poverty Row film practice, but it also defines its relationship with the larger Hollywood studios and its position within the 1930s film industry.

Résumé

La littérature en études cinématographiques présume que les studios indépendants de films à petit budget, plus connus sous le vocable *Poverty Row*, prennent leur origine aux débuts du cinéma sonore, afin de bénéficier de la popularité croissante des projections à programme double. Cependant, l'émergence des studios indépendants de *Poverty Row* est en fait le résultat

d'interactions complexes entre les studios naissants d'Hollywood et la production cinématographique indépendante durant la fin des années 1910 et durant les années 1920. À mesure que les studios hollywoodiens augmentent leur production, tout comme leurs réseaux de distribution et leurs circuits de projection, les producteurs indépendants restés en dehors du système de studios, deviennent de plus en plus marginalisés et coupés des secteurs les plus profitables de la projection de films. À la fin des années 1920, la production indépendante non-hollywoodienne est réduite à des films d'action de série B (des westerns, des films d'aventure ou des séries) comptant de maigres profits réalisés dans des marchés de petites villes et villages. Avec les difficultés économiques causées par la Dépression, les studios hollywoodiens dominants sont forcés de couper la production de leurs films à petit budget, permettant ainsi involontairement aux compagnies de production indépendante, aujourd'hui connues sous le nom de *Poverty Row*, d'augmenter leur création.

Cette thèse porte sur l'histoire des studios indépendants de *Poverty Row* des années 1930, depuis l'introduction du son dans les films, jusqu'à la fin de ces compagnies indépendantes en 1940. À travers une recherche d'archives et des analyses textuelles, ce projet documente le sort déclinant de la production indépendante de films et contraste ce déclin avec la montée des studios d'Hollywood, et la transformation graduelle de la production cinématographique indépendante de l'époque muette vers les studios de *Poverty Row*. De plus, cette thèse analyse comment le positionnement résiduel de *Poverty Row* à l'intérieur du champ du cinéma américain des années 1930 détermine sa relation avec les

importants studios hollywoodiens dominants, tout comme sa production cinématographique distinctive. Même si la production indépendante de *Poverty Row* a lieu en même temps que le cinéma hollywoodien classique, elle n'a pas participé directement aux innovations artistiques et technologiques du modèle classique de production de films hollywoodiens. À la place, ces productions à petit budget ont perpétué l'esthétique établie durant la période muette au sein du cinéma sonore. En conséquence, les films produits par les studios indépendants de *Poverty Row* durant les années 1930 démontrent des éléments persistants du cinéma muet, incluant les genres, les styles de film et des représentations démodées de la modernité. Cette perpétuation d'un cinéma du passé au sein du cinéma sonore définit non seulement la production des films de *Poverty Row*, elle détermine également sa relation avec les importants studios d'Hollywood et sa position à l'intérieur de l'industrie du film des années 1930.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks are due to my dissertation committee, also Dr. Jonathan Sterne and Dr. Keir Keightley for their contributions. As well, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Will Straw, for, if it were not for his support and encouragement, guidance and patience, this project would never have come to completion. I would also like to thank my wife, Bernaie, and my family for their love and support.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	vi
Introduction: Poverty Row as Cinematic Slum	1
Chapter One: Why do a Study of 1930s Poverty Row?	15
Chapter Two: The Origins of Poverty Row	61
Chapter Three: The Independent Phase of Poverty Row	99
Chapter Four: 1935 and the End of the Independent	160
Chapter Five: Poverty Row as Residual Film Practice	204
Chapter Six: Residual Modernity	240
Conclusion	272
Appendices	
Appendix A	275
Appendix B	380
Works Cited	405

Introduction: Poverty Row as Cinematic Slum

On August 5th, 1938, in his syndicated newspaper column “In New York,” commentator George Rose regaled his readers with “more paragraphs from this returned tourist’s Hollywood notebook.” In this installment, Rose tells of his tour of the ‘New York’ streets on the Hollywood back lots. He is particularly taken by the authenticity and detail of the Warner Bros. recreated ghetto neighborhood of Manhattan’s lower eastside (10).

The reproduction of the slums is too realistic for comfort. The pushcart mart, the unswept filth, the grime, the cluttered fire escapes, the washing and the grim and dirty little shops might have been transported bodily from the part of Manhattan nearest the Williamsburg Bridge.

They worship authenticity on that set to the extent of sticking paper mache flies on the store windows and littering a decaying bookstall with magazines of recent vintage. (10)

Rose waxes nostalgic about his authentic home town in the company of film star Pat O’Brien and screenwriter Gene Fowler, but eventually concedes to the enchantment of the unnatural mix of California sun and the *paper-mache* Gotham (10).

Then, suddenly, Rose’s tour takes an unexpected turn from Hollywood’s simulated ghettos to Hollywood’s real-life slum.

This is Hollywood and so when the driver who is pointing out sights, remarks that on the left of the boulevard that connects Beverly Hills and Hollywood is Poverty Row, you don't cast your eye around for tumbledown shacks, ill-nourished children and debris on the pavement.

Instead you will see a rickety picket fence tapering off on a narrow alley and behind it a building that looks like it might be a pants factory. It is a factory turning out celluloid fiction at sweatshop speed and on a shoestring budget. For in Hollywood, Poverty Row is the name of the place where nondescript producers turn out "quickies," the films usually included on the nether end of a double feature program.

A squalid-looking place, too, this Poverty Row, and an eyesore, like any slum. (10)

Rose's detour creates a harsh juxtaposition between the simulated ghettos found on Hollywood's back lots and the real-world cinematic slums of the region known as Poverty Row. He presents his readers with an image of Poverty Row as urban blight and an eyesore, evoking the real-life crowded filthy ghetto of the Lower Eastside and not the simulations of Warner's back lot. Moreover, Rose's comments coincide with a tendency towards industrial modernization and a reinvention of low-budget film production that begins mid-decade with the

introduction of the Hollywood B film, the reorganization of double feature programs, the development of conglomerate Poverty Row companies, commonly referred to as B-movie studios, and the decline of the old-time ‘quickie’ companies of Poverty Row.

In many ways, the campaign to eradicate Poverty Row was successful. There is very little remaining of Poverty Row, or its nondescript producers; likewise, film history has largely forgotten this marginal aspect of cinema’s past. It is only with the advent of home video and its proliferation of titles in the mid-1990s that Poverty Row was unearthed. This is where I ‘discovered’ Poverty Row with the purchase of a video cassette of the 1933 film *The Vampire Bat*. The film starred Lionel Atwill, Fay Wray, and Melvyn Douglas, and they were backed by recognizable stock players: Dwight Frye, George E. Stone, Lionel Belmore and Robert Frazer. The film did have acceptable production values, quality performances, studio sets, great transitional wipes, a modicum of suspense, and an effective narrative, although the direction was a little clunky at times. The film could have easily passed as a lesser entry in the Hollywood horror cycle of the early 1930s; except that it was not a Hollywood studio film. It was produced outside the studios system by a company called Majestic Pictures. At the time, I had no understanding of what Majestic Pictures had been. I merely assumed that the film was a cheap knock-off and an attempt to cash-in on the success of other Hollywood studio horror films of the period, like *Dracula* (Universal Pictures, 1931) or *The Mystery in the Wax Museum* (Warner Brothers, 1933).

For me, collecting films on home video began as a recreational activity, a leisurely pursuit of home entertainment, but it did not take long before my collection of films began to reveal larger trends in film history. My collection bristled with films from various schools and genres—horrors, science fiction, and westerns, various cycles like *film noir*, German expressionism, and the French *nouvelle vague*, as well as, the masterworks of my favorite filmmakers (Josef von Sternberg, Akira Kurosawa, or John Ford), and even my own guilty pleasures, like the Bowery Boys, the films of Edgar G. Ulmer, or Japanese *Kaiju Eiga* (rubber-suited monster movies). However, as my collection grew, I was becoming more and more drawn to the films of Poverty Row, precisely because they did not fit into the established discourses on film. The more Poverty Row films I collected, the more they seemed to fly in the face of everything I understood about filmmaking and its history. Moreover, there was very little within existing histories of cinema that could explain these unusual films. Certainly there was the occasional mention of Poverty Row, usually punctuated with some comments about marginality and inferiority, but never a fully formed explanation as to why these films were made. I realized that, without any viable scholarly research into the history of these films, I was going to have to start my study from the beginning and gather as much research material as I could find. Fortunately, for my research, there were hundreds of examples of Poverty Row film production available on home video. If, as Walter Benjamin has suggested, the collection can be an historical system revealing the knowledge of an epoch, then my collection of Poverty Row films stood as evidence of a distinct aspect of the American

cinema's history (Benjamin 1999a, [H1a,2] 205). Poverty Row may have been considered an eyesore and a squalid-looking place, but the small independent film companies located there produced hundreds of film for over thirty years, and this history was now sitting on my shelves waiting to be told.

Poverty Row was in operation from the mid-1920s through to the mid-1950s. The term Poverty Row was initially used to describe a specific area within Los Angeles in which small studio facilities and office spaces were available for small-scale independent producers. With time, the term Poverty Row was being used by the fan and trade press to describe the various film companies that were located within this specific area of Los Angeles. These small film companies made cheap genre films for low-end movie theaters located in suburban neighborhoods, rural communities, and impoverished urban areas, and their film output was minute in comparison to the enormous volume of films issued every year by the much larger Hollywood studios. Low-budget action genre films, like westerns and serials, were the bread and butter of Poverty Row as the production of these types of films was generally shunned by the larger studios. As we shall see, however, the larger studios frequently increased their production of these categories of film when demand from exhibitors was high and supply low.

Throughout the thirty year history of Poverty Row, well over one hundred small production companies churned out features, shorts, serials, and documentaries for the small regional markets and double features. Although some production companies were in business for long periods of time, the majority of Poverty Row production companies were short-lived. Grand National was in

business for only four years, but released a large number of films, while other companies, like Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises or Superior Talking Pictures, were around for only a year, releasing only a handful of films; other companies were formed for the production of a single feature and then disappeared. The largest and best remembered Poverty Row companies were Republic Pictures, which was in operation from 1935 through to 1959; Monogram Pictures which ran from 1931 to 1935, then reopened in 1937 and continued to 1952 (Monogram started a subsidiary company in 1947 called Allied Artists, which remained in the film business until 1975); and Producers Releasing Corporation, which began under the name Producers Pictures in 1939. This company represented the lowest rung in film production during the 1940s, producing hundreds of ultra low-budget westerns, but it was also responsible for some of the highpoints in all of Poverty Row's history, including Edgar G. Ulmer's *Detour* (1945). The company was bought by British Lion Films in 1947 to become Eagle-Lion Films; in turn, Eagle-Lion was bought by United Artists in 1951.

Although, superficially, the Poverty Row film industry appeared to be haphazard and unstable, with numerous film companies springing up out of nowhere, releasing a handful of cheap films and then disappearing, the various producers behind this unsteady façade of shifting corporate banners remained a constant throughout Poverty Row's thirty year history. Many of these film producers and filmmakers had begun their careers in the late 1910s and early 1920s, churning out low-budget fodder for the last of the nickelodeons and storefront movie houses. As the Hollywood studios grew during the 1920s, these producers

remained outside the vertically integrated structures of production, distribution, and exhibition that came to be recognized as the studio system.

Poverty Row was a quick buck business. Films were made as quickly and cheaply as possible, and then released into small regional markets. However, it was its exclusion from the integrated distribution networks of the Hollywood studios that defined Poverty Row's film practice. Poverty Row companies had no control over the exhibition of their films. They would sell the distribution rights of their film to a local film exchange or States Rights distributors for a flat fee. Only the largest Poverty Row studios had their own film exchanges. The distributor would then rent the films to individual theater owners or theater chains. If a film was particularly successful, it was the exhibitor who made the extra profit, whereas the producer and the distributor only made their flat fee. Therefore, Poverty Row film production had to be kept within strict budgetary limitations in order for sufficient profits to be realized that production could continue. When handled properly, this system could return sizable profits, but overspending or indulgence could bring instant ruin. As a result, Poverty Row's mode of film production was determined by the limited profits generated through its distribution system.

The history of Poverty Row may be divided into three distinct, but overlapping historical periods, which I shall designate as the independent period, the conglomerate period, and the affiliated period. Each one is defined by the relationship between the film studios and the distribution and exhibition of their films. The first period of Poverty Row, the independent period, is characterized by

the lack of control the film producers had over the distribution and exhibition of their film product as a result of the need to sell their films to regional distributors and film exchanges. This period ran from the beginnings of Poverty Row in the mid-1920s through to 1940, when the last of the old independents closed their doors and the Poverty Row producers abandoned the film exchanges and States Rights dealers. It is further characterized by the lack of ownership of studio facilities and the use of studios space rented from independent facilities or the unused sound stages and back lots of some of the Hollywood studios.

The second phase of Poverty Row is the conglomerate phase. This period began in 1935 with the formation of Republic Pictures. Republic maintained a tight control over the distribution of its films and only made them available through its own distribution network. This meant that the studio retained more of a film's potential revenue. This conglomerate model was followed by Grand National in 1936 (until the company's collapse due to poor financial management in 1939), the re-organized Monogram in 1937, and Producers Pictures, later Producers Releasing Company in 1939. These organizations were characterized by their self-contained, in-house film distribution. As they were no longer dependent upon external distributors and exchanges, these companies retained more profit from their films. This also allowed these studios to increase their production budgets, thus making their films more suitable for booking in higher grade theaters and, on occasion, able to compete directly with Hollywood B films. This increased revenue also allowed these Poverty Row companies to establish their own studio spaces and back lot facilities. This period overlaps with the final

phase of Poverty Row, in which some Poverty Row studios began to enter into the realm of exhibition, and, conversely, film exhibitors began to enter into film production. The affiliated phase was ushered in by Producers Releasing Corporation, (later simply known as P.R.C.), which in the mid-1940s acquired a handful of movie theaters in the Los Angeles area. The ownership of even a small number of theaters could guarantee enough box-office revenue to support a small company like P.R.C. In 1945, Robert L. Lippert, a west coast theater chain owner, entered the Poverty Row film business with his Screen Guild Productions, which changed its name to Lippert Pictures in 1949. Lippert's main interest was securing films for his theater operations, but he also entered into a production and distribution agreement with Hammer Studios in England to produce cheap films in the UK for U.S. distribution and acquire access to UK markets for his American films.

The term Poverty Row fell out of regular use in the mid-1950s. There are a number of possible reasons why this happened, including the breakup of the Hollywood studios' exhibition monopoly and the end of double feature programming, the postwar suburban migration and closing down of hundreds of older neighborhood and regional movie houses, and the emergence of television, which reduced the need for low-budget films (several Poverty Row producers actually tried their hand at television production). However, I would posit that the end of Poverty Row as an idea was not due to these various socio-cultural factors. Instead, I would suggest that, as the new low-budget film production companies that came into being during the 1950s—companies like American International,

Allied Artists, and, later, Distribution Corporation of America (D.C.A.), Howco International, Woolner Brothers, and Crown International—replaced the older Poverty Row companies, they were, quite simply, no longer located along Los Angeles' Poverty Row. With this geographical reference no longer meaningful, the term Poverty Row fell out of common use.

The thirty years of Poverty Row film production encompasses several thousand films produced by over one hundred various production companies and it would require several volumes to examine it in its entirety. The key focus of this project is on the first phase of Poverty Row, what I have called the independent phase, which lasted from 1929 to 1940. This phase is of particular interest, not only because it marks the beginnings of Poverty Row, but also because, during this period, Poverty Row was at its most vibrant and prolific. The Poverty Row studios were producing films for the small market action houses as well as films suitable for double feature programming. These companies reached their zenith in the mid-1930s, but quickly collapsed when confronted by competition from the new conglomerate companies and the introduction of the Hollywood B films. This period is also of interest in that, while the production of films by Poverty Row companies was at its peak, during the same years the producing companies had the least amount of control over the revenue generated by their films. This aspect of Poverty Row's mode of film production differentiated it clearly from the model adopted by the large studios of classical Hollywood.

Chapter one begins with a study of the established literature surrounding Poverty Row film production and studio history. Rather than begin with scholarly inquiries into this aspect of film history, it is more fitting to begin with fan-based film literature. Generally, fan literature is fetishistic and lacking in critical depth; however, with respect to Poverty Row and its historical obscurity, much of this fan-based work focused upon the unearthing of historical details and forgotten films. In contrast, scholarly work regarding low-budget film production of the 1930s has centered upon the production of B films by the Hollywood studios and placed the production of Poverty Row films within the classical Hollywood model. However, as shall I argue, this Hollywood-centric perspective does not fully characterize Poverty Row's position within the 1930s film industry. Therefore, a new analytical perspective is needed. I offer Raymond William's model of residual cultural production. This analytical perspective provides new understanding into Poverty Row's historical origins, its relationship with the larger Hollywood studios, and its distinct film aesthetics. Moreover, the notion of Poverty Row as a residual cultural producer also changes the critical perspective on these films from one based upon a direct comparison with its Hollywood contemporaries and, instead, opens it an analysis that sees Poverty Row in relationship to the early cinema and theories of modernity that have come to surround early cinema. This chapter concludes with a discussion of methodology and the building of a corpus of Poverty Row films through the act of collecting.

Chapter two examines the historical origins of Poverty Row. Film scholars have generally assumed the Poverty Row began with the popularization of double

features during the 1930s; however, my research demonstrates that both Poverty Row and double features began long before the economic hardships of the Depression years. This chapter finds the origins of Poverty Row in the emergence of independent film production in the mid-1910s. Although independent film production flourished through most of the 1920s, as the Hollywood studios began to rise in prominence, independent, non-Hollywood studios, film production became increasingly marginalized and eventually reduced to the production of low-budget genre films. Moreover, as the fortunes of independent film production declined, the popular and trade presses began to refer to these small independent companies as Poverty Row studios. This chapter traces the decline of independent film production through a study of its film distribution though the States Rights and film exchange distribution system and through the decline of independent theater ownership and the programming of double features.

Chapter three focuses upon the historical developments that were unique to Poverty Row during, primarily the first half of the 1930s. The economic hardships of the Depression actually created opportunity for the independent producers of Poverty Row. During the early 1930s, the Poverty Row studios converted to sound film production. As well, the Poverty Row studios benefitted from an increased demand for low-budget films as struggling movie theaters introduced double features to boost declining box-office revenue. Poverty Row also increased its production of low-budget westerns and action genre films as the cash-strapped Hollywood studios cut back on their production of lower-budgeted films for dual programs. This chapter also documents specific shifts within the

Poverty Row film studios and discusses the rise of the exploitation film in the latter half of the 1930s.

Chapter four focuses upon the emergence of both the Hollywood B film and the development of the conglomerate Poverty Row studios and the subsequent decline of the independent Poverty Row producers. The steady growth of double feature programming during the first half of the 1930s changed what had previously been a marginal exhibition strategy into a national trend. Moreover, the increased demand for low-budget films coupled with the economic stability of the mid-decade meant the reassertion of the Hollywood studios into the double feature marketplace through the introduction of the B film. The growth of the B film, coupled with the expansion of Hollywood studios' affiliated theater chains, greatly limited Poverty Row's access to double feature exhibition. Concurrent with the Hollywood B film came the first conglomerate Poverty Row company, Republic Pictures. This new company introduced a new business model, which increased its ability to produce higher budgeted genre films for both the double feature market and the smaller regional markets. As a result, the older independent producers began to lose their share of the exhibition market, forcing them to either band together under new conglomerate companies, fashioned after Republic, or close up shop. By 1940, all of the older independent Poverty Row companies were gone.

Following Raymond Williams' notion of residual cultural production, Chapter five discusses the distinct films of Poverty Row and various residual film practices. These lingering elements from cinema's past that were still present

within Poverty Row's film practice included the use of location shooting, the reuse of standing film sets from other productions, and the use of older stock footage culled from old newsreels and silent and early talkie films. As well, this chapter discusses the transition of many outmoded film directors and film stars from Hollywood to Poverty Row film production, with a case study of silent film star Jack Mulhall as his career descended from popular leading men in the 1920s to Poverty Row headliner and Hollywood bit player. Chapter six expands upon the notion of Poverty Row as residual, but it also examines how the representation of modernity within independent Poverty Row films, like its filmmaking practice, drew from older established, and even outmoded, cultural models from early cinema as found in serials and other sensational films. Moreover, this overlap of past and present within Poverty Row films creates parallels with other similar interpretations of the interwar era. In addition, this dissertation includes appendices which document Poverty Row film production. Although there have been several published filmographies of various Poverty Row film studios, none is inclusive of all non-Hollywood studios film production. Each entry provides the film's title, or titles, the year of its release, the production company, the distribution company and the film's director. Appendix A lists all films produced by the Poverty Row studios from 1929-1940, including all features, shorts, serials, and documentaries. Appendix B provides information on the Poverty Row conglomerate companies until 1939.

Chapter One: Why do a Study of 1930s Poverty Row?

Why do a study of Poverty Row movies from the 1930? For one thing, as already noted previous coverage has been minimal. For another, with the proliferation of video many of these old films are now easily available and can be viewed by the public with relative ease. Still another reason is that these movies are fun—many make good viewing and are interesting to research and evaluate. In some ways these Poverty Row affairs reflect their time better than the glossier big studio productions of the era. They certainly provide a wealth of entertainment, and while most are dated, they are not without cinematic merit. (Pitts, viii)

When Michael R. Pitts raised the question—why do a study of Poverty Row movies from the 1930s?—he was reacting to a discrepancy between the numbers of these films that were being released, at the time, on VHS, and the lack of critical and historical understanding of the Poverty Row film industry. Since that time, the number of 1930s Poverty Row films available on home video (now including DVD and on-line sites) has increased to a point at which almost the entire production of these small film studios is now accessible, with more obscure and forgotten films being unearthed and released every month. Nevertheless, scholarly understanding of the 1930 Poverty Row studios and their films has barely budged since Pitts published his filmography over ten years ago.

In the absence of significant scholarly work on Poverty Row, it is necessary to explore other methodological tools and models which may prove useful in investigating the history of this tendency within American film production of the 1930s. We will begin with a discussion of the Hollywood B film, with which the films of Poverty Row are often—and, we shall argue,

erroneously – equated. To challenge this equation, the first section of this chapter will examine both fan and scholarly literature surrounding the Hollywood B film. This review will hopefully provide useful in outlining the differences between the films of Poverty Row and the B film. At the same time, this discussion offers new methodological perspectives and historical models with which to expand our understanding of Poverty Row film production. The first of these is our understanding of Poverty Row film companies as residual cultural producers. The notion of residuality, we argue, will usefully illuminate the unique qualities of Poverty Row's film practice and the relationship of Poverty Row producers to the larger more powerful Hollywood studios. It will enable us, as well, to offer an extended analysis of the origins of Poverty Row. The notion of Poverty Row as cultural residue, to be developed here, will allow us to revise its place within film historiography by leading us to see Poverty Row in relation to the 'modernity thesis' concerning early cinema. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the act of collecting and its role in establishing a corpus of Poverty Row films.

Poverty Row and the B film fan

Poverty Row film production during the 1930s has too often been confused with the production of Hollywood B films and the need for affordable films to fill the bottom half of a double bill. The B film has developed a strong following within film fandom. The form is beloved for its select minor masterpieces, its series characters, and its action, intrigue, and suspense, all

cherished for the way in which they were packed into an easily consumed one hour running time. Over several decades, the B film has developed a fan base of considerable size and corresponding volumes of appreciative fan literature. Much of the fan-based literature focuses upon specific film genres and forms (the western, the horror film, the serial or the comedy short), or specific genre stars (Bela Lugosi, Boris Karloff, Gene Autry, or Roy Rogers), and, although entertaining, these works offer little historical insight. Nevertheless, some fan literature has proved to be very useful in establishing historical details. The B film rose to prominence during the mid-1930s, developed by the Hollywood studios to satiate exhibitors' demands for suitable and affordable films with which to create double feature programs. The B film period came to an end in the years following World War II with the enforcement of anti-monopoly laws following the Supreme Court's decision, known as the Paramount decree, which banned the exhibition monopoly held by the Hollywood studios and forced them to sell off their theater holdings. Although the production of genuine B films stopped, the term 'B film' became a vague catch phrase for all forms of low-budget film production regardless of historical context. This conflation of meaning within both fan-based and scholarly literature has obscured not only the meaning of a B film, but also the history of low-budget film production. It is necessary to examine this body of literature, not only in order to clarify the precise meaning of 'B film', but also to distinguish it from the film productions of Poverty Row.

The writing of film fans is generally overlooked within film scholarship because of the perception of such writing as fetishistic and marked by a

preponderance of trivialities. With respect to low-budget films produced within the Hollywood system, however, fan based writings have proven to be of significant interest and usefulness. As Andrew Sarris has explained, fan literature generally follows one of two paths. In his seminal essay “Beatitudes to B Pictures,” he explains:

There are two ways of looking fondly at any given B picture. One is the way of the trivia hound, the other is the way of the treasure hunter. Whereas the trivia hound loves all B pictures simply because they are B pictures, the treasure hunter loves only certain B pictures because they have somehow overcome the onus of having started out as B pictures. Thus, the trivia hound tends to be encyclopedic, and the treasure hunter tends to be selective. By necessity, the treasure hunter must share some of the zeal of the trivia hound, but the trivia hound need not recognize the aesthetic restrictions of the treasure hunter. (49)

The treasure hunting literature that has examined the B film has a tendency to focus upon noteworthy examples of low-budget film production, in which artistic determination (by directors, performers, and others) has overcome the limitations of meager resources to produce a film of exceptional quality. Conversely, the trivia hound literature is characterized by a broader historical scope and has tended towards the detailing of larger industrial patterns, with little attention to specific details or individual examples.

The fan-based literature surrounding low-budget film production draws heavily upon the treasure hunter impulse, seeking out the exceptional rather than the mundane. Notable examples of treasure hunts are Doug McClelland’s *The Golden Age of B Movies*, which focuses almost exclusively upon Hollywood studio B product of the 1940s. Robin Cross’ *The Big Book of B Movies* is more

egalitarian in its focus upon specific genres, like the thriller, the science fiction film, the western, and the serials, rather than individual films. Moreover, Cross's treasure hunt is interesting for both his liberal stretching of B film production into the late 1970s and his identification of the origins of B film production firmly in the year 1935 and not before (6-7). In addition, there is Todd McCarthy and Charles Flynn's anthology *Kings of the B's: Working within the Hollywood System*, which contains essays and interviews dealing with filmmakers and producers. The overall focus of this anthology is summed up by Charles Flynn in his essay "The Schlock/Kitsch/Hack Movies."

The movies we are speaking of as s/k/h movies may not all be worth seeing, but they are all worth saving. The challenge is to resurrect forgotten artists without being obscurantist; to celebrate little glories in minor movies without being disproportionate; to praise odd genres and artists without being perverse.

The purpose here is not to argue that *The Amazing Colossal Man* (1957) is a better movie than *Citizen Kane* (1941). The purpose is simply to assert the existence of Bert Gordon's film. (7)

However, despite Flynn's stated aim to acknowledge these films as little glories, he later inflates their artistic importance suggesting that "serious critical evaluation of the s/k/h movies elevates them to the equivalent of the Pop art of the 1960s (especially the works of Claes Oldenburg)" (11). In a similar elevation of artistic status, film critic J. Hoberman, in his essay "Bad Movies," writes that: "good bad movie is a philosopher's stone that converts the incompetent mistakes of naïve dross into modernist gold" (15). He continues: "a supremely bad movie—an anti-masterpiece—projects stupidity as awesome as genius" (15).

Similarly, the anthology *Re/Search #10: Incredibly Strange Films* attempts to validate low-budget film production through the association of such production with artistic impulses: “the value of low-budget films is: they can be transcendent expressions of a single person’s individual vision and quirky originality” (5). In these examples, fan-based treasure hunting follows Sarris’ instructions, focusing selectively upon exceptional examples and working to elevate low-budget films above their lowly commercial status to a level of cinematic artistry and individual achievement.

In contrast to the hunt for treasure is the practice of the trivia hound, which is marked by an all-encompassing and all-consuming desire to document all possible aspects of low-budget films. The encyclopedic tendency of the trivia hound is best characterized by the work of Don Miller. In his book *B Movies*, Miller provides a film-by-film account of almost every low-budget film made by both Hollywood studios and Poverty Row companies during the period from 1933 to 1945. Likewise, in *Hollywood Corral*, Miller provides another encyclopedic run through of almost every low-budget western made from 1929 through to the transition of the series western into the television series western in the early 1950s. Given the encyclopedic scope of Miller’s books, they are often short on specific details regarding individual films or filmmakers. Miller is successful, however, in capturing the trends, patterns and cycles within the production of low-budget films. Another useful work of fan-based trivia hounding that focuses upon a distinct, even definitive cycle, within the greater history of low-budget film production, is the series of books by Michael H. Price and George E. Turner,

Forgotten Horrors. The series includes four books covering the production of low-budget horror films, from 1929 through to the late 1940s. The most important is the first volume, in which Turner and Price framed their work as a nostalgic mission to rescue the forgotten horror films of the 1930s Poverty Row studios from obscurity (the first incarnation of this book appeared in 1979, before these films were resurrected on home video). These books gather together an odd assortment of Poverty Row films—mysteries, horrors, westerns, serials, jungle adventures and other unusually films—based on the criterion that each film conveys a sense of strange menace. They explain:

H.P. Lovecraft, the brilliant writer of pulp-magazine horrors, applied such a standard to literature, holding that some of the most worthy examples of weird fiction may be found as elements of tales which have an entirely different tone overall. We would be remiss not to treat movies similarly. (12)

Although their work is primarily directed at film fandom, and provides an abundance of trivialities, biographies, and plot synopses, it also provides some period commentary and insight. The most interesting aspect of their work is their isolation of standard genre conventions, so as to produce from a disparate body of films, a distinct cycle derived from a notion from pulp fiction, that of weird menace. Also worthy of mentioning is Gene Fernet's *Poverty Row*, in which he does not examine individual films. Rather, he focuses upon specific Poverty Row film studios of the 1930s and 1940s—Tiffany, Grand National, Republic, P.R.C., and others—organizing his account of Poverty Row film production around studios histories. He also dedicates a chapter to the miniature model work of special effects artists Theodore and Howard Lydecker, whose exceptional work

enlivened many of the serials and features of Republic studios. This book, like trivia hound fan literature in general, is useful in tracing various generic movements, popular trends, and studio histories within a specific period of film production. Because of the scope of these works, however, they generally provide little precision.

In addition to the so-called 'trivia hound' books for film fans, we can point to a body of published studio histories and filmographies, which share certain characteristics. These works walk a thin line between trivial fan literature and useful works of reference; unlike the former, however, these studio histories are filled with considerable detail with respect to both the studios and the films. They include Michael R. Pitts' *Poverty Row Studios 1929-1940*, Ted Okuda's *The Monogram Checklist and Grand National, Producers Releasing Corporation, and Screen Guild/ Lippert*, Len D. Martin's *The Republic Pictures Checklist*, Jon Tuska's *The Vanishing Legion* (a history and filmography of Mascot Pictures), Larry Richards *African American Films through 1959*, Richard Maurice Hurst's *Republic Studios: Between Poverty Row and the Majors*, and Gene Fennett's *American Film Studios*. These works provide detailed accounts of specific low-budget film companies, including corporate histories, biographies of important figures, and complete filmographies with plot synopses, cast and crew listings, release dates, and other forms of useful and sometimes trivial information. These works also provide insight into the critical reception of specific films and film studios through the occasional reference to period trade press commentary and film reviews. Moreover, these encyclopedic works are more inclined to

differentiate between the low-budget films of the Hollywood studios and those produced by Poverty Row companies.

Under the B Rubric

The majority of works of film scholarship on the lowest levels of film production during the 1930s have treated that production under the catch-all heading of the ‘B film’, understanding it in terms of the industry’s need to fill the bottom half of a double feature. Richard Maltby typifies this scholarship with his statement that “most independent production was undertaken by the “Poverty Row” companies such as Republic, Monogram, and Tiffany, which met the demand for B-feature product to fill the bottom half of a movie theater’s double bill” (121). Granted, the films of companies like Republic, Monogram and Tiffany were frequently used for the bottom half of a double bill, but, as we shall later see, the programming of two films to create a double feature was much more flexible than the notion of the B-feature suggests. Moreover, this scholarly perspective underestimates the scope and diversity of Poverty Row production, as well as the numerous programming variations of a double feature, but it also mischaracterizes film history by seeing these phenomena solely in relation to the entity known as the B film. This misuse of terminology has permeated both scholarly and fan based film literature. As I shall argue, this misuse has reduced and simplified the dynamism of Poverty Row film production, its relationship to Hollywood, its place in film history, and its position as a residual cultural producer.

One of the few scholars to consider Poverty Row film production at length is Brian Taves. In an article entitled “The B Film: Hollywood’s Other Half,” Taves perpetuates the mischaracterization of Poverty Row as the producer of B films exclusively, misleadingly locating the entire low-budget film industry within the rubric of the ‘B film’ and reducing the definition of Poverty Row to every form of film production that was not oriented towards the production of A films. In his view the B film was antithetical to the typical glossy Hollywood film: “there is another entire category of American fictional feature films created and shown under different conditions” (313). He continues:

These are the B movies, also called “quickies,” “cheapies,” “low-budget,” or simply “budget films,” even “C” or “Z” films. Such terms imply pictures that were regarded as secondary even in their own time, and the “B” label had often been used to imply minor pictures or simply poor filmmaking, anything tacky or produced on a low budget. However, B films occupied an equally important role in Hollywood; to concentrate upon the A would emphasize the art of a few films and elide the basis of production, the underlying commercial and artistic means by which the industry survived—as well as the vast quantity and range of films offered to spectators during the studios era. (313)

As suggested, Taves conflates all non-A film production within the category of the B film. He goes on to argue that the big-budget films were the exception, a distinct minority of the motion pictures produced by the Hollywood studios:

B’s filled out production schedules and encompassed approximately half of the product of the vertically integrated majors. In addition, beyond the Big Eight, about three hundred films annually were made by smaller concerns, collectively known as “indies” or “B studios,” geographically centered in Hollywood along “Poverty Row.” Hence, roughly 75 percent of the pictures made during the 1930s, well over four thousand films, fall under the B rubric. The sheer

number of B films indicates their importance in fully understanding the 1930s; never before or since has low-budget filmmaking been so integral to the Hollywood industry. (313)

Therefore, according to Taves, during the 1930s, the production of B films not only accounted for the majority of film produced by the Hollywood studios, but also encompassed the entire output of the smaller concerns, known as Poverty Row.

Taves further notes that, within the B rubric, there are varying levels of low-budget film production. In order to clarify these variations, he offers a multi-layered taxonomy of 1930s low-budget film production, in which he breaks down B film production into four categories, listing classes of films in order of declining prestige: (1) major-studio 'programmers,' (2) major-studio B's, (3) smaller-company B's, and (4) the 'quickies' of Poverty Row (317). The programmer was a medium budgeted, multi purposed film that could fill either an A slot or a B slot on a double bill depending upon the prestige of the theater or the accompanying material (318). The major-studio B films were produced on schedules of two to five weeks and they took advantage of the studios facilities and standing sets. Although these films were low-budget productions they were intended to convey the prestige of the studios that produced them (318). Thirdly, there was the B product of those secondary studios who still commanded respect within the industry. These secondary companies ranged from Republic, Monogram, Grand National, Mascot, and Tiffany down to Ambassador-Conn, Chesterfield, Invincible, Liberty, Majestic, Sono Art, Educational, and World Wide. Taves notes that these companies lacked exhibition outlets: i.e. they did not

own theater chains, though they might maintain film exchanges in large cities (321). At the bottom level of Taves' taxonomy are the quickie producers, transitory companies that lacked facilities and adequate financing. The films of these companies did not even rank as B's but were often labeled C or Z pictures, thus forming what might be today be called an underground economy on the fringes of 1930s Hollywood (323). Thus, Taves presents a unified system encompassing the various levels of B film production from the mid-range production of studios programmers down to the dearth of C and Z grade quickies.

On the surface, Taves' taxonomy seems quite logical, a multilayered stratification of film production based upon a descending order of prestige from the best to the worst, the moderate to the cheapest; however, these four rigid categories of low-budget film production are not representative of the film industry during the 1930s. They neither reflect the complex interrelationship between these levels of production, nor take into account the historical contextualization of double feature programming and the changing needs of exhibitors throughout the decade. For example, Taves' third category—'smaller company B's—conflates several disparate film production companies within a classification that neither represents their modes of production nor their historical context: companies like Tiffany, Majestic and Sono Art-World Wide produced mainly programmer grade films for independent exhibitors and not B films for double features, while Chesterfield-Invincible, Ambassador-Conn, Liberty, and Mascot produced low-budget quickies. Educational was neither a Hollywood studio nor a Poverty Row company and it did not make feature length films.

Furthermore, Taves' taxonomy overlooks the historical origins of these low-budget production companies, inasmuch as they were not developed for the sole purpose of making B films but rather have a long history of low-budget production beginning as far back as the 1910s. Taves greatly reduces the complexities and intricacies of 1930s low-budget film production within a taxonomy that neither represents the variations of production nor the details of its history.

As Yannis Tzioumakis has recognized in his study *American Independent Cinema: An Introduction*, Poverty Row and Hollywood approached their filmmaking in very different ways. Poverty Row filmmakers worked under inflexible shooting schedules, minuscule budgets, developing their own stories, and producing large numbers of outdoors pictures, especially westerns (75). However the greatest divergence between Poverty Row films and Hollywood B films had to do with the manner and context in which they were consumed. Poverty Row films were distributed to large numbers of independent exhibitors that were, according to Monogram executive Steve Broidy, receptive to the type of films offered.

In these theaters, the low-end independents had the opportunity to target audiences which were different from the urban, middle-class cinema-goers who patronized the first-and-second-run theaters. These audiences included smaller demographics, such as lower classes and ethnic immigrants as well as children and juveniles for Saturday matinee shows. Furthermore, the independents tapped on a largely unconstituted urban audience in the American Southern states, which visited cinemas primarily on Saturday nights in search of singing cowboy westerns starring country music stars. (76)

Tzioumakis makes the argument that Poverty Row films represent an alternative practice that went against the mainstream classical cinema of the studio system (77). He continues:

Although this was particularly evident in the films by the smaller independents (category 4 in Taves' taxonomy), which [quoting Taves] 'offered an aesthetic problem in the paradigm of classical Hollywood cinema', it also permeated the films of the larger Poverty Row outfits. This type of independent cinema performed an extremely significant social function: it promoted a more accessible and, ultimately, more inclusive American cinema which embraced audiences from the lower strata of society whose limited consumer power had placed them at the bottom of the studios' customer list. (77)

Tzioumakis recognizes that Poverty Row's function within the greater field of American cinema was not merely to produce films as the bottom of the B film barrel, but to serve audiences that were largely ignored by the bigger Hollywood studios and their targeted middleclass urban audiences.

In a similar recognition of difference within a cinematic system, Brian McFarlane, in his essay "Pulp Fictions: The British B film and the Field of Cultural Production," draws upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu to explain the positioning of low-budget film production within the postwar British film industry. We may note, here, how the term B film has once again been stretched from its original meaning to include all forms of low-budget film production. McFarlane suggests that, within the field of large-scale production that is the British cinema, the producers of the low-budget B films were inevitably found at the bottom having little access to either economic strength or critical appraisal (51). He explains:

In Bourdieu's binarist distinction between "dominated" and "dominant" positions in the field, the B film belongs clearly to the former. Or perhaps it is truer to say that, if film occupies the dominant position in the large-scale cultural production, the B film belongs, by virtue of its economic constraints and its utter marginalization by legitimating practices, to what Bourdieu describes as the "dominated within the dominant." B film production was a clear case of what he calls "the spontaneous correspondence or deliberate matching of production to demand": once the demand passed in the mid-to-late sixties, the B film ceased to be, in Britain—or in the US for that matter. (51)

Although McFarlane's perspective may ring true with regards to hierarchies within the post war British film industry, his assumption that the same relationship existed within the American film industry is ill-conceived. B films were initiated by the Hollywood studios and not by the smaller independent producers. As a result, the B film has to be recognized as being a part of the cultural production of the dominant and not as an example of the dominated within the dominant. Moreover, McFarlane's suggestion that the low-end producers of British B films were largely powerless under the domination of the larger producers also is of limited applicability to the case of American Poverty Row producers. As Tzioumakis suggests, Poverty Row and Hollywood were separated by their different modes of film practices, as well as by the class and regional character of their audiences. Consequently, Poverty Row cannot be considered as the "dominated within the dominant", nor can Poverty Row be considered a full participant in Taves taxonomy of B films, given the differences between Hollywood B film production and films produced by the companies of Poverty Row.

My own insistence that Poverty Row must be seen as distinct from the Hollywood studios is echoed by Paul Seale in his essay on Poverty Row's transition to sound film production, ““A Host of Others”: Towards a Nonlinear History of Poverty Row and the Coming of Sound.” Seale succinctly notes how film scholars, like Douglas Gomery and Tino Balio, have used marginalizing language to describe Poverty Row as being left to ‘scramble’ for the remainder of exhibition profits after Hollywood had taken their 90 percent. He points out, as well, that “such language translates the oligopolists’ tendency toward stability into historical stasis; implicitly denying that flux on the periphery might have effects on the dominant forces in the industry” (77). Seale writes:

Only tracking of industry events and a greater sensitivity to the heterogeneity of Poverty Row producers, then, will yield an instructive history of Poverty Row. Such a history may reveal that it is precisely Poverty Row’s variety of strategies and resources which make it resistant to linear model of industry analysis. The neoclassical model [classical Hollywood model] for technological innovation seems in appropriate for most Poverty Row producers, for example, not only because such producers rarely innovated technological change, but also because we cannot even assume that all were out to maximize long-term profits: some Poverty Row producers certainly did have long-range plans for growth; others, however, seemed more interested in turning a fast buck; and still others may have used Poverty Row productions to showcase themselves, hoping only for a contract with a major producer. (77)

For Seale, Poverty Row was distinct not only in terms of its films and audiences, but through its oppositional stance towards the linear innovations of Hollywood and its resistance to the classical mode of production. From this perspective, Poverty Row did not directly participate in the technological and artistic

innovations of Hollywood, nor base its own modes of production or film practice on those of Hollywood.

Film scholars have generally overlooked this antithetical dimension, preferring to judge the films of Poverty Row by the standards of those made within Hollywood's mode of production. The recognition that Poverty Row companies functioned in antithesis to the dominant classical model, primarily through their pursuit of a quick return on investment, has significant implications for the way in which we might understand their finished products. For example, Brian Taves offers a traditional interpretation examining Poverty Row film production within the structure of Hollywood's classical model. He begins with the films of Hollywood studio B filmmaker Robert Florey, who began his career making films in the American avant-garde and his native France, before working with the Hollywood studios. Despite Florey's credentials, the majority of his early film career was spent making mid-to-low budget films for major studios like Warner Bros. and Paramount, before moving up to higher budgeted productions in the Forties. Florey's work is exemplary of what could be accomplished under the restricted conditions of the studios B films. Florey not only produced films quickly, but he also drew from his avant-garde and European backgrounds to make stylistically interesting B films.

The B's, especially at the majors, could become an artistic endeavor, while avoiding the budgetary excess that doomed A endeavors of Josef Von Sternberg or Orson Welles. Despite the regimentation of censorship and studio domination, the prolific quantity of the B as a secondary form of filmmaking allowed a broad array of diverse approaches to moviemaking and spectatorial positions. (337-338)

As Taves states, Florey's direction of *The Florentine Dagger* (Warner Bros. 1935) "provides a forceful example of the adaptation of expressionist and avant-garde styles into the American feature through the B (339). Florey was fortunate that he was able to experiment with camera angles and unusual frame compositions, primarily, because he was able to complete his films within the allotted time and budget, thus avoiding the rancor of cost-conscious studio executives.

Offering a contrast to the skill and style exhibited by Florey's studio B's, Taves examines the C level quickie films of Richard Talmadge and Bob Steele. Talmadge was best known as Douglas Fairbanks Sr.'s stuntman in his 1920s action dramas like *The Black Pirate* (1926) and *The Gaucho* (1927), but Talmadge also starred in his own series of low-budget independent action adventure films throughout the Twenties and the Thirties. Bob Steele starred in hundreds of low-budget westerns from the Twenties through to the Forties, before becoming a respected character actor. He was also the son of prolific western director Robert North Bradbury, who directed and wrote most of Steele's quickie westerns. For Taves, these quickies represent a striking difference from the B films produced by Hollywood studios, and an aesthetic problem in relation to the paradigms of classical Hollywood cinema.

They present an audacious nonconformity to accepted standards, unquestionably incompatible in many ways. While the quickies may not have been deliberately subversive of the modes of production and presentation offered by the majors, minuscule budgets often allowed and required, filmmakers to develop a different style. The chutzpah that emboldened them to attempt filmmaking under adverse conditions resulted in circumstances of production that required them to vary and at times violate classical technique and generic formulas. (338)

Taves notes that the Talmadge action films, like *The Fighting Pilot* (Ajax Pictures, 1935) violate the classical model through their deliberate variations of genres and the satirizing of these action forms, as well as through the ways in which they self-consciously draw attention to Talmadge's physical skill (314). While the Bob Steele western, *Big Calibre* (Supreme Pictures 1935), was less successful in its subversion of accepted standards, the film, directed by Bradbury, is "minimalist to a startling degree". Taves continues: "it is preposterous, both visually and in plot line," adding that the film "is so bizarre that it verges on surrealism" (342). Thus, the C and Z level quickie productions of Poverty Row offered a wide range of aesthetic challenges from the self-conscious satire of Talmadge to the inane absurdities of Steele's *Big Calibre*.

Taves argues that the Poverty Row quickie was a violation of the classical technique and generic formulas taken for granted in A films (338). However, what Taves misses, in the case of films like *The Fighting Pilot* and *Big Calibre* is that these films were not violations of the classical mode of production. Rather they may be seen as carrying traces of Poverty Row's historical origins and its distinct mode of production. Many of the Talmadge quickies of the 1930s were directed by Noel M. Smith, under his pseudonym Noel Mason. Smith began his directorial career in 1917 making comedy shorts, many with the frenetic slapstick comic Larry Semon. In the mid 1920s, Smith began making quickie action pictures, many starring Talmadge. Similarly, Steele's father, Robert North Bradbury, began his filmmaking career in 1918 making low-budget western adventure shorts and serials. Moreover, Bradbury was well-known for incorporating bizarre elements

into his westerns (see Turner and Price, 145, 148, and 175; Miller 1976, 43-47). He continued to making quickie westerns until 1941, directing a total of over one hundred and twenty films. Lacking the capital required for artistic and stylistic innovation, Poverty Row filmmakers simply perpetuated the older modes of production, learned during the silent era, into the sound period. As a result, while quickly-made Poverty Row films may appear to be violations of the classical model, they were, in fact, merely continuations of an older film practice rendered outmoded and illegible by Hollywood innovation, thus positioning these films to be interpreted as a residual form of cultural production.

Poverty Row as Residual Cultural Producer

In order to fully characterize this complex and even at times contradictory relationship between the dominant Hollywood studios and Poverty Row it is necessary to develop additional forms of cultural analysis. In *Marxism and Literature*, Raymond Williams offers a system of cultural analysis that considers the dynamic relationship between various levels of cultural productions. This system, I suggest, can serve effectively as a key to understanding the relationship between Poverty Row and Hollywood. As Williams explains, there are complex interrelations between movements and tendencies both within and beyond the dominant system that relate to the entire cultural process, rather than involving only the dominant system (121). Within the cultural system of American cinema in the 1930s, it is easy to recognize Hollywood as the dominant producer. The

Hollywood studios (the big five: M.G.M., Paramount, R.K.O., Warner Bros. and Twentieth Century-Fox, and the little three: Universal, Columbia, and United Artists) controlled the greatest share of the film market. They produced large numbers of all types of films, from high budgeted prestige films down through low-budget matinee westerns and serials, as well as short subjects and newsreels. Moreover, these production studios were a part of larger corporate structures that also controlled the most profitable aspects of films distribution and exhibition.

In order to full characterize the interrelationship between the dominant and other producers within the same system Williams offers the notion of the residual. The residual is important in the ways in which it designates waning elements within any cultural process (121-122). Williams' definition of the 'residual' is very specific in part as a result of the ways in which he distinguishes it from the 'archaic.' He states:

I would call the 'archaic' that which is wholly recognized as an element of the past, to be observed to be examined, or even on occasion to be consciously 'revived', in a deliberately specialized way. What I mean by the 'residual' is very different. The residual, by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. Thus certain experiences, meanings and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practiced on the basis of the residue—cultural as well as social—of some previous social or cultural institution or formation. (122)

The residual, then, is a cultural element formed in the past but still active in the present. It is our argument, here, that the films and mode of production of Poverty Row conformed to Williams' definition of the residual, through the ways in which

they actively perpetuated cultural elements from the past within the present. Poverty Row's entire mode of film practice was formed in the past: its film styles, genres, narrative conventions, stars, directors, writers, and producers all trace their legacy back to the earlier days of film production in California. Moreover, the distribution networks and exhibition circuits utilized by Poverty Row were also formed in the past, outmoded by Hollywood standards, but still effective as infrastructures of residual production. As a result, we suggest, the experiences, meanings, and values expressed in Poverty Row films can only be understood within the context of cultural residues and their links to past cinema, and not by using the same standard of judgment applied to the film products made at the same time as the Hollywood studios.

The argument that Poverty Row existed as a residual cultural producer in relation to the dominant Hollywood studios within the larger cultural processes of 1930s cinema illuminates the complex interrelationship between the two entities. As Williams continues:

A residual cultural element is usually at some distance from of effective dominant culture, but some part of it, some version of it—and especially if the residue is from some major area of the past—will in most cases have had to be incorporated if the dominant culture is to make sense in these areas. Moreover, at certain points the dominant culture cannot allow too much residual experience and practice outside itself, at least without risk. It is in the incorporation of the actively residual—by reinterpretation, dilution, projection, discriminating inclusion and exclusion—that the work of the selective tradition is especially evident. (123)

Williams notes that, although the residual is at a distance from the dominant, it must be recognized as being some version of the dominant, especially when the

residue originates within some major area of the dominant's past. In addition, he also recognizes that the dominant cannot tolerate too much residual experience and practice without risk to itself. As a result, when residual production becomes a risk to the dominant, the latter must incorporate the residual into its own cultural production. Williams' notion of the residual perfectly characterizes the relationship between Poverty Row and Hollywood. The Poverty Row studios were at a distance from the dominant Hollywood studios as a result of their meager production budgets and marginalized audience demographics, but these small production companies were also some part of the dominant's past insofar as the origins of both Hollywood and Poverty Row can be traced back to the nascent California film industry of the 1910s. In addition, the demise of the independent Poverty Row studios in the latter half of the 1930s was due, in part, to Hollywood's incorporation of residual experience and practice through the development of B film production and through the Hollywood studios' limiting of access to double feature programs in theater chains affiliated with Hollywood's distribution networks.

Poverty Row and the Modernity Thesis

Poverty Row's film practice was not only formed in the past, but it remained relatively unaltered until the introduction of conglomerate companies like Republic and Grand National. As I shall show, even the transition to sound film production had little effect upon the overall film practice of Poverty Row. An

examination of Poverty Row film production through Williams' definition of residual cultural production, not only characterizes the relationship between Hollywood and the small independent producers of Poverty Row, but is also useful in examining Poverty Row's relationship to the 'modernity thesis' concerning early cinema. Film scholars have examined this period of early cinema (1895-1925) within the context of the 'modernity thesis,' which Charlie Keil and David Bordwell define as "unearthing or rethinking cinema's emergence within the sensory environment of urban modernity, its relationship to late nineteenth-century technologies of space and time, and its interaction with adjacent elements in the new visual culture of advanced capitalism" (52). Scholarship on the relationship of cinema and modernity tends to focus on a period extending from the origins of nineteenth century pre-cinematic visual culture through to the end of the nickelodeon period and the rise of the Hollywood studios. However, few scholars have considered that these early representations of modernity could linger on, beyond their initial novelty, to become residual representations of the past within the present of Poverty Row films.

As Ben Singer explains in *Melodrama and Modernity*, the modernity thesis, the relationship between modernity and cinema, has three components. The first is that cinema is *like* modernity, that the two share key formal and spectatorial features. Both are characterized by the prominence of fleeting, forceful visual attractions and contra-contemplative spectatorial distraction, such that movies and movie viewing resemble the subjective experience of urban modernity. Second, the modernity thesis is interested in understanding cinema as

a *part* of modernity, in showing that there is a dynamic interaction between cinema and a range of adjacent similar phenomena: new technologies (railroads, telegraphs, photographs, electric illumination), new entertainments (panoramas and dioramas, amusement parks, world exhibitions, yellow press, wax museums, the morgue), new architectural forms (the panopticon, iron-and-glass construction) new visual displays (billboards, shop windows, the illustrated press), new social spaces (the boulevards, the arcades, the department store), new social practices (*flâneurie*, shopping, unchaperoned female mobility, widespread tourism, systemic surveillance), and new environmental obstacles (crowds, traffic congestion). The ‘modernity thesis’, therefore, places cinema within the developments of the extraordinary historical moment spanning the decades around the turn of the century (102-103). The third and most controversial claim of the modernity thesis is that cinema is a *consequence* of modernity, that there is a causal relationship between the two: “a corollary assumption that perceptual modernity somehow influenced the creative process so that filmmakers were inclined, consciously or subliminally, to express in film style the tempos and shocks of modern life” (103). In other words, the history-of-perception argument claims that modernity caused some kind of fundamental change in the human perceptual apparatus (104). Singer notes that the notion of modernity changing human perception is problematic because of the vagueness of the thesis that modernity somehow shaped human perception, which then somehow shaped the movies. As Tom Gunning argues, however, the cultural histories of cinema in modernity are above all else explorations of the first two ideas—film’s

resemblance to and contextual interaction with other elements or aspects of the metropolitan environment (104).¹ Thus, following Singer's rationale, the 'modernity thesis' in relation to early cinema claims that movies reflect the visual experience of modernity while themselves part of the phenomenon of the visual culture of modernity.²

The study of cinema in relation to the 'modernity thesis' is generally limited to early cinema—to the formative years of the cinema of attractions and the so-called 'transitional' era. However, as Robert C. Allen argues, in his essay "Decentering Historical Audience Studies: A Modest Proposal," the modernity thesis assumes that all film audiences experienced the rapid urbanization, industrialization, and hyperstimulation of modernity in the same way. As Allen notes, the cities of North Carolina, which he examines in his article, developed less as real cities (i.e. Paris, Berlin or New York) than as a loose collection of unincorporated mill villages joined by a central business district that retained a distinctly rural appearance (25). He further states:

If there is, as some film historians have suggested, a particular connection between the distinctive experience of metropolitan urbanity and the experience of the movies, then, it seems to me [Allen], such theories beg the question of the nature of the relationship among movies, moviegoing, and

¹ For an expansion of the problems with the perception argument, see Singer, 104-130.

² The 'modernity thesis' and early cinema (1895-1925) has received a great deal of scholarly attention. In addition to the works mention in the text, other relevant works are Tom Gunning's "The Cinema of Attractions," "From the Kaleidoscope to the X-Ray," and *The Films of Fritz Lang*, also, Miriam Hansen's "Benjamin, Cinema, and Experience," the collected essays in Charney and Schwartz' *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, and Shelly Stamp's *Movie Struck Girls*.

modernity for the 91.8 percent of the U. S. population who did not experience urban life as it tends to be described in these accounts. (25)

Allen's objection to the all-inclusive nature of the modernity thesis is valid; however, as Siegfried Kracauer notes, in his essay "Cult of Distraction" the masses of the provinces are handed down the rubbish and outdated entertainment of the upper class (1995, 324). Allen's objections may be tempered with the understanding that as cultural forms are forced into a state of the outmoded, they are simultaneously pushed towards geographic peripheries, like Allen's small mill towns of North Carolina.

In a similar objection to Allen's complaint that the modernity thesis is too urban centric, Mariam Hansen notes that, frequently, film scholarship based upon the modernity thesis places too much emphasis upon the visual culture of the nineteenth century and not upon the emerging mass culture of the twentieth century. In her essay "America, Paris, the Alps: Kracauer (and Benjamin) on Cinema and Modernity," she states: "The cinema appears as part of an emerging culture of consumption and spectacular display, ranging from world expositions and department stores to the more sinister attractions of melodrama, phantasmagoria, wax museums, and morgues, a culture marked by an accelerated proliferation—and, hence, also by an accelerated ephemerality and obsolescence—of sensations, fashions, and styles" (363). However, Hansen's concerns are with what the genealogy of cinema and modernity tends to leave out: the twentieth century—the modernity of mass production, mass consumption, and mass annihilation, of rationalization, standardization, and media publics. She

states “what is at issue here is not the choice of focus on different periods or stages of modernity but the status of competing or alternative versions of modernism, as the cultural discourse co-articulated with modernity and the processes of modernization” (363). Thus, the accelerated proliferation of cultural production, the accelerated ephemerality, and obsolescence of sensation, style and fashion, creates a modern landscape in which the past is overlapping with the present. This competition of modernities is particularly poignant during the period of Kracauer and Benjamin, in which the lingering elements of nineteenth century consumer culture—style, fashion, technology—was sharing the same cultural space with the current mass trends and novelties.

As Benjamin describes it, through the process of modernization, fashion becomes the measure of time, and ‘the new’ becomes the phantasmagoria of the commodity; conversely, the image of the ruin becomes an emblem not only of the transitoriness and fragility of capitalist culture, but also of its destructiveness (Buck-Morss 94 and 164). Therefore, cinema and film style are accelerated by the newness and novelty of fashion, which conversely pushes older film aesthetics into obsolescence and obscurity. However, outmoded fashion does not simply disappear; as Georg Simmel has noted; fashion descends through the social order, which in turn necessitates and accelerates the need for newer fashions in order to keep the upper stratum distinguished from the lower stratum (296). He also noted that this process is quickened in times of uncertainty: the more nervous an age, the more rapidly its fashions change, simply because the desire for differentiation, one of the most important elements of all fashion, goes hand in hand with the

weakening of nervous energy (302). The unceasing force of fashion becomes one of the key drivers of modernization, as well as the pressure pushing obsolescence. In the case of cinema, we may say that, during the uncertainty of the 1930s, the process of modernization was quickened, thus speeding up the emergence of new fashions and film styles, and pushing older forms into the peripheries and rural states.

The Hollywood films of the 1930s have been studied for their artistic, technological, and socio-cultural developments within the context of the expansion of the studio system. The emphasis of scholarship has been on such phenomena as the relationship of Hollywood to censorship, intellectual migrations from Europe and the East Coast of the United States, and Hollywood's relationship to Roosevelt's New Deal.³ However, Poverty Row's direct participation within these developments was limited at best, and, in important ways, the aesthetics of Poverty Row should be understood, above all else, as residues of the past. This lingering of the past within the present is most noticeable in representations of the modern city, and in the perpetuation of experiential forms associated with earlier forms of urban entertainment. The filmmaking practices of Poverty Row film began with the early cinema and remained largely unchanged. Their films perpetuated the once novel and new forms of technology, entertainment, visual display, social space, social practices,

³ These works include Maltby's *Hollywood Cinema*, Gomery's *The Hollywood Studio System*, Balio's *The American Film Industry*, Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson's *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, as well as May's, *The Big Tomorrow*, Giovacchini's *Hollywood Modernism*, Muscio's, *Hollywood's New Deal*, Doherty's *Pre-Code Hollywood*, Schindler's *Hollywood in Crisis*, and Denning's *The Cultural Front*.

and environmental obstacles even as they had become obsolete. The films of Poverty Row maintained the fleeting experiences, hyperstimulation, and urban perils that characterized so much of early cinema. At the same time, as films produced in the 1930s, the films of Poverty Row were not archaic remains; they also offered such contemporary elements as the latest fashions, automobiles, airplanes, radios, and telephones, as well as the futuristic novelties of the period such as televisions, fantastic aircraft, death rays, and robots.

In addition, Poverty Row films were frequently shot out-of-doors. This strategy was simply a cost-cutting measure, as outdoor locations provided natural light and instant backgrounds of streets, parks, factories, rooftops, aerodromes, and other contemporary locations. However, unlike later neo-realist representations of the ‘flow of life’ and the street, the exteriors of Poverty Row films are characterized by outmoded perils and old-fashioned dangers, created by the overlap of past and present within the same cinematic space of contemporary L.A. (72-73). As a result, the films of Poverty Row achieve an uncanny representation of modernity in which the past and the present interact to create an unstable environment. Film scholar Peter Hogue has recognized that the Poverty Row films of the early 1930s evoke an uncanny vision of the modern city. In his review of the VHS release of the 1932 Mascot Pictures chapterplay, *Shadow of the Eagle*, he notes that the continuous viewing of early 1930s Poverty Row movie serials on home video presents films whose naïve and flamboyant narrative action is magnified into wondrously loopy poetic adventures. He continues, suggesting that their romantic extravagance of these serials, with their drab

workaday sets and locations, exudes an offhand, tattered kind of homemade surrealism (48). Hogue highlights the madhouse zaniness of the narrative, the miraculous escapes and illusory disasters, and the rampant use of impersonations and blurred identities coupled with an almost documentary-like use of location shooting to create a landscape of furious activity and simmering fantasy amid bleak settings and wasteland locations (49). However, what Hogue describes as homemade surrealism should not be seen as bearing a direct relationship to the artistic movement of the interwar period. Rather, we may understand it in terms of uncanny ruptures of the past within the present.

As Robin Walz documents in *Pulp Surrealism*, the surrealists were fascinated by the ways in which cultural production of the past lingered within the present of interwar Paris. He notes that surrealism was experienced in a double sense—as a literary and artistic movement and as a distinctive passage of cultural time. “For decades,” Walz writes, “beginning about 1890 and ending somewhere around 1930, cultural and technological modernities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries overlapped, and their ruptures were evident everywhere” (2). For the Surrealists, the overlapping of past cultural production with their contemporary cityscape produce juxtaposed realities that expanded one’s perception of common reality. This often involved older forms of cultural production lingering within the contemporary moment, such as *Fantômas* novels, the arcades, and silent movie serials. For the surrealists, the mixing of the past and present within the everyday created a bizarre and fantastic vision of modern Paris,

in which the images of the past could rupture the present producing the surrealist vision.

The recognition of Poverty Row's residual presentation of the experience of modernity is only truly possible through the viewing of large numbers of films. Selective viewing can only produce misinterpretations of Poverty Row film practice, as evidenced by Taves' readings of the films of Richard Talmadge and Bob Steele, discussed earlier. Consideration of larger samples of Poverty Row production provides insight into unique patterns and trends, as with the recognition, by Turner and Price, of the sense of 'weird menace' running through several distinct genres. To fully understand Poverty Row as a distinct field of production whose uniqueness rests on its relationship to the residues of earlier cinematic production, it is necessary to examine these films in large numbers.

Collecting as Method

Following Raymond Williams' observations with respect to the relationship of the residual to the dominant, we would suggest that the Hollywood studios could only allow so much residual production. By the mid-1930s, Hollywood began to recover from the economic hardships of the Depression; it enacted a number of changes in corporate structure and industrial strategy that led to the eventual disappearance of the independent Poverty Row producers. In a strange twist of fate, however, the descent of Poverty Row films to historical oblivion had the effect of preserving them in unexpected ways. When their

original production companies ceased operations in the 1930s, there were no longer corporate entities that might retain ownership of the films (that is if the films were actually copyrighted in the first place). As a result, these films became copyright free, part of the public domain. While their production companies disappeared, their copyright free status lead, with time, to the resurrection of Poverty Row films, as budget and specialty distributors began to unearth these films and reissue them on home video. This resurrection was viable precisely because their films were no longer under copyright protection, and video distributors could reissue them on home video without having to pay royalties (Pierce, 125-143). As a result, a large portion of Poverty Row's film production has now become readily available on public domain home video. Moreover, with the drop in cost of digital reproduction, many of these films are available for prices as low as 50¢ for a DVD in a cardboard sleeve or a few dollars for a box set bundling together 50, 100, and 250 films.

It may seem strange to base this project upon the act of collecting, but, as Dana Polan has noted, much of the discipline of film studies began with collecting. Polan argues that the practice of auteurism (i.e. director-oriented criticism) began with the study of the accumulated works of particular filmmakers. He notes the importance of Andrew Sarris' *The American Cinema*, with its listing of directorial *oeuvres* as a seminal text in the study of the filmmaker as auteur. As he states: "I would note the curious sense of empowerment a number of us felt when we realized that the titles that Sarris had not italicized as being of special interest were in some cases films that he simply

had not seen and could not therefore ‘collect’’ (10). Thus according to Polan, auteurism was fueled by the feverish drive to see more films and creative strategies for constructing its objects in value-laden ways (10-11). My own collection of 1930s Poverty Row films on home video began, with time, to reveal aesthetic traits and traces of alternate modes of production that were unique to Poverty Row film practice. My collection grew from a few representative works, like *The Whispering Shadow* (Mascot, 1933), *Captured in Chinatown* (Superior Talking Pictures, 1935) or *Ghost Patrol* (Puritan, 1936), as well as oddball productions like *Manic* (Roadshow Attractions, 1934), and *Honky Tonk Girls* (Preview Pictures, 1937), to encompass a large percentage of the overall Poverty Row production of the 1930s.

This accumulation of films proved to be very helpful in developing a new understanding of this low stratum of film production. Walter Benjamin has recognized the collection as a new, expressly devised historical system (1999a, [H1a,2] 205).

We need only recall what importance a particular collector attaches not only to his object but also to its entire past, whether this concerns the origin and objective characteristics of the thing or the details of its ostensibly external history: previous owners, price of purchase, current value, and so on. All of these—the “objective” data together with the other—come together, for the true collector, in every single of his possessions, to form a whole magic encyclopedia, a world order, whose outline is the fate of his objects. Here, therefore, within this circumscribed field, we can understand how great physiognomists (and collectors are physiognomists of the world of things) become interpreters of fate. It suffices to observe just one collector as he handles the items in his showcase. No sooner does he hold them in his hand than he

appears inspired by them and seems to look through them into their distance, like an augur. (1999a, [H2,7; H2a,1] 207)

Thus, for Benjamin, the collection becomes more than just an accumulation of objects, but a source of knowledge that includes the origins and objective characteristics of objects, as well as their external histories as artifacts that transcend time. The bibliophile, Benjamin notes, is the only type of collector who does not completely withdraw his treasures from their functional context (1999a, [H2,7; H2a,1] 207).⁴

Benjamin relied heavily upon the act of collection as a research method. When he began his study of nineteenth century modernity and the Parisian arcades, he began by collecting various fragments, quotations, and observations with which to build a database for use in his research. Although he never completed his project, he did stress the importance of this novel methodology:

Modest methodological proposal for the cultural-historic dialectic. It is very easy to establish oppositions, according to the determinate points of view, within the various “fields” of any epoch, such that on one side lies the “productive,” “forward-looking,” “lively,” “positive” part of an epoch, and on the other side the abortive, retrograde, and obsolescent. The very contour of the positive element will appear distinctly only insofar as this element is set off against the negative. On the other hand, every negation has its value solely as background for the delineation of the lively, the positive. It is therefore of decisive importance that a new partition be applied to this initially excluded, negative component so that, by a displacement of the angle of vision (but not of the criteria!), a positive element emerges anew in it too—something different from that previously signified. (1999a, [N1a,3] 459)

⁴ Also see Benjamin’s essay “Unpacking my Library.”

