

Silent Film Music Research as Local Musicology:
A Case Study of Musical Practices and Networks in Ottawa Theatres from 1897 to 1929

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“We taught the world new ways to dream”

Norma Desmond, Sunset Boulevard
(lyrics by Don Black and Christopher Hampton)

Abstract

The Basilica Notre-Dame Choir accompanying screenings of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* at the Regent in 1924, imaginative community prologues before Mary Pickford's *Pollyanna* at the Russell in 1920, and costumed opera soloists singing alongside the showing of *The Bohemian Girl* at the Imperial in 1926: the history of Ottawa's silent cinemas is an exciting mix of film, theatre, technology, music, and community. Unfortunately, Ottawa's musical history in the early 1900s has been, by and large, forgotten, and local cinema histories are relatively sparse. In much the same manner that Ottawa theatres incorporated both North American and local elements into their programming, this thesis demonstrates that an examination of the musicians of local cinemas can not only provide information to understand the development of silent film music practices in general, but also unveil a network of musicians and a series of important histories. This thesis reconstructs parts of Ottawa's silent film music history using a number of methodologies (digital research, archival research, and social network mapping) and primary sources (IATSE union documents, Department of Labour strike documents, newspapers, and trade journals). It also analyses several screenings where music and film were uniquely combined and introduces key figures in Ottawa's silent film music scene (including violinist Rudolph Pelisek and organist Amédée Tremblay), showing how their training provided prestige to cinemas and how their involvement in military, religious, and communal activities added to cinemas' appeal.

Résumé

Le Chœur de la Basilique Notre-Dame accompagnant les présentations du film *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* au Regent en 1924, les prologues communautaires inventifs avant le *Pollyanna* de Mary Pickford au Russell en 1920, et les soloistes d'opéra chantant à côté de la projection de *The Bohemian Girl* à l'Imperial en 1926: l'histoire des cinémas muets d'Ottawa est un mélange excitant de film, théâtre, technologie, musique et communauté. Malheureusement, le passé musical d'Ottawa au début du vingtième siècle a été largement oublié, et les histoires locales du cinéma sont relativement rares. De la même façon que les théâtres d'Ottawa incluaient à la fois des éléments locaux et nord-américains dans leur programmation, cette thèse démontre qu'un examen des musiciens des cinémas locaux peut non seulement procurer des renseignements pour comprendre le développement de la musique du cinéma muet en général, mais encore lever le voile sur un réseau de musiciens et une série de récits d'importance. Cette thèse reconstruit des aspects de l'histoire de la musique du du cinéma muet à Ottawa en utilisant un plusieurs méthodologies (la recherche numérique, la recherche en archives, et la cartographie des réseaux sociaux) et de sources primaires (documents du syndicat ouvrier IATSE, documents de grève du ministère fédéral du Travail, quotidiens, et revues spécialisées). La thèse analyse aussi quelques instances uniques de combinaison de musique et de film, et présente des personnages clé de la scène musicale du cinéma muet d'Ottawa (incluant le violoniste Rudolph Pelisek et l'organiste Amédée Tremblay), tout en montrant comment leur formation procurait du prestige aux cinémas, et comment leur implication dans des activités militaires, religieuses, et communautaires ont ajouté à la popularité des cinémas.

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Introduction

How do we choose which cinema to go to? Most show the same films, they use the same technology, and, other than the few remaining independent cinemas in Ottawa, most are owned by the same large corporation. We may go to Lansdowne for the VIP experience, or to Carling for the cheaper recliner seats, but more likely than not we go to the nearest venue. Back in the 1910s and 1920s, many Ottawa theatres were within a few blocks of each other. So how did they attract audiences? Theatres were marketed differently with the Russell presenting itself as a legitimate theatre house while the Dominion featured Vaudeville and the Flower had a marquee merely indicating “Photo Plays” in 1914.¹ Nonetheless, all these venues included moving pictures on their programmes.

The building which once housed the Imperial still stands on Bank Street. The peeling ornate edifice and the remnants of the “Imperial Theatre” mural on the side of the building remain, although the bottom half is now a series of stores and the top half is Barrymore’s Music Hall.² It is reassuring to see Internet groups such as Lost Ottawa, Heritage Ottawa, Urbsite, and others successfully sparking Ottawans’ interest in the history of their city, but promotion of local history is unfortunately not always enough to stop the neglect or destruction of historical downtown buildings.³ Alain Miguelez’s *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in*

¹ Alain Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in Ottawa-Gatineau* (Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2004), 125.

² Several theses and newspaper articles have discussed aspects of the history of the Bank Street building. However, the history of the musical accompaniment of its initial silent film presentations has yet to be given careful attention.

³ Most of Ottawa’s silent film theatres, including the Regent and the Family, have been demolished or have burnt down. The ByTowne and The Mayfair remain as the only two independently run cinemas in Ottawa (both opened after the silent film era). The Mayfair was threatened with destruction in 2008 when it was put up for sale. It was given a heritage designation after the persistent campaigning of the local community and was partially renovated by its new owners.

Ottawa-Gatineau provides an overview of every Ottawa cinema and theatre and their reincarnations, offering vivid descriptions of each venue as well as reports of opening night spectacles and unique events.⁴ A few musical events, musicians, and orchestra sizes are mentioned, but a thorough account of each theatre's musical practices during the silent film era is beyond the scope of the book. It is hoped that rediscovering and retelling the early musical stories of Ottawa's cinemas, in the same vein as Miguelez's book, will draw attention to the vibrant life of the Imperial in the 1910s and 1920s and of theatres that no longer stand.⁵

This thesis is a historical case study of the musical practices in Ottawa's silent cinemas and demonstrates that an examination of the musicians and practices of local movie-showing theatres can provide information on the development and promotion of silent film music practices in general and unveil a network of musicians as well as a series of important histories. Using examples of Ottawa practice, I argue that there are two narratives of silent film music in each city: one involving the top-down practices coming from film distributors, sheet music

⁴ Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You*.

⁵ Miguelez mainly cites the trade journal *Canadian Moving Picture Digest* when describing unique exhibition practices in Ottawa movie theatres. I chose to focus on other resources. Interestingly, as I complete this thesis in June 2017, the *Ottawa Citizen* has published the opening remarks of Tobi Nussbaum, chair of the City of Ottawa Built Heritage Sub-Committee, at the Ontario Heritage Conference (Ottawa, June 8-10 2017), which echo my thoughts on the importance of telling local histories. In his "Cultural Place" category for "placemaking" or "the constant demonstration of public value," he provides the following suggestion: "It is important that we connect heritage buildings with their context – not just the architects and builders who designed and constructed them, but the people who occupied them, the events that took place inside them and the history that emerged from them. These are the elements that help us to better understand our collective past, enrich our experience of our cities today and hopefully guide us to a more meaningful future appreciation of our built environment." Tobi Nussbaum, "How to Make People Care About Heritage Buildings," *Ottawa Citizen*, last updated June 11, 2017, accessed June 15, 2017, <http://ottawacitizen.com/opinion/columnists/nussbaum-how-to-make-people-care-about-heritage-buildings>.

publishers, and trade journals, and another involving the bottom-up influence of local demands and perspectives. Many film histories and contemporary trade journals often focused on the grand practices in New York, showcasing the exemplary ideal of cinema exhibition in the 1910s and 1920s.⁶ Some trade journals featured Ottawa when a theatre or ensemble successfully took inspiration from these examples (the Russell's prologue *Pollyanna at the Court of Happiness*), came up with unique ideas (the Strand's prologue to *The Woman Thou Gavest Me*), or promoted high-class music (the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra and Château Laurier programmes found in *The Metronome*). In the meantime, local reporting demonstrated the intricacies of why certain Ottawa showings were successful and complicate the reports found in the trade journals: the Strand's prologue was barely mentioned in the *Ottawa Journal*, the Regent Orchestra appears to have been an equal to the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra yet was not mentioned in *The Metronome*, and the success of the *Hunchback of Notre Dame* at the Regent appears to have been substantially thanks to the choir of the Notre-Dame Basilica whereas a trade journal gave the film sole credit. I consolidate these narratives as they relate to the way Ottawa theatres connected with the community by adopting a "middle level" perspective.

In addition, this thesis is an attempt to understand what becomes history, the balance between writing a history for a local community and a history for a larger academic field, and the

⁶ Rick Altman notes that, before 1914, *Moving Picture News* (titled *Motion Picture News* from 1913 onwards after a merger with *The Exhibitors' Times*), *Moving Picture World*, and *Film Index*, "published letters from theater musicians in towns of all sizes, all across the nation." However, by 1914, a "flurry of activity in Manhattan changed this pattern permanently. Broad national coverage of exhibition practices would not survive New York's mid-decade theater-building spurt. Henceforth, Broadway theaters would be the national center of attention; in many publications they were the *only* theaters regularly reported on." From my brief investigation of *Motion Picture News*, the publication continued to present many stories from across North America alongside New York reports. Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 290. "Motion Picture News," Wikipedia, last updated February 11, 2017, accessed June 21, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motion_Picture_News.

way historical musicologists can have an impact on the public's perception of past and present. The burgeoning field of silent film music history provides a complex but fruitful area to explore these considerations. Furthermore, with only a certain degree of systemized movie exhibition occurring, there is the question of the degree to which silent film music practices can be generalized and separated from the contextual cultural infrastructure of a city. This can only be answered through the study of local practices and networks, and the analysis of each city's role in larger networks.

For locals, this study rejuvenates some of Ottawa's forgotten musical and cinematic history.⁷ In our music history education, we become well-aware of the great composers of the Classical Canon, but we too easily overlook the history of music that took place in our own backyard. This thesis, in part, is a call for a practice of local musicology, and for music academics, educators, performers, and administrators to understand, discover, and preserve the documents that tell our history and to understand one city's history in relation to others. The Ottawa theatre musicians of the early 1900s and their accomplishments are deserving of more attention, and the study of their practices and networks shed light on what it meant to be a film theatre musician more generally. Additionally, they played a large role in indicating a theatre's quality, respectability, and dedication to communal responsibility.

In Chapter 1, I review the considerations involved in researching digitized newspapers and demonstrate the type of information on silent film music that can be retrieved in the pages of the *Ottawa Journal* through discussions of how terms of the trade were used. In Chapter 2, I

⁷ Unfortunately the Canadian Encyclopedia entry on Music in Ottawa overlooks the history of theatre orchestras, and only briefly mentions Amédée Tremblay and the Russell Theatre; Jean Southworth, "Music in Ottawa," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last modified August 29, 2007, accessed June 15, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ottawa-ont-emc/>.

discuss the varying perception of film music in the early 1900s, revealing that ideas of how music and film should relate to one another and the degree to which they should be unified were not fixed in the minds of audience members. Additionally, I provide examples of multi-modal presentations and cinematic concept spectacles. In Chapters 3 and 4, I consider the composition of local connections between film exhibitors and the community, and Ottawa's connections with New York, respectfully. In Chapter 5, I present a social network diagram, created using the software Gephi, to demonstrate the connections that the Regent Concert Orchestra of 1917-1918 had with the rest of the community and how this added to the prestige and respectability of the Regent.

The *Silent Film Music in Canada* website, which was created on an Omeka platform with the help of Roxanne LaFleur and Sarah Simpskin at the University of Ottawa Library, hosts two Neatline exhibits coinciding with this thesis and will soon include the database of a collection including annotated silent film sheet music housed at the University of Ottawa.⁸ The first exhibit features the photograph of the Regent Concert Orchestra of the 1917-1918 season and provides information on each musician. The second exhibit, "Silent Film Music in Downton Ottawa (1900-1928)," shows the location of most of Ottawa's silent film theatres on an aerial survey from 1928. A unique article, timeline of silent film accompaniment, and a list of musicians are provided for each theatre. These exhibits mainly draw on the information found in Appendix 5 and 1 respectfully.