Thus, Benjamin's study of the Parisian arcades began with the understanding that these nineteenth century remains had to be seen in terms of their negative characteristics: i.e. in terms of their decaying status as material ruins that were emblematic of the transit and fragile character of capitalist culture, but also of its destructiveness (Buck-Morss, 164).

The arcades of Paris, for Benjamin, embodied the negative side of the dialectic between culture and history. Once the cathedrals of capitalism and site of the latest fashions and newest commodities, the arcades, in their decay expressed the transitory nature of the fetishized commodity:

The other side of mass culture's hellish repetition of "the new" is the mortification of matter which is fashionable no longer. The gods grow out of date, their idols disintegrate, their cult places—the arcades themselves—decay. [...] Because these decaying structures no longer hold sway over the collective imagination, it is possible to recognize them as the illusory dream images they always were. Precisely the fact that their original aura had disintegrated makes them invaluable didactically. (Buck-Morss, 159)

Benjamin's work on the Parisian arcades was an attempt to develop a superior system for the historical examination of fallen commodities, those elements of cultural production that had lost their illusory dream character and fallen into ruins. By examining these phenomena in terms of their retrograde and obsolete qualities, one could see the ruin as more than just a foil for the positive, but as a retrospective historical gateway marked by something other than the hellish repetition of the new.

Following Benjamin, I would suggest that the collection of Poverty Row films on DVD creates a new historical corpus from which knowledge can be

produced. Like the bibliophile, the collector of films in digital form does not withdraw the films from their functional context. This situation would be otherwise if these were the original film prints; however, these are not rare, fragile artifacts, but mass reproduced digital copies. Although the medium has changed, the content of the films has not and, as a result, they retain many of the elements of their original production, the contributions of their producers, directors, writers and cast. These digital copies also carry what Benjamin describes as the external history of an object as it passes through time. For the bibliophile, this history would include the book's previous owners, its price of purchase, current value, and the traces of where and how a particular volume was acquired (see "Unpacking My Library" 1999b, 486-493). With the Poverty Row films on DVD, this external history would include its public domain status, its prior releases for theatrical, television, and home video release, and the condition of the reproduction.

For example, many Poverty Row films of the 1930s were reissued in the 1940s for both theatrical release and television broadcast with new titles and altered credit sequences, and often the only extant print of a particular film is the re-titled one. *Love Bound* (Peerless, 1932) was reissued as *Murder on the High Seas* by J. H. Hoffman in 1949; *Out of Singapore* (Goldsmith, 1932) was reissued in 1939 by Astor Pictures as *Gangsters of the Sea; The Mystic Circle Murders* (Merit Pictures, 1938) was reissued as *Religious Racketeers* in 1940 by Continental Pictures. The most famous re-titling was that of *Tell Your Children* (G&H Productions, 1936) which was reissued under several titles, the best known

of which was *Reefer Madness* (see appendix). Moreover, unlike Hollywood classics or cinematic masterworks that are digitally re-mastered and restored for DVD release, the reproductions of Poverty Row films are not usually restored and so contain the physical anomalies of their original source prints, including scratches, glitches, fading, smears, fingerprints, clods of dirt, hairs caught in the projector gate, missing credits, truncated endings, original title cards replaced with re-release titles, and so on. The list of these forms of damage could go on. These visual aberrations add a distinct layer of deterioration which not only immediately separates the viewing experience of these films from that of their fully restored Hollywood contemporaries, but also emphasizes their neglect as objects of low cultural esteem.

Poverty Row film production during the 1930s encompasses a significant volume of films, some several hundred, the bulk of which have been released to home video. To view all of these would take several years, and so a different approach to such a large data set was needed. Literary theorist Franco Moretti has commented that the study of the nineteenth century British novel has confined itself to a select canon of two hundred novels, which is less than one percent of the novels that were actually published. He further notes that a close reading of such an enormous volume of works would take a century or so. Moretti has argued that “a field this large cannot be understood by stitching together separate bits of knowledge about individual cases, because it *isn’t* a sum of individual cases: it’s a collective system, that should be grasped as such, as a whole” (4). Although the collective corpus of films produced by Poverty Row studios of the

1930s is significantly fewer in number than nineteenth century British novels, to view them all would be a nearly impossible task. In order to cull information from such a large database, Moretti offers a solution. Drawing from the work of Fernand Braudel, he suggests that there are three time frames within literary studies: event, cycle and *longue durée*. As he explains:

Most critics are perfectly at ease with the first one, the circumscribed domain of the event and the individual case; most theorists are at home at the opposite end of the temporal spectrum, in the very long span of nearly unchanging structures. But the middle level had remained somewhat unexplored by literary historians; and it's not even that we don't work within that time frame, it's that we haven't fully understood its specificity: the fact, I mean, that cycles constitute *temporary structures within the historical flow*. That is, after all, the hidden logic behind Braudel's tripartition: the short span is all flow and no structure, the *longue durée* all structure and no flow, and cycles are the—unstable—border country between them. Structures, because they introduce repetition in history, and hence regularity, order, pattern; and temporary, because they're short. (14)

Moretti urges that literary historians search out these temporary structures within the historical flow, not only because they present patterns and order, but also because they are of a short time span and thus reveal historical details unique to a specific cycle. The historic study of Poverty Row films developed here will draw from all three historical time frames. The study of individual cases, through the textual analysis of single films or analysis of particular individuals, will be useful in demonstrating the specific features of Poverty Row production. The span of Poverty Row history places this specific moment within the greater structure of low-budget film production not only to show why this particular period is unique within this greater history, but also to demonstrate its relationship to the industry

which preceded and followed it. More importantly, this study follows the temporary structures within the historical flow of the 1930s, for these short patterns and unstable cycles not only reveal the dynamism within Poverty Row film production, but also highlight the complicated and often contradictory interrelationship between Poverty Row and the larger dominant Hollywood studios.

As Moretti suggests, “quantitative research provides a type of data which is ideally independent of interpretations . . . it provides data, not interpretation”

(9). As his work on nineteenth century English literature demonstrates:

Quantitative data can tell us when Britain produced one new novel per month, or week, or day, or hour for that matter, but where the significant turning points lie along the continuum—and why—is something that must be decided on a different basis. (9)

As an illustration of Moretti's quantitative research, I provide a graph of Poverty Row film production between the years 1929 and 1940, listed by studio and films produced each year.

Independent Poverty Row Film Production by Year

Jewel					1	2			1				
J.D. Kendis						1	1	3	1	1			1
Willis Kent	1		4	10	2	6	9		2	1			2
Kier Film						2			3	1			
Liberty		1				6	7						
Majestic		1		7	14	5	5						
Mascot	2	1	5	7	5	12	13						1
Mayfair	1		6	22	10	4							
George Mercader								1					
Mercury				2	1								
Metropolitan			1	1			1			1	8	2	
Monarch				5	6	1							
Monogram			12	28	24	34	16						
Normandy							1	1					
Peerless			2	2		1	2	1					
Pennant										1			
Pinnacle					1	3							
Plymouth					1								
Bud Pollard		1	1	3	3	1							
Principal				7	9	6	4		1	2			
Progressive					2					3			
Puritan							7	11	1				
Pyramid						2							
Raytone	1	1											
Regal						2	3	7		2	1		
Regent					1		1						
Reliable					1	11	21	13	2				
Resolute					2	2							
Harry Revier									1	1			
Roadshow		1		1	1	3	1	4	2				1
Fanchon Royer					1	1	1	1	1	1			
Screen Attractions							2						
Security						2	2						
Showmen's					3	5	1						
Sono Art-World Wide	13	15	11	25	8								
Special										1			
Spectrum						1	6	3	6	4	4		
Stage and Screen					1	1	6	4					
Sunset							2		1				

Superior Talking		2			2	7	7					
Supreme						3	12	9				1
Syndicate	15	23	12	2	1		2		1	2	1	
George Terwilliger								1				
Tiffany	20	42	24	8								
Times Exchange										3	2	2
Tower				5	5	2						
Trinity	3											
Trojan				1	1							
Victory							4	10	12	2	6	

This graph illustrates the yearly film production of the Poverty Row studios. It provides information regarding how many films a company produced each year, and the years that each company was in business.⁵ For example, Allied Picture was in business from 1931 to 1934 and produced a total of twenty-five films. Although this data is useful in establishing the overall production of, say, Allied Pictures, it does not provide information as to why this company was in business for such a short period of time, or what kind of film is made. Similarly, this graph illustrates that Poverty Row production reached a zenith in 1935 and then production dramatically decreased in the succeeding years, but it provides no interpretation into this peak of production, or its subsequent fall. As Moretti states, quantitative data does not provide interpretation; therefore, in order to understand the ebbs and flows of the Poverty Row studios, further research is necessary.

⁵ For more detailed information on Poverty Row film production, see the appendices.

Although the cycles and temporary structures within Poverty Row production can be studied through an examination of patterns and orders that are revealed through the collection of films and the quantitative documentation of overall production, it is also necessary to examine the period reportage surrounding this field of production. Just as Poverty Row left few historical footprints, its paper trail is equally obscure. The primary sources for period reportage are the film reviews and distribution rosters published in the trade journal *Variety*. These brief references not only provide some insight into how these films were generally perceived, but also provide information on how they were distributed and exhibited. *Variety* also provides documentation concerning business trends and specific events within Poverty Row that would be of importance to its producers, distributors and exhibitors. However, the veracity of these fragments of information need to be confirmed through cross reference with other historical sources, since much of what was often reported or proposed was not always achieved. For example, Brian Taves draws information from period advertisements in the *Film Daily Production Guide* concerning upcoming 1935 releases by the Weiss Brothers under their various production banners. Taves states that the producers had announced the release of six films in the 'Morton of the Mounted' series, four films for "American Rough Riders", three for the 'Range Riders', and five for 'Tarzan the Police Dog'. However in a typical pattern of Poverty Row, the releases announced here were not realized. Only three 'Morton' films made it to theaters and only one of the 'American Rough Riders' film was ever produced. In addition, there were only two 'Range Riders';

and only two ‘Tarzan the Police Dog’ films were released that year (Taves, 327-328, n. 27, 432, and Pitts, 368-374). These errors, stemming from period reportage, highlight the need to cross reference information with other sources such as the various published filmographies, internet-based databases, and even the films themselves.

Along with the film reviews, business reports, and advertisement notices in trade papers, references to Poverty Row occasionally appeared in the everyday press. It should be noted that the smaller theaters that generally booked Poverty Row films seldom advertized their films in newspapers as most of their potential viewers lived within the immediate vicinity of the theaters and advertising was an unnecessary expense, especially given the small revenue generated by these films. As well, few local newspapers bothered to review these films; only the *New York Times* regularly printed reviews of Poverty Row films. When Poverty Row films did receive newspaper coverage, it was seldom positive. The few period articles that discuss the Poverty Row film industry tend to lean towards human interest rather than business oriented reportage; moreover, they generally present an unfavorable range of tones, from bewilderment at the phenomenon of such marginal film production to downright vehement condemnation of Poverty Row. For example, as Frank Condon whimsically wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post*, “the intent and purpose of Poverty Row is not to spend any money whatever, unless driven to it by the rowel of necessity. Undying economy is the watchword, and no efficiency expert is required or tolerated, for an efficiency expert is a needless expense” (4). Similarly, Philip K. Scheuer presented a somewhat tongue-

in-cheek breakdown of Poverty Row quickie production in “Quickie Producer gives Recipe for making \$10,000 Picture” (C1). However, not all commentary regarded Poverty Row as the locus of humorous, low-budget novelty. Lewis Jacobs condemned Poverty Row as “the creature on the double bill the neighborhood movie is ashamed to advertise” (1934, 4). Although period commentary regarding Poverty Row is sparse, it does present a distinct picture of the way in which these films were received at the time of their production.

In order to construct a new history of Poverty Row that recognizes its complex relationship with Hollywood, it is necessary to observe the unique trends, patterns, and cycles that shaped this phenomena within film history. This project will not only highlight Poverty Row’s links to the era of silent cinema but will trace the development from these early origins in order to recognize its status as a residual cultural producer whose relationship with the dominant producers of Hollywood was complex. This project will show, as well, Poverty Row’s divergence from dominant models of film history insofar as the significant break in its history was not the introduction of sound technology, but the simultaneous introduction of the Hollywood B film and creation of the first conglomerate Poverty Row company in 1935.

Chapter Two: The Origins of Poverty Row

By 1935 the industry was dominated by eight giant corporations, their administrative headquarters in New York, their film-making activities in Hollywood, and their ultimate fate in the hands of outside financiers. There were still many small companies but these were collectively known as 'Poverty Row', the name used thirty years before to describe the whole chaotic appearance of the Hollywood movie-making area. (French, 25-26)

The origins of Poverty Row begin with the origins of film production in California. As Philip French points out, the term was first associated with the earliest Hollywood studios like Biograph, Kalem, Selig, and Nestor. These early production facilities were a ramshackle assortment of buildings, sets, and boarding houses scattered throughout Los Angeles. Built in 1911, the Nestor studio was the first studio in Hollywood and was described as a collection of shabby framed structures comprising a tavern, stables, and a carriage house. In 1915, Nestor merged with Carl Laemmle's Universal Pictures and the studio moved to its new studio facilities, Universal City (Fernett 1988, 147-148). Although larger studios like Universal and later Columbia would move away from their Poverty Row origins, the area of Sunset and Gower would become forever associated with low-budget film production, primarily because several studio rental facilities set up shop along these streets. Throughout the Teens and Twenties, several studio rental facilities established themselves in this region of

the city. Talisman, Tec-Art, Larry Darmour, and Educational Pictures would rent their facilities to various independent producers from the high end productions of Harold Lloyd and Howard Hughes down to Nat Levine's Mascot Pictures (Fernett 1973, 184-188).

Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, Gower Street would become the center for low-budget film production as numerous production companies, studio rental facilities and film laboratories moved into the area, including, for short periods of time, the fledgling Metro Pictures and the aforementioned Columbia Pictures. The recognition of this shared geographic origin is elemental to understanding the development of Poverty Row. In his history of Poverty Row, Gene Fernett recognizes the importance of the proximity in its origins. He states:

The Poverty Row history has no clear cut beginning, simply because many motion picture studios which eventually became major firms often themselves were of a kind of beginnings that typified a Poverty Row organization. But by 1930, a circle of affluent film producers had emerged in Hollywood separating themselves from the small independent firms which were eventually to be known as "the cowpokes of Gower Gulch." Then did Poverty Row have an identity and a Hollywood address. (1973, 1)

As more affluent producers, like Carl Laemmle (Universal), Adolph Zukor (Paramount) and William Fox (Fox), were able to establish their own studios facilities, smaller producers began to take advantage of the rental studios along Gower Street. However as these higher end producers constructed their own studios spaces, the rental studios became increasingly dependent upon the low-budget production of action films like westerns and serials. By the 1920s, the production of westerns was so omnipresent that the region became better known

as 'Gower Gulch', not only because of the large number of low-budget independent westerns being shot there but also because of the equally large number of cowboys and ranch hands loitering in the streets waiting for work as extras.

As Richard Koszarski observed, by 1924 a Hollywood mythos was clearly emerging (100). However, the emergence of Hollywood did not mean the end of independent production. The independents continued to flourish and by 1930, the various rental facilities located in Gower Gulch became the production facilities of the Poverty Row studios. However, treatment of the geographic dimensions of Poverty Row is frequently overlooked by film scholars in favor of a focus upon the development of double feature programs and sound film production in the 1930s. As Yannis Tzioumakis has stated:

Although low-end independent production existed in the periphery of the film industry from the days of the Patents Company, it nevertheless represents a far too marginal phenomenon to merit detailed examination. With companies being formed and dissolved almost overnight, sometimes making only one film before slipping into obscurity, and with the vast majority of these second-rate films lost forever, the field of low-end independent production prior to the introduction of sound is akin to a vast cemetery with a huge number of short-lived production companies and films buried inside (65).

Tzioumakis declares that the silent era origins of Poverty Row are a marginal phenomenon and not worthy of investigation; however, it is precisely within this marginal phenomenon that Poverty Row begins. As Michael R. Pitts acknowledges in his Poverty Row filmography, independent film production had been part of the film industry since the inception of Hollywood, and, in fact, that

independent operation reached its peak in the 1930s (vii). In order to understand the beginnings of Poverty Row it is necessary to examine the industrial developments and historical intricacies of the early silent period.

Into the Vast Cemetery

As both Tzioumakis and Pitts acknowledge, the origins of Poverty Row are located within the history of independent film production. This raises the question of what the term ‘independent’ designated: independent from what? The term independent finds its origins with the initial move of film production to California and the move to break free of the production and exhibition monopoly held by the Edison Trust, also known as the Patents Company (Tzioumakis, 21). In order to escape the harsh patent restrictions, the distribution monopolies, and the camera-smashing goon-squads of the Edison Trust, several rogue film producers fled the east coast studios of New York and New Jersey to established new production centers in Chicago, Arizona, Florida, and California (see Bowser, 21-36). It wasn’t long before the California studios proved to be the most successful ‘independent’ producers. In the late 1910s, the Edison Trust began to collapse, thus allowing these new independent production companies, like Universal and Paramount, to expand their holdings in distribution and exhibition, as well as to produce more expensive feature films. With the decline of Edison and the rise of Hollywood studios, the notion of independence changed. While it once designated

independence from Edison, it came to mean independence from the Hollywood industry.

Known by many different names—the Edison Trust, the Patents Company, or, simply, the Trust—the Motion Pictures Patents Company (MPPC) was a business organization that consisted of the larger film producers of the time, including, at various times, Edison, Essanay, Kalem, Kliene, Lubin, Méliès, Pathé Frères, Selig, Polyscope, Vitagraph, French Gaumont, and Biograph. Together, these companies tried to restrict the production of films outside of the Trust. They maintained a strangle hold on film exhibition by limiting the distribution of their films to their licensed theaters only and shutting out all non-Trust filmmakers. However, the Trust produced mainly one and two reel films for the nickelodeons and storefront theaters. In order to circumvent the monopoly of the Trust, the new independent producers focused primarily on the production of feature length films and the promotion of film stars. As Tzioumakis explains:

These early independents, however, did break away from certain production and distribution practices of the Trust. One of the major advantages the independents had over the Patents Company was that they were willing to experiment. Unlike the production companies working for the Trust, who were making one-reel films under the assumption that the public was indifferent to the quality of the product and who would get their 10 cents per foot of film produced regardless of content or quality, independent producers consciously strive to differentiate their product. (23)

Therefore, if exhibitors wanted to show the newly popular feature films they would have to sever their distribution agreements with the Trust and purchase independent product. Eventually, the MPPC began to produce and release feature

films, but their success was limited and the Trust collapsed in 1919 due to poor financial management and infighting amongst its members.⁶

As the MPPC declined and the new independents soared, the film industry shifted from the production and distribution of one and two reel films to full length feature films. Moreover, the move to feature length films attracted new, more middle-class audiences seeking more middle-brow entertainment than the traditional one-reel working class fare of the nickelodeons. As Adolph Zukor had predicted, feature films would attract the middle class to movies (Sklar 1975, 44). As a result, the entire film industry shifted from exhibition in small nickelodeons and storefronts to the larger urban theaters and eventually to the grandiose extravagance of the picture palaces, all in an attempt to cater to and satisfy the tastes of the new and expanding middle-class audiences. As films grew in length, and theaters acquired higher prestige, the revenue generated increased dramatically, thus allowing the top end producers, along with their New York based financial backers, to begin the integration of film production, distribution, and, most lucratively, exhibition. Zukor's Paramount bought the B&K theater chain in 1925. The Loew's theater chain purchased Metro Pictures in 1920 and within four years established Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (M.G.M.). In 1925 Fox Film moved into exhibition with the creation of the Fox Theater Corporation; Warner Bros. moved from exhibition into production in 1918, and by 1925 had

⁶ The rise and fall of the Edison Trust had been documented by a number of historical studies, including Gomery's *The Hollywood Studio System*, Slide's *Early American Cinema*, Everson's *American Silent Film*, Sklar's *Movie-Made America*, Jacobs' *The Rise of American Film*, Bowser's *The Transformation of American Cinema*, Merritt's "The Nickelodeon Theater," and Curtis's "A House Divided."

established an international distribution system. At a lower level of development, Universal, and United Artists were able to establish networks of production and distribution, though neither successfully expanded into theater ownership (see Koszarsky, Sklar 1975, and Gomery 2005).

Despite all of the upward movement and expansion of film producers into vertically integrated companies, there was still a sizable market for quality independent production. However, by the mid 1920s, the expansion of the Hollywood studios into theater ownership began to limit the access of independent producers to the first and second run exhibition venues. At the same time, the expanding studios were in need of skilled leaders to head their production-units and began to siphon off the top layers of personnel working in independent cinema. For example, B. P. Shulberg, who operated Preferred Pictures from 1922 to 1926, moved to Paramount where he served as associate producer on some of their most important films, including *Old Ironsides* (1926), *Wings*, (1927), and *The Last Command* (1928). Other independents, like Samuel Goldwyn or John McCormick, established distribution agreements with First National or United Artists. As many of the top-level independent producers became incorporated into the Hollywood studios, either through producer-units or distribution contracts, two large independent production companies rose in prominence: Pathé, which had been around since the mid-Teens, and Film Booking Office (F.B.O.), which was the expansion of the Robertson-Cole company with money from Joseph Kennedy. Both Pathé and F.B.O. produced their own films as well as serving as distributors for smaller independent

producers. In addition, they were joined by a number of even smaller independent producers and production companies, like Rayart, Gotham, Weiss Brothers, and Anchor Films. Throughout the 1920s, the independent film industry thrived on producing everything from quality feature films to low budget action fare, but the success of these producers was dependent upon two factors: the higher rental costs for exhibiting Hollywood studio films and the enormous number of independently owned movie theaters that were not directly affiliated with Hollywood distribution.⁷

Distribution and the schism of shared origins

Throughout the 1920s, higher end independent film production maintained access to first and second run theaters through distribution contracts with Hollywood studios, mainly through United Artists and First National. However, the majority of independent producer still relied upon film exchanges for the distribution of their films. Film exchanges originated in the late nineteenth century when film producers would sell their films to various exchange offices located across the country. The exchanges would then rent the films to local exhibitors, who would visit on a daily basis to exchange older reels for new releases (Alvarez, 431-434) Initially, film producers like Edison and Biograph sold their films to the exchanges because they were more preoccupied with the sales of projection equipment; however, the exchange operator saw a greater value

⁷ For a detailed discussion of the movements within independent film production companies during the 1920s, see Tzioumakis and Crafton.

in these films. When a reel had run its local circuit, it could then be sold off to so-called ‘junk’ exchanges that would then rent these deteriorating films to ‘daily grind’ theaters. Shortly after the turn of the century, film producers realized the problems associated with selling their films to exchanges: the distribution of shoddy or damaged prints, re-titling, re-editing with other footage, out-dated footage, or the mixing with competitor’s product. As a result, they began to control their prints by only renting to exchanges for short periods of time. Confusingly, despite this change in film distribution, the terminology of ‘selling’ a film to an exchange remained, although this referred only to the selling of a film’s distribution rights for a predetermined period of time. As the popularity of nickelodeons expanded, so did many of the film exchanges achieving national distribution networks. Moreover, the owners of many of the largest exchanges began to move into film production, including Carl Laemmle (Universal), W. W. Hodkinson (Paramount), William Fox and the Warner Brothers. Conversely, many production companies expanded into distribution exchanges, most notably the Pathé Frères, and V-L-S-E, a joint enterprise of Vitagraph, Lubin, Selig, and Essanay (443-445, 457-459).

Although many of the leading film producers and film exchanges, like Universal and Paramount, controlled the distribution of their films, many of the independent producing brands had to rely upon various independent exchanges for the distribution of their films via states rights agreements (443). The States Rights system was developed in the early 1900s as a national distribution system, as Eileen Bowser explains:

If the film was not being road-shown, or if that tour was completed, it could be sold by “states rights.” The “states rights” system meant that an individual or a small company could buy the rights for a specific territory and then go out and get whatever the market would bear from the special exhibition places or from an ordinary movie house. Pliny P. Craft gave himself credit for originating the system when he was working with the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show: inspired by the success of Johnson-Jeffries fight film, Craft convinced Buffalo Bill to let the Wild West Show be recorded on film and then found backing for a three-reel feature. He claimed that the states rights idea came into vogue with this picture as a necessary after-consideration. Film exchanges could not be induced to buying the Buffalo Bill Show film because it was thought to be too long.” (192)

The States Rights system became a nationwide distribution network of film exchanges and regional distribution centers. Ownership of these exchanges varied greatly, as some were owned by film producers and production companies, others by theater owners, and still others by individual business interest. Many were located in the larger metropolitan areas serving specific sections, while others were located in smaller urban areas with exclusive distribution for that city. Others would ship films to various regions and territories for smaller markets, especially in the South and Southwest. A film’s rights were ‘sold’ to States Rights exchange operators, who would then rent out the films for flat fees to exhibitors and theater owners. This seemingly disorganized and chaotic system of regional distribution did prove to be effective for getting independently branded product to a national market; however, this method presented little opportunity for the producer or the importer to capitalize on an unusual hit, with the results that rights were later sold either for a limited time rather than in perpetuity, or else on a percentage basis (Balio, 111).

Often independent producers would resort to a different distribution strategy, the practice known as roadshowing.

In roadshowing, the producer or importer exhibited the picture himself. He would book a theater on a percentage-of-the-gross basis and then take over the actual operations for the run. This method worked best with important legitimate theaters. But only the strongest attractions could be handled this way. (111)

For a while, this strategy was effective for the biggest of feature length films like *Birth of a Nation* (1915); however, with the ever-increasing number of feature length films being produced, it was quickly proving to be too cumbersome and expensive. Often both strategies were employed, as a major feature would first be roadshowed in larger markets, and then distributed through states rights for continued profits from the smaller regional markets. However, as production costs increased with the move from one and two reels to feature length productions, these distribution systems were quickly reaching their profit potential, and if feature length production was to be sustained, a new distribution system that would funnel more profit back to the producer would become necessary (see Balio and Bowser).

In 1914, States Rights distributor William Wadsworth (W. W.) Hodkinson organized a number of states rights distributors and successful theater owners to invest in film production. This move was designed to maintain the quality and quantity of feature films, and in order to sustain itself, Hodkinson changed the revenue structure from a flat fee to a percentage basis. This reorganization not only guaranteed a steady stream of capital, but also, by distributing pictures on a percentage basis, encouraged producers to maintain a high level of production

though the possibility of larger returns (Hampton, 118). Hodkinson's new film distribution company would become Paramount Pictures and shortly thereafter, it signed with Adolph Zukor's production company Famous Players (Gomery 2005, 17). However, Hodkinson was vehemently opposed to the monopolization of the film industry and he steadfastly believed that the three branches of the film industry should be kept separate: the producer should concentrate on making quality pictures, the distributor should focus solely upon film distribution, and the exhibitor should be concerned with the upkeep and reputability of their theaters. For Hodkinson, such independence maintained interest and enthusiasm, and resulted in better pictures, better distribution, and better theater management than would be possible if all elements were merged under one head (Hampton, 152).

Moreover, in order to support the burgeoning popularity of feature films and their rising stars, Hodkinson began to develop a grading system for movie theaters. This was an expansion upon his days as a states right distributor, when he would charge higher rates for popular films, but to compensate for the increased cost, he would give certain exhibitors priority in showing a film. This priority was known as the 'first run,' and the first-run exhibitor was protected for a week or so against exhibition of the picture in other houses in his district (147). Later with Paramount, he codified these earlier practices and initiated a grading system that divided all movie houses into first, second, and subsequent run theaters, as well as giving each exhibitor protection for a certain period against competitors.

First-run houses were nearly always located downtown, in the center of the amusement district, and paid the highest rental. Second runs were in the smaller residential districts, ‘neighborhood houses,’ as they are known in the trade; and there were similar gradings down to fifth runs in villages and poorer sections. This arrangement was accepted by all distributors and promptly became the prevailing method of the trade. It was natural and businesslike, and seemed to be nothing more than merely a step forward in sound commercial practice. Fundamentally, however, it was much more—it marked the beginnings of power in the first run houses. (148)

Hodkinson’s grading system revolutionized the film industry by binding feature film production and film distribution to a grading system of exhibition—better films for better theaters. With this system, Hodkinson altered the entire structure of film exhibition.

With the rapid expansion of the Hollywood studios in the mid 1920s, the film industry lost contact with the public and with the sense of theatre as a part of communities. As Douglas Gomery states, movie shows were now just another chain store, next to Woolworths’s Five and Dime and the Sears department store (2005, 35). As he further notes, theater chains developed in tandem with other distribution systems of national wholesaling and the development of grocery and variety store chains. He states: “The methods seemed simple. Chains kept costs low by taking advantage of economies of scale. Fixed costs were spread over more and more operations, so the cost per store was far lower than the completion across the street” (Gomery 1992, 35). As a result, the first and second run theaters were able to generate enormous profits for the Hollywood studios, thus funding the continued expansion of their exhibition networks and theater chains. Despite Hodkinson’s beliefs that production, distribution and exhibition should remain

separate, in order to maintain quality films, the emerging Hollywood studios continued to expand their business at a rapid rate. After a dispute with Zukor and other board members over corporate structures, stock ownership and monopolistic business practices, Hodkinson left Paramount (Hampton, 153-155). He would, however, continue as an independent film producer before retiring in 1924, when his production company was re-organized and renamed as the Producers Distributing Company (P.D.C.) (319).

Independent film production continued and even expanded in the first half of the 1920s. Moreover, along with Hodkinson, there were a number of notable producers working within independent production, including Samuel Goldwyn, David Selznick, and Benjamin P. Schulberg. As well, many notable and established film stars began their own production companies, including Charles Chaplin, Buster Keaton, Mary Pickford, Harold Lloyd and Bosworth Hobart. However, the majority of the quality independent production was contracted to the larger studios to help fill out their distribution rosters. As Janet Staiger notes, First National and other such distribution groups not only bought films from the independents, but they offered to finance productions. Moreover, in the early 1920s, there were plenty of outlets for independent films; for the 1925-26 season, States Rights distribution handled 248 of the 696 releases, First National and United Artists, an additional 60, and an undetermined number were handled by other national distributors (317). However, as Staiger continues, the fortunes of independent producers were beginning to change.

The advanced-capitalism movement [the Hollywood studio system] of the mid and late 1920s changed the situation somewhat. As the soon-to-be-majors consolidated and organized their control of first-run exhibition, the independent production companies found access to the top-profit theaters cut off unless it had distribution contracts with the majors or United Artists—although only a very few (e.g., Goldwyn) had the status of sufficiently high-cost production to be in this position. Without the possibility of first-run distribution, financing from outside capital sources became difficult. (318)

The independent film industry went through a great deal of reorganization in the mid- 1920s. Many of the top producers, like Shulberg, merged into producer-units with one of the major studios. Other independent producers secured distribution agreements with First National and United Artists; others still (like Cecil B. DeMille, Mack Sennett, Hal Roach and Larry Darmour) moved into agreements with the larger independents of Pathé, P.D.C., F.B.O., and Educational Pictures. As the largest of the independent production companies they offered greater individual and artistic freedom for filmmakers as well as the financial security of nation-wide distribution.

A Dull Week at the Park Theatre

On the exhibition end of matters remain very much as they have always been, chaos. (“Pictures Most Sensational Year”)

Film exhibition, until the latter half of the 1920s, was dominated by independent ownership of theaters and theater chains. Although this period is usually defined

by the expansion of the Hollywood studios into theater ownership through the purchasing of, or merging with, theater chains, until 1928-29, a large percentage of movie theaters were still independently owned. However, despite these high levels of independent ownership, attempts to create a national business association failed over fears of losing individual control of film booking. As a result, independent exhibitors were largely powerless on the national scene and they were easily dominated by the buying power of the small studio-affiliated theater chains. As *Variety* explained:

Under the present circumstances the 7,000 independent exhibitors in the country are still paying process for pictures determined by a small group of operators controlling approximately 1,500 to 2,000 of the higher grade houses, who dictate to the producing organizations with which they are affiliated and which they practically control. ("The Independent Exhibitor")

As *Variety* further notes:

Buying product from independent producers is not a means in itself for independence from circuit control. Independent productions are not strong enough to carry the majority of independent theaters profitably. ("The Independent Exhibitor")

On a national scale, the independent theater owners were powerless, trapped between the price fixing of the studio-affiliated theaters and the inability of independent film production to provide enough film production to alleviate the situation. As a result, the majority of independently owned theaters in the United States were second, third, and subsequent run theaters or low-graded grindhouses. Moreover, without a national organization to intercede on the question of rental prices, the minority would continue to dictate to the majority.

As a result of the independent exhibitor's inability to challenge the price control of affiliated exhibitors, the majority of independent exhibition was relegated to the smaller markets of second and third run urban metropolitan theaters, the suburban neighborhoods and rural communities and even the lowly grindhouses and so-called 'shooting-galleries' of 'skid row' and ethnic urban areas. Although these small market movie houses constituted the majority of theaters across the U.S., they were only able to generate minimal profits because of their smaller seating capacities; moreover, the high volume of localized repeat business necessitated the booking of several films throughout the week. As a result, these theaters had to change their marques several times a week, unlike the larger downtown picture palaces that could book a film for two to three weeks (Sklar 2000, 3-12). However, this smaller capacity for generating revenue did not mean that these smaller theaters were not profitable. As *Variety* reported, the smaller neighborhood theaters continued to be viable in the face of competition with larger deluxe houses in the outlying districts: "In Milwaukee, where theater chains Midwesco, Universal and similar organizations have taken possession of

the 2,000 seat neighborhood houses are struggling financially, while the smaller 400 to 800 seat houses have kept their heads above the red ink" ("Small Neighborhood Houses")

Practically every small house in the neighborhoods has reduced its admission to 10 or 15 cents, while bigger houses, must charge from 25 up to 40 cents. In addition, the smaller houses have effected [sic] tie-ups with smaller film agencies and are showing double features, two feature length pictures on the same program in addition to special nights. ("Small Neighborhood Houses")

While the larger 2,000 seat theaters found themselves in competition with not only the smaller local theaters, but also with the larger downtown theaters, having to increase their overhead with elaborate stage shows to compete with the downtown 40 cent admission, the smaller locals were able to cut their prices and offer better value for their price of admission with double features.

Although the double feature had been an element of film exhibition since the mid-Teens—as *Variety* stated, "a practice nearly as old as the picture business itself"—it was a practice that was beginning to gain momentum with independent exhibitors ("Double Feature Film Days"). In an attempt to explain the growing phenomena, *Variety* tracked it origins to Boston film exhibitors.

Back in 1916, Walter Green and several associates then young in the picture industry, during a dull week at the Park

theatre which they were endeavoring to get out of the red, announced a “dual bill” consisting of an independent feature and a reissue of a Pickford. It drew some business and the experiment was repeated. (“Double Feature Origin”)

In order to compete with the programming of the ‘dual’, many other local theaters were forced to adopted dual bills. Eventually the practice spread across New England, and, by 1927, it had become a prominent practice in the Northeast U.S., California, and central Canada (Seale, 74). Although the programming of double features was increasing in popularity with exhibitors, it is difficult to mark this as a distinct national trend during this period. The decision to book a dual program was dependent upon the discretion of individual exhibitors. Moreover, the programming of a double feature was dependent upon its ability to return the added expense of offering a two-for-one deal. This return had to take the effect of either bolstering the box office on a slow night, or undercutting the competition by enticing customers with an extra film. As a result double features were an unpredictable and irregular practice, but one that was steadily growing with exhibitors.

Between the Devil and the Deep Sea

Concomitant with the chaotic state of independent film exhibition and the unpredictability of double features was the unsure state of independent film production. From the late Teens to early 1920s, the low-budget independent

producers were making inroads with smaller market theaters, and by mid-decade, they were gaining access to medium graded theaters, primarily through affordable pricing and double features. As a result, many of the older steadfast independent producers, who had refuted Hollywood studio affiliation, were now under pressure from the most unlikely of competitors.

There were, besides, another thirty or forty producing-distributing corporations known as the inhabitants of "Poverty Row," the makers of "quickies," or features manufactured quickly and at small expense. These studios, by employing the less costly stars avoided every form of extravagance, produced negatives at five to fifteen thousand dollars each, and looked to the smaller theaters in poorer districts and villages for their patronage. This branch of the industry would have been preposterous, except that here too, as in the field of medium prices, over-production kept rentals at the minimum. [...] Although Goldwyn, Hodkinson, and Selznick and all other producers of medium- and high-priced pictures could not realize it, the fact was that, with Poverty Row pushing them on one side and Paramount and First National advancing rapidly, from the other, their lack of assured first-run connections was placing them between the devil and the deep sea. (Hampton, 251)

Although Hampton prematurely identifies these mid-to-low independents as Poverty Row, their rise in prominence and their increased production were a significant blow to the status and security of higher end independents like Goldwyn and Hodkinson who relied upon the profits from the higher graded independent exhibitors and voids in the Hollywood studio distribution roster.

The staple cinematic product of the low-budget independent film producer was the outdoor action genre picture: the western, the northern, seafaring, and jungle adventures. These films could take the form of a short (one or two reels), a feature of roughly sixty minutes in length, or a serialized chapterplay usually ranging from ten to fifteen chapters (and for a short period, the episodic

chapterplay). As early as the mid-Teens, these action films became the bedrock of the larger production companies, like Kalem, Selig, Pathé and Universal, but as film exhibition rapidly expanded so did the demand for films, including the lower budgeted action films and serials. However, as these companies rose in prestige and began focusing upon higher graded theater exhibition and its higher rental fees, a number of lower-budgeted independents began to fill the void at the bottom. By the end of the Teens, a number of small, poorly funded production companies began to appear on the market. Most of these companies were only in existence for short period, or even for only a single film. For example, DeLuxe Pictures was only in operation from 1918-1919 and Hallmark Pictures from 1918-1920, while Serico Producing was only able to muster enough capital for one serial *A Woman in Grey* (1920). However, the rapid growth of movie houses and the rising production values of the larger producers enabled greater stability in the low-end of film production, and by the early 1920s, there was an increase in the number of financially secure low-budget producers and production companies. The most notable of these companies were Arrow Film Corporation (1918-1926); Anchor Film (1922-1930); Associated Exhibitors (1921-1926); Aywon Film Corporation (1919-1928, but it continued under several other names until 1935); Sanford Productions (1922- 1926); and the Weiss Brothers' Artclass Pictures, which began in 1919 and successfully continued with low-budget productions (under various names and incarnations) until the early years of television.⁸

⁸ Due to the lack of historical studies regarding these small independent film companies of the 1920s, much of this research has been developed through cross referencing of the histories of individual producers and production company

These companies produced hundreds of outdoor action adventures—mostly westerns and serials—because these films were quick and cheap to make; and with a guaranteed flat fee rental, they were able to generate enough revenue for companies to continue production and have a small profit left over. These films were usually shot in only a few days, six days at the most, with the majority of filming done outside on location. California provided ideal filming locations—everything from redwood forests, to sagebrush deserts, to exotic coastal locales—and the greater Los Angeles area provided the readymade backdrops of the urban metropolis, including San Pedro harbor, train stations, Griffith Park, Bronson Canyon, Chinatown, suburbs streets, winding mountain roads, and the picturesque surrounding communities. In addition, to these inexpensive filming locations, along Gower Street, there were a number of studio rental facilities like Talisman and Tec-Art that could be obtained for a day of interior studio shooting. As a result of their low-budgets and short shooting schedules, these films became known as ‘quickies’ or ‘cheapies’ in industry parlance (Taves, 313).

As the now entrenched Hollywood studios and the higher end independent were courting the business of the topflight picture palaces and their potential to generate enormous profit, the smaller subsequent run and local movie houses increasingly turned to more affordable independent product to fill their screens. In order to meet this demand, many of the older low-budget independents began to increase their production budgets to access these mid-grade theaters. Between 1924 and 1926, mid-to low independent production expanded dramatically. The

histories, as well as film director’s filmographies, much of which has been found on the Internet Movie Database.

small low-budget company C.B.C. changed its name to Columbia Pictures and embarked on a successful climb through the ‘indies’ to eventually become one of the Hollywood studios; however, Columbia was the exception. Much more representative of these new mid-grade production companies was a group of modest producers that were able to secure nominal financial backing in order to produce several films a year. Among these companies were Rayart Pictures (1924-1929), Chadwick Pictures (1924-1928), Ellbee Pictures (1926-1927), Goodwill Productions (1925-1929), Davis Distributing (1924-1929), Gotham Productions (1924-1929), Peerless Productions (1926-1928, not to be confused with Peerless Pictures [1931-1936]), Sterling Pictures (1926-1928), and the Bud Barsky Corporation (1924-1927).⁹ Also there were a number of production companies that remained in business well into the 1930s: Chesterfield Motion Picture Corporation (1925-1937), Mascot Pictures (1926-1935) and the variously named versions of Willis Kent Productions (1928-1943). In addition, there was Tiffany Productions, which was formed in 1922 as a quality independent producer distributing through Metro Pictures, but was dropped with the creation of M.G.M. in 1925. The company changed its name to Tiffany-Stahl for several years when it was joined by producer/ director John M. Stahl, but when Stahl left in 1930 to return to Universal, the company reverted back to its Tiffany name. It struggled for a couple of years and finally succumbed to financial difficulties in 1932 (Pitts, 405-408).

⁹ Again, this research has been developed from a system of cross referencing information provided by the Internet Movie Database.

A large part of the strength of these new companies was rooted in the fact that they developed their own film exchanges: Rayart had the Syndicate Film Exchanges, Gotham distributed through its subsidiary Lumas Films, and Tiffany, Chesterfield, Chadwick and Mascot owned their own film exchanges. The ability to maintain film exchanges in the larger markets like New York, Chicago, or Los Angles, enabled these companies to retain some of the profits from distribution; however, they were still dependent on independently owned film exchanges for complete national distribution and access to small markets. Along with the expansion of studio-owned exchanges, a number of 'quickie' producers, including Goodwill Pictures, Bell Pictures, Davis Distributing, and Anchor Films, began operating as distribution umbrellas for a number of marginal producers and one-shot operations. In addition, William Steiner, a longtime States Rights distributor, expanded his network of film exchanges for partial national distribution. In 1926, a new distribution company entered the market to handle mid-to-low independent production. First Division Pictures was a distribution wing of Pathé created to specifically peddle low-budget independent films on the States Rights market. This new company handled the films of numerous small producers including James Ormont Productions, Furst Wells Productions, and Trinity Pictures, as well as eventually taking over the distribution of Excellent Pictures and Chadwick Pictures. In the 1930s, the company would move into production and in 1937, its distribution network was rolled into the Pathé backed conglomerate of Grand National.¹⁰

¹⁰ Once more, this research is derived from cross referencing information on the

In 1928, *Variety* reported that independent film production had reached an all time high and that independent producers had increased production cost with films that can “hit the secondary first runs in the larger cities.” Among these ambitious independents listed by *Variety* were F.B.O., Columbia, Tiffany-Stahl, Gotham, and James Cruse, who had acquired independent status. Among the producers of the low end discussed by *Variety* were Duke Worne and Trem Carr (Rayart), Charles Hutchison (Peerless), Cliff Broughton (Willis Kent), Morris Schlank (Anchor), and Cliff Elfelt (Davis) (“342 Indie Films”). However, despite the positive prospects of independent production, the trade paper also recognized the instability of low-end production.

Some of the producers named above are amply financed to carry through their year’s program while others will make two or three pictures and wait for the money to come in before finishing their series.

Investigation of the independent field shows there is still plenty of money obtainable for this sort of production, if the right sources are tapped. (“342 Indie Films”)

Consequently, 1928 was a good year for independent production, especially for the higher end independents like Columbia, F.B.O. and Gotham. However, despite *Variety*’s mild optimism, 1929 would bring several significant changes to independent cinema.

Dying Out and Quickly

Although *Variety* had reported that only one year earlier, the small neighborhood theaters and urban grindhouses of Milwaukee had been holding their own against competition from larger affiliated theaters, by 1929, the trend was beginning to reverse. The trade journal reported the purchase of the Kotinsky theaters in New Jersey by the Fox theater chain, stating that “the sale of this independent chain brings to a close the operation of independent theaters in Jersey City” (“Chain Operations”). Moreover, the journal noted that the state of independent theater ownership in New Jersey was practically finished, including a number, but not all of the shooting galleries. Most importantly, the article notes that the New Jersey trend was also representative of the state of independent theater ownership nationally.

In the east the independents foresee a drive similar to that which has been conducted here also taking place in the west, with the chains logically replacing the independently operated houses, mostly old-fashioned, with small seating capacities, and unable to compete in the prices for film obtained from the modern houses. (“Chain Operations”)

Variety reports a rather bleak future for independent theaters in New Jersey and nationwide, stating that the pressures from the growing theater chains have left independent movie houses little opportunity except to “sell whenever and whatever prices possible or close up” and that “most independent exhibitor’s

being ready to sell at any reasonable offer and only ready to join a combination of other independents as a last means of protection against closing." In addition, the trade paper notes that the expansion of theater chains into the New Jersey market did not include all of the shooting galleries, although some were affected by the takeover ("Chain Operations").

Moreover, the regional theaters of small towns were being encroached upon by the construction of larger affiliated theaters in larger communities. Later in 1929, *Variety* reported that many small town theaters were closing.

In a statement made public from the President's unemployment conference it is stated that "small theaters in small towns are disappearing, but that does not indicate any loss of affection on the part of the American public for movies. The vanishing of the little houses is more than offset by the erection of large-size theaters in the bigger towns."

Report from this committee represents a year's work. The passing of the small town theater credited to the automobile and construction of good roads, this taking the countyites to the cities for their entertainment.

Committee gives the total number of picture theaters in the U.S. on March 1, 1927, as 15,119. A year later the number was 14,235. The decline, however, is described

as ‘progressive.’’ (“Small Towns Losing”)

The growth of larger affiliated movie houses may have seemed to be a progressive development, but this shift in theater ownership from individual, independent ownership to chain ownership with affiliation to Hollywood distribution would not only restrict the access of independent film production to these mid-grade theaters, but it would also force the independent production companies to further rely upon the lowest-graded grindhouses for exhibition.

Moreover, the expansion of affiliated theater ownership into the smaller independent markets of New Jersey and small towns not only monopolized the ability of independent producers to access exhibition markets, but it also eliminated much of the ability for individual exhibitors to use independent product to create double features. As a result of this restriction, *Variety*, in 1929, announced that “Double feature programs are dying out and quickly” (“Double Feature Film Days”). They further explain:

A definite decline in double feature bills throughout the country, chains and independents, is found to have occurred during this year. Continental changes of policy have shoved the two-features-a-day back into the limbo of forgotten things. (“Double Feature Film Days”)

The article notes that the decline in double feature programming was taking place in the Loew’s (M.G.M.), Publix (Paramount), and Fox-Metropolitan (Fox) theater chains in the greater New York area, and that this downward trend was effecting

all double features, even the “smallest that have lived for years mainly on the draw of two pictures for the price of one.” *Variety* further notes that the decline in double feature programming was largely due to the inability to obtain independent product. It states: “The double feature idea was made possible not only for indies, but chains, to a large extent because cheaper pictures were purchased for these days” (Double Feature Film Days”). Therefore, the success of double features was due to the availability of affordable independent film production to boost box-office on slow nights; however, the sudden drop in double feature bookings in 1929 was due to a number of factors beyond the availability of cheap independent films.

The move to control the booking of independent productions to create double features in both affiliated and independent theaters involved more than just the acquisition of independently owned theaters by studio chain operations, but it also included the development of an alternate program to the dual bill. *Variety*’s states that the double feature programs in these metropolitan houses were being replaced so “that more of the worthwhile short product” can be booked with some houses using three or four shorts in addition to the feature (“Double Feature Film Days”). Moreover, the article freely discloses that this shift in exhibition was a protective measure by the Hays Office in favor of the business of various producer members and that now all first line producers had heavy short schedules, except First National and Fox. As Thomas Doherty explains:

Shorts served as the main line of defense against a programming practice that the studios vehemently opposed: the double bill. Seen as tarnishing the luster of the main feature, the double bill

squeezed profit margins and, more ominously, left openings for independent production and Poverty Row studios to muscle in on the territory of the majors. The big studios simply couldn't supply enough movies for twin bills; they needed to control the distribution pipeline to maintain the value of the product and the exclusivity of the supply. (Doherty, 1999b, 154)

Therefore, the shift towards implementing a program of selected short subjects and a single feature was a multi-faceted protectionist move to eliminate the double feature, but also to prevent exhibitors from using independent product, and supporting the production of short films by various producer members.

Although short film production had been a part of the Hollywood landscape since its inception, the short, especially the comedy short, had fallen on hard times after the early slapstick comedians, like Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton, Harold Lloyd, and Harry Langdon had moved to feature length comedies. Generally, short films were quick and cheap to make, especially for the bigger studios. The problem with shorts was that despite their low production costs, they would barely make a profit, and although the larger studios did produce their own shorts, a large percentage of short film production was left to independent producers. F.B.O. had the "Toots and Casper" series based upon the popular newspaper comic strip characters and Larry Darmour produced the "Mickey McGuire" series for the company, as well as the animated shorts of Walt Disney. Pathé had both Hal Roach and Mack Sennett under contract, and controlled the distribution of both Roach's Laurel and Hardy shorts and his "Our Gang" series, while Sennett supplied his stock company of comedic players. Pathé also distributed the animated shorts of Amedée J. Van Buren's studio. Educational Pictures (often wrongly labeled a Poverty Row company) had Lupino Lane, Lloyd

Hamilton, and Monte Collins, as well as the productions of Al Christie under its umbrella, and later those of Mack Sennett. The move to a more standardized program of several short subjects and a single feature did not pass unnoticed by the low-end independents, as they too produced a number of comedy shorts featuring virtually forgotten comedians like Larry Semon (Chadwick), Poodles Hanneford (Weiss Brothers), and Bobby Ray (Rayart).

From 1927 through to 1930, the Hollywood studio system grew dramatically. This expansion was not based upon the development of new production facilities but occurred through the incorporation of independent production. The first major move of this sort was within independent production as Pathé absorbed P.D.C. in 1927. Later, in 1928, Warner Bros. acquired the independent First National Pictures and the Stanley theater chain adding to their exhibition network to become one of the largest of the major studios (Balio, 129). The same year, Columbia moved from independent status to become a part of the studio system through the savvy business practices of the Cohn Brothers, their network of national and international distribution, and the successful films of Frank Capra. However, Columbia, like Universal and United Artists, was unable to make any significant inroads into theater chain ownership, the distinguishing factor between a major studio, like Warner Bros., and a minor studio like Columbia (Gomery 2005, 60-61 and 161-166). Also in 1928, Sam Sax, the president of Gotham Pictures and its distribution wing Lumas Film Corporation, moved to the Vitaphone Corporation, the Warner Bros. shorts division, to produce musical and comedy shorts including the "Melody Masters," "Your True

Adventures,” and the “Broadway Brevities” series. Subsequently, Gotham/ Lumas disappeared from independents production after its last release in 1929.

However, the largest shake up for independent production, especially for short film production, came in 1929 with the creation of R.K.O. Radio Pictures. The company was cobbled together by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) as a platform for their new sound-on-film technology and built upon the merger of F.B.O. and Pathé. Although F.B.O. stopped production immediately, Pathé continued to release films under their own banner until 1930. These two companies brought with them their production facilities, as well as their national distribution networks, but it was the purchase of the Keith-Albee-Orpheum theater chain that propelled the fledgling company into major studio status (Gomery 2005, 56-60). By the end of 1920s, the higher end of independent production had been completely incorporated into the Hollywood studio system either through corporate mergers, producer-units, or, contractual agreements. This expansion came to a dramatic halt, however, amidst the economic hardships of the Depression, and the doors to the studio system were shut tight.

Between 1927 and 1930, the majority of high end and mid level independent film production activity had been completely incorporated into the Hollywood studio system. The major exception to high end incorporation was Tiffany. That studio had been one of the leading independents of the late silent era, but for reasons unknown—probably due to lackluster films, poor box-office, corporate instability and poor distribution holdings—the company was excluded from Hollywood affiliation. Tiffany became the most prestigious of the

independent studios of Poverty Row. As Don Miller has suggested, “it might be said that Tiffany Pictures was the MGM of the independents” (1973, 22). Indeed, Tiffany continued to produce higher grade independent features for the subsequent run circuit, and it did have some success with some initial sound outings like *Peacock Alley* and *Journey’s End* (both 1930), but such productions were expensive and subsequent films, like *Sunny Skies*, *Hot Curves*, and *The Medicine Man* (all 1930) failed at the box office. The company was forced to turn to low-budget genre films like *Near the Rainbow’s End* and *The Land of Missing Men* (both 1930) in order to sustain itself (Pitts, 405-408).

Without access to mid-grade theaters and the extra revenue of double feature booking, the smallest independents had to rely upon the small market local theaters and the low-level urban grindhouses, shooting galleries, and daily grinds, and these theaters demanded action films, especially westerns. Although Tiffany’s move to the production of westerns came after the conversion to sound, in the late 1920s, the production of inexpensive series westerns and other action genre films by the remaining small independent producers served to stave off complete extinction. Rayart, Chesterfield, Goodwill, Davis, along with various individual producers, like Ben F. Wilson, Charles Hutchison, and the Weiss Brothers maintained themselves through the production of low-budget action fodder for these small markets. These films were cheap to produce. They were shot out-of-doors in less than a week, and they had repetitive narratives, and minimal production values, but they were in great demand and could return a quick, albeit small, profit. Thus, as the lowest levels of independent production were being

excluded from accessing mid-grade affiliated theaters and double feature bookings, these small independents retreated to the bulwark of old-time action fodder, the same types of films that initiated the low-budget film industry ten years before. However, this strategy would prove successful for only some of these producers.

The Coming of Sound

The other major threat to the survival of low-end independent cinema was the introduction of sound film technology. The conversion to sound film was a costly venture for both the production companies and the independent theater owners. The cost seemed so prohibitive that *Variety* reported that independent production was threatened as producers shut down production and awaited further developments (“Ind. Producers” and “Changes Forced”). Indeed, through 1928 and 1929, a number of small low-budget independents did close their doors, including Chadwick, Excellent, Trinity, Goodwill, Davis, Peerless, and Sterling, as well as Anchor and Aywon in 1930.

With this condition to face, the independents will have to stay out of the sound field until some cheaper process can be found for them to work with. (“Ind. Producers”)

However, the lack of financial means with which to enter into sound film production was not a discouragement to all low-budget independent producers, as many simply maintained their production of silent films, including Chesterfield, Weiss Brothers, Tiffany, and Mascot. In an attempt to exploit both markets, W.

Ray Johnson, in 1929, split his Rayart Pictures into two new entities: Syndicate Pictures to continue the production of silent westerns and outdoor adventure films, and Continental Talking Pictures to explore sound ‘parlor’ pictures, studio bound melodramas and mysteries (Pitts, 131, and 392-394). Moreover, with all the breakup in independent production and the closing of major low-budget suppliers like Goodwill and Davis, the small market daily grind theatres were running short of action fare. This small void in the market encouraged the formation of three new Poverty Row companies. John R. Freuler, from the American Film Company (1916-1921) formed Big 4Film Corporation; Harry S. Webb, who had previously produced westerns for Rayart and Aywon, started Biltmore Productions; and longtime independent producer William M. Pizor entered the market with the Imperial Distributing Corporation (Pitts, 62-63, 70-71, 158-159, 179-181). These companies issued a handful of silent westerns and other action fare for the States Rights market.

Despite the loss of access to the mid-grade double features and the closure of a number of production companies, low-budget independent production did not disappear with the bifurcation of independent cinema. Instead, these impoverished studios maintained the old tradition of the silent western, which the rest of the industry had abandoned (Seale, 92). The continuation of silent western production was not without calculation on the part of the independents. In early 1929, *Variety* announced the “passing of the western”, and indeed, the continued production of the western was threatened. The various corporate mergers of the period eliminated many of the largest producers of westerns, including First National,

F.B.O., and Pathé. This decline in production along with the move towards more prestigious productions left the fate of westerns in jeopardy. However, the demand for westerns, especially in the smaller local markets continued.

Demand is so great for westerns even silents, principally among the smaller exhibitors, but including such chains as Publix and Fox, that W. Ray Johnson, who has cleaned up on Syndicate pictures by releasing westerns only, is increasing the program. [...] The Syndicate westerns are being used by Loew in New York grinds and by Publix in the South, especially on double bills. (“Big Demands”)

Consequently, Johnson, as well as other low-budget independents, survived the turmoil of the late 1920s—the corporate mergers, the reduction in exhibition, and the introduction of sound—by maintaining the residual practice of producing silent westerns for the marginal network of small grindhouses that could not afford to immediately wire for sound, but also for the lower end operations of affiliated chains like Loew’s and Publix where the demand was so high that exhibitors would book silent Syndicate westerns to fill the void.

Through the latter part of the 1920s, independent producers, the original production companies that revolted against the monopoly of the Edison Trust, were either absorbed into the growing Hollywood studio system, or excluded from that system and confined to the marginal markets of small towns, suburban neighborhoods, and urban grindhouses. However, despite this marginalization and

impoverishment, their films were still in high demand, not only with the surviving independent exhibitors, but also by affiliated exhibitors in need of cheap fodder for their lower-end grindhouses, like Loews in New York and Fox in the South. As a result these low-end independent production companies were able to sustain themselves through the production of cheap, old-fashioned silent westerns. However, despite the demand for low-end film production, these small production companies became increasingly vilified in both the trade press and the popular press. In 1928, Frank J. Wilstach's dictionary of motion picture slang appeared in the New York Times. Amongst the numerous definitions of various industry parlances were two definitions that characterized the position of low-budget independent film production.

Poverty Row- Small independent studios where pictures are made.

Quickies- Pictures made in "Poverty Row." (112)

On the surface, these definitions served to diminish and denigrate the small independent studios and their films, but this rhetorical strategy had a further connotation. By labeling these small non-Hollywood independent production companies as Poverty Row, fan and trade discourse created an association between these small independent studios and the past. Poverty Row evoked an image of the early days of cinema in which the intersection of Gower and Sunset was lined with a disarray of outbuildings, sheds and rooming houses. A place where old-fashioned films were quickly cranked out with little concern for

quality, artistry, or narrative, but more than just insinuating an image of cheap retrograde mass entertainment, the term Poverty Row evoked silence.

Chapter Three: The Independent Phase of Poverty Row

The general account offered by film scholars has been that that the Poverty Row studios emerged in the early 1930s with the introduction of sound filmmaking and the development of double feature programming (see Gomery 2005, Balio, Maltby, and Tzioumakis). However, the origins of Poverty Row are not found with technological innovation or exhibition practices; instead, Poverty Row represented the remains or remnants of independent film production in the wake of the Hollywood studios rise to prominence and eventual domination of the film industry. Despite constituting the leftovers of a nearly forgotten aspect of cinema's history, Poverty Row still played an important, although small, role within the greater field of Depression-era American cinema. After the decline of low-budget independent film production, the independent movie houses and double feature programs that characterized its distribution, in the late 1920s—a descent largely fueled by the MPPDA—these small film companies reached an all-time low in production. However, with the economic hardships of the Depression effecting both Hollywood studio production and national film exhibition, the fortunes of Poverty Row were about to change as the demand for cheap films increased.

The producers of Poverty Row were surprisingly well positioned when the economic fallout of the Great Depression hit the film industry. The much larger Hollywood studios had overextended themselves financially though their corporate mergers and takeovers, their heavy investments into developing sound film technology, the very expensive acquisition of theater chains, and the added

expense of having to convert all of those theaters for the ‘talkies’. As a result, many of the big studios were faced with significant financial difficulties and even the threat of bankruptcy (see Gomery 2005 and Balio). Conversely, Hollywood’s troubles provided opportunity for the sinking independent producers of Poverty Row. The renewed popularity of the double feature demanded greater amounts of cinematic product, but Hollywood was unwilling and unable to produce enough affordable films to meet the demands from exhibitors. However, if Poverty Row wanted access to the higher level double programs of the mid-grade theaters, they would have to increase their production values and convert to sound film production. Fortunately for Poverty Row, both of these factors would be easily achieved. The problem for Poverty Row was that of overcoming the stigma that attached itself to “Poverty Row” within the discourse of the film industry.

No Respect for Independence

“If you weren’t one of the majors, you were independent. If you were an independent and didn’t get your pictures released through United Artist or one of the other majors, then you were looked down upon. Such was the caste system of motion pictures, literally dozens of independent companies had come and gone, hopes hung on big ideas counterbalanced by small investments.” (Miller 1973, 19-20)

The campaign to eliminate double features, coupled with the expense of sound film conversion, virtually eliminated independent production, as only the smallest producers were able to survive. In order to establish some protection against the large studios, in 1929, several independent producers banded together to form a unified organization of independent film producers. This business organization

was designed to represent the interests of its members in dealing with various aspects of the film industry, in particular, film distributors and exchanges, theater exhibitors and owners, various equipment suppliers and rental facilities, the Hollywood business association of the MPPA and the Hays Office, as well as the trade and popular presses. *Variety* announced the formation of the new "Indie Producers' League."

Independent film producers, not members of the Motion Pictures Producers Association [MPPA], have formed a new organization to formulate a code amongst themselves. It is called the Association of Motion Picture Producers, Inc. Phil Goldstone, who called the meeting, was chosen chairman. ("Indie Producers' League")

Goldstone, of Tiffany Pictures, was joined by producer William T. Lackey, who had been associated with Elbee Pictures in the 1920s before moving into association with Syndicate, and J.J. Bryan, a financier of independent production, to work out details of the new organization.

One primary objective of the new organization is the placement and recognition of responsibility for all statements or publicity about their plans and programs which they subsequently fail to carry through. [...] Organization will also seek to discriminate against the shoestringers and fly-by-night

producers who misrepresent their finances or fail to meet their obligations. [...] Still another contemplated objective is for the organization to buy and sell supplies and equipment as a group and to consult together for the solution and action on group problems. General idea behind the move is the solidifying of the independent field and the discouragement of racketeering methods. (“Indie Producers’ League”)

The Association of Motion Picture Producers had a number of practical functions in organizing the day-to-day business of Poverty Row; however, its primary function was to present a unified business front to film exhibitors looking to book affordable films for their double features. For the independent producers, access to the double features in larger mid-grade theaters was very lucrative. In order to entice these film bookers, it was necessary for members of this association to distinguish themselves from the lowest levels of low-budget independent production—those companies regarded as miscreant and unreliable shoestringers and fly-by-nighters.

The problem that confronted the independent producers of Poverty Row was that from outside Poverty Row they all looked like shoestring producers. For example, in 1930, H. M. Hoffman attempted to organize several film exchanges (*Variety* numbered these exchanges at between 45 and 60 exchanges nationally) with the inducement of the promise of a five year franchise with his newly formed Liberty Productions and its proposed production of twenty features a year

(“Hoffman wants”). However, the Liberty deal fell through very quickly. The production company was only able to issue one film, *Ex-Flame* (1930), a marital melodrama about jealousy and scandal. After disputes over production with the Halperin brothers (director Victor and producer Edward, who served as co-producer with Hoffman) Liberty shut down production with only a single completed project. However, despite the fact that Liberty only issued one film, Hoffman was not a shoestringer. Hoffman was an owner of several film exchanges and had begun by producing films at Tiffany and with Phil Goldstone Productions in the 1920s. Moreover, after the failure of Liberty, Hoffman returned to production with a new company called Allied Pictures. Allied was considerably more successful, for Hoffman was able to sign cowboy star ‘Hoot’ Gibson immediately after he was let go by Universal. Although Gibson was a western stalwart from the silent era, he was still a very popular star with neighborhood and rural audiences, and his films secured considerable revenue for Allied, thus allowing Hoffman to indulge in his passion for modernizing literary classics, such as *Vanity Fair* and *Unholy Love*, an adaption of *Madame Bovary* (both 1932). However, Gibson was not happy with the low budgets of his films and wanted to return to Universal. The ensuing contract dispute with Hoffman brought about the end of Allied in 1934. Gibson fared the worst in the dispute, as the legal wrangling kept him of the screen for over a year; moreover, upon settling, he found himself unwanted by Universal and he ended up signing with low-budget independent Walter Futter’s *Diversion Pictures* in 1935, a marked descent from Allied. After the Gibson fiasco, Hoffman reopened Liberty Pictures for a run of

thirteen releases, mostly literary adaptation of short stories and popular novels. However, Liberty did not produce any westerns and the company quickly ran into financial difficulties. In 1935, it was foreclosed upon by Consolidated Film Laboratories and merged into the newly created Republic Pictures (Pitts, 19-20, 141-142, and 215-216). Hoffman left Republic shortly thereafter and produced three more films, all westerns, at Grand National before retiring in 1938.

Hoffman's saga is typical of most low-budget independent producers of the time. Although he had been in the film business for many years, his production companies were always hampered by minimal financing and short-term planning. As a result, the business practices of Hoffman, along with many other Poverty Row producers, would appear to be erratic and unstable, as their various companies would appear and disappear quickly, even though the individual producers would remain a constant in the film business. Over a ten year period, Hoffman produced films under seven different banners, but, despite the constant fluctuation of corporate banners, Hoffman was not considered a shoestring producer. In fact, many of the producers of Poverty Row had long careers making films under a variety of different names. Harry S. Webb began as a producer of silent westerns under the Aywon banner in 1925 and later for Rayart. In the 1930s, Webb produced films under various company headings, including Big 4, Sono Art-World Wide, and Mayfair, as well as his own companies Metropolitan and Reliable, and later producing films for Monogram in the 1940s (see Pitts). Other producers who had long careers spanning the history of Poverty Row, but worked under a variety of corporate banners were Sig

Neufeld, William A. Berke, E. B. Derr, Trem Carr, C. C. Burr, George A. Hirliman, Sol Lesser, Willis Kent. The list could go on.

In contrast to the ever-shifting corporate façades of Hoffman and the others, various film productions were made by true shoestring, fly-by-night producers. At the time, there were numerous low-budget western producers, like Victor Adamson, Robert J. Horner, and Jack Irwin, who would issue one or two ultra-cheap westerns produced on a shoestring, then disappear, only to reappear with a new name. The most notable example of this type of fly-by-night film production was the film *Ingagi*. It was produced in 1930 by a company called Congo Pictures and released mainly through the practice of roadshowing, although it did receive some bookings in studio affiliated theaters and was distributed to R.K.O. houses through its own network. The film was a 'documentary' that centers on the common pulp storyline of an African tribe that worships gorillas and the tribe's sacrifice of a young virgin to a very lascivious ape. The film was a combination of silent-era expeditionary footage cobbled together with contemporary footage shot at the Los Angeles Zoo, and professional gorilla actor Charlie Gemora rummaging through the wilds of California chasing scantily clad 'native' women. The film was highly controversial because of its intonations of bestiality, brief nudity, and its racist portrayal of African tribesman, as well as its fraudulent representation of fake British explorers and African American children depicting pygmies (Turner and Price, 25-26 and Schaefer, 266-270). However, despite the controversies over its veracity, *Ingagi* was very successful at the box- office and spawned numerous imitations by both legitimate

Poverty Row companies and film producers with considerably more dubious reputations. The producers of *Ingagi*, William Alexander and Nat H. Spitzer, were marginal figures from the silent era who disappeared shortly after the film's release.