Silent Film Music Literature

The field of silent film music study has become larger in the past few years with more

⁸ *Silent Film Music in Canada*, <http://biblio.uottawa.ca/omeka1/silentfilmmusiccanada/>.

specific and critical studies of theatre exhibitors, of trends within a given city, and of trade journals prevailing over generalized histories. The initial key academic texts on silent film music by Gillian B. Anderson, Rick Altman, and Martin Marks have provided histories that has since been further examined and refined.⁹

In her pioneering 1987 article, “The Presentation of Silent Films, or, Music as Anaesthesia,” musicologist and silent film recreationist Gillian B. Anderson called for film scholars to research “the subject of silent film presentation,” which had been left “virtually untouched.”¹⁰ A year later she released *Music for Silent Films: 1894-1929*, a guide to scores and cue sheets (lists provided by film distributors or through trade journals that suggested what music should accompany the action and titles of a film at specific times) found in American silent film music collections. The introduction to the book, “A Warning Flame - The Musical Presentation of Silent Films,” is a reworked version of the 1987 article. As acknowledged at the start of “A Warning Flame,” her work largely draws on New York based publications such as *The American Organist*, which mainly discussed New York cinemas, and represents “only the tip of the iceberg” of a “vast music-making machine.” For example, Anderson only cites a 1922 article from *The American Organist* when claiming that, “The average first class house had an orchestra of between twenty and eighty players plus organ.”¹¹ However, as shown in this thesis, it took less for a theatre to be understood as “first class” in Ottawa: an organ was sufficient for the Imperial to advertise itself as “Exclusively High Class” and, as discussed in Chapter 1, Ottawa’s high-

⁹ I have generally overlooked Marks’ 1997 book *Music and the Silent Film: Contexts and Case Studies*, as it focuses primarily on music written for films rather than performance practice.

¹⁰ Gillian B. Anderson, “The Presentation of Silent Films, or, Music as Anaesthesia,” *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 257-295.

¹¹ Gillian B. Anderson, “A Warning Flame – The Musical Presentation of Silent Films,” *Music for Silent Films: 1894-1929* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1988), xviii.

class theatre orchestras often consisted of around 10 players in the 1920s.¹² It cannot be assumed that Ottawa patrons agreed with this description of the Imperial, but it also cannot be assumed that what constituted first class entertainment in New York was the same everywhere else. As well as Anderson's New York accounts, she presents several ideas about silent film exhibition that could have occurred elsewhere including a distinction between "ordinary and deluxe presentations," the existence of first class and second class theatres, the possibility of theatres tediously repeating material from their musical libraries, and the notion of musical accompaniment possibly being an "independent character commenting on the pantomimed drama on the screen" that could "reinforce or contradict intended dramatic context."¹³ In Chapter 2, I extend this last idea and consider whether or not the audience even associated the music with the dramatic context.

Rick Altman's 2004 book, *Silent Film Sound*, is the most cited silent film music text in the field.¹⁴ Altman provides numerous anecdotes from newspapers and trade journals that concern many American cities. He discusses how music was used during film production, how theatre organs evolved, the relationship between Vaudeville exhibition and film exhibition, the use of illustrated songs, and the development of theatre orchestras amongst other topics. Again, like Anderson, Altman's aim was to provide an overview of a general silent film music practice. Altman sometimes writes his history of silent film music beyond the information given in the documents he examines. For example, he explains, "While some of [Samuel Rothafel's] innovations were widely adopted others were particular to his own flamboyant style" and provides a list of "idiosyncratic tactics" including "live introductions [to films] often involving

¹² Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 2, 1917: 15.

¹³ Anderson, "A Warning Flame," xv-xvi, xvii, xxvi, and xxxi.

¹⁴ Altman, *Silent Film Sound*.

staged prologues and costumed characters,” and “special lighting effects in every position of the program.”¹⁵ In actual fact, some theatres within Ottawa adopted these practices with the Russell Theatre presenting Ottawa’s first staged prologue to a film with its showing of *Pollyanna* in April 1920 and including “special stage and lighting effects” alongside the film (discussed in Chapter 3), and the Regent using a “unique light show to highlight the musicians” during their overtures in 1919 (discussed in Chapter 2).¹⁶

Furthermore, the value placed on information from trade journals varies from one article or book to the next.¹⁷ Some researchers warn against interpreting these texts as reflecting rather than prescribing practice. Martin Miller Marks, in his 1997 book *Music and the Silent Film: Contexts and Case Studies, 1895 - 1924*, explains, “Of course, information from this type of literature is often inaccurate and at best incomplete. Nevertheless, [*Moving Picture World*] provides glimpses of many films and film scores that might otherwise be forgotten.”¹⁸ In a 2013 chapter in *The Sound of the Silents in Britain*, James Buhler reviews *Moving Picture World*’s reporting of exhibition developments in London, England between 1907 and 1914. When discussing a 1907 report by Will G. Barker, Buhler makes clear that, “A paper such as *Moving Picture World* did not simply publish a range of opinions but selected what its editors saw as in the interest of the business - its business - and accounts such as Barker’s always need to be

¹⁵ Samuel “Roxy” Rothafel one of the most famous theatre impresarios of the early twentieth century who opened the Roxy Theatre in New York City and was frequently mentioned in trade journals. Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 274

¹⁶ “Ottawa’s ‘Pollyanna’ Prologue Goes Big,” *Motion Picture News* 22 no. 12 (September 11, 1920): 2034, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew222unse>. Russell Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 29, 1920: 12. Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You*, 170.

¹⁷ *Moving Picture World* is mentioned more often than *The Metronome* in the literature.

¹⁸ Martin Miller Marks, *Music and the Silent Film: Contexts and Case Studies, 1895-1924* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 63.

evaluated in terms of whatever polemical point - or business interest - an author is trying to defend as well as the aims of that trade publication.”¹⁹ In this thesis I examine both descriptive and prescriptive trade journal articles, critiquing the purpose of each and their relevance to Ottawa practices.

Recent studies of practice have increasingly focused on the characteristic performances of specific geographical areas with the 2014 publication of *The Sound of the Silents in Britain* and *The Sounds of Silent Films: New Perspectives on History, Theory and Practice* providing particularly detailed discussions of regional practices.²⁰ These regional studies give a better idea of what sort of general questions we can ask about silent film music practice (e.g. was there an average “high-class” instrumentation and orchestra size in cities with a certain population) and which questions are largely dependent on the locale (e.g. how did cinemas gain credibility and respect).

Studying and Creating Historical and Digital Structures

As historians, we have to consider the structure of information in many ways. I found myself asking four questions about structures during the course of this project: first, how do we investigate cultural infrastructures and networks of the past; second, how were these understood at the time; third, how do we create structures to investigate the past as researchers; and fourth, how do we create infrastructure to connect the current public with historical figures and events.

¹⁹ James Buhler, “The Reception of British Exhibition Practices in Moving Picture World, 1907-1914,” in *The Sounds of the Silents in Britain*, ed. Julie Brown and Annette Davison (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 146.

²⁰ Julie Brown and Annette Davison ed., *The Sounds of the Silents in Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Clause Tieber and Anna Katharina Windisch ed., *The Sounds of Silent Films: New Perspectives on History, Theory and Practice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), ebook, SpringerLink Books Complete.

In other words, there are many levels of connections that can be investigated and created, and these are perceived in many different ways. In Chapter 5, I present network diagrams that visualize what I understand to be an underlying social network that operated and influenced silent film music practices and reception at the Regent from 1917 to 1918. I consider social network mapping a useful way to structure information for historians to consider several people and institutions at once, addressing my first question about structures. The creation of the *Silent Film Music in Canada* website addresses my fourth aspect of considering structures, connecting the public to historical research through the digital infrastructure of online exhibits and collections.

These questions were partly prompted by film historian and digital humanities scholar Deb Verhoeven's opening keynote lecture for the 2016 Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School, "Identifying the Point of it All: Toward a Model of Digital Infrapuncture."²¹ Verhoeven discussed several networks in passing although her main point was about the responsibility that comes with creating digital infrastructure. As a relatively new and quickly expanding set of tools and methodologies involving computers and digital technologies, digital humanities is an exciting development in analysing and creating ways to understand and consume information, but as Verhoeven describes, it requires caution and careful consideration. This lecture has shaped my understanding of the digital humanities, of writing history, and of network visualisations (network theory existed before there were digital programs to produce more complex diagrams; however, this discussion applies more generally to how we investigate, create, and present

²¹ Deb Verhoeven, "Opening Keynote: Identifying the point of it all: Towards a Model of 'Digital Infrapuncture'," University of Oxford video, 41:50, published July 5, 2016, opening keynote of the 2016 Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School (July 4, 2016), <https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/opening-keynote-identifying-point-it-all-towards-model-digital-infrapuncture>.

structures in academia). I will not go into her main argument for “digital infrapuncture” in depth, but her perception of infrastructure was enlightening. Verhoeven made two large claims: “[the] sense of connection that infrastructure produces is never binary” and “infrastructure is never neutral. It does have an impact on what is carried.” When we create systems, there are dynamics of power and they effect those who participate within those systems. As an example, Verhoeven discussed her study on the role of the “Kangaroo Route” (the airline route between Australia and London which involved several stops along the way) in the Greek cinema circuit. Her research showed that Greek passengers stopping in Mumbai on their way to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s would watch Bollywood films, creating a demand for them as they arrived in Australia. This also created a demand in Greece where “between 1958 and 1964, 111 Hindi movies were shown in Athens and Thessaloniki.” This in turn “changed the nature of Greek cinema because they [were] so popular the Greek producers [could not] compete,” and lead to the addition of more musical numbers in Greek cinema. This research showed two levels of understanding structures: in terms of the effects of building infrastructure, the Kangaroo Route demonstrated the unintentional side effects on the consumption of cinema in Australia and Greece, and in terms of research approaches, Verhoeven showed how two seemingly disparate subjects of inquiry were integrally connected. Verhoeven interpreted this research as showing “a much less binary and a much more radial or lateral set of movements coming about as we perform a kind of cultural infrastructure, and this all comes about because of other infrastructures, interrelated or overlapping ones like transport networks.”²² The lecture called for academics to consider their role and mediation in describing such networks and the responsibility and influence that comes with creating structures to present findings.

²² Ibid.

Additionally, she discussed the recent criticisms of large-scale digital infrastructure and the related call for focus on “more small-scale human practices.” In reply to this, she stated “I want to make an appeal for us to be thinking about the world in everything we do. I want a sort of middle level theory of digital humanities infrastructure situated in-between the big thinking of the world and the situated in the local, which is very important to the humanities and is very important to us as humans.”²³ I believe this “middle-level” perspective is also important in writing histories. Between the interesting stories of specific cinemas and impresarios, and large generalizations about national practices found in older silent film music histories, there is a need for a “middle level theory.” My thesis is largely focused on the local, but I avoid only telling stories about singular musicians as this alone does not provide a direction for further research and does not represent the collaborative nature of their work. Furthermore, although more local histories are needed for our better understanding of silent film exhibition and perception, we also need ways to connect these histories and to not disassociate them from larger narratives and cultural infrastructure. In this thesis, I have interpreted this as keeping in mind larger trends, conditions, networks, and infrastructures while investigating local practice (as seen in the discussion of the connections between New York and Ottawa in Chapter 4). I have also incorporated this by understanding that the life and career of an individual informs and is informed by the infrastructure and networks around them (as seen in Chapter 5). By no means do I completely outline the cultural infrastructure in place in Ottawa during the silent film era in this thesis, but I hope to shed light on small- and large-scale cultural infrastructure and networks.

²³ Ibid.

Chapter 1

Discovering Ottawa's Silent Film Showings and Musicians in Archival Documents and Digitized Newspapers

Before the opening of large theatres showcasing movies first and foremost (such as the Nickel in the late 1900s and the Flower, Imperial, and Regent theatres in the 1910s), movie exhibition and its accompanying music were already prominent in Ottawa. Several notices and articles in the *Ottawa Journal* (one of the two main contemporary Ottawa newspapers along with the *Ottawa Citizen*) indicate musical accompaniment with films in the late 1890s and through the 1900s, but the commentary is often limited. For example, the *Ottawa Journal* reported in the theatre column that “Professor Joly” presented the “latest improved moving picture device, the Cinematograph” at Queen’s Park in August 1899.¹ The reporter described in detail the experience of watching a 27-minute screening of the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee procession along with nearly two-thousand other audience members. On the subject of the sound that accompanied this scene and the thirty (probably shorter) others of the night, little information is provided: “The scenes are described by an able lecturer, a good orchestra discourses appropriate music.” It is not surprising that the music and lecturer would be secondary to the pictures in this account. The projector, the images, and its quality were news. The orchestra, with the purpose of making the new technology more familiar, was not.² However, the reporter also described the

¹ “The Diamond Jubilee Parade,” *Ottawa Journal*, August 29, 1899: 6. The parade itself took place in 1897. I could not find a sequence corresponding with the “God Save the Queen” account, but there are several films of the event available on YouTube including the following one from the British Monarchy’s official channel, “Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, full version,” YouTube video, 4:27, from the British Cinematographe film of 1897, posted by “The British Monarchy,” September 22, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pTG9NJTZFKk>. Queen’s Park was a trolley park run by the Hull Electric Company. For more information read Coaster Enthusiasts of Canada, “Queen’s Park,” Closed Canadian Parks, accessed November 10, 2016, <http://cec.chebucto.org/ClosPark/Queen.html>.

² For a brief discussion of the familiar and novel aspects of early film topics and exhibition, and their role in assimilation, see Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* (New York:

awesomeness of representatives from many different nations “unit[ing] with the native born Englishmen in presenting in action the hymnal prayer ‘God save the Queen’.” One can reasonably assume the orchestra would have accompanied this with the national anthem, allowing the Ottawa audience to also unite with the Englishmen in song and leading the reporter to make the following comment: “One realizes as never before British power, when one sees British subjects from all parts of the world assembled to do honor to Her Gracious Majesty.”³

The variety of musical practices of most cinemas during the silent film era is, by and large, lost. Where archival documents are scarce, only impressions of these events can be discovered. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in recent histories such as those in *The Sound of The Silents in Britain* and in the 1899 *Ottawa Journal* report on the Queen’s Jubilee screening, suggestive documents shed light on what movie-going may have been like in specific locales even when they do not tell us with certainty what happened at a specific performance. This chapter will provide an overview of techniques and considerations for retrieving documents from this era (both digital and physical). It will also introduce the available contemporary journals and archival collections that include evidence of musical practices in Ottawa’s silent cinemas by way of example documents, advertisements, and reports and explore the various facets of music in silent film theatres and the accompanying terminology.

Sources and Document Retrieval

The documents in this thesis were found using a number of research techniques. In the case of archival documents, such as those of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage

Columbia University Press, 2004), 10.

³ “The Diamond Jubilee Parade,” *Ottawa Journal*, August 29, 1899: 6.

Employees Local 95 (IATSE Local 95) fonds, my search through the collection was thorough.⁴ I went through each item, photographing or scanning those which appeared to shed light on musical practice in silent cinemas, even indirectly, and maintained an excel document with notes alongside.⁵ Because of the scale of this thesis, some potentially useful documents are not described, but I indicate their presence and possible importance in the footnotes.

In order to find these archival documents and contemporary reports, I had to use and discover a number of different search terms. Early on, the search terms “music and cinema,” “film and orchestra,” and “theatre orchestra” with geographical parameters set to Ottawa and the date range often set between 1880 and 1940 would all provide different results. This was particularly complex in the case of the digitized *Ottawa Journal* searches on newspapers.com since some cinemas would repeat their advertising terminology for weeks on end with perhaps one small meaningful change that could easily be missed when skimming the clippings. After a round of generalized searches, I used the names and new phrases I had found as search terms for the second round, and repeated the process several times over.

The different terminology found in advertisements and reports mirrors Altman’s discussion of nomenclature and new cinematic technology and practices, a result of what he calls

⁴ I could not find archives directly related to the Ottawa’s Local No. 180 of the American Federation of Musicians before 1930 at the municipal, provincial, or national level. I contacted the Local 180 in early 2016 and was informed they did not have documents dating that far back. I looked through the Centre Theatre fonds, previously at Library and Archives Canada and subsequently de-accessioned at the City of Ottawa Archives, but for items of musical interest, I could only find receipts for piano and organ rental and maintenance dated from 1918 to 1919, Centre Amusement Co. Ltd. fonds, Correspondences & Invoices (1916-1919) part 1, Vol 1, File 1, R3447-0-0-E, Library and Archives Canada. Centre Amusement Co. Ltd. fonds, Correspondences & Invoices (1916-1919) part 2, Vol 1, File 2, R3447-0-0-E, Library and Archives Canada.

⁵ I only took note of items related to my thesis. These collections do not have a finding aid but I am happy to share these documents upon request.

an “identity crisis” that accompanies the development of new technologies.⁶ Altman cautions against the dangers of automatically reading current definitions into contemporary terms, but he does not go as far as to discuss the difficulty of finding the contemporary terms needed in the search for documents.⁷ However, a different set of research tools were available to Altman when writing *Silent Film Sound*, published in 2004. According to *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian’s Macroscope* a digital history methodology text by Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, “Canada was the first country to have its two major newspapers digitized in 2002: the *Toronto Star* (Canada’s largest circulation newspaper) was fully searchable before even the *New York Times*, followed by the *Globe and Mail* (by some accounts the ‘paper of record’ for Canada).”⁸ Altman would probably not have had accessed to many, if any, full-text searchable digitized contemporary journals in his United States based research and would have relied on non-electronic information sources. The latter are often sorted by librarians and archivists under subject headings or the names of people or organizations and require a different set of terms for retrieval. With these sources, we must determine how the information we are looking for could be organized (for example, the 1941 bibliography *The Film Index*, has a section title “Music: Silent Era” with a curated list of important articles), and which organizations and people may have had information on our topic (for example, the IATSE Local 95 fonds contains several small details on Ottawa theatre musicians of the 1900s to 1920s who were part of the American Federation of Musicians from 1907 onwards).⁹ Thus, although Altman

⁶ Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 21.

⁷ Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 12.

⁸ Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian’s Macroscope* (London: Imperial College Press, 2016): 48.

⁹ Writer's Program (New York, N.Y.), "Music: Silent Era," in *The Film Index: A Bibliography*, Vol. I (New York: The Museum of Modern Art Film Library, Inc., 1941): 202-7. As described in the “Early History” section of a lengthy and descriptive 1907 *Ottawa Journal*

“vowed to base [his] study on primary materials alone, eschewing the many undocumented claims that constitute the bulk of previous writing on the subject,” it is important to remember that, more often than not, such primary materials are previously organized by others who are likely applying contemporary or current notions of a subject to categorization, and this has an effect on the availability and retrieval.¹⁰

The realm of digital research is another matter. In retrospect, it would have been useful to keep track of search terms as I used them. Furthermore, although digitized and searchable documents are very convenient, searching for information by keyword does not replace the systematic search for information or sampling that is the only option with microfilms and original documents. This is not only because of the data loss that comes with optical character recognition (OCR), but also because keyword searches limit results to the knowledge of the researcher and are sometimes skewed by the “relevance metrics” of search engines that use a number of factors, such as website popularity, to determine the order in which results show up.¹¹

article, Ottawa’s Local No. 180 of the American Federation of Musicians formed in the winter of 1900-1901: “During the winter of 1900-1 a number of musicians of the city learning of the great strides being made by the American Federation of Musicians in Canada and the United States decided to look into matters and if possible, organize the musicians of the city. | Mr. A. Anderson, an organizer of the Trades and Labor Association, undertook the task. Several preliminary meetings were held to which all the musicians of the city were invited and on advice of all prominent labor men of the city, the Local was finally organized in March 1901...” Most theatre musicians appear to have joined the Local No. 180 in November 1907, “Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 2, 1907: 11.

¹⁰ Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 21. Knowledge of categorization is not just fundamental in the retrieval of documents, but in understanding the holdings of an institution and their policy of acquisition. I could not locate an archival collection pertaining to the local musicians’ unions or Ottawa theatre musicians at the local, provincial, or national archives. Additionally, the notion of musicians playing alongside silent films and their practice is still relatively unknown and, unfortunately, not currently considered of much importance. This makes the need to write about such histories, make them publicly available, and protect documents tracing the development of musicians and musical institutions (both current and historical), all the more crucial.

¹¹ Ted Underwood, “Theorizing Research Practices We Forgot to Theorize Twenty Years Ago,” *Representations* 127 no. 1 (Summer 2014): 65, as quoted in Graham, Milligan,

Repeated searches based on findings enlarge the results a great deal, but by no means do they represent a total account of the available information in these documents. When the difference between finding a new musician's name or not is searching "Regent Orchestra" or "Regent Concert Orchestra" rather than "Regent Theatre Orchestra," there are likely bits of information still to be found.¹²

A systematic search through *Ottawa Citizen* and *Ottawa Journal* was beyond the scope of my thesis, but keyword searchable newspaper collections allowed me to quickly uncover more relevant material than would otherwise have been possible. I chose to focus on the *Ottawa Journal* because of the superior OCR on the digitized pages of newspapers.com as opposed to the *Ottawa Citizen* pages on Google Newspapers, and because the Google Newspapers collection of the *Ottawa Citizen* is incomplete. There are dangers to limiting research to what is digitally available, as acknowledged in *The Historian's Macroscopic*:

Research done by Ian Milligan demonstrated that, dating back to 2002, researchers have disproportionately cited what they find online. Drawing on a collection of every history dissertation uploaded to ProQuest between 1997 and 2010, he discovered dramatic increases: comparing 1998 to 2010 saw a 991% increase in citations to the *Toronto Star*, as opposed to minor increases and even decreases for other newspapers. This has had two dramatic impacts. First, in a country with regional identities and histories, this had the effect of centralizing studies towards the metropolises and away from the peripheries – to the extent that studies of events in smaller cities with regional newspapers were recounted using Toronto-based newspapers.¹³

Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data*, 47. Graham, Milligan, Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data*, 49.

¹² As well as variant names and spellings, misspellings also make keyword searches difficult. This is exemplified in a small 1898 column with news from Bell's Corners where, at one event, "Excellent music was rendered during the evening by *Whimpers* orchestra," and at another "Mr. H. Dais of Fallowfield [had] evening by *Wimperis* orchestra." (emphasis added) See Chapter 5 and Appendix 3 for more on the Wimperis family. "Bell's Corners," *Ottawa Journal* December 5, 1898: 7. Regent Theatre Orchestra advertisement, *Ottawa Journal* April 22, 1919: 13. Regent Orchestra advertisement, *Ottawa Journal* November 11, 1916: 16. Regent Concert Orchestra advertisement, *Ottawa Journal* February 2, 1917: 15.

¹³ Graham, Milligan, Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data*, 48.

On the other hand, newly digitized documents can open a whole area of study that was previously under-researched, as Carol Oja described in regards to her 2014 book *Bernstein Meets Broadway: Collaborative Art in a Time of War*, which includes several short biographies of the African-American cast members of the original Broadway production of *On the Town*: “The digitization of black newspapers constitutes a kind of revolution. Whereas the *New York Times* consistently had a published index so there was some means of access to its contents, the black papers had no index whatsoever. My book about *On the Town* could not have happened without the digitizing of black newspapers.”¹⁴ I argue that my focus on Ottawa and the *Ottawa Journal* is fair for the field of silent film music studies where looking at practices in cities that are not typically seen to have major entertainment districts (such as New York and London) is still quite rare, and for a city that has relatively little documentation of its silent film theatre musicians.¹⁵ I do not claim that this study is all-encompassing of Ottawa’s practices, communities, and views, but rather, that it provides a glimpse at what was occurring during the silent film era. A larger study of local practice would have to critically consider the selection of newspapers beyond the ease of information retrieval. Additionally, I did a thorough survey of the film music articles in *The Metronome* for 1917. Otherwise, my search through the trade journals *Motion Picture News* and *The Metronome* has been based on keyword searches.

¹⁴ “Interview Series: Carol J. Oja, *Bernstein Meets Broadway*,” interview with Carol J. Oja by Elsa Marshall, published by Jarek Ervin, IASPM-US Interview Series, July 4, 2017, interview conducted March 29, 2017, <http://iaspm-us.net/interview-series-carol-j-oja-bernstein-meets-broadway>.