Despite Poverty Row's attempts to present a legitimate front to film exhibitors and industry press, fly-by-night production (regardless of how profitable these films were to exhibitors) continued to plague the reputation of independent producers outside of the MPPA. In 1932, Hoffman, now president of the renamed Independent Motion Picture Producers Association (IMPPA), sent letters to the daily trade and fan publications requesting that the expressions 'indies' and 'quickies' be dropped. As *Variety* reported:

Also offensive to the outside producers is 'Poverty Row.' These expressions, according to Hoffman, stunt the prestige possibilities of the independents. [...] Expression 'indies' has not usually been felt to carry any odium, although 'quickies' and 'Poverty Row' by implication were understandably disliked. ("New I.M.P.P.A.")

Hoffman also states that each of the IMPPA members has pledged "at least one outstanding achievement in production each year" ("New I.M.P.P.A."). Indeed, the higher end Poverty Row producers, like Goldstone, Hoffman, Johnston, and others did increase their production values to produce some outstanding achievements. However, the reputation of the indies would continue to be plagued

by shoestring producers grinding out cheap westerns, action films, sensational pseudo-documentaries, and, later, Adult-only exploitation films.

Sound on the Cheap

When coming to town they pass up every talker in sight and spend their coin for those relics of ancient days where “read-ies” are exhibited. (“Rural South”)

Although the larger Hollywood studios had been pushing the advent of sound features and the wiring of their theaters to accommodate the new technology, many of the smaller markets in the suburbs, rural communities and urban grindhouses were reluctant to convert to sound. As *Variety* noted, many of the filmgoers of smaller communities in the southern and southwestern states were reluctant to make the transition to the talkies simply because they preferred the familiarity of silent cinema. Conversely, distributors of talking pictures were studying the possibility of cutting off small capacity theaters of less than 1,000 patrons on the grounds that the cost of conversion out-weighed profit potential (“Talker Service”). Even as late as 1931, the *New York Times* reported that the ghosts of old Hollywood lingered on the silent screens of the Bowery, leftovers of the nickelodeon days:

It is the last stand of the silent drama on the Bowery; a stand made possible chiefly through the exhibition of out-moded screen entertainment. Here

one finds the absurd, cheaply made hokum of Hollywood's Poverty Row producers. (Woodmansee, 86)

The New York Times also emphasized the lack of sophistication and Old World ethnicities of the Bowery low-class audiences that frequented these silent screens:

Some men sit with their hats on. A couple of old women gossip energetically in soft Latin syllables. A Chinese stares at the screen with mask-like face. Before his eyes unreels Hollywood's record of Western civilization: gun-fights, racketeering, dancing youth, road-house parties, dare-devil rescues, domestic fireworks. (86)

Despite the disparaging remarks about the audiences, these unsophisticated filmgoers of the rural communities and rundown urban areas constituted enough of a market to support Poverty Row production. Moreover, during the shaky transition to sound film many double feature exhibitors were still booking silent films with 'talkers' to create their programs ("Double Talkers"). However, the market for low-budget silent films in the wake of the talkies was rapidly disappearing. The transition to sound film production by the Poverty Row studios followed, by several months, the last of the Hollywood studio silent films, in 1929. This lag in production was due largely to the time it took for sound technology to trickle down through the big studio monopolies to the smaller independent producers, as well as to a decrease in the price of sound equipment as high-end market saturation was reached.

As Paul Seale has painstakingly documented, Poverty Row's entry into sound film productions was primarily an opportunistic move fueled by a product price war between competing sound-on-film processes. As early as 1928, many of the largest Hollywood studios had begun to sign on with Western Electric's ERPI sound system, and by 1929, RCA had established RKO for their sound system, as well as contracting with Tiffany. However, by 1930, after all the major studios had established agreements with either Western Electric or RCA; a price war ensued between these and other competing sound processes, and rental rates for sound equipment dropped by as much as fifty percent per day. Initially many of the Poverty Row independent producers had been using bootleg equipment (sound equipment obtained without a leasing agreement from the license holder) for their productions (Seale, 90). For example, Mascot Pictures rented unused sound equipment from Walt Disney, outside of his contractual agreements with Western Electric, for their early sound efforts. However, many bootleg sound systems provided poor sound reproduction and were only good for atmospheric noises—slamming doors, gunshots, horses' hooves—while dialogue was often muffled and incoherent. As a result, bootleg sound was an uncertain investment, but for sound hungry audiences the mere novelty of sound and noise was worth the risk of poor quality and out-of-sync sound reproduction (Tuska, 26-27).

After the Hollywood studios had completed the conversion of their sound stages and theaters, the sound equipment companies began to look for new business with the independents. Western Electric licensed an inexpensive version of their sound process to a subsidiary, Balsley and Phillips, in order to both wipe

out competition from Cinephone and Phonofilm, and gain access to the available profits from independent production. Both Monogram and George Weeks (Mayfair Pictures) signed with Western Electric's cut rates, while Phil Goldstone went with RCA ("ERPI-RCA" and Seale, 90). However, Seale explains that the cut-rate acquisition of sound processing by the independents created complex contradictions within the interests of industry players.

The interests of the independent sound companies were at odds with those of both the majors and the large sound firms. But, more significantly, MPPDA members ERPI and RCA found themselves at odds with each other and with the producers who were otherwise their allies. And the majors were at odds with themselves, exploiting the availability of the inexpensive independent product for their theater chains but lamenting the terms of its production. (Seale, 91)

Furthermore, as Seale notes, it was clear that Poverty Row thrived because of the complex interaction and contradiction between the individual priorities of the major studios, the sound companies, and the exhibitors that were all profiting from of Poverty Row production, and the collective priorities of the MPPDA, which wanted to exclude the small independent from its integrated system of production, distribution, and exhibition (91). The biggest contradiction stemmed from the fact that, not only did the major studios need Poverty Row production to fill the void in production created by double features, but many of the studios profited from renting unused studios space to these low-budget independent producers.

Along with the advantages that came from conflicts between Hollywood and the sound companies, Poverty Row's easy transition was further facilitated by

the fact that with, the exception of Tiffany, none of the other studios at this time possessed their own studio space. Poverty Row producers rented studio space from one of the available facilities along Gower Street, such as Tec-Art, Talisman, Larry Darmour Studios, or Ralph M. Like's International Studios (Like was not only the producer/ owner of Action Pictures, but he was also a trained sound engineer), or from unused stages and back lots from Universal, RKO, Tiffany, or Educational (Crafton, 214 and Fennett 1988, 184-188). Therefore, the producers of Poverty Row did not have to front the cost to convert studio spaces to sound, although they would be faced with an increase in studio rental charges. Nevertheless, the continued drop in the price of sound made the transition, which would have been out of reach in 1928, easily obtainable by 1932. As *Variety* states "Price cutting war between ERPI and RCA has Hollywood producers and independent recorders dizzy" ("ERPI-RCA"). Moreover, the rapid drop in sound equipment pricing meant that the purveyors of "bootleg equipment are now about to throw up the sponge" and with the subsequent price drop, "indie producers will no longer take the chance with bootleg sound ("ERPI-RCA"). Consequently, the only cost incurred by the producers of Poverty Row during the conversion to sound film production was the increase in fees for studio rental facilities and sound technicians, whether they were obtained through an established studio, like RKO or Universal, or from an independent facility like Tec-Art or Larry Darmour.

Between 1929 and 1930, Poverty Row began the transition between silent film production and sound films. W. Ray Johnson had split his Rayart Pictures

into two entities, Continental Talking Pictures for producing more sophisticated all-talking ‘parlor’ fare such as mysteries and melodramas, and Syndicate Pictures, which initially produced silent westerns, but quickly made the move to sound westerns. In addition, Syndicate also dubbed several older silent westerns with sound effects, musical scores over the opening credits, and talking prologues to meet the new demand for talking westerns. Continental and Syndicate used Balsely and Phillips sound equipment for their productions. Tiffany, the largest of the Poverty Row studios, contracted RCA technology, and release both sound and silent versions of many of their films. Chesterfield released a mix of silent and sound feature through 1929, but fully shifted to sound in 1930. Mascot Pictures, which specialized in chapterplays, released *King of the Kongo* (1929) in sound and silent versions, the latter being their last silent release. By 1930, all of Poverty Row’s film production had switched to sound film, although most were still using poor quality bootleg sound equipment (Turner and Price, 33-34 and Tuska, 20-23).

At this time, several new corporate banners appeared declaring Poverty Row’s new found voice: along with Continental Talking Pictures, there was also Superior Talking Pictures, begun by the Weiss Brothers in 1930, and Sono Art-World Wide, which began in 1928 as an importer of British films before producing their first talkie *Rainbow Man* (1929) (Pitts, 339). Moreover, there was a small company called Raytone Talking Pictures, which disappeared after the untimely death of producer Leo D. Maloney in 1929 (Crafton, 215). As well, there were numerous other new production companies that entered the Poverty Row

fray between 1929 and 1931: Hollywood, Majestic, Action (later to become Mayfair), Mercury, Metropolitan, Peerless, Bud Pollard, Roadshow Attractions, and Capitol Film Exchange, which also served as distributor for other Poverty Row producers and European film imports. Also, in 1931, W. Ray Johnson merged his Syndicate and Continental into one company—Monogram Pictures—creating the largest of the Poverty Row companies. In addition, a number of genuine fly-by-nighters hit the market with short run westerns, expeditionary adventures, and other sensational fare: Headline Pictures, High Art, Industrial Pictures, Jack Irwin Productions, Public Welfare Pictures, and of course Congo Pictures (see Appendix).

Although Poverty Row was never in a position to be an industry leader, there were occasions when necessity spawned innovation. A large percentage of Poverty Row's production was outdoor action films: westerns, northerns, and serials. Consequently, it became an imperative for Poverty Row to produce outdoor action films with sound. Although Hollywood had been experimenting with outdoor sound recording for big-budget production, they were hesitant to invest in low-budget talking westerns. Consequently, the first all-talking low-budget action film was done independently by producer/director/cowboy star Leo D. Maloney, with his film *Overland Bound* (Raytone Talking Pictures, 1929). The film starred Maloney, along with Jack Perrin, Wally Wales, and Allene Ray, and it hit the indie market between the major studios' release of the talking westerns *In Old Arizona* (Fox, 1928) and *The Virginian* (Paramount, 1929). Maloney had been a producer, director, and star of westerns at Pathé during the 1920s, before

striking out with his own production. The film was well received, despite the poor quality of its sound recordings. Unfortunately, Maloney died of a heart attack shortly after the film's New York release. As a result, it is difficult to gage whether or not Raytone could have been more than a novelty, but it did open the door for other low-budget sound westerns from companies like Syndicate, Big 4, and Biltmore who were able to forego silent westerns and undertake sound film production (Miller 1976, 11). Also leading the move to outdoor sound film production was Nat Levine's Mascot Pictures' first sound serial *King of the Kongo* (1929), which was released in both silent and partial talking versions. In order to achieve this milestone, Levine rented a sound truck and other equipment from Walt Disney, crediting the Disney Film Recording Company. This serial was Mascot's last silent release and Levine followed *King of the Kongo* with a complete all-talking, all-barking sound serial *The Lone Defender* (1930) starring Rin Tin Tin. The sound recording of these and other early Mascot releases was greatly hampered by poor sound recording. The outdoor sound equipment had a tendency to capture all sound in a garbled cacophony of galloping, gunshots and shuffling feet. Subsequently, much of the outdoor dialogue sequences of these early sound serials had to be shot silent and then dubbed in later creating an audible disjunction in the soundtrack (Tuska, 26-27). Also hitting the sound serial market was Ben F. Wilson's obscure independent production of *The Voice from the Sky* (Hollywood Pictures and States Rights, 1930). This chapterplay starred Wally Wales and Jean Dolores (a.k.a. Neva Gerber), but it only received minimal release, probably due to Wilson's untimely death (Turner and Price, 24).

Nevertheless, Poverty Row lead the way with these three sound serials beating Universal's first sound serial, *The Indians are Coming* (1930) to market (24). Despite the poor quality and questionable authenticity of these early sound films, they were successful with audiences enamored by the audible novelties of galloping, barking, and fighting.

Poverty Row producers were ideally situated to move into affordable sound film production during the early 1930s. They were not hampered with the added expense of sound stage conversion, or with the cost of wiring theaters to sound as that expense was absorbed by exhibitors and owners. Moreover, they were able to exploit the conflicting priorities of the large industry players and obtain sound equipment through rental facilities or non-contractual bootleg agreements. Furthermore, when the various sound companies saturated the Hollywood studio market, it was companies like Balsley and Phillips and RCA that came courting Poverty Row's business with lower rental fees and price cuts on sound equipment. Therefore, as Seale states:

And by the end of 1931, Poverty Row producers were as numerous and as strong as ever due to a lowering of production costs, an increase in available financing and distribution and, again, any number of exploitable events. (94)

As we have argued, the rise of Poverty Row in the early 1930s did not represent its beginnings, but, rather, its comeback after a marked decline in production during which these small independents bided their time while waiting for sound technology to become accessible at their level of production. However, the reduction in the cost of sound film production was not the only event exploited

within the revitalization of Poverty Row. Along with newly affordable sound film technology, the early 1930s also brought the return of the double feature.

The Return of the Double Feature

The ebb and flow of Poverty Row filmmaking had always been tied to the ability of Poverty Row producers to access mid and higher graded movie theaters through the programming of double features. When dual bills were popular with exhibitors, the Poverty Row studios expanded, in terms of both the number of production companies and the number of films hitting the market. Conversely, when double features were shunned by exhibitors, Poverty Row production withdrew to the old stalwarts like Johnson, Hoffman, and Goldstone and the traditional action markets, as was the case in the late Twenties. However, the economic hardships of the Depression placed a significant strain on box office revenue; as a result, many exhibitors, especially those in local markets, began to return to feature double programs, enticing customers on slow nights with two-for-one film deals. Less than a year after *Variety* announced the demise of double features, the trade journal was proclaiming their return. Moreover, with the revitalization of dual programs in mid-grade theaters, the once declining independent film industry now known as Poverty Row began to reassert itself within the low-to-mid budget range film market.

On April 21st, 1930, *Variety* announced “almost down and out six months ago, double features are suddenly staging a strong comeback” (“Double Talkers”).

The journal also notes that this comeback is taking place in larger capacity houses in strategic locations. It further more declares:

Throughout the country a general and widespread return to the double feature policy, almost as old as pictures, is noted. Loew's dropped the policy in many of its straight film houses last fall, but is now returning to it. Loew's New York, father in that chain of double feature gag, discovered from reports that the lull in business on Tuesdays and Fridays (double feature days) was such to warrant the policy once again. ("Double Talkers")

Only a few months earlier, the MPPDA had organized a campaign against the spread of the double feature into affiliated theaters through the introduction of new programming strategies and corporate takeovers, but with the economic hardships of the Depression taking its toll on box-office, exhibitors rapidly returned to the two-for-one policy. However, as *Variety* further notes, the double feature was only attracting bargain seekers, "the type of patron that make cut-rate drugstores possible," attending on the theory that one picture was thrown in free, no matter how inferior the quality ("Double Talkers"). Thus, the turnaround in dual programming at the beginning of the 1930s was twofold. On one hand, it was fueled by exhibitor's needs to boost box-office and increase attendance; and on the other, it was attracting filmgoers that were more interested in a two-for-one deal than the quality of the program.

The renewed growth of double features was surprisingly rapid, as *Variety* noted on Oct 8th of the same year: it was estimated that 10% of the nation's theaters, mostly indies, are double-featuring. However, double features could be a problem for exhibitors, as *Variety* explained, suggesting that the double feature, on any extensive national scale, was economically questionable ("Double Features Playing").

Cost of double featuring, it is calculated by film men, raises the day's film rental any of an average of 30%. When the competition is soloing, unless the picture is of exceptional draw, it is conceded that the additional percentage is more than made up for by ticket buyers. But, it is also emphasized, as is being demonstrated in New England, when competition also double features, then the patronage of both houses is back on the original level, but the rentals are up 30% and a precedent has been established which cannot be ignored without loss. ("Double Features Playing")

Consequently, the double feature presented a problem for exhibitors; it was only profitable when competing against a theater with a single bill, but when a theater competed against another, offering a double feature they cancelled each other out

and the advantage was lost as both exhibitors would have incurred an increase in film rental fees without the counterbalance of extra box office. Moreover, this type of competition between exhibitors created the risk of a downward spiral of rising costs unchecked by box office recuperation. As the article further notes, if this practice were to go national, second runs and indies would be seriously handicapped (“Double Features Playing”).

The revitalization of the double feature in the early 1930s represented only a small margin of the overall film business; at only ten percent of the market, its profit potential was minimal. However, its incursion into the market had an effect upon Hollywood production. As *Variety* explained, double features were cutting into the booking of short films with one-reel material suffering the most (“Double Features cut Shorts”). However, the slowdown in short film bookings was only a small part of the problem for the Hollywood studios. Double features required the increased production of lower budgeted films to fill the dual program. The problem that arose for the large Hollywood studios was that the production of cheaper films was not very cost effective: even though production costs were low; the return on low-budget films was equally low. These films did not lose money, but they simply could not generate the enormous profits of higher budgeted films, and, as a result, they were a low priority for the major studios. Consequently, the majority of low budget Hollywood film production during the early 1930s was relegated to the smallest of the studios: Universal and Columbia, with their production of low-budget programmers and series westerns. However, despite the

constant demand for these types of films, Universal and Columbia could not produce enough to satisfy the market.

In order to keep up with the demands from exhibitors for low-budget films, during the early 1930s, the larger studios turned to various independent producers working within the studio system to make lower budgeted programmer films. As *Variety* explained:

Several of the major producing companies are flirting with independent producers for pictures on the current year's program, as a means of filling the slate with cheaper made product.

Back of the plan of these majors is a means to get a part of the product, which of necessity carry a lower nut, due to the absence of heavy overhead, such as carried by the larger studios. ("Independents chance")

Consequently, many of the larger studios struck up deals with small-time producers to purchase mid-level productions in order to fill their slated releases. This scheme seemed like a viable alternative for the larger studios. They would provide their various resources like sound stages, costumes, props, sound technicians, while the in-studio independent producer would have to put up the initial investment, but they would be guaranteed national distribution. Among these low level studio producers were Eddie Dowling Pictures (Paramount), Frank Fay Productions (Warner Brothers), J. G. Bachmann Productions and Jefferson

Pictures (both at RKO), Famous Attractions and Sol Lesser's Beverly Productions (both at Columbia), and Leon Schlesinger at Warner Brothers, who produced a string of six ultra-cheap westerns starring John Wayne, before taking over the animation department. However, this experiment in in-studio independent production was only marginally successful, primarily because the films produced were of poor quality, resulting in limited production runs or only a single film.

The biggest problem double features created for the Hollywood studios was quite simply that double features consumed twice as many films as a solo showing. In smaller localized areas with highly concentrated repeat business, the marquees would have to be changed more frequently in order to keep the local clientele returning to the theater. Subsequently, these smaller theaters consumed significantly more films than the larger metropolitan theaters, which could show a single feature program for two to three weeks. The problem for exhibitors was that even though the Hollywood studios and the lower 'nut' producers made films for double features and the neighborhood markets, they simply did not produce enough films to satisfy the demands. This void in the market provided a small window of opportunity for the expansion of independent Poverty Row production. However, for the Poverty Row studios to reach the fullest potential of this gap in production, they would have to upgrade their product from the usual fare of westerns and outdoor action films. Subsequently, many of the newly formed Poverty Row companies, like Allied, Monogram, Mayfair, Majestic, and Sono Art-World Wide, along with stalwarts Tiffany and Chesterfield, began tailoring their production to meet the demand for more sophisticated talking 'parlor'

pictures: i.e. stage bound indoor dramas. The Poverty Row studios, of the early 1930s, geared their production towards the double feature market with the production of films like overwrought melodramas about fallen women, alcoholism, or family conflicts; various crime films, from gangster and bootlegger yarns to murder mysteries in secluded old dark mansions; and literary adaptations from nineteenth century novels, older Broadway plays, and short stories from magazines like *Collier's*. They even produced a few anarchic comedies, backstage musicals, and horror films.

The move to more respectable genre films proved successful for many Poverty Row producers as their films began to be booked as support features in higher graded theaters, and on occasion even as the lead feature. As *Variety* announced “Optimistic independents increase feature costs to \$25,000 and up for double features and grinds—\$50,000 and more for Class A booking attempts” (“250 Features”). The article also noted that “this does not include a half-dozen shoestringers turning out westerns who are not members of the newly organized IMPPA” (“250 Features”). Moreover, as noted, these budget increases were not because producers wanted to spend more money, but because they wanted to make pictures that would “give the indies the toe hold they have desire so long” (“250 Features”). Although Poverty Row companies increased their productions budget to develop better quality programmers to access the double feature market, the films were still relatively cheap in comparison with Hollywood’s lower budgeted programmers. Nevertheless, these films were successful in gaining

access to the double feature market, booked as support for a newer Hollywood film, and even booked as the main feature over an older Hollywood film.

These higher quality Poverty Row films were called programmers, a term that denoted the film's ability to play either the top or the bottom half of a double feature. Usually, the higher budget meant that a recognizable Hollywood star could be tempted to headline in a programmer with major studio blessing, of course. As a result, many early Poverty Row programmers featured recognizable stars or newcomers like Bette Davis, Pat O'Brien, Fay Wray, Myrna Loy, Lionel Atwill, Ricardo Cortez, Douglas Fairbanks Jr., Bela Lugosi, Ben Lyon, Chester Morris, and Zasu Pitts. These films were still cheaply produced on limited budgets with supporting cast of old-timers and unknowns, filmed on reused studio sets and back lot facilities, and padded with liberal amounts of stock footage. A prime example of this type of Poverty Row programmer was Majestic's *The Vampire Bat*. The film featured notable Hollywood stars, Atwill, Wray and Melvyn Douglas. It was much more of a traditional horror film than most Poverty Row weird menace thrillers; moreover, the film had to have been produced with some form of cooperation with Universal Pictures. The film utilized several standing sets from the larger studio horror cycle, as well as incorporating narrative elements from both *Dracula* (1931) (the threat of vampirism) and *Frankenstein* (1931) (with its mad scientist angle). However, the film also had its share of Poverty Row characteristics, including its slow pace, over-use of comic relief, and an excess of static frontal camera positions. Nevertheless, despite its shortcomings, *The Vampire Bat*, and other films of its type, is evidence of the complex

and contradictory relationship between Hollywood and Poverty Row and the need to produce mid-range films to satisfy market demands.

Dusters, Oaters, Gallopers and Other Adventurous Forms of Bread and Butter

They are blood and thunder,
but though the blood is no less
red, the thunder is not quite as
loud as it was in the old days.
(Hall, X4)

Although in the early 1930s, Poverty Row did move into the production of higher quality programmers, often in complicity with the Hollywood studios' need for affordable films for dual programs, their bread-and-butter was still the low-budget outdoor action adventure film, especially the western. These fast-moving genre films had been a staple for both Hollywood and independent producers since the days of *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) and the films of 'Bronco Billy' Anderson. During the silent period, these films—westerns, northerns, aviation, jungle, and other exotic outdoor themes—were extremely popular with audiences, and each studio had its signature star or stars. M.G.M. had Colonel Tim McCoy under contract. The Warner Brothers subsidiary, First National, had cowboy star Ken Maynard and canine hero Rin Tin Tin. Fox had Tom Mix and Buck Jones, before they left for F.B.O. and Columbia, respectively. Universal had western stars Hoot Gibson, Jack Perrin, Jack Hoxie, and Rex the Wonder Horse under contract. F.B.O. had Bob Steele, Tom Tyler, Tom Mix, and canine hero Ranger. Pathé had notable cowboy stars Harry Carey, Bill Cody, and George Duryea (later known as Tom Keene), and, under its lower budgeted subsidiary banner, Action

Pictures (no association with Ralph M. Like's Action Pictures), Buddy Roosevelt, Buffalo Bill Jr. and Wally Wales (later known as Hal Taliaferro). As well, the low-budget indies had their stable of action film and cowboy stars including Ben F. Wilson, Yakima Canutt, Art Mix, Art Acord, Richard Talmadge, and Charles Hutchinson. These action films, both Hollywood and independent, were not only popular, but they were also very profitable. They had negligible and repetitive story lines, short shooting schedules, minimal need for inter-titles, and were almost entirely shot *en plein air*. With such low overhead, these films required minimal investment but they were capable of generating enormous returns.

In addition to feature films and even a small number of action short films, there was the production of serials, episodic chapterplays with cliffhanger endings. The serial was one of cinema's first major successes, gaining enormous popularity in the 1910s with easily identifiable heroes and heroines, exciting action and cross promotion that made use of print media (see Singer and Stamp). However, as feature films came to dominate the market, the serial slowly fell from mainstream favor, even though it remained a staple of matinees and action oriented bills. During the 1920s, serial production was dominated by Pathé, F.B.O., and Universal, although there were also several lower level independents producing them as well, including Ben Wilson, Charles Hutchinson (distributing through Goodwill and Davis, respectively), and Nat Levine's Mascot Pictures. These films were also cheap to make and very profitable, because like feature length action films, they had minimal production costs for a variety of reasons: short shooting schedules, outdoor locations, and basic narratives lengthened with

lots of chases, fist-fights and other feats of daring-do. Although serials would remain popular for many more years, their production, much like that of the western, was, by the late 1920s, in a period of decline. The merger of Pathé and F.B.O. into R.K.O. had a significant effect upon action film production, as together these companies had produced a large percentage of overall action genre films and serials. However, the new major studio, R.K.O., turned its focus way from bread and butter films and focused upon the production of higher budgeted films to fill its newly acquired chain of class A Keith- Orpheum theaters. As a result, exhibitors that specialized in action bills increasingly turned to Universal, Columbia, and, especially, Poverty Row studios like Mascot and Syndicate for their action films.

When sound film production began in 1927, it was largely left to higher budgeted interior based films like historical dramas and back-stage musicals. In these early days of sound film, the microphone seldom moved out-of-doors. However, the big-budget western was in trouble at the box-office, and decreasing in popularity with the downtown audiences. As *Variety* succinctly stated “1928 began making picture history in mid-January when it signalized the passing of westerns and their familiar shootey-up thesis” (“Passing of the Westerns”). The Western had began to decline, and despite the critical acclaim of films like *Cimarron* (R.K.O., 1930), its box office popularity continued to fall, culminating with the huge box-office flop *The Big Trail* (Fox, 1931) (see Fenin and Everson). As a result of low revenue, financial restrictions and poor critical reviews, the Hollywood studios largely abandoned the western and began to drop their contract

cowboy stars. Tom Mix left Fox to go to F.B.O. for four westerns and a crime film, before taking a hiatus to travel with his circus. Tom Tyler and Bob Custer, along with Mix, left F.B.O. in 1929. In the same year, Rin Tin Tin was let go by First National, and Ken Maynard left to work at Universal. In 1930, Maynard and Hoot Gibson, both of whom had been producing their films at Universal under eponymous and semi-autonomous production units, were let go. By 1931, the only established cowboy heroes to maintain a Hollywood studio placement were Buck Jones at Universal and Tim McCoy at Columbia, although Tom Mix would return to Universal for a series of nine films for the 1932-1933 release season (see Miller 1976).

All of this restructuring proved to be a boon for the Poverty Row producers. *Variety* noted the excitement of independent companies over the large scale abandonment of western production by the Hollywood studios, especially, Universal (the largest producer of series westerns):

With announcement by Universal that it will discontinue production of program pictures and concentrate on specials, the more or less poverty-stricken independent producers are taking a new lease on life.

They claim there is a market for cheap pictures and if they can beat down the nut on feature talkers they feel the indie will come into his own again. Big favorite with the indies is the western, cost of production on horse operas

being much smaller than any other type. (“Indies Hopped Up”)

By 1930, the poverty-stricken low level indies were on an upswing. The larger Hollywood studios had dramatically cut back their production of lower budgeted westerns and action films, creating an opportunity for Poverty Row to supply the demand.

This restructuring of production did not go unnoticed within the film industry. On August, 20th of 1930, *Variety* reported on the revitalization of independent quickies western production (“Cheap Virtue”).

Hollywood is witnessing a return of the quickie producers, more or less out of the pictures for the past three years. Within two weeks three have announced their return to the fold. They intend to produce westerns and other outdoor features on a budget not to exceed \$10,000. [...] Already one has turned out a feature with a former western star. He spent a little over \$7,000 on the horsey. Three weeks after completing the picture he had received his money back from state righters, and still has the south and foreign rights to sell. (“Cheap Virtue”)

Moreover, the article notes several of Poverty Row’s cut-rate advantages in this type of budget-conscious film production: the top salary for actors was \$150 with highest dough going to the cameraman (between \$200 and \$400); besides the leads, the remainder of the cast would get \$5 to \$7.50 daily; shooting schedules

were from five to six days; the pictures were 90% exteriors, with eight hours in a rented studio at \$50 dollars a day for interiors; the use of standing interior sets and any acceptable out-building for the western home; and sound was used without paying a license fee ("Cheap Virtue"). As a result, Poverty Row was able to turn out action fodder for a fraction of what it would cost the larger Hollywood studios.

In addition, *Variety* took special notice of the sudden availability of numerous cowboy stars. Without naming names, the journal stated:

There are more than 50 former western stars, both of quickies and former major releases, willing to go for the new horse operas just to get their muggs [sic] back on the screen. One producer claims that the day following his announcement he had to battle off a dozen names to get to his office. ("Cheap Virtue")

Among the former Hollywood cowboys now stirring up dust for Poverty Row were 'Hoot' Gibson at Allied, Harry Carey at Weiss Brother's Artclass, Jack Hoxie at Majestic, while Ken Maynard, Bob Steele, and Tom Tyler moved from Syndicate to Tiffany and Sono Art-World Wide, before arriving at Monogram. Further down the production scale were lesser cowboy heroes like Bob Custer, Bill Cody, Buffalo Bill Jr. (Jay Wilsey), Wally Wales (Hal Taliaferro), Buddy Roosevelt, and Jack Perrin, all of whom would move back and forth between several low-end producers such as Robert J. Horner, Jack Irwin, Ray Kirkwood, William Berke, Big 4, Mayfair, and William M. Pizor's Imperial Pictures (see

Pitts and Miller 1976). And, joining the mix was John Wayne, who after the flop of *The Big Trail* and his six Schlesinger westerns, starred in three Mascot serials, before settling in at Monogram with a stint of several low-budget westerns under Paul Malvern's Lone Star Productions banner (see Tuska and Okuda 1987). It should also be noted that Mascot, which was now the second largest producers of serials after Universal, also picked up a number of western stars to headline their chapterplays, including Rin Tin Tin, Rex the Wonder Horse, Tom Tyler, Harry Carey, Bob Steele, Ken Maynard, Bob Custer, and in his final film, Tom Mix (see Tuska and Turner and Price).

A large part of Poverty Row's achievement in the early 1930s was not only the result of the producers' ability to produce affordable programmer films, parlor pictures like mysteries and melodramas, for double features, as well as cheap action fodder, like westerns and serials, for the lower grade exhibition market, but due as well to the distinctiveness of their non-Hollywood distribution network. As *Variety* explains:

The producers say the state righters have a good field for their product. This type of entertainment still has a following in the cities and rural communities. They also believe that they can't lose on an investment of 10 g's or less. ("Cheap Virtue")

The combination of self-owned film exchanges and the States Rights market gave Poverty Row national, and international, distribution for their films. Moreover,

Poverty Row producers, whenever possible, began pre-selling their product to theater chains for double features in neighborhood houses. As *Variety* noted:

Recently three eastern circuits have contracted for the product of one quickie company. The production cost is guaranteed by this tie-up. Others are going after the circuits and hope to get their product in the houses cutting out the shorts in favor of twin talkers. (McCall, 8)

As a result, Poverty Row could access markets through the States Rights network, and by pre-selling product to various theater chains, be guaranteed enough capitol input to finance their operations. Even though the films could rent for as little as five dollars a day for the cheapest of westerns, the breadth of the old film exchange system could still funnel back enough profit to continue production, and if the overall production cost was kept below \$10,000 Poverty Row quickie production was a winning situation. Moreover, this non-Hollywood distribution allowed exhibitors, independent and affiliated, to circumvent Hollywood distribution networks in order to obtain more affordable Poverty Row films for their programs.

Flux on the Periphery

The momentary revitalization of low-budget independent production in the early 1930s was not enough to consider this a full resurrection of independent

production, or a return to the prominent position it had held in the mid-1920s. As *Variety* warily explained:

It is doubtful if there will be any additions to the ranks of the indie quickies during the coming year. It is altogether tough for the producer. There is no market for shorts and he must stick to features. Those producing westerns take care of about all the market can stand for that type of picture. The others producing the parlor drama find competition from the major studios too tough and that the majors sell their product at about the same price as the indies.

All in all the indie quickie has just about folded. Three years ago those indies turned out 180 features. That was before talkers. Each year since has seen a gradual decline of independent productions and it is figured that the coming year will not be an exception. (McCall, 8)

Although independent film production during the early 1930s had declined dramatically by 1920s standards, the continued distribution through the established states rights network, as well as the opportunity to pre-sell some of their product provided a certain amount of stability for independent producers. These distribution opportunities afforded Poverty Row film producers access to the small local exhibitors, and the urban grindhouses, but it also enabled them to regain access to double feature programming in mid-grade movie houses.

However, as *Variety* noted, the independent film industry had been in continuous decline for several years, and unless a company could maintain a balance with market demands, independent production could continue to decline ("American Indies").

Despite these gloomy predictions for low-budget independent film production, the early Depression years actually served to bolster Poverty Row. As Michael R. Pitts has observed;

While it is true that independents have been on the movie scene since the cinema's inception, independent operators reached their peak at the height of the Depression despite its economic horrors and the establishment of radio. While vaudeville deteriorated at this time, movies continued to draw an ever-growing audience, and while the major studios had a hammerlock on most film distribution, the independents managed to garner enough box-office returns to stay afloat. (vii)

The marginal success of Poverty Row film production was due, primarily to the ability of these small film companies to make cheap films. While the production of larger budgeted programmer grade films for mid-range theaters would prove difficult, and eventually leading some companies into bankruptcy, the production of low-budget action quickies would increase, reaching a peak in 1935.

The Ebb and Flow of the Poverty Row Studios

Although Poverty Row film production expanded between 1930 and 1935, it was by no means a stable business proposition. There was a great deal of flux in Poverty Row production and many companies struggled with the precarious balance between production costs and box-office return; moreover, market

demands changed as the production of programmer grade films dropped off and the demand for lower budgeted genre films increased. Consequently, there was a great deal of change among the corporate banners of Poverty Row, but often the names behind a new production company were the same names behind new companies. For example, the Weiss Brothers shut down Artclass Pictures in 1932, but they returned to operation under a variety of new names, including Superior Talking Pictures, Stage and Screen Productions, and for one release, a Race film called *Drums o'Voodoo* (1934), under the name International Stageplay. Harry S. Webb and Bernard B. Ray would release pictures under a variety of monikers throughout the decade, including, Biltmore, Metropolitan (twice), Ajax, Reliable, and Times Exchange. In addition to the resiliency of established Poverty Row producers, the allure of a fast buck through the production of quickie westerns and adventure films drew numerous new players to the Poverty Row table, including, Fanchon Royer, who had worked for various producers before starting up her own production company in 1933; Morris R. Schlank's Tower Pictures released its first film in 1932 and primarily released the productions of Sig Neufeld before collapsing in 1934. In addition, there was the Capital Film Exchange, which was primarily a distribution and import company that backed a small number of productions, most notably *Hell's House* (1932) starring Junior Durkin, Pat O'Brien, and Bette Davis. As well, there was Du World Pictures, also an importer of documentaries and un-subtitled European films for urban ethnic markets and distributed Harry Garson's *Beast of Borneo* in 1934 (see Pitts).

In 1932, after years of struggling to stay afloat, the overextended and poorly financed Tiffany Pictures closed up shop. Its major in-house production unit K.B.S. films (run by producers Burt Kelly, Sam Bischoff, and William Saal) changed its name to Admiral Productions and moved to R.K.O. as a lower grade producer, issuing two films for the company (405-408). The remainders of Tiffany's unreleased films were picked up by Sono Art-World Wide for distribution. In 1932, the company dropped the 'Sono Art' and became known only as World Wide Pictures; moreover, the company was taken over by E. W. Hammons, president of Educational Pictures. This was not difficult given that World-Wide was located on the Educational lot, but the re-organization could not save the troubled company and it too succumbed to financial problems in 1933 (407-408). Hammons continued with his Educational Pictures, while, World Wide's unreleased films were taken over by Fox film (also the distributor for Hammond's Educational shorts) (341).

The largest beneficiary of the various production shifts within Poverty Row during the 1930s was Monogram Pictures. Formed in 1931 by W. Ray Johnson after the uniting of Continental Talking Pictures and Syndicate Pictures, Monogram was able to exploit both the production of interior 'parlor' pictures for the more discerning audiences of the subsequent run and double feature markets as well as the action adventure markets of matinees and low-end exhibition like the urban grind houses. Monogram also established a producer-unit system for its film production bring in many old-time independent producers into the fold to work under the Monogram umbrella, including Trem Carr, George Arthur

Durlam, I. E. Chadwick, William T. Lackey, C.C. Burr, Paul Malvern, Mrs. Wallace Reid, also known as Dorothy Davenport, and M. H. Hoffman who produced two films, *The Thirteenth Guest* (1932) and *West of Singapore* (1933), both directed by Albert Ray. *The Thirteenth Guest* is one of Monogram's best remembered films, primarily because it starred a young Ginger Rogers and Monogram reissued the film several times to capitalize upon Rogers' later stardom. Monogram also hit the mid-grade, subsequent run, exhibition market with some literary adaptations, Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (both 1933), Edgar Wallace's *Mystery Liner*, Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre*, and Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone* (all 1934). However, Monogram greatest strength was its westerns. Initially, the studio had Bill Cody, Rex Bell and Tom Tyler, but it was able to sign Bob Steele after the failure of *Tiffany*, and in 1933 the studio signed John Wayne, whose big studio career stalled after the failure of *The Big Trail* in 1931. Wayne starred in sixteen westerns for Monogram under Paul Malvern's Lone Star banner. Despite Monogram's rise to prominence, the company did not actually own any studio space. This was quite typical of Poverty Row companies at the time, when only *Tiffany* had its own facilities; instead the company rented office space and production facilities on the Talisman lot on Sunset Boulevard (Fernett 1973, 55). Nevertheless, by 1934, Monogram had become the largest independent production company.

The demand for both double feature programmer films and low-budget action fare, which fueled Monogram's rise, also supported many other Poverty Row endeavors. George R. Batcheller's Chesterfield Motion Picture Corporation,

which had been successfully operating since 1925, was joined, in 1932, by Maury M. Cohen's newly founded Invincible Pictures to form Chesterfield-Invincible. They eschewed outdoor pictures in favor of indoor productions of 'parlor pictures': melodramas and mysteries and a few comedies. These films were shot on rented sets from studios like Talisman, International, Educational, Universal, and Pathé (Pitts, 83-87 and Churchill, X4). The majority of Chesterfield films were produced by George R. Batcheller or Lon Young, and directed by Richard Thorpe. The Invincible films were produced by Cohen and directed primarily by Frank R. Strayer, with occasional projects being directed by Charles Lamont and Phil Rosen. However, by 1935, Thorpe, Strayer, and Lamont had all moved on to positions with major Hollywood studios. The remaining Chesterfield-Invincible films were directed by film editor, Roland D. Reed. In 1936, Batcheller shut down his film company and, the last Chesterfield film, *Red Lights Ahead* was released in 1937, while several of the Chesterfield films were reissued by Grand National. Batcheller, for a while, moved into non-theatrical film production before becoming production supervisor for Producers Releasing Corporation in 1940. Reed also entered non-theatrical film production and then in the 1950s became a television producer of note.

A slightly more prestigious Poverty Row company was Majestic Pictures, which served as a corporate front for various producers, most notably Phil Goldstone and Larry Darmour. Majestic did not have its own studio space and most of its productions were filmed on rented space at Universal or Darmour's rental studio on Santa Monica Boulevard. Majestic's films had better production

values than the average Poverty Row production, and the films often had lead roles filled by notable Hollywood stars: Jean Herscholt in *Hearts of Humanity* (1932), Lionel Atwill and Fay Wray in *The Vampire Bat* (1933), Pat O'Brien in *World Gone Mad* (1933), Colleen Moore in *The Scarlet Letter*, and Larry "Buster" Crabbe in *She Had to Choose* (both 1934), as well, the company had popular silent film cowboy Jack Hoxie for a series of westerns (1932-1933). Although still budget conscious, Majestic's better-than-average product was clearly aimed at the top half of double features programmed at mid-grade theaters (Pitts, 222-225).

A newcomer to Poverty Row production was Maurice Conn, who had been in the film business for many years with the theater chain Olympia and Sterling, before moving to Mascot as comptroller and assistant to the president. In 1934, he launched his own low-budget production company Ambassador Pictures. The company focused on outdoor action films with interesting location shooting, good casts, and a minimal of stock footage distinguishing Conn's films from many of his lesser contemporaries (29-32). The company started with a series of eighteen films starring Kermit Maynard, brother of cowboy star Ken Maynard. The first of these films were Northerns, outdoor adventures set in the Canadian wilderness, with Maynard portraying an R.C.M.P. officer and often credited as being based upon the stories of popular writer James Oliver Curwood. Ambassador produced another action series of ten films starring Frankie Darro teamed with adult leads Kane Richmond or Leroy Mason. These films, too, relied upon location shooting, as Darro would have his action-packed adventures in

various locals, including boxing arenas, horse racing tracks, oil fields, logging camps, etc. Unlike the Maynard films, the Darro series was backed up with considerable stock footage of spectacular and expensive events like boxing matches, horse races, and oil derrick explosions. The company also issued four films featuring singer Pinky Tomlin. These films featured Tomlin doing his likable bumpkin routine as a small town rube in the big city surrounded by various criminals, con artists, and gangsters. He would sing a few songs and eventually overcome the machinations of the various miscreants surrounding him with his down-home charm and small town sense. The last three of the Tomlin films were directed by D. W. Griffith protégé Marshall Neilan, who had reached the end of his tumultuous career. Conn shut down Ambassador Pictures in 1937, most likely because he recognized the decline of the market and moved to conglomerate production, first at Grand National and then under the banner of Concord Productions at Monogram (29-41).

Much of the upsurge in Poverty Row production, during the first half of the 1930s, was due to the financing of States Rights distributor and film exchange owner William Steiner. Steiner began his film career as a producer of low-budget action and western shorts in 1910, working through to the mid-1920s with silent cowboy stars Neal Hart and Leo D. Maloney. In addition, he also established himself as a distributor of independent film production and by the 1930s had a national network of exchanges operating under a variety of names, including Ace Pictures, Marcy Pictures, Astor Pictures, and William Steiner. Moreover, Steiner turned to financing a number of Poverty Row productions supported by his

distribution holdings. Steiner financed and distributed the films of Ken Goldsmith, Showmen's Pictures, Willis Kent, and Supreme Pictures, but his closest associations were with Poverty Row producer/director William Berke, and producer/ director team Harry S. Webb and Bernard B. Ray. In the mid thirties, Berke produced several Jack Perrin westerns for Atlantic Pictures, before Atlantic moved exclusively to being a re-release company; thereafter Berke produced a variety of action and western films for Ajax and Commodore, again backed by Steiner's money and distribution. Berke then moved to Republic Pictures as an associate producer and later to Lippert Pictures. Harry S. Webb began as a producer for Syndicate in the 1920s, while Bernard B. Ray had been an executive for Arrow Films. By the 1930s, both were producing and directing for a number of Poverty Row outfits, but in 1933 they joined forces with Reliable Pictures producing low-budget action and western films for the States Rights double feature market with distribution through the various exchanges of the Steiner network. Reliable films were cheap. They were not copyrighted and their films only had canned musical scores over the opening credits. Moreover, their films were aimed at the lowest levels of the action markets and relied upon the appeal of fading film stars like Jack Perrin, Richard Talmadge, Bob Custer, Tom Tyler, and Rin Tin Tin Jr. Reliable folded in 1937 and Webb reopened Metropolitan Pictures (a corporate name they had used previously) releasing several Bob Steele westerns before shutting down in 1940 (see Pitts). In 1937, Steiner's Astor Pictures, which had been a film exchange for various Poverty Row productions, turned exclusively to a re-release company on the States Rights market. Astor re-

issued several old Poverty Row films as well as those of Hollywood studios independent Edward Small, who initially distributed through United Artists. In 1945, Astor Picture began to distribute and then produce All-Black cast 'Race' films for the African American market of the large urban centers and the Southern states (see Richards).¹¹

As discussed earlier, Nat Levine's Mascot Pictures rose in industry prominence after Pathé merged into R.K.O. and ceased serial production. Mascot's serials were very popular and very lucrative. They were made as cheap as possible, but they received wide distribution across the country. In 1932, the company moved into feature film production, releasing *Pride of the Legion*, the story of a dishonored policeman, who, with the help of Rin Tin Tin Jr., finds redemption by breaking up a gang of bootleggers. The film was a flop (Tuska, 106). The next feature was *Laughing at Life* (1933) starring Victor McLaglen and Regis Toomey, which was also of negligible quality. However, Mascot features improved with notable films like the World War I anti-war preachment yarn *Crimson Romance* (1934) starring Ben Lyon and Eric von Stroheim; an adaptation of *Little Men* (1934) with Junior Durkin, Frankie Darro and Dickie Moore; the well-crafted old dark house mystery; *One Frightened Night* (1935) directed by

¹¹ Taves lists Astor Pictures as the typical example of a category four quickie producer; however, this is incorrect. My research of Astor Pictures reveals that the company did not produce any films until 1946, beginning with the All-Black cast, Race film, *Beware*, starring Louis Jordon. Astor did, however, begin as a States Rights distributor owned by William Steiner, but after releasing only a few films produced by Reliable Pictures, Astor became a re-release company reissuing older Poverty Row films, until the late 1940s when it undertook a small number of film productions. Astor continued to re-release older films, along with low-budget exploitation films and European art films until 1963.

silent era veteran and Griffith alum William ‘Christy’ Cabanne; and the highly romanticized biography of Stephen Foster, *Harmony Lane* (1935). Surprisingly, for a company that specialized in action films, Mascot only produced one western feature, *In Old Santa Fe* (1934) starring Ken Maynard (106-120). The company also condensed three of its serials into hour-long features, *The Lost Jungle* (1934), *Burn’em Up Barnes* (1934), and *Radio Ranch*, which was cut from the 1935 serial *The Phantom Empire* but released separately by Levine on to the States Rights market in 1940 (201-204).

Mayfair Pictures was started by Ralph M. Like, owner of the International Film Corporation, which was a rental studio used by many independent producers. In 1929, he had the studio wired for sound and the profits from the rental studio provided enough capital for Like to enter independent production in 1931 with Action Pictures. After a string of films that did not live up to the ‘Action’ name, it was changed to Mayfair, but this did little to improve the quality of the finished product, and although Action/ Mayfair released a considerable number of films, the company closed in 1934 (Pitts, 238-239). In 1935, famed author Edgar Rice Burroughs entered Poverty Row production; backed by friend and actor/ producer Ashton Dearholt, they formed Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises with the intent of producing one Tarzan feature a year along with other projects. The first film produced by the company was the serial *The New Adventures of Tarzan* starring former Olympian Herman Brix. The twelve chapter serial was partly shot at the Selig Zoo in Los Angeles and partly shot on location in the jungle of Guatemala; however, the location shooting was plagued with problems, including bad

weather, jungle fever, insects, and poisonous reptiles. When it was eventually released, it carried a disclaimer explaining that the poor sound quality was the result of difficulties during the location shooting. In order to maximize their investment, the first few chapters of the serial were condensed into a feature film of the same name, which was released in 1936 and proved to be relatively successful at the box-office. Also, in 1936, the company produced and distributed two other films: the arctic adventure *Tundra*, and the crime melodrama *The Drag-net*. As well, the company distributed a western called *The Phantom of Santa Fe*. The film was originally titled *The Hawk* and it was originally produced, in 1931, by a company called Romantic Productions using an early two-color strip process known as Multicolor. The original film was unsaleable due to production problems and the timbre of silent film star Norman Kerry's voice. Dearborn had the film re-recorded, re-edited and the color process finished by Cinecolor; however, the re-vamped film only got sparse showings (74). In 1937, Burroughs-Tarzan issued another feature film culled from footage of *The New Adventures of Tarzan*. This time it was cut from the latter chapters of the serial and called *Tarzan and the Green Goddess*. It too proved moderately successful, but not enough to save Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises (74-78).

Another important player in Poverty Row at this time was Sol Lesser's Principal Productions and Principal Distribution Corporation. Lesser had been involved in independent production and States Rights distribution since the early 1920s, before forming Principal in 1932. Lesser was a bit of an opportunist and would distribute anything that could return a profit. His first release in 1932 was a

Buffalo Bill Jr. western, *The Texan*, made in 1930 but unreleased. Principal also distributed a large number of expeditionary documentaries, including Zane Grey's *South Seas Adventures*, the Marquis de Wavrin's *Amazon Head Hunters*, and J.E. Williamson's *With Williamson beneath the Sea* (all 1932), as well as two feature films cut from Sergei Eisenstein's *Que Viva Mexico!: Thunder over Mexico* and *Eisenstein in Mexico* (both 1933). Principal also produced two serials *Tarzan the Fearless* (1933) and *The Return of Chandu* (1934), as well as distributing Sherman S. Krellberg's *The Lost City* (1935). The three serials were also condensed into eponymous features with *The Return of Chandu* used for a fourth film titled *Chandu on the Magic Island* (1935) (277-278). However, Lesser was also involved in several low-end independent productions for major studios. He had earlier produced several westerns under the Beverly banner as Columbia, but by 1935 he was also producing low-budget action films for both Columbia and Twentieth Century Fox under both the banner Atherton Productions as well as the Principal banner, in addition, he also produced the Bobby Breen musicals for R.K.O. under the Principal label (see Miller 1976). In the 1940s, Lesser acquired all the theatrical rights to Burroughs' Tarzan character and produced Tarzan films from 1943 to 1958.

Throughout the first half of the 1930s, there were numerous low-budget quickie companies that hit the market with a handful of cheap films, mostly westerns, then disappeared. Among these short-lived companies were Ajax, Atlantic, Beacon, Big 4, Colony, Commodore, Empire, Brian Foy, Ken Goldsmith, Hollywood, Mercury, Metropolitan, Peerless, Pinnacle, Resolute,

Spectrum, Stage and Screen, as well as several ultra-low budget producers like Victor Adamson, Robert J. Horner, Bud Pollard, and Jack Irwin. The most noteworthy of these lowest-level producers was Willis Kent, who produced films under several different corporate banners and for several different distribution companies. Kent began his film career in 1928 with the social-conscience/exploitation films *The Pace that Kills* and *The Road to Ruin*. As Kevin Brownlow has noted, both films were of the lowest levels of production, but because of their sensational material, both films were quite profitable (Brownlow, 118-119 and 175-176). He then joined up with producer-director Mrs. Wallace Reid (Dorothy Davenport), who had been working the same market with films like *Human Wreckage* (1923) and *The Red Kimona* (1925) to produce a higher quality film, the silent melodrama *Linda* (1929) based upon the 1912 novel by Margaret Prescott Montague (203). Throughout the first half of the 1930s, Willis Kent produced a variety of genre films including the old-fashioned morality play *Ten Nights in a Barroom* (Road Show Attractions, 1931); the society melodramas *Primrose Path* and *Playthings of Hollywood* (Hollywood Pictures, 1931); several low-budget westerns, including *Hired Guns* (Willis Kent, 1932), *The Man from Hell* (Marcy Pictures, 1934), *Range Warfare* (William Steiner, 1934), and *Circle of Death* (Syndicate, 1935); and a number of mystery adventure films: *Law of the Tong* (Syndicate, 1931), *The Racing Strain* (Maxim, 1932), *Sinister Hands* (Willis Kent, 1932) and its sequel *Sucker Money* (Progressive, 1933), *Murder at the Museum* (Marcy, 1934) and *The Woman Condemned* (Marcy, 1934). However, by mid-decade, Kent's production budgets were decreasing rapidly and after ten

westerns, his cowboy star, Lane Chandler, moved on to become an uncredited bit player. Kent replaced his with former football star Reb Russell, who made nine films for Kent, but Russell lacked thespian ability and left the film business after this series. Kent then turned to rodeo star and trick rider Monty Montana for the truly threadbare *Circle of Death* (Syndicate, 1935), after which Kent gave up on producing westerns (203-204).

Puritan Pictures served more as a clearing house for various producers looking to access the States Rights market than as an actual production company (291). The company began with three films by old-time independent producer C. C. Burr, but its greatest success was when the company signed cowboy star Tim McCoy, who had just finished his contract at Columbia. McCoy made ten films for Puritan, and, after the first two, the series was taken over by producers Sig Neufled and Leslie Simmonds, previously at Tower Pictures, now producing under their Excelsior banner and distributing through Puritan. The remaining eight McCoy westerns were all directed by the prolific Sam Newfield, Neufeld's brother. Although very cheaply made, these films presented a grim view of a world motivated by vengeance, betrayal and violence. McCoy's character was usually an agent of the government or a cattlemen's association and he would often go undercover by impersonating a villain. The most notable films of the series, were *Lightnin' Bill Carson* and the sci-fi themed *Ghost Patrol* (both 1936). Despite the success of the McCoy films on the States Rights market, the cowboy star did not renew his contract. Instead, he signed with William Pizor's Imperial, but the deal fell through and it ended up in court with McCoy off screen until

1938. Although Puritan released several other films, most produced by C. C. Burr and Fanchon Royer, without their big star, the company was in trouble and Puritan closed in 1937.

Victory Pictures began in 1935 and produced and distributed film through to the end of the decade. The company was started by Sam Katzman, who had worked at several of the major studios before becoming the production manager at Showmen's Pictures in 1933. He then worked briefly for Supreme Pictures before entering the States Rights market with Victory Pictures in 1935. Victory's initial output were a series of adventure films loosely based upon the stories of popular writer Peter B. Kyne, as well as a western series starring Tom Tyler, who like many other major cowboys of the silent era, was working his way downward through Poverty Row. Tyler made eight films at Victory before going on tour with the Wallace Brothers Circus (438). He was replaced by Tim McCoy, who had settled his dispute with Pizor's Imperial for \$37,000, his salary plus interest. Imperial shut its doors shortly thereafter (181). McCoy returned to the screen with *Lightning Carson Rides Again* (1938), and like his Puritan Westerns, he continued his penchant of disguises impersonating a host of outlaws and villains, including a Mexican, an Oriental, and a Gypsy (439). All of his Victory westerns were directed by Sam Newfield. Victory also produced two serials, the last independent chapterplays made: *Shadows of Chinatown* (1936) starring Bela Lugosi and Herman Brix, and *Blake of Scotland Yard* (1937) starring Ralph Byrd, Herbert Rawlinson, and Dickie Jones as the juvenile interest. Both serials were plodding affairs directed by old-timer Robert F. Hill, and both were also condensed into

feature versions. In 1939, Victory released its last films *Trigger Fingers* and *Straight Shooter* with McCoy making his last appearances as undercover agent Lightnin' Bill Carson. Katzman continued as a low-budget producer working for Monogram, and Producers Releasing Corporation during the 1940s and later at, Columbia, M.G.M. and American-International; While McCoy, along with director Newfield, would continue making westerns at Producers Releasing Corporation.

Independent film production among the Poverty Row studios climbed during the first half of the 1930s, reaching its peak in 1935; however, this peak also meant over-production. Between 1934 and 1936, there was glut on the market of low-budget Poverty Row films, especially westerns. With so much low-budget action product on the market, many smaller producers found that they could not compete with the larger production companies, especially if a company's sole film production was based upon a film series featuring a single cowboy star, often with limited or faded box-office appeal. Fox example, Ajax Pictures relied upon the aging Harry Carey; Beacon Pictures had the likeable Guinn "Big Boy" Williams, but he was much better as a sidekick; Beaumont Pictures' western series was based on former-leading man Conway Tearle; Colony Pictures had old-timer Rex Bell; and Willis Kent had the outmoded Lane Chandler and the uncharismatic Montie Montana; while, at the same time, legal wranglings kept popular stars 'Hoot' Gibson and Tim McCoy temporarily off the screen. However, the newcomer, Victory Pictures, had a genuine cowboy star in Tom Tyler, and was able to weather the tribulation of the mid-decade.

Consequently, by 1936, several low-end Poverty Row companies disappeared; while others, finding little success with westerns, turned to the production of exploitation films.

The Exploitation Film

Film historian Eric Schaefer notes that the term “exploitation” became recognized as a distinct category of motion picture during the 1920s, and that by 1933, the term exploitation picture began to appear in print. Following Schaefer’s definition, an exploitation picture was a film that primarily focused upon a ‘forbidden’ topic, usually sex and sex hygiene, prostitution and vice, drug use, nudity, and any other subject considered at the time to be in bad taste. Moreover, these films were cheaply made, distributed independently, generally exhibited in non-studio affiliated grindhouse or ‘Main Street’ theaters, and distributed in small numbers of prints, but were kept in circulation for many years; up to twenty years was not uncommon (3-7). Furthermore, Schaefer declares that the exploitation film should be differentiated from Poverty Row film productions through the former’s reliance upon forbidden spectacle. He states:

The aesthetics of Poverty Row filmmaking, the independent African American cinema, and classical exploitation have many similarities and more extensive work needs to be done on their area of convergence. But the point of departure between classical exploitation and the other manifestations of low-end commercial cinema in the studio era can be located in the area of forbidden spectacle. (76)

While, Schaefer is correct in stating that these apparently divergent films practices can be differentiated on the basis of their use of forbidden spectacle (sex, drugs, vice, abortion, etc), I shall argue that during the 1930s, the relationship between exploitation film production and Poverty Row was much closer than Schaefer admits.

Schaefer notes that the ‘forbidden’ spectacle of the exploitation film began during and immediately after World War I with the dramatic films warning about the horrors of venereal disease (17-41). He then fast-forwards to an analysis of the exploitation film’s mode of production during the 1930s and 1940s, although he does contend with the issue of censorship, both locally and nationally, which effected the development of the exploitation film. Schaefer bypasses much of the history of the production of exploitation films, from the World War I V.D. films to the exploitation films of the later 1930s and overlooks the relationship of social conscience films such as the white-slavery themed movie serial, *Into the Net* (Malcolm Strauss Productions, 1924) or Dorothy Davenport’s cautionary tale of prostitution *The Red Kimona* (Vital Exchange, 1925) to the development of early silent era exploitation films such as Willis Kent’s *The Pace that Kills* and *The Road to Ruin* (both 1928). Kevin Brownlow traces the production of what he calls ‘films of social conscience’ from the V.D. films of the 1910s through the social reform movements and issues of venereal disease, prostitution, alcoholism, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, poverty, immigration, government corruption and labor issues through the silent era. Brownlow also documents how these films began to court trouble from local censorship and morality groups, and how the

Hollywood studios' business organization, the MPPDA, instituted censorship regulations, monitored by Will Hays, especially following the sex, drug, and murder scandals of the mid 1920s (Brownlow, 6-23).¹² Although the Hollywood studios did not fully comply with these new regulations and continued producing melodramas about poverty, prostitution, and adultery, many of the more controversial and sensational issues, such as drug addiction, white slavery, and venereal disease, were taken up by independent film producers, often presenting the controversial subject matter in a highly sensational manner in order to gain box-office appeal for their low-quality productions. The two most notable producers of social conscience-turned-exploitation films were Dorothy Davenport and Willis Kent.

The production of sensational and controversial issues would be continued into the sound era by both Hollywood and the Poverty Row studios during what has become known as the Pre-Code era (1929-1934). As Thomas Doherty States:

The censors called them “sex films,” but the promiscuous embrace of sex was only the most commercial and carnal element of a broader assault on traditional values. The complete spectrum of vice, not sex alone, infested the films in question, an epicurean spirit of enthusiasm indulgence in activities illegal, forbidden and stimulating. Antiauthoritarian, adultery-driven and pleasure seeking, the vice films surrendered willingly to one or more of the seven deadly sins and discovers that succumbing wasn’t necessarily fatal. (1999a, 103)

¹² For a detailed and salacious history of the scandals that plagued Hollywood during the 1920s, see Kenneth Anger's *Hollywood Babylon*, which discussed the infamous sex scandals of Roscoe “Fatty” Arbuckle, Charles Chaplin, and Clara Bow, the drug overdose of Wallace Reid, Sr., husband to Dorothy Davenport, and the murder of film director William Desmond Taylor.

Like the Hollywood studios in the so-called Pre-code era, the producers of Poverty Row offered their share of vice-ridden, pleasure-seeking, vice films. As the *Los Angeles Times* noted, the sex picture, along with the western, was a staple of Poverty Row film production (Schallert, B13). For example, the film *Party Girl* (Tiffany, 1930) was supposedly an exposé of the prostitution racket, but, like so many other films of the period, it lingered more upon its titillating moments, such as the orgy involving former Mack Sennett bathing beauty Marie Provost, than on its moral soap-box as it exposed the evils of prostitution. The film was later re-released as an exploitation picture in 1938; however, director Victor Halperin sued to have his name removed, and surviving prints now credit a fictitious Rex Hale as director (Pitts, 410-411). Another example of Pre-Code Poverty Row is the profanity laden *World Gone Mad* (Majestic, 1933), in which newspaper reporter Pat O'Brien and gangster moll/prostitute Evelyn Brent share a post-coitus puff on a 'joint' (231-232). However, as Schaefer does note, several Poverty Row films from the Pre-Code era were later re-released as exploitation films, usually with added burlesque shorts or other sensational material (61 and 387).

Schaefer's attempt to separate the production of exploitation films from Poverty Row during the 1930s is a position largely of his own construction. The distinguishing characteristics that Schaefer uses to characterize exploitation film production do, in fact, describe Poverty Row. As he states, the primary distinction of an exploitation film is the depiction of a 'forbidden' spectacle; however, he locates the origins of these taboo issues at the same level of film production—that of the independent film producers of the 1910s and 1920s—that would eventually

become Poverty Row. Moreover, the remainder of his argument, that exploitation films were produced on low-budgets, distributed in small numbers, exhibited independently in low-end grindhouse theaters, and could remain in circulation for many years, could easily be said of any Poverty Row film, such was the nature of all independent, non-Hollywood film practice during the 1930s. Moreover, both Michael Pitts and Don Miller include the production of exploitation films within their respective histories of low-budget film production during the 1930s.

During the so-called Pre-Code era, many of the major Poverty Row studios produced ‘sex’ pictures like *Party Girl*, or *The Sin of Nora Moran* (Majestic, 1933), but there were, at this time, other producers making considerably more questionable and controversial films that would be marketed on an Adults-only basis. Most famously, or infamously, was Dwain Esper, who under his production company Roadshow Attractions issued some of the most controversial films of the time. He began with a sensational but innocuous documentary short called *Sinister Harvest* (1931), about hashish smuggling in Egypt, which was followed by several sex and vice films: *The Seventh Commandment* (1932), *Narcotic* (1933) *Modern Motherhood* and *Inyaah*, also known as *Forbidden Adventure*, (both 1934). For the most part, these films were standard fare for the period, only spiced up with sensational and transgressive images of drug use, scantily-clad young women, and footage of caesarian births, which created problems for Esper with censorship boards and the Production Code office (Schaefer, 136-137, 183-186, and 231-233). He followed these films with the ultra-cheap film *Maniac* (1934) a delirious story about an escaped lunatic

posing as a mad scientist. Although historians Turner and Price claim that the film was not produced to taunt the Production Code office, the film violated almost every aspect of the newly enforced code with its exaggerated levels of violence, drug use, necrophilia, and partial nudity (153). The film was not released through normal States Rights channels, but was distributed through the old practice of roadshowing, in which Esper traveled with a print of the film to various communities and booked it into small independent movie houses. Esper followed *Maniac* with the much tamer, but still highly sensationalized anti-marijuana treatise *Marijuana* (1936), the two reel short *How to Undress in Front of Your Husband* (1937) and the pseudo jungle documentary *Angkor* (1937).

Also skirting the production code in the mid 1930s was Bryan Foy, who would later head Warner Brothers' B film unit. In 1934, Foy issued the lurid melodramas *High School Girl*, about teen pregnancy, and *Tomorrow's Children*, about forced sterilization. Both films were in violation of the yet to be fully enforced Production Code and were distributed through the States Rights market. Foy also produced the pseudo-documentary *Elysia: Valley of the Nudes*, which expounded the health benefits of visiting a nudist camp. This film, along with other nudist films of the 1930s, like *This Nude World* (1933), and *The Unashamed* (1938), all used a similar pseudo-documentary narrative explaining the health benefits of nudism. All of the nudist films were distributed through independent States Rights film exchanges, thus avoiding compliance with the Production Code (291-299).

The most direct link between the social conscience films of the 1920, the Poverty Row sex films of the Pre-Code period and the exploitation film was Willis Kent. Kent began in 1928 with production of *The Pace that Kills* and *The Road to Ruin*, and during the 1930s, he produced several 'sex' films, such as *The Primrose Path* (Hollywood Pictures, 1931) with its depictions of wild college parties, the bigamy drama *Her Splendid Folly* (Marcy, 1934), and a remake of *The Road to Ruin* (True Life Photoplay, 1934), along with more respectable low-budget genre fare and westerns. However, after the mid-decade glut of quickie westerns, the loss of his cowboy stars Lane Chandler and Reb Russell, and the failure of Montie Montana to fill the saddle, Kent turned exclusively to the production of exploitation films. In 1936, he remade *The Pace that Kills*, an extremely bleak exposé on cocaine addiction. This was followed by a series of other sensational and turgid melodramas dealing with subjects now forbidden under the Production Code, such as sexual promiscuity, prostitution, abortion, moral turpitude, suicide and death. These films were all distributed through the States Rights market and outside the grasp of the Production Code (see Schaefer, Pitts and Miller 1973).