¹⁵ There are only a few mentions of theatre musicians and musical accompaniment to film in the following local histories: Alain Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in Ottawa-Gatineau* (Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2004). Hillary Russell, “All that Glitters: A Memorial to Ottawa’s Capitol Theatre and its Predecessors,” Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History No. 13, *Parks Canada*, last updated October 24, 2006, accessed June 7, 2017, <http://parkscanadahistory.com/series/chs/13/chs13-1n.htm>.

Terminology in Reports and Advertisements

In my survey of over 120 *Ottawa Journal* advertisements and articles between 1886 and 1929, only a few articles give vivid clues as to what was occurring musically in the theatres. This initial survey in turn lead to new articles and new sources. The following articles add to the report of the 1899 Diamond Jubilee showing in describing how cinema music related to the pictures and exemplify how more general ideas of silent film music do and do not fit with Ottawa's practices.¹⁶ They also present varied and complicated ideas of "good music," "relief pianist," "orchestra," and other terms.

"Spreading the Gospel of Good Music"

As movies continued to grow in popularity in the 1910s, a discussion of what should be played in picture houses pervaded trade journals. Some writers and impresarios pushed for others to take advantage of the attentive cinema audiences and educate this greater public in "good music." A comparison of the following article from the *Ottawa Journal* with other contemporary reports highlights the different uses of the terms "good music" and "appropriate music," and other aspects of the formative discussions of the direction of film music development. The most detailed account of cinematic music making in Ottawa comes in the April 1, 1920 *Ottawa Journal* report, "Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music."¹⁷ It provides many musician and music director names and information about orchestra sizes. The use of the phrase "good music" in this article is more general than its use in the contemporary Carl Fischer musicians' trade journal, *The Metronome*. Like recent books of

¹⁶ There are several mentions of illustrated songs found in papers from the early 1900s, but I have chosen to not include them here.

¹⁷ "Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music," *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 18.

collected essays on silent film music, *The Metronome*'s articles were diverse, discussing everything from novelty music-film creations to musical exhibition practices in cinemas to the use of music in film production.¹⁸ In contrast, a prescriptive tone and the regular promotion of good music in cinemas pervaded a majority of the journal's reports. This is exemplified in Sigmund Spaeth's 1917 article, "The Triumph of Good Music in Moving Pictures Houses" where he explained how "Music which could never have caught the ears of a voluble theatre audience is now heard in silence and rewarded with enthusiastic applause in the temples of filmland."¹⁹ Spaeth discussed the unprecedented power that cinemas had in educating the mass public as, according to him, "For some reason it is assumed that talk would be an interruption to the picture; indeed many houses request silence 'out of difference to the wishes of their patrons.' People don't wish to be annoyed by the remarks of the funny man just behind or in front of them." This imposed silence allowed accompanying classical pieces such as "a Wagner overture, an excerpt from Verdi, or a movement of a classical symphony!" to be attentively listened to. In the case of *The Metronome*, it was implied that "good music" was Western Classical Music. Ottawa's Regent Concert Orchestra, under the direction of Rudolph Pelisek from 1916 to 1924,

¹⁸ For example, "Regular Use of an Orchestra During Rehearsals at the William Fox Studios," *The Metronome* 33 no. 2 (February 1917): 45, UR Research, <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/26103>. "Conducting an Orchestra Through Means of Motion Pictures: First Trials in Chicago Very Successful – Offers Possibilities of Preserving the Interpretations of Great Conductors – Educational Value of Such Films," *The Metronome* 33 no. 3 (March 1917): 50 & 52. The *Ottawa Journal* also included one article about music on the production side of the film, describing how director Allen Holubar used "Music as an aid in developing and controlling the emotions of players" in the filming of *Hurricane's Gal* in 1923. The article listed which pieces were played "in developing a dramatic theme" and "in sustaining dramatic tension or working up to a climax," "Uses Music to Control Emotions: Director of 'Hurricane's Gal' Claims it Influences Varied Emotions in Acting," *Ottawa Journal*, January 6, 1923: 17.

¹⁹ Sigmund Spaeth, "The Triumph of Good Music in Moving Pictures Houses," *The Metronome* vol. 33, no. 4 (New York: Metronome Publishing Company, April 1917): 45. This article was reprinted from *Motion Picture Mail*.

seemed to most closely follow this type of advice. However, the compliments found in the 1920 *Ottawa Journal* article illustrated distinct practices in Ottawa theatres. All were described as good, but none were quite the same.

Lionel Mortimer and his ten-piece orchestra at the Family vaudeville theatre were praised by the reporter for their dedication to cue sheets and delivering highly appropriate music.²⁰ “Appropriate music” is the most commonly used phrase alongside “special music” when describing silent film music accompaniment in contemporary reporting. Altman discusses a 1907 use of the former phrase and suggests its vagueness can be attributed to “the writers’ discomfort in describing the new phenomenon” of the Kinetophone because of the lack of “standard language to designate these different ‘picture projecting’ devices.”²¹ This does not appear to have been the case with the 1920 *Ottawa Journal* reporter, who used the phrase quite carefully to denote music that correlates with the film. For him, this was a matter of high importance: “Perfect moving picture orchestration consists of playing WITH [sic] the picture. An audience is literally carried away by the film story when the picture and orchestra harmonize to a complete extent.”²² Mortimer is hailed as “striving to obtain artistic results and [...] meeting with results.” For this reporter, the art of film music comes with strong connection formed between music and image, not necessarily with the type of music played.

In contrast, the reporter mentioned the popularity of the Regent theatre, its overtures, and the ability of its orchestra to play difficult pieces. One subtle comment is quite telling, especially since it comes just after the long description of the Family and the importance of playing with the picture: “Rudolph Pelisek features music of a classical nature without special regard for the

²⁰ “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much,” 18.

²¹ Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 84-85.

²² “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much,” 18.

picture theme.” In advertising and reporting (larger advertisements and articles appearing more frequently) on the Regent, it appears to have been a more successful cinema than the Family. Furthermore, Rudolph Pelisek and the Regent Orchestra were also frequently praised for their classical music activities beyond film accompaniment, with Pelisek conducting alongside the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra’s Donald Heins in a 1920 gala organized by the Ottawa Musicians’ Protective Association (attended by Sir Arthur Currie) and the Regent adding Monday night Symphonic Concerts in 1922 (these included an augmented orchestra of 16 to 22 players and



Figure 1-1. The interior of the Flower Theatre with a Wulitzer Motion Picture Organ below the screen. A rare example of a theatre’s interior and instrument being featured in an advertisement. Source: Flower Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, July 13, 1914: 13, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

appear to have preceded evening film screenings).²³ The Flower theatre similarly featured its musical talents with weekly organ recitals as imaginatively showcased in a July 1914 advertisement showing the interior of a theatre (see Figure 1-1).

This prompts the question of what Ottawa audiences preferred and whether or not in 1920, despite the trade journals' coinciding call for music that went with the film, semantic incongruity between music and film was accepted and perhaps favored in return for the high-quality performance of classical pieces.²⁴ An anonymous 1922 testimonial in the *Ottawa Journal* suggested this was the case for those attending the Regent:

On Monday night I went to the Regent Theatre to see Sherlock Holmes. The building was packed to the door – it turned out to be symphony night. Evidently a large number of people attended the Regent for the music. As far as Monday was concerned, these people had no cause for disappointment. The Regent orchestra consisted of about 22 members – an orchestra which is just large enough and yet not too large for the building. It plays with excellent tone, unusual precision, and exceptional expression – in fact the ensemble throughout was admirable.

By no less commendable than the performance was the music performed. The numbers, which were well worthy of a printed programme or of a much more expensive entertainment, included some worthy numbers from classic symphonies, as well as some modern numbers like Grainger's 'Molly on the Shore,' for example.²⁵

²³ For a detailed discussion about this first iteration of the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra, refer to Debra Ann Begg, "A History of Orchestras in Ottawa From 1894 to 1960," (master's thesis, Carleton University, 1981). "Crowded House at Russell for Big Musicale: Sir Arthur Currie Suggests Many Civic Band Concerts – A Delightful Performance," *Ottawa Journal*, May 1, 1920: 30. As the concerts were advertised as being only half an hour and a feature film was advertised for the same day, it is reasonable to suppose an evening programme could have included both. "Symphony Concerts at the Regent," *Ottawa Journal*, September 16, 1922: 17. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 16, 1922: 17.

²⁴ There is an abundance of articles and advertisements in the contemporary film exhibition journal, *Motion Picture News*, calling for music to "fit the picture." For example, in 1921, the Synchronized Scenario Music Co. frequently promoted this practice in their advertising, suggesting hiring their service will give you the "proper music at all times," Synchronized Scenario Music Co advertisement, *Motion Picture News* 23 no. 7 (February 9 1921): 1517, Internet Archives, https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew23moti_5.

²⁵ "Regent's Fine Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, November 4, 1922: 18.

Although the Regent's symphonic concerts were clearly advertised as separate attractions from the films, this account, alongside the 1920 "Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much" report suggests that a performance of high-class music was at the forefront of the audience's thoughts rather than the degree to which the music fit the themes or action of a film. This disunity is not completely unusual and is investigated in further detail in Chapter 2.

Relief Pianist

In regards to the Strand Theatre, the reporter of the 1920 "Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much" article focused on the impressive musical career of manager Harry Pomeroy rather than the way the theatre's musicians accompanied the pictures. Its "small orchestra" was composed of a pianist (Kellard Gamble), a xylophonist (Harry Massey), and a relief pianist (Mrs. Mitchell).²⁶ This is the only mention of a "relief pianist" that I could find in my survey of the *Ottawa Journal*. This term has yet to be investigated in the literature, but it does appear to have had certain contemporary connotations.²⁷ A 1928 article by S. Turnbull in *The Musical Mirror* provided the following description of a relief pianist's duties: "The musical accompaniment to the average picture-house programme, where no organ is available, is divided equally between orchestra and the relief pianist. This generally means that the orchestra accompanies the feature picture and perhaps another short picture, leaving the relief pianist to accompany the rest of the programme, often comprising the 'Gazette,' a short comedy, drama, or 'interest' film."²⁸ The

²⁶ Mrs. Mitchell is the only musician whose first name is not published in the article. It was then common practice in the *Ottawa Journal* to not include the first name of women.

²⁷ There are no mentions of "relief pianist" in *Silent Film Sound* nor *The Sound of the Silents in Britain*. A Google Search for "relief pianist" leads to many biographies and obituaries that suggest the term is associated with music work in the first half of the twentieth century.

²⁸ S. Turnbull, "The Cinema Pianist: How to Become One," in *The Musical Mirror* (March 1928), 65, PDF file from *The Originals* website, maintained by Neil Brand, <http://originals.neilbrand.com/>.

profession was esteemed by Capt. Ret. Ronald E. J. Milne (b1921; d2014), who, in a 2014 interview, provided a thorough description of Kathleen Milne's (his mother) tasks as relief pianist in silent cinemas in Britain.²⁹ He explained that his mother would play with the orchestra during the feature and then accompany the "second" or "cheaper" movie while the orchestra took a break.

Although these shorter movies did not receive the accompaniment of a cinema's orchestra, Turnbull and Capt. Ret. Milne both suggested that the music could well have been just as good. Turnbull advised new relief pianists that the difficulty of the music they were playing was not too important; rather, their focus should be on making sure the music fits the picture: "if you are enthusiastic, you can create quite as good an effect from an easier piece well played so long as it suits the screen movement."³⁰ Turnbull also noted that experience is needed in order to properly fit the music with the film, but this can be attained from the "careful study of music publisher's catalogues."³¹ Capt. Ret. Milne described his mother as a "marvelous musician" since she not only had knowledge of suitable repertoire ("it was a lot of those movies for sob stories you know, so she'd know all the sad songs of the day, and 'course that would please the people") but she would also compose music "[if] there wasn't anything suitable in the music of the day, or the music of the past."³² The creativity and originality of Kathleen Milne's working method contradicted Turnbull's warning to "a person [who] has an artistic temperament of high quality, also the ability to teach or otherwise earn money."³³ Whereas Kathleen Milne would

²⁹ Capt. Ret. Ronald E. J. Milne, interview by Sgt. Hillary Fay (of the Canadian Armed Forces String Ensemble) and Elsa Marshall, February 1, 2014, Ottawa ON.