Another Poverty Row producer who moved from low-budget westerns to exploitation films was J.D. Kendis, who entered the Poverty Row market with the lurid Pre-Code sex melodrama *Guilty Parents* (Syndicate, 1934). This film was followed by the low-budget western *The Hawk*, also known as *Trail of the Hawk* (1935) and the over-sensationalized documentary *Jaws of the Jungle* (1935). Kendis then teamed with director Elmer Clifton to produce a series of exploitation

melodramas, beginning with the tepid *Gambling with Souls* (1936). Clifton had begun his career as an actor and assistant to D. W. Griffith, before becoming a fairly respected director in the 1920s. For reasons unknown, however, Clifton's career descended rapidly and he became a Poverty Row journeyman director. This film was followed by the very similar *Slaves in Bondage* (1937) only this time, the film had a number of fetish scenes added to spice up its repetitive narrative of a young girl led astray. Kendis and Clifton returned to more mainstream fare with the adventure film *Wolves of the Sea* (1937) starring old-time silent star Hobart Bosworth and the crime film *Paroled from the Big House* (1938). In 1940, Kendis, under the name Continental Pictures, produced *Secrets of a Model* directed by Sam Newfield (Pitts, 195- 202).

A number of other producers and directors became involved in the production of exploitation films in the latter half of the 1930s. In 1937, Elmer Clifton, along with screenwriters Charles A. Brown and Leo J. McCarthy produced the anti-marijuana film *Assassin of Youth* under the production name BCM (Brown-Clifton-McCarthy). The film was a typical exploitation film in which wild parties and drug use lead to the moral and sexual downfall of a young girl. In 1938, George A. Hirliman, along with director Louis J. Gasnier, who had been making mystery and adventure films together at Grand National, entered the market with *Tell Your Children* (G+H, 1938), better known today as *Reefer Madness*. Like the other anti-marijuana films of this period, *Tell Your Children* was another lurid tale of youth run wild under the influence of illegal substances. In addition, there were the films of Pat Carlyle, who produced, directed and

starred in two ultra low-budget westerns for Imperial Distributing: *Call of the Coyote: A Legend of the Golden West* (1934) and *The Irish Gringo* (1935) before turning to exploitation films. In 1936, Carlyle followed the bandwagon with *Polygamy* (Unusual Pictures, 1936), a lurid exposé of Mormon multiple marriage, and *Hitchhike to Hell*, also known as *Honky Tonk Girls* (Preview Production, 1937), the tale of roadhouse prostitution. Another old-time independent producer and director entering the lurid market of uncensored, sensational, States Rights fare was Harry Revier, who issued the *Lash of the Penitents* (1937) about a snake-handler religious cult and *Child Bride* (1938) about the practice of marrying children by anonymous American mountain people of the central eastern United States (Pitts, 184 and Schaefer, 283-284).

The move towards exploitation film production should not be seen as a separate event, as Schaefer argues; rather, it should be recognized as a continuation of production of the social conscience films turned sensational 'sex' melodramas by independent film producers turned Poverty Row producers during the Pre-Code era. Moreover, the rise of the exploitation film in the latter half of the 1930s, should be seen as a response by several low-budget Poverty Row producers to first, the elimination of the Poverty Row 'sex' film after the enforcement of Production Code regulations, and, second, the devaluing of quickie westerns following their over production in the mid-1930s. It should also be further noted that between 1940 and 1946, only a handful of exploitation films were produced including *Confessions of a Vice Baron* (Willis Kent, 1943), the rather chaste trio of *Escort Girl* (Continental 1941), *Youth Aflame*, and *Teen Age*,

(both Continental, 1944), *A Fig Leaf for Eve* (Belmont, 1944), the anti-marijuana film *The Devil's Harvest* (Continental, 1942), and the jingoistic propaganda piece *Samurai* (Cavalcade, 1945). Immediately after World War II, however, the production of exploitation pictures rose dramatically and these films were much more in line with the paradigm advanced by Schaefer than were the exploitation films of the 1930s, primarily because Poverty Row film practice had changed to the point at which the treatment of such lurid subject matter was no longer necessary or profitable (Schaefer, 57, 65-68, 90, 94, 240, 253, 284).

The arc of 1930s independent Poverty Row film production reached its apex in 1935. Due to the pressures of censorship and over production, as well as external forces, which will be discussed in the following chapter, independent Poverty Row film production declined rapidly and by the end of 1940, all of the low-budget independent film companies would be gone. However, this cessation was not unanticipated. As *Variety* reported in 1932:

All feel that it will be at least three years before the major's become settled in their effort to produce consistently inexpensive pictures. During that time every indie hopes to get a major studios offer.

Indies' attempt to get away from usual quickie production is revealed in the drop-off of westerns. Of the 250 features scheduled only 70 are westerns and the remainder parlor drama. In previous years it has been the opposite. ("250 Features")

This brief comment by the trade journal proved to be very prophetic for Poverty Row film production. In 1932, the demand for mid-level ‘parlor’ dramas was at its peak, and companies like Tiffany, Sono Art-World Wide, Majestic, Monogram, and others filled the market with affordable programmer-grade films for the theatre market; however, this level of production was difficult to maintain as production costs were generally high and flat-fee rental returns would be low. As a result, a number of these higher level Poverty Row companies went broke. However, the demand for quickie action films, especially westerns, increased. In another prophetic comment, in January of 1929, while discussing the decline of the western, *Variety* stated that “If the theory of cycles proves true, it will be seven years before these wild riding and gun play stories feel the call of revival (“Passing of the Western”). However, this mid-decade revival only brought over-production for Poverty Row and the closing of numerous quickie producers. But the most telling prediction of *Variety* was that it would take the Hollywood studios three years, from 1932, to regain their footing and reassert themselves into the low-budget film market. Just as Poverty Row was hitting its height of production, the Hollywood studios reentered the low-budget market.

Poverty Row reached the height of its production in 1935; however, no sooner had the independent producers reached their apex then they became subject to external forces that would change the low-budget film business forever. We shall argue, following Raymond Williams, that these changes demonstrate the extent to which the dominant culture could no longer allow too much residual experience and practice outside of itself. The programming of double features in the United States had skyrocketed by mid-decade, reaching 85 % of all theaters and leaving untouched only the topflight first-run theaters (Miller 1973, 36). This rapid expansion fueled Poverty Row's growth, but as the use of double feature became common practice in studio affiliated theater chains, the Hollywood studios had to react. The result was the introduction of the B film. At the same time, Herbert J. Yates foreclosed on a number of Poverty Row companies and merged them into a new production company called Republic Pictures, the first conglomerate company to be commonly referred to as a B-film studio. Republic, through the combination of assets held by smaller independent companies, was able to produce higher budgeted films that were able to directly compete with the new Hollywood B film, but also it produced a stable of lower-budgeted action genre films and serials to compete with the older independent producers. The conglomerate model would be followed by other Poverty Row producers later in the decade. Thus, in 1935, the new Hollywood B film and the larger production power of Republic studios had a detrimental effect upon the much smaller independent Poverty Row studios, and, by the end of 1940, they were all gone.

The Rise of the Double Feature

In order to understand the necessity of the B film, it is first necessary to understand the state of film exhibition leading up to its inception. As discussed, the double feature had been slowly regaining popularity, after hitting an all-time low in 1929. Fueled in part by the need to entice customers back to theaters and in part by the availability of affordable Poverty Row films with which to make dual programs, the practice of double feature programming grew steadily. However, the problem with the popularity of double features was that this development was not initiated by film exhibitors affiliated with the Hollywood studios; rather it began with the small independently owned neighborhood and small town theaters. As the double feature grew in popularity, it also moved up from the small local theaters into the larger midtown and downtown independent theaters, as well as into the low-end operations of affiliated chains. As had been the case in the 1920s, the double feature was a profitable endeavor when competing against a single feature. However, by the early to mid 1930s, competition was no longer between independent operators exclusively, but was beginning to affect affiliated theaters and on a national level. In other words, double features were becoming big business.

The growth of double features during the first half of the 1930s was phenomenal. As *Variety* reported in 1935:

Of the total number of picture theaters in this country, approximately 75% are using double bills at one time or the other during the week. Of this number more than half of them are exclusively dual-

feature houses. With approximately 40% of the picture houses using double bills entirely, recent figures show that it will not be long before nearly 50% have eliminated a single feature policy altogether. ("Future of Duals")

Only the top-level first-run theaters did not adopt a double feature policy, and its use increased as one moved away from those theaters located in central urban cores. Midtown first and second run theaters would use doubles for the slower weeknight, and the smaller neighborhood theaters would show double features exclusively.

The growth was so substantial that, in 1935, the two largest theater chains in New York, Loew's and R.K.O. converted all but their top-run houses to a double feature policy ("New York's Dual Bills"). Citing increased competition from independent theaters using double features, *Variety* reported:

Competition of double-billing by independent subsequent runs to the Loew and RKO larger neighborhood houses is the reason given by the Loew and RKO operators for the change in exhibition policy adopted by the two circuits. Spokesmen for each have qualified the explanation with the hopeful comment that the practice would wear itself out within a year, and next season would find a return to single features throughout the territory. ("New York's Dual Bills")

Of the thirty-five R.K.O. theaters in the New York area, twenty-five offered double features on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, with strong single features shown over the weekend, from Saturday to Tuesday. The remaining theaters showed double features exclusively, with a similar situation for the 63 Loew's theaters in the New York area. The article further notes that theaters in Cleveland, Ohio, which had a mutually agreed upon ban on double features for both independents and affiliates since 1932, did not renew the agreement and double-bills began to appear in subsequent run houses. ("Future of Duals")

Despite the rapid increase of double features and their use within the affiliated chains, the programming policy of double features was seen as temporary. *Variety* further noted that the MPPDA, also known as the Hays Office, was not concerned with the rise in double features, stating "belief among Hays leaders is that dualers will be halted only when independent exhibitors realize how it is hitting their business" ("Future of Duals"). In other words, as the distribution network of the Hollywood studios, the MPPDA was not worried about the long term effects of double features because, in the long run, it would only hurt the independent exhibitor. As *Variety* explained:

Major circuits anticipate that bulk of independent exhibitors will find themselves relegated to the position of subsequent run for the simple reason that the majors will buy up all the first-run productions. Few indies can compete, even with a price slash, against more elaborate theaters of larger circuits, with every house

playing a dual bill. Thirdly, there is evident desire on part of major circuits to play double bills five to seven days in many spots, thereby milking every two-picture combo dry of subsequent box-office potentialities. Fourthly, the monotony of dual programs already is tending to drive many patrons to large downtown theaters having single feature and short subjects material, and away from smaller midtown dualers and neighborhoods. (“Future of Duals”)

Thus, studio affiliated theaters were forced to compete by initiating double features, while independent exhibitors would find themselves completely locked out of the first-run market, relegated to the subsequent run markets and then only given access to films that had already exhausted their box-office potential. As *Variety* surmised “with no particular incentive for patrons to wait until a dual combination plays as smaller and less pretentious theater, it is not difficult to visualize the situation in which the indies may soon find themselves” (“Future of Duals”). Although it was never openly stated, the studios affiliated theater chains and even the Hollywood studios welcomed the increase in double feature bookings because it meant that in the long run, it would force the independent exhibitors completely out of the key first and second run markets.

However, openly, the Hollywood studios decried the double feature, while the MPPDA reassuringly announced that the practice would simply run its course once the public tired of double features (“Dual’s Pros and Cons”). In 1935,

Warner Bros. launched a national poll to get the opinions of filmgoers about double features. The polling sample totaled 725,824 persons in various walks of life and the results were overwhelmingly opposed to the practice with 78% against double features and 22% in favor (“4-1 Oppose”). *Variety* listed the results:

Reasons for Dual

1. The double feature program lends diversity to the entertainment.
2. There is a better chance that one of the two pictures will be enjoyable.
3. It gives the fan more for their money.
4. We like long programs.
5. A second feature is better than shorts.
6. One feature would be too little for the admission charged—fans have learned to expect a lot for their money.
7. As second feature is better than vaudeville.

Reasons Against Duals

1. A good picture invariably is coupled with a poor one, thus making it necessary to sit through a poor one to see the good one.
2. The double bill four-hour or more show is too long for pleasure.
3. Like more shorts.
4. Pleasure of seeing a good picture is marred by the second one which wipes out the memory of the first.
5. Dislike the manner in which pictures are billed together

6. Long double bill show causes eye strain, headache, and fatigue.
7. To make pictures fit double bill programs that are often cut so much that they become jerky and lose their value.
8. Of one picture is suitable for children, the second picture is generally not. (“4-1 Oppose”, also see “Dual’s Pros and Cons” and McManus, X4.)

Although it seemed that the majority of theater patron disliked double features, their popularity did not drop off. As Margaret Farrand Thorpe stated, “the instinct to get more for your money, even when you do not particularly want it is deeply implanted, apparently, in the American breast” (167). Therefore, despite the numerous objections towards long programs, headaches, and even spreading hips, people continued to go to see the double features (“4-1 Oppose”).

The expansion of double features into the studio affiliated theater chains brought with it an increased demand for more films. As *Variety* noted, with the introduction of double features into the affiliated New York market, the chain houses would require more films to fill their double feature requirements. The R.K.O. theaters, with their mixed single/double houses, used 156 pictures annually and the exclusive double feature houses used 208 throughout the year, with the Loew’s theaters needing similar numbers of films. The R.K.O. theater bookings consisted of 48 films from Radio (R.K.O.), 52 from Warner Bros., 18 from Universal, 44 from Fox, 12 from 20th Century, 15 from Republic, and 9 imports from Gaumont-British; the Loew’s bookings consisted of 50 films from

M.G.M., 60 from Paramount, 40 from Columbia, 20 from United Artists, 18 from Universal, and 15 from Republic (“New York’s Duals”). The mid-decade move to double features by the affiliated theater chains in New York was representative of the overall state of dual programs within the theater chains. Not only would this new policy consume the entire seasonal output of the Hollywood studios, along with films from Republic and Gaumont, but it would also tie up all of these films within the affiliated circuits until a film’s novelty was exhausted. This move not only limited independent exhibitors from accessing fresh first-run features, but it also restricted the independent theater’s position within the exhibition market to that of the less profitable subsequent-run theater. Moreover, the double feature policy within affiliated theater chains also restricted exhibition possibilities and extra revenues for the independent Poverty Row film producers by effectively shutting down affiliated exhibitors’ need for their films.

On the one hand, the entry of the studio affiliated theater chains into double feature exhibition was intended to boost sagging box-office and satisfy bargain-hunting filmgoers. On the other hand, it enabled the larger integrated studio system to further prevent both independent exhibitors and independent producers from accessing the higher profit, mid-grade markets. Previously, film exhibitors, both independent and affiliated, who wished to program double features, would rent affordable Poverty Row films from local exchanges. Now, with the move of affiliated theater chains to a double feature policy, except in the best first-run movie houses, the demand for suitable dual program films would increase rapidly. However, the B films made by the Hollywood studios quickly

monopolized the market, thus eliminating Poverty Row's access to this market dramatically. Moreover, in early 1936, *Variety* announced that the major producers were 'upping' their production of B films, because in the previous season they had lost too much of the market to outside producers ("Prods. To Combat").

U.S. major producers feel that a certain amount of business slipped through their fingers in the past season because they did not have enough product to fill the wants of double-billers, with foreign films and independents absorbing the heightened demand.

With approximately 600 English speaking features going to exhibitors in the present year, check has revealed that less than 360 were sold by major companies. These large produces are not inclined to permit the remaining 240 or more features to be supplied by foreign film companies and independents in 1936-37. ("Prods. to Combat")

During this period, the Hollywood studios found themselves temporarily short of product to fill the demands for double features, thus providing the opportunity for independent producers working within the Hollywood studios system such as Harry Sherman, Sol Lesser, Larry Darmour, or Edward Small, as well as Republic Pictures and the British Gaumont studios.

Despite the production shortfall of 1935, the studios system was quickly re-organizing its filmmaking practice to include films for the new B slot. As Don Miller explains:

But some studios had not heretofore made "B" pictures, although they had made low-budget films where a dollar wisely spent could easily cover up the essential cheapness. Now they were obliged to produce as best they could, uncomplicated little entertainments, with simple plots readily understood by mass audiences of all ages; produced hurriedly, but not slapdash if avoidable; the shorter the running time the better for the dual bills, as low as 55 minutes entirely acceptable, but watch the editing if it runs over 75; give the players under contract a workout, experience for possible future stardom, provided they had what it takes; above all, tighten the budget, save the money for the few class attractions of the season. Some of the major companies had had sufficient practice in making low budget films to accept the challenge. Others had to learn from the beginning, inadvertently competing with the independents after a fashion. The result of this change beginning in mid-1935: a polarization of product, and a system of film production that lasted for more than three decades. (37)

Beginning in mid-1935, the entire Hollywood mode of production was being reorganized and refocused upon the production of B films for the bottom of the double feature. As Miller noted, some studios, like Universal, Columbia and Warner Bros., had a great deal of experience with low-budget production, while others, like M.G.M., Paramount, and Fox, had none. Previously, much of the major studios' production consisted of mid-range programmer films, with a few higher ranked A level productions. With the reorganization of exhibition around an A/B film double bill, however, the Hollywood studios needed to increase production of both A and B films, while still producing, although in reduced numbers, mid-range programmers.

In 1936 and despite the results of their earlier audience poll, Warner Bros. announced that it was increasing its production of B pictures for dual bills. *Variety* explained that this strategy was intended to ‘hold off indies’ and that other major studios were also considering the increase of cheaper film productions (“Warner’s 100”).

Ahead of schedule and geared for production speed, Warner Bros. will increase its 1936-37 program considerably above the 60 pictures at first slated, with 100 as probable new objective, limit, at least, has been taken of and B pictures will be turned out as fast as they can be made, within quality standard set by studio.

[...]

Other companies, especially 20th [Century]-Fox and Paramount are mulling similar idea of considerable product increase to feed the double-bill hopper. If combined efforts of majors now contemplating the step go into increased output, total features to be sold by majors during the coming season may run around 600 as compared to 462 for the current season. (“Warner’s 100”)

Thus, the major studios began to dramatically increase their production of low-budget B films in order to satisfy the demands from exhibitors but also to limit independent film producers from acquiring access to double features in affiliated theaters.

The increase in production of lower budgeted films by the major and minor Hollywood studios had, as predicted, an adverse effect upon both independent film production and independent film exhibition. As *Variety* explained in an aptly titled 1936 article “Indies Double Trouble:”

Independent producers are becoming aware that they are on the short end, the same as indie exhibitors, as a result of the rapid growth of double feature bill in nearly every part of the United States. Situation is one that had the indies really worried, with an evident demand for return to the single feature era.

Instead of benefitting, as many indie film producers felt they would, these—producer-distributor companies are awakening to the fact that their gross is actually less than when solo-feature programs dominated the industry. [...] What was counted on by indie producers as being simply a matter of stepping in and supplying secondary spots on bulk of theater engagements had not worked out that way. In place of getting the surplus velvet, after major producers had provided film of the first half of dual programs, independent picture makers find major circuits and other big exhibitors who formerly got most of their films from major companies are continuing to fill double bills with features from the eight leading

producers. (“Indies’ Double Trouble”)

Among the reasons cited for the exclusion of independent production from the new affiliated double features was that exhibitors felt a mediocre film from a major producer would measure up better than most indie product. In addition, the article notes that, for exhibitors, it was simply easier to deal with one major company claiming that “the familiar trade name means more to his patrons (even with the absence of star name draw) than most films from independent ranks” (“Indies’ Double Trouble”) As a result, independent Poverty Row producers, who had thought that they would be able to maintain and possibly even increase their share of the double feature market were not only sorely wrong, but they found themselves in a position of increased competition with B films and a drop of their average rental costs per feature by 50% (“Indies Double Trouble”).

During the first half of the 1930s, the independent producers and exhibitors enjoyed the increased demand for their product in order to fill the demands for double features. However, once this practice became the standard policy for theater chains affiliated with the Hollywood studios, the independent producers and exhibitors quickly found themselves shut out of the double feature marketplace and longing for the return of the single bill. As *Variety* noted:

While the indie producer is obviously in favor of returning to single-feature standard, two things stand in their way at the present time. One is that the major studios are geared to make enough pictures to care for all clients

having double-bill requirements. And these studios stand ready to hike production skeds if need be.

Other reason is that major film companies are in no mood currently to form any agreement, voluntarily or otherwise, to hold to single feature policy while legislators, the Washington administration and numerous indie exhibitors are howling anti-trust cries. ("Indies' Double Trouble")

Indeed, Hollywood's growing monopolization of the film industry was beginning to take its toll on independent film production. It was also attracting government attention, particularly insofar as the practices of block booking and blind selling were concerned. Block booking was the bundling together of a group of films, good or bad, for exhibitors in one package. Blind selling was the practice of selling films by title only, without the producers providing any information about a particular film's content. Together, these policies restricted exhibitors' choice by forcing them to accept unwanted and subpar films, as well as forcing them to exhibit them in order to recoup their cost (See Balio, Muscio, and "Block Booking and Blind Selling").

In 1939, at government hearings on Hollywood's monopoly, I. E. Chadwick, representing independent producers, testified that independent producers faced such a closed market that they sometimes offered to reimburse exhibitors for a picture rented in a block from the Hollywood distributor, to be able to show one of their films in its place, and that the independents had

practically quit making films because they were no longer able to invest in production. Moreover, Chadwick observed that the majors weakened the position of the independents with the introduction of the B film, thus restricting independent access to the bottom of a double feature, “an area previously occupied at times by independent product” (Muscio, 135). However, the independent producers of Poverty Row faced another problem with the government hearings. It was crucial that these producers differentiated themselves from independent producers working within the studio system, like Goldwyn and Selznick. The problem for the Poverty Row independents was that their cause as the ‘real’ independent producers was “weakened by the modest quality of their low-budget productions, for the most part serials, westerns, exploitation films of a sensationalistic character— indefensible from the point of view of civic groups” (135). Consequently, the independent producers lacked an ideological position that would impress public opinion, and, even when banded together, did not constitute a lobby large enough to counter a trade organization as large as the MPPDA (135). Consequently, the complaints of the independent Poverty Row producers fell on deaf ears and it was not until 1947, and the Paramount Decree, that government anti-monopoly laws would end Hollywood’s practice of block booking and blind selling.

The loss of position of the Poverty Row studios following the move by theater chains to a double feature policy is highlighted by Ulf Jonas Bjork’s study of exhibition practices in Seattle in 1938. Although his work only provides a one year glimpse at film exhibition, it does examine its complexities, particularly as

concerns the localized hierarchy of downtown and suburban theaters, affiliated and independent theaters, as well as the movement of a particular film through the various theaters and its positioning as both A and B film. In the Seattle market, chain theaters dominated independent exhibitors, with 28 out of a total of 41 theaters, both downtown and neighborhood (39). Although it was not the largest holder of theaters in the Seattle market, the Hamrick-Evergreen theater chain was affiliated with 20th Century Fox and their downtown theaters had the pick of the first run films from the major studios: 20th Century Fox, M.G.M., Warner Bros. Paramount, and R.K.O., while the other first-run houses relied upon the new releases of the minor Hollywood studios: Columbia, Universal and United Artists, as well as Republic, Grand National and Monogram (40-41). Moreover, Bjork notes in an important observation, the neighborhood theaters in Seattle, both affiliated and independent, were showing primarily subsequent-run double features programmed with films from the Hollywood studios rather than independent films. For example, the Egyptian theater, which was part of the Hamrick-Evergreen chain, had a double feature of *Stage Door* (RKO, 1937) in top position and *Back In Circulation* (Warner Bros., 1937) as supporting B feature on January 21st. One month later, *Back in Circulation* was booked as the bottom half of the double feature in three different theaters. The film was then booked as the A feature with the *That Certain Woman* (Warner Bros. 1937) in the B position. It was then exhibited at the smaller Madrona Theater supported by *Portia on Trial* (Republic, 1937). Overall the film was exhibited in 17 theaters: seven times as the supporting B feature and ten times as the leading A feature. It was last booked

with the B western *Forlorn River* (Paramount, 1937) (45-46). Bjork's tracing of the movements of *Back in Circulation* are interesting for they demonstrate how the double feature in the neighbourhood theatres was now dominated by subsequent-run Hollywood films rather than Poverty Row features. Bjork also notes that the majority of the product from the B studios (Republic, Grand National, and Monogram) was being shown in independent downtown houses, the Palomar and the Colonial, which were barred from access to major studio production. In addition, Bjork notes that only a few Poverty Row films received any Seattle exhibition and that they were limited to a minimal single run booking (43-44). Bjork provides a momentary glimpse into the complicated networks of film exhibition, but his work also provides insight into the status of Poverty Row after 1935. The once prominent independent producers of Poverty Row had been supplanted by the so-called B studios of Republic, Grand National, and Monogram, and the Poverty Row share of the mainstream exhibition market was reduced to a few scant bookings.

Between 1935 and 1938, the independent Poverty Row studios found themselves largely pushed to the margins of film exhibition by forces from outside of their own field of production. Initially, the rise of the double feature was thought to be an opportunity for independent Poverty Row producers to increase their share of the market; instead, it proved to be their undoing. The use of the double feature program in studio affiliated theater chains ushered in the Hollywood B film, as well as leading to the emergence of the new Poverty Row conglomerate companies, or B studios, like Republic. Consequently, the

remaining Poverty Row companies were increasingly marginalized, and forced to rely upon the low-rent grindhouses markets for cheap action films.

The Hollywood B Film

Double features had been a marginal practice for two decades, but the economic hardships of the Depression increased the need of movie theaters to boost box-office receipts on slower nights. As a result, between 1933 and 1935, the programming of double features escalated dramatically, especially in theater chains affiliated with Hollywood studio distribution. However, as *Variety* reported, affiliated exhibitors were having problems creating viable double features with the releases available from the Hollywood studios. One exhibitor complained after developing a dual program of *The Lives of the Bengal Lancers* (Paramount, 1935) and *David Copperfield* (M.G.M., 1935), which created a program that ran until 1:30 AM, while another complained that a double features of *Whipsaw* (M.G.M., 1935) and *Mary Burns, Fugitive* (Paramount, 1935) amounted to two films with different casts but nearly identical storylines (“H’woods Forgotten Men”). Thus, exhibitors issued a demand for films that would be suitable for creating a double bill.

Exhibitors, who rarely get their complaints to the ears of the producers, have yelled about the product situation. They want ‘B’ pictures and they would like to get small-budgeted pictures with a mix of comedy and action. These

would help balance their bills [...] The second-picture, when the main feature is as most always is—a drama—should be something they could look at and be entertained. Second picture, exhibitors contend, need not be a draw picture. Big names mean little of nothing. All they want is something that won't keep the fans out of the theaters. Ideal picture is the comedy-action type with a flock of recognizable names. Just as long as the cast doesn't look like strangers, it's jake with the theater operators. ("H'wood's Forgotten Men")

Although this *Variety* report might be read as propaganda from the studios, expressing their overt opposition to double feature programs, it does lay out the minimum requirements for B film production. It might be seen, as well, as priming and preparing of exhibitors for the forthcoming studio made B films.

In order for B film production to be profitable for producers and exhibitors as well as palatable for audiences, it had to meet certain criteria. First, the film had to be produced on a small budget—generally between \$75,000 and \$80,000 dollars at a time when the average A film cost around \$350,000 (Flynn and McCarthy, 17). Also, a B film was rented to exhibitors for a flat fee, unlike A films that were distributed on a percentage basis, which meant that a studio B film would always make a small return (Taves, 314). A studio B film also had to meet certain requirements allowing it to fit within an enjoyable evening's entertainment. In other words, it had to have a short running time—from 55 to 70

minutes—in order to accompany a longer A film of approximately 90 minutes. Moreover, a B film had to have a wide appeal for mass audiences; hence these films had to be generically multivalent with a balanced mix of action, romance, and comedy. The most successful Hollywood B films tended to be either mysteries or light family dramas, as these types of films lent themselves well to mass appeal with moments of mystery and drama mixed with romance, comedy, and occasionally a song or two. Moreover, the new B films had to be quick and cheap to make. They required a minimum of interior sets, and they were usually centered around the adventures of one central character, such as Dr. Kildare, Dr. Christian, Andy Hardy, Henry Aldrich, Mr. Moto, The Saint, Blondie, 'Torchy' Blane, Brick Bradford, and Charlie Chan. These character-driven B film series not only developed audience followings, but were economical too. Reoccurring characters eliminated the need for extraneous explanation and introduction; instead, the films could move briskly into narrative action. This familiarity also aided in the concealment of hackneyed plots and threadbare storylines by presenting viewers with the continuing adventures of a favorite character.

The production of B westerns by the Hollywood studios mirrored that of the B film. They were produced on greatly limited budgets, they had hour-long running times, they use back lots and second-hand interior sets, often featured rehashed narratives, and presented the continuing adventures of favorite cowboy heroes. However, the low-budget B western was treated different from that of the standard B film. Within the industry, the low-budget western was regarded as an entity unto itself, and segregated on release schedules from the rest of the product

(Miller 1976, 8). This division was necessary because not all theaters would book B westerns. These low-budget westerns were generally only booked for Saturday matinees, or double features in theaters that specialized in western action fare. However, as they had with non-western the B films, the Hollywood studios were also re-entering the market for low-budget westerns. After the big box-office flop of *The Big Trail* in 1931, and facing the downturn associated with the Depression, the Hollywood studios rid themselves of all their cowboy stars, with the exception of Buck Jones, who remained at Universal. However, with their mid-decade reentry into the low-budget western market, the Hollywood studios had to develop new cowboy stars. George O'Brien who, was the leading cowboy star at Fox, left the studio in 1934 and signed with Sol Lesser, making low-budget westerns under the banners of Atherton Pictures and Principal Pictures, both of which were distributed through Fox, before signing with R.K.O. in 1938. The biggest draws for the new Hollywood low-budget westerns were their stable of new cowboy heroes, some of which were singing cowboys. Dick Foran at Warner Bros., Bob Baker at Universal, Larry 'Buster' Crabbe at Paramount, and Robert 'Bob' Allen and Charles Starrett at Columbia, all began western film series with the Hollywood studios. Some would only last a few years, while others, like Starrett as the 'Durango Kid', would continue until the late 1940s (see Miller 1976).

The most important cowboy to appear in mid-decade was Hopalong Cassidy. The 'Hoppy' films were produced independently by Harry Sherman and distributed through Paramount. Sherman began his career in the film business as a film distributor and roadshowed D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*. In the 1930s,

he was an executive for the Poverty Row firm, Majestic Pictures, and produced the company's first release, the now lost film *Today* (1930). Sherman was astute enough to recognize that, by 1935, the States Rights market was "drying up fast" and that "an indie producer didn't stand a chance unless he was able to acquire distribution through a major company." Thus, Sherman was able to "cook up a deal by which he could release through Paramount" (95). The Hopalong Cassidy films were based upon the character created by Clarence E. Mulford. This literary connection was part of the appeal of these films for Paramount as the company had had considerable success with low-budget westerns based upon the works of Zane Grey, many of which starred Randolph Scott and, later, 'Buster' Crabbe. The 'Hoppy' stories which were extremely popular, depicted the title character as a "wizen, bow-legged, salty cuss with a penchant for getting into and out of trouble with clocklike regularity," and featured as much humor as action (95). Thus, the Hopalong Cassidy stories were ideal for B film production, with their continuing central character, as well as their blend of action and humor. William Boyd, a veteran of many Cecil B. DeMille silent films, was cast as the titular figure; however, Boyd did not fit the literary description of the Mulford character. Instead, with Boyd, 'Hoppy' became a modernized patriarchal figure for his two companions: the young juvenile romantic lead Johnny Nelson, played by James Ellison, and comic relief and old curmudgeon George 'Gabby' Hayes, who played Uncle Ben in the first film, and Bartender Spike in the second, before settling into the character of 'Windy' in the third and subsequent films. What distinguished the Hopalong films from other low-budget westerns of this type, besides their popular

literary background, was the triumvirate character structure of the narrative. By having three central characters between whom the action might be switched, the films were able to increase their narrative pacing compared to that of the standard singular cowboy films, which involved far too many sequences of riding back and forth. Moreover, this tripartite structure also allowed the films to move between the romantic storylines of the Johnny character, the comedic adventures of ‘Windy’ and the stalwart heroism of ‘Hoppy’. This formula became extremely popular with audiences and the Hopalong films were often booked into theaters that would forgo such western fare (97). The Cassidy series would continue until 1948 with a total of 66 films. The films were then sold for television broadcast and were so popular that a television series was created, running from 1952 to 1954.

It should also be mentioned that, during the mid-1930s, movie serials were also modernized and updated. Serials had been one of the foundations of the early silent cinema when Pathé of France sent Louis J. Gasnier to the U.S. to make *The Perils of Pauline* 1914, but by the early 1920s, and the end of the storefront nickelodeon era, the serial began to decline in popularity, being relegated to the lower strata of working class and juvenile audiences. By 1929, with the merger of Pathé into R.K.O., Universal became the leading, and only Hollywood studio, making chapterplays, supplying these films to affiliated theaters for Saturday matinees. For the most part, serial production changed little from the successes of the silent era into the early sound period. Regardless of generic settings, these films featured the same old hooded-villains, damsels in distress, stalwart heroes,

lots of thrills, stunts, fights, and cliffhanger endings that were becoming all too predictable. During the early 1930s, the Universal serials, under the budget conscious eye of Henry McCrea, became cheap and dull affairs, until the company decided to look for new inspiration in the pages of newspaper comic strips. The state of serial production had become so low that *Variety* announced “Decay of Serials Blamed on Kids being too Wise” and claimed that the production of serials had reached its lowest ebb with only eight serials schedules for production, overall in 1935 (“Decay of Serials”).

In 1934, Universal released *Tailspin Tommy*, followed by *Tailspin Tommy and the Great Air Mystery* in 1935. Both serials were based upon the comic strip character created by Hal Forrest. These two serials proved so popular that Universal entered into an arrangement with King Features for more newspaper comic strip characters for their serial production, which included *Flash Gordon*, *The Adventures of Frank Merrill*, and *Ace Drummond* (all 1936), *Jungle Jim*, *Radio Patrol*, *Secret Agent X-9*, and *Tim Tyler' Luck* (all 1937), *Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars* (1938) and *Buck Rogers* (1939). In 1937, Columbia Pictures entered the chapterplay market by hiring old-time Poverty Row producer Louis Weiss of Weiss Brothers Artlcass. Weiss had been making movie serials under the banner of Stage and Screen Productions, and Columbia needed a producer experienced in producing serials within the constraint of the low-budget given by Columbia executives. Weiss produced three chapterplays all co-written by his longtime co-producer and screenwriter George W. Merrick; however, the Weiss serials served only to get Columbia started, and, in 1938, Weiss left the studio. Columbia also

adapted several popular characters from radio, newspapers, pulp magazines, and western lore for their movie serials, which included *The Adventures of Wild Bill Hickok* and *The Spider's Web* (both 1938), *Mandrake the Magician* and *Overland with Kit Carson* (both 1939), *The Shadow* and *Terry and the Pirates* (both 1940). The mid-decade revamping of serial production changed the target audience of these films from a general adventure audience to a more specifically juvenile focused audience base. Part of this reorganization was centered on the development of popular comic strip characters, but, as we will see later with the serials of Republic Pictures, the juvenile focus of serial production was only a part of the overall move to modernize chapterplays.

The B Film Factories

The so-called B film factories of Republic, Grand National, and Monogram are better understood as conglomerate Poverty Row companies (Gomery 2005, 167-172). These new production companies were a conglomeration of smaller, financially troubled, independent Poverty Row companies. Although their roots are found with the older independent production companies, these new conglomerate companies differed in that they had complete control over their film distribution and did not rely upon external film exchanges or the States Right system to get their films to market. Moreover, the conglomerates were able to invest in studio property and no longer use rental studio facilities. These developments meant that these new conglomerate studios

could invest in updating and modernizing their film practice, thus enabling them to compete with, and sometimes surpass, the new Hollywood B. As *New York Times* films columnist Douglas W. Churchill commented:

There is little left of Poverty Row. The B film from the major lots which were calculated to do away with the independent competition have, to some extent, accomplished their purpose. But if the lads with short money and long hopes have fallen by the wayside, the more substantial independents have prospered and have turned the second-grade films film the big studios into ammunition for their own cause. (X4)

Thus, the Hollywood B film, which was intended to eliminate independent film production, became a catalyst within Poverty Row film production by forcing the reorganization of corporate structures and mode of film practice to create the new conglomerate Poverty Row companies.

Republic: the First Conglomerate

In 1935, Herbert J. Yates' Consolidated Film Laboratories foreclosed on several independent Poverty Row production companies and merged them into Republic Pictures. The creation of Republic Pictures was a calculated move on the part of Yates. His Consolidated Film Labs was not only the processing facility for a number of independent Poverty Row companies, but it also served as a source of financing for many of them. When these companies became overextended and

owed money to Consolidated, Yates made his move and foreclosed. The companies were Ray Johnston's Monogram Pictures, Nat Levine's Mascot Pictures, H. M. Hoffman's Liberty Pictures, and Majestic Pictures under Phil Goldstone and Larry Darmour, as well as often overlooked George A. Hirliman's Winchester Pictures, which had completed production of four films but had yet to release them, and later in 1936, Republic took over A. W. Hackel's Supreme Pictures.¹³ Moreover, Republic set out from the beginning to be a different type of low-budget independent production company. As Peter Stanfield noted:

By May 1935 Republic was responding to exhibitors' demands and increased its annual production to twenty-six features and sixteen westerns. The studio promoted its improvements in production values by announcing that it was "not aiming to make pictures for double-bills." Because all films were double billed at the time, Republic's declaration was a signal to independent exhibitors of its intention to produce a quality product that could sell on its merits. Republic used generic repositioning as part of its drive to disassociate itself from its shoddy predecessors; an advertisement in the trade press sold one of its films in the following manner: "Not a western in the strict interpretation of that term, it is an outdoor, action-packed adventure yarns which carries a charming romantic contrast to its vibrant drama." (82-83)

Thus, the new company was determined to separate itself from its Poverty Row origins but also specifically aimed its better financed, new and improved, productions at mid-to high end exhibition markets, thus gaining access to

¹³ Tuska incorrectly includes Chesterfield Motion Picture Corporation among the companies foreclosed upon by Republic in 1935. Chesterfield, which released its last film in 1937, was associated with First Division, which was absorbed into Grand National. Tzioumakis continues this error in his history of American Independent Cinema.

affiliated theater chains supplying films for double features (Flynn and McCarthy, 13-43).

Yates' foreclosure upon these companies was based on more complex motives than the simple fact that they owed him money or that he desired to enter film production. Each company contained specific assets that Yates wanted, and needed, to make Republic more than just another Poverty Row company. Monogram had film exchanges in 39 cities, but it also had the contract for cowboy star John Wayne. At the time, Mascot was the number two producer of movie serials, after Universal, but the company had several other desirable assets, including its own exchange system, the contracts for singing cowboy Gene Autry and comic sidekick 'Smiley' Burnett, and the story rights to William Colt McDonald's western novels featuring "The Three Mesquiteers". As well, Mascot not only held the lease on the old Mack Sennett studio lot, but also owned the adjoining undeveloped property. Liberty provided its exchange system, as well as several already produced and unreleased films, while Majestic and Winchester also provided unreleased films needed to fill out Republic's first season's release schedule. When Republic absorbed Supreme Pictures, the company had contracts with cowboy stars Johnny Mack Brown and Bob Steele, thus providing Republic with low-budget westerns until 1938 when the Supreme name disappeared. Moreover, Republic initially needed producers with experience in low-budget film production. Ray Johnston and Trem Carr from Monogram stayed on, as did Nat Levine as head of Republic's serial production. Goldstone and Darmour left for opportunities with the majors, while Hoffman, Hirliman, and Hackel

continued with other Poverty Row productions. However, Johnston and Carr's relationship with Yates was tumultuous and after several boardroom disputes they left the company. Levine also found Yates difficult to work with and left Republic shortly thereafter (see Martin and Hurst).

Republic was able to establish a unique position within the film industry, as Richard Maurice Hurst described it, between Poverty Row and the majors. In other words, Republic placed itself above the old-time low-budget productions of Poverty Row, becoming the largest non-Hollywood film studio and able to compete with the lower-end productions of the majors, but it was not strong enough to become a full-fledged member of the studio system. Republic's new market strength was built upon two unique aspects of its film practice. First, the company owned Consolidated Film Laboratories, which meant that the company did not have to outsource its film processing and could save on production costs. Second, when the company foreclosed on Monogram, Mascot, Majestic, and Liberty, it took over their various film exchanges. Although each of these companies had its own exchanges they were not able to access every regional market and had to rely on external exchange companies to access smaller markets. Republic was able to combine these outlets to create its own national network and keeping distribution profits for itself. Together, these two aspects of Republic's film practice enabled the company to increase its production budgets and produce films and serials to the point at which they were on par with those of minor studios like Universal and Columbia. Republic was also able to produce a few carefully budgeted A films (see Flynn and McCarthy).

Republic's first release was *Westward Ho!* (1935), an outdoor, action-packed adventure yarn starring John Wayne that merely reproduced the Lone Star/Monogram formula only with a larger budget that allowed for better cinematography and more location shooting. It was produced by Paul Malvern and directed by Robert North Bradbury. In total, Wayne made seven westerns at Republic, and, as Don Miller describes, these films mark the transition between the last of the Monogram style and the beginning of the new Republic style (Miller 1976, 67-70). As Republic began modernizing its western product the John Wayne westerns were transformed from the old Monogram-style films directed by Robert North Bradbury and Carl Pierson to the newer Republic-styled films directed by Joseph Kane and Mack V. Wright. This may seem like a minor distinction, but, along with the improved production values, the Kane and Wright films were better paced, faster moving, and had less superfluous intermediary footage of riding back and forth from location to location. Thus, the Republic westerns became easily distinguishable from early and contemporary Poverty Row westerns though their faster narrative pace and better production values.

In 1935, Republic produced its first Gene Autry musical western, *Tumbling Tumbleweeds*. Autry had been a popular stage and radio performer before entering the movies. His first appearance was in the Mascot Pictures, Ken Maynard western *In Old Santa Fe* (1934). Maynard, however, was difficult to handle and, after a dispute with Mascot head Nat Levine, Levine replaced Maynard with Autry, in the science fiction western serial called *The Phantom Empire* (1934). The story was rewritten in order to feature the singing cowboy by

centering the narrative on his radio show and the race to return to the broadcast from his various adventures in the underground city of Murania. Yates knew of Autry's star potential as he already owned Autry's recording label, and he knew he could successfully exploit Autry's multimedia potential in the fields of music recording, radio and film (Stanfield, 83). *Tumbling Tumbleweeds* was the first directorial effort for film editor Joseph Kane, and Autry was backed by 'Smiley' Burnett and Frankie Marvin, who had performed on Autry's radio show. Moreover, as Peter Stanfield points out, *Tumbling Tumbleweeds* also marks a similar mid-decade transition between the old and the new, similar to that seen in the John Wayne westerns, through the various musical performances in the film.

The films' evocation of minstrels and cowboys posits a circulation of meaning that transforms relations between the old and the new, the traditional and the invented; just as old-time music presents itself as both anachronistic and contemporary, the musical performances' play with history and the present demarcates the larger development of the singing western. (104)

Stanfield sets the development of the singing cowboy within the mid-decade shift from older to newer forms of cultural production and, in particular, in relation to the Republic studio's modernization of low-budget film production.

In 1936, Republic introduced its 'Three Mesquiteers' series with an eponymously titled film featuring Robert Livingstone, Ray Corrigan, and Syd Saylor as the heroic trio. The second film, *Ghost Town Gold* (1936), replaced Saylor with Max Terhune and his ventriloquist dummy Elmer. These films had considerably lower budgets than the Wayne and Autry westerns; moreover, they featured a tripartite narrative structure, like that of the Hopalong Cassidy films.

They divided the narrative labor—action, romance and comedy—amongst the three characters. These films, too, moved at a faster pace than the average Poverty Row western as well as featuring better sets, stories, cinematography, and effects. The ‘Three Mesquiteers’ proved very popular and the series ran until 1943, although the Mesquiteers would undergo ten different changes to the line-up (Martin, 311-312).

Republic began its serial releases with the last two Mascot serials: *The Adventures of Rex and Rinty* (1935) starring Rex the Wonder Horse and Rin Tin Tin Jr., and *The Fighting Marines* (1935) with Grant Withers and Adrian Morris. The following year, Republic issued its first official serial, *Darkest Africa*, starring famed lion tamer Clyde Beatty in a semi-sequel to his 1934 Mascot serial *The Lost Jungle* and incorporating footage from the earlier Beatty films. Mascot had been one of the leading producers of movie serials and had developed techniques for speeding up production and narrative. Mascot pioneered the use of two film directors for their serials. One director would work on the outdoor action scenes and the other director worked on interior studio and dialogue scenes. This strategy also reduced post-production turn around and enabled a film to hit the market faster. This system of production was continued with Republic serials, but unlike Mascot, who was employing old-time action directors like Armand Schaefer and Colbert Clark, Republic elevated film editors to the director’s chair, most notably Joseph Kane, John English and William Witney, thus increasing the narrative pace of the films, but also intensifying the action sequences through quicker cuts in chase and fight scenes (Miller 1973, 104). Republic’s serial

production was also improved by the addition of musical scores. Both *Darkest Africa* and *Undersea Kingdom* featured the musical scores of Harry Grey, which not only enhanced the overall production, but also heightened the suspense and excitement of the films (Turner and Price, 219 and 239).

Mascot also developed the use of multiple central characters in their serials, not only to speed up the action and to create narrative subterfuge and perilous cliffhanger endings, but also, once again, to shorten production time as second units could be filming simultaneously with different characters. For instance, *The Vanishing Legion* (1931) divides its narrative action between Harry Carey, Edwina Booth, Frankie Darro, and Rex the Wonder Horse, and *Burn 'em Up Barnes* (1934) splits its action between Jack Mulhall, Lola Lane, Frankie Darro and Julian Rivero. These were elements continued by Republic in their serial production. *Darkest Africa* divides its action between its three main characters; in their following release, *Undersea Kingdom* (1936), the action is divided between Ray 'Crash' Corrigan, Lois Wilde, Lee Van Atta, and comic relief provided by 'Smiley' Burnett and Frankie Marvin.

Serials have generally been regarded as entertainment for children, but it was not until the mid-1930s, that producers began to specifically direct their production towards the juvenile audience demographic. Previously serials had been more general in their audience base, with romantic subplots akin to those found in low-budget westerns. Both *The Return of Chandu* (Principal, 1934) and *Queen of the Jungle* (Screen Attractions, 1935) have strong romantic plotlines. Moreover, when juvenile performers were featured in earlier serials, their

association with the hero was more of a buddy-buddy relationship as demonstrated by the numerous sidekick roles played by Frankie Darro for Mascot. At Republic, however, the juvenile roles were refocused towards a younger audience through a changing in the relationship between the hero and his younger companions that became akin to one of hero worship. Moreover, these new juvenile roles were cast with much younger performers than those played by Darro: Manuel King in *Darkest Africa*, Lee Van Atta in *Undersea Kingdom* and *Dick Tracy* (1937) and Sammy McKim in *The Painted Stallion* (1937). Republic serials also relied heavily on elements of science fiction. Although none of their futuristic productions was as ambitious as Universal's *Flash Gordon* films, Republic utilized futuristic elements like robots, televisions, death-rays, and fantastic aircraft. These elements, too, were geared towards juvenile audiences.

Despite all of Republic's attempts to modernize and improve its productions, the company still struggled to shake its Poverty Row roots. Many of Republic's film releases resembled early low-budget efforts. Films like *Exiled to Shanghai* (1937) and *The Hollywood Stadium Mystery* (1938) showed little improvement in their production and could easily be mistaken for films from other Poverty Row producers. Nevertheless, Republic was slowly shedding its unwanted Poverty Row elements. The company was replacing older film directors with new blood, as old-timers picked up in merger deals, like Bradbury, Sam Newfield, Phil Rosen, and William Nigh were slowly phased out, returning to lower level Poverty Row studios. In addition, cowboy stars Johnny Mack Brown and Bob Steele, whose careers had been declining for years and were picked up in

the Supreme deal, also returned to other Poverty Row studios after their contracts expired. And, as noted, producers Johnson, Carr and Levine also left Republic after disputes with Yates.

Republic Pictures was formed from the best elements from several of the older independent Poverty Row companies, while the chaff was quickly jettisoned. Under the control of Yates, the company was able to use its other holdings in film processing and recorded music, along with its self-contained distribution system, to increase its production budgets and improve the general quality of its films. This improvement was evident in its high-end westerns with Wayne and Autry, its lower-grade series westerns with 'The Three Mesquiteers' and its serial production. Moreover, by the end of the decade, Republic was also producing the occasional A level picture, like *Thou Shall Not Kill* (1939) starring Charles Bickford and *Dark Command* (1940) starring John Wayne and Claire Trevor and directed by Raoul Walsh. Republic's higher production budgets allowed the company to invest in new filmmakers, special effects and promotion of its stars. The company was able, as well, to improve its musical scores, and speed up the pace of its narratives. With its improved and modernized product, Republic was able to access the mid-grade affiliated double feature market, as well as the Saturday matinee market with its action-packed juvenile oriented serials.

Grand National: the Ill-fated Conglomerate

In 1935, First Division, the independent distribution wing of Pathé Laboratories, lost the distribution rights to Monogram Pictures when that company was taken over by Republic. Seeing trouble ahead, Pathé was approached by Edward L. Alperson, film exchange manager and film buyer for the independent Skouras Theater chain, to create a new company similar to Republic in corporate structure, level of production and focus on the mid-level, double feature market. As a result, in 1936, Grand National Pictures was formed as a production and distribution company for several independent producers, including George A. Hirliman, B.F. Zeidman, Zion Meyers, Max and Arthur Alexander, Douglas MacLean, and Edward Finney. The company would use the First Division exchange system and, with the financial backing of Pathé, it could produce higher quality films for both the affiliated and independent double feature markets. The company would also use the Pathé studios on Santa Monica Boulevard (Fernett 1988, 99). However, the new company had difficulties meeting the demand for new productions, so Grand National got off to a less than auspicious beginning by re-releasing films from now defunct production companies that had distributed through the First Division exchanges, including Chesterfield-Invincible, Regal, Diversion, Colony, and Normandy (Pitts, 86-87, 116 and 301, and Okuda 1989, 3).

Grand National did, however, score a coup in 1936. After another fight with Warner Bros. executives, James Cagney left the studio and signed with Grand National. The first film produced was *The Great Guy* (1937) directed by John G. Blystone and produced by Douglas MacLean. The film centered on

Cagney, in a typical role, as a federal agent for the Bureau of Weights and Measures going after a short-weight racket. Although the film's production values were beneath those of Cagney's Warner Bros. films, it did fair box-office. However, Grand National floundered with their next Cagney film. Alperson owned the rights to a Rowland Brown story called "Angels with Dirty Faces," but instead of producing that film, Alperson sold the story to Warner Bros. As an alternative, Alperson decided to produce a musical-comedy for Cagney, *Something to Sing About* (1937) directed by Victor Schertzinger and produced by Zion Meyer. The ill-conceived project went horribly over budget with a total cost of \$900,000. It was an enormous box-office flop. Cagney returned to Warner Bros. and the aspirations of Grand National were financially crippled by the debt it incurred with the failed production (Okuda 1989, 2).

The company did, however, survive and it continued to produce and distribute films, though it gave up its aim at higher level markets with A-level productions. Instead, Grand National focused on the cheaper B grade action films and westerns, and in distributing several British imports. Grand National had a significant distribution network in the UK, which would actually out-live the U.S. company, distributing films in England until the 1950s.¹⁴ George A. Hirliman provided the company with a string of espionage adventure films starring Conrad Nagel and directed by *Perils of Pauline* alumni Crane Wilbur and Louis J.

¹⁴ In his filmography of Grand National Pictures, Okuda lists two British films—Discoveries and Sons of the Sea (both 1939)—among the last releases of Grand National; however, there is no corroborating evidence that these films were, in fact, released in the United States, and, were mostly likely, only distributed by Grand National in the UK.

Gasnier. In addition, Grand National producer Edward Finney entered the singing cowboy market with the first Tex Ritter musical western, *Song of the Gringo* (1936). Ritter proved to be a popular singing cowboy, but he did not have the resources at his disposal to become an enormous cross-media star like Gene Autry (Stanfield, 90-91). Moreover, Ritter's films were hampered by their low budgets, unimaginative and repetitive storylines, and stodgy direction by Robert North Bradbury. Grand National also introduced the 'Sergeant Renfrew' series starring James Newill as a singing R.C.M.P. officer in *Renfrew of the Royal Mounted* (1937). Newill was not a true cowboy, unlike Autry and Ritter who were both songwriters and country and western performers, Newill was trained in light opera and his performance of Renfrew was closer to the baritone style of Nelson Eddy. These films too were hampered by their low-budgets and poor production values. Grand National also attempted to start several other western series, singing and non-singing, but to no avail. Ken Maynard starred in four films. The first two were produced by M. H. Hoffman while the latter two were produced by the Alexander Brothers. The company also employed various kinds of novelties to promote their westerns. One of these films, *Trigger Pals* (1939) starred tenor and orchestra leader Arthur Jarrett, while *Six-Gun Rhyhtm* (1939) starred ex-football star 'Tex' Fletcher, and the company produced four films featuring singing cowgirl Dorothy Page. By 1939, however, Grand National was in a severe financial crisis, having never fully recovered from the Cagney fiasco, and despite separate attempts to save the company, by producer Franklyn Warner and E. W. Hammonds of Educational Pictures, the company shut its doors in 1939. Grand

National's unreleased films were picked up by R.K.O., Universal and Columbia; while Tex Ritter and James Newill's 'Sergeant Renfrew' moved to Monogram, and Jarrett, Fletcher and Page faded into obscurity. However, the Grand National studio and back lot lived, used as a rental facility for several years before being purchased by Producers Releasing Corporation in 1942 (Fernett 1988, 176).

Monogram: The Reformed Conglomerate

After several disputes with Herbert J. Yates, W. Ray Johnson and Trem Carr left Republic and, in 1936, announced that they would be reviving Monogram Pictures. The revitalized Monogram resumed operations by the summer of 1937 with an ambitious release schedule of 40 feature films a year, as opposed to the 20-30 films a year the company released prior to the Republic merger (Okuda, 1987, 3). One can assume that, despite their differences with Yates, Johnson and Carr learned a great deal from their short time at Republic. The independent production and exhibition market had changed greatly between 1935 and 1937. There was no longer any need for programmer films with intermediate running times. Instead the demand was for hour-long B grade films with wide appeal, and westerns, lots of westerns. Johnson and Carr were able to reestablish a national distribution network and no longer had to rely upon other exchange operators like First Division. This enabled the company to retain more of the profits generated by its films and to increase its production budgets, if ever so slightly. Moreover, Monogram was able to secure its own studio space on the

corner of Hollywood Boulevard and Hoover Street, the former site of Ralph M. Like's International Studios (Fernett 1988, 144). By 1937, Monogram was ready to re-enter the market, rejuvenated with new facilities, new film stars, and a new production strategy aimed exclusively at the bottom half of the double feature.

Monogram also learned that the new market was primarily being driven by juvenile audiences. The company made a concerted effort to cater to this market with several film series aimed at juvenile interests, including a series with Jackie Moran and Marcia Mae Jones, a Jackie Cooper series, a Tailspin Tommy series starring Johnny Trent, and a Frankie Darro adventure/ mystery series, in which Darro co-starred with African American comedian Mantan Moreland. Moreland would prove to be a huge asset for Monogram as he was extremely popular with African American audiences, both in the big cities and in the South. Although the company would never place Moreland in a starring role, he played support in numerous Monogram films and when the company acquired the rights to Earl Derr Biggers' Charlie Chan character, Moreland was cast as his chauffeur, Birmingham Brown, and would often steal the show. In addition, Monogram started the Mr. Wong detective series based upon the Collier's Magazine stories by Hugh Wiley, and, in 1940, the company launched 'The East Side Kids' series made up of former members of 'The Dead-End Kids' and 'The Little Tough Guys'.

Monogram entered the singing cowboy market with Jack Randall, brother of Republic "mesquiteer" Robert Livingstone. Despite Randall's abilities as an

actor and a singer, his first film, *Riders of the Dawn* (1937), directed by Robert North Bradbury, was hampered by Monogram's production deficits.

He [Randall] was victimized by inept recording, photographed in close-up bobbing up and down in the saddle as he went through his number without quiver or quaver. It was so patently phony that even the smaller fry weren't fooled for a moment. Randall never managed to recover from this unimpressive musical beginning, and his other songs were greeted with audible squirming from the audience, thus taking the edge off a superior western. (Miller 1976, 134)

Nevertheless, Randall stayed with Monogram for twenty four westerns until 1940.

Other cowboy stars also joined Monogram: Tom Keene in 1937, Tim McCoy and Tex Ritter in 1938, James Newill's—Sergeant Renfrew—in 1939. In 1940, Monogram introduced "The Range Busters" series, a trio of cowboy heroes starring Ray 'Crash' Corrigan, John 'Dusty' King, and Max 'Alibi' Terhune, in what was a cheap copy of Republic's 'The Three Mesquiteers'.

The new Monogram also absorbed a number of old-time Poverty Row producers into its fold as producer-units in much the same fashion as the company had done previously with production-units like Paul Malvern's Lone Star Banner. William T. Lackey and I. E. Chadwick continued producing for Monogram, while Malvern would only periodically produce a film at Monogram, but the company was also joined by Lon Young from Chesterfield-Invincible, Ken Goldsmith, temporarily, before he moved to Universal, Dorothy Davenport from Willis Kent Productions, E. B. Derr from Crescent Pictures, Maurice Conn from Ambassador Pictures, and Edward Finney from Grand National (see Okuda 1987). The renewed Monogram became a substantial producer of low-budget films for the

low-end double feature and neighborhood market, though the company would never achieve the level of production or financial backing to challenge Republic's position within the film industry. Nevertheless, the conglomerate structure of the new Monogram, with its own studio facility and self contained distribution, distinguished itself from its earlier incarnation. These corporate resources, like Republic, enabled the company to marginally increase its production budgets and modernize its product. However, Monogram's new films became increasingly studio bound and limited to the use of one or two sets; even Monogram's westerns became more and more restricted to studio interiors and fisticuffs, rather than outdoor action and chase sequences. Modernization for Monogram did not mean increased status within the industry. Rather it meant a more compact and efficient mode of cheap film production.

Producers Releasing Corporation: The Last Conglomerate

As discussed in the previous chapter, by the end of the 1930s, there were only a handful of independent Poverty Row companies still producing films for the old States Rights market: the Alexander Brothers' Colony Pictures; Sam Katzman's Victory Pictures; Metropolitan, which released the films of Harry S. Webb and Bernard B. Ray; and the New York City-based States Rights distributor, Times Exchange, which released two films produced by Metropolitan but distributed through Times, as well as three British Imports, a documentary, and a different feature version cut from the serial *The Phantom Empire* titled *Men*

with Steele Faces; in addition there was the occasional exploitation film released by Kent and Kendis. The rapid decline of the independent Poverty Row studios was driven by a two distinct factors: increased competition from both the Hollywood B film and the development of the conglomerate Poverty Row companies, and the redirection of small local theaters to the exclusive programming of subsequent-run films, as documented by Bjork's study of Seattle film exhibition in 1938. As a result, the market for brand new independent Poverty Row films had been reduced to the marginal exhibition of urban grindhouse theatres; moreover, with such limited exhibition prospects, the remaining independent Poverty Row producers ceased production and abandoned the States Right system in 1940. This cessation of independent production did not mean that these Poverty Row producers stopped making films; rather, they simply moved into conglomerate status. Sam Katzman and Harry S. Webb moved to Monogram; while Bernard B. Ray and the Alexander brothers moved to the newly formed Producers Releasing Corporation.

In 1939, Ben Judell, a film distributor and former film producer for Progressive Pictures, started a new company called Producers Pictures. Judell decided that he would bypass the old States Rights system and distribute his pictures himself under the name Producers Distributing Corporation (P.D.C.) (not to be confused with the earlier P.D.C. of Cecil B. DeMille). His first release was the controversial *Hitler, Beast of Berlin* (1939) directed by Sam Newfield under the pseudonym Sherman Scott. The film's anti-German perspective raised a great deal of controversy among German immigrants and citizens of German ancestry;

however, the controversy also filled theaters and the film was a big success, at least by Poverty Row standards. The company followed it with the release of six more conventional genre films. However, Judell ran into financial problems and the fledgling company faced bankruptcy. In April of 1940, Sig Neufeld merged his eponymous production company with the struggling P.D.C. to form a new company, Producers Releasing Corporation. However, the company was still having financial difficulty and, in December of 1940, it was taken over by the Pathé Corporation (the corporate backer behind First Division and Grand National). This new conglomerate company, however, did not attempt to produce A level films, nor for that matter films that would compete with Hollywood B films. Instead, it stayed with low-budget action film production aimed at the remaining independent theaters of the urban grindhouses. In order to maintain the production levels of these 'quickie' films, the company began to incorporate many of the old-time Poverty Row producers who were struggling with the waning position of independent production. These included Sig Neufeld, who, drawing on his brother, Sam Newfield's rapid fire direction, accounted for the majority of the company's releases; the Alexander Brothers from Colony Pictures; E.B. Derr who had left Monogram; Bernard B. Ray from Reliable and Metropolitan; and George R. Batcheller from Chesterfield, who also served as an executive for the company. By 1941, Producers Releasing Company had taken over the lowest level of Poverty Row film production and incorporated the last of the independent Poverty Row producers, thus bringing the independent phase of Poverty Row production to an end (see Okuda 1989 and Miller 2002).

Chapter Five: Poverty Row as Residual Film Practice.

It is in the film that the work of art is most susceptible to becoming worn out

Fashion is an indispensable factor in the acceleration of the process of becoming worn out (Benjamin 2002, 141)

By the end of the 1920s, the independent film industry was in a steady decline, and it had been reduced to a small number of independent producers largely cut-off from access to the higher-end studio-affiliated exhibition networks. Consequently, independent, non-Hollywood studios film production seemed destined for the ‘dustbin of history’. The collapse of the stock market in 1929, however, and resulting economic hardship changed the declining fortunes of independent production. Almost overnight, the financially overextended Hollywood studios retreated to the safe confines of their top-flight theaters and high quality film productions, virtually abandoning the small market independent theaters and the production of films needed to supply these outlets. As *Variety* reported in 1931:

Contemplated shortage of features this year, through the cutting of feature talker programs by the majors, has a number of independents planning increased budgets for their programs. A number of new companies also have been encouraged to enter the indie field. (“Indies 60 Features”)

Subsequently, the descending fortunes of the independent Poverty Row studios were reversed, if only temporarily, as the Poverty Row studios increased their film production and new production companies appeared. However, this revitalization of the low-budget, independent film industry was not enough to re-establish the competitive position it had occupied in the 1920s. Instead, the Poverty Row studios, along with their corresponding cultural and social institutions—their separate distribution networks, independently owned exhibition sites, and working-class audiences—re-emerged within the field of 1930s American cinema as residual cultural producers.

Raymond Williams' definition of residual cultural practice does not merely provide a model with which we may examine the position held by smaller producers within a greater field, in this case, the position of Poverty Row studios within the larger field of 1930s American cinema. It also characterizes the complex and often contradictory relationship between dominant producer and residual producers, between the Hollywood studios and those of Poverty Row. As Williams states:

The residual, by definition, had been effectively formed in the past, but is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. Thus certain experiences, meanings and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practices on the basis of the residue—cultural as well as social—of some previous social or cultural institution or formation. (122)

In order not only to understand Poverty Row's position within the film industry, but also to critically engage with the films produced within it, we must see these

films through the same lens as that by which we understand the position of Poverty Row producers within the film industry. Just as Poverty Row might be seen as residual producers, so their films must be analyzed in terms of their residual character. Recognition of this residual character challenges the scholarly understanding of these films as subversive violations of the classical Hollywood model, as we have seen with *The Fighting Pilot* and *Big Calibre*. In particular, the films of Poverty Row must be engaged with in the terms of their perpetuation, within the present, of residual elements from cinema's past.

The Residual Classical Model

Superficially, Poverty Row's mode of film practice echoed the classical Hollywood model. Both shared a basic linear narrative construction, and the rudimentary functions of filmmaking: editing, framing, composition, and lighting. Each utilized the same type of film equipment, camera, sound equipment, studio facilities, and even at times, such personnel as actors and actresses, directors, and cinematographers. Moreover, Poverty Row, like Hollywood, was a complex system of film production in which film aesthetics were deeply rooted in an overall system of film practice. As Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson have explained with regards to the classical Hollywood model:

A mode of film practice, then, consists of a set of widely held stylistic norms sustained by and sustaining an integral mode of film production. [...] These formal and stylistic norms will be created, shaped, and supported within a mode of film production—a characteristic ensemble of particular ways of conceiving and executing the work of filmmaking. (xiv)

In contrast to the Hollywood studios, with their progressive drive to bigger and better films, the mode of production of Poverty Row companies was based on cheapness, on the production of low-budget films for low-profit markets. The low-budget producers of Poverty Row were out to make a fast buck by producing cheap entertainment for marginal working-class audiences, and the cheapest way to maintain a small budget was to forego innovation and perpetuate previously established film aesthetics even to the point of their antiquation.

During the 1930s, the marginality, low-budget film production and residual character of Poverty Row films were often treated by the popular press as novelties, often with incredulity. Poverty Row was often seen as a throwback to the past, an oddity or curiosity. As Frank Condon noted, “the good ship Poverty Row is still plowing the stormy seas of Cinemania despite the frequent rumors to the contrary, although talking pictures nearly sank her with all on board” (30). At times, the marginality of Poverty Row rendered it imperceptible to mainstream middle class culture and commentators would often express a sense of surprise at its very existence. Douglas W. Churchill declared that “probably few, if any, customers know the names of Chesterfield or Invincible. As a matter of fact, neither concern makes much to-do around Hollywood” (X4). Paul Harrison in the *Washington Post* wrote that “there’s a place in talkietown that its distinguished residence never see, and the movie fans never hear about, and the Chamber of Commerce never mentions—Poverty Row” (AA3). Similarly, Philip K. Scheuer discussed the production of quickies: “Yet pictures like this—pictures you never hear about, but which return a tidy profit to their backers—continue to be made”

(C1). Poverty Row was largely invisible to the mainstream press and became widely recognized as a cinematic ‘other’, a cheap low-end producer whose product was distinct from the films of Hollywood. As Sheilah Graham stated, in her syndicated column, “there are approximately, 65 ‘quickie’ companies in Hollywood’s Poverty Row making potboilers for the double-bill market and for small communities that prefer cheap action and western pictures to the million-dollar product demanded by the big city amphitheaters” (A1).¹⁵

Through the 1930s, the marginalization and isolation of Poverty Row film practice had much to do with the ways in which its mode of production was based upon cheapness, and its formal and stylistic norms created, shaped, and supported within a mode of cheap film production. In 1934, Frank Condon discussed several of Poverty Row’s parsimonious production strategies for *The Saturday Evening Post*. Among the numerous examples he provides, he discusses the use of the city as ready-made film location.

Suppose you require the illusion of a freight train in rapid motion, and are thinking of nothing but the costs. You cannot hire a regular freight train, so what do you do? You load cameras aboard a motor truck and trundle over to Slauson Avenue, Los Angeles City, where there is a freight track parallel with the street and plenty of motionless cars filled with furniture and motor-car parts. Passing along

¹⁵ The Sheilah Graham article was also published anonymously under the title “Hollywood Today,” in the *Atlanta Constitution* on March 20th, 1937.

beside the inert box cars, your cameraman grinds slowly, which produces high speed on the screen, and give you a train roaring through the night at sixty miles an hour, with the hero escaping over the roofs and persons leaping into a ditch. You thus acquire a costly train scene for nothing, without real injury to anyone.

(30)

The example offered here points to one of Poverty Row's cost-cutting measures that represented more than just penny-pinching filmmaking, but shaped aesthetic strategies central to its mode of film practice. These include the rather improvised use of Los Angeles location shooting, as cast and crew would just star filming alongside of a parked freight train, using the time-old technique of under-cranking the camera in order to produce the effect of rapid motion.

The most conspicuous elements within Poverty Row's residual film aesthetics were the repeated use of standing film sets, and the recycling of images from other cinematic sources, including documentary newsreel footage, silent films, and even early 'talkies.' Throughout the independent phase, the majority of Poverty Row studios did not own their own studio space; as a result, they rented sound stages from a number of limited sources, including the rental facilities of International, Tec-Art, and Talisman, as well as renting studio space from various other studios, including Tiffany, Educational, Universal, and the Pathé Culver City lot primarily used by R.K.O. (Fernett 1988, 162-166 and 184-188). There were, also, at least two Poverty Row films shot on the East Coast. *The Crime of Dr. Crespi* (Liberty/ Republic, 1935) was shot at the old Biograph studio in The

Bronx (Turner and Price, 200). And, *The Warning Shadow* (Peerless, 1932) was shot at the Metropolitan studio in Fort Lee, New Jersey, although the film was never completed, the finished footage was later used in *Mr. Broadway* (Greenblatt, 1933) (Pitts, 269). In addition, there were several outdoor studio lots available for westerns and other adventures films, including the Iverson Ranch, Vasquez Rocks, Corriganville, Chatsworth, and the Selig Zoo (Fernett 1988, 186-187 and 211). This limited and repeated use of studio space often created a sense of *déjà vu*, as sound stages would be used by several different films, redressed with different furniture and camera angles. The most notable and recognizable reuses of standing sets were on the Universal and R.K.O. lots. *The Phantom* (Weiss Brothers Artclass, 1931) was partially shot on the sets of *The Cat and the Canary* (Universal, 1927). The sets from *Dracula* (Universal, 1931), reappear in *White Zombie* (Halperin/ United Artists, 1932) and that film also used sets and furnishing from other Universal films such as *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923), *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1927), *The Cat and the Canary* (1927) and *Dracula* (1931). In addition, *The Vampire Bat* (Majestic, 1933) used standing sets left over from *Dracula* and *Frankenstein* (1931); *Green Eyes* (Chesterfield, 1934) used sets from *The Secret of the Blue Room* (Universal, 1933); and the climatic chase of *The Live Wire* (Reliable, 1935) was also filmed on the Carfax Abbey set from *Dracula*. At the Pathé lot in Culver City several productions reused sets from earlier R.K.O. films, including *Picture Brides* (Allied, 1934) which was filmed on the jungle sets used in *The Most Dangerous Game* (R.K.O., 1932) and *King Kong* (R.K.O., 1933); while the serial *The Return of Chandu* (Principal, 1934) used sets

from *King Kong, Son of Kong* (R.K.O. 1933) and the remains of Cecil B. DeMille's *King of Kings* (Pathé, 1927) (Turner and Price, 66-67, 98, 137, 147, and 157). The availability of rental studio space began to decrease, however, as the decade wore on. By 1937, major studio space at Universal and the R.K.O.–Pathé lot were completely filled with their own productions; while the majority of rental studios were being occupied by studio-independents like David Selznick, David L. Leow or Sol Lesser, or by the larger conglomerate producers like Douglas McLean and George A. Hirliman, thus drastically limiting the access of Poverty Row producers to studio facilities (Scheuer, C1).

In addition to the reuse of standing sets, Poverty Row films also employed a great deal of stock footage taken from a variety of sources. The use of stock footage was standard practice for creating establishing shots, and for various scene transitions. Footage of ocean liners, airplanes, newspaper printing presses and delivery trucks, telegraph and telephone operators were commonplace throughout all levels of film production as establishing shots, but within Poverty Row's aesthetic structure, these stock images become part of its residual film practice. These stock images were usually scratchy, grainy and mismatched images taken from considerably older sources that were easily recognizable as outdated footage. *Variety* noted the "library clips about as poor as can be," with respect to the use of stock footage in the film *Lovebound* (Peerless, 1932) ("Lovebound"). Often, in Poverty Row films, stock footage was used to provide something that could not be otherwise afforded or to pad out the short running time of the film. As Condon recounted, one quickie producer extended his film,

and saved money, by simply flipping the negative of riding scenes in order to pad out a western by adding 600 feet (Condon, 64). In *Captured in Chinatown: A Police Melodrama* (Superior Talking Pictures, 1935) the characters attend a stock footage polo match, which is completely unmotivated by the narrative and mostly likely included because the film needed padding out (and even with this sequence it only reaches a running time of fifty minutes) and because the producer probably had the stock laying around anyway. In the ultra-cheap South Seas adventure, *Wolves of the Sea* (Kendis, 1936) the comely Jean Carmen is stranded on a tropical isle surrounded (via stock footage) by the wildest assortment of flora and fauna ever found in one feature (Pitts, 196). Similarly, *Death in the Air*, also known as *Pilot X* (Fanchon Royer/ Puritan, 1935), created all of its aerial footage from stock images culled from newreels and earlier aviation films, and the film also featured the same plane crash at least five times (292).

Often stock footage was taken from earlier silent and early sound films that featured large-scale and expensive spectacles, such as boxing matches, horse races, cattle stampedes, train wrecks, or oil derrick explosions. The Weiss Brothers' film, *The Phantom*, used footage from an unknown silent film, in which an escaping convict jumps from the prison wall onto the roof of a speeding train; he is then rescued by an airplane which drops a ladder, and the convict scales to freedom. This spectacular footage was also reused in *The Whispering Shadow* (Mascot, 1933) (Turner and Price, 46). Similarly, the Monogram Pictures' films *Law of the Sea* and *Jungle Bride* (both 1932) used a variety of seafaring, and jungle footage from silent films; while *The Girl from Calgary* (1932) used the

musical sequences from *The Great Gabbo* (Sono Art-World Wide, 1930) (Okuda 1987, 2-3). *World Gone Mad* (Majestic, 1933) used footage from their earlier release *The Phantom Express* (1932). The movie serial *Burn'em Up Barnes* (Mascot, 1934) used stock footage of a plane crash from the Ken Maynard film *King of the Arena* (Universal, 1933) (Tuska, 101). Several of the cantina scenes, including establishing shots, the musical numbers, the barroom brawl, and the murder sequence from director Henry King's 1930 film *Hell Harbor* (Inspiration Pictures/ United Artists) were used as stock footage in several Poverty Row films, including *The Black Coin* (Stage and Screen, 1936), *Wolves of the Sea* (Kendis, 1938) and *Gun Cargo* (Jack Irwin, 1939). The latter film, *Gun Cargo*, began in 1931 as *Contraband Cargo*. It starred Rex Lease, Robert Fraser, and Arlene Ray, in a story about an unscrupulous ship owner smuggling contraband weapons and the fight with his honest ship's captain. The film was produced by the obscure quickie producer, Jack Irwin, but it was never completed. In 1939, Irwin combined the *Contraband Cargo* footage with a large segment of *Hell Harbor* to create an extended, and illogical, flashback. The original stars, although visibly aged, Rex Lease and Arlene Ray returned to shoot a new opening of Lease explaining these stock footage events to a courtroom tribunal. The completed and confusing mash-up was re-titled *Gun Cargo*, but it remained unreleased. Irwin left the film business, but *Gun Cargo* was eventually released to television in 1949 (Pitts, 193-195).¹⁶

¹⁶ There are probably more undocumented uses of *Hell Harbor* as stock footage in other Poverty Row films.

The use of large segments of earlier films as stock footage is most egregiously exemplified in the following examples. The 1933 'sex' film *Reckless Decision*, later re-titled as *Protect your Daughters*, was little more than a prologue and epilogue tacked onto another Pre-Code Poverty Row film, a slightly edited version of *Marriage on Approval* (Monarch, 1933), which was used as an extended flashback (Schaefer, 68 and 373).¹⁷ The new sequence features a scantily clad young woman having a somewhat frank, and rather uncomfortable discussion about parties and sex with her parents, when another woman arrives and the Father recounts the 'tragedy' that befell their visitor, thus beginning the *Marriage on Approval* footage. Strangely, *Marriage on Approval* ends with a happy ending as the young woman in the story marries her sweetheart, and no explanation is given in the epilogue as to why this stock footage flashback is considered to be a tragedy. In 1935, a fly-by-night producer, Herman Wohl, under the corporate name of Screen Attractions, issued a movie serial titled *Queen of the Jungle*. The film reused the action sequences and elaborates special effects from the 1922 Selig serial *The Jungle Goddess*. Director Robert F. Hill was brought in to shoot new close-ups and dialogue sequences with stars Mary Kornman and Reed Howes, which were then edited into the obviously much older footage featuring the original stars Elinor Field and Truman Van Dyke at a distance. Lafe

¹⁷ There is very little known about the production of *Reckless Decision*, although Schaefer, the Internet Movie Database, and the copyright date printed on the film state that it was made in 1933, it is quite possible that the prologue and epilogue, which feature the frank discussion of sexual education and a young woman scantily clad in her underclothes, were shot much later in the decade and, then, added to the shortened version of *Marriage on Approval* for an exploitation release, but retaining the original film's copyright date.

McKee, who played the evil high priest in the original film, was still available to reprieve his role (Turner and Price, 167-168).

Other examples of reused films include the practice of condensing movie serials into feature length films for theaters that did not book serials. This was common practice, and some serials were actually used to create two feature versions in order to maximize box-office returns. Among the serials condensed into feature length versions were *Burn 'em Up Barnes*, *The Shadow of Chinatown*, *Queen of the Jungle*, and *The Lost Jungle* (Mascot, 1934), as well as *Sign of the Wolf* (Metropolitan, 1931), which was released in a feature version as *The Lone Trail* (Syndicate, 1932) and *Tarzan the Fearless* (Principal, 1933), which only survives in a feature version; in addition, *The New Adventures of Tarzan*, *The Phantom Empire*, *The Return of Chandu*, and *The Lost City* (Principal, 1935) were each cut into two separate feature length films. As well, there was the practice of releasing older films that were either never originally released or only had the most minimal initial release. There are several examples of this practice: the previously discussed *Phantom of Santa Fe* (Burrough-Tarzan Enterprises, 1936), which was redubbed and re-colored from the earlier 1931 film *The Hawk*; *The Texan*, which was produced in 1930, but not released until 1932; and *West of the Rockies*, produced as a silent western in 1928 by Pioneer Productions, but unreleased until 1931, when the film was given a talking prologue, sound track, and released under the title *Call of the Rockies* (Syndicate, 1931). As Lewis Jacob documented, it was not uncommon for Poverty Row producers in the early 1930s to re-issue silent westerns with synchronized hoofbeats and gunshots (1934, X4).

Similarly, on occasion, a film would be re-issued by different distributors with new titles. *Topa Topa* (Pinnacle Pictures, 1938) was reissued with the title *Children of the Wild* by Grand National in 1939, and then in 1940 as *Killers of the Wild* by Times Exchange.

Residual Film Aesthetics

Although Poverty Row producers employed many residual practices in their film practice, such as under-cranking the camera, and reusing film sets, and old stock footage, Poverty Row's entire mode of film production became part of the residual with its transition into sound film production (1929-1931). Traditionally, low-end independent film production relied upon the making of low-budget action films: westerns, northern, jungle adventures, aviation stories, and other action oriented films, in both feature and serial form. These films were quick and cheap to make, they required little investment and provided a healthy return. During the 1920s, this low-end of the film market was shared by both Hollywood and independent producers, from Pathé and F.B.O. to Syndicate and Mascot. However, beginning in the late 1920s, and coinciding with the introduction of sound film production, the Hollywood studios moved away from this lower-level of action genre film production. M.G.M., Fox, and Warner Bros cleared their production schedules of these films in favor of more profitable prestige productions and programmer films, while the minor studios Universal and Columbia drastically reduced their production of low-budget action films. In

addition, the merger of R.K.O. completely eliminated the production of low-budget action films by Pathé and F.B.O.

The refocusing of Hollywood production towards the higher-end downtown markets and its accompanying balanced program of a single feature supported by selected short subjects was directed towards a higher social strata. As Thomas Doherty explained, “the strategy for balancing the bill presumed a motion picture audience made up of the great family of man, a mass audience of all ages, both genders and indeterminate classes (1999b, 152). In contrast, the smaller local markets of neighborhoods and small towns, the ‘nabes’ and the ‘stix’ as *Variety* often referred to them, were regarded as unprofitable, unfashionable, and increasingly marginalized. In other words, and faithful to Simmel’s model of fashion, the ever-shifting realm of cinematic fashion moved towards the middle class metropolitan audience with a balanced program designed specifically to placate the tastes of this stratum of society, while the lower working class audiences were left with older, outmoded forms of low-quality mass entertainment in the form of westerns and other outdated and unfashionable action films (296). Hollywood’s move towards metropolitan film exhibition with a balanced program was the result of the need to consolidate production within the most profitable aspects of the industry, but this economic strategy was often conceived in a discourse of fashion and middle class appeal.

In contrast to Hollywood’s focus upon middle-class audiences and profitable urban exhibition, the smaller older local theaters were largely left to the low-end independent producers of Poverty Row, and although this level of film

production was far from stable, Poverty Row did expand its production to meet the demand. This expansion, however, was not the result of a deliberate, forward-looking development on the part of these small studios, but, rather, a manifestation of their shift into a residual position within film production and exhibition. In other words, Poverty Row's expansion was built upon the unprofitable and unfashionable cinematic debris discarded by Hollywood. This incorporation of the antiquated is demonstrated by the changes in production by Poverty Row's most prominent studios. In 1931, after a string of unsuccessful larger budget talking pictures, Sono Art-World Wide announced that the company would return to the production of traditional action films rather than making high-brow dramas. As Michael R. Pitts explains:

[The company] began concentrating on program features in deference to bigger budgeted efforts. Most of these efforts were produced by George W. Weeks and directed by Stuart Paton with *Swanee River* being a good case in point. Dealing with an engineer (Grant Withers) working for a power company in rural Tennessee, the feature was billed as the first "Thrill-O-Drama" from the company, which promised to revert back to the old-time thrills and simplistic plots of the silent era. Thus the studio churned out action dramas like *Air Police*, starring Kenneth Harlan; *First Aid*, with Grant Withers; *Hell Bent for Frisco*, with Vera Reynolds; *In Old Cheyenne*, a Rex Lease western; and the north woods adventure, *Mounted Fury*, with John Bowers. (340)

In a similar move, Tiffany Pictures, which also faced declining box-office returns, and had previously shunned western sagebrush yarns, turned to genre film production with *The Utah Kid* (1930) starring Rex Lease. The company, then, signed cowboy stars Ken Maynard and Bob Steele, each for a series of westerns (406). Thus, as early as 1930, the Poverty Row studios, in contrast to the

Hollywood studios and their embracing of new fashions, began to turn backwards, towards the residual thrills and simplistic plots of the silent era.

As residual, rather than dominant producers, Poverty Row companies saw their activity intensify, not through the development of new modes of production, but through the incorporation of older outmoded and unfashionable elements discarded by the dominant Hollywood studios. Poverty Row not only incorporated much of the low-end action market, but also integrated a large number of filmmakers and film stars who had been jettisoned by Hollywood. For example, Stuart Paton, who helmed Sono Art-World Wide's entry into action-oriented genre films, had been one of Universal's main action directors, beginning with *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* in 1916, and ending his career at the big studios with *The Hound of Silver Creek* (1928), which starred Dynamite the Dog in his last film of five at Universal. Unemployed for three years, Paton then moved to Poverty Row, first co-directing the serial *The Mystery Trooper* (Wonder Pictures/Syndicate Pictures, 1931), before directing the Sono Art films, along with several other Poverty Row adventure films. His last directorial efforts were for the extremely obscure Kier Film Company's *Clipped Wings* (1937), which was very similar in plot to Paton's earlier *Air Police*, and *The Alamo: Shrine of Texas Liberty* (1938), which was shot silent and presented with voice-over narration.¹⁸ In addition to Paton, a considerable number of other Hollywood studio

¹⁸ Although the Kier Film Company produced six films between 1934 and 1938, its production was so marginal that the company was overlooked by Pitts' filmography of Poverty Row production companies. Recently two films by the Kier Film Company, both directed by Paton, have been unearthed and made available for viewing.

journeyman directors who specialized in low-budget action films—westerns, serials, and comedy shorts—were also let go during Hollywood's refocusing. Among the notable action specialists to leave the Hollywood studios and take up work on Poverty Row were Robert F. Hill, Fred C. Newmeyer, Sam Newfield, Frank R. Strayer, Richard Thorpe, Albert Herman, John P. McCarthy, Louis J. Gasnier, Chester M. Franklin, E. Mason Hopper, William Nigh, and Marshall Neilan. Moreover, these outmoded Hollywood filmmakers entered into a film practice that set them alongside Poverty Row's established stable of old-timer journeymen, like Robert North Bradbury, Noel M. Smith, Phil Rosen, Harry S. Webb, Victor Adamson, and Harry L. Fraser.

For the producers of Poverty Row, the incorporation of Hollywood's cast-off directors, like Paton, Hill and Newfield, meant efficiency, speed, and experience. They were film directors who could handle a short shooting schedule of only five or six days, the difficulties of location shooting and extreme budgetary parsimony. These cost-effective attributes went hand in hand with an outmoded film style. Like most action films of the 1910s and 1920s, Poverty Row action films were generally shot within a medium frame. A medium wide shot was commonly used for outdoor action sequences, so that all the action could be captured with one camera set up; while interior shooting used medium shots that covered the majority of the set in order to incorporate all the movements within the frame without having to repositioning the camera. Entrances, exits, and conversations, as well as fist-fights, could be filmed without the need for editing or multiple camera set up. Medium close-ups would be used for important

dialogue sequences or romantic clinches. As a result of the distant and static cameras, these films had an unusually detached sensibility, a slow pace and a frontal perspective that not only reduced the depth of field, but also harkened back to the static and frontal cameras of early cinema.

It should be noted, however, that on occasion some of these old-time journeyman did demonstrate a more than rudimentary, assembly-line approach to their filmmaking. As Turner and Price explain, besides using elements of the bizarre and mysterious into his films, Robert North Bradbury also developed a variation on the traditional swish-pan movement of the camera.

What appears to be a Bradbury invention is an ingenious adaptation of the swish-pan, in which the camera not only sweeps over the landscape to the point of a blur, but also picks up the characters leaving one scene at the beginning and finds them arriving elsewhere at the end of the pan. This device, found in many of Bradbury's talkies, is used several times in *The Star Packer* [Lone Star/ Monogram, 1934]. When, for example, the outlaws ride out of town, the camera does a fast pan ahead of them and then picks them up as they arrive at their hide-out.(Turner and Price, 148)

A rapid swish-pan, such as this, not only sped the action along, but also reduced production costs by eliminating the need for transitional or explanatory footage. Although Bradbury's technique would speed up transitions, the remainder of his films would be rather static. Another exception was the film *Rogues Tavern* (Mercury/ Puritan, 1936). As Tuner and Price have noted, the film was a coup for producer Sam Katzman, in that he was able to book his small production into the Pathé rental studios, which was usually booked solid by larger independent producers like Selznick and Lesser (220). Director Robert F. Hill took full

advantage of the grandiose space and set dressings by allowing his camera to prowl the set in a minute long tracking shot that crept through the lobby of the inn, briefly pausing upon the nefarious characters and red herrings situated about the set before moving on to the next tableau of suspects and miscreants. However, it should be noted that these examples are exceptions, as most Poverty Row films retain the frontal medium shot so common to silent film westerns and comedy shorts. The most extreme example of this removed and static film aesthetic is that of Sam Newfield, whose film style has been described as “absolutely detached, as if he is an observer rather than a participant” (1).

This residual antiquated film style did not go unnoticed. *Variety* described the Rex Lease western, *In Old Cheyenne* (Sono Art-World Wide, 1931), as “a western of the old school” and their review of *Dragnet Patrol* (Action Pictures, 1932) directed by Frank R. Strayer, succinctly stated “prewar art” (“In Old Cheyenne” and “Dragnet Patrol”). In a contemporary recognition of lingering silent era film style in the 1930s films of Poverty Row, Turner and Price observed the perpetuation of outmoded film style in several Poverty Row films. They comment that *White Zombie* (Halperin Productions/ United Artists, 1932) was “embarrassingly outmoded by director Victor Halperin’s insistence upon heavy pantomime performances from the silent era” (68). In a similar recognition of residual film style, they comment that “a certain 1920s aura clings to *The Woman Condemned*” (Willis Kent/ Progressive, 1934), directed by Dorothy Davenport (136). They describe both Robert F. Hill’s, *A Face in the Fog* (Victory 1936) and Albert Herman’s chapterplay *The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand* (Stage

and Screen, 1936) as both being “old-fashioned” (217 and 233). They also observe that Marshall Neilan, once a prodigy of D. W. Griffith, reuses sentimental moments from his Mary Pickford films of the late 1910s in the voodoo swamp melodrama, *Chloe: Love is Calling You* (Pinnacle Productions, 1934) (134).

The most jarring use of outmoded film practice came with the preponderance of silence and the lack of sound. Although the lack of incidental music was commonplace in the soundtracks of all films of the early 1930s, those of independent Poverty Row companies, usually lacked incidental music altogether. Moreover, it was common practice for the lowest level of Poverty Row quickie producers to shoot most of their outdoor sequences silent, and then dub in the, all too often mismatched, sounds of horse hooves, fisticuffs, and gunshots in post-production. However, with such parsimonious productions, the cost of this practice would frequently be prohibitive, and films would often end up with large gaps of complete silence, regardless of the action. The most extreme example of this is *The Black Coin* (Stage & Screen, 1936), which features several long gaps of absolute silence during various chase scenes. Together, these lingering elements from cinema’s past—old stock footage, reused sets, outmoded genres, silent-era filmmakers and their outdated film style—all serve to illustrate the residual aesthetic in Poverty Row film production. The most immediate and recognizable element of the residual film aesthetic, however, was the incorporation of outmoded and discarded Hollywood film stars.

The Bargain-basement Film Troupe

The expansion of Poverty Row production, during the early 1930s, was fueled both by the decrease in production by Hollywood studios and by the latter's jettisoning of superfluous personnel, especially its outmoded film stars. Conversely, as the low-end independent producers of Poverty Row returned to the thrills and simplistic plots of the silent era, they were able to incorporate many of the film stars discarded by the Hollywood studios. As *Variety* noted in 1931:

Increase of indie production will be a windfall for stars near the fading point. Many of these who are on the way out will get a chance to hold on or even make a come-back through the indie producers.
("Indies' 60 Features")

Although many descending film stars moved to Poverty Row film production, few were able to successfully stage a come-back and regain Hollywood stardom. However, from Poverty Row's perspective, the influx of experienced performers was a boon. These tarnished performers not only brought their film experience, but also their faded box-office appeal, which may have lost its value with the big downtown marquees, but might still draw a crowd at the local bijous.

The move to Poverty Row by outmoded film stars began with Hollywood's near complete elimination of low-end adventure genre film production, especially of westerns. As *Variety* reported in 1930, a number of former western stars were moving to quickie western productions ("Cheap Virtue"). Among the notable western and adventure film stars who were let go by

the Hollywood studios and signed with various Poverty Row production companies were ‘Hoot’ Gibson, Harry Carey, Jack Hoxie, Ken Maynard, Bob Steele, Tom Tyler, Rin Tin Tin, and Rex the Wonder Horse. The influx of these film stars helped to fuel Poverty Row film production. Although outmoded by Hollywood standards, these action stars still maintained considerable box-office appeal in the small markets of the neighborhoods and rural communities. In addition to incorporating western action stars, Poverty Row also began to integrate other discarded film stars. While the cowboy stars had been rendered outmoded by changes in the generic character of Hollywood production, these new additions to the Poverty Row roster were outdated principally as a result of their inability to adjust to sound film production. Among the fallen film stars were Henry B. Walthall, James Murray, Harrison Ford, Eric von Stroheim, Patsy Ruth Miller, Blanche Mahaffey, William Haines, Dorothy Mackaill, Arlene Ray, Georgia Hale, William ‘Stage’ Boyd, Clara Kimball Young, Norman Kerry, and Jack Mulhall. These film stars brought with them their experience in making films, which was highly valued by Poverty Row producers. These experienced players were able to take direction, make their cues, and deliver dialogue, and most importantly, they could do it, usually, in one take. As well, these outmoded film stars still maintained some box-office appeal in the smaller markets. The downside of this windfall was that these performers also perpetuated their outmoded acting styles and screen presences, heightening the sense of antiquation in Poverty Row films. As Lewis Jacobs observed, “Invariably, their actors are

those has-beens whose names were in marquees before the World War, pitifully antiquated in appearance, style and value (1934, X4).

In addition to these once notable marquee names, many savvy Poverty Row producers attempted to exploit the names of other famed film stars by hiring their children to star in low-budget potboilers. Ruth Mix, daughter of Tom Mix, appeared in several Poverty Row westerns and serials. Noah Beery Jr. also appeared in several Poverty Row films before moving to Universal and becoming a regular player in chapterplays. Ralph Bushman, frequently billed as Francis X. Bushman Jr., appeared as a supporting player in several Poverty Row films. Creighton Chaney began his career in several small supporting roles, but was enticed by a lucrative offer by producer Ray Kirkwood to assume the name Lon Chaney Jr. for a series of Poverty Row potboilers (Pitts, 126). As well, Wallace Reid Jr. was convinced, probably by producer Willis Kent and his mother, Dorothy Davenport, to star in *The Racing Strain* (Willis Kent, 1932) a racing car adventure styled after the films of his famous father, who was best remembered for his race car adventure films of the 1920s. The film's opening title card features a profile of the younger Reid on the left side of the title, and then slowly a ghostly profile of his father appears on the opposite side. The two Reids temporarily face each other in a maudlin tableau, before the elder Reid fades away and the film's credits continue. Also, after the death of Rin Tin Tin, savvy producers and trainers introduced Rin Tin Tin Jr. supposedly the sire of the famous canine. Rinty Jr. starred in several Mascot productions before playing supporting roles in a number of action films for Reliable Pictures and Metropolitan Pictures. He retired in 1939.

For the producers of Poverty Row the casting of older, faded film stars was simply good business. They were skilled professionals who could deliver a suitable performance at affordable rates, and while the practice fueled much of Poverty Row growth during the first half of the decade, the low-budget independents maintained their frugal practices throughout the decade employing and exploiting any and every fallen star that came their way. As Paul Harrison noted:

[The Poverty Row studios] have their own roster of featured players and stars, including one-time celebrities whose names were emblazoned on the best marquees.

Peeping into out-of-the-way stages you find such people as Lloyd Hughes, who was Mary Pickford's leading man in "Tess of the Storm Country," Conway Tearle, the Clark gable of no so long ago; Esther Ralston, June Collyer, and blonde Anita Page, who starred in the first "Broadway Melody."

Regis Toomey, Sheila Terry, Bill Cody, and Kane Richmond are others who now emote for fractions of their former salaries. And there are Russell Hopton, Nick Stuart, Evelyn Knapp, Irene Ware, Maxine Doyle, as other members of the bargain-basement film troupe. (AA3)

In a similar roster of fallen film stars, Sheilah Graham notes

[s]tars of yesterday find a working haven in the street of cheap pictures when the paying public says "Enough." Herbert Rawlison, Betty Compson, Eddie Quilian, Bryant Washburn, Tim McCoy, William Farnum, Charles Ray, Grace Bradley, Madge Bellamy, William [Stage] Boyd, Monte Blue, Conrad Nagel, and Ken Maynard are a few erstwhile favorites finding solace from the missing plaudits of the public before the cameras of "quickie" productions. (A1)

Many fading silent-era film stars made brief attempts to revive their flagging careers by appearing in Poverty Row films. Some like Norman Kerry, Dorothy Mackaill, and William Haines only appeared in a few films before quitting the film business. Others, on the other hand, did successfully maintain their film stardom in Poverty Row productions. Many of the established cowboy stars of the silent era continued making low-budget westerns; while numerous headlining stars, like Herbert Rawlinson, Bryant Washburn, and Clara Kimball Young became regular fixtures in supporting roles in Poverty Row potboilers. Although outmoded by Hollywood standards, these stalwarts provided the producers of Poverty Row with their skill, expertise and professionalism; moreover, especially in the early 1930s, exhibitors would be more likely to book a low-budget independent feature if the film had a recognizable name in the cast. However, the low-budgets and old-fashioned film style of Poverty Row productions would not be able to disguise the outdated presence of a performer, and often served to emphasize the antiquation of the retrograde film star.

Jack Mulhall: A Case Study

The shifts within Hollywood film production during the early 1930s left many established film stars out of work. Some film stars were dismissed by the Hollywood studios because the generic stock-and-trade had become outmoded and unfashionable, while others were let go because they simply could not adjust to the new technology of sound film production. The film career of Jack Mulhall not only illustrates the downward trajectory of a once famous Hollywood star to Poverty Row, but also demonstrates the residual nature of independent Poverty Row film production. Mulhall not only starred in numerous Poverty Row features and serials, but he also returned to work at the Hollywood studios, not as a film star, but as a bit player. Moreover, in 1936, Mulhall appeared in two films: *Hollywood Boulevard* (Paramount) and *The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand* (Stage and Screen) that demonstrate the difference between Hollywood's and Poverty Row's relationship with the silent era. As I have previously argued, these two films both evoke the silent cinema, but in contrasting ways: *Hollywood Boulevard* recognizes the silent cinema as a nostalgic, even archaic, element of the past, while *The Clutching Hand* perpetuates, within the present, elements formed during the silent era (Read, forthcoming). Therefore, an examination of Jack Mulhall's film career, and of his descent from leading man stardom to Poverty Row and Hollywood bit player not only demonstrates the transitory nature of film stardom, but it also exemplifies the residual nature of the independent Poverty Row studios.

Jack Mulhall was born in Wappinger Falls, New York in 1887. At age 14, he began his stage career with the Bennett Molton Stock Company at the Whitehead Opera House in Passaic, New Jersey as prop rustler and then singer. Over the next ten years, he turned to a variety of occupations and adventures involving world travel, circuses, carnivals, the Navy, Vaudeville and Broadway. By 1913, he had settled in New York and began working as an artist's model for magazine illustrations. Mulhall appeared in Arrow shirt collar advertisements, but received his greatest recognition with famed illustrator Charles Dana Gibson, best known for his images of fashionable young women. Gibson saw in Mulhall the ideal companion for his popular Gibson girls. He was young, handsome, with a natural charm, and he easily embodied the courteous, romantic, and carefree spirit of the time. Although Mulhall was slightly embarrassed by his success as the Gibson man, he would continue to draw on his image as a modern romantic young man in magazines, Broadway and eventually Hollywood (Katchmer, 25).

Mulhall began his film career in New York City in 1913. Rex Ingram, then an Edison scenario writer, suggested that Mulhall take advantage of the new medium. "There's millions in it!" Ingram said, slightly over-estimating the potential of early cinema (25). Mulhall began with Biograph, under the supervision of D. W. Griffith, where his dashing young image from the Gibson illustrations translated perfectly into Griffith's own romantic idealization of America. One of Mulhall's earliest Biograph films was *The House of Discord* (James Kirkwood, 1913) in which he appeared alongside Marshall Neilan, Blanche Sweet, Lionel Barrymore, and Dorothy Gish. He played the juvenile

around whom the discord was centered. In an article in *Photoplay*, from February 1920, Muhall described his role: “The hero enters the room and finds Jack kissing his sweetheart behind the window curtain. Just as he raises his pistol to shoot Jack, the darling girl said “Stop! He is my brother.” Then the suspense was over, and so was Jack in that picture” (25). His role *The House of Discord* was small but it helped to establish him as an ideal juvenile lead of popular society melodramas. In 1914, he moved to Biography’s California studios and, by 1916, had appeared in fifty eight films.

Mulhall was quickly becoming known as a versatile and popular actor. He took roles in a variety of dramas, westerns, and serials, and he starred opposite some of the leading ladies of the period, including Mary Pickford, the Gish Sisters, Mable Normand, and Constance Talmadge. Indeed, Mulhall’s career peaked in the 1920s. He appeared as the dashing young hero in films like Universal’s series of two-reel adventures based upon Jack London stories (1922-1923) and the Pathé serial *Into the Net* (1924) a white slavery thriller noted for its location shooting on the Brooklyn Bridge. Mulhall was best known, however, for his role as a young romantic lead. In *The Mad Whirl* (Universal, 1925), he played the son of upper middle class parents caught up in the gin-fueled fervor of Jazz Age revelry. Mulhall’s hedonistic party boy falls in love with the daughter of an honest shopkeeper (May McAvoy) and, after many slips and struggles, he sees the errors of his ways. He overcomes his debauched and decadent behavior in order to marry the virtuous shop girl. Although the film is a strange combination of temperance lecture and romantic drama, it presents Mulhall in his most popular

screen persona, as the fashionable, young, romantic lead. As his stardom expanded, Mulhall was regularly featured in fan magazines like *Photoplay* and *Motion Picture*. He made numerous product endorsements in magazine advertisements; his image graced the covers of sheet music for popular hit songs; and his photo even appeared on cigarette and bubble gum trading cards.¹⁹

Mulhall increasingly became associated with the image of the young romantic lead in the very popular ‘little shop girl’ narratives of the late 1920s (see Kracauer 1995, 291-306). In 1927, he starred opposite Colleen Moore in *Orchids and Ermine* (First National). Moore plays a telephone operator in a posh New York hotel whose lobby is overpopulated with gold diggers. She dreams of one day falling in love with a millionaire who will drape her in orchids and ermine, but after working at the hotel and witnessing the desperate behavior of the gold diggers, she becomes disenchanted with her dream. One day a millionaire Oklahoma oil tycoon, played by Mulhall, checks into the hotel. However, in order to avoid the bevy of fortune hunters, Mulhall has switched positions with his valet. Moore, thinking Mulhall is simply the valet, falls for his breezy charm and good-looks. Their romance blossoms, until Mulhall reveals that in fact he is the tycoon masquerading as the valet. After a series of mishaps, Moore’s telephone

¹⁹ Mulhall was featured among a number of film stars in the 1920 Blatz Gum Screen Stars trading card series. The entire set included: #1 Ben Lyon, #2 Vera Reynolds, #3 William Haines, #4 Jack Mulhall, #5 Anita Stewart, #6 Billie Dove, #7 Charlie Murray, #8 Edmond Lowe, #9 Renee Adoree, #10 Dorothy Mackaill, #11 Jean Hersholt, #12 Conrad Nagel, #13 May McAvoy, #14 Molly O’Day, #15 Betty Bronson, #16 Evelyn Brent, #17 Gewn Lee, #18, Lew Cody, #19 Phyllis Haver, and #20 Our Gang. Mulhall also appeared in a series of cigarette cards for Stroller’s cigarettes. The entire series, which ran from 1922-1924, included over two hundred film stars. Mulhall was number 61.

operator eventually falls for the Oklahoma millionaire. Mulhall continued playing romantic leads and disguised millionaires in a series of light romantic comedies at First National opposite Dorothy Mackaill. There were nine films in the series and each one proved to be popular with audiences. Among the series were *Man Crazy* (1927), *Ladies Night in a Turkish Bath* (1928), and *Two Weeks Off* and *Children of the Ritz* (both 1929), and all were popular with audiences (see Braff). The last two films were silent, but they were issued with sound trailers featuring Mackaill and Mulhall discussing the films. These trailers were Mulhall's first entry into sound film production.

Mulhall's initial transition to sound films was quite successful. He appeared in the romantic comedy *Twin Beds* opposite Patsy Ruth Miller, and he starred in the gangster melodrama *Dark Streets*, assaying the first dual-role in talking pictures (both films were released by First National in 1929 and are now considered lost). His dual-role in *Dark Streets* received positive notice; as one review stated "the viewer thinks that Mulhall is surely two different people. He does excellent work" (qtd. in Liebman, 217). However, many of his following films did not fare so well. For *Murder will Out* (First National, 1930), *Variety* remarked: "Mulhall plays the businessman but doesn't look it. And certainly doesn't act like one. As well, the journal observed that his dialogue registering was off" ("Murder will Out"). *Variety* had similar complaints about his work in the film *Fall Guy* (R.K.O., 1930): "Mulhall previously has played several slang roles but here apparently has tried to top former efforts. Mulhall is inclined at times to overdo the wisecracking. The role frequently takes on an unnatural aspect

and ruins his otherwise capable characteristics" ("Fall Guy"). *Showgirl in Hollywood* (First National, 1930) was described as "routine," and *For the Love O' Lil* (Columbia, 1930) was called a "mediocre programmer" in which "Mulhall is momentarily good" ("Showgirl in Hollywood" and "For the Love O' Lil").

Mulhall's Hollywood film career was rapidly declining. Although he had never been a star of prestige films, those in which he was now appearing were more and more low-grade programmers. As film historian Roy Liebman has noted:

Jack Mulhall was a most popular star in the 1920s and talking pictures seemed to pose no threat to him. Although his voice perfectly matched the persona he projected, his fall from stardom to near obscurity in the early 1930s was swift and complete. While his age could have been a contributing factor, so rapid a decline was usually due to "personal" problems or offending some studio executive. (216-217)

Many silent era film stars had trouble adapting to the new talking pictures, often as a result of heavy foreign accents and microphone fright. Mulhall was, initially, not hampered by these deficiencies. However, his traditional roles in light romantic comedies were becoming harder to find as the romantic shop girls fantasies began to fade, replaced with gritty and lurid pre-code sex-dramas and vicious, hardboiled crime films.

Mulhall became increasingly cast in popular crime oriented dramas, but, despite his earlier success with *Dark Streets*, his carefree persona did not translate well into the urban underground. Mulhall's performances were becoming awkward, disruptive and old-fashioned. He had once been a bold and effervescent performer with years of experience from Vaudeville and Broadway and ideally

suitable for silent films, but now his performing style was becoming too exaggerated as his mannerism became overwrought with silent era histrionics and his dialogue delivery became increasingly erratic as he underplayed his scenes in a whining tone, or he overplayed them with a boisterous bellow. In the film, *Fall Guy* (R.K.O., 1930), Mulhall plays a Depression-era everyman, while down on his luck, agrees to hold a suitcase full of bootleg liquor for a gangster. When trouble ensues, Mulhall finds himself caught between the law and the gangster. He plays the role much like his earlier performances as the happy-go-lucky millionaire. He is more aloof than worried, and his wisecracks are excessive and inappropriate for the troubled situation. Moreover, when he is finally trapped by circumstance, he is unable to handle the intensity of the situation and his presence becomes one of a whining milquetoast rather than a sympathetic hero. *Fall Guy* demonstrates the difficulties Mulhall was having with roles outside of his accustomed characterizations of affable millionaires and carefree romantics. His career was quickly declining.

Mulhall continued to star in a string of unsuccessful, lower budgeted Hollywood programmers. These were followed by the film *Reaching for the Moon* (United Artists, 1930), which was a light romantic comedy revolving around a happy-go-lucky millionaire in pursuit of love and romance on a trans-Atlantic crossing. The film was a throwback to the earlier 'shop girl' films, but this time the dashing young millionaire was being played by Douglas Fairbanks Sr. who was struggling with his own declining screen image. Mulhall was cast in the small role of his secretary. Although this type of film had been Mulhall's

stock-and-trade during the silent era, he was now reduced to only a few early scenes (his character does not even accompany Fairbanks on the ocean liner). Hopelessly outdated in narrative and mood, the film did little to save Fairbanks' failing film career, and even less for Mulhall. Following this small role, Mulhall had one last lead role in a film from a Hollywood studio, the dramatic programmer, *Lover Come Back* (Columbia, 1931), opposite Constance Cummings.

No longer cast in leading roles by Hollywood studios, Mulhall moved to the smaller production companies of Poverty Row. In 1931, Mulhall signed with Ralph M. Like's Action Pictures and, by 1934, he had appeared in nine Poverty Row features and three serials. Unfortunately, none of these films were able to revitalize his career. *Variety* described his various Poverty Row performances as "not well cast" in *Night Beat* (Action, 1932), "labor in vain" in *Murder at Dawn* (Peerless, 1932), "handicapped" in *Sinister Hands* (Kent, 1932), and 'listless" in *Hell's Headquarters* (Mayfair, 1932) ("Night Beat," "Murder at Dawn," "Sinister Hands," and "Hell's Headquarters"). Mulhall also appeared in three movie serials for Levine's Mascot Pictures. In *The Three Musketeers* (1933), a modernized adaptation of the Dumas novel, Mulhall was cast with Raymond Hatton and Francis X. Bushman Jr. as the titular heroes supporting aviator John Wayne in the D'Artagnan role. Mulhall later appeared in a small, but pivotal role, in *The Mystery Squadron* (1933) and then he starred in *Burn 'em Up Barnes* (1934), as the Race Car driving hero, which featured numerous chases sequences akin to the "zany chases in the old Mack Sennett comedies" (Tuska, 101). Despite the steady

work on Poverty Row, Mulhall's film roles were declining here too. As demonstrated by *Burn 'em Up Barnes*, Mulhall's performance was enthusiastic, but he was getting too old to play the dashing young heroes that had made him a star ten years earlier.

In 1934, Mulhall returned to work with the Hollywood studios, but he was no longer a featured performer. He returned in as a bit player in *Whom the God's Destroy* (Paramount, 1934). He became very successful playing small roles especially as newspaper reporters, policemen, and bartenders, all the while continuing to appear in Poverty Row films. The momentum of Mulhall's decline from stardom and fashion followed different trajectories in the case of his Hollywood studio work and his films for Poverty Row. This distinction may be shown clearly through the examination of two films: Robert Florey's *Hollywood Boulevard* (Paramount, 1936) and the Poverty Row chapterplay *The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand* (Stage and Screen, 1936). In very different ways, each of these films invokes the past of silent cinema, and it is through these representations that we can clearly see Mulhall's stardom waning.

Hollywood Boulevard is director Robert Florey's off-hand tribute to the stars of the silent cinema and it revolves around the publishing of the lurid memoirs of a declining silent film star (John Halliday). It is also an homage to the lost glory of the silent cinema. While the film is nostalgic for the past, it also details the decline of the once famous film star as he struggles with appearances by his loss of celebrity and his outmoded presence in modern Hollywood. Moreover, as Halliday rails against his loss of stardom, the film punctuates his

fictional struggles with actual fallen silent film stars in bit parts, including Francis X. Bushman Sr., Betty Compson, Herbert Rawlinson, Oscar Apfel, Maurice Costello, Bryan Washburn, Creighton Hale, Mae Marsh, Frank Mayo, Chester Conklin and William Desmond. *Hollywood Boulevard* was also intended to have appearances by Louise Brooks, Alice Lake, Evelyn Brent, Florence Lawrence, and Harold Lloyd, but these scenes were deleted (“Hollywood Boulevard”). Mullhall appears as a man at the bar and only exchanges a brief greeting with Halliday before disappearing into the crowd. His appearance is merely a flash, and, like that of the many other forgotten performers, only a fleeting reminder of cinema’s past era.

The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand, on the other hand, provides a very different relationship with the cinematic past of the silent era. The producers of Poverty Row did not look backwards with a longing over lost artistry; rather these shoestring film productions perpetuated the residue of the past long after they had fallen from fashion. Mullhall stars in his last lead role as “Craig Kennedy- the scientific detective”. Alongside Muhall, the film features numerous outmoded silent film players, including Rex Lease as sidekick Walter Jameson, as well as, Ruth Mix, Mae Busch, Reed Howes, William Farnum, Bryant Washburn, Robert Frazer, Mahlon Hamilton, Gaston Glass, Robert Walker, ‘Snub’ Pollard, Yakima Canutt, Franklyn Farnum, Milburn Morante, William Desmond, and ‘Bull’ Montana. Unlike the melancholic tribute of *Hollywood Boulevard*, *The Clutching Hand* puts these old-timers through their paces; each chapter features a rough-and-tumble bout of fisticuffs climaxing in the

traditional cliff-hanger ending. This hackneyed story of modern alchemy, mysterious swamis, hooded villains, and dashing hero differed little from the old blood-and-thunder narratives of silent serials. The principle characters, Kennedy and his arch-nemesis, The Clutching Hand, had been created by Arthur B. Reeve in 1912 and first appeared on screen in *The Exploits of Elaine* (1915). However, *The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand* was not a self-reflexive homage to the past. Rather, it represented the perpetuation of a residual past within the present, an aspect underscored by the outmoded and old-fashioned presence of its star.

Mulhall continued in bit parts and small supporting roles in several hundred films and television episodes until he retired in 1959. He passed away in 1979. A conventional interpretation of Mulhall's film career would chart his rise in the silent cinema to his pinnacle as a romantic lead in the mid to late twenties followed by his subsequent decline to the status of bit player. However, Mulhall's work in the 1930s allows us to see this decline as a more complex arrangement in which the varying trajectories of declining stardom are demonstrated. As the Hollywood studios, in films like *Hollywood Boulevard*, were waxing nostalgic over the disappearance of stars from the silent cinema, the producers of Poverty Row were continuing to exploit the attachment of certain audiences to faded genres and unfashionable film stars like Jack Mulhall, thus, reinforcing the residual position of the independent Poverty Row studios.

Chapter Six: Residual Modernity

The independent Poverty Row studios of the 1930s perpetuated many cinematic elements from the past. Along with their residual film aesthetics, genres, styles, stock footage, and film stars, these low-budget companies also extended the experience of modernity as shock characteristics of represented in early cinema and discussed earlier within the context of the ‘modernity thesis’. In this respect, it is fitting to consider the representations of the modern city, found within 1930s Poverty Row films, not simply as representations that developed alongside those to be found in the films of the Hollywood studios, but as residual representations rooted in the cinema’s past. However, the perpetuation of earlier models of modernity by Poverty Row films is complicated by their reliance upon everyday locations as ready-made backdrops, as in the train sequence described in the previous chapter. As a result, Poverty Row films present a strange mixture, in which the contemporary landscape of modern Los Angeles and its surrounding communities is subject to the shocks and perils of an earlier, now residual, period of modernity. This overlapping of modernities within Poverty Row productions produces parallels between these films and other interwar visions of competing modernities, such as Walter Benjamin’s studies of nineteenth century Paris, and the Surrealists’ project of social research into everyday life to document the marvelous within the quotidian. While I am not arguing that the films of Poverty Row belong, in any way, to the surrealist corpus, I would like to posit that, insofar as these films can be seen as representations of a residual modernity within the

contemporary spaces of modern Los Angeles, that they are in certain ways analogous to the surrealist vision of an overlap of past and present within interwar Paris. The Poverty Row films of the 1930s were made within the same historical context in which surrealism flourishes, and the latter's vision of interwar Paris will allow us to grasp the residual representations of an older modernity, born in the silent cinema, which runs through these films.

The Ghosts of Hollywood's Past

At the centre of this world of things stands the most dreamed-about of their objects: the city of Paris itself. (Benjamin 2003, 258)

As discussed earlier, a great deal of Poverty Row film production was shot *en plein air* on various locations throughout Los Angeles and its surrounding communities and at numerous recognizable points of interest: the winding road of Mulholland Drive, the harbor at San Pedro, Bronson Canyon in Griffith Park, the Pacoima Dam in Angeles National Park, Red Rock Canyon State Park, and Santa Catalina Island, to name a few (Hogue, 50). However, the most regularly featured backdrops to Poverty Row films were the streets of L.A. and other communities like Van Nuys or Glendale. These realist location shoots did not draw upon cinema's affinity for the flow of life or the intoxication of the *flâneur* so commonly associated with realist film (Kracauer 1960, 72). As Siegfried Kracauer explained:

The street in the extended sense of the word is not only the arena of fleeting impressions and chance encounters but a

place where the flow of life is bound to assert itself. Again one will have to think mainly of the city street with its ever-moving anonymous crowds. The kaleidoscopic sights mingle with unidentified shapes and fragmentary visual complexes and cancel each other out, thereby preventing the onlooker from following up any of the innumerable suggestions they offer. What appears to him are not so much sharp-contoured individuals engaged in this or that definable pursuits as loose throngs of sketchy, completely indeterminate figures. Each has a story, yet the story is not given. Instead, an incessant flow of possibilities and near-intangible meanings appears. (1960, 72)

However, Poverty Row films did not capture this flow of life, or kaleidoscope of sights. Rather, these films were frequently shot on closed-off sections of streets, empty train stations, country roads, and undeveloped suburbs equipped with roads, sidewalks, and lampposts, but no houses. Even when films contained sequences filmed on busy streets, as was the case with *Wild Waters* (Imperial, 1934) or *Captured in Chinatown* (Stage and Screen, 1935), the medium frame isolated the action from the flow of life. Thus, the narratives are divorced from urban sociability, and the depiction of the modern city street is analogous to Walter Benjamin's description of the desolate and empty streets of photographer Eugène Atget, who, according to Benjamin, was a forerunner of Surrealist photography. As Benjamin describes:

Remarkably, however, almost all of these pictures are empty. Empty is the Porte d'Arceuil by the fortifications, empty are the triumphal steps, empty are the courtyards, empty, as it should be, is the Place du Tertre, clear out, like a lodging that has not yet found a new tenant. It is these achievements that Surrealist photography sets the scene for a salutary estrangement between man and his surroundings. (1999b, 519)

He further states that, “it is no accident that Atget’s photographs have been linked to those of a crime scene” (1999b, 527). This observation is repeats in his ‘artwork’ essay:

[Atget], who, around 1900, took photographs of deserted Paris streets, it has quite justly been said of him that he photographed them like scenes of crime. The scene of a crime, too, is deserted; it is photographed for the purpose of establishing evidence. (2003, 258)

Consequently, Poverty Row’s detachment from the flow of life within its location shooting creates an image of the modern city that not only renders it deserted, emptied of the allure of the street, but also, like the photography of Atget, offers an image of the modern city in which the surreal is present before it is recognized.

In his discussion of 1930s Poverty Row chapterplay production, Peter Hogue makes special note of the use of location shooting in the 1932 *Mascot* serial, *The Shadow of the Eagle*. He states:

Much of *The Shadow of the Eagle* takes place on the side streets and back roads of what appears to be Van Nuys, California. Though busy traffic is glimpsed now and again on a distant thoroughfare, the street locations are often barren-looking. On one street that is used several times in the film (but always from a different angle), the storefronts lack signs, the sidewalks are mostly free of pedestrians, and two large billboards stand stripped of all advertising. Occasionally the action zips past an apparently going concern—Van Nuys Mortgage and Securities, City Hall Paint and Auto Body—but most of the locations seem freshly abandoned. (Hogue, 50)

He further notes that at another point in the outdoor action, the film momentarily becomes an Edward Hopper-like image—a melodramatic document of social solitude and economic depression (50). Although Hogue only focuses upon this

single chapterplay, many of Mascot's serials were shot on location in and around the Los Angeles area: *The Galloping Ghost* (1931) features numerous chases and fistfights between the rival taxicab companies shot on the streets. *The Whispering Shadow* (1933) was shot primarily at the Bekin's Warehouse in Hollywood; *Burn'em Up Barnes* was also shot on the streets of Van Nuys and prominently featured the façade of the Consolidate Film Laboratories. Similarly, other serials also present an uncanny mix of the everyday and the exceptional. In *The Return of Chandu*, the members of the secret cat-worshipping cult hide out in an innocuous suburban house, and *Sign of the Wolf* (Metropolitan, 1931) features several sequences with hero Rex Lease and his sidekick, played by silent serial veteran Joe Bonomo, riding to the rescue through the streets of the city.

According to Hogue, the combination of the empty urban spaces and the “wondrously loopy poetic” adventures of the narratives creates a “tattered kind of homemade surrealism” (48). Although it would be obviously going too far to suggest that the filmmakers of Poverty Row were attempting to create representations that explicitly partook of a surrealist aesthetic, there are some affinities between these films and the Surrealist vision of interwar Paris. Surrealism was more than just an artistic movement, it was also a form of social research into everyday life, and the works of art produced, were seen, by its members, as documents of this social research (Highmore, 46).

It is juxtaposing of disparate elements (umbrellas, sewing machines, etc.) it generates a defamiliarizing of the everyday. If everyday life is what continually threatens to drop below a level of visibility, collage practices allow the everyday to become vital again by making the ordinary strange through

transferring it to surprising contexts and placing it in unusual combinations. But Surrealism is not just a technique for making the ordinary extraordinary; the everyday in surrealism is already strange (it is collage-like). In surrealism the everyday is not the familiar and banal realm that it seems to be; only our drab habits of mind understand it in this way. Instead the everyday is where the marvellous exists. (46)

As Robin Walz has likewise noted, the Surrealists, amidst the overlapping of nineteenth and twentieth century modernity, developed a science of the ephemeral:

The goal of surrealism was not simply to create an artistic movement but to reconfigure human consciousness in objective accordance with this new and constantly changing reality. By formulating new associations out of the incoherence of everyday life, the entourage proclaimed surrealism an objective reality infused throughout contemporary culture. (3)

Moreover, as Walz continues, often insolent forms of mass culture “produced surreal visions in advance of the surrealist movement itself,” and while the two were not reducible to each other they shared an overlapping and intersecting cultural terrain (3). Therefore, an examination of the surrealist fascination with the incoherence of everyday life can aid in understanding the unusual and residual representations within independent Poverty Row films.

Walz’s study of surrealism and its intersections with insolent popular culture focuses upon the Surrealists’ fascination with print mass culture, in the form of Parisian guidebooks, the *Fantômas* novels, the legendary accounts of a serial murderer (the “Bluebeard of Gambais”) and the newspaper suicide notices of the *faits-divers*. Walz argues that, “in each instance, print mass culture established the possibility of the existence of a popular imagination that exceeds

the ideological limitations of commercial or social class interests" (11). However, the surrealists were also fascinated with cinema as a form of mass culture for it, too, could present a surrealist vision in advance of the movement through its overlapping and intersecting representations of past and present. As Ado Kyrou wrote "the cinematic, modern marvelous is popular, and the best and most exciting films are, beginning with Méliès and *Fantômas*, the films shown in local fleapits, films which seem to have no place in the history of cinema (68). Therefore, it is necessary to examine, as Walz does with print culture, the fascination of the Surrealists with early cinema, like the early serials of Louis Feuillade and his *Fantômas* films.

Louis Feuillade began his film career in 1906 making a variety of short films. By the early 1910s, he was one of France's leading filmmakers and he is best remembered for his film serials, such as *Les Vampires* (1915), *Judex* (1916), and *Tih Minh* (1918), and the *Fantômas* films (1913-1914).²⁰ As film historian Gilbert Adair states of *Tih Minh*:

In that terminal ambiguity lies the extreme charm of Feuillade's pulp exoticism: i.e. because he had absolutely no intention to 'make strange', in the sense in which the phrase was employed by Russian formalist critics (his sole ambition was to entertain his naïve and credulous audiences) the imagery of his films was rendered all the stranger. (49)

Thus, the serial films of Feuillade present a cinematic vision of a world that was weird, uncanny, and dreamlike; in other words, Feuillade made films in which

²⁰ The five *Fantômas* films are: *Fantômas- À l'ombre de la guillotine* (1913), *Juve contre Fantômas* (1913), *Le mort qui tue* (1913), *Fantômas contre Fantômas* (1914) and *Le faux magistrat* (1914).

surreality was already inscribed in the popular imagination before the Surrealists took notice of it.

The surreality of early silent serials was an essential component of the Surrealist vision of modern Paris. In his novel *Paris Peasant*, Louis Aragon evokes the image of the silent serial in his description of the *Buttes-Chaumont*. He states:

We shared one constant theme, a field of immunity granting all rights to experiments fired by the new spirit which was their common bond, a field of action that we invented on the scale of contemporary life with its great towns, its factories, its realms of culture, and that we situated on the fringe where, in our opinion, freedom and secrecy had the chances of flourishing—that is to say, along the stretches of that great equivocal suburb which rings Paris, the setting for those supremely disconcerting scenes in French serial stories and films in which a special kind of drama takes shape. Without actually picturing the place to ourselves, we liked to imagine its approaches, deserted roads lined by little shuttered houses, and hoardings advertising LUCILINE, with a car abandoned not far from a railway bridge. Such a fiction may well seem childish to those who fail to recognize it as the reverse side of several existences. (134-135)

For Aragon, the images of the silent serials—the deserted roads, the shuttered houses and the abandoned car—are so firmly ingrained in his understanding of the Parisian suburb that, even in contemporary life, they harbor what he called “the reverse side of several existences.”

In his novel *Nadja*, André Breton offers another, more complex, evocation of the past within the Parisian landscape. As Margaret Cohen explains, many of the locations in Breton’s novel are not only haunted by the insurrectionist past of Paris, but they are also specific sites of decline (89-94). Throughout the novel,

Breton paints a picture of modern Paris haunted by ghosts. At the *Place Dauphin*, Nadja is “disturbed by the thought of what has already occurred in this square and will occur here in the future” (83). Similarly, in the novel, the *Porte Saint-Denis*, built in 1673, also evokes memories of the past (Cohen, 90). As Cohen states:

Insurrectional memories once again haunt a site that disturbs and fascinates Breton without being able to state why. This past is a political past of nineteenth-century class struggle including both the bourgeois consolidation of 1789 in the revolution of 1830 and the working-class revolt against the bourgeoisie on the barricades of 1848. Once again, too, little visible reminder of this past persists in the present, even less reminder, indeed, than the *Place Maubert*. There Breton found the statue of *Etienne Dolet* on which to focus his uncanny sensation. Here Breton’s malaise can find no point of reference beyond the site itself. (90)

Moreover, according to Cohen, the degenerate state of the *Porte Saint-Denis* exemplifies the more general decay of the surrounding boulevards where Breton wanders. The *Porte Saint-Denis* serves as a gateway to the troubled political past of the boulevards, as well as to the uncanny encounter with the illusive Nadja (92-93).

However, Breton’s depiction of the *Porte Saint-Denis* does more than just make reference to the insurrectionist past that haunts the streets and boulevards of modern Paris. In the novel, the *Porte Saint-Denis* evokes a specific and unusual memory for Breton, not that of the area’s revolutionary associations, but a memory of cinema. As Breton describes:

I cannot see, as I hurry along, what could constitute for me, even without my knowing it, a magnificent pole in either space or time. No: not even the extremely handsome, extremely useless *Porte Saint-Denis*. Not even the memory of the eighth and last episode of a film I saw in the

neighborhood, in which a Chinese who had found some way to multiply himself invaded New York by means of several million self-reproductions. He entered President Wilson's office followed by himself, and by himself, and by himself, and by himself; the President removed his pince-nez. This film, which has affected me far more than any other, was called *The Grip of the Octopus*. (32-37)²¹

For Breton, like Aragon, the surrealism of the Parisian cityscape evokes memories of the past rupturing the present. Although, most commonly, in *Nadja*, it is the revolutionary insurrectionist past that haunts the city's streets, boulevards, and squares, these spaces bring to mind the lingering memories of popular culture production, especially the already strange world of the silent-era movie serial that disturbs Breton's modern Paris.

In the films and serials of the 1930s Poverty Row studios, there is a similar evocation of the popular cultural production of the past. Poverty Row not only perpetuated silent era film aesthetics, but also continued a representation of the experience of modernity that can be traced back to early sensational serials like *The Trail of the Octopus* or the *Fantômas* films. As Ben Singer has discussed with regards to early sensational films:

The trend toward vivid, powerful sensation saw one of its most robust manifestations in the rise of cinema. From very early on, the movies gravitated toward an "aesthetic of astonishment" both in terms of its form and subject matter. The thrill was central, for example, to the early spectacle-centered "cinema of attractions" as well as to powerful suspense melodramas such as Griffith's 1908-1909 Biograph thrillers and action serials of the teens built around

²¹ The actual serial was the fifteen chapter *The Trail of the Octopus* (1919) produced by Hallmark Pictures. It starred Ben F Wilson and Neva Gerber and was directed by Duke Worne.

explosions, crashes, torture and contraptions, elaborate fights, chases, and last-minute rescues and escapes. (93)

Consequently, much of early cinema revolved around the representation of spectacle, thrills, and the hypersensationalism of modernity. As Singer continues:

For the French Surrealists, sensational serials “marked an epoch” by “announcing the upheavals of the new world.” They recognized the mark of modernity both in the sensational subject-matter of the *cine-feuilletons* (“Crime, departures, phenomena, nothing less than the poetry of our age”) and the film medium’s power to convey speed, simultaneity, visual superabundance, and visceral shock. (95-96)

Singer draws his comments from remarks made by surrealists Phillippe Soupault and Jean Epstein after viewing *The Exploits of Elaine* (1914) in Paris in 1915, which Soupault described as “the terrible and magnificent flag of life” (Singer, 306, n.28 and Soupault, 55-56). Intriguingly, *The Exploits of Elaine* was directed by Louis J. Gasnier and George B. Seitz, both of whom became prominent directors on Poverty Row. It was based upon the characters developed by Arthur B. Reeves and was the first filmic appearance of ‘Craig Kennedy the Scientific Detective’ and his arch-nemesis ‘The Clutching Hand’. The screenplay was co-written by Basil Dickey, who, like many other silent serial screenwriters such as Betty Burbridge and Arthur Hoerl, would script numerous serials and features for the Poverty Row studios of the 1930s. Although tentative, these cinematic connections establish a lineage from the sensational films of the early silent period through to the films of Poverty Row.

What the Surrealists recognized as the ‘mark of modernity’ twenty years earlier was perpetuated by the Poverty Row studios in their reliance upon

outmoded film personnel and retrograde imagery. Serials, along with other forms of low-budget sensational action cinema (westerns, adventure films, and social conscience films) became a staple of mid-to-low level independent film production during the 1920s, but were rendered obsolete in the late 1920s by the film industry's shift towards the higher-end exhibition market and Hollywood's wholesale abandonment of lower-budgeted genre film production. Moreover, when these antiquated representations of modern sensation became located within the contemporary urban space of Los Angeles and its neighboring communities, they become all the more recognizable as faded marks of a past epoch haunting the space of the modern city.

Fantômas: the Archetype of nineteenth century villainy

In the mid-nineteenth century, Charles Baudelaire identified the criminal element as part of the heroism of modernity.

The pageant of fashionable life and the thousands of floating existences—criminals and kept women—which drift about in the underworld of a great city; the *Gazette des Tribunaux* and the *Moniteur* all prove to us that we have only to open our eyes to recognize our heroism. (18)

The Parisian *bas-fond*, or underworld, was filled with a variety of criminal elements that became staples of popular culture, in literary forms such as ‘penny-dreadfuls’ and pulp magazines, spectacular stage shows like the *Grand Guignol* and the Ten-Twenty-Thirty melodramas, and, of course, the sensational films and

serials of early cinema.²² From these various forms of sensational popular culture arose one villain, in particular, who not only captured the imagination of the reading-filmgoing public, but also became the archetype for all villainy: *Fantômas*, the unstoppable ‘genius of evil’. As Robin Walz explains:

In the twilight of the Belle Époque, *Fantômas* was a crime-fiction sensation, creating popular entertainment out of indeterminate indemnities, incoherence of time and space, technological gadgetry, and unmotivated violence. [...] The popular effect of *Fantômas* was carnivalesque but in a peculiarly twentieth-century fashion. *Fantômas* operated outside logic and deduction, and it offered no moral or social restitution. Instead it was a *récit impossible*, and impossible story of displaced identities, detours, paradoxes, and violence. The crime serial was a mass-culture compendium of a surreal, modern mythology in the process of formation. (45)

Although *Fantômas* was an exceptional figure of modern criminality, in that he was never caught at the end of the stories, the study of *Fantômas* provides insight into the residual representation of sensational criminal masterminds found in Poverty Row films and serials.

The *Fantômas* novels were written by Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain between 1910 and 1911, and first appeared in serialized form and then as novels: thirty-two in total. They followed in the tradition of other popular Belle Époque crime fiction series, like those featuring *Zigomar*, *Nick Carter, le grand détective*

²² The *Grand Guignol* was a Parisian theater that began in the late nineteenth century, which specialized in highly sensationalized and visceral melodramas; while the Ten-Twenty-Thirty melodrama was a similar, highly sensationalized stage production that depicted violent action, gripping suspense, startling surprise and remarkable spectacle. These sensational stage productions were popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but were rendered obsolete by the nickelodeon and similarly themed forms of early cinema. (see Singer)

américan, and *Nat Pinkerton, le plus illustre détective de nos jours* (49-53). Walz notes that these forms of popular literature are built upon strict oppositions: interdiction versus transgression, the law versus crime, the quotidian versus the exceptional, the categorical versus the ludic (48). These popular novels, especially the *Fantômas* novels, were built upon flat character types, Manichean oppositions, and repetitive narratives. Moreover, they were considered at the time ‘modern’ because they expressed a new, yet already familiar set of cultural expectations during a century in which socioeconomic modernization was rapidly eroding traditional social values. Furthermore, the *Fantômas* novels were considered to be the final and supreme examples of this type of nineteenth century popular literature (48). Additionally, the *Fantômas* novels were seen by the surrealists as already being surreal, through their representation of a dark and mysterious city, through their offering of a subtext of pleasure embedded within the idea of unmotivated criminality, and through their attention to the fantastic amid the changing landscape of the everyday (75).

Many of the characteristics that were developed in the *Fantômas* novels and other forms of popular Belle Époque literature found their way into early cinema. *Zigomar*, *Nick Carter*, and *Fantômas* all had corresponding early film series, and the fantastic, violent and Manichean world found in these popular stories made its way into early French serials like Feuillade’s *Les Vampire* and *Tih Minh*. These elements were also transported to Hollywood by the French with filmmaker, Gasnier, and in early Pathé productions of *The Perils of Pauline*, and *The Exploits of Elaine*. In the United States, the film serial achieved its greatest

popularity in the period before the mid-1920s, becoming a box office staple until changes in exhibition practice (the move from nickelodeons to picture palaces) began its decline into a residual and outmoded form. However, the sensational and fantastic narrative and generic conventions established in these early films lingered within Poverty Row film and serial production, as these remained popular with the working-class audiences of the smaller markets. As a result, many Poverty Row films and serials represent a residual form of modernity through the presentation of perilous and mysterious modern spaces, unmotivated criminality and the discovery of the fantastic amidst the mundane.