³⁰ Turnbull, "The Cinema Pianist."

³¹ Turnbull, "The Cinema Pianist."

³² Capt. Ret. Ronald E. J. Milne, interview.

³³ Turnbull, "The Cinema Pianist."

creatively “audition [the film] on Monday mornings and make up the score, write it down,” Turnbull suggested such talented musicians “had better leave the cinema alone [as] the continued and forced playing of piece after piece does not give much scope for originality and often tends to kill interest in music – as real music.”³⁴ Interestingly, Capt. Ret. Milne provided a different impression of what made a high quality musician, explaining that his mother’s work made her a “practicing musician” whereas his father “just played the violin, and he was a terrific player” but “didn’t write or compose anything.”³⁵ Whether or not the Strand’s relief pianist, Mrs. Mitchell, was of Kathleen Milne’s caliber, we do not know given the information in the article. However, the reporter mentioned that she “is also heard at many functions around the city,” which implies she was respected by the community.³⁶

The Size of Ottawa’s Theatre Orchestras

When looked at as a whole, the articles of the *Ottawa Journal* and the Canadian

³⁴ Capt. Ret. Ronald E. J. Milne, interview. Turnbull, "The Cinema Pianist." However, Turnbull’s view coincided with that of Canadian violinist Harry Adaskin, who was part of the Hart House String Quartet (founded in 1923) along with Milton Blackstone (music director and violinist of Ottawa’s Centre Theatre Orchestra in 1919 and 1920). Adaskin briefly mentioned his time as a silent film theatre musician in Toronto in his memoirs. He considered his concerts in the Academy String Quartet of the Canadian Academy for Music as being more important than his higher paying theatre jobs: “Concerts had priority, of course. If a concert clashed with my movies I would send a substitute to the theatre. It meant a financial loss, but I didn’t grudge this one bit; I was earning all the money I needed and movie work I regarded merely as an economic necessity.” Harry Adaskin, *Harry Adaskin: A Fiddler’s World: Memoirs to 1938* (Vancouver: November House, 1977), 86.

³⁵ Considering Capt. Ret. Milne’s long career and life (1921-2014) in both the United Kingdom and Canada in a variety of musical roles (including, amongst others, being a member of the hit UK group The Stargazers and being the director of music of the Canadian Guards band), his notion of a “practicing musician” could have come from a number of places and does not necessarily reflect notions of the term in the 1920s. However, he did use it quite deliberately in describing his mother in contrast to his father, so it is possible he picked it up from an early understanding of musicianship.

³⁶ A search for “Mrs. Mitchell” and “pianist” in *The Ottawa Journal* between 1900 and 1928 leads to several results on newspapers.com, but none of these correlate with discussions of a Mrs. Mitchell playing piano.

Department of Labour's Strike and Lockout files provide information on the size and composition of Ottawa orchestras. There was no standard "orchestra" in the silent film era, but in Ottawa there appears to have been a steady increase in theatre ensemble size in the late 1910s and early 1920s. Two trade journal articles, one prescriptive and one descriptive, provide some context for Ottawa's figures. In *The Metronome's* January 1917 article "A Popular Misconception of the Term Orchestra," G. Bertrand Whitman (leader of the Edisonian Theatre Orchestra in Portsmouth, New Hampshire in the early 1910s) brought forth a highly opinionated call for larger orchestras in theatres.³⁷ In his categorization of ensemble sizes, he deemed orchestras smaller than 12 players "Illusionary" (mechanical instruments), "Diabolical" (piano, or piano and drums), "Symbolic," and "Semi-Practical" (six performers).³⁸ The Symbolic Orchestra was described as "the commercialized last resort of the manager" and involved "one, two, three or more instruments playing well-known orchestral music as a suggestion to the memory of the listener."³⁹ Additionally, performances by "unskilled players" fell into the "Imitation Orchestra" category. According to Whitman, the 12-piece "Practical Orchestra" was the smallest "that can legitimately be called an orchestra." Above this, the 15- to 25-piece

³⁷ "The Edisonian," *Portsmouth Herald*, July 7, 1911: 8, newspapers.com. C. Bertrand Whitman, "A Popular Misconception of the Term Orchestra," *The Metronome* vol. 33, no. 1 (January 1917): 44.

³⁸ Whitman makes derogatory remarks when describing the piano and drums combination of the "Diabolical" orchestra stating that "when, in music, rhythm is disassociated from melody and harmony, the tendency is decadent and leads directly back to the primitive, the negro, and the savage," Whitman, "A Popular Misconception of the Term Orchestra," 44. The contemporary playing and reception of jazz and similar genres in Ottawa is beyond the scope of my thesis; however, in 1923 there was a "Musical Contest" between the Regent Concert Orchestra and the Rose Room Orchestra including "syncopated selections," Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 26, 1923: 16. Additionally in 1925, the Regent hosted "Joy Week -- Jazz Week," featuring The Club Royal Synco-Symphony Orchestra, Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 11, 1925: 16.

³⁹ Ibid.

orchestra was a “Large Orchestra” or “Semi-Artistic,” and in the “Full Orchestra” all instruments were represented, although “The harp and piano are NOT usually considered regular orchestral instruments.”

Whitman continued to dictate that “the silent drama demands an orchestra of such size as to supply the necessary sound medium so as to combine the light motion and color of the film subject with a vibration that will transfer all to the mentality of the audience.”⁴⁰ His call for larger ensembles was presumptuous and did not consider practicalities of paying for this many musicians and fitting them into a theatre. Even when Ottawa theatres featured an “augmented orchestra” for special film screenings, this was not reported to go beyond 16 musicians. However, even though this “Semi-Artistic Orchestra” size is on the lower end of Whitman’s ideal, a September 1922 article on the Regent’s showing of *The Storm* similarly equates ensemble size with film music suitability and finesse: “To do justice to this tremendous spectacular production, and to enable all the great emotional heights of the picture and the hair-raising thrills to be better brought home to patrons, the management have augmented the Incomparable Regent Orchestra to 16 pieces for the week. This is the largest orchestra that ever played in any Ottawa theatre, and Regent patrons will have an opportunity to hear some excellent music.”⁴¹ This augmented orchestra only appeared in evening showings.⁴² Taking the “largest orchestra” statement as meaning the largest orchestra to accompany a film in Ottawa, this is possibly true: there is no specific mention of a larger ensemble accompanying a film before or after this statement (see Appendix 1). However, the Dominion showed *The Birth of a Nation* in

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “The Storm at the Regent Sets New Pace in Film Thrills,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 23, 1922: 17.

⁴² Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 23, 1922: 17.

1918 with “Original Effects” and a “Big Orchestra.”⁴³ According to Gillian B. Anderson, D. W. Griffith (director of *The Birth of a Nation*), “firmly established the practice of using a full orchestral accompaniment in American movie theaters,” and “He travelled with the film and the orchestral parts to each new theater, overseeing the whole presentation of each new premiere.”⁴⁴ Although this information is inconclusive, there is a chance the Dominion’s “Big Orchestra” for *The Birth of a Nation* was larger than the Regent’s 1922 orchestra for *The Storm*.

Motion Picture News’ November 1922 article “Statistics of the Motion Picture Industry” by L.C. Moen, the second article of a series reporting the results of a comprehensive survey conducted alongside Babson’s at Columbia University, reported figures that aimed to show what the “average American

The sort of music used in the theatre was the subject of the next two questions.

The first of these related to whether the theatre used a piano, an organ or an orchestra. Many theatres, of course, have more than one of these. The question regarding this was answered by 85.28% of the theatres returning questionnaires, the balance leaving the question blank, leading to the assumption that a considerable portion, at least, of the other 14.72% run without music.

Among the theatres listing music, the following percentage prevailed:

Organ	45.95%
Orchestra	29.47%
Piano	24.58%

Thus it will be seen that nearly half of the theatres reporting have organs of one sort or another, slightly more than one-fourth have orchestras, and nearly one-fourth rely upon a piano.

The second question regarding music related to the number of pieces in the orchestra where the theatre had one. Practically every exhibitor stating that he had an orchestra answered this question, so the replies correlate closely with the preceding table.

Tabulated in groups, the theatres having orchestras of various sizes line up as follows:

2 pieces	11.05%
3 pieces	22.09%
4 pieces	13.26%
5 pieces	18.24%
5 to 10 pieces	28.73%
11 to 15 pieces	3.32%
16 to 25 pieces	2.21%
25 to 50 pieces	1.10%

The five to ten-piece orchestra, it will be seen, is the ruling favorite, with the three-piece orchestra following. The others, in order of greatest frequency, rank: Five, four, two, eleven to fifteen, sixteen to twenty-five, twenty-five to fifty.

Figure 1-2. Figures on the musical forces of American cinemas in 1922. Source: L.C. Moen, “Statistics of the Motion Picture Industry,” *Motion Picture News* 26 no. 22 (November 25, 1922): 2644.

⁴³ Dominion advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 8, 1918: 13.

⁴⁴ Gillian B. Anderson, “A Warning Flame – The Musical Presentation of Silent Films,” *Music for Silent Films: 1894-1929* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1988): xxxii.

picture theatre” looked like.⁴⁵ Moen noted that the “survey covers only those theatres which are primarily picture houses, with vaudeville on the side.” Figure 1-2 presents the section of the article that described the theatres’ musical forces. The first table providing the percent of theatres with either an organ, orchestra, or piano is rather confusing as the article explained that “Many theatres, of course, have more than one of these.” How the statisticians accounted for surveys where more than one box was checked was not accounted for as it was in a previous table on the types of entertainments presented around a film feature. In that case, Moen noted that the figures did not total 100%, yet in the organ-orchestra-piano table, the figures do add up to 100%. Taking the percentages as they are, less than a third of American theatres had an “orchestra” (more than one musician). This suggests that Ottawa would have been relatively unusual compared to the rest of North America as almost every Ottawa theatre, primarily picture houses or otherwise, had an orchestra by 1922. Among those without was the Imperial which would adopt the Imperial Theatre Orchestra in 1923 (see Appendix 1).⁴⁶ However, as Whitman points out, the term “orchestra” was used to describe a large array of ensemble combinations and sizes. Ottawa also had several picture houses that advertised their use of organs in the 1910s including the Regent (alone and possibly alongside its orchestra), the Imperial, the Flower (see Figure 1-1), and the Empire. C. W. Lindsay Limited Pianos advertised the Flower’s purchase of a Wulitzer Motion Picture Orchestra organ (noted to be the same model used at the Empire Theatre) in 1914, emphasizing its great cost was “an ultimate saving to the management” as, with “27 different

⁴⁵ L. C. Moen was described as formerly working for “the Motion Picture Division of the Babson Statistical Organization” before writing for *Motion Picture News*. L.C. Moen, “Statistics of the Motion Picture Industry,” *Motion Picture News* 26 no. 22 (November 25, 1922): 2644, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew26novd>.

⁴⁶ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 26, 1923: 11.



Figure 1-3. A 1922 photo of Russell Theatre musicians and actors. Source: William James Topley, “Group photo of the Russell Theatre troupe,” March 1922, Library and Archives Canada, Topley Series E, Topley Studio fonds, MIKAN no. 3411755, PA-206877, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

instruments all under the control of one operator,” it could take the place of a full orchestra.⁴⁷

The second table places three of Ottawa’s theatres as having larger ensembles than most theatres. A third of American cinema orchestras had 5 to 10 musicians, and in Ottawa four theatres had ensembles of 10 or above by 1922: the Centre Orchestra included 10 players in 1920 and went up to 11 in 1922, the Franklin had an orchestra of 10 in 1920; the Regent had 12

⁴⁷ A description and photograph of the Wulitzer organ can be found in the following advertisement, C.W. Lindsay Limited advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 17, 1914: 8.

musicians by 1922; and 10 musicians are pictured in a photograph of the Russell Theatre in 1922 (see Figure 1-3).⁴⁸ For the most part, these orchestras did not even fit Whitman's criteria for the minimum Practical Orchestra. Nonetheless, as demonstrated elsewhere in this paper, these theater orchestras, especially at the Family and the Regent, were highly praised. Although larger orchestra sizes were a draw for audiences with some notices for film showings emphasising "special music" and an "augmented orchestra," 10 musicians appears to have been the standard theatre orchestra size in Ottawa in the 1920s. Additionally, symphony concerts at the Regent and the Centre were advertised as featuring, at most, 22 and 25 musicians respectfully.⁴⁹ In the 1910s, Ottawa movie theatres has somewhat smaller ensembles, like the 7-piece Regent Concert Orchestra of the 1917-1918 season. Interestingly, this corresponded with the orchestra size of Vienna movie theatres at the same time where "quartets, small ensembles and salon orchestras" of 6 to 12 musicians were reported and with the size of a "large orchestra" of 4 to 12 musicians in America around 1912 according to Altman.⁵⁰ Appendix 1 provides a more detailed look at the size and composition of Ottawa theatre orchestras between 1897 and 1929 as well as information about the management of theatres.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The Russell (primarily a play house) and the Franklin (primarily a vaudeville theatre) do not fit the survey's scope of "primarily picture houses," but their similar orchestra size to the picture houses in Ottawa is remarkable. "Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music," 18. "Centre Theatre Music," *Ottawa Journal*, September 16, 1922: 17. "Allen's Regent Theatre," *Ottawa Journal*, December 23, 1922: 16.