As Walz has argued, these novels and films presented a modern form of popular cultural production characterized by a familiar set of conventions—flat characters, good versus evil, and a repetition of melodramatic interplay between the characters that together marked popular reading and imagination (48). These conventions of the *Fantômas* novels and their corresponding films, I would argue, can serve as guidelines for the analysis of Poverty Row films. In the *Fantômas* films, one finds the tendency to feature highly theatrical dialogue that continually restates the obvious, in stilted and overdrawn terms. There are, as well, the meandering storylines, which continually branch off in various directions and decenter the action through innumerable loose ends. This is the result of both the episodic structure of the original serialized stories, but also an effect of the time constraints faced in their production (48-49). Poverty Row films present similar conventions: an array of flat characters—hero, villain, damsel in distress, sidekick, and henchmen—locked in a no-holds-barred struggle of good versus evil

and the culmination of episodes into repetitive, melodramatic and often illogical cliffhanger endings. Moreover, these conventions presume a specific form of popular film reception, generally, by lower-level niche markets made up of the working class, immigrants, and juveniles. In addition, these films have stilted and overstated dialogue that reinforces the predetermined moral struggle. As well, the films and serials of Poverty Row present meandering and often illogical storylines that strings together the various set pieces of chases, fights, stunts, and other melodramatic confrontations, which, as with the *Fantômas* films, also reflect their serialized form and the time constraints faced in their production.

Walz points as well to specific characteristics of the *Fantômas* stories that not only define the character of *Fantômas*, but also become the standardized conventions of villainy within Poverty Row films. First, there is the instability of identity. In the *Fantômas* novels, as Walz notes, the principle characters are often someone else, and these identities are not mere disguises, but involve actually being some one else (58). For example, *Fantômas* does not assume the identity of Dr. Chaleck of the Lariboisière Hospital, *Fantômas* is Dr. Chaleck, along with numerous other identities as well as his role as master criminal in his *en cagoule*, black tights, cape and cowl, under which he loses virtually all physically distinctive features (59-60). Moreover, the ephemeral nature of identity is an inherently a modern aspect of *Fantômas*, in that masks and identities are interchangeable, continually changing, and essentially equal (61). Second, there is what Walz identifies as “the swerve,” the ability of the characters to be anyone and anywhere, at any time. In other words, the story swerves through time and

space in order to accommodate the shifting identities and locations of the characters, but also to perpetuate the narrative irrespectively of how incredulous or illogical the situation. Furthermore, the reader, or the film audience, must be willing to accept these fundamental incoherences of time, space, and character (62).

The criminal exploits and machinations of *Fantômas* extend beyond his criminal psychopathology and extend into Fantômas' ability to manipulate everyday objects and twist technology to facilitate his criminal escapades. As Walz states:

His audacity and violence are measured by the wide range of methods, devices and gadgets that he employs to commit those crimes. These *trucs*—technological gadgets of contraptions—form the basis of his outrageous exploits. Such *truquage* gives the series a distinctly modern flavor. (64)

Among the forms of *truquage* utilized by Fantômas are the manipulation of mundane, everyday and, modern forms of transportation and technology: trains, elevators, ocean liners, newspapers. In addition, thier narratives contain the usual array of stock devices from crime and detective fiction, such as poisons, ropes, and revolvers, but involve also the sabotaging of everyday objects, as with perfume aspirators filled with poison, shoes lined with glass, and gloves filled with toxic chemicals. As Walz suggests, “such *truquage* provides uncanny slippage between the quotidian and the horrific (65). Lastly, there is the unmotivated violence of the *Fantômas* stories, which include everything from singular murders to the wholesale slaughter of bombings, train wrecks and the sinking of an ocean liner (66-68). These various characteristics offer a template

with which we can examine the presence of similar characteristics within the films of Poverty Row, where they became commonplace.

The Fiend, the Wrecker, the Rattler, the Shadow of the Eagle and other Weird Menaces

Although the *Fantômas* novels were seen to be the last and most excessive examples of nineteenth century popular crime fiction, *Fantômas*, as the archetypal criminal mastermind, continued to influence the conventional lexicon of popular film through the 1920s, in serials, but also in other genres, such as westerns and 'old dark house' mysteries. All of these films, regardless of form or genre are marked by the repetition of flat character types such as the implacable hero, the young woman in distress, and the mysterious hooded villain, as well by typical binary oppositions between good and evil and the melodramatic repetition of fist fights, shoot-outs, and chases. One major deviation of Poverty Row narratives from the *Fantômas* stories is that, unlike Fantômas, who always evaded capture, in Poverty Row films the villains were either captured or died, usually as a result of their own reckless behavior or foiled evil schemes. Like the *Fantômas* stories and films, however, Poverty Row films based much of their popular appeal on the repetition and familiarity of scenarios, character types, and situations. Among the various criminal enterprises engaged in were the rustling of cattle, grabbing of land rights, characters absconding with an inheritance or the stealing a treasure, the forced bankruptcy of a ranch, mine, mill, railway, or other going concern, the

overthrowing of kingdoms, the taking control of Chinatown, or the destruction of the world.

The 1930s films of Poverty Row are filled with mysterious hooded villains engaged in executing nefarious plans of variable intricacies motivated by revenge, or the quest for wealth and power. Like *Fantômas*, these figures often rely heavily upon disguises and ever-shifting identities in order to maintain their secretive positions. Often these figures take on a spectral or ghostly image—as the Phantom, the Whispering Shadow, The Voice, or the Fiend—and are only seen shrouded in a hooded cloak, or concealed under a turned-up collar and wide-brimmed hat. In the Mascot serials, *The Hurricane Express* (1932) and *Mystery Mountain* (1934), the villain is equipped with a series of rubber masks, thus allowing him to impersonate other members of the cast. Nevertheless, these films all culminate with the grand revelation and unmasking of the villain, often revealing him to be the most unlikely member of the cast. This disguising of the villain served several purposes within the narrative. Most obviously, it created narrative subterfuge by concealing the identity of the villain from the characters and the audience. To leave the identity of the bad guy undisclosed allowed filmmakers to create confusion and deception by having red-herring characters assume the identity of the villain. As Peter Hogue states, with the serial *Shadow of the Eagle*:

Impersonations and blurred identities run rampant, with the image of The Eagle taking multiple form over the course of the action. The Shadow's malevolent impersonation of the Eagle is a central story premise, but there are also several

impersonations of the impersonator, and the Eagle sometimes behaves like the Shadow. (48)

The blurring of identities and multiple impersonations not only create deception and confusion, but they also extend the threadbare narratives. In the feature, *A Face in the Fog* (Victory, 1936), the character of Reardon (played by Jack Mulhall) discovers the costume of ‘The Fiend’ and temporarily assumes the villain’s identity, only to be mistaken as the real villain and falsely arrested, thus delaying the capture of the true culprit, but also extending the narrative to feature length (Turner and Price, 216). The drawing out of narrative length through shifting identities and red-herrings was especially important to the production of serials, as one chapterplay could consist of 10 to 15 chapters, with a total running time of nearly three hours.

The multiple disguises and shifting identities used in Poverty Row films served more than just to create mystery and deception and extend narrative time. They were also economical. A leading actor could be cast as a villain, but only hired for a day’s worth of shooting. Once all their scenes without a disguise were completed, the actor would be finished and the remainder of the film would be shot with an anonymous stunt man or other cast member under a cloak or filmed in shadow. This strategy also worked especially well with serials, as Turner and Price explain with *The Three Musketeers* (Mascot, 1933):

The filmmakers were spurred to new heights of subterfuge by Mascot’s insistence that the secret identity of the villain be maintained to the last. El Shaitan [the villain] is impersonated by Yakima Canutt, Robert Frazer, and Gordon De Main—who all have other roles—and by Wilfred Lucas, who does not otherwise appear; there is little physical resemblance

among these actors. Visual and circumstantial evidence against Fraser, De Main, and Hooper Atchley is piled on until the last moment, when an innocuous and inconspicuous shopkeeper [played by none of the aforementioned actors] is suddenly revealed as the arch-fiend. (102)

Such levels of subterfuge were quite common within the production of Poverty Row films, and with serials in particular. With so many performers assuming the role of the villain, the villain's ability to change identities becomes extended to being able to change physical form, thus intensifying narrative deception, but also reinforcing the uncanny presence of the mysterious criminal mastermind.

Alongside the disguises and shifting identities of the villains, the heroic protagonists of Poverty Row will often assume different identities in order to infiltrate a criminal network or gang of outlaws. Often a hero will take the place of a henchman, or even assume the form of the criminal mastermind, in order to gain information or access the gang. The most interesting examples of criminal impersonation in order to infiltrate an outlaw gang are found in the westerns starring Tim McCoy, in which his cowboy/G-man character Lightnin' Bill Carson assumes various undercover identities. He impersonates, or as is often the case, is simply assumed to be, someone else, whose mistaken identity he then occupies. In *The Lion's Den* (Puritan, 1936), McCoy is mistaken for the hired killer 'Single Shot' Smith. He not only assumes the mistaken identity, but, for all intensive purposes, he becomes 'Single Shot', until the end of the film when he reverts back to his heroic self. Similarly, in *Outlaws' Paradise* (Victory, 1939), McCoy assumes the identity of outlaw 'Trigger' Mallory in order to infiltrate his gang of outlaws, and, in several other westerns, McCoy even changes his race in order to

infiltrate criminal organizations. In both *Lightnin' Carson Rides Again* (Victory, 1938) and *The Fighting Renegade* (Victory, 1939) McCoy becomes a Mexican. In *Trigger Fingers* (Victory, 1939) he becomes a gypsy, and in *Six-Gun Trail* (Victory, 1939), McCoy becomes Chinese in order to infiltrate a gang of smugglers working along the Mexican border. The mutability and transformation of central characters, such as the shifting figure of El Shaitan or McCoy's cowboy heroes, reinforce the binary oppositions between good and evil, law and order, but they also become part of the residual modernity of these productions as they perpetuate older conventions. On one hand there is the novelty of guessing the identity of the mysterious villain, or seeing the familiar figure of McCoy impersonate someone else, but on the other hand, these mutable and shifting identities harkened back to early popular cultural forms like the silent serials and the nineteenth century popular novels

These multiple identities within Poverty Row films also create an otherworldliness which settles around the mysterious, hooded villains so common in these films. These figures are not recognizable outcasts or sociopaths, nor are they gangsters or monsters in the traditions of Little Caesar or Dracula. Rather they are presented as spectral, omnipresent figures of mayhem and chaos. They are feared by everyone, and, typically within these narratives, everyone, in turn, is suspected of being the shrouded criminal. The unworldly and often illogical status of these evil characters is necessary for the narrative. As Walz stated, “Fantômas appears and disappears when the story, not reality, requires” (63). Like Fantômas, the mysterious villains of Poverty Row features and serials must have the ability

to swerve through narrative space and time; moreover, the audience must be willing to accept these fundamental incoherences of time, space and character which propel stories forward. As with the conventions of nineteenth century popular novels, the villains of Poverty Row films maintain the opposition between the fantastic of the mysterious villain *en cagoule*, under hood and cape, and the mundane banality of the everyday world of their alter ego as a shopkeeper, banker, or rancher.

For example, in *The Three Musketeers*, the mysterious villain, El Shaitan, takes on several different physical forms as various actors portray the villain. At several points in the serial, he is played by the tall and lean Yakima Canutt. At other times, he is played by the much stouter Robert Frazer, who also posed as the masked villain for the film's lobby cards. The cloaked villain was also played by Gordon De Main, Hooper Atchley and the uncredited Wilfred Lucas. El Shaitan's voice was dubbed by four different actors, Canutt, Frazer, De Main and Lucas, although, the final chapter reveals the villain to be the shopkeeper played by Edward Peil (Tuska, 94). These multiple and shifting identities are not dependent upon the revelation that the shopkeeper is El Shaitan, but the ever-changing figure of the villain is necessitated by the narrative. When El Shaitan must escape on horseback, he becomes Canutt. When El Shaitan runs through the winding streets of the city, he is Frazer. When El Shaitan meets with his secret cabal, he is Lucas, and when El Shaitan is revealed to be the unsuspecting shopkeeper, he is Peil. Thus, like Fantômas' ability to swerve the story through time and space, El Shaitan is whoever the narrative needs El Shaitan to be.

Truquage as Outmoded Modernity

Much of the criminal enterprise depicted in Poverty Row films is dependent upon a variety of methods, devices, and gadgetry. Certainly there are a number of straight forward murders, in which a homesteader is shot down by an outlaw, or a crooked nightclub owner/ gangster is gunned down in his office, but more often than not, the various criminal masterminds behind the many nefarious plots employ various forms of *truquage*, and, as in the *Fantômas* narratives, these technological gadgetries range in character from the mundane to the fantastic. As Walz notes in reference to the *Fantômas* novels and films, these various forms of *truquage* give the stories a distinctly modern flavor. By the mid-1920s, these technological gadgets and manipulations of everyday objects became a standardized convention in serials and adventure films; in the 1930s, many of these devices had become predictable and outmoded. Nevertheless, these old-fashioned sensations, once the hallmark of modernity, seemed to hold clear appeal for the largely working-class audiences of Poverty Row films.

The manipulation of everyday objects so as to render them devices of murder and mayhem was a common occurrence in Poverty Row films. In *Murder at Midnight* (Tiffany, 1931) a telephone is transformed into a murder device by being wired with electricity. Similarly, *The Thirteenth Guest* (Monogram, 1932) features a dining room chair, for the thirteenth guest, which is also electrified. A *Shriek in the Night* (Allied, 1933) and *Green Eyes* (Chesterfield, 1934) both employ poisonous gas as a murder weapon, and, in, *A Shot in the Dark* (Chesterfield, 1935), it is revealed that the mysterious murder weapon is an air-

powered stun-gun used to slaughter livestock. Often handguns are concealed in ordinary objects: in *The Death Kiss* (World Wide, 1933), a murder mystery set backstage at a movie studio, a gun is concealed inside a spotlight, and in *Death from a Distance* (Invincible, 1935) a handgun is hidden inside the projector at a planetarium.

Frequently, a criminal enterprise involves some form of large-scale destruction. *Wild Waters* (Imperial, 1934) and *Desert Justice* (Atlantic, 1936), both feature attempts to blow-up the Pacoima Dam. *The Hurricane Express* (Mascot, 1932), *Twisted Rails* (Imperial, 1934) and *The Phantom Express* (Majestic, 1932) all focus upon the derailment of trains and the destruction of railways, In *The Phantom Express*, a rival railroad company is wrecking its competitor's trains by affixing train lights onto an airplane, and then, at night, flying directly into an oncoming locomotive causing panic and derailment. *Ghost Patrol* (Puritan, 1936), *Sky Racket* (Victory, 1937) and the serial *The Fighting Marines* (Mascot, 1935) feature 'death rays' used to shoot down airplanes. As well, numerous films and serials feature various doomsday machines, including *Murder at Dawn* (Big 4, 1932), *Murder by Television* (Imperial, 1935), *The Lost City* (Principal, 1935), *Rip Roarin' Riley* (Puritan, 1935), *The Shadow of Chinatown* (Victory, 1936), and *Blake of Scotland Yard* (Victory, 1937).

The most interesting forms of *truquage* appear in the form of technologies used for surveillance and communication. In the serial, *The Vanishing Legion* (Mascot, 1931), the mysterious villain known as 'The Voice' communicates with his henchmen through a hand-held radio device, which is also used to deliver

ominous threats of impending murder and mayhem. In an exchange between Hornbeck (Lafe McKee) and the sheriff (William Desmond), Hornbeck, who was recently freed from imprisonment by ‘The Voice’s’ henchmen, describes the communication device used by ‘the Voice’: “A pocket radio, no bigger than a cigarette case.” Expressing incredulity at the fantastic notion of such a device, the sheriff responds, “Ah-nonsense! There ain’t no such thing.” Nevertheless, these fantastic devices appeared in numerous Poverty Row film, and especially in serials. In the *Whispering Shadow*, wax museum owner and red-herring character, Professor Adam Anton Strang, played by Bela Lugosi, has a television-like device that enables him to observe the goings-on of other characters, while the actual villain, the mysterious Whispering Shadow, only appears through the projection of an animated shadow accompanied by a disembodied voice, a technological achievement for which no explanation is given.

By the mid-1930s, the trend towards science fiction stories in newspapers comic strips, radio programs, and the new juvenile-oriented serials from Universal and Republic served to alter the representations of outmoded technology in the Poverty Row films through the growth in representations of television. Although specialized viewing devices had appeared previously in films like *The Whispering Shadow* and *The Phantom Empire*, suddenly every villain had a television device that could spy upon anyone, anywhere, and at anytime. The new futuristic television was used by various hooded and mysterious villains such as The Clutching Hand, in *The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand*, who monitors his minions through a bank of television screens. Televisions used as a

surveillance device also appear in *The Miracle Rider* (Mascot, 1935) starring Tom Mix, in his last screen appearance, pitted against Zaroff, the mad scientist (Charles Middleton), who not only possesses television surveillance equipment, but also a small futuristic airplane. Televisions also appear in several others among the last independent Poverty Row serials, including *The Fighting Marines*, *The Lost City*, *The Shadow of Chinatown*, and *Blake of Scotland Yard*. The use of *truquage* in these films, and many others, not only provides, as Walz has described in the case of *Fantômas*, a slippage between the quotidian and the horrific, but it also illustrates how Poverty Row perpetuated these residual conventions from nineteenth century popular literature and early silent cinema into the 1930s.

Violence and the heavy death toll

For the surrealists, irrational acts of violence became one of the markers of surrealism, whether they were the fictional assaults of *Fantômas*, or the real life murderers of women by Landru, the “Bluebeard of Gamais.” They constituted a rupture in the everyday in which the mundane details of criminal investigation escape the constrictions of verisimilitude and become fanciful flights of imagination through sensational films and newspapers stories. These acts of violence were part of the fascination for the Surrealists with *Fantômas*, “the inability to explain what drives the villain to commit criminal atrocities in endless succession” (66). Similarly, the Surrealists’ interest in the serial murderer Landru

was based upon juxtaposition of the banal details of criminal anthropology and police laboratory science, and popular legends of “human monsters” and sensational journalism (78). They were fascinated by the interplay between criminal fantasies and quotidian details in the Landru case (79). Similarly, Poverty Row films are filled with instances of unmotivated violence and inexplicable large scale atrocities, from a cleverly crafted murder through gas or electrocution, to the derailment of a train or the sinking of an ocean liner. One of the more unusual examples is the 1934 Lone Star/ Monogram western, *Randy Rides Alone*, which begins with John Wayne’s character, Randy Bowers, arriving in the town of Halfway House. The streets are deserted, filled only with the sound of a mechanical player-piano. Randy enters the salon to discover that all the patrons have been murdered. Although Randy suspects the murders were committed by outlaw Marvin Black and his gang (Black has been disguising himself as the grotesque hunchback known as ‘Matt the Mute’ in order to observe the goings-on in town) Randy is charged with the murders and the chase begins (Turner and Price, 144-146).

Murders abound in Poverty Row films, whether they be homesteaders gunned-down by land-grabbing outlaws, greedy relatives strangling and poisoning each other for a valuable inheritance, or the murder of a prying District attorney or crusading reporter in order to cover-up government corruption. Westerns were particularly violent, often featuring vicious murders of ranch hands, land owners, and other innocent victims. One of the most brutal low-budget westerns of the 1930s was *The Rawhide Terror* (Security Pictures 1934). This film features the

titular psychopath committing several violent murders including one victim who is tied down on the desert floor with a dampened piece of rawhide across his neck. As the rawhide dries under the heat of the sun, it slowly asphyxiates the victim. In *Big Calibre*, an evil chemist named Zenz uses poisonous gas to kill his victims. Later, Zenz has become an assayer named Gadski, who continues to use the acidic gas to kill prospectors and steal their gold. Eventually, Zenz/Gadski is caught in his own gas cloud and dies.

Other strange and vicious acts found in Poverty Row films include the use of a wolf's skull to rip out a victim's throat in order to simulate an animal attack in *Rogue's Tavern*; murder by chimpanzee in both *The Monster Walks* (Action 1932) and *Curtain at Eight* (Majestic, 1933), or murder by gorilla—an actor dressed in a gorilla costume—in *House of Mystery* (Monogram, 1934). In the film, *Corruption* (Imperial, 1933), mad scientist (Mischa Auer) murders corrupt politicos and gangsters with a specially crafted handgun that fires ice-bullets. In *Death in the Air* (Royer/ Puritan, 1935), the mysterious Pilot X shoots down aircraft from his World War I fighter plane emblazoned with large black X's. There is also death by zombie in *White Zombie* and *Revolt of the Zombies* (Academy, 1936), and the numerous deaths associated with the 'killer weed' in all the anti-marijuana films of the latter 1930s. These various acts of violence and murder create interplay between the quotidian everyday world of greed and vengeance and the collective imagination of criminal fantasy.

The most interesting acts of violence are those that utilize some form of mechanization or *truquage*. As Walz states with regards to the *Fantômas* novels:

The explicit violence in *Fantômas* is often the result of some *truquage*, particularly in large-scale disasters as train crashes and deadly traps laid in department stores. In these instances, the horror of the violence depends upon, and is augmented by, the use of gadgetry. (68)

The use of various gadgets to facilitate large scale disasters in Poverty Row films ranged from the use of explosives to blow-up dams, oil derricks, mineshafts, and trains to the employment of fanciful devices like death rays for shooting down airplanes. In *The Mystery Squadron* (Mascot, 1933), the mysterious 'Black Ace' has a squadron of biplanes equipped with machine guns and flame throwers, which he uses to repeatedly attack a dam construction site. In *The Shadow of Chinatown*, scripted by Basil Dickey, the evil Victor Poten uses a wide variety of nefarious devices, from the sun's ray reflected through a hanging fishbowl to set of explosives, to the attempted bombing of Chinatown from an airplane. *Rip Roarin' Riley* (C.C. Burr/ Puritan, 1935) revolves around the development of a poisonous nerve gas, while *Kelly of the Secret Service* (Victory, 1936) features a futuristic missile that could travel over 200 miles. The serial *The Lost City* features the mad scientist, Zolok (a drunken William 'Stage' Boyd in his last screen appearance) who not only possesses a television, also has command of a machine that causes tidal waves and earthquakes, and another machine that can transform pygmies in to giants. As well, his minions use a radio device whose antenna they stick into the ground to communicate with the underground city.

Although *The Lost City*, as well as other independent features and serials of the mid-decade, had elements which echo the contemporary trend towards science fiction, these films are still deeply rooted in the antiquated film practice of

the independent Poverty Row studios. Moreover, the ongoing legacy of production and representation strategies forged in the early period of silent filmmaking created an unstable atmosphere in which the past and the present overlapped. It is important to note that although later conglomerate Poverty Row films and serials continued the flamboyant representation of hooded villains, mysterious *truquage*, and massive body counts, these elements were no longer represented as lingering elements from an earlier period of cultural production. Rather, in the latter films of studios like Republic, they were modernized and updated to include contemporary issues of wartime espionage and postwar nuclear threats.

Just as they had done with their old-fashioned film practice and antiquated mode of production, the independent producers of Poverty Row perpetuated a representation of the modern urban space that was forged in the cultural production of late nineteenth and early twentieth century popular literature and silent cinema. They maintained the stock flat characters and the simple binary oppositions of good versus evil, but they also continued specific characteristics typified by the arch-criminal Fantômas. The antiquation of these older representations of criminality is heightened by the use of location shooting unique to Poverty Row at this time. In *Face in the Fog*, the evil villain known as the Fiend hides out in a back alley shack as the workaday world of Los Angles can be seen in the background. Cars and pedestrians pass by the entrance to the alley, but known notices the horrific hooded figure of the Fiend as he skulks about. This juxtaposition of the everyday world of contemporary L. A. and the sensational

presence of the mysterious and outmoded villain replete with cape, mask, and hunchback, creates an overlap of the past within the present that not only reinforces Poverty Row's position as a residual producer, but it also places these films within the same historical context as the Surrealist's vision of modern Paris and its analogous overlaps with older cultural representations such as the *Fantômas* stories and the early silent serials.

Conclusion

When the last of the independent Poverty Row film companies closed in 1940, the residual status of Poverty Row film production ended too. The new conglomerate companies had their own film exchange networks and no longer used the old States Rights distribution system. The double feature market, which was at onetime almost the exclusive domain of Poverty Row, was no longer a viable market. The Hollywood B film had eliminated the need for Poverty Row programmer films. As well, the independent theater market, which had also been the domain of Poverty Row, was dramatically reduced by the expansion of Hollywood studios affiliated chains, and the pressure from the studios for independently owned theaters to convert to subsequent run theaters, which relied upon the booking of older Hollywood films that had been in circulation for months, perhaps even years. While Republic Pictures was able to compete with the Hollywood B film through its higher budgeted productions and popular film stars like Gene Autry and Roy Rogers, Monogram and Producers Releasing Corporation, the two conglomerates that absorbed the majority of independent Poverty Row, were pushed into the smallest exhibition markets of the urban grindhouses.

Along with the demise of the independent Poverty Row film companies, the need to perpetuate their retrograde mode of production disappeared. This is most evident in the abandonment of *en plein air* location shooting. The conglomerate companies had all established their own film studios and back lot facilities, and were able to create their own backdrop city spaces though the uses

of stage sets, miniatures, and rear projection. The new conglomerate films were increasingly studio bound. From a production perspective, this in-house filmmaking streamlined production and reduced costs, but it also restricted the visual scope of these films and the conglomerate films were increasingly claustrophobic and the city and its surrounding locations were reduced to sound stages, back lots, and rear projections. The barren desolate streets of Van Nuys were replaced with stock footage of busy streets projected behind the performers, and, in the process, the latter conglomerate films lost their sense of the surreal. No longer were older cinematic elements juxtaposed against a contemporary urban landscape. As with the updating of their film practice, the Poverty Row conglomerate companies also updated their representation of modernity. No longer was the experience of the modern city marked by the presence of nineteenth century criminal masterminds, the uncanny hooded villains with their *truquage* and violent schemes. The latter conglomerate films updated their villainy and criminality making it more topical. The mysterious villain was no longer a hooded specter in the tradition of *Fantômas*, but now villainy was undertaken by contemporary enemies such as wartime Imperial Japanese or Nazi German spies and saboteur, or Cold War nuclear threats.

The films of the independent Poverty Row studios passed into obsolescence as their production was replaced by a newer, more efficient, and more topical forms of low-budget film production, and with this slide into obsolescence, the independent Poverty Row studios faded into obscurity. When the discipline of film studies began to document the history of Hollywood, there

was little evidence that Poverty Row even existed. As Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson admitted, when they started their survey of classical Hollywood cinema, they had difficulty locating the output of the “B studios” (389). However, home video has unearthed and resurrected Poverty Row making hundreds of previously unavailable films easily accessible. Moreover, with so many examples of Poverty Row film production available, it is now possible to recognize that Poverty Row was more than just a marginal phenomenon, but a distinct residual producer reliant upon past film practice and aesthetics.

Appendices

(*) indicates that a film is currently available on home video

Appendix A:Independent Poverty Row Film Production Companies

Ajax Pictures (1935)

Twenty Dollars a Week (1935) Burton King Productions/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Wesley Ford

The Fighting Pilot* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Noel M. Smith

Wagon Trail* (1935) William Berke Productions/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, Commodore Pictures Corporation, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1948) – Harry L. Fraser

Rustler's Paradise (1935) William Berke Productions/ Ajax Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Adventurous Knights (1935) William Berke Productions/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures (1939) – Charles E. Roberts

Social Error* (1935) William Berke Productions/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, William Steiner, Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Guaranteed Pictures- Harry L. Fraser

Now or Never* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Wild Mustang* (1935) William Berke Productions/ Ajax Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Last of the Clintons (1935) William Berke Productions/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Harry L. Fraser

Allied Pictures (1931-1934)

Clearing the Range* (1931) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

Wild Horse* (1931) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1947)- Richard Thorpe and Sidney Algiers

Hard Hombre* (1931) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

Local Bad Man* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

The Gay Buckaroo* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures- Phil Rosen

Spirit of the West* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

Vanity Fair *(1932) Chester M. Franklin Productions/ Allied Pictures- Chester M. Franklin

Unholy Love* (1932) Albert Ray Productions, Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, First Division, Hollywood Pictures Corporation States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Ray

A Man's Land* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Rosen

The Stoker* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Chester M. Franklin

The Boiling Point* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Medford

The Cowboy Counsellor* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Medford

A Parisian Romance* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Chester M. Franklin

Officer 13* (1932) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Medford

File 113 (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Chester M. Franklin

The Iron Master (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Chester M. Franklin

The Intruder* (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Ray

The Eleventh Commandment* (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Medford

The Dude Bandit* (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Medford

A Shriek in the Night* (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Ray

The Fighting Parson* (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry Fraser

One Year Later* (1933) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Romance in Rhythm (1934) Allied Film Productions (Lawrence Huntington Productions)/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lawrence Huntington

Picture Brides* (1934) Allied Pictures/ Allied Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Rosen

Arcturus Motion Pictures (1935)

Obeah! (documentary) (1935) Arcturus Motion Pictures/ XXXX- F. Herrick Herrick

Associated Cinemas of America (1934)

Sweden, Land of the Viking (documentary) (1934) XXXX/ Associated Cinemas of America, States Rights Independent Exchanges- XXXX

Atlantic Pictures Corporation (1935-1939)

Social Error* (1935) see Ajax Pictures

Wildcat Saunders* (1936) Berke-Perrin Productions/ Atlantic Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Hair-Trigger Casey* (1936) Berke-Perrin Productions/ Atlantic Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Harry L. Fraser

Desert Justice* (1936) Berke-Perrin Productions/ Atlantic Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lester Williams (William A. Berke)

The Last Journey (1936) Twickenham Film Studios/ Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Olympic Pictures- John Brahm and Bernard Vorhaus

Gun Grit* (1936) Berke-Perrin Productions/ Atlantic Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- William A. Berke

Give Her a Ring (1936) British International Pictures (1934)/ Atlantic Pictures Corporation- Arthur B. Woods

Taku (1937) see Capitol Film Exchange

Rogue of the Rio Grande (1937) see Sono Art-World Wide

In Old Cheyenne (1937) see Sono Art-World Wide

Code of the Air (1937) Samuel Bischoff Productions (1928)/ Atlantic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- James P. Hogan

Hell's Angels* (1938) The Caddo Company (1930)/ United Artists (1930), United Artists (1937), Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1939), Astor Pictures Corporation (1947)- Howard Hughes (with Edmund Goulding and James Whale)

The Front Page* (1938) The Caddo Company (1931)/ United Artists (1931), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- Lewis Milestone

Street Scene* (1938) Feature Productions (1931)/ United Artists (1931), Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1947)- King Vidor

The Age of Love (1938) The Caddo Company (1931)/ United Artists (1931), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- Frank Lloyd

The Greeks had a Word for Them (Three Broadway Girls)* (1938) Feature Productions (1932)/ United Artists (1932)/ Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1947)- Lowell Sherman

Bridge Wives (short) (1938) Educational Films Corporation of America (1932)/ Educational Film Exchanges (1932), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- William Goodrich (Roscoe 'Fatty' Arbuckle)

Sky Devils (1938) The Caddo Company (1932)/ United Artists (1932), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- A. Edward Sutherland

Mother's Holiday (short) (1938) Educational Films Corporation of America (1932)/ Educational Film Exchanges (1932), Fox Film Corporation (1932), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- William Goodrich (Roscoe 'Fatty' Arbuckle)

Billboard Girl (short) (1938) Sennett Picture Corporation (1932)/ Educational Film Exchange (1932), Atlantic Picture Corporation- Leslie Pearce

Scarface* (1938) The Caddo Company (1932)/United Artists (1932) Atlantic Pictures Corporation/ Astor Pictures Corporation (1947), Universal Pictures (1979)- Howard Hawks and Robert Rossen

The Silver Lining (Big House for Girls) (1938) Patrician Pictures (Alan Crosland Productions) (1932)/ United Artists (1932), Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1942)- Alan Crosland

Hallelujah, I'm a Bum* (1938) Feature Productions (1933)/ United Artists (1933) Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1941), Astor Pictures Corporation (1946)- Lewis Milestone

The Constant Woman (Hell in a Circus)* (1938) see Sono Art-World Wide

Sing, Bing, Sing (short) (1938) Sennett Pictures Corporation (1933)/ Paramount Pictures (1933), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- Babe Stafford

I Surrender Dear* (short) (1939) Sennett Picture Corporation (1931)/ Educational Film Exchanges (1931), Educational Film Exchanges (1934), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- Mack Sennett

Dream House* (short) (1939) Sennett Pictures Corporation (1932)/ Educational Film Exchange (1932), Atlantic Pictures Corporation- Del Lord

BCM Roadshow Productions (1937)

Assassin of Youth* (1937) BCM Roadshow Productions/ BCM Roadshow Productions- Elmer Clifton

Beacon Productions (1934-1935)

Through the Centuries (documentary) (1934) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- XXXX

I Can't Escape* (1934) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

Thunder Over Texas* (1934) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John Warner (Edgar G. Ulmer)

Ticket to a Crime* (1934) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lewis D. Collins

Cowboy Holiday* (1934) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Big Boy Rides Again* (1935) Max Alexander Productions/ Beacon Productions- Albert Herman

Danger Trails* (1935) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

What Price Crime?* (1935) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Gun Play (Lucky Boots)* (1935) Beacon Productions/ Beacon Productions, First Division Pictures- Albert Herman

Beaumont Pictures (1935)

Gunners and Guns (Racketeer Round-up) (1935) Black King Productions/ Beaumont Pictures, State Rights Independent Exchanges- Jerry Callahan

Trail's End (1935) Black King Productions, Beaumont Pictures/ William Steiner, Astor Pictures (1947) - Albert Herman

The Judgment Book (1935) Beaumont Pictures/ Beaumont Pictures- Charles Hutchinson

Riddle Ranch (1935) Black King Productions, Beaumont Pictures/ Beaumont Pictures- Charles Hutchinson

Senor Jim (1935) Beaumont Pictures/ Beaumont Pictures- Jacques Jaccard

Desert Guns* (1935) Beaumont Pictures/ Beaumont Pictures, States Rights- Charles Hutchinson

Big 4 Film Corporation (1929-1932)

Smoke Bellew (silent) (1929) Big 4 Film/ First Division, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Scott R. Dunlop

Would You Believe It! (silent) (1930) Nettlefold Films (1929)/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Walter Forde

Take the Heir (silent and sound versions) (1930) Screen Story Syndicate/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lloyd Ingraham

Beyond the Rio Grande (1930) Biltmore Productions/ Big 4 Film, Norman Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Ridin' Law (1930) Biltmore Productions/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Firebrand Jordan (1930) National Players/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Bar-L Ranch (1930) F.E. Douglas/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Canyon Hawks* (1930) National Players/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James and J. P. McGowan

Trails of Danger (1930) National Players/ Big 4 Film, Norman Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

Breed of the West (1930) National Players/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

Red Fork Range* (1931) National Players/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

Sheer Luck (1931) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bruce M. Mitchell

Hell's Valley (1931) National Players/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

Trapped (Framed)* (1931) Hollywood Syndicate/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges, United Pictures (1936) – Bruce M. Mitchell

So This is Arizona (1931) Hooper-Connell Productions/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

Riders of the Cactus (1931) Hooper-Connell Productions/Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- David Kirkland

Headin' for Trouble (1931) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

Cyclone Kid (1931) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

Quick Trigger Lee* (1931) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

Human Targets* (1932) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

Mark of the Spur* (1932) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

Murder at Dawn* (1932) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Richard Thorpe

Tangled Fortunes (1932) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

The Scarlet Brand* (1932) Big 4 Film/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

Flying Lariats (1932) Hooper-Connell Productions/ Big 4 Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James and David Kirkland

Biltmore Productions (1929-1930)

Untamed Justice (silent) (1929) Biltmore Productions/ Biltmore Productions- Harry S. Webb

The Phantom of the North (silent) (1929) All-Star Productions/ Biltmore Pictures- Harry S. Webb

Dark Skies (1929) Biltmore Production/ Biltmore Productions, Capitol Film Exchange- Harry S. Webb

The Poor Millionaire (silent) (1930) Richard Talmadge Productions/ Biltmore Pictures- George Melford

Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises Inc. (1935-1936, 1938)

The New Adventures of Tarzan* (serial) (1935) Dearholt, Stout and Cohen, Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises/ Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises- Edward A. Kull (and Wilbur McGaugh)

The New Adventures of Tarzan* (feature version) (1935) Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises/ Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises- Edward A. Kull

The Drag Net* (1936) Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises/ Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Vin Moore

Tundra* (1936) Burroughs-Tarzan Pictures/ Burroughs-Tarzan Pictures- Norman Dawn

Phantom of Santa Fe (The Hawk)* (1936) Romantic Productions (1931), Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises/ Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jacques Jaccard

Tarzan and the Green Goddess* (feature cut from **The New Adventures of Tarzan**) (1938) Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Edward A. Kull and Wilbur McGaugh

Capitol Film Exchange (1930-1934)

The Galloping Fish (silent) (1930) Thomas H. Ince Corporation (1924) Select Inc (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Del Andrews

Sei tu l'amore (1930) Italtone/ Capitol Film Exchange- Alfred Sabato

Mawas (short) (1930) Bowes Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Max Graf

Romance of the West (1930) Arthur Hammond Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John Tansey and Robert Emmett Tansey

Today (1930) see Majestic Pictures

The Parisian (1931) Pathé-Natan (1930) / Capitol Film Exchange- Jean de Limur

Der Weg zur Schande (1931) Richard Eichberg-Film GmbH (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Richard Eichberg

The Flame of Love (1931) British International Pictures (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Richard Eichberg and Walter Summers

Heute nacht- eventuell (1931) Allianz Tonfilm GmbH (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- E.W. Emo

Mon gosse de père (1931) Pathé-Natan (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Jean de Limur

Das Rheinlandmädel (1931) Aco-Film (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Johannes Meyer

Two Worlds (1931) Greenbaum-Film, British International Pictures (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Ewald André Dupont

Zwei Welten (1931) Greenbaum-Film, British International Pictures (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Ewald André Dupont

La Straniera (1931) Film Jean de la Cour, Hegewald Film/ Capitol Film Exchange- Amleto Palermi and Gaston Ravel

Zwei Menschen (1931) Cicero Film (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Erich Waschneck

Die Privatsekretärin (1931) Greenbaum-Film/ Capitol Film Exchange- William Thiele

Danton (1931) Allianz Tonfilm GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Hans Behrendt

Shuberts Frühlingstraum (1931) Richard-Oswald Produktion/ Capitol Film Exchange- Richard Oswald

Die Försterchristl (1931) Transocean Film GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Frederic Zelnick

Tell England (1931) British Instructional Films/ Capitol Film Exchange- Anthony Asquith and Geoffrey Barkas

Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien (1931) Super-Film GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Géza von Bolváry

Clearing the Range (1931) see Allied Pictures

Yankee Don (1931) Richard Talmadge Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Noel M. Smith

Dancing Dynamite (1931) Richard Talmadge Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, Mercury Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Noel M. Smith

Captivation (1931) John Harvel Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John Harvel

Hurricane Horseman (1931) see Willis Kent Productions

Kinder des Glücks (1931) British International Pictures/ Capitol Film Exchange- Alexander Esway

Scareheads (1931) Richard Talmadge Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, Mercury Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Noel M. Smith

Die vom Rummelplatz (1932) Ondra-Lamac-Film (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Lamac

Brand in der Oper (1932) Carl Froelich-Film GmbH (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Froelich

Zwei Krawatten (1932) Max Glass Filmproduktion GmbH (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Felix Basch and Richard Weichert

Der Falsche Feldmarschall (1932) Elektäfilm, Ondra-Lamac-Film (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Lamac

Wochenend im Paradies (1932) Deutsche Lichspiel-Syndikat (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Robert Land

1914, die letzten Tage vor dem Weltbrand (1932) Atlas, Richard-Oswald-Produktion (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Richard Oswald

Der Fall des Generalstabs-Oberst Redl (1932) Elektrfilm, Sonor Film (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Karl Anton

Moritz macht sein Glück (1932) Films André Hugon (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Jaap Speyer

Der Tanzhusar (1932) Hegewald Film (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Fred Sauer

Ich geh' aus und Du Bleibst da (1932) Cicero Film (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Hans Behrendt

Der Schrecken der Garnison (1932) Aco-Film (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Boese

Purpur und Waschblau (1932) Sascha-Filmproduktion (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Max Neufeld

Ausflug ins Leben (1932) Sascha-Filmproduktion (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Rudolph Bernauer

So lang' noch ein Walzer vom Strauß erklingt (1932) Splendid Film Company (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Conrad Wiene

Hurra – ein Junge! (1932) Lola Kreutzberg Film GmbH (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Georg Jacoby

Ein Ausgekochter Junge (1932) Engels & Schmidt Tonfilm GmbH (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Erich Schönfelder

Der Herr Bürovorsteher (1932) Elite-Tonfilm-Produktion GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Hans Behrendt

Cham (1932) Rex-Film (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Jan Nowina-Przybylski

Discarded Lovers* (1932) see Tower Productions

Der Stolz der 3. Kompanis (1932) Deutsche Lichspiel-Syndikat/ Capitol Film Exchange- Fred Sauer

Bezimienni bohaterowie (1932) BWB Film/ Capitol Film Exchange- Michal Waszynski

Hell's House* (1932) B. F. Zeidman Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Howard Higgin

Man braucht kein Geld (1932) Allianz Tonfilm GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Boese

Holzapfel weiß alles (1932) Elite-Tonfilm-Produktion GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Victor Janson

Shop Angel (1932) see Tower Productions

Legion ulicy (1932) Leo-Film/ Capitol Film Exchange- Aleksander Ford

Mein Leopold (1932) Majestic-Film GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Hans Steinhoff

Gitta entdeckt ihr Herz (1932) Carl Froelich-Film GmbH/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Froelich

Ein Prinz verliebt sic (1932) XXXX/ Capitol Film Exchange- XXXX

Drifting (1932) see Tower Productions

Exposure* (1932) see Tower Productions

Hearts of Humanity* (1932) see Majestic Pictures

Ksiezna Lowicka (1932) Blok-Muzafilm/ Capitol Film Exchange- Mieczyslaw Krawicz and Janusz Warnecki

Die Tänzerin von Sans Souci (1932) Aafa-Film AG/ Capitol Film Exchange- Frederic Zelnick

Gold* (1932) see Majestic Pictures

Glos pustyni (1932) BWB Film/ Capitol Film Exchange- Michal Waszynski

Outlaw Justice (1932) see Majestic Pictures

The Crusader* (1932) see Majestic Pictures

The Red-Haired Alibi* (1932) see Tower Productions

Teilnehmer antwortet nicht (1932) Elite, Tobis Filmkunst/ Capitol Film Exchange- Rudolf Katscher and Marc Sorkin

Law and the Lawless (1932) see Majestic Pictures

Wyoming Whirlwind* (1932) see Willis Kent

Das Lockende Ziel (1933) Richard Tauber Tonfilm-Prod GmbH (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Max Reichmann

Hotel Variety (1933) Screencraft Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Raymond Cannon

The Vampire Bat* (1933) see Majestic Pictures

Via Pony Express (1933) see Majestic Pictures

Kazdemu wolno kochac (1933) Blok-Muzafilm/ Capitol Film Exchange- Mieczyslaw Krawicz and Janusz Warnecki

Drei Tage Mittelarrest (1933) Allianz Tonfilm GmbH (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Boese

Der Sohn der weißen Berge (1933) Itala-Film (1930)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Mario Bonnard and Luis Trenker

La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (1933) Société générale des films (1928)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Carl Theodor Dreyer

Berlin- Alexanderplatz* (1933) Allianz Tonfilm GmbH (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Phil Jutzi

Walzerparadies (1933) Efzet Film (1931)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Frederic Zelnick

Reform Girl* (1933) see Tower Productions

What Price Decency (1933) see Majestic Pictures

Daring Daughters* (1933) see Tower Productions

Gun Law* (1933) see Majestic Pictures

The World Gone Mad* (1933) see Majestic Pictures

Cheating Blondes (1933) see Majestic Pictures

Trouble Busters (1933) see Majestic Pictures

The Important Witness (1933) see Tower Productions

Sing, Sinner, Sing* (1933) see Majestic Pictures

Secrets of Hollywood (1933) see Freuler Film

Curtain at Eight* (1933) see Majestic Pictures

The Big Bluff (1933) see Tower Productions

Big Time or Bust (1933) see Tower Productions

The Sin of Nora Moran* (1933) see Majestic Pictures

Unknown Blonde (1934) see Majestic Pictures

Outlaw's Highway (1934) Trop Productions/ Trop Productions- Robert F. Hill

Marrying Widows (1934) see Tower Productions

Beggar's Holiday (1934) see Tower Productions

The Scarlet Letter* (1934) see Majestic Pictures

She has to Choose* (1934) see Majestic Pictures

Night Alarm* (1934) see Majestic Pictures

Königsmark (1935) Pathé-Natan/ Capitol Film Exchange- Maurice Tourneur

Mutiny Ahead* (1935) see Majestic Pictures

The Perfect Clue* (1935) see Majestic Pictures

Motive for Revenge* (1935) see Majestic Pictures

Taku (1937) Norman Dawn Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, Guaranteed Pictures Corporation, Atlantic Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1940)- Norman Dawn

Pat Carlyle Productions

Call of the Coyote: A Legend of the Golden West* (1934) Keith Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- Patrick [Pat] Carlyle

The Irish Gringo* (1935) Keith Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Pat Carlyle and William C. Thompson

Polygamy (Illegal Wives)* (1936) Unusual Pictures/ Xxxx- Pat Carlyle

Highway to Hell (Honky Tonk Girl)* (1937) Preview Productions/ Xxxx- Pat Carlyle

Chesterfield-Invincible ([1925] -1937)

Just Off Broadway* (silent) (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank O' Connor

The Peacock Fan* (silent) (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Circumstantial Evidence (silent) (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Wilfred Noy

Below the Deadline (silent) (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- J. P. McGowan

Silent Sentinel (silent) (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Alan James

Campus Knight* (silent) (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Albert H. Kelley

Love at First Sight (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Edgar Lewis

The House of Secrets (1929) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Edmund Lawrence

Ladies in Love (1930) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Edgar Lewis

Jazz Cinderella (1930) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Scott Pembroke

The Midnight Special (1930) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Duke Worne

The Lawless Woman (1931) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Lady from Nowhere* (1931) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Grief Street* (1931) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Probation* (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield
Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Escapade (1932) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion
Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

The Devil Plays (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Midnight Lady* (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Forbidden Company (Strange Escapades)* (1932) Invincible Pictures
Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Beauty Parlor (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Thrill of Youth (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

The King Murder* (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/
Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

The Face on the Barroom Floor (1932) The Aubrey Kennedy Pictures
Corporation, Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures
Corporation, States Rights- Bertram Bracken

Slightly Married (Strange Marriage)* (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Women won't Tell (Cross Currents)* (1932) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Picture Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Secrets of Wu Sin* (1932) George R. Batcheller Productions/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Love is Dangerous (1933) George R. Batcheller Productions / Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Footsteps in the Night (A Honeymoon Adventure) (1933) Associated Talking Pictures (1931)/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Maurice Elvey

Forgotten (1933) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Taming the Jungle (documentary) (1933) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Robert Emmett Tansey

Strange People (1933) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

By Appointment Only* (1933) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

I Have Lived (1933) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Notorious but Nice* (1933) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Dance, Girl, Dance* (1933) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

A Man of Sentiment (1933) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Rainbow over Broadway* (1933) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

In the Money* (1934) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

The Quitter* (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Twin Husbands* (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

In Love with Life* (1934) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

City Park (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Cross Streets (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

Fifteen Wives (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

Stolen Sweets* (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

One in a Million (Dangerous Appointment)* (1934) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

The Curtain Falls (1934) Chesterfield Motion Picture Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

Green Eyes* (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Fugitive Road* (1934) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

Murder on the Campus* (1934) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Port of Lost Dreams* (1935) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

The World Accuses* (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

The Ghost Walks* (1935) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

Sons of Steel* (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

A Shot in the Dark* (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

Symphony for Living* (1935) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

Circumstantial Evidence* (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

Condemned to Live (Life Sentence)* (1935) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation (1936)- Frank R. Strayer

Death from a Distance* (1935) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

Public Opinion (1935) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

The Girl who came Back* (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation (1936)- Charles Lamont

False Pretenses* (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation (1936)- Charles Lamont

Society Fever (1935) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation (1936)- Frank R. Strayer

Happiness came C.O.D. (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation (1936)- Charles Lamont

The Lady in Scarlet* (1935) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation (1936)- Charles Lamont

Tango* (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Ring Around the Moon* (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

Murder at Glen Athol (The Criminal Within)* (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

Hitchhike to Heaven (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

The Bridge of Sighs* (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

The Little Red Schoolhouse* (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

Below the Deadline* (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

Three of a Kind* (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Easy Money* (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

August Weekend* (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

The Dark Hour* (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

It Couldn't Have Happened... But It did* (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, First Division Pictures, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Lady Luck* (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

Brilliant Marriage (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Missing Girl*s (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

The House of Secrets* (1936) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Roland D. Reed

Ellis Island* (1936) Invincible Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Red Lights Ahead* (1937) Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation/ Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation- Roland D. Reed

Cine-Grand Films (1939)

The Unashamed* (1939) Cine-Grand Films Inc/ Cine-Grand Inc- Allen Stuart

Cinema Service Corporation (1938- 1940)

Sex Madness (Human Wreckage)* (1938) Cinema Service Corporation/
XXXX, Dwain Esper (unconfirmed)

Kol Nidre (1939) Cinema Service Corporation/ Cinema Service Corporation- Joseph Seiden

The Jewish Melody (1940) Cinema Service Corporation/ Cinema Service Corporation- Joseph Seiden

The Great Advisor* (1940) Cinema Service Corporation/ Cinema Service Corporation- Joseph Seiden

Motel the Operator (1940) Cinema Service Corporation/ Cinema Service Corporation- Joseph Seiden

Eli Eli (1940) Cinema Service Corporation/ Cinema Service Corporation- Joseph Seiden

Her Second Mother (1940) Cinema Service Corporation/ Cinema Service Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Joseph Seiden

Colony Pictures (1936, 1939-1940)

West of Nevada* (1936) Colony Pictures Corporation/ Colony Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Idaho Kid* (1936) Colony Pictures Corporation/ Colony Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Men of the Plains* (1936) Colony Pictures Corporation/ Colony Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Law and Lead* (1936) Colony Pictures Corporation/ Colony Pictures Corporation, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Stormy Trails* (1936) Colony Pictures/ Colony Pictures- Sam Newfield

Flaming Lead* (1939) Colony Pictures/ Colony Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Death Rides the Range* (1939) Colony Pictures/ Colony Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Phantom Rancher* (1940) Colony Pictures/ Colony Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Frazer

Lightning Strikes West* (1940) Colony Pictures/ Colony Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Frazer

Commodore Pictures Corporation (1935-1936)

Roaring Roads* (1935) William Berke Productions Inc/ Commodore Pictures, Ajax Pictures Corporation, Marcy Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Charles E. Roberts

Toll of the Desert* (1935) William Berke Productions Inc/ Commodore Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1947)- William Berke (Lester Williams)

The Pecos Kid* (1935) William Berke Productions Inc/ Commodore Pictures, Ajax Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Frazer

The Shadow of Silk Lennox* (1935) Ray Kirkwood Productions/ Commodore Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ray Kirkwood and Jack Nelson

A Scream in the Night* (1935) Ray Kirkwood Productions/ Commodore Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1943)- Fred C. Newmeyer

Aces Wild* (1936) William Berke Productions Inc/ Commodore Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1948)- Harry L. Fraser

Ghost Town* (1936) William Berke Productions Inc/ Commodore Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1948)- Harry L. Fraser

I Cover Chinatown (1936) Standard Photoplay Company/ Commodore Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Banner Pictures Corporation, Guaranteed Pictures Corporation (1947)- Norman Foster

Congo Pictures (1930)

Ingagi (1930) Congo Pictures/ Road Show Pictures- William Campbell

Maurice Conn Productions (1934-1937)

The Fighting Trooper* (1934) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ray Taylor

Black Gold* (1935) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Russell Hopton

Northern Frontier* (1935) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures- Sam Newfield

Wilderness Mail* (1935) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Forrest Sheldon

Red Blood of Courage* (1935) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John (Jack) English

Code of the Mounted* (1935) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Men of Action* (1935) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

Trails of the Wild* (1935) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures- Sam Newfield

His Fighting Blood* (1935) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Guaranteed Pictures- John English

Valley of Wanted Men* (1935) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures- Alan James

Timber War* (1935) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Song of the Trail* (1936) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Russell Hopton

Born to Fight* (1936) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Charles Hutchinson

Wildcat Trooper* (1936) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures- Elmer Clifton

Racing Blood* (1936) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Halperin

The Phantom Patrol* (1936) Ambassador Pictures/ Ambassador Pictures- Charles Hutchinson

Wild Horse Roundup* (1936) Ambassador Pictures/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Guaranteed Pictures- Alan James

With Love and Kisses (1936) Melody Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Leslie Goodwins

Valley of Terror* (1937) Ambassador Pictures/ Ambassador Pictures- Albert Herman

Sing While Your Able* (1937) Melody Pictures/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Marshall Neilan

Headline Crash* (1937) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Guaranteed Pictures- Leslie Goodwins

Whistling Bullets* (1937) Ambassador Pictures/ Ambassador Pictures, Guaranteed Pictures- John English

Tough to Handle* (1937) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation; States Rights Independent Exchanges- S. Roy Luby

The Fighting Texan* (1937) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Charles Abbott

Devil Diamond* (1937) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Leslie Goodwins

Anything for a Thrill* (1937) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Leslie Goodwins

Galloping Dynamite* (1937) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Rough Riding Rhythm* (1937) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Roaring Six Guns* (1937) Ambassador Pictures Corporation/ Ambassador Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, William Steiner- J.P. McGowan

Thanks for Listening* (1937) Conn Pictures/ Ambassador Pictures, Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Marshall Neilan

Swing it, Professor* (1937) Melody Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Marshall Neilan

Young Dynamite* (1937) Conn Pictures Corporation/ Conn Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Leslie Goodwins

Conquest Pictures Company (1935)

Womanhood (silent) (1935) Louis London Productions/ Conquest Pictures Company- Harry Hughes

Variety (1935) John Argyle Productions/ Conquest Pictures Company- Adrien Brunel

Backwoods America (1935) XXXX/ Conquest Pictures Company- XXXX

The Battalion of Death (documentary) (1935) XXXX/ Conquest Pictures Company- XXXX

The Desert Strikes (1935) XXXX/ Conquest Pictures Company- XXXX

The Seminoles (1935) Conquest Pictures Company/ Conquest Pictures Company- XXXX

Continental Talking Pictures Corporation (1929-1931)

Phantom in the House* (1929) Trem Carr Pictures/ Continental Talking Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Rosen

The Rampant Age (1930) Trem Carr Pictures/ Continental Talking Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Rosen

Worldly Goods (1930) Trem Carr Pictures/ Continental Talking Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Rosen

Second Honeymoon* (1930) Trem Carr Pictures/ Continental Talking Pictures- Phil Rosen

The Fourth Alarm (1930) Standard Photoplay Company/ Continental Talking Pictures- Phil Whitman

Sea Devils* (1931) Larry Damour Productions, Standard Photoplay Company/ Continental Talking Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Joseph Levering

Defenders of the Law* (1931) Larry Darmour Productions, Standard Photoplay Company/ Continental Talking Pictures, Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Joseph Levering

The Mystery Train* (1931) Standard Photoplay Company/ Continental Talking Pictures- Phil Whitman

Air Eagles* (1931) Larry Darmour Productions, Standard Photoplay Company/ Continental Talking Pictures, Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Whitman

Crescent Pictures (1936-1939)

The Glory Trail* (1936) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lynn Shores

Rebellion* (1936) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lynn Shores

Battle of Greed* (1937) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Howard Higgin

Old Louisiana (Louisiana Gal)* (1937) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Crescent Pictures (1946)- Irvin Willat

Drums of Destiny* (1937) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures- Ray Taylor

Raw Timber (1937) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures, States Right Independent Exchanges- Ray Taylor

Under Strange Flags* (1937) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures, State Rights Independent Exchanges- Irvin Willat

The Law Commands* (1937) Crescent Pictures/ Crescent Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchange- William Nigh

County Fair (1937) Crescent Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

My Old Kentucky Home* (1938) Crescent Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lambert Hillyer

Female Fugitive (1938) Crescent Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Convict's Code* (1939) Crescent Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lambert Hillyer

Star Reporter* (1939) Crescent Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Undercover Agent* (1939) Crescent Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Should a Girl Marry? (1939) Crescent Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lambert Hillyer

Samuel Cummins Productions ([1924, 1928]-1929, 1934, 1940, [1952])

Unguarded Girls (musical score) (1929) Circle Films/ Public Welfare Pictures- William Hughes Curran

This Nude World* (documentary) (1933) XXXX/ XXXX- Michael Mindlin

War is a Racket (1934) Eureka Productions/ XXXX- Jacques A. Koerpel

Hitler's Reign of Terror (documentary) (1934) Eureka Productions/ Jewel Productions, Special Pictures Company (1952)- Michael Mindlin

Ecstasy (Ekstase)* (1940) Elektofil (1933)/ Eureka Productions, Jewel Productions (1947 and 1959)- Gustav Machatý

Diversion Pictures (1935-1936)

Call Me Co-Ed (1935) Walter Futter Productions/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- XXXX

Frontier Justice* (1936) Walter Futter Productions/ Diversion Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Grand National Pictures (1936)- Robert F. McGowan

Swifty* (1936) Walter Futter Productions/ XXXX- Alan James

Lucky Terror* (1936) Walter Futter Productions/ Diversion Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Grand National Pictures (1937)- Alan James

Feud of the West* (1936) Walter Futter Productions/ Diversion Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Grand National Pictures (1937)- Harry L. Fraser

The Riding Avenger* (1936) Walter Futter Productions/ Diversion Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Grand National (1937)- Harry L. Fraser

Cavalcade of the West* (1936) Walter Futter Productions/ Diversion Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Grand National Pictures (1937)- Harry L. Fraser

DuWorld Pictures Incorporation (1933-1937)

Dawn to Dawn (short) (1933) XXXX/ DuWorld Pictures- Josef Berne

Das Blaue Licht* (1934) Leni Riefenstahl-Produktion (1932)/ Du World Pictures- Béla Balász and Leni Riefenstahl

Crainquebille (1934) Les Films Artistiques Français (1933)/ Du World Pictures- Jacques de Baroncelli

Skandal in Budapest (1934) Hunnia Filmstúdió, Deutsche Universal-Film/ DuWorld Pictures- Steve Sekeley and Géza von Bolváry

The Chump (short) (1934) XXXX/ Du World Pictures- XXXX

Kocha, lubi szanuje (1934) XXXX/ DuWorld Pictures- Michal Waszynski

The Beast of Borneo* (1934) Far East Productions Inc/ DuWorld Pictures- Harry Garson

Sword of the Arab (short) (1934) XXXX/ DuWorld Pictures- XXXX

The Tell-Tale Heart (1934) XXXX/ DuWorld Pictures- Brian Desmond Hurst

The Man who Changed His Name (1934) Twickenham Film Studios/ DuWorld Pictures- Henry Edwards

Irish Heart (1934) XXXX/ DuWorld Pictures- Brian Desmond Hurst

Tavaszi zápor (1935) Osso Film Bt. (1932)/ DuWorld Pictures- Pál Fejös

Pêcheur d'Islande (1935) XXXX (1933)/ DuWorld Pictures- Pierre Guerlais

La Dame aux camélias (1935) Les Films Fernands Rivers, Productions Maurice Lehmann (1934)/ DuWorld Pictures- Fernand Rivers and Abel Gance

Dream of My People (Halome Ami) (1935) Palestine American Film Company (1934)/ DuWorld Pictures- A.J. Bloome

Sans Famille (1935) Société Agatos/ DuWorld Pictures- Marc Allégret

Legong: Dance of the Virgins* (1935) Bennett Pictures Corporation/ DuWorld Pictures- Henri de la Falaise

The Last Wilderness (1935) XXXX/ DuWorld Pictures- XXXX

Girl in the Case (1935) Screenart Productions/ DuWorld Pictures- Eugene Frenke

Frasquita (1936) Atlantis-Film GmbH (1934)/ DuWorld Pictures- Carl Lamac

Don Bosco (1936) Lux Film (1935)/ DuWorld Pictures- Goffredo Alessandrini

Kliou the Tiger* (documentary) (1936) Bennett Pictures Corporation/ DuWorld Pictures- Henri de la Falaise

Opéra de Paris (short) (1936) Les Film Jean Monti- Jean Margueritte/ DuWorld Pictures- Claude Lambert

The Crimson Circle (1937) Richard Wainwright Productions/ DuWorld Pictures- Reginald Denham

Empire Pictures Corporation (1934-1936)

The Way of the West* (1934) Superior Talking Pictures/ Empire Pictures Corporation, First Division Pictures- Robert Emmett Tansey

Courage of the North (1935) Empire Pictures Corporation/ Stage & Screen Productions, First Division Pictures, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

Timber Terrors* (1935) Empire Pictures Corporation/ Stage & Screen Productions- Robert Emmett Tansey

Calling All Cars (1935) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Empire Film Distributors, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet

The Lone Bandit* (1935) H & H Productions/ Kinematrade Inc/ Empire Film Distributors, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Outlaw Tamer* (1935) H & H Productions/ Empire Film Distributors, Kinematrade Inc- J.P. McGowan

Rescue Squad (1935) Empire Pictures Corporation/ Empire Film Distributors, J.H. Hoffberg Company- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Get That Man* (1935) Scott-Bennet Productions/ Empire Film Distributors, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet

The Fire Trap* (1935) Larry Darmour Productions/ Empire Film Distributors, J.H. Hoffberg Company (1937)- Burt P. Lynnwood

Shadows of the Orient* (1935) Larry Darmour Productions/ Empire Film Distributors, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1937)- Burt P. Lynnwood

The Crime Patrol* (1936) Mayfair Pictures/ Empire Film Distributors, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Guaranteed Pictures Corporation (1938)- Eugene Cummings

Equity Pictures Corporation (1938-1939)

Prison Train* (1938) Malcolm-Browne Pictures Corporation/ Equity Pictures Corporation- Gordon Wiles

The Adventures of the Masked Phantom* (1939) B.F. Zeidman Productions Limited/ Equity Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Charles Abbott

Excelsior Pictures (1936-1938)

The Sea Fiend (The Devil Monster)* (1936) Excelsior Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges, Louis Weiss Company (1946), States Rights Independent Exchanges (1946)- S. Edwin Graham

Lightnin' Bill Carson* (1936) Excelsior Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

The Lion's Den* (1936) Excelsior Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

Ghost Patrol* (1936) Excelsior Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

Crashing Through Danger* (1938) Excelsior Pictures Corporation/ Excelsior Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

Exploitation Pictures (1934)

Enlighten Thy Daughters (Blind Fools) (1934) Exploitation Pictures/ Exploitation Pictures, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- John Varley

Famous Attractions Corporation (1931)

The Secret Witness (Terror by Night)* (1931) Famous Attractions Corporation/ Columbia Pictures- Thornton Freeland

First Division Pictures ([1926] -1935)

Smoke Bellew (silent) (1929) see Big 4 Films

Linda* (silent) (1929) see Willis Kent Productions

La Douceur d'aimer (1931) Les Établissements Jacques Haïk (1930)/ First Division- René Hervil

Sherlock Holmes' Fatal Hour (The Sleeping Cardinal)* (1931) Twickenham Film Studios/ First Division, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Leslie S. Hiscott

The Speckled Band* (1931) Herbert Wilcox Productions, British & Dominions Film Corporation/ First Division Pictures- Jack Raymond

The Lawless Women (1931) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Lady from Nowhere (1931) see Chesterfield Invincible

Bomben auf Monte Carlo (1931) Universum Film (UFA)/ First Division- Hanns Schwartz

Footsteps in the Night (A Honeymoon Adventure) (1933) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Cheyenne Cyclone (1931) see Willis Kent Productions

Wild Women of Borneo (1932) Television Productions Limited (1931)/ First Division, States Rights Independent Exchanges- XXXX

Chin Chin Chinaman (1932) Real Art Productions (1931)/ First Division- XXXX

Le Mystère de la Ville Rose (1932) Les Établissements Jacques Haïk (1930)/ First Division- René Hervil and Louis Mercanton

La Ronde des Heures (1932) Les Établissements Jacques Haïk (1931)/ First Division- Alexandre Ryder

The Ringer (1932) Gainsborough Pictures, British Lion Film Corporation (1931)/ First Division Pictures- Walter Forde

Kriss (Goona Goona)* (1932) XXXX/ First Division Pictures- Armand Denis and Andre Roosevelt

The Drifter* (1932) see Willis Kent Production

Condemned to Death (1932) Twickenham Film Studios/ First Division Pictures- Walter Forde

Le Rosier de Madame Husson (He) (1932) Films Ormuzd, Comptoir Français de Productions Cinématographiques/ First Division Pictures, Astor Pictures Corporation (1933)- Bernard-Deschamps

The Missing Rembrandt (1932) Twickenham Film Studios/ First Division Pictures- Leslie S. Hiscott

The Hound of the Baskervilles (1932) Gainsborough Pictures/ First Division Pictures- Gareth Gundrey

Unholy Love* (1932) see Allied Pictures

Monte Carlo Madness (1932) Universum Film (UFA)/ First Division Pictures- Hanns Schwartz

Forbidden Company (1932) see Chesterfield Invincible

Women won't Tell (1932) see Chesterfield Invincible

Tex takes a Holiday (1932) Argosy Productions/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

The Little Damozel (1933) Herbert Wilcox Productions, British & Dominions Film Corporation/ First Division Pictures, Principal Distributing Corporation (1934)- Herbert Wilcox

Forgotten (1933) see Chesterfield Invincible

Love is Dangerous (1933) see Chesterfield Invincible

I Have Lived (1933) see Chesterfield Invincible

Sensation Hunters* (1933) see Monogram Pictures

Murder on Campus* (1933) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Quitter* (1934) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Road to Ruin* (1934) see Willis Kent Productions

Arizona Cyclone (1934) see Imperial Productions

In Love with Life (1934) see Chesterfield Invincible

Young Eagles* (serial) (1934) Romance Productions/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet (Chapter 1), Vin Moore (Chapters 2-4), Edward Lavier (Chapters 5-12)

Cross Streets (1934) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Tonto Kid* (1934) see Resolute Pictures

The Return of Chandu* (1934) see Principal Productions

The Way of the West (1934) see Empire Film

Port of Lost Dreams* (1934) see Chesterfield Invincible

Flirtation (1934) XXXX/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Leo Birinsky

Gunfire* (1934) see Resolute Pictures

Java Head* (1935) Associated Talking Pictures (1934)/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Thorold Dickinson and J. Walter Ruben

The Living Dead (The Scotland Yard Mystery)* (1935) British International Pictures (1933) First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Thomas Bentley

The Old Curiosity Shop (1935) British International Pictures (1934)/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Thomas Bentley

Call Me Co-Ed (1935) see Diversion Pictures

A Shot in the Dark* (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

Primitive Passions (Hei Tiki) (1935) XXXX/ First Division Pictures- Alexander Markey

Public Opinion (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

One in a Million (Dangerous Appointment)* (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