⁴⁹ "Regent's Fine Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, November 4, 1922: 18. "Opening Concert Charms Audience," *Ottawa Journal*, October 19, 1926: 2.

⁵⁰ Claude Tieber and Anna K. Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," in *The Sounds of Silent Films* ed. Clause Tieber and Anna Katharina Windisch, Palgrave Studies in Audio-Visual Culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014): 90-91, ebook, SpringerLink Books Complete. Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 289.

⁵¹ Appendix 1 primarily includes musical information. The details about management were what I happened to find during the course of this study. A more thorough discussion of each theatre's management can be found in Miguelez's *A Theatre Near You*.

It is important to note that the Strike and Lockout documents suggest that not all of these musicians had fixed contracts with these theatres. For example, in 1923, the Imperial began advertising the “Imperial Orchestra,” yet in the 1924 strike only one musician is listed for the theatre (likely the organist).⁵² Furthermore, the 1921 strike involving 10 theatres notes 31 male and 4 female musicians.⁵³ This only adds up to 35 as opposed to the 1920 to 1923 numbers of only four theatres described in the previous paragraph, which add up to 43. It could be these larger orchestras only appeared in the evenings as a Trade Dispute report for the Centre Theatre’s agreement in the 1924 strike made the distinction between regular musicians and “Men employed nights only.”⁵⁴ Perhaps the night musicians were not accounted for in the 1921 strike documents or in the Imperial’s 1924 strike documents. Appendix 2 provides more details of the Department of Labour’s Strike and Lockout Files on strikes involving Ottawa Theatre musicians between 1914 and 1929, including information on hours and wages.

Advertising Cinemas

In the *Ottawa Journal*, most advertisements for film showings that mentioned musicians often announced “special” musical accompaniment (though not usually specifying why it was special), augmented orchestras, and additional musical works.⁵⁵ As discussed in Chapter 3 and 4,

⁵² “Industrial Disputes: Part I,” signed August 17, 1924, Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 333, File no. 48, Reel T-2745, Library and Archives Canada.

⁵³ “Industrial Disputes: Part I,” signed September 10, 1921, Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 327, File no. 183, Reel T-2711, Library and Archives Canada.

⁵⁴ “Industrial Disputes: Part II,” received September 17, 1924, Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 333, File no. 48, Reel T-2745, Library and Archives Canada.

⁵⁵ Altman notes that when Vitagraph advertised “special music” to go with their films in 1913, this meant original scores (the venture was unsuccessful as the turnover of films gave musicians barely any time to learn much new material). This does not necessarily equate to how the term was used in Ottawa advertisements. Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 256.

REGENT

PHOTOPLAYS DE LUXE

All Next Week



“The Whip”

The World's
Biggest
Motion
Picture

—a Million Dollar
Production — With
Special Music By
The Regent Concert
Orchestra.

Overture

AMERICAN FESTIVAL OVERTURE—Anton Ledger.

REGENT CONCERT ORCHESTRA.

Mons. Rudolph Pelisek, Dir.

THE ONE THEATRE WITH THE
MASTER ORGAN AND ORCHESTRA.

Prices { Mat. 15c, 25c, 30c
Evg. 25c, 35c, 50c, 75c

We Pay the War Tax

Figure 1-4. The Regent advertises both the picture's impressive international standing and their local musical forces in this advertisement for *The Whip*. Source: Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 14, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library. 1917: 18.

patrons went to see a grand international spectacular, but in a unique local manner. Usually advertisements focused on one or the other, but a Regent advertisement from 1917 (Figure 1-4) features both tactics. The 1917 advertisement that declares *The Whip* as “The World’s Biggest Motion Picture – A Million Dollar Production” while also boasting “special music” provided by The Regent Concert Orchestra lead by Mons. Rudolph Pelisek.⁵⁶ The advertisement also notes the Regent’s dedication to patriotic and communal responsibility (discussed in Chapters 3 and 5) by declaring “We Pay the War Tax.”⁵⁷ The 1917 Regent advertisements, including the aforementioned one, were often gave more details about the theatre’s musical forces (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of *The Whip* and the Regent’s overtures). It was more usual for musicians to not be mentioned at all, and, when they were, they were usually included as a small note at the bottom of an advertisement or at the end of a report on an upcoming screening. For example, a Flower Theatre advertisement from 1915 (see Figure 1-5) merely mentioned there will be “Special music by Jack Neville,” and a 1923 article on the “Powerful Ten-reel Version of ‘The Prodigal Son’,” which was to be shown at the Russell theatre, provided a rather vague description: “The Russell orchestra, greatly augmented for the occasion, will render a special musical accompaniment during the presentation.”⁵⁸ The reason for the rather subdued promotion of the theatre’s musical forces is likely the same as that of the 1899 Queen’s Park report: the new films would attract audiences to return, whereas the musicians were a constant maintainer of quality. Nonetheless, the Imperial most consistently advertised its musical forces with “The House With The Organ” written at the top of each advertisement from its opening in 1914 to

⁵⁶ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 14, 1917: 18.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ “Flower Theatre Photo-Plays,” *Ottawa Journal*, April 28, 1915: 15. “Sir Hall Caine’s Biggest Story Made Into Gigantic Film Epic,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 6, 1923: 14.

1923 (see Figure 1-6).⁵⁹ In 1917, the Regent responded to this in their advertisements with the line “The One Theatre With the Master Organ and Orchestra.”⁶⁰ Each theatre would specially promote its musical talent from time to time, sometimes for the sake of promoting the theatre’s quality in and of itself and sometimes in relation to a unique showing. For example, Jack Sniderman, a member of the Franklin (formerly the Family) theatre, went as far as to compose a jingle published in the *Ottawa Journal* in 1923 (see Figure 1-7).⁶¹ Furthermore, The Regent often promoted Rudolph Pelisek and his orchestra (although often under varied names for the group) as will be discussed in more detail Chapter 5.

We can see from these discussions of good or appropriate music, relief pianists, and orchestra sizes that the “identity crisis” Altman describes in relation to the varied naming of new technologies expanded to the identity of what film music and film orchestras were and should be. Although these terms appear frequently in different types of documents, they were not always referring to the same idea and often carried the weight of what authors wished to see in their

⁵⁹ “Imperial” advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 2, 1917: 15. According to a fantastic interactive timeline on the Royal Canadian College of Organists, the Imperial Theatre installed “a theatre pipe organ built by Ottawa’s Brouse-Underhill Organ Company” in 1917. “History of the RCCO Ottawa Centre,” *The Royal Canadian College of Organists*, accessed June 7, 2017, <http://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/141540/History-of-the-RCCO-Ottawa-Centre>. It includes the following contemporary quote from *The Diapason Magazine*: “this organ is unique in many ways, one of the most important features being the installation of a grand piano in a swell box with the great organ and played from either the great or the accompaniment keyboard, as well as pedal keyboard,” *The Diapason Magazine*, April 1917: 6, City of Ottawa Archives, as quoted in “History of the RCCO Ottawa Centre.”

⁶⁰ For example, Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 17. According to information from the Casavant Freres Archives found on the timeline of the Royal Canadian College of Organists, the Regent, “installed a Casavant pipe organ (2 manual, 22 stops) in 1916. The Regent Theatre had 1056 seats, and in 1928 became the first theatre in Ottawa to play films with sound. In 1987, the Regent Theatre’s Casavant pipe organ was moved and installed in the Chinese United Church, Bank Street,” “History of the RCCO Ottawa Centre.”

⁶¹ Jack Sniderman, “Let’s All Go To the Franklin,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1923: 16.

profession. Therefore, as researchers, we must be wary to not simply repeat these interesting perspectives as generally agreed fact, and must instead reflect on the complexity of these terms and their contemporary definitions both in retrieving information and describing documents. Furthermore, in the discussions on orchestra size and good music, we can already see some tension between what trade journals were describing as normal and proper (the top-down narrative) and what was common place in Ottawa and elsewhere. For example, the trade journal opinion that a larger orchestra was a better orchestra was echoed in the advertisements of augmented orchestras for particular films or special musical accompaniments in the *Ottawa Journal*; however, the 1922 *Motion Picture News* survey suggests that cinema orchestras were not common in the United States, especially those beyond 10-pieces. Ottawa did not have large orchestras by today's standard, but its reports of orchestras between 10 to 16 musicians accompanying films in the 1920s (still smaller than what the trade journals aspired to) appears to have been unusually large compared to average American practices. Was this a Canadian or Ontarian trait of silent film music practice or were theatre orchestra sizes across North America and elsewhere related to the relative population and composition of each city? It is beyond the scope of this thesis to answer these questions, but there is a need for more local studies to determine whether or not there was such a thing as an average silent film music accompaniment practice across these locales and what it looked like.

**FLOWER
THEATRE
PHOTO-PLAYS**

THURS., FRI., SAT.
The World Film Corp.
Presents
The People's Idol
ROBT. WARWICK
in
**The Man Who
Found Himself**
IN 5 ACTS.
Special music by Jack Neville

Figure 1-5. Left. Most advertisements of film showings did not describe the musical accompaniment. When they did, often one line mentioning “special music” was all that was included. Source: “Flower Theatre Photo-Plays,” *Ottawa Journal*, April 28, 1915: 15, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

Figure 1-6. Below. The Imperial Theatre constantly advertised its musical capabilities by including “The House with the Organ” in its logo. Source: “Imperial” advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 31, 1917: 13, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

THE HOUSE WITH THE ORGAN
IMPERIAL
CANADA'S THEATRE BEAUTIFUL

THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY.
MARGUERITE CLARK
In Her Greatest Stage Success, the Beloved
FAIRY TALE
“SNOW WHITE”
In Which She Appeared For Two Years in New York.
SEE THE FAIRIES, WITCHES AND DWARFS.

Last Time Today: FRANK McINTYRE, in
“THE TRAVELLING SALESMAN.”

All Next Week: MARY PICKFORD, in
“THE PRIDE OF THE CLAN.”

Exclusively High Class.

"Let's All Go To the Franklin"

Dedicated to J.M. Franklin

Words and Music by
Jack Sniderman
Specially composed for
Franklin Week Oct 1st

Played by Franklin
Superior Orchestra
— Ottawa, Can —
Lionel Mortimer, Director.

GAUGHTLY

PIANO

lit... that s the only place for me.....

There the show is best..... better than the rest..... So I take my

sit..... and I get there ear-ly.... There the crowd's al-ways

ing there must be a rea-son why.

..... So just come a-long and you'll hear this little song.....

Let's all go to the Frank-..... Min.

voice by my bo-dy

If you're feeling gloomy set will.

listen while I sing this song to you.

tell you what to do. Just stroll a-long to Queen and Bank and there you'll see the

crowd. If you listen to their sayings you will hear this said out loud.

Let's all go to the Frank-.....

CHORUS

The image shows a musical score for the song "Let's All Go To the Franklin". It features a piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The score is written on a single page with multiple systems of music. The piano part is marked "PIANO" and "GAUGHTLY". The vocal line includes lyrics such as "There the show is best... better than the rest... So I take my sit... and I get there ear-ly... There the crowd's al-ways... ing there must be a rea-son why... So just come a-long and you'll hear this little song... Let's all go to the Frank-... Min." The score includes various musical notations like notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Figure 1-7. "Let's All Go To the Franklin" was written for and played at the Franklin, a vaudeville theatre that often showed films, for "Franklin Week" in September 1929. Source: Jack Sniderman, "Let's All Go To the Franklin," *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1923: 16.

Chapter 2 Film Music, or Film *and* Music?

Returning to the discussion of “appropriate music” from Chapter 1, the seeming disconnect between the trade journals’ call for music to fit the film in contrast with the success of some theatres that appear to have cared more about the music itself and less about its role in communicating a film’s message, such as the Regent, begs the following question: did cinema audiences and musicians hear film music (integral to their understanding of the film) or film *and* music (a semiotically disconnected entertainment). In “A Warning Flame,” Anderson explains that “through their choice of the entr’actes and movie accompaniments photoplayers could reinforce or contradict intended dramatic context, emotional effects, film rhythms, scenic structure, and the overall pacing of films” through music. She continues to describe these musical accompaniments as “almost living, independent character[s] commenting on the pantomimed drama[s] on the screen.”¹ In this chapter I push this idea of the musical accompaniment as an “independent character” and entertain the notion that audiences were not always concerned about the relation between film and music. I investigate cases where the relation between film and music were questionable, primarily the overture and film combinations at the Regent in 1917. In contrast, I present some very intentional cases of film music pairings in Ottawa as found in multi-modal presentations and cinematic concept spectacles.

George McLaughlin’s “Gramophone and Biomotogram show on Sparks street” certainly sparked the interest of an *Ottawa Journal* reporter in January 1898 who rated it as “One of the Best Ever Given Here.”² Much like the Queen’s Jubilee reporter, the 1898 one was impressed by

¹ Gillian B. Anderson, “A Warning Flame – The Musical Presentation of Silent Films,” *Music for Silent Films: 1894-1929* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1988), xxvi.

² “The Show on Sparks Street is One of the Best Ever Given Here,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 26, 1898: 5.

the potential for these technological mediums and their new combination. Interestingly, despite all the stories of live music accompanying films in Ottawa, this account, one of the earliest I found, described a thoroughly mechanical event: “While the moving pictures are one [sic] the gramophone is brought into play and songs and musical selections are given, adding to the pleasure of the entertainment.” It seems that a Biomotogram was a high quality projector, “the steadiest” with an absence of flickering light, but not much more is known.³ A small announcement later in the year (September 1898) in Shawville’s local newspaper, *The Equity*, mentioned an upcoming appearance of the technology, this time accompanied by a Zonophone (billed as a “Talking Machine” which was an early alternate name for the phonograph⁴) rather than a Gramophone.⁵ Remarkably the production was given the approval of Ottawa’s Mayor Bingham. The praise focused on the Biomotogram’s presentation of images, but these two articles suggest McLaughlin’s, and later McLaughlin and Morgan’s, recorded music and moving picture combination gained some popularity in Ottawa and its surrounding townships in 1898.⁶

The report does not describe the music’s relation to the film in detail: was the recorded

³ A Google Search only provides articles on the Ottawa and Shawville showings.

⁴ Randall Stross, “The Incredible Talking Machine,” *Time*, last modified June 23, 2010, accessed November 10, 2016, <http://content.time.com/time/>.

⁵ “Local and General”, *The Equity*, Shawville, Co. Pontiac, P.Q., September 8, 1898, Vol. 16, No. 12, <http://collections.banq.qc.ca/ark:/52327/2554529>.

⁶ This Geo. McLaughlin appears to be the same as that of the 1901 Census, which notes an Irish-Canadian (born 1849) who lived in Ottawa with his family and worked as a photographer, “Geo Mclaughlin,” 1901 census, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, reference RG31, microfilm T-6488, page 1, item number 2848992, Library and Archives Canada, digitized copy available at <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>. The Photographers of Ontario database associate his business with 107 Sparks Street between 1897-1902, which corresponds with the January 1898 advertisement, “George McLaughlin,” Photographers of Ontario, accessed November 10, 2016, http://www.photographersofontario.ca/index.php/George_McLaughlin. He is not to be confused with George William McLaughlin, who was born in 1869 in Enniskillen, Ontario and treasurer of the McLaughlin Motor Car Company Limited, James F. Harris, “George William McLaughlin,” *Harris & Associated Families Archives and Family Trees Page*, accessed November 20, 2016, <http://harris-history.com/tree/2807.html>. I have not found any information on Morgan.

music adding to the understanding of the moving picture or were the film and the music understood as two separate entertaining forms that could be received simultaneously (much like a string quartet providing background music for discussion at a dinner party)? I am inclined to believe that the reporter was describing music that did not connect with the images as the gramophone was “brought into play” during the picture rather than at the start. However, the relation between the film and the music, or lack thereof, is not commented on and we cannot determine for sure whether or not an intentional or unintentional correlation was understood. Either could be possible and were reported in other cities. Notably, Jon Burrows’s study of practices in London, England shows that, before 1910, such a distinction determined whether or not a cinema had to procure a music license.⁷ He explains,

Between 1907 and 1909 the Metropolitan Police compiled observational reports on unlicensed film shows that featured some form of musical accompaniment in order to ascertain if they could be charged with conducting their business illegally. The [London County Council’s] solicitors then made an assessment as to whether a case could be made; the criterion they applied was that any music featured had to be directly relevant to the films, so that it could be said to materially enhance the presentation and thus constitute a substantial rather than subsidiary part of the performance.⁸

A 1913 report in the trade journal *Motion Picture News* also told of theatres disregarding the potential for film-music relations in New York. Describing an unsuccessful exhibition involving the Ladies’ Symphony Orchestra at Broadway’s Circle Theatre, reporter “J.M.B.” explained that the musical programme was “exceedingly well-prepared and executed,” but did not fit the tone of the films being shown: “There was too much Western and Indian fun in the production ‘A Sense of Humor’ of Edison, to fit the music. | I say fit the music because at the

⁷ Burrow’s chapter is a good example of finding historic information in indirectly related archival collections. Jon Burrows, “The Art of *Not* ‘Playing to Pictures’ in British Cinemas, 1906-1914,” in *The Sounds of the Silents in Britain*, ed. Julie Brown & Annette Davison (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013): 114.

⁸ Burrows, “The Art of *Not* ‘Playing to Pictures’,” 114.

Circle and other theatres where they advertise a special orchestra, they do not fit the music to the picture, but expect the pictures to fit the music. In other words, the managers give a concert with pictures on the side.”⁹ The reporter suggested that the responsibility for the unsuccessful evening lay not with the orchestra, but with the management’s selection of films involving “shooting and killings” which “did not harmonize with the musical selections.”¹⁰ As discussed in Chapter 1, in 1920, it appears that the music at Ottawa’s Family theatre fit the films whereas the music at the Regent, which received much praise for its quality, did not. Such accounts call into question the need for synchronization between music and film, as declared in contemporary trade journal advertisements and reporting, and the suggestion that disunity would not draw audiences, as exemplified by a 1922 *Motion Picture News* article by “Dr. Hugo Riesenfeld, director of the Rivoli, Rialto and Criterion theatres, New York.” Riesenfeld explained “the music in the score to a motion picture must be chosen with just as great care as is the music in an opera – it must be in harmony with the dramatic action. Both are intended to carry the same story, to create atmosphere for the story or stir the emotions in a specific way.” He called for conductors to “disregard dynamics and metric effects which a composer conceived, and actually improvise a setting fitting the dynamics of the photoplay.”¹¹ If the Regent was successful without fitting the music to the film, was the pairing of music and film of less or equal importance to the music’s quality or the class of the orchestra? Was a night of film *and* music over film music acceptable as long as there was no comical or disrespectful contrast like that at New York’s Circle Theatre?

⁹ J.M.B., “Music and the Picture,” *Motion Picture News* 8 no. 23 (December 13, 1913): 31 and 51, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew82unse>.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Hugo Riesenfeld, “Why Do We Need Music with Pictures?: Dr. Hugo Riesenfeld Comments on William D. Taylor’s ‘Too Much Music’ Article,” *Motion Picture News* (January 14 1922): 552, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew25janf>.

Arguably the latter requirement suggests that it was not possible to completely dissociate the film from live music when performed together; however, these reports do put into question the degree to which film music “harmony” was important. We can only suppose, but if the reporter of the *Ottawa Journal*’s “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music” article was accurate in his descriptions, the trade journals’ emphasis on the importance of relevant film music was not necessarily reflecting the opinion of Ottawa audiences.

In his discussion of late-nineteenth century American musical theatre, Altman contrasts the era’s “aesthetic of discontinuity,” which involved only strenuously related and highly varied songs and dances to appear throughout the work as found in vaudeville shows, with the twentieth-century aesthetic of “quality of overall effect.”¹² He describes the former as being cumulative, “dedicated to maximizing the number of attractions available in any given performance.”¹³ In both reports of the Gramophone and Biograph show, McLaughlin’s presentation was billed by the two separate technologies he was showing off, suggesting not necessarily a formal discontinuity (like the theatre shows), but to a certain degree a semantic disunity between the sound and image.¹⁴ The show plays to the late-nineteenth century idea of “maximizing the number of attractions” and, in overlapping the attractions, also lends itself to the “intensity” and “concentration” of “quality of overall effect.”¹⁵ The advertised programmes and descriptions of Ottawa’s silent film exhibitions blurred any such division between these aesthetics and the idea of continuity or discontinuity between attractions. Even when a theme

¹² Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 34 and 36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 35 and 36.

¹⁴ Altman has a section titled “Discontinuities” in *Silent Film Sound*. where he uses the term to discuss whether or not music or sound effects were even used alongside early film showings and the lack of standardised practice. Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), *Silent Film Sound*, 88-93

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

was not promoted, it is not difficult to argue for some form of overall thematic unity between parts of the programme, yet a degree of discontinuity between entertainments was usually apparent. From 1916 to 1917, the Regent often mentioned what overture was being played during each half-week programme which regularly included a feature film, a comedy short, and a guest solo singer or pianist as well (See Appendix 3).¹⁶ It is possible that there was some intention to pair the overtures with the films. For example, it could be argued that the satiric *Orpheus* overture by Joseph Offenbach fit the style of the feature film, *Notorious Gallagher or His Great Triumph*, screened August 28 to 30, 1916 at the Regent. The description of the film found in the Regent's August 26 advertisement (see Figure 2-1), which also included supporting stills from the movie, states, "The glorification of '**Buttsy**' **Gallagher**, an obscure and wholly innocuous character of New York's Great East Side, through his arrest for a murder which he did not commit forms the basis for a screen story of **originality**, **thrills** and of delightful **satire**."¹⁷ Also, there was the possibility that the overtures were paired with other parts of the entertainment: for example, the Regent's advertisements for the March 29 to 31, 1917 programme list the following entertainments: H. Ruthven McDonald (baritone), *Polly Red Head* (film), a travelogue, and the *Farewell Aloha Oe* (Hawaiian) overture by R. H. Tulley.¹⁸ Here, the Hawaiian overture did not fit the feature, but there is a chance it was paired with the travelogue.

¹⁶ This regular programming was similar to what Altman described as the regular "full program" of large theatres in the 1920s: "An orchestral overture was almost always immediately followed by the newsreel (also called the weekly, the topical, or the pictorial). After a short musical novelty, many theaters offered a short educational film, serial, or scenic, followed by a vocal solo and a two-reel comedy. Sometimes preceded by a live-action prologue, the feature would then be presented, with an organ solo concluding the program," Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 380.

¹⁷ Emphasis in keeping with original, Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 26, 1916: 20.

¹⁸ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 24, 1917: 18. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 29, 1917: 5. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 30, 1917: 5.