Sunset Range* (1935) First Division Pictures/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ray McCarey

Million Dollar Haul (1935) see Superior Talking Pictures

Cyclone of the Saddle* (1935) see Superior Talking Pictures

The Cowboy and the Bandit* (1935) see Superior Talking Pictures

The Ghost Rider (1935) see Superior Talking Pictures

Fighting Caballero* (1935) see Superior Talking Pictures

Fighting Pioneers (1935) see Resolute Pictures

Dizzy Dames (1935) see Liberty Pictures

Saddle Aces* (1935) see Resolute Pictures

Society Fever (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

Rainbow's End* (1935) First Division Pictures/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Norman Spencer

Danger Trails* (1935) see Beacon Productions

Condemned to Live* (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Girl who Came Back* (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

Courage of the North (1935) see Empire Film

Happiness C.O.D. (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Lady in Scarlet* (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

False Pretenses* (1935) see Chesterfield Invincible

Convention Girl* (1935) Falcon Pictures/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Luther Reed

Law of 45s* (1935) see Normandy Pictures

Gun Play (1935) see Beacon Productions

Hong Kong Nights* (1935) Walter Futter Productions/ First Division Pictures- E. Mason Hopper

The Lion Man* (1936) see Normandy Pictures

Hitchhike to Heaven (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Tango* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Bridge of Sighs* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Dark Hour* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

August Weekend* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Murder at Glen Athol* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Little Red Schoolhouse* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Brilliant Marriage (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Three of a Kind* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Below the Deadline* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Easy Money* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

It Couldn't Have Happened... But It Did* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Irma la mala (She Devil Island) (1936) Films Selecto/ First Division Pictures- Raphael J. Sevilla

House of Secrets* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Red Wagon (1936) British International Pictures (1933)/ First Division Pictures- Paul L. Stein

On Secret Service (1936) British International Pictures (1933)/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Arthur B. Woods

Mimi (1936) British International Pictures (1935)/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Paul L. Stein

Dance Band* (1936) British International Pictures (1935) First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Marcel Varnel

Bryan Foy Productions (1933-1934)

Obey the Law (1933) Bryan Foy Productions/ Columbia Pictures- Benjamin Stoloff

Night of Terror (1933) Foy Productions (Bryan Foy Productions)/ Columbia Pictures- Benjamin Stoloff

What Price Innocence? (1933) Bryan Foy Productions/ Columbia Pictures- Willard Mack

Myrt and Marge* (short) (1933) Foy Productions/ Universal Pictures- Al Boasberg

Elysia, Valley of the Nude* (1934) Elysia Pictures/ XXXX- Brian Foy

Tomorrow's Children* (1934) Foy Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Crane Wilbur

High School Girl* (1934) Brian Foy Productions/ Brian Foy Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Columbia Pictures (1935), Broadway Roadshow Productions (1958)- Crane Wilbur

That's Gratitude (1934) Foy Productions (Bryan Foy Productions)/ Columbia Pictures- Frank Craven

Swellhead (1935) Foy Productions (Bryan Foy Productions)/ Columbia Pictures- Benjamin Stoloff

Struggle For Life (documentary) (1935) Foy Productions (Bryan Foy Productions)/ Majestic Pictures- C. Court Treatt

Together We Live (1935) Foy Productions (Bryan Foy Productions)/ Columbia Pictures- Willard Mack

G&H Productions (1936)

Tell Your Children (Reefer Madness)* (1936) G&H Productions (George A. Hirliman Productions)/ XXXX, Motion Pictures Ventures (1938)- Louis J. Gasnier

Ken Goldsmith Productions (1932-1934)

Out of Singapore (Gangsters at Sea)* (1932) Goldsmith Productions/ Goldsmith Productions, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1941)- Charles Hutchinson

Bachelor Mother (1932) Goldsmith Productions/ Goldsmith Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Charles Hutchinson

High Gear* (1933) Goldsmith Productions/ Goldsmith Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Leigh Jason

Carnival Lady* (1933) Goldsmith Productions/ Goldsmith Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Howard Higgin

Woman Unafraid (1934) Goldsmith Productions/ Goldsmith Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William J. Cowan

I Hate Women (1934) Goldsmith Productions/ Goldsmith Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Aubrey Scotto

Tres Amores (1934) Goldsmith Productions/ Goldsmith Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jesús Topete and Aubrey Scotto

Arthur Greenblatt Distributing Service (1933)

The Big Chance* (1933) Eagle Pictures (Morris Shiller Productions)/ Arthur Greenblatt Distributing Service, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Mr. Broadway (1933) Malcomar Productions, Broadway-Hollywood Productions Inc/ Arthur Greenblatt Distributing Services, Broadway-Hollywood Productions Inc/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Johnny Walker and Edgar G. Ulmer (unconfirmed and uncredited)

Before Morning (1933) see Stage & Screen Productions

Halperin Productions (1929-1937)

She Goes to War (1929) Inspiration Pictures/ United Artists- Henry King

Party Girl (1930) see Tiffany Productions

Ex-Flame (1930) see Liberty Pictures

White Zombie* (1932) Edward Halperin Productions, Victor Halperin Productions/ United Artists, Screencraft Pictures Inc (1940), Joseph Brenner Associates (1970)- Victor Halperin

Revolt of the Zombies* (1936) Edward Halperin Productions, Victor Halperin Productions/ Academy Pictures Distributing Corporation, Favorite Films (1947)- Victor Halperin

I Conquer the Sea!* (1936) Academy Pictures Corporation/ Academy Pictures Distributing Corporation- Victor Halperin

Nation Aflame* (1937) Treasure Pictures/ States Rights Independent Exchanges, Television Pictures Inc. (1949)- Victor Halperin

Headline Pictures (1931-1933)

Women Men Marry (1931) Charles Hutchison Productions/ Headline Pictures- Charles Hutchison

A Private Scandal (The Girl from Nowhere) (1931) Charles Hutchison Productions/ Headline Pictures, Commonwealth Pictures Corporation (1948-TV)- Charles Hutchison

Secrets of Hollywood (1933) Lester F. Scott Productions/ Headline Pictures, Acme Film Exchange, Capitol Film Exchanges, Freuler Film Corporation, Imperial Film Corporation, Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George M. Merrick

High Art Pictures Corporation (1931-1933)

His Wife's Lover (1931) High Art Pictures Corporation/ High Art Pictures Corporation- Sidney M. Goldin

Reckless Decision (Protect Your Daughters)* (uses extensive footage from Marriage on Approval [see Monarch Pictures, 1933]) (1933) High Art Pictures Corporation/ High Art Pictures Corporation- XXXX

Hollywood Pictures (1930-1931)

The Voice from the Sky (serial) (1930) Ben Wilson Productions, G.Y.B. Productions/ Hollywood Pictures Corporation, G.Y.B. Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ben F. Wilson

Call of the Circus (1930) Pickwick Pictures (Frank O'Connor Productions) / Hollywood Pictures Corporation, C.C. Burr Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank O'Connor

Sagebrush Politics (1930) Art Mix Productions/ Hollywood Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Adamson

Playthings of Hollywood (1930) Willis Kent Productions/ Hollywood Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. O'Connor

The Primrose Path (1931) Willis Kent Productions/ Hollywood Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. O'Connor

Robert J. Horner Productions ([1922] -1935)

The Apache Kid's Escape* (1930) Robert J. Horner Productions/ Cosmos Productions Inc- Robert J. Horner

Wild West Whoopee (1931) Cosmos Productions/ Associated Film Exchanges, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert J. Horner

Pueblo Terror (1931) West Coast Pictures/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- Alan James

The Kid from Arizona (1931) Cosmos Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert J. Horner

The Sheriff's Secret (1931) Cosmos Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- James P. Hogan

Lariats and Six-shooters (1931) Cosmos Productions/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

The .45 Calibre Echo (1932) Robert J. Horner Productions/ Robert J. Horner Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bruce M. Mitchell

Trails of Adventure (1933) American Pictures Corporation/ American Pictures Corporation- Jay Wilsey

Border Guns (1934) Aywon Film/ Aywon Film- Robert J. Horner and Jack Nelson

The Border Menace* (1934) Aywon Film/ Aywon Film- Jack Nelson

Western Racketeers* (1934) Aywon Film/ Aywon Film- Robert J. Horner

Whirlwind Rider (Ranger of the Law) (1934) All Star Western Film Company/ American Pictures Corporation- Robert J. Horner

The Phantom Cowboy* (1935) Aywon Film/ Aywon Film, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert J. Horner

Defying the Law (1935) Aywon Film/ American Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert J. Horner

Ideal Pictures Corporation (1933-1936)

Her Secret (1933) Ideal Pictures Corporation/ Ideal Pictures Corporation- Warren Millais

Found Alive (1934) Ideal Pictures Corporation/ Ideal Pictures Corporation, Olympic Pictures- Charles Hutchinson

The Divorce Racket (1934) Paradise Pictures (1932)/ States Rights Independent Exchanges/ Ideal Pictures Corporation- Aubrey Scotto

Mad Age (This is America) (documentary) (1935) Beekman Film Corporation (1933)/ Beekman Film Corporation (1933), Ideal Pictures Corporation- XXXX

Manhattan Tower* (1935) Remington Pictures (1932)/ Remington Pictures (1932), States Rights Independent Exchanges (1932), Ideal Pictures Corporation- Frank R. Strayer

A Jungle Gigolo (1935) see Principal Distributing Corporation (1933)

While London Sleeps (Menace) (1936) Sound City (1934)/ Ideal Pictures Corporation- Adrian Brunel

Imperial Distribution Corporation (1929-1938)

Cowboy Cavalier (silent) (1929) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- XXXX

The Prince of Hearts (silent) (1929) Imperial Productions/ Classplay Pictures (Imperial Distributing Corporation), States Rights Independent Exchanges- Cliff Wheeler

Rough and Ready (silent) (1930) William M. Pizor Productions/ William M. Pizor Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- XXXX

Ubangi (documentary) (1931) XXXX/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- Dr. Louis Neuman and Jacques Maus

Heroes All (documentary) (1931) XXXX/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- Anthony Young

Two Gun Caballero (1931) Cardinal Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Sack Amusement Enterprises (1932)- Jack Nelson

The Secret Menace (1931) Cardinal Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Richard C. Kahn

The Blonde Captive* (documentary) (1931) XXXX/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, Hollywood Film Exchange, First Division Pictures, Imperial Distributing Corporation (1935), Astor Pictures Corporation (1947)- Clinton Childs, Ralph P. King, Linus J. Wilson and Paul Withington

Riders of the Rio (1931) Round-up Pictures (1930/ Round-up Pictures (1930), Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Sack Amusements Enterprises (1932)- Robert Emmett Tansey

The Virgins of Bali* (documentary) (1932) XXXX/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- Deane H. Dickason

The Galloping Kid (1932) National Pictures Corporation/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

The Voice of Syama (documentary) (1933) XXXX/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- XXXX

The Woman who Dared (1933) William Berke Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Millard Webb

The Flaming Signal* (1933) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Jeske and Charles E. Roberts

Corruption* (1933) William Berke Productions/ Imperial Distribution Corporation, Charles E. Roberts

Secrets of Hollywood (1933) see Syndicate Pictures

The Film Parade (documentary short) (1933) Alliance Films/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. Stuart Blackton

Throne of the Gods (documentary) (1933) XXXX/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- XXXX

Call of the Coyote: A Legend of the Golden West* (1934) see Pat Carlyle Productions

Flash the Wonder Dog: Death Fangs (short) (1934) Imperial Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. Berke

Paradise Valley (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- James P. Hogan

Pals of the Prairie* (short) (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

Twisted Rails* (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Flash the Wonder Dog: Crack-up* (short) (1934) Imperial Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. Berke

Arizona Cyclone (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

The Sundown Trail* (short) (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

Carrying the Mail (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distribution Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

Flash the Wonder Dog: Wild Waters* (short) (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. Berke

Desert Man* (short) (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

Pals of the West* (short) (1934) Imperial Pictures Inc/ Imperial Distributing Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

Port O' Call: The Seventh Wonder*(documentary short) (1934) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- (Deane H. Dickason)

The Lone Rider (1934) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, Superior Talking Pictures Inc, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

West of the Law* (1934) Imperial Productions/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation- Robert Emmett Tansey

Manhattan Butterfly (1935) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lewis D. Collins

Soviet Russia Through the Eyes of an American (documentary) (1935) XXXX/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Hoffberg Productions (1941)- Charles E. Stuart

Murder by Television* (1935) Cameo Pictures Corporation/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Sanforth

Timberesque (1935) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- King Guidice

Poetic Gem: Bill and I went Fishing* (documentary short) (1935) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- XXXX

Poetic Gem: Boyhood (documentary short) (1935) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, William Steiner, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, Hollywood Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Deane H. Dickason

Poetic Gem: Couldn't Live Without You* (documentary short) (1935) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- XXXX

Poetic Gem: Early in the Mornin' (documentary short) (1935) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, William Steiner, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Deane H. Dickason

Poetic Gem: The Old Prospector Talks* (documentary short) (1935) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, William Steiner, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Deane H. Dickason

Forgotten Women (The Mad Parade)* (1936) Liberty Pictures Corporation (1931)/ Paramount Pictures (1931), Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William Beaudine

The Broken Coin (1936) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Dynamite Delaney (1936) Caravel/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- Joseph Rothman

Broken Blossoms* (1936) Twickenham Film Studios/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- John Brahm

A Street of Memory* (documentary short) (1937) William M. Pizor Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- William L. Prager

She Shall have Music* (1937) Twickenham Film Studios (1935)/ Imperial Distributing Corporation- Leslie S. Hiscott

High Hat* (1937) Cameo Pictures Corporation/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Sanforth

Rich Relations* (1937) Cameo Pictures Corporation/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Sanforth

The Death March (1937) Imperial Productions/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bud Pollard

I Demand Payment* (1938) Imperial Pictures Inc/ Imperial Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Sanforth

Industrial Pictures (1930, 1933)

South of Sonora (1930) West Coast Studios/ Industrial Pictures- Jacques Jaccard

Custer's Last Fight (Custer's Last Raid) (silent) (short) (1933) 101-Bison, New York Motion Picture Corporation (1912)/ Mutual Film (1912), Gardiner Syndicate (1920), Quality Amusement Corporation (1925), Industrial Pictures (1933)- Francis Ford

Inter-Continental Film Corporation (1938)

Beyond the Caribbean* (documentary) (1938) Productions/ Inter-Continental Film Corporation- Andre Roosevelt and Ewing Scott

Jack Irwin Productions (1931, 1939)

The Ridin' Kid (1931) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jack Irwin

Lightnin' Smith Returns (Valley of Bad Men) (1931) Standard Pictures (Jack Irwin Productions)/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jack Irwin

White Renegade (1931) Carlsbad Productions (Jack Irwin Productions)/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jack Irwin

Gun Cargo* (1931/39) Sovereign Productions (Jack Irwin Productions)/ Favorite Films (1949)- Jack Irwin

Jewel Productions (1933- [1952])

Forgotten Men (documentary) (1933) Jewel Productions/ Jewel Productions- Bud Pollard

Hitler's Reign of Terror (documentary) (1934) see Samuel Cummins Productions

The Third Sex (Children of Loneliness) (documentary) (1934) XXXX/ Jewel Productions- Richard C. Kahn

Love Life of a Gorilla/ Kidnapping Gorillas (documentary) (1937) Jewel Productions/ Jewel Productions- Maj. Frank Brown

J. D. Kendis (1934-1940)

Guilty Parents (1934) Jay-Dee-Kay Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jack Townley

The Hawk (Trail of the Hawk)* (1935) Jay-Dee-Kay Productions, Herman Wohl Productions, Affiliated Pictures/ Jay-Dee-Kay Productions, Affiliated Pictures, Tommy Scott Productions (1949)- Edward Dmytryk

Jaws of the Jungle* (documentary) (1936) Jay-Dee-Kay Productions/ Jay-Dee-Kay Productions- Eddie Granemann

Wolves of the Sea* (1936) Jay-Dee-Kay Productions/ Guaranteed Pictures Corporation (1938), Elmer Clifton

Gambling with Souls* (1936) Jay-Dee-Kay Productions/ Jay-Dee-Kay Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

Slaves in Bondage* (1937) Jay-Dee-Kay Productions/ Roadshow Attractions Inc- Elmer Clifton

Paroled from the Big House (Main Street Girl)* (1938) Jay-Dee-Kay Productions/ Syndicate Pictures- Elmer Clifton

It's All in Your Mind (1938) see Metropolitan Pictures Corporation

Secrets of a Model* (1940) XXXX/ Continental Pictures, William Mishkin Motion Pictures (1959)- Sam Newfield

Willis Kent Productions ([1928] – [1943])

Linda* (silent) (1929) Mrs. Wallace Reid Productions, Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Dorothy Davenport

Ten Nights in a Barroom* (1931) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, Roadshow Attractions Inc, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. O'Connor

Hurricane Horseman (1931) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Armand Schaefer

Law of the Tong* (1931) Willis Kent Productions/ Syndicate Film Exchange- Lewis D. Collins

The Cheyenne Cyclone (1931) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Armand Schaefer

The Drifter* (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Pictures- William A. O'Connor

Battling Buckaroo (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, Norman Distributing Company- Armand Schaefer

Sinister Hands* (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions- Armand Schaefer

Texas Tornado (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ William Steiner- Oliver Drake

Lawless Valley (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. P. McGowan

The Reckless Rider (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Armand Schaefer

Guns for Hire* (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ XXXX- Lewis D. Collins

The Racing Strain* (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ Maxim Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jerome Storm

A Scarlet Week-end (1932) Maxim Productions/ Maxim Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Melford

Wyoming Whirlwind* (1932) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, Capitol Film Exchange, Adams Film Exchanges, Alexander Film Services, Sack Amusement Enterprises, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Armand Schaefer

Her Splendid Folly (1933) Willis Kent Productions, Progressive Pictures/ Progressive Pictures, Marcy Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. O'Connor

Sucker Money* (1933) Willis Kent Productions, Progressive Pictures/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Dorothy Davenport and Melville Shyer

The Road to Ruin* (1934) Willis Kent Productions/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Dorothy Davenport and Melville Shyer

The Woman Condemned* (1934) Willis Kent Productions, Progressive Pictures/ Willis Kent Productions, Marcy Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Dorothy Davenport

The Murder in the Museum* (1934) Willis Kent Productions, Progressive Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation, Pan-Ray Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Melville Shyer

The Man from Hell* (1934) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, Marcy Pictures Corporation, Cristo Distributing Company, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lewis D. Collins

Fighting Through (1934) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Range Warfare* (1934) Willis Kent Productions/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation- S. Roy Luby

Lightning Triggers (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, Marcy Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- S. Roy Luby

Blazing Guns (1935) Willis Kent Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ray Heinz

Arizona Bad Man (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- S. Roy Luby

Outlaw Rule (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- S. Roy Luby

Gun Smoke (Gunsmoke on the Guadalupe) (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bartlett A. Carre

Circle of Death* (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J. Frank Glendon (and Yakima Canutt)

Border Vengeance* (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ray Heinz

The Pace that Kills (Cocaine Fiends)* (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William A. O'Connor

The Cheyenne Tornado (1935) Willis Kent Productions/ XXXX- William A. O'Connor

Smashing the Vice Trust (1937) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, Real Life Dramas, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Melville Shyer

Race Suicide (Victims of Passion)* (1937) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Sonney Roadshow Attractions (194?)- S. Roy Luby

The Wages of Sin* (1938) Real Life Dramas (Willis Kent Productions)/ States Rights Independent Exchanges, William Mishkin Motion Pictures (1958)- Herman E. Webber

Mad Youth* (1940) Real Life Dramas (Willis Kent Productions)/ Willis Kent Productions, Atlas Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Okay Pictures (1951)- Melville Shyer

Souls in Pawn (1940) Real Life Dramas (Willis Kent Productions)/ Real Life Dramas, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Melville Shyer

Confessions of a Vice Baron* (1943) Willis Kent Productions/ Willis Kent Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- S. Roy Luby, William A. O'Connor, Melville Shyer, and Herman E. Webber

Kier Film Company (1934, 1937-1938)

Tubal Cain (1934) Kier Film Company/ XXXX- XXXX

The Passion Play (1934) Kier Film Company/ XXXX- XXXX

Sacred Mystery (1937) Kier Film Company/ XXXX- XXXX

Marchin On (1937) Kier Film Company/ XXXX- XXXX

Clipped Wings* (1937) Kier Film Company/ Ace Pictures Corporation- Stuart Paton

The Alamo: Shrine of Texas Liberty* (1938) Kier Film Company/ XXXX- Stuart Paton

Liberty Pictures Corporation (1930, 1934-1935)

Ex-Flame (1930) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Halperin

Cheaters (1934) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Rosen

One to Each Bachelor (1934) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

School for Girls (1934) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Two Heads on a Pillow (Love can't Lose)* (1934) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

No Ransom (1934) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation- Fred C. Newmeyer

When Strangers Meet (1934) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation- Christy Cabanne

Sweepstakes Annie* (1935) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Without Children (Penthouse Party) (1935) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ RKO Radio Pictures- William Nigh

Dizzy Dames* (1935) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation, First Division Pictures- William Nigh

Born to Gamble* (1935) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Republic Pictures Corporation - Phil Rosen

The Crime of Dr. Crespi* (1935) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Republic Pictures Corporation- John H. Auer

The Old Homestead* (1935) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Liberty Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William Nigh

The Spanish Cape Mystery* (1935) Liberty Pictures Corporation/ Republic Pictures Corporation- Lewis D. Collin

Majestic Pictures (1930- 1935)

Today (1930) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- William Nigh

The Phantom Express* (1932) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Right Independent Exchanges- Emory Johnson

Hearts of Humanity* (1932) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Christy Cabanne

Gold* (1932) Western Star Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

Outlaw Justice (1932) Western Star Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Armand Schaefer

The Crusader* (1932) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

The Unwritten Law (1932) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Christy Cabanne and Wilfred Lucas

Law and Lawless* (1932) Western Star Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Armand Schaefer

You Made Me Love You (1933) British International Pictures/ Majestic Pictures- Monty Banks

The Vampire Bat* (1933) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

Via Pony Express (1933) Western Star Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lewis D. Collins

What Price Decency (1933) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Arthur Gregor

Gun Law* (1933) Western Star Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lewis D. Collins

The World Gone Mad* (1933) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Christy Cabanne

Cheating Blondes (1933) Equitable Motion Pictures Corporation/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Joseph Levering

Trouble Busters* (1933) Western Star Productions/ Majestic Pictures- Lewis D. Collins

Heads We Go (1933) British International Pictures/ Majestic Pictures- Monty Banks

Sing, Sinner, Sing* (1933) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchange- Howard Christie

Curtain at Eight* (1933) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Gigolettes of Paris* (1933) Equitable Motion Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alphonse Martell

Szpieg w masce (1933) Blok-Muzafilm/ Majestic Pictures- Mieczyslaw Krawicz

The Sin of Nora Moran* (1933) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Goldstone

Unknown Blonde (1934) Majestic Pictures/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Hobart Henley

I Spy (1934) British International Pictures/ Majestic Pictures- Allan Dwan

The Scarlet Letter* (1934) Larry Darmour Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert G. Vignola

She had to Choose* (1934) Larry Darmour Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ralph Ceder

Night Alarm* (1934) Larry Darmour Productions/ Majestic Pictures- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Mutiny Ahead* (1935) Larry Darmour Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Thomas Atkins

The Perfect Clue* (1935) Larry Darmour Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Right Independent Exchanges- Robert G. Vignola

Motive for Revenge* (1935) Larry Darmour Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Burt P. Lynwood

Reckless Roads (1935) Larry Darmour Productions/ Majestic Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Burt P. Lynwood

Struggle for Life (documentary) (1935) see Bryan Foy Productions

Mascot Pictures ([1926] -1935)

The Fatal Warning (silent) (serial) (1929) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Richard Thorpe

The King of the Kongo (silent and sound versions) (serial) (1929) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Richard Thorpe

The Lone Defender* (serial) (1930) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Richard Thorpe

The Phantom of the West* (serial) (1931) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- D. Ross Lederman

King of the Wild* (serial) (1931) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- B. Reeves Eason and Richard Thorpe

The Vanishing Legion* (serial) (1931) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Ford Beebe and B. Reeves Eason

The Galloping Ghost* (serial) (1931) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- B. Reeves Eason

The Lightning Warrior* (serial) (1931) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Benjamin F. Kline and Armand Schaefer

The Shadow of the Eagle* (serial) (1932) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures, American Film Company (1949)- Ford Beebe (and B. Reeves Eason)

The Last of the Mohicans* (serial) (1932) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Ford Beebe and B. Reeves Eason

The Hurricane Express* (serial) (1932) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- J.P. McGowan and Armand Schaefer

The Hurricane Express* (feature version) (1932) Mascot Pictures/ American Film Company (1940), American Film Company (1949)- J.P. McGowan and Armand Schaefer

Pride of the Legion* (1932) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Ford Beebe

The Devil Horse* (serial) (1932) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Otto Brower

The Three Musketeers* (serial) (1932) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Colbert Clark and Armand Schaefer

The Whispering Shadow* (serial) (1933) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Colbert Clark and Albert Herman

Fighting with Kit Carson* (serial) (1933) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Colbert Clark and Armand Schaefer

Laughing at Life* (1933) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Ford Beebe

The Wolf Dog (serial) (1933) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Colbert Clark and Harry L. Fraser

The Mystery Squadron* (serial) (1933) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Colbert Clark and David Howard

The Lost Jungle* (serial) (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- David Howard and Armand Schaefer

The Lost Jungle* (feature version) (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- David Howard and Armand Schaefer

Burn 'Em Up Barnes* (serial) (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Colbert Clark and Armand Schaefer

The Lone Defender (feature version) (1934) Mascot Pictures (1930)/ Mascot Pictures- (Richard Thorpe)

Law of the Wild* (serial) (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- B. Reeves Eason and Armand Schaefer

Young and Beautiful* (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Joseph Santley

Crimson Romance* (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- David Howard

In Old Santa Fe* (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- David Howard (and Joseph Kane)

The Marines are Coming* (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- David Howard

Mystery Mountain* (serial) (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Otto Brower and B. Reeves Eason

Little Men* (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Phil Rosen

Burn 'Em Up Barnes* (feature version) (1934) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Colbert Clark and Armand Schaefer

The Phantom Empire* (serial) (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Otto Brower and B. Reeves Eason

Behind the Green Lights* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Christy Cabanne

The Miracle Rider* (serial) (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- B. Reeves Eason and Armand Schaefer

One Frightened Night* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures, Astor Pictures Corporation (1949)- Christy Cabanne

The Headline Woman* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures, Republic Pictures- William Nigh

Ladies Crave Excitement* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Nick Grinde

The Adventures of Rex and Rinty* (serial) (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures, Republic Pictures- Ford Beebe and B. Reeves Eason

Streamline Express* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Leonard Fields

Waterfront Lady* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Joseph Santley

Confidential* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Edward L. Cahn

Harmony Lane* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Mascot Pictures- Joseph Santley

The Fighting Marines* (serial) (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Republic Pictures- B. Reeves Eason and Joseph Kane

Doughnuts and Society* (1935) Mascot Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Lewis D. Collins

Radio Ranch* (feature version of **The Phantom Empire**) (1940) Mascot Pictures (1935)/ XXXX- Otto Brower and B. Reeves Eason

Men with Steel Faces (different feature version of **The Phantom Empire**) (1940) see Times Exchange

Mayfair Pictures Corporation (1929-1934)

The Big Revue (short) (1929) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation- XXXX

The Sky Spider (1931) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Action Pictures- Richard Thorpe

Chinatown after Dark* (1931) Action Pictures/ Action Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Stuart Paton

Anybody's Blonde (1931) Action Pictures/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

Soul of the Slums (His Guiding Destiny)* (1931) Action Pictures/ Action Pictures, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, William Steiner,

Special Pictures Company, Elliot Film Company, B. N. Judell, Hollywood Film Exchange, Commonwealth Pictures Corporation (1948)- Frank R. Strayer

Dragnet Patrol* (1931) Action Pictures/ Action Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

Night Beat (1931) Action Pictures/ Action Pictures- George B. Seitz

Sally of the Subway (1932) Ralph M. Like Productions, Action Pictures/ Action Pictures- George B. Seitz

Docks of San Francisco (1932) Ralph M. Like Productions, Action Pictures/ Action Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George B. Seitz

The Monster Walks* (1932) Ralph M. Like Productions, Action Pictures/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, Action Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

Sin's Pay Day (1932) Action Pictures/ Action Pictures- George B. Seitz

Behind Stone Walls* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Action Pictures- Frank R. Strayer

Passport to Paradise (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George B. Seitz

Hell's Headquarters* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Andrew L. Stone

Love in High Gear* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

Dynamite Denny (1932) Ralph M. Like Productions, Action Pictures/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

The Widow in Scarlet (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George B. Seitz

The Honor of the Press* (1932) Fanchon Royer Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Alias Mary Smith* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Gorilla Ship* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

Midnight Morals (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Trapped in Tia Juana (1932) Fanchon Royer Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Wallace Fox

No Living Witness (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Her Mad Night (Held for Murder)* (1932) Cliff Broughton Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Tangled Destinies* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank R. Strayer

The Heart Punch* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Midnight Warning* (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Behind Jury Doors (1932) Fanchon Royer productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Sister to Judas (1932) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Malay Nights (1933) George M. Weeks Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation- E. Mason Hopper

Revenge at Monte Carlo (1933) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Alimony Madness (1933) Fanchon Royer Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Justice takes a Holiday (1933) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Dos Noches (1933) Fanchon Royer Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, J.H. Hoffberg Company, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Carlos F. Borcosque

Dance Hall Hostess (1933) Golden Arrow Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Riot Squad (Police Squad)* (1933) Merit Pictures (Harry Webb Productions)/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Her Forgotten Past (1933) Golden Arrow Productions (Wesley Ford Productions)/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Wesley Ford

Secret Sinners (1933) Wesley Ford Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Wesley Ford

Her Resale Value (1933) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

What's Your Racket? (1934) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Fred Guiol

Badge of Honor* (1934) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation- Spencer Gordon Bennet

The Fighting Rookie (1934) Mayfair Pictures Corporation/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet

The Oil Raider* (1934) Scott-Bennet Productions/ Mayfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet

George Mercader Productions (1936)

Fury Below* (1936) George Mercader Productions/ Treo Film Exchanges, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Mercury Pictures Corporation (1931-1933)

Dancing Dynamite (1931) see Capitol Film Exchange

Scareheads (1931) see Capitol Film Exchange

Get that Girl* (1932) Richard Talmadge Productions/ Mercury Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Crone

Speed Madness (1932) Richard Talmadge Productions, Mercury Pictures Corporation/ Mercury Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Crone

On Your Guard* (1933) Richard Talmadge Productions/ Mercury Pictures Corporation - George Crone

Metropolitan Pictures Corporation (1931-1932, 1938-1940)

Sign of the Wolf *(serial) (1931) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Metropolitan Pictures Corporation, Syndicate Pictures- Forrest Sheldon and Harry S. Webb

The Lone Trail (feature version of **Sign of the Wolf**) (1932) Webb-Douglas Productions, Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Syndicate Pictures Corporation- Forrest Sheldon and Harry S. Webb

North of Arizona* (1935) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

It's All in Your Mind (1938) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Jay-Dee-Kay Productions, Arthur Ziehm Inc. (1941)- Bernard B. Ray

Fangs of the Wild* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges, Arthur Ziehm Inc. (1941)- Bernard B. Ray

Feud of the Range* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Smoky Trails* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Mesquite Buckaroo* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Metropolitan Pictures Corporation- Harry S. Webb

Law of the Wolf (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Metropolitan Pictures Corporation, Arthur Ziehm Inc. (1941)- Bernard B. Ray

Riders of the Sage* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Metropolitan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Port of Hate* (1939) see Times Exchange

Daughter of the Tong* (1939) see Times Exchange

The Pal from Texas* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

El Diablo Rides* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ira Webb

Wild Horse Valley* (1940) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Metropolitan Pictures Corporation- Ira Webb

Pinto Canyon* (1940) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation/ Metropolitan Pictures Corporation- Bernard B. Ray

Monarch Productions (1932-1934)

The Fighting Gentleman* (1932) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Fred C. Newmeyer

The Forty-Niners (1932) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John P. McCarthy

The Gambling Sex (1932) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Fred C. Newmeyer

The Savage Girl* (1932) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

The Penal Code* (1932) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Melford

Kiss of Araby (1933) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Rosen

When a Man Rides Alone* (1933) Monarch Productions/ Frueler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Deadwood Pass* (1933) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Easy Millions (1933) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Fred C. Newmeyer

War of the Range* (1933) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Marriage on Approval (1933) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Howard Higgin

Love Past Thirty (1934) Monarch Productions/ Freuler Film Associates, Monarch Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Vin Moore

Monogram Pictures Corporation (1931-1935)

Ships of Hate (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- John P. McCarthy

Dugan of the Badlands (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Partners of the Trail (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Wallace Fox

Mother and Son* (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- John P. McCarthy

The Montana Kid* (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

The Man from Death Valley (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1938)- Lloyd Nosler

In the Line of Duty (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Bert Glennon

Oklahoma Jim (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Two Fisted Justice* (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1937)- George Arthur Durlam

Land of Wanted Men (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Forgotten Women (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Richard Thorpe

Galloping Thru (1931) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lloyd Nosler

Ghost City* (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Law of the Sea* (1932) I.E. Chadwick Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Otto Brower

Single-Handed Saunders* (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lloyd Nosler

Police Court* (1932) I.E. Chadwick Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Louis King

Texas Pioneers (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

The Man from New Mexico (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1937)- J.P. McGowan or John P. McCarthy

The Country Fair (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Louis King

The Midnight Patrol (1932) C.C. Burr Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Christy Cabanne

Vanishing Men (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Arm of the Law (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Louis King

Mason of the Mounted* (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Law of the North (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Flames* (1932) I.E. Chadwick Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Karl Brown

Honor of the Mounted* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Astor Pictures Corporation (1937)- Harry L. Fraser

The Western Limited (1932) C.C. Burr Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Christy Cabanne

The Thirteenth Guest (Lady Beware)* (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Ray

Klondike* (1932) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Broadway to Cheyenne* (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Guilty or Not Guilty (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Ray

Hidden Valley* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Amity Pictures (1937)- Robert N. Bradbury

The Man from Arizona (1932) Trem Carr Pictures, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

The Girl from Calgary* (1932) I.E. Chadwick Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Whitman

Young Blood* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

A Strange Adventure (The Wayne Murder Case)* (1932) I.E. Chadwick Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Hampton Del Ruth and Phil Whitman

Lucky Larrigan (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- John P. McCarthy

Self Defense (1932) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

The Fighting Champ* (1932) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- John P. McCarthy

Crashing Broadway (1932) Trem Carr Pictures, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- John P. McCarthy

Jungle Bride* (1933) I.E. Chadwick Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry O. Hoyt and Albert H. Kelley

West of Singapore (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Ray

Oliver Twist* (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William J. Cowan

Breed of the Border* (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

The Phantom Broadcast* (1933) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Black Beauty (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

The Diamond Trail (1933) Trem Carr Pictures, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Trailing North (1933) Trem Carr Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation

The Return of Casey Jones* (1933) Chadwick Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- John P. McCarthy

The Gallant Fool* (1933) Paul Malvern Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

The Sphinx* (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen (and Wilfred Lucas)

The Fighting Texans* (1933) Trem Carr Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Armand Schaefer

The Fugitive (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Rainbow Ranch* (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

Galloping Romeo* (1933) Trem Carr Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

The Avenger (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Edwin L. Marin

Skyway* (1933) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lewis D. Collins

Ranger's Code (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

The Devil's Mate (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Sensation Hunters* (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Charles Vidor

Riders of Destiny* (1933) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Robert N. Bradbury

Broken Dreams* (1933) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert G. Vignola

The Sweetheart of Sigma Chi (1933) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Edwin L. Marin

Sagebrush Trail* (1933) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Armand Schaefer

He Couldn't take It* (1933) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation-William Nigh

Sixteen Fathoms Deep* (1934) Paul Malvern Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Armand Schaefer

The Lucky Texan* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

A Woman's Man* (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Edward Ludwig

West of the Divide* (1934) Lone Star Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939), Monogram Pictures Corporation (1940), Monogram Pictures Corporation (1949)- Robert N. Bradbury

Beggars in Ermine* (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Mystery Liner* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

House of Mystery* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

City Limits* (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Manhattan Love Song* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Leonard Fields

Blue Steel* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

The Man from Utah* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Monte Carlo Nights* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

The Loudspeaker* (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Joseph Santley

Randy Rides Alone* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Harry L. Fraser

Money Means Nothing* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Christy Cabanne

Shock* (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Roy Pomeroy

The Star Packer* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Robert N. Bradbury

Jane Eyre* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Christy Cabanne

The Moonstone* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Reginald Barker

Happy Landing (1934) Paul Malvern Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

King Kelly of the U.S.A.* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Leonard Fields

A Successful Failure* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Arthur Lubin

A Girl of the Limberlost (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Christy Cabanne

The Trail Beyond* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Redhead (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Melville W. Brown

Lost in the Stratosphere* (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Melville W. Brown

Girl O' My Dreams* (1934) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Ray McCarey

The Lawless Frontier* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Flirting with Danger* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Vin Moore

'Neath Arizona Skies* (1934) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Harry L. Fraser

Sing Sing Nights* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Classic Pictures (1950)- Lewis D. Collins

The Mysterious Mr. Wong* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Classic Pictures (1950)- William Nigh

Million Dollar Baby (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Joseph Santley

Women must Dress* (1934) Monogram Pictures Corporation. Monogram Pictures Corporation- Reginald Barker

Texas Terror* (1935) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939), Monogram Pictures Corporation (1947), Western Adventures Pictures (1949)- Robert N. Bradbury

Tomorrow's Youth* (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Charles Lamont

The Mystery Man* (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Classic Pictures (1950)- Ray McCarey

Rainbow Valley* (1935) Lone Star Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Robert N. Bradbury

The Nut Farm* (1935) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Melville W. Brown

Great God Gold* (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Arthur Lubin

The Desert Trail* (1935) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Lewis D. Collins

The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lewis D. Collins

The Healer (Little Pal)* (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Reginald Barker

The Dawn Rider* (1935) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures

Corporation (1939), Western Adventures Pictures (1947)- Robert N. Bradbury

Honeymoon Limited (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Arthur Lubin

Make a Million* (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lewis D. Collins

Keeper of the Bees* (1935) W.T. Lackey Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Christy Cabanne

Paradise Canyon* (1935) Lone Star Productions, Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1939)- Carl Pierson

Cheers of the Crowd* (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Vin Moore

Two Sinner (1935) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Republic Pictures Corporation- Arthur Lubin

Normandy Pictures Corporation (1935-1936)

The Law of 45's* (1935) Normandy Pictures Corporation/ XXXX- John P. McCarthy

The Lion Man* (1936) Normandy Pictures Corporation/ First Division, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John P. McCarthy

Too Much Beef (1936) Normandy Pictures Corporation/ Grand National Pictures- Robert F. Hill

Peerless Pictures Corporation (1931-1932, 1934-1936)

Sporting Chance (1931) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Peerless Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

The Sea Ghost (Phantom Submarine U-67)* (1931) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Peerless Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1940)- William Nigh

The Reckoning* (1932) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Peerless Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Love Bound (Murder on the High Seas)* (1932) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Peerless Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, J.H. Hoffberg Productions (1949) Robert F. Hill

House of Danger* (1934) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Peerless Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Charles Hutchison

On Probation* (1935) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Peerless Pictures Corporation, States Right Independent Exchanges- Charles Hutchison

Circus Shadows (1935) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Peerless Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Charles Hutchison

Night Cargo* (1936) Peerless Pictures Corporation/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Charles Hutchison

Pennant Pictures (1938)

Topa Topa (Children of the Wild) (Killers of the Wild)* (1938) Fine Arts Pictures/ Pennant Pictures Corporation, Grand National Pictures (1939), Times Exchange (1940)- Charles Hutchison and Vin Moore

Pinnacle Productions (1933-1934)

Playthings of Desire (1933) Pinnacle Productions/ XXXX- George Melford

Hire Wife (1934) Pinnacle Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- George Melford

Chloe, Love is Calling You* (1934) Pinnacle Productions/ Pinnacle Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Marshall Neilan

White Heat (1934) Seven Seas Corporation, Pinnacle Productions/ Beacon Productions, J.D. Trop, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lois Weber

Plymouth Productions (1933)

Mazie (1933) Plymouth Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Dallas M. Fitzgerald

Bud Pollard Productions (1930-1934)

The Danger Man (silent and musical score) (edited from **Lightning Hutch**) (1930) (Hurricane Film Corporation [1926])/Cosmos Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bud Pollard (and Charles Hutchison)

Alice in Wonderland (1931) Metropolitan Studios/ Unique-Cosmos Pictures- Bud Pollard

The Black King* (1932) Southland Pictures/ Sack Amusements Enterprises- Bud Pollard

O Festino o la Legge (1932) Sandrino/ Giglio Productions/ XXXX- Bud Pollard

The Horror (1932) F.P. Pictures Corporation, Bud Pollard Productions/ Stanley Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bud Pollard

Missing Daughters (1933) XXXX, (Choice Productions [1924])/ Quality Pictures- Bud Pollard (and William H. Clifford)

Forgotten Men (documentary) (1933) Jewel Productions/ Jewel Productions- Bud Pollard

Victims of Persecution (1933) Bud Pollard Productions/ Specialty Films- Bud Pollard

Girls for Sale! (1934) Bud Pollard Productions (1930)/ Bud Pollard Productions- Bud Pollard

The Death March (1937) see Imperial Distributing Corporation

Principal Distributing Corporation (1932-1938)

Riders of the Golden Gulch (1932) Principal Attractions/ West Coast Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Smith

The Texan* (1932) Principal Attractions/ West Coast Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Smith

South Sea Adventures* (documentary short) (1932) Sol Lesser Productions/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Zane Grey

Dangers of the Arctic (documentary) (1932) XXXX/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Earl Rossman

Devil's Playground (documentary) (1932) XXXX/ Principal Distributing Corporation- XXXX

Amazon Head Hunters (Au pays du scalp) (documentary) (1932) Compagnie Universelle Cinématographique (1931)/ Compagnie Universelle Cinématographique (1931), Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Marquis de Wavrin

With Williamson Beneath the Sea (documentary) (1932) XXXX/ Principal Distributing Corporation- J.E. Williamson

A Jungle Gigolo (documentary) (1933) XXXX/ Principal Distributing Corporation, Ideal Pictures Corporation (1935)- XXXX

Matto-Grasso (documentary) (1933) Principal Productions (Sol Lesser Productions)/ Principal Distributing Corporation- John S. Clark Jr., Floyd Crosby and David M. Newell

Voodo (documentary short) (1933) Sol Lesser Productions/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- XXXX

Blame the Woman (Diamond Cut Diamond) (1933) Cinema House (Eric Hakim Productions [1932])/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Maurice Elvey and Fred Niblo

Tarzan the Fearless* (serial [only a TV feature cut is known to survive]) (1933) Principal Productions (Sol Lesser Productions)/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Robert F. Hill

Thunder Over Mexico (documentary) (1933) The Mexican Film Trust/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Sergei M. Eisenstein

Russia Today (documentary) (1933) XXXX/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Mrs. Carveth Wells

Eisenstein in Mexico (documentary) (1933) The Mexican Film Trust/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Sergei M. Eisenstein

Jaws of Justice* (1933) Principal Pictures Corporation (Sol Lesser Productions)/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spence Gordon Bennet

No Funny Business (1934) John Stafford Productions (1933)/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Victor Hanbury and John Stafford

The Blarney Stone (1934) Herbert Wilcox Productions (1933)/ Principal Distributing Corporation- Tom Walls

The Return of Chandu* (serial) (1934) Principal Pictures Corporation (Sol Lesser Productions)/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ray Taylor

Ferocious Pal* (1934) Principal Productions (Sol Lesser Productions)/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Fighting to Live* (1934) Principal Pictures Corporation (Sol Lesser Productions)/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Edward F. Cline

The Return of Chandu* (feature version) (1934) see above

Chandu on the Magic Island* (second feature cut from **The Return of Chandu**) (1935) Principal Productions (Sol Lesser Productions)/ Principal

Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ray Taylor

The Lost City* (serial) (1935) Super Serial Productions/ Super Serial Productions, Principal Distributing Corporation- Harry Revier

The Lost City* (feature version) (1935) see above

The Lost City (second feature version) (1935) see above

Island Captives* (1937) Falcon Pictures Corporation/ Principal Distributing Corporation, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Glenn Kirshner

Tarzan and the Green Goddess* (1938) see Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises

Convicts at Large* (1938) I.E. Chadwick Productions/ Principal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Scott E. Beal and David Friedman

Progressive Pictures (1933-1934, 1938)

Her Splendid Folly (1933) see Willis Kent Productions

Sucker Money* (1933) see Willis Kent Productions

The Mystic Hour (1933) Progressive Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Melville DeLay

Under Secret Orders (1933) Progressive Pictures/ Progressive Pictures, Marcy Pictures Corporation, Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

The Woman Condemned* (1934) see Willis Kent Productions

The Murder in the Museum* (1934) see Willis Kent Productions

Rebellious Daughters* (1938) Progressive Pictures/ Progressive Pictures, Times Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jean Yarborough

Delinquent Parents* (1938) Progressive Pictures/ Progressive Pictures, Times Film Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Nick Grinde

Slander House* (1938) Progressive Pictures/ XXXX- Charles Lamont

Puritan Pictures Corporation (1935-1937)

Kentucky Blue Streak* (1935) C.C. Burr Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

The Outlaw Deputy* (1935) Puritan Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Right Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

Man from Guntown* (1935) Puritan Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Ford Beebe

Skybound* (1935) C.C. Burr Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Rip Roaring Riley* (1935) C.C. Burr Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

Suicide Squad* (1935) C.C. Burr Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, William Steiner, Supreme Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Bulldog Courage* (1935) Puritan Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

The Reckless Way (The Lure of Hollywood)* (1936) C.C. Burr Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

I'll Name the Murderer* (1936) C.C. Burr Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Roarin' Guns* (1936) Puritan Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Border Caballero* (1936) Puritan Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Lightnin' Bill Carson* (1936) see Excelsior Pictures Corporation

Special Agent K-7* (1936) C.C. Burr Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation- Bernard B. Ray

The Rogues Tavern* (1936) Mercury Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Prison Shadows* (1936) Mercury Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Aces and Eights* (1936) Puritan Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

The Lion's Den* (1936) see Excelsior Pictures Corporation

Ghost Patrol* (1936) see Excelsior Pictures Corporation

The Traitor *(1936) Puritan Pictures Corporation/ Puritan Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

Death in the Air (Pilot X)* (1936) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ Puritan Pictures Corporation- Elmer Clifton

What Becomes of the Children?* (1936) Sentinel Productions/ Puritan Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Walter Shumway

A Million to One* (1937) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ Puritan Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lynn Shores

Pyramid Productions (1934)

The Back Page* (1934) Pyramid Productions Inc/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Anton Lorenze

The Dancing Man* (1934) Pyramid Productions Inc/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Ray

Raytone Talking Pictures (1929-1930)

Overland Bound (1929) Presidio Productions/ Raytone Talking Pictures- Leo D. Maloney

Beyond the Law (1930) Raytone Talking Pictures/ Syndicate Pictures, Toddy Pictures Company (1953)- J.P. McGowan

Regal Distributing Corporation (1934-1939)

When Lightning Strikes (1934) Regal Productions Inc/ William Steiner- Harry Revier

Hollywood Hoodlum* (1934) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ Regal Distributing Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Scandal of Paris (There Goes Susie) (1935) British International Pictures (1934)/ Regal Distributing Corporation- Victor Hanbury and John Stafford

Man's Best Friend* (1935) Johnson-Kull Productions/ Johnson-Kull Productions- Edward Kull and Thomas Storey

Thunderbolt (1935) Regal Productions Inc/Xxxx, Stuart Paton

Captain Calamity* (1936) George A. Hirliman Productions/ Regal Distributing Corporation/ Grand National Pictures- John Reinhardt

El Captan Torementa (1936) Metropolitan Productions/ Regal Distributing Corporation- John Reinhardt

The Devil on Horseback* (1936) Condor Pictures Inc (George A. Hirliman Productions)/ Regal Distributing Corporation, Grand National Pictures- Crane Wilbur

El Carnaval del Diablo (1936) Metropolitan Productions/ Regal Distributing Corporation- Crane Wilbur and Carlos F. Borcosque

We're in the Legion Now (The Rest Cure)* (1936) George A. Hirliman Productions/ Regal Distributing Corporation, Grand National Pictures- Crane Wilbur

De la Sartén al Fuego (1936) Metropolitan Productions/ Regal Distributing Corporation- Crane Wilbur

Wolves of the Underworld (Puppets of Fate) (1936) Real Art Productions (1933)/ Regal Distributing Corporation- George A. Cooper

Avocate D'Amour (Un Mauvais Garçon) (1938) L'Alliance Cinématographique Européenne/ Regal Distributing Corporation- Jean Boyer and Raoul Ploquin

Rothchild (1938) Productions Escalme (1933)/ Regal Distributing Corporation- Marco de Gastyne

The Mutiny of the Elsinore* (1939) John Argyle Productions (1937) / Regal Distributing Corporation- Roy Lockwood

Regent Pictures (1933-1935)

Two White Arms (1933) Erik Hakim Productions/ Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (1932), Regent Pictures- Fred Niblo

Speed Limited (1935) Regent Pictures/ Regent Pictures- Albert Herman

Reliable Pictures Corporation (1933-1937)

Girl Trouble* (short) (1933) B'n'B Productions, Karmel Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, Astor Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Bennett Cohen

Potluck Pards* (short) (1934) B'n'B Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, Astor Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Bernard B. Ray

Ridin' Thru (1934) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Nevada Cyclone (short) (1934) B'n'B Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, Astor Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Bernard B. Ray

Romance Revier* (short) (1934) B'n'B Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, Astor Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Harry S. Webb

Mystery Ranch* (1934) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

Arizona Nights (short) (1934) B'n'B Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bennett Cohen

Rawhide Mail* (1934) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

Fighting Hero* (1934) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

Ridin' Gents (short) (1934) B'n'B Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/William Steiner, Astor Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Bennett Cohen

West on Parade* (short) (1934) B'n'B Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Terror of the Plains* (1934) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, Astor Pictures Corporation, Marcy Pictures Corporation- Harry S. Webb

The Cactus Kid (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

Unconquered Bandit* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

Loser's End* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

North of Arizona (1935) Metropolitan Pictures Corporation, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Cosmos Productions Inc, Associated Film Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Coyote Trails* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

Wolf Riders* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Cosmos Productions Inc, Associated Film Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

The Fighting Pilot* (1935) see Ajax Pictures Corporation

Tracy Rides* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ XXXX- Harry S. Webb

Born to Battle* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

Silent Valley* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

The Test* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

The Silver Bullet* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ XXXX- Bernard B. Ray

The Laramie Kid* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ XXXX- Harry S. Webb

Now or Never* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Ajax Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Rio Rattler (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

The Live Wire* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Never Too Late* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Midnight Phantom* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Trigger Tom* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

Texas Jack* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Cosmos Productions Inc, Associated Film Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Skull and Crown* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Elmer Clifton

Step On It* (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

La Última cita (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation- Bernard B. Ray

Fast Bullets* (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

El Crimen de media noche (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation- Bernard B. Ray and Jesús Topete

Ridin' On* (1936) B'n'B Productions, Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner, Astor Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

The Millionaire Kid (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation- Bernard B. Ray

Caryl of the Mountains* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Roamin' Wild* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

The Speed Reporter (Deadline)* (1935) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation- Bernard B. Ray

Pinto Rustlers (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

Santa Fe Bound* (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Harry S. Webb

Ambush Valley* (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

Vengeance of Rannah* (1936) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

Santa Fe Rides (1937) Reliable Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

The Silver Trail* (1937) Reliable Pictures Corporation William Steiner Productions/ Reliable Pictures Corporation, William Steiner- Bernard B. Ray

Resolute Pictures (1934-1935)

The Tonto Kid* (1934) Resolute Pictures Corporation/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Gunfire* (1934) Resolute Pictures Corporation/ First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Fighting Pioneers* (1935) Resolute Pictures Corporation/ First Division Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Saddle Aces* (1935) Resolute Pictures Corporation/ First Division Pictures- Harry L. Fraser

Harry Revier Productions (1937-1938)

Lash of the Penitentes (The Penitente Murder Case)* (1937) XXXX/XXXX- Harry Revier and Roland Price

Child Bride* (1938) XXXX/ XXXX, KBA (Kroger Babb Attractions) (1945)- Harry Revier

Roadshow Attractions (1930-1947)

Sinister Harvest/ Sinister Menace (documentary short) (1930) XXXX/ XXXX- (Dwain Esper)

Ten Nights in a Barroom* (1931) see Willis Kent Productions

The Seventh Commandment (1932) Hollywood Producers and Distributors (Roadshow Attractions)/ Roadshow Attractions- Dwain Esper and James P. Hogan

Narcotic* (1933) XXXX/ Roadshow Attractions- Dwain Esper and Vival Sodar't

Modern Motherhood (1934) Roadshow Attractions/ Roadshow Attractions- Dwain Esper

Inyaah (Jungle Goddess) (Forbidden Adventure) (1934) XXXX/ Roadshow Attractions/ J.H. Hoffberg Company (1936), Hollywood Producers and Distributors (1938), Warner-Allender Roadshows Inc. (1938), Mapel Attractions (1940)- J.C. Cook

Maniac (Sex Maniac)* (1934) Roadshow Attractions/ Roadshow Attractions- Dwain Esper

Angkor (Forbidden Adventure)* (1935) Mapel Pictures/ Roadshow Attractions (1937), Warner-Allender Roadshows Inc. (1938)- L.C. Cook and George M. Merrick

The March of Crime* (documentary short) (1936) XXXX/ Roadshow Attractions- XXXX

The March of Crime: Second Edition* (documentary short) (1936) XXXX/ Roadshow Attractions- XXXX

Hell-O-Vision (documentary short) (1936) XXXX/ Roadshow Attractions- Louis Sonney

Marihuana* (1936) Roadshow Attractions/ Roadshow Attractions- Dwain Esper

How to Undress in Front of Your Husband* (short) (1937) Roadshow Attractions/ Roadshow Attractions- Dwain Esper

Slaves in Bondage (1937) see J. D. Kendis

Sången om den eldröda blomman (Man's Way with Women) (1937) Wivefilm (1934)/ Road Show Attractions- Per-Axel Branner

Horrors of War (documentary) (1940) Mapel Attractions/ Merit Pictures- XXXX

Fanchon Royer Pictures (1932- 1938)

The Honor of the Press* (1932) see Mayfair Pictures

Trapped in Tia Juana (1932) see Mayfair Pictures

Behind Jury Doors (1932) see Mayfair Pictures

Alimony Madness (1933) see Mayfair Pictures

Dos Noches (1933) see Mayfair Pictures

Neighbors' Wives (1933) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ Fanchon Royer Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

Hollywood Hoodlum* (1934) see Regal Distributing

The Fighting Lady (1935) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ Fanchon Royer Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Carlos F. Borcosque

Death in the Air* (1936) see Puritan Pictures

Ten Laps to Go* (1936) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ Ace Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

Mile a Minute Love (Roaring Speedboats)* (1937) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ Fanchon Royer Pictures, Ace Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

Religious Racketeers (Mystic Circle Murder)* (1938) Fanchon Royer Pictures/ States Rights Independent Exchanges, Grand National Pictures, Merit Pictures Inc (1939)- Frank O'Connor

Screen Attractions Corporation (1935)

Queen of the Jungle* (serial) (1935) Herman Wohl Productions/ Screen Attractions Corporation- Robert F. Hill

Queen of the Jungle (feature version) (1935) Herman Wohl Productions/ Screen Attractions Corporation- Robert F. Hill

Security Pictures (1934-1935)

The Rawhide Terror* (1934) see Superior Talking Pictures

The Pecos Dandy (1934) Security Pictures/ Security Pictures- Victor Adamson and Horace B. Carpenter

The Adventures of Texas Jack* (1934) Security Pictures/ Security Pictures- Victor Adamson

Desert Mesa (The Mormon Conquest) (1935) Art Mix Productions, Security Pictures/ Security Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Adamson

Henry's Week End on the Desert (short) (1935) Art Mix Productions/ Security Pictures- Victor Adamson

Showmen's Pictures (1933-1935)

His Private Secretary* (1933) Screencraft Productions/ Showmen's Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Whitman

Police Call (1933) Showmen's Pictures/ Showmen's Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Phil Whitman

Ship of Wanted Men (1933) Showmen's Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Lewis D. Collins

Public Stenographer* (1934) Screencraft Productions, Showmen's Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Lewis D. Collins

The Moth* (1934) Screencraft Productions, Showmen's Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Fred C. Newmeyer

The Big Race (1934) Screencraft Productions, Showmen's Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Fred C. Newmeyer

Beyond Bengal* (documentary) (1934) XXXX/ Showmen's Pictures- Harry Schenck

Missouri Nightingale (St. Louis Woman)* (1934) Screencraft Productions, Showmen's Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Albert Ray

The Marriage Bargain (1935) Screecraft Productions, Showmen's Pictures/ Marcy Pictures Corporation- Albert Ray

Sono Art-World Wide Pictures ([1928] -1933)

Black Water (1929) British & Dominions Film Corporation/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Marshall Neilan

The Bondman (silent) (1929) British & Dominions Film Corporation/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Herbert Wilcox

The Woman in White (silent) (1929) British & Dominions Film Corporation/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Herbert Wilcox

Week-end Wives (silent) (1929) British International Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Harry Lachman

Berlin After Dark (silent) (1929) Xxxx/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Constantin J. David

Piccadilly* (silent and sound versions) (1929) British International Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Ewald André DuPont

Kitty (silent and sound versions) (1929) Burlington Films, British International Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Victor Saville

Blackmail* (1929) British International Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Alfred Hitchcock

Rainbow Man (1929) Son Art Productions/ Paramount Pictures- Fred C. Newmeyer

The Great Gabbo* (1929) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- James Cruze (Erich von Stroheim)

The Talk of Hollywood (1929) Prudence Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Mark Sandrich

The Manxman* (silent) (1929) British International Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Alfred Hitchcock

Blaze o' Glory (1929) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- George Crone and Renaud Hoffman

La Fuerza del Querer (1930) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Ralph Ince

Así es la Vida (1930) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- George Crone

Sombras de Gloria (1930) Sono Art Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Andrew L. Stone and Fernando C. Tamayo

Hello Sister (1930) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Walter Lang

Cock o' the Walk (1930) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Walter Lang and Roy William Neill

What a Man (1930) Sono Art Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- George Crone

The Big Fight (1930) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Walter Lang

The Dude Wrangler (1930) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Richard Thorpe

Symphony of Two Flats (1930) Gainsborough Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Gareth Gundry

Once a Gentleman (1930) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- James Cruze

Reno (1930) Sono Art Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- George Crone

Midnight Daddies (1930) Mack Sennet Comedies/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Mack Sennett

The Costello Case (1930) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Walter Lang

Rogue of the Rio Grande* (1930) Cliff Broughton Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, Astor Pictures Corporation (1935), Atlantic Pictures Corporation (1937), Astor Pictures Corporation, (1946)- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Just for a Song (1930) Gainsborough Pictures (1929)/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Gareth Gundry

Jaws of Hell (Balaclava) (1930) Gainsborough Pictures (1928)/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Maurice Elvey and Milton Rosmer

Honeymoon Lane (1931) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Paramount Pictures- William James Craft

Damaged Love (1931) Superior Talking Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Irvin Willat

Swanee River (1931) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Raymond Cannon

Air Police* (1931) Thrill-o-Dramas, Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Stuart Paton

In Old Cheyenne (1931) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, Atlantic Pictures Corporation (1937)- Stuart Paton

First Aid (1931) Ralph M. Like Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Stuart Paton

Hell Bent for Frisco (1931) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Stuart Paton

Is There Justice? (1931) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Stuart Paton

The Calendar (Bachelor's Folly) (1931) Gainsborough Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- T. Hayes Hunter

Neck and Neck (1931) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Richard Thorpe

Mounted Fury (1931) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Stuart Paton

Devil on Deck (1932) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Wallace Fox

Sunset Trail (1932) Tiffany Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

South of Santa Fe* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Bert Glennon

Cannonball Express (1932) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Wallace Fox

Law of the West* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Amity Pictures (1937)- Robert N. Bradbury

Riders of the Desert* (1932) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Amity Pictures (1937)- Robert N. Bradbury

The Man from Hell's Edges* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

The Sign of Four* (1932) Associated Talking Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Graham Cutts

Dynamite Ranch* (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges - Forrest Sheldon

Son of Oklahoma* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Amity Pictures (1937)- Robert N. Bradbury

The Man called Back (1932) see Tiffany Pictures

The Last Mile* (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art Productions- Samuel Bischoff

Those We Love (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Florey

Come On, Tarzan* (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

The Crooked Circle* (1932) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- H. Bruce Humberstone

False Faces (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Lowell Sherman

Trailing the Killer (Call of the Wilderness)* (1932) B.F. Zeidmann Productions Ltd/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Herman C. Raymaker

Between Fighting Men* (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Forrest Sheldon

Texas Buddies* (1932) Trem Carr Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Amity Pictures (1937)- Robert N. Bradbury

Breach of Promise (1932) Ben Verschleiser Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Paul L. Stein

Uptown New York* (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Schertzinger

The Death Kiss* (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Edwin L. Marin

The Lone Avenger* (1933) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

Tombstone Canyon* (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

Hypnotized* (1932) Sono Art-World Wide Pictures/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures- Mack Sennett

Drum Taps* (1933) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGown

Racetrack (1933) James Cruze Productions/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, Fox Film Corporation- James Cruze

Phantom Thunderbolt* (1933) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

The Constant Woman (Hell in a Circus)* (1933) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Atlantic Pictures Corporation (1938)- Victor Schertzinger

A Study in Scarlet* (1933) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, Fox Film Corporation- Edwin L. Marin

Fargo Express* (1933) K.B.S. Productions Inc/ Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Alan James

The Big Brain (1933) Admiral Productions (K.B.S. Productions)/ RKO-Radio Pictures- George Archainbaud

Deluge* (1933) Admiral Productions (K.B.S. Productions Inc)/ RKO-Radio Pictures- Felix E. Feist

Special Pictures Corporation (1938)

Birth of a Baby (1938) American Committee on Maternal Welfare Inc, Special Pictures Corporation/ Special Pictures Corporation- Al Christie

Spectrum Pictures (1934-1939)

Frontier Days* (1934) Altmont Pictures (Ray Kirkwood Productions), Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchange- Robert F. Hill

The Reckless Buckaroo (1935) Ray Kirkwood Productions, Spectrum Pictures/ Crescent Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Six Gun Justice* (1935) Ray Kirkwood Productions, Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Cyclone Ranger* (1935) Ray Kirkwood Productions, Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Texas Rambler* (1935) Ray Kirkwood Productions, Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Vanishing Riders* (1935) Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, Robert F. Hill

Lawless Border (1935) Ray Kirkwood Productions, Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John P. McCarthy

Blazing Justice* (1936) Ray Kirkwood Productions, Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Outlaws of the Range* (1936) Ray Kirkwood Productions, Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Romance Rides the Range (1936) Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

The Singing Buckaroo* (1937) Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Tom Gibson

Melody of the Plains (1937) Callaghan-Buell Productions/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Moonlight on the Range (1937) Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

The Roaming Cowboy* (1937) Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Fighting Deputy* (1937) Spectrum Pictures/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

The Land of Missing Men (1937) see Tiffany Productions

The Rangers' Round-Up* (1938) Stan Laurel Productions/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Knight of the Plains* (1938) Stan Laurel Productions/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Songs and Bullets (1938) Stan Laurel Productions/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Code of the Fearless* (1938) C.C. Burr Productions Inc/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

In Old Montana* (1939) C.C. Burr Productions Inc/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Two Gun Troubador* (1939) C.C. Burr Productions Inc/ Spectrum Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Heroes of the Marne (Le Héros de la Marne) (1939) Les Films Cristal/ Spectrum Pictures- André Hugon

Ridin' the Trail (1939) C.C. Burr Productions Inc/ Arthur Ziehm Inc, States Rights Independent Exchanges (1940)- Bernard B. Ray

Stage & Screen Productions (1933-1936)

Before Morning* (1933) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions, Arthur Greenblatt Distribution Services, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Arthur Hoerl

Inside Information* (1934) Consolidated Pictures Corporation/ Stage & Screen Productions- Robert F. Hill

Timber Terrors* (1935) Empire Film Distributors/ Stage & Screen Productions- Robert Emmett Tansey

The Silent Code* (1935) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Stuart Paton

Million Dollar Haul (1935) Superior Talking Pictures/ Stage & Screen Productions, First Division Pictures- Albert Herman

The Drunkard (1935) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Captured in Chinatown* (1935) Consolidated Pictures Corporation/ Stage & Screen Productions, Superior Talking Pictures- Elmer Clifton

Courage of the North (1935) Empire Film Distributors/ Stage & Screen Productions, First Division Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Emmett Tansey

Custer's Last Stand* (serial) (1936) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions- Elmer Clifton

Custer's Last Stand (feature version) (1936) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand* (serial) (1936) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand (feature version) (1936) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions, Stage & Screen Productions- Albert Herman

The Black Coin* (serial) (1936) Weiss Productions/ Stage & Screen Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Sunset Productions (1935-1937)

Five Bad Men (1935) Sunset Productions/ Sunset Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Smith

Devil's Canyon (1935) Sunset Productions/ Sunset Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Clifford Smith

Heroes of the Alamo* (1937) Sunset Productions/ Sunset Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Columbia Pictures (1938)- Harry L. Fraser

Superior Talking Pictures Corporation (1930- 1935)

Sweeping Against the Wind (1930) Victor Adamson Productions/ XXXX- XXXX

Desert Vultures (silent) (1930) Art Mix Productions, California Motion Pictures Enterprises/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation- Victor Adamson

Circle Canyon* (1933) California Motion Pictures Enterprises, Superior Talking Pictures Corporation/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Adamson

The Fighting Cowboy (1933) California Motion Pictures Enterprises/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Adamson

The Rawhide Terror* (1934) Security Pictures/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation- Bruce M. Mitchell and Jack Nelson

Lighting Bill (Lightning Bill)* (1934) California Motion Picture Enterprises, Victor Adamson Productions/ XXXX- Victor Adamson

Lightning Range* (1934) California Motion Pictures Enterprises, Superior Talking Pictures Corporation/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation- Victor Adamson

The Boss Cowboy* (1934) California Motion Pictures Enterprises/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, William Steiner, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- Victor Adamson

Riding Speed* (1934) California Motion Pictures Enterprises/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, William Steiner- Jay Wilsey

Rawhide Romance* (1934) California Motion Pictures Enterprises/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Adamson

Range Riders (1934) California Motion Pictures Enterprises/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation/ William Steiner, Hollywood Film Exchange, Metropolitan Film Exchange- Victor Adamson

The Lone Rider (1934) see Imperial Productions

The Way of the West* (1934) see Empire Film Distributors

Rough Riding Ranger* (1935) Weiss Productions/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation- Elmer Clifton

Pals of the Range (1935) Merrick Productions, Weiss Productions/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

Cyclone of the Saddle* (1935) Argosy Productions Corporation, Weiss Productions/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, First Division Pictures- Elmer Clifton

The Cowboy and the Bandit* (1935) Argosy Pictures/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

The Ghost Rider* (1935) Argosy Productions Corporation, Superior Talking Pictures Corporation/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Jack Jevne

The Fighting Caballero* (1935) Weiss Productions/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation, First Division Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

Captured in Chinatown* (1935) see Stage & Screen Productions

Arizona Trails* (1935) Art Mix Productions, Superior Talking Pictures Corporation/ Superior Talking Pictures Corporation- Victor Adamson

Supreme Pictures Corporation (1934-1938, 1940)

A Demon for Trouble* (1934) Supreme Pictures / Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Brand of Hate* (1934) Supreme Pictures / Commodore Pictures, William Steiner- Lewis D. Collins

Western Justice* (1934) Supreme Pictures / William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

No Man's Range* (1935) Supreme Pictures / Supreme Pictures, William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Kid Courageous* (1935) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert N. Bradbury

Big Calibre* (1935) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Smokey Smith* (1935) Supreme Pictures / William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Tombstone Terror* (1935) Supreme Pictures / William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Branded a Coward* (1935) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Sam Newfield

Sundown Saunders* (1935) Supreme Pictures, William Steiner Productions/ Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert N. Bradbury

The Rider of the Law* (1935) Supreme Pictures/ Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert N. Bradbury

Between Men* (1935) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Alias John Law* (1935) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

The Courageous Avenger* (1935) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Trail of Terror* (1935) A.W. Hackel Productions, Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Valley of the Lawless* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert N. Bradbury

The Kid Ranger* (1936) A.W. Hackel Productions/ William Steiner, Supreme Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Desert Phantom* (1936) Supreme Pictures, William Steiner Productions/ Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- S. Roy Luby

Rogue of the Range* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- S. Roy Luby

Last of the Warrens* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Robert N. Bradbury

Everyman's Law* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ William Steiner- Albert Herman

The Law Rides* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert N. Bradbury

The Crooked Trail* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- S. Roy Luby

Brand of the Outlaws* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ Supreme Pictures, William Steiner, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert N. Bradbury

Under Cover Man* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Albert Ray

The Gun Ranger (1936) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

The Gambling Terror* (1936) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Lightnin' Crandall* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Trail of Vengeance* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Lawless Land* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Albert Ray

Bar-Z Bad Man* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

The Trusted Outlaw* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Guns in the Dark* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Gun Lords of Stirrup Basin* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Border Phantom* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- S. Roy Luby

A Lawman is Born* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

The Red Rope* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- S. Roy Luby

Boothill Brigade* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Ridin' the Lone Trail* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Arizona Gunfighter* (1937) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Thunder in the Desert* (1938) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Desert Patrol (1938) Supreme Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Am I Guilty? (1940) Supreme Pictures/ Supreme Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Toddy Pictures Company (1948)- Sam Newfield

Syndicate Film Exchange ([1928] -1939)

Headin' Westward (silent) (1929) El Dorado Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Last Round-Up (silent and musical score) (1929) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate Pictures- J.P. McGowan

Law of the Plains (silent) (1929) J.P. McGowan Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Man from Nevada (silent) (1929) J.P. McGowan Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Fighting Terror (silent) (1929) J.P. McGowan Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Phantom Rider (silent) (1929) J.P. McGowan Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Riders of the Rio Grande (silent and musical score) (1929) J.P. McGowan Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Invaders (silent) (1929) Big Productions Film Corporation/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Cowboy and the Outlaw (musical score and sound effects) (1929)
Big Productions Film Corporation/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights
Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Pioneers of the West (silent) (1929) J.P. McGowan Productions/
Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Oklahoma Kid (silent) (1929) J.P. McGowan Productions/ Syndicate
Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Lone Horseman (silent) (1929) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate
Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Code of the West (silent) (1929) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate
Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

'Neath Western Skies (1929) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate
Pictures- J.P. McGowan

A Texas Cowboy* (silent) (1929) Big Productions Film Corporation/
Syndicate Pictures, Pickfair Pictures Corporation, States Rights
Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

O'Malley Rides Alone (silent and sound versions) (1930) J.P. McGowan
Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges-
J.P. McGowan

The Parting of the Trails (1930) J.P. McGowan Productions/ Syndicate
Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Breezy Bill (silent) (1930) Big Productions Film Corporation/ Syndicate
Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Covered Wagon Trails (musical score) (1930) J.P. McGowan
Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges-
J.P. McGowan

Call of the Desert* (silent and musical score) (1930) G.A. Durlam
Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges-
J.P. McGowan

The Man from Nowhere (silent) (1930) Big Productions Film
Corporation/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges-
J.P. McGowan

Hunted Men (silent) (1930) Big Productions Film Corporation/ Syndicate
Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Canyon of Missing Men* (silent and musical score) (1930) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Oklahoma Sheriff (silent and sound versions) (1930) Big Productions Film Corporation/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

The Lonesome Trail (1930) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, Bell Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bruce M. Mitchell

Convict's Code (silent and sound versions) (1930) Trem Carr Pictures/ Syndicate Pictures- Harry Revier

Beyond the Law (1930) see Raytone Talking Pictures

Code of Honor (1930) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Phantom of the Desert* (1930) Webb-Douglas Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Toddy Pictures Company (1949)- Harry S. Webb

Under Texas Skies* (1930) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Toddy Pictures Company (1953)- J.P. McGowan

Westward Bound* (1930) Webb-Douglas Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, Bell Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

The Man from Nowhere (1930) Ben Wilson Productions (1920)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1920), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Francis Ford

Cyclone Bliss (1930) Unity Photoplays (1921)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1921), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Francis Ford

Dead or Alive (1930) Unity Photoplays (Ben Wilson Productions) (1921)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1921), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Dell Henderson

Cupid's Brand (1930) Unity Photoplays, Ben Wilson Productions (1921)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1921), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Rowland V. Lee

The Double O (1930) Ben Wilson Productions (1921)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1921), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Roy Clements

Two-Fisted Jefferson (1930) Ben Wilson Productions (1922)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1922), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Roy Clements

The Desert's Crucible (1930) Ben Wilson Productions (1922)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1922), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Roy Clements

The Marshall of Moneymint (1930) Ben Wilson Productions (1922)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1922), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Roy Clements

The Ridin' Kid (1931) see Jack Irwin Productions

West of Cheyenne* (1931) Harry Webb Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Toddy Pictures Company (1953)- Harry S. Webb

The Mystery Trooper* (serial) (1931) Wonder Pictures (Harry Webb Productions)/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Guaranteed Pictures Corporation (1935)- Stuart Paton and Harry S. Webb

Riders of the North (1931) G.A. Durlam Productions/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- J.P. McGowan

Sign of the Wolf* (serial) (1931) see Metropolitan Pictures Corporation

God's Country and the Man* (1931) Trem Carr Pictures/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John P. McCarthy

Riders of the Plains* (1931) Trem Carr Pictures/ Syndicate Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Astor Pictures Corporation (1938)- John P. McCarthy

Defenders of the Law (1931) see Continental Talking Pictures Corporation

Law of the Rio Grande* (1931) Webb-Douglas Productions/ Syndicate Pictures- Forrest Sheldon

Lightnin' Smith Returns (1931) see Jack Irwin Productions

The Sheriff of Hope Eternal (1931) Ben Wilson Productions (1921)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1921), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Ben F. Wilson

The Broken Spur (1931) Ben Wilson Productions (1921)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1921), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Ben F. Wilson

Sparks of Flint (1931) Ben Wilson Productions (1921)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1921), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Roy Clements

The Desert Bridegroom (1931) Ben Wilson Productions (1922)/ Arrow Film Corporation (1922), Syndicate Film Exchange (re-edit)- Roy Clements

Law of the Tong* (1931) see Willis Kent Productions

West of the Rockies/ Call of the Rockies* (silent, musical score and talking prologue) (1931) Pioneer Productions (1928 unreleased)/ Syndicate Film Exchange- Bernard B. Ray

Money Talks* (1932) British International Pictures/ Syndicate Pictures- Norman Lee

The Lone Trail (feature version of **Sign of the Wolf**) (1932) Webb-Douglas Productions, Metropolitan Pictures/ Syndicate Pictures- Forrest Sheldon and Harry S. Webb

Four Aces (documentary) (1933) XXXX/ Syndicate Pictures- XXXX

Secrets of Hollywood (1933) see Headline Pictures

Under Secret Orders (1933) see Progressive Pictures

Guilty Parents (1934) see J. D. Kendis

I Can't Escape* (1934) see Beacon Productions

The Merry Monarch (1935) Films Sonores Tobis, Algra (1933)/ Syndicate Pictures (dubbed)- Alexis Granowsky

Secrets of Chinatown* (1935) Commonwealth Productions/ Syndicate Pictures- Fred C. Newmeyer

Circle of Death* (1935) see Willis Kent Productions

Manhattan Shakedown (1937) Central Films (Kenneth J. Bishop Productions)/ Syndicate Pictures- Leon Barsha

The Gang Show (1938) Herbert Wilcox Productions (1937)/ Syndicate Pictures- Alfred J. Goulding

Special Inspector (Across the Border) (1938) Central Films (Kenneth J. Bishop Productions)/ Syndicate Pictures- Leon Barsha

Paroled from the Big House* (1938) see J.D. Kendis

Spy of Napoleon (1939) see Grand National Pictures in Appendix B

George Terwilliger Productions (1936)

Ouanga (Love Wanga)* George Terwilliger Productions/ J.H. Hoffberg Company, States Rights Independent Productions- George Terwilliger

Tiffany Productions ([1925] -1932)

Viennese Melody (short) (1929) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Cossack's Bride (short) (1929) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Broadway Fever (silent) (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Edward F. Cline

The Rainbow (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Reginald Barker

The Spirit of Youth (silent) (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Walter Lang

The Devil's Apple Tree (silent) (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Elmer Clifton

High Treason (1929) Gaumont British Pictures Corporation/ Tiffany Productions- Maurice Elvey

My Lady's Past (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Albert Ray

The Voice Within (1929) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- George Archainbaud

Border Romance (1929) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Richard Thorpe

New Orleans (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Reginald Barker

Two Men and a Maid (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- George Archainbaud

The Wrecker (silent) (1929) Gainsborough Pictures, F.P.S.-Film GmbH/ Tiffany Productions- Géza von Boláry

Midstream (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- James Flood

Whispering Winds (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- James Flood

Mister Antonio* (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- James Flood and Frank Reicher

Woman to Woman (silent and sound versions) (1929) Gainsborough Pictures, Burlington Films, Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Victor Saville

Painted Faces* (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Albert S. Rogell

To What Red Hell (1929) Strand (Julius Hagen Productions)/ Tiffany Productions- Edwin Greenwood

The Lost Zeppelin* (1929) Tiffany-Stahl Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Edward Sloman

The Voice of Hollywood No.1 (short) (1929) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Voice of Hollywood No. 2 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Voice of Hollywood No. 3 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Slave Days (short) (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Randolph Forbes

Party Girl* (1930) Victory Pictures (Victor Halperin Productions)/ Tiffany Productions, Personality Productions Inc/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Victor Halperin (Rex Hale)

Peacock Alley (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Marcel de Sano

The Voice of Hollywood No. 4 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Troopers Three (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- B. Reeves Eason and Norman Taurog

The Voice of Hollywood No. 5 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Voice of Hollywood No. 6 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Mamba (1930) Color Art Productions, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Albert S. Rogell

The Swellhead (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- James Flood

The Voice of Hollywood No. 7 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Journey's End (1930) Gainsborough Pictures, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- James Whale

The Voice of Hollywood No. 8 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Voice of Hollywood No. 9 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Voice of Hollywood No. 10* (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Sunny Skies* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Norman Taurog

The Voice of Hollywood No. 11 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Voice of Hollywood No. 12 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Near the Rainbow's End* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- J.P. McGowan

The Medicine Man* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Scott Pembroke

Hot Curves (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Norman Taurog

Kathleen Mavourneen (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Albert Ray

The Voice of Hollywood No. 13 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Paradise Island* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Bert Glennon

The Voice of Hollywood No. 14 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

The Voice of Hollywood No. 15 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Wings of Adventure* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Richard Thorpe

Oklahoma Cyclone* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- John P. McCarthy

The Thoroughbred* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Richard Thorpe

Borrowed Wives* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Frank R. Strayer

Under Montana Skies* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Richard Thorpe

The Love Trader (1930) Pacific Pictures/ Tiffany Productions- Joseph Henabury

Extravagance* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Phil Rosen

The Land of Missing Men* (1930) Trem Carr Pictures/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1933), Spectrum Films (1937)- John P. McCarthy

Just Like Heaven (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Roy William Neill

The Utah Kid (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Richard Thorpe

Headin' North* (1930) Trem Carr Pictures/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- John P. McCarthy

She Got What She Wanted (1930) James Cruze Productions/ Tiffany Productions- James Cruze

The Third Alarm (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Emory Johnson

The Voice of Hollywood No. 23 (short) (1930) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Fighting Thru: or, California in 1878* (1930) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- William Nigh

The Voice of Hollywood (short) (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Command Performance (1931) James Cruze Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Walter Lang

Caught Cheating (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Frank R. Strayer

The Single Sin (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- William Nigh

The Drums of Jeopardy* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- George B. Seitz

The Voice of Hollywood No. 26 (short) (1931) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- XXXX

Aloha (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Albert S. Rogell

Hell Bound (1931) James Cruze Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Walter Lang

The Two Gun Man* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1938)- Phil Rosen

The Ridin' Fool* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1938)- John P. McCarthy

Salvation Nell (1931) James Cruze Productions/ Tiffany Productions- James Cruze

Alias: The Bad Man* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Phil Rosen

Women Go on Forever (1931) James Cruze Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Walter Lang

Murder at Midnight* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- Frank R. Strayer

Arizona Terror* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Phil Rosen

Near the Trail's End* (1931) Trem Carr Pictures/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- Wallace Fox

The Nevada Buckaroo* (1931) Trem Carr Pictures, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937) John P. McCarthy

Leftover Ladies (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Erle C. Kenton

Range Law* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- Phil Rosen

Morals for Women (Big City Interlude)* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- Mort Blumenstock

Branded Men* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Phil Rosen

The Pocatello Kid* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Amity Pictures (1937)- Phil Rosen

X Marks the Spot* (1931) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Erle C. Kenton

Sunrise Trail* (1932) Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- B. Reeves Eason

The Voice of Hollywood No. 13 (Second Series) (short) (1931) Louis Lewlyn Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Mack D'Agostino

Texas Gun Fighter* (1932) Quadruple Film Corporation, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions States Rights Independent Exchanges, Amity Pictures (1937)- Phil Rosen

Hotel Continental* (1932) Quadruple Film Corporation, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions- Christy Cabanne

Hell Fire Austin* (1932) Quadruple Film Corporation/ Tiffany Productions- Forrest Sheldon

Whistlin' Dan* (1932) Quadruple Film Corporation, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Amity Pictures (1937)- Phil Rosen

Lena Rivers* (1932) Quadruple Film Corporation/ Tiffany Productions, Monogram Pictures (1938), Sack Amusement Enterprises (1938), Astor Pictures Corporation (1939) Phil Rosen

Strangers of the Evening* (1932) Quadruple Film Corporation, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, States Rights Independent Exchanges- H. Bruce Humberstone

The Man Called Back (1932) K.B.S. Productions Inc, Quadruple Film Corporation, Tiffany Productions/ Tiffany Productions, Sono Art-World Wide Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert Florey

Times Exchange (1938-1940)

Trouble Ahead (Falling in Love) (1938) Vogue Pictures (1935)/ Times Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Monty Banks

The Girl Thief (Love at Second Sight) (1938) Radius Films/ Times Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Paul Merzbach

Meet the Mayor (A Fool's Advice)* (1938) Frank Fay Productions (1932)/ Warner Bros. Pictures (1932), Times Exchange- Ralph Ceder

Port of Hate* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures/ Times Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry S. Webb

Daughter of the Tong* (1939) Metropolitan Pictures/ Times Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Bernard B. Ray

Two's Company (1939) British & Dominion Film Corporation/ Times Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Tim Whelan

The American Gang Busters (documentary) (1940) XXXX/ Times Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- A.F. Dion

Killers of the Wild (Topa Topa)* (1940) see Pennant Pictures Corporation

Men with Steel Faces (feature version of **The Phantom Empire**) (1940) Mascot Pictures (1934)/ Times Exchange- Otto Brower and B. Reeves Eason

Tower Productions (1932-1934)

Discarded Lovers* (1932) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Fred C. Newmeyer

Shop Angel (1932) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- E. Mason Hopper

Drifting (1932) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Louis King

Exposure* (1932) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Norman Houston

The Red-Haired Alibi* (1932) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Christy Cabanne

Reform Girl* (1933) Premier Attractions (Tower Productions)/ Capitol Film Exchange- Sam Newfield

Daring Daughters* (1933) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Christy Cabanne

The Important Witness (1933) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Sam Newfield

The Big Bluff (1933) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Reginald Denny

Big Time or Bust (1933) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Sam Newfield

Marrying Widows (1934) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Sam Newfield

Beggar's Holiday (1934) Tower Productions/ Capitol Film Exchange- Sam Newfield

Trinity Pictures ([1927] -1929)

Girls Who Dare (silent) (1929) Trinity Pictures/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank S. Mattison

China Slaver (silent) (1929) Trinity Pictures/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank S. Mattison

Broken Hearted (silent) (1929) Trinity Pictures/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Frank S. Mattison

Trojan Pictures (1932-1933)

Big Town* (1932) Trojan Pictures/ Trojan Pictures- Arthur Hoerl

The Shadow Laughs* (1933) Trojan Pictures/ Trojan Pictures- Arthur Hoerl

Victory Pictures Corporation (1935-1939)

Danger Ahead* (1935) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Hot Off the Press (1935) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Albert Herman

Bars of Hate* (1935) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges, Times Film Corporation (1936)- Albert Herman

The Fighting Coward (1935) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Dan Milner

A Face in the Fog* (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Taming the Wild* (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Rio Grande Romance (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Kelly of the Secret Service* (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Secrets of Chinatown* (serial) (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Secrets of Chinatown* (feature version) (1936) Victory Picture Corporation, Victory Picture Corporation/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Rip Roarin' Buckaroo* (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Two Minutes to Play* (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Phantom of the Range* (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Silks and Saddles (1936) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Cheyenne Rides Again* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Blake of Scotland Yard* (serial) (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Blake of Scotland Yard* (feature version) (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

The Feud of the Trail* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Mystery Range* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ William Steiner- Robert F. Hill

Orphan of the Pecos* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Katzman

Brothers of the West* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Katzman

Flying Fists* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Lost Ranch* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation- Sam Katzman

Sky Racket *(1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Katzman (and Robert F. Hill)

Million Dollar Racket (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Robert F. Hill

Amateur Crook* (1937) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Katzman

Lightning Carson Rides Again* (1938) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Six-Gun Trail* (1938) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Code of the Cactus* (1939) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Texas Wildcats (1939) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Outlaws Paradise* (1939) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Straight Shooter* (1939) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

The Fighting Renegade* (1939) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Trigger Fingers* (1939) Victory Picture Corporation/ Victory Picture Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Sam Newfield

Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures ([1919] -1932)

The Hollywood Dressmaker (silent short) (1929) Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- Leslie Goodwins

The Big Shot* (silent short) (1929) Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- James D. Davis

Springtime Saps (silent short) (1929) Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- Leslie Goodwins

Sock and Run (silent short) (1929) Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- Leslie Goodwins

Two Sisters (silent and musical score) (1929) Trem Carr Productions/ Rayart Pictures Corporation, William Steiner, Weiss Brothers Artclass

Pictures, Hollywood Film Exchange, B. N. Judell, Special Pictures Company- Scott Pembroke

Unmasked (1929) Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Edgar Lewis

Her Unborn Child (1930) Windsor Picture Plays Inc/ Windsor Picture Plays Inc, Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, Norman Distributing Company- Albert Ray

Pueblo Terror (1931) see Robert J. Horner Productions

Maid to Order (1931) Jesse Weil Productions/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- Elmer Clifton

Night Life in Reno* (1931) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brother Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Raymond Cannon

White Renegade (1931) see Jack Irwin Productions

Convicted* (1931) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Christy Cabanne

The Phantom* (1931) Action Dramas/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- Alan James

Pleasure* (1931) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Otto Brower

Soul of the Slums (1931) see Mayfair Pictures

Cavalier of the West* (1931) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- John P. McCarthy

Uncle Moses* (1932) Yiddish Talking Pictures Inc/ Yiddish Talking Pictures- Sidney M. Goldina nd Aubrey Scotto

Without Honor* (1932) Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures/ States Rights Independent Exchanges- William Nigh

Cross-Examination* (1932) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Richard Thorpe

Border Devils* (1932) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures- William Nigh

They Never Come Back* (1932) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Fred C. Newmeyer

The Night Rider* (1932) Supreme Features/ Weiss Brothers Artclass Pictures, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Fred C. Newmeyer (and William Nigh)

The Eleventh Commandment (1933) see Allied Pictures

The Boss Cowboy (1934) see Superior Talking Pictures

Enlighten Thy Daughter (1934) see Exploitation Pictures

Riding Speed (1934) see Superior Talking Pictures

Inside Information (1934) see Stage & Screen Productions

Courage of the North (1934) see Stage & Screen Productions

The Rider of the Law (1935) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Suicide Squad (1935) see Puritan Pictures Corporation

Appendix B:

Conglomerate Poverty Row Film Production Companies

Grand National Pictures (1936-1939)

Society Fever (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Condemned to Live* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Girl Who Came Back* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Happiness C.O.D. (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

The Lady in Scarlet* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

False Pretenses* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Hitch Hike to Heaven (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Tango* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

August Weekend* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Murder at Glen Athol* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Brilliant Marriage (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

It Couldn't have Happened... But It Did* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Easy Money* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

Three of a Kind* (1936) see Chesterfield Invincible

In His Steps* (1936) B.F. Ziedman Film/ Grand National Pictures- Karl Brown

Spy of Napoleon* (1936) J.H. Productions (Julius Hagen Productions)/ Grand National Pictures, Syndicate Pictures (1939)- Maurice Elvey

Captain Calamity* (1936) see Regal Distributing Corporation

The Devil on Horseback* (1936) see Regal Distributing Corporation

White Legion* (1936) B.F. Ziedman Film/ Grand National Pictures- Karl Brown

Yellow Cargo (Sinful Cargo)* (1936) Condor Productions/ Grand National Pictures, Motion Pictures Ventures (1947)- Crane Wilbur

Song of the Gringo* (1936) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- John P. McCarthy

Hats Off* (1936) Boris Petroff Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Boris Petroff

We're in the Legion Now (The Rest Cure)* (1936) see Regal Distributing Corporation

Headin' for the Rio Grande* (1936) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Forever Yours (Forget Me Not)* (1936) London Film Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Zoltan Korda

Great Guy* (1936) Zion Meyers Productions/ Grand National Pictures- John G. Blystone

Man in the Mirror* (1937) J.H. Productions (Julius Hagen Productions) (1936)/ Grand National Pictures- Maurice Elvey

Lucky Terror* (1937) see Diversion Pictures

Feud of the West* (1937) see Diversion Pictures

Frontier Justice* (1937) see Diversion Pictures

Two Who Dared (A Woman Alone) (1937) Garrett-Klement Pictures (1936)/ Grand National Pictures- Eugene Frenke

Romance and Riches (The Amazing Quest of Mr. Bliss) (Amazing Adventure)* (1937) Garrett-Klement Pictures (1936)/ United Artists, Grand National Pictures- Alfred Zeisler

Scotland Yard Commands (The Lonely Road) (1937) Associated Talking Pictures (1936)/ Grand National Pictures- James Flood

The Riding Avenger* (1937) see Diversion Pictures

Juggernaut* (1937) J.H. Productions (Julius Hagen Productions) (1936)/ Grand National Pictures- Henry Edwards

Hideout in the Alps (Dusty Ermine)* (1937) Twickenham Film Studios (1936)/ Grand National Pictures- Bernard Vorhaus

Cavalcade of the West* (1936) see Diversion Pictures

Stardust (Mad about Money)* (1937) Morgan (William Rowland Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Melville W. Brown

Arizona Days* (1937) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- John English

Trouble in Texas* (1937) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Navy Spy (1937) Condor Pictures Inc (George A. Hirliman Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Crane Wilbur (and Joseph H. Lewis)

23 1/2 Hours Leave* (1937) Douglas MacLean Productions/ Grand National Pictures- John G. Blystone

Girl Loves Boy (1937) B.F. Ziedman Productions/ Grand National Pictures- W. Duncan Mansfield

Hittin' the Trail* (1937) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

The Gold Racket* (1937) Condor Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Louis J. Gasnier (and Joseph H. Lewis)

I Married a Spy (Secret Lives)* (1937) Independent Film Producers/ Grand National Pictures- Edmond T. Gréville

Killers of the Sea (documentary) (1937) Ray Friedgen Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Raymond Freidgen

Sing, Cowboy, Sing* (1937) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Damaged Goods (Forbidden Desires) (1937) Criterion Pictures Corporation/ Grand National Pictures, Sonney Roadshows (1947)- Phil Goldstone

Bank Alarm* (1937) Condor Pictures Inc (George A. Hirliman Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Louis J. Gasnier

Sweetheart of the Navy* (1937) B.F. Ziedman Productions/ Grand National Pictures- W. Duncan Mansfield

Riders of the Rockies* (1937) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Boots of Destiny* (1937) Condor Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Arthur Rosson

Mystery of the Hooded Horsemen* (1937) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Ray Taylor

Trailing Trouble* (1937) Condor Pictures Inc (M&A Alexander Productions Inc)/ Grand National Pictures- Arthur Rosson

Small Town Boy* (1937) Zion Meyers Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Glenn Tyron

Renfrew of the Royal Mounted* (1937) Criterion Pictures Corporation/ Grand National Pictures- Albert Herman

Something to Sing About* (1937) Zion Meyer Productions/ Grand National Pictures, Mohawk Film Corporation (1940), Scenecraft Pictures (1947)- Victor Schertzinger

The Girl Said No (With Words and Music)* (1937) Andrew L. Stone Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Andrew L. Stone

The Shadow Strikes* (1937) Colony Pictures/ Grand National Pictures- Lynn Shores

Love Takes Flight* (1937) George A. Hirliman Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Conrad Nagel

Tex Rides with the Boy Scouts* (1937) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Ray Taylor

Zamboanga (1937) Philippine Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Eduardo de Castro

Wallaby Jim of the Islands (1937) George A. Hirliman Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Charles Lamont

The High Command* (1938) Fanfare (Gordon Wellesley Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Thorold Dickinson

Life Returns* (1938) Scienart Pictures, Universal Pictures (1935)/ Universal Pictures (1935), Scienart Pictures, Grand National Pictures- Eugene Frenke and James P. Hogan

Brief Ecstasy (1938) Phoenix (1937)/ Grand National Pictures- Edmond T. Gréville

Here's Flash Casey* (1938) M&A Alexander Productions Inc/ Grand National Pictures- Lynn Shores

Spirit of Youth* (1938) Globe Pictures Corporation/ Grand National Pictures- Harry L. Fraser

Swing It, Sailor!* (1938) B.F. Ziedman Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Raymond Cannon

Mr. Boggs Steps Out* (1938) Zion Meyers Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Gordon Wiles

Frontier Town* (1938) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Ray Taylor

International Crime* (1938) M&A Alexander Productions Inc/ Grand National Pictures- Charles Lamont

Whirlwind Horseman* (1938) M&A Alexander Productions Inc/ Grand National Pictures- Robert F. Hill

Six-Shootin' Sheriff* (1938) M&A Alexander Productions Inc/ Grand National Pictures- Harry L. Fraser

Songs and Saddles* (1938) Road Show Pictures/ Grand National Pictures, Sack Amusement Enterprises, Astor Picture Corporation- Harry L. Fraser

The Singing Cowgirl* (1938) Coronado Films Inc/ Grand National Pictures- Samuel Diege

Held for Ransom* (1938) International Film Corporation/ Grand National Pictures- Clarence Bricker

Religious Racketeers* (1938) see Fanchon Royer Productions

Rollin' Plains* (1938) Edward F. Finney Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Albert Herman

On the Great White Trail* (1938) Criterion Pictures Corporation/ Grand National Pictures, Screencraft Pictures (194?)- Albert Herman

The Marines Come Thru* (1938) Colonnade Pictures Corporation (George A. Hirliman Productions)/ Grand National Pictures, Astor Pictures Corporation (1943)- Louis J. Gasnier

The Utah Trail (1938) Boots and Saddles Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Albert Herman

Frontier Scout* (1938) Fine Arts Film Company (Franklyn Warner Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Sam Newfield

Cipher Bureau* (1938) Fine Arts Film Company (Franklyn Warner Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Charles Lamont

Shadows over Shanghai* (1938) Fine Arts Film Company (Franklyn Warner Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Charles Lamont

Titans of the Deep (1938) XXXX/ Grand National Pictures- Otis Barton

The Sunset Murder Case* (1938) George A. Hirliman Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Louis J. Gasnier

King of the Sierras (Black Stallion)* (1938) Condor Pictures Inc (George A. Hirliman Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Samuel Diege and Arthur Rosson

Children of the Wild (Topa Topa)* (1938) see Pennant Pictures Corporation

Water Rustlers *(1939) Coronado Films Inc/ Grand National Pictures- Samuel Diege

The Long Shot* (1939) Fine Arts Film Company (Franklyn Warner Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Charles Lamont

Trigger Pals* (1939) Cinemart/ Grand National Pictures- Sam Newfield

Ride 'Em Cowgirl (1939) Coronado Films Inc/ Grand National Pictures- Samuel Diege

Six-Gun Rhythm* (1939) Arcadia Pictures Corporation/ Grand National Pictures- Sam Newfield

The Mind of Mr. Reeder (1939) Jack Raymond Productions/ Grand National Pictures, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1940)- Jack Raymond

I Met a Murderer (1939) Gamma Films Limited/ Grand National Pictures, Classic Pictures (1940)- Roy Kellino

Panama Patrol* (1939) Fine Arts Film Company (Franklyn Warner Productions)/ Grand National Pictures- Charles Lamont

Exile Express* (1939) United Players, Zion Meyers Productions/ Grand National Pictures- Otis Garret

I Killed the Count (1939) Grafton Films/ Grand National Pictures, Monogram Pictures (1940)- Frederic Zelnick

Miracle on Main Street (1939) Columbia Pictures Corporation/ Columbia Pictures- Steve Sekeley

Isle of Destiny* (1940) Fine Arts Film Company (Franklyn Warner Productions)/ RKO-Radio Pictures- Elmer Clifton

Half a Sinner* (1940) Arcadia Pictures Corporation/ Universal Pictures- Al Christie

Monogram Pictures Corporation (1937- [1952])

The 13th Man* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Blazing Barriers* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Aubrey Scotto

Hoosier Schoolboy* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Riders of the Dawn (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Paradise Isle* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1941), Classics Pictures (1951)- Arthur Greville Collins

The Legion of Missing Men* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Hamilton MacFadden

The Outer Gate* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Raymond Cannon

Atlantic Flight* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

God's Country and the Man* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Stars over Arizona* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

A Bride for Henry* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Where Trails Divide* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Federal Bullets (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Karl Brown

Danger Valley* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Irvin Willat

County Fair (1937) see Crescent Pictures

Telephone Operator* (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Scott Pembroke

Romance of the Rockies (1937) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert N. Bradbury

Boy of the Streets* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

West of Rainbow's End* (1938) Concord Productions Inc (Conn Pictures Corporation)/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Alan James

My Old Kentucky Home* (1938) see Crescent Pictures

Saleslady (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Arthur Greville Collins

Where the West Begins* (1938) Concord Productions Inc (Conn Pictures Corporation)/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- J.P. McGowan

The Painted Trail* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert F. Hill

Port of Missing Girls* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Karl Brown

Land of Fighting Men (1938) Concord Productions Inc (Conn Pictures Corporation)/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Alan James

Rose of the Rio Grande (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1948)- William Nigh

Castillo en el aire (1938) Edward LeBaron Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Jaime Salvador

Code of the Rangers* (1938) Concord Productions Inc (Conn Pictures Corporation)/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

Female Fugitive* (1938) see Crescent Pictures

Two Gun Justice (1938) Concord Productions Inc (Conn Pictures Corporation)/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Alan James

The Fight for Peace (1938) XXXX/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- XXXX

Numbered Woman (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Karl Brown

Phantom Ranger* (1938) Concord Productions Inc (Conn Pictures Corporation)/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

Gunsmoke Trail* (1938) Concord Productions Inc (Conn Pictures Corporation)/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

The Marines are Here* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Phil Rosen

Romance of the Limberlost (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Man's Country* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert F. Hill

Barefoot Boy* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Karl Brown

Under the Big Top* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Karl Brown

Starlight over Texas* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Herman

The Mexicali Kid* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Wallace Fox

Wanted by the Police (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Mr. Wong, Detective* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Where the Buffalo Roam* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Herman

Gang Bullets* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Classic Pictures (1950)- Lambert Hillyer

Gun Packer* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Wallace Fox

Gangster's Boy* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

The Gaunt Stranger (The Phantom Strikes)* (1938) Ealing Studios/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Walter Forde

Song of the Buckaroo (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Herman

I am a Criminal (1938) see Crescent Pictures

Wild Horse Canyon* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert F. Hill

Tough Kid* (1938) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Convict's Code* (1939) see Crescent Pictures

Drifting Westward (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation (1940)- Robert F. Hill

Sundown on the Prairie* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Herman

Navy Secrets* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Star Reporter* (1939) see Crescent Pictures

Rollin' Westward* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Herman

Mystery Plane* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- George Waggener

The Mystery of Mr. Wong* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Trigger Smith (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Alan James

Lure of the Wasteland* (1939) Al Lane Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, States Rights Independent Exchanges- Harry L. Fraser

Streets of New York (The Abe Lincoln of 9th Avenue)* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

Wanted by Scotland Yard (1939) John Argyle Productions/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Norman Lee

Undercover Agent* (1939) see Crescent Pictures

The Man from Texas (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Herman

Boy's Reformatory* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Classic Pictures (1950)- Howard Bretherton

Wolf Call* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation (1947), Monogram Pictures Corporation (1951)- George Waggener

Across the Plains* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Should a Girl Marry? (1939) see Crescent Pictures

Down the Wyoming Trail* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Albert Herman

Stunt Pilot (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- George Waggener

Bad Boy* (1939) Gateway Productions Inc/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Herbert Mayer

Mr. Wong in Chinatown* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Nigh

The Girl from Rio* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Lambert Hillyer

Riders of the Frontier* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Port of Hate (1939) see Times Exchange

Irish Luck* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Oklahoma Terror* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Spencer Gordon Bennet

Sky Patrol* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Mutiny in the Big House* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Monogram Pictures Corporation(1947)- William Nigh

Danger Flight* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Howard Bretherton

Fighting Mad* (1939) Criterion Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Sam Newfield

Heroes in Blue* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- William Watson

Overland Mail* (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Robert F. Hill

Crashing Thru* (1939) Criterion Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation, Screencraft Pictures Inc (194?)- Elmer Clifton

Westbound Stage (1939) Boots and Saddles Pictures/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Spencer Gordon Bennet

The Gentleman from Arizona (1939) Monogram Pictures Corporation/ Monogram Pictures Corporation- Earl Haley

Producers Pictures Corporation (later to become Producers Releasing Corporation) (1939-1940)

Hitler- Beast of Berlin* (1939) Producers Pictures Corporation (Sigmund Neufeld Productions)/ Producers Distributing Corporation- Sam Newfield

Torture Ship* (1939) Producers Pictures Corporation (Sigmund Neufeld Productions)/ Producers Distributing Corporation- Victor Halperin

Buried Alive* (1939) Producers Pictures Corporation (Sigmund Neufeld Productions)/ Producers Distributing Corporation- Victor Halperin

Mercy Plane* (1939) Producers Pictures Corporation (Sigmund Neufeld Productions)/ Producers Pictures Corporation- Richard Harlan

The Sagebrush Family Trails West (1940) Producers Pictures Corporation/ Producers Distributing Corporation- Sam Newfield

Republic Pictures (1935-[1959])

The Headline Woman* (1935) see Mascot Pictures Corporation

Born to Gamble* (1935) see Liberty Pictures Corporation

The Adventures of Rex and Rinty* (serial) (1935) see Mascot Pictures Corporation

Westward Ho (1935) Republic Pictures / Republic Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Tumbling Tumbleweeds (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Two Sinners (1935) see Monogram Pictures Corporation

The Crime of Dr. Crespi* (1935) see Liberty Pictures Corporation

Cappy Ricks Returns (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Mack V. Wright

The New Frontier (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Carl Pierson

Forbidden Heaven (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Reginald Barker

The Spanish Cape Mystery* (1935) see Liberty Pictures Corporation

Melody Trail (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

1,000 Dollars a Minute (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Aubrey Scotto

Lawless Range (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Sagebrush Troubadour (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Racing Luck (1935) Select Pictures Corporation/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

The Fighting Marines* (serial) (1935) see Mascot Pictures Corporation

Forced Landing (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Melville W. Brown

Frisco Waterfront (1935) see Mascot Pictures Corporation

The Singing Vagabond (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1944)- Carl Pierson

Hitch Hike Lady (1935) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Aubrey Scotto

The Oregon Trail (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Scott Pembroke

The Leavenworth Case (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Lewis D. Collins

Dancing Feet (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Santley

The Lawless Nineties (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Darkest Africa* (serial) (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- B. Reeves Eason and Joseph Kane

The Leather Necks have Landed* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Howard Bretherton

The Return of Jimmy Valentine (Prison Shadows)* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Lewis D. Collins

Red River Valley (Man of the Frontier)* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- B. Reeves Eason

Laughing Irish Eyes (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Santley

King of the Pecos* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Doughnuts and Society* (1936) see Mascot Pictures Corporation

Comin' Round the Mountain (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Mack V. Wright

The House of a Thousand Candles* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Arthur Lubin

Federal Agent* (1936) Winchester Pictures Corporation/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

The Harvester (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Santley

The Girl from Mandalay (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Howard Bretherton

Frankie and Johnny (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer and Chester Erskine

The Singing Cowboy (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Mack V. Wright

Burning Gold (1936) Winchester Pictures Corporation/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

The Lonely Trail (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Hearts in Bondage* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Lew Ayres

Undersea Kingdom* (serial) (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1950)- B. Reeves Eason and Joseph Kane

Down to the Sea* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Lewis D. Collins

Navy Born (Mariners of the Sky)* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Nate Watt

Winds of the Wasteland* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Mack V. Wright

Go-Get-'Em Haines* (1936) Winchester Pictures Corporation/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Guns and Guitars (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1945)- Joseph Kane

Ticket to Paradise* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Aubrey Scotto

Follow your Heart* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Aubrey Scotto

The Gentleman from Louisiana (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Irving Pichel

Oh, Susanna!* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

The Vigilante are Coming* (serial) (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ray Taylor and Mack V. Wright

Sitting on the Moon* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

Bulldog Edition* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Charles Lamont

The Three Mesquiteers* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ray Taylor

Under Cover Man* (1936) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

The President's Mystery* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Phil Rosen

Ride Ranger Ride* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Cavalry* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Robert N. Bradbury

Ghost-Town Gold* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Country Gentlemen* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

Robinson Crusoe of Clipper Island* (serial) (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ray Taylor and Mack V. Wright

The Big Show* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Mack V. Wright (and Joseph Kane)

The Bold Caballero* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Wells Root

Roarin' Lead* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield and Mack V. Wright

Happy Go Lucky* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Aubrey Scotto

The Old Corral* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

The Mandarin Mystery* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

A Man Betrayed* (1936) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Riders of the Whistling Skull* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Mack V. Wright

Larceny on the Air* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Irving Pichel

Beware of Ladies* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Irving Pichel

Join the Marines* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

Two Wise Maids* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Phil Rosen

The Gambling Terror* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Dick Tracy* (serial) (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Alan Kames and Ray Taylor

Paradise Express* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Round-Up Time in Texas* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Circus Girl* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Hit the Saddle* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1953)- Mack V. Wright

No Matarás (1937) Hispano International Film Corporation/ Republic Pictures- Miguel Contreras Torres

Bill Cracks Down* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- William Nigh

Git Along Little Dogies* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1944)- Joseph Kane

Trail of Vengeance* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Navy Blues* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

Jim Hanvey, Detective* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Phil Rosen

Lawless Land* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Bar-Z Bad Men (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Hit Parade of 1937 (I'll Pick a Star)* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Glamorous Night (1937) Associated British Picture Corporation/ Republic Pictures- Brian Desmond Hurst

The Trusted Outlaw* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Gunsmoke Ranch* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Rootin' Tootin' Rhythm* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1944)- Mack V. Wright

Guns in the Dark* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Michael O'Halloran (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Karl Brown

Gun Lords of Stirrup Basin (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Come On, Cowboys!* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Affairs of Cappy Ricks* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

The Painted Stallion* (serial) (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Allan James and Ray Taylor (and William Witney)

Dangerous Holiday* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Nicholas T. Barrows

Border Phantom* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Yodelin' Kid from Pine Ridge* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Rhythm in the Clouds* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

A Lawman is Born* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

It Could Happen to You* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Phil Rosen

Range Defenders* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Mack V. Wright

Doomed at Sundown* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Meet the Boyfriend* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

The Red Rope* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Bulldog Drummond at Bay* (1937) Associated British Picture Corporation/ Republic Pictures- Norman Lee

Sea Racketeers* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Hamilton Mac Fadden

Tenth Avenue Kid (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Bernard Vorhaus

Public Cowboy No. 1* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1947)- Joseph Kane

S.O.S. Coast Guard* (serial) (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (feature release 1942)- Alan James and William Witney

Ridin' the Lone Trail* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Escape by Night* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Hamilton MacFadden

The Sheik Steps Out (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Irving Pichel

Heart of the Rockies* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

All Over Town* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- James W. Horne

Arizona Gunfighter* (1937) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Youth on Parole* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Phil Rosen

Boots and Saddles* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

The Wrong Road* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- James Cruze

The Trigger Trio* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- William Witney

Portia on Trial (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Nichols Jr.

Springtime in the Rockies* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Zorro Rides Again* (serial) (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

Manhattan Merry-Go-Round* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Charles Reisner

The Duke Comes Back (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Irving Pichel

Wild Horse Rodeo* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

The Colorado Kid* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Exile to Shanghai* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Nick Grinde and Armand Schaefer

Mama Runs Wild (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

Lady Behave* (1937) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Lloyd Corrigan

Dick Tracy* (feature version) (1937) see above

Paroled- To Die* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

The Purple Vigilantes* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

The Old Barn Dance* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1943)- Joseph Kane

Outside of Paradise (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

The Painted Stallion (feature version) (1938) see above

The Lone Ranger (serial) (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

Born to be Wild* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Hollywood Stadium Mystery* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- David Howard

Prison Nurse* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- James Cruze

Call the Mesquiteers* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English

King of the Newsboys* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Bernard Vorhaus

Arson Gang Busters (Arson Racket Squad)* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

The Higgins Family (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Invisible Enemy (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Outlaws of Sonora* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

The Feud Maker* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Call of the Yukon* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John T. Coyle and B. Reeves Eason

Under Western Stars* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Romance on the Run* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Gangs of New York (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- James Cruze

The Fighting Devil Dogs* (serial) (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

Desert Patrol* (1938) see Supreme Pictures Corporation

Ladies in Distress (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Riders of the Black Hills (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

Gold Mine in the Sky (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Heroes of the Hills (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

A Desperate Adventure (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Come On, Leathernecks! (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- James Cruze

Army Girl (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Nichols Jr.

Man from Music Mountain* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Dick Tracy Returns* (serial) (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

Durango Valley Raiders* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sam Newfield

Pals of the Saddle (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

Billy the Kid Returns* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Overland Stage Raiders (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

The Night Hawk* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

Prairie Moon (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

Down in Arkansas (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Nick Grinde

I Stand Accuses (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Rhythm of the Saddle (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1947)- George Sherman

Storm over Bengal (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

Santa Fe Stampede (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

Come On, Rangers* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Western Jamboree (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Ralph Staub

Hawk of the Wilderness (serial) (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

Orphans of the Street (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Red River Range (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

Federal Man Hunt (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Nick Grinde

Shine On, Harvest Moon* (1938) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1948)- Joseph Kane

Fighting Thoroughbreds (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

The Mysterious Miss X (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Pride of the Navy (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Charles Lamont

Home on the Prairie (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Jack Townley

Woman Doctor (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

The Lone Ranger Rides Again (serial) (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

I was a Convict (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Aubrey Scotto

Rough Riders' Round-Up* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Southward Ho* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Mexicali Rose (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

The Night Riders* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1953)- George Sherman

Frontier Pony Express* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1949), Republic Pictures (1953)- Joseph Kane

Forged Passport (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Street of Missing Men* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

Man of Conquest* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1951)-George Nichols Jr.

Blue Montana Skies (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1945)- B. Reeves Eason

Three Texas Steers (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1953)- George Sherman

My Wife's Relative (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

The Zero Hour* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

S.O.S. Tidal Wave (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Mountain Rhythm (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- B. Reeves Eason

Daredevils of the Red Circle* (serial) (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

In Old Caliente* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1948)- Joseph Kane

Wyoming Outlaw (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1953)- George Sherman

Mickey the Kid (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Arthur Lubin

She Married a Cop (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

Should Husbands Work? (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Colorado Sunset (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1947)- George Sherman

Wall Street Cowboy* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

New Frontier (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1953)- George Sherman

In Old Monterey (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Smuggled Cargo (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer and Michael Jacoby

Flight at Midnight (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Sidney Salkow

Dick Tracy's G-Men* (serial) (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1955)- John English and William Witney

Calling All Marines* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

The Arizona Kid* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

The Kansas Terrors (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

Sabotage (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Harold Young

Jeepers Creepers (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Frank McDonald

Main Street Lawyer (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Dudley Murphy

The Covered Trail (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Rovin' Tumbleweeds (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

Saga of Death Valley* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures, Republic Pictures (1949)- Joseph Kane

Cowboys from Texas (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

South of the Border (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- George Sherman

Zorro's Fighting Legion* (serial) (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John English and William Witney

Days of Jesse James* (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Joseph Kane

Thou Shalt not Kill (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- John H. Auer

Money to Burn (1939) Republic Pictures/ Republic Pictures- Gus Meins

Works Cited

“4-1 Oppose Duals—WB Poll.” *Variety* 12 Aug. 1936, 5+. Print.

“250 Features for Indies.” *Variety* 1 Mar. 1932, 5. Print.

“342 Indie Films for 1928.” *Variety* 29 Feb. 1929, 9+. Print.

The Amazing Exploits of the Clutching Hand. Dir. Albert Herman. Perf. Jack Mulhall, Rex Lease, Ruth Mix, and Mae Busch. 1936. Alpha Video. 2004. DVD.

“American Indies.” *Variety* 2 Jan. 1929, 6. Print.

Big Calibre. Dir. Robert North Bradbury. Perf. Bob Steele, Peggy Campbell, and Forrest Taylor. 1935. Alpha Video. 2008. DVD.

“Big Demands for ‘Westerns’ in All Sections.” *Variety* 16 Oct. 1929, 7. Print.

“Block Booking and Blind Selling.” *Journal of Home Economics* 28.3 (1936): 176-178. Print.

“Chain Operators Driving Out Independent Exhibs.” *Variety* 9 Jan. 1929, 21. Print.

“Changes Forced by Sound.” *Variety* 13 Mar. 1929, 60. Print.

“Cheap Virtue and Horse Stuff Again.” *Variety* 20 Aug. 1930, 3+. Print.

“Decay of Serials Blamed in Kids being too Wise.” *Variety* 26 June 1935, 4. Print.

“Double Feature Film Days.” *Variety* 30 Oct. 1939, 20. Print.

“Double Feature Origins Traced Down in Boston.” *Variety* 16 June 1931, 20. Print.

“Double Features cut Shorts Out.” *Variety* 5 Nov. 1930, 11. Print.

“Double Features Playing More Plentiful and Spreading.” *Variety* 8 Oct. 1930, 4. Print.

“Double Talkers on One Bill.” *Variety* 21 Apr. 1930, 12. Print.

“Dragnet Patrol.” *Variety* 23 Feb. 1932, 19. Print.

“Dual’s Pros and Cons.” *Variety* 30 Oct. 1936, 6. Print.

“ERPI-RCA Recording Price Battle kills Bootlegs.” *Variety* 22 Mar. 1932, 4. Print.

“The Fall Guy.” *Variety* 28 May 1930, 35. Print.

The Fall Guy. Dir. Leslie Pearce. Per. Jack Mulhall, Mae Clarks, and Ned Sparks.

1930. Web.

Fighting Pilot. Dir. Noel M. Smith. Perf. Richard Talmadge, Gerttrude Messinger, and Robert Frazer. 1935. Alpha Video. 2006. DVD.

“For the Love of O’Lil.” *Variety* 17 Dec. 1930, 26. Print.

“Future of Duals in U.S.” *Variety* 18 Sept. 1935, 21. Print.

Gun Cargo. Dir. Jack Irwin Perf. Rex Lease, Allene Ray, Robert Frazer, and Gibson Gowland. 1949. Sinister Cinema. n.d. DVD.

“Hell’s Headquarters.” *Variety* 31 May 1932, 15. Print.

“Hoffman wants Indie Exchange Together.” *Variety* 6 June 1930, 10. Print.

“Hollywood Today.” *Atlanta Constitution* [Atlanta Georgia] 20 Mar. 1937, 14. Print.

“Hollywood Boulevard.” *Internet Movie Database*. n.d. Web. Oct. 2009.

Hollywood Boulevard. Dir. Robert Florey. Perf. John Halliday, Marsha Hunt, and Robert Cummings. 1936. Vintage Film Buff n.d. DVD.

“H’woods Forgotten Men.” *Variety* 8 July 1936, 5. Print.

“Ind. Producers Sound-Barred by High Cost.” *Variety* 14 Nov. 1928, 7. Print.

“The Independent Exhibitor.” *Variety* 4 Jan. 1929, 11. Print.

“Independents Chance for Cheap Films.” *Variety* 2 June 1931, 5. Print.

“Indie Producers’ League.” *Variety* 29 May 1929, 5. Print.

“Indies 60 Features.” *Variety* 4 Mar. 1931, 7. Print.

“Indies Double Trouble.” *Variety* 19 Feb. 1936, 7. Print.

“Indies Hopped Up about U’s Runout of Horse Operas.” *Variety* 1 Apr. 1930, 12. Print.

“In Old Cheyenne.” *Variety* 23 June 1931, 19. Print.

Lightnin’ Bill Carson. Dir. Sam Newfield. Perf. Tim McCoy, Lois January, Rex Lease, and John Merton. 1936. Sinister Cinema. n.d. DVD.

The Lion’s Den. Dir. Sam Newfield. Perf. Tim McCoy, Joan Woodbury, J. Frank Glendon, and John Merton. 1936. Alpha Video. 2009. DVD.

“Lovebound.” *Variety* 12 July 1932, 17. Print.

“Murder at Dawn.” *Variety* 5 April 1932, 23. Print.

“Murder Will Out.” *Variety* 7 May 1930, 43. Print.

“New I.M.P.P.A. Campaigns to Kill ‘Indie,’ ‘Quickie’.” *Variety* 9 Feb. 1932, 6. Print.

“New York’s Dual Bills.” *Variety* 25 Sept. 1935, 4. Print.

“Night Beat.” *Variety* 19 Jan. 1932, 29. Print.

Orchids and Ermine. Dir. Alfred Santell. Perf. Colleen Moore, Jack Mulhall, Sam Hardy, and Gwen Lee. 1928. Grapevine Video. n.d. DVD.

Outlaws’ Paradise. Dir. Sam Newfield. Perf. Tim McCoy, Joan Barclay, Ben Corbett, and Jack Mulhall. 1939. Sinister Cinema. n.d. DVD.

“Passing of the Westerns.” *Variety* 2 Jan. 1929, 6. Print.

“Pictures Most Sensational Year.” *Variety* 2 Jan. 1929, 7. Print.

“Prods to Combat Invasion.” *Variety* 18 Mar. 1936, 7. Print.

Queen of the Jungle. Dir. Robert F. Hill. Perf. Mary Kornman and Reed Howes. 1935. Alpha Video. 2006. DVD.

Racing Strain. Dir. Jerome Storm. Perf. Wallace Reid Jr, Dickie Moore, and Phyllis Barrington. 1932. Alpha Video. 2010. DVD.

Randy Rides Alone. Dir. Harry L. Fraser. Perf. John Wayne, Alberta Vaughn, George Hayes, and Yakima Canutt. 1934. Alpha Video. 2006. DVD.

Reaching for the Moon. Dir Edmund Goulding. Perf. Douglas Fairbanks Sr., Bebe Daniels, Edward Everett Horton, and Jack Mulhall. 1930. Alpha Video. 2006. DVD.

“Rural South Lays Off Talkers.” *Variety* 25 Sept. 1929, 9. Print.

“Short Subject Makers are Feeling Bad Effects.” *Variety* 16 June 1931, 12. Print.

“Show Girl in Hollywood.” *Variety* 14 May 1930, 39. Print.

“Sinister Hands” *Variety* 16 Aug. 1932, 15. Print.

“Small Neighborhood Houses Better Off than Big Ones.” *Variety* 4 Jan. 1928, 11. Print.

“Small Towns Losing Film Theaters.” *Variety* 5 May 1929, 5. Print.

“Talkers Service may be Cut.” *Variety* 25 Sept. 1929, 6. Print.

The Vanishing Legion. Dir. Ford Beebe and B. Reeves Eason. Perf. Harry Carey Sr., Edwina Booth, Rex the Wonder Horse, Lafe McKee and William Desmond. 1935. Alpha Video. 2007. DVD.

“Warners’ 100 Pix Grind.” *Variety* 26 Feb. 1936, 5. Print.

Adair, Gilbert. *Flickers: An Illustrated Celebration of 100 Years of Cinema*, London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995. Print.

Allen, Robert C. “Decentering Historical Audience Studies: A Modest Proposal.” *Hollywood in the Neighborhood: Historical Case Studies of Local Moviegoing*, ed. Kathryn H. Fuller, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008: 20-33. Print.

Alvarez, Max. “The Origins of the Film Exchange.” *Film History* 17 (2005): 431-465. Print.

Anger, Kenneth. *Hollywood Babylon*, San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1976. Print.

Aragon, Louis. *Paris Peasant*, Boston: Exact Change, 1994. Print.

Balio, Tino ed. *The American Film Industry*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985. Print.

Baudelaire, Charles. “The Salon of 1846: On the Heroism of Modern Life.” *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, eds. Francis Frascina and Charles Harrison, New York: Harper and Row, 1987: 17-18. Print.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*, Cambridge and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999 a. Print.

---. "Little History of Photography." *Selected Writings: Volume 2- 1927-1934*, eds. Michael W. Jenning, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith, Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999 b: 507-530. Print.

---. "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of European Intelligentsia." *Selected Writings: Volume 2- 1927-1934*, eds. Michael W. Jenning, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith: 207-221. Print.

---. "Theory of Distraction." *Selected Writings: Volume 3- 1935-1938*, eds. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002: 141-142. Print.

---. "Unpacking My Library." *Selected Writings: Volume 2- 1927-1934*, eds. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith: 486-493. Print.

---. "The Work of Art in the Age of Reproducibility (Third Version)." *Selected Writings: Colume 4- 1938-1940*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003: 251-283. Print.

Bjork, Ulf Jonas. "Double Features and B Movies: Exhibition Patterns in Seattle, 1938." *Journal of Film and Video*, 41.3 (Fall 1989): 34-49. Print.

Bordwell, David, Janet Staiger, and Kristen Thompson. *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*, New York: University of Columbia Press, 2000. Print.

Bowser, Eileen. *The Transformation of American Cinema, 1907-1915*, New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1990. Print.

Braff, Richard E. "An Index to the Films of Jack Mulhall: Part 1." *Classic Images* 196 (Oct. 1991): 24-26. Print.

---. "An Index to the Films of Jack Mulhall: Part 2." *Classic Images* 197 (Nov. 1991): 12. Print.

Breton, André. *Nadja*, trans. Richard Howard, New York: Grove Press, 1960. Print.

Brownlow, Kevin. *Behind the Mask of Innocence- Sex, Violence, Prejudice, Crime: Films of Social Conscience in the Silent Era*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990. Print.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995. Print.

Charney, Leo and Vanessa R. Schwartz eds. *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995. Print.

Churchill, Douglas W. "Small Profits feed Poverty Row." *New York Times* 31 May 1936, X4. Print.

Cohen, Margaret. *Profane Illuminations: Walter Benjamin and the Paris of Surrealist Revolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. Print.

Condon, Frank. "Poverty Row." *Saturday Evening Post* 25 Aug. 1934, 4. Print.

Crafton, Donald. *The Talkies: America's Transition to Sound, 1926-1931*, New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1997. Print.

Cross, Robin. *The Big Book of B Movies or How Low was My Budget*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981. Print.

Curtis, Scott. "A House Divided: The MPPC in Transition." eds. Keil and Stamp, 239-264.

Denning, Michael. *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*, London and New York: Verso, 1997. Print.

Dixon, Wheeler Winston. "Fast Worker: The Films of Sam Newfield." *Senses of Cinema* 45 N.p. Oct.-Dec. 2007. Web. 6 Dec. 2007.

Doherty, Thomas. *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930-1934*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999a.

---. "This is Where We Came In: The Audible Screen and the Voluble Audience of the Early Sound Era." *American Movie Audiences: From the Turn of the Century to the Early Sound Era*, eds. Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby, London: The British Film Institute, 1999b: 143-163. Print.

Everson, William K. *American Silent Film*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. Print.

Fenin, George and William K. Everson. *The Western, from Silent to the Seventies*, New York: Grossman, 1973. Print.

Fernett, Gene. *American Film Studios: An Historical Encyclopaedia*, Jefferson, North Carolina, McFarland and Company, 1988. Print.

---. *Poverty Row*, Satellite Beach, Florida: Coral Reef Publications, 1973. Print.

Flynn, Charles. "The Schlock/ Kitsch/ Hack Movies." McCarthy and Flynn 3-12.

Flynn, Charles and Todd McCarthy. "The Economic Imperative: Why the B movie was Necessary?" McCarthy and Flynn 13-43.

French, Philip. *The Movie Moguls: An Informal History of the Hollywood Tycoons*, Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971. Print.

Giovacchini, Saverio. *Hollywood Modernism: Film and Politics in the Age of the New Deal*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001. Print.

Gomery, Douglas. *The Hollywood Studio System: A History*, London: The British Film Institute, 2005. Print.

---. *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992. Print.

Graham, Sheilah. "Many Stars found Haven in 'Quickies'." *Hartford Courant* [Hartford Connecticut] 21 Mar. 1937, A1. Print.

Gunning, Tom. "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Cinema, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde." *Wide Angle* 8 (1986): 63-70.

---. *The Films of Fritz Lang: Allegories of Vision and Modernity*, London: The British Film Institute, 2000. Print.

---. "From the Kaleidoscope to the X-Ray: Urban Spectatorship, Poe, Benjamin, and *Traffic in Souls* (1913)." *Wide Angle* 19 (Oct. 1997): 25-61.

Hall, Chapin. "Hollywood in Review." *New York Times* 17 Jan. 1932, X4. Print.

Hammond, Paul ed. *The Shadow and Its Shadow: Surrealist Writings in Cinema*, London: The British Film Institute, 1978. Print.

Hampton, Benjamin B. *History of the American Film Industry: From Its Beginnings to 1931*, New York: Dover Publications, 1970. Print.

Hansen, Miriam. "America, Paris and The Alps: Kracauer (and Benjamin) on Cinema and Modernity." eds. Charney and Schwartz: 362-402. Print.

---, "Benjamin, Cinema and Experience: The Blue Flower in the Land of Technology." *New German Critique* 40 (Winter 1987): 179-224.

Harrison, Paul. "Many Hollywood Stars of Yesteryear Working Today in the 'Quickie'." *Washington Post* 28 June 1936, AA3. Print.

Highmore, Ben. *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction*, London and New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.

Hoberman, J. "Bad Movies." *Vulgar Modernism: Writing in Movies and Other Media*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, 13-25. Print.

Hogue, Peter. "Bemusement Parks." *Film Comment* 28 (Nov. 1992): 48-50. Print.

Hurst, Richard Maurice. *Republic Studios: Between Poverty Row and the Majors*, Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1979. Print.

Jacobs, Lewis. "A History of the Obscure Quickie." *New York Times* 30 Dec. 1934, X4. Print.

---. *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939. Print.

Katchmer, George A. "Jack Mulhall." *Classic Images* 117 (Mar. 1985): 25. Print.

Keil, Charlie, and Shelley Stamp eds. *American Cinema's Transitional Era: Audiences, Institutions, Practices*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004. Print.

Keil, Charlie. "From Here to Modernity: Style, Historiography and Transitional Cinema." Eds. Keil and Stamp, 51-65.

Koszarski, Richard. *An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Pictures, 1917-1928*, New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1990. Print.

Kracauer, Siegfried. "Cult of Distraction." *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* ed. Thomas Y. Levin, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1995: 323-328. Print.

---. "The Little Shopgirls Go to the Movies." ed. Thomas Y. Levin: 291-306.

---. *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960. Print.

Kyrou, Ado. "The Marvelous is Popular." ed Paul Hammond: 68-71.

Liebman, Roy. *From Silent to Sound: A Biographical Encyclopaedia of Performers who made the Transition to Talking Pictures*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1998. Print.

Maltby, Richard. *Hollywood Cinema: Second Edition*, Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. Print.

Martin, Len D. *The Republic Checklist: Features, Serials, Cartoons, Short Subjects, and Training Films of Republic Pictures Corporation, 1935-1959*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1998. Print.

May, Lary. *The Big Tomorrow: Hollywood and the Politics of the American Way*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Print.

McCall, George. "The Quickie Film Producer." *Variety* 31 Dec. 1930, 8. Print

McCarthy, Todd and Charles Flynn eds. *King's of the B's: Working within the Hollywood System*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1975. Print.

McClelland, Doug. *The Golden Age of B Movies*, New York: Bonanza Books, 1981. Print.

McFarland, Brian. "Pulp Fictions: The British B Film and the Field of Cultural Production." *Film Comment* 21.1 (Fall 1996): 48-70. Print.

McManus, John Y. "Thumbs Down on Doubles." *New York Times* 31 May 1936, X4. Print.

Merritt, Russell. "The Nickelodeon Theater." *Exhibition: The Reader*, ed. Ina Rea Hark, London and New York: Routledge, 2002: 21-29. Print.

Miller, Don. "A Brief History of Producers Releasing Corporation." *Producers Releasing Corporation: A Comprehensive Filmography and History*, ed. Wheeler Winston Dixon, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2002: 9-34. Print.

---. *B Movies: An Informal Survey of the American Low Budget Film, 1933-1945*, New York: Curtis Books, 1973. Print.

---, *Hollywood Corral*, New York: Popular Library, 1976. Print.

Moretti, Franco. *Graphs, Maps and Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary Theory*, London and New York: Verso, 2005. Print.

Muscio, Giuliana. *Hollywood's New Deal*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1997. Print.

Okuda, Ted. *Grand National, Producers, Releasing Corporation, and Screen Guild/ Lippert: Complete Filmographies with Studio Histories*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1989. Print.

---. *The Monogram Checklist: The Films of the Monogram Pictures Corporation, 1931-1952*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1987. Print.

Pierce, David. "Forgotten Faces: Why Some of Our Cinema Heritage is Part of the Public Domain." *Film History* 19 (2007): 125-143.

Pitts, Michael R. *Poverty Row Studios, 1929-1940*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1997. Print.

Polan, Dana. "Auteur Desire." *Screening the Past*, 12 Latrobe University, 1 Mar. 2001. Web. 15 Sept. 2001.

Read, Robert J. "Uncredited: Jack Mulhall and the Decline of Stardom." *Screen* 52.1 (Spring 2011): forthcoming. Print.

Richards, Larry. *African American Films through 1959: A Comprehensive, Illustrated Filmography*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1988. Print.

Rose, George. "In New York." *Frederick Post* [Frederick Maryland] 6 Aug. 1938, 10. Print.

Sarris, Andrew. "Beatitudes of B Pictures." McCarthy and Flynn 48-53.

Schaefer, Eric. “*Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!*” *A History of Exploitation Films, 1919-1959*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999. Print.

Schallert, Edwin. “Film Costs Hit Both Extremes.” *Los Angeles Times* 16 Oct. 1932, B13. Print.

Scheuer, Philip K. “”Quickie” Producer gives Recipe for making \$10,000 Picture.” *Los Angeles Times* 3 Jan. 1937, C1. Print.

Schindler, Colin. *Hollywood in Crisis: Cinema and American Society, 1929-1939*, London and New York: Routledge, 1996. Print.

Seale, Paul. “”A Host of Others”: Towards a Nonlinear History of Poverty Row and the Coming of Sound,” *Wide Angle* 13.1 (Jan. 1991): 72-103. Print.

Simmel, George. “Fashion.” On Individuality and Social Forms, ed. Donald N. Levine, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971: 294-323. Print.

Singer, Ben. *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. Print.

Sklar, Robert. “Introduction.” *Silent Screens: The Decline and Transformation of the American Movie Theater*, by Michael Putnam. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000: 3-12. Print.

---. *Movie-Made America: A Social History of American Movies*, New York: Random House, 1975, Print.

Slide, Anthony. *Early American Cinema*, New York: A. S. Barnes, 1970. Print.

Staiger, Janet. "The Hollywood Mode of Production 1930-1960." *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*.

Stamp, Shelley. *Movie Struck Girls: Women and Motion Picture Culture after the Nickelodeon*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000. Print.

Stanfield, Peter. Horse Opera: The Strange History of the 1930s Singing Cowboy, Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002. Print.

Soupault, Phillippe. "Cinema U.S.A." ed. Paul Hammond: 55-56.

Taves, Brian. "The B Film: Hollywood's Other Half." *Grand Design: Hollywood as Modern Business Enterprise, 1930-1939*, ed. Tino Balio, New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1993, 313-350. Print.

Thorp, Margaret Farrand. *Americans at the Movies*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. Print.

Turner, George E. and Michael H. Price. *Forgotten Horrors: The Definitive Edition*, Baltimore: Midnight Marquee Press, 1999.

Tuska, Jon. *The Vanishing Legion: A History of Mascot Pictures, 1927-1935*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1982. Print.

Tzioumakis, Yannis, *American Independent Cinema: An Introduction*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Print.

Vale, V. and Andrea Morton. "Introduction." *RE:Search: Incredibly Strange Films*, ed. Jim Morton, San Francisco: V Search Publications, 1986. Print.

Walz, Robin. *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth Century Paris*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000. Print.

Williams, Raymond, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977. Print.

Wilstach, Frank J. "Slang for Film Men." *New York Times* 11 Mar. 1928, 112. Print.

Woodmansee, H. A. "The Bowery's Silent Screens." *New York Times* 1 Feb. 1931, 86. Print.