Interestingly, although Gioachino Rossini's *William Tell* overture seemed to be a standard in the orchestra's repertoire (played in two programmes in 1917), it was not played alongside screenings of *The Whip*, a film about "the race track and the intrigue revolving around a famous race horse named 'The Whip,'" on the week of April 14, 1917 (perhaps the overture had yet to develop its quintessential association with galloping at this point).¹⁹ Instead, Anton Ledger's *American Festival Overture* was played, possibly alluding to the film's largely American setting (it begins on an "Atlantic liner bound for New York") and the highly advertised enormity of the film.²⁰ However, the headline for the *Ottawa Journal*'s full-page feature on *The Whip* highlights its London connections: "Famous Drury Lane Play. 'The Whip' A Success in Motion Pictures."²¹ We can imagine these overtures flowing well into the musical accompaniment of their following films or smaller attractions on the programme; however, it is difficult to verify this with such limited information. Interestingly, the most obvious example of a stark distinction between a film and added musical entertainment advertises the direct correlation between the film feature and its musical accompaniment for the Regent's July 1917 showing of *Treason* featuring "Special Carnival of Music written for this photoplay by M. Winkler [...] rendered by the Regent Concert Orchestra."²² Even with the July 12 advertisement for *Treason* highlighting such a connection, the listed additional violin solo performed by Rudolph Pelisek, F. Poliakin's lighthearted virtuoso piece "Le Canari," had little to do with the

¹⁹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 31, 1917: 19. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 4, 1917: 5. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 1, 1917: 12. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 2, 1917: 12. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 4, 1917: 11. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 5, 1917: 11.

²⁰ Regent theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 14, 1917: 17. "Synopsis of 'The Whip,' The World's Greatest Play in Motion Pictures," *Ottawa Journal*, April 14, 1917: 17.

²¹ "Famous Drury Lane Play. 'The Whip' A Success in Motion Pictures," *Ottawa Journal*, April 14, 1917: 17.

²² Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, July 12, 1917: 10.

Figure 2-1. This one column advertisement (here divided in two) for the Regent's showing of the *Notorious Gallagher or His Great Triumph*, which took up the full length of the page, suggests Jacques Offenbach's *Orpheus* overture would have set up the satiric tone for the feature film. Source: Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 26, 1916: 20, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

REGENT

Big Special Attraction

COMING
MON.—TUES.—WED.
THE TWO WELL KNOWN
PHOTO PLAY STARS

William NIGH
—AND—
Marguerite SNOW

IN
A PHOTO-DRAMA OF
DISTINCTIVE
ORIGINALITY

Notorious Gallagher
—OR—
HIS GREAT TRIUMPH



Scene from "NOTORIOUS GALLAGHER"
or HIS GREAT TRIUMPH

THE GLORIFICATION OF
" BUTTSY " GALLAGHER,
AN OBSCURE AND WHOLLY
INNOCOUS CHARACTER OF
NEW YORK'S GREAT EAST
SIDE, THROUGH HIS AR-
REST FOR A MURDER
WHICH HE DID NOT COM-
MIT FORMS THE BASIS FOR
A SCREEN STORY OF
ORIGINALITY, THRILLS
AND OF DELIGHTFUL
SATIRE.



Scene from "NOTORIOUS GALLAGHER"
or HIS GREAT TRIUMPH

SPECIAL
CONCERTS
DAILY BY THE
FAMOUS REGENT
ORCHESTRA
UNDER MONS.
PELISEK.
OVERTURE.
ORPHEUS
BY (OFFENBACH)

LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S
MATINEE DAILY.
THE MOST
CENTRALLY LOCATED
THEATRE
IN OTTAWA.
COOLED WITH ICED
— AIR —

REGENT

feature film, “A Powerful Story of the consequences that came as the result of a weak man’s folly and selfishness. Sensationally written in the atmosphere of actual trench warfare.”²³

In addition, the Regent’s overtures and orchestra appear to have been a major attraction in and of themselves, further suggesting a conceptual separation between the ensemble and the diegesis of the films being shown. A 1919 article from *Canadian Moving Picture Digest* described a light show being used during overtures, creating an effect much like those seen in current popular music concerts:

The Regent Theatre, Ottawa, Ontario, is the only theatre in Canada, so far as known, the manager of which has adopted the stunt of using special electrical effects upon the orchestra during the playing of the overture or other special musical numbers. Spotlights are used for the purpose and various colours are used according to appropriateness. The remainder of the house is darkened and interest is centred on the orchestra.²⁴

Furthermore, several 1917 notices advertised the Regent’s overture as a “special request.”²⁵ This discontinuity does not appear to have been unusual as a 1920 article from *Motion Picture News*, which also mentioned musical requests by the audience as a suitable possibility, provided a rather open understanding of the purpose of the overture: “In the musical show it brings in advance the best bits in condensed form. In the picture theatre it can be used to create the kind of atmosphere which builds up to the feature picture, or it can be just a fine musical flourish.”²⁶ The continued discussion of the audience’s demand for additional solo pieces in the *Motion Picture News* article, alongside the Regent’s advertising, suggests that some audiences were happy to

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Canadian Moving Picture Digest* January 4, 1919: 4, as quoted in Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You*, 170-171.

²⁵ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 17. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 11, 1917: 7.

²⁶ Charles D. Isaacson, “Music and the Picture: First Steps in Musical Understanding,” *Motion Picture News* 22 no. 15 (December 11, 1920): 4432, Internet Archives, https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew22moti_1.

enjoy the musical portion of the film and music programme as a high quality disconnected entertainment.

Creative Multi-Modal Exhibitions

Alongside these less unified shows, some rather fantastic displays of unified multi-modal programmes were described in both the *Ottawa Journal* and *Motion Picture News*. The following articles report experimental collaborations between local performers and those on screen, moving the musicians from accompanists to equal creative actors.

In April 1920, the Strand theatre (previously the Flower) under the management of Harry Pomeroy created a prologue for their showing of *The Woman Thou Gavest Me* that caught the attention of *Motion Picture News*.²⁷ Altman describes the prologue as “a short live-action scene, usually accompanied by music, designed to get the audience in the mood for the film to come.”²⁸ In this exhibition, the “musical tableau” did not merely precede the film showing, but acted as a theatrical extension to the pictures as the film began.²⁹ The article describes the short scene in detail:

For the prologue a former organ loft just to one side of the screen proper was used. The lattice work in front of this ‘box’ was replaced by a transparent curtain on which was painted a large church window. During the introductory scenes of the film feature a crowd is seen gathering at a church for the wedding and during the screening of these scenes a soft blue spotlight was used to illuminate the curtain. In the meantime an organ is used to provide the appropriate music, namely the Wedding March.

When the church interior is shown on the screen, soft lights behind the transparent drop reveal a chancel setting in which a central figure is a surplice soloist and, as the action develops, he sings an appropriate selection. With the finish of the wedding ceremony in the picture proper, the lights fade out, leaving the church exterior as before. On the screen

²⁷ Strand advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 5, 1920: 13.

²⁸ Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 385.

²⁹ “Pomeroy Presents Musical Tableau of Merit,” *Motion Picture News* 12 no. 1 (June 26, 1923): 66, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew221unse>.

the outside of the church is shown once more, too, with the people leaving the edifice. The blue spot on the special setting gradually fades out; the voice also passes out and the main picture proceeds.³⁰

A combination of lighting, music, staging, and design “on a level with the screen” produced a show that went beyond only film and film music accompaniment, instead including the film as one of several equal modes in a larger multi-modal work (the article states that “There was not enough action on the part of the soloist [William Nixon of Ottawa] to divert all attention from the moving picture and the two could be seen in practically one glance”) and allowing the musicians to be part of the theatrically extended diegesis. The article described a smooth transition from film and tableau, to just film and unseen musical accompaniment. Nonetheless, the experiment was such a success that “the theatre audience broke into applause at the finish of the tableau.” Despite how remarkable this display was to *Motion Picture News*, and is to a current reader considering how we now associate such multi-modal shows with more recent theatrical and popular music productions, the *Strand* only advertised the film twice in the *Ottawa Journal* at the start of April 1920, and in neither advertisement did it describe the musical tableau beyond the following statement: “A Prologue will be given at 7.30 and 9.30 at night.”³¹ This puts into question the degree to which newspaper advertisements were part of theatre advertising compared to street displays and word of mouth.³²

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Strand advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 5, 1920: 13. Strand advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 14.

³² See Miguelez’s *A Theatre Near You* for local examples of artistic theatre entrances and advertising stunts. Alain Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in Ottawa-Gatineau* (Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2004). Altman provides American examples in a section on “Ballyhoo” including two photos of nickelodeon exteriors where “projection booth phonograph horns [were] used for ballyhoo,” Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, 126-131. The use of graphophones to advertise Ottawa nickelodeons was defended by Mayor Hopewell after complaints in 1909. He stated “There is no by-law to prevent nickel theatres from operating their noisy graphophones, and I do not believe that a by-law could be put through the council legally

In contrast, in May 1926, *Motion Picture News* reported on the Imperial's "Opera-film" and this unique combination of music and moving pictures was advertised throughout the week of the performances in April 1926 (see Figure 2-2 for one example).³³ *Motion Picture News* reported that five operatic singers in costume sang solos from the opera *The Bohemian Girl* by Michael William Balfe and Alfred Bunn, and this was "synchronized with the action on the screen," of the feature film of the same title.³⁴ The article claims this was a new form of presentation and credits the arrangement to Basil Horsfall, a former Montreal film distributor and the management to James T. Moxley.³⁵ An April 17 report from the *Ottawa Journal* emphasised that this was no "tabloid opera" (an abridged opera), but singers rendering "the complete score of the opera, accompanied by an augmented orchestra especially engaged for the presentation" and that it included "the vocal rendition blending with the scenes as they are enacted on the screen."³⁶ "Operafilm," as the production was advertised, was not mentioned in the *Ottawa*

to prohibit the use of music machines," and "The graphophone is the nickel theatre man's means of advertising, and though the machine may be a nuisance to some the nuisance apparently cannot be abated." Whether graphophones were placed inside or outside these theatres, was not specified, "Thinks a By-Law Would Be Illegal," *Ottawa Journal*, June 2, 1909: 1.

³³ "Operatic Presentation At Imperial, Ottawa," *Motion Picture News* 33 no. 18 (May 1, 1926): 2124, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicture33moti>.

³⁴ Ibid. An April 17 *Ottawa Journal* report lists the following singers: "Joseph F. Sheehan in the tenor role; Edward Evans, formerly of the Carl Rosa Opera Company; George O. Minor, the eminent basso; Miss Gwladys Jones-Morgan, celebrated Welsh prima donna, and Martha Richardson, a contralto from the Chicago Opera Company." "Opera on Screen and Stage is Novel Offering at the Imperial," *Ottawa Journal*, April 17, 1926: 10.

³⁵ "Operatic Presentation At Imperial, Ottawa," 2124. A 1927 article described Horsfall as "the eminent English composer and conductor," "Walker Offers New Bohemian Girl Operafilm," *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, November 5, 1927: 25, newspapers.com.

³⁶ "Opera on Screen and Stage is Novel Offering at the Imperial," 10. A *Time* article from March 1925 titled "Tabloid Opera" demonstrated the rather cynical and disapproving use of the term: "Eliminating with long shears great pieces of libretto, ballets, choruses, recitatives, invocations clouded with Italian melody and Egyptian shamanism, the Hippodrome, Manhattan, last week, presenting Verdi's *Aida* in tabloid form. The main plot remained, also the most tamed of the arias. The performance lasted 30 minutes instead of 180. As audiences were sucked in, pushed out of the enormous Hippodrome, it was seen that U. S. citizens who read tabloid

Journal again. However, it was later reported in other cities and a *Winnipeg Tribune* reviewer gave a descriptive account of the November 7, 1927 showing of *The Bohemian Girl* at the Walker theatre. The journalist provided an idea of what attending these experiments was like for audience members:

We approached the theatre yesterday in a state of artistic apprehension; but we were doomed to a pleasant disappointment. The opera-film gradually grew upon one. At first the transition from the naturalness of the moving picture acting and settings to the artificiality of the opera stage was rather upsetting. But once the newness wore off, it seemed as natural a way of giving expression to an artistic impulse as any other.

One could imagine audiences of the future accepting it as naturally as they now accept the silent drama. What it may or may not do to the grand opera in the future is another matter.³⁷

Other presentations of *The Bohemian Girl* Operafilm would take place in Calgary from November to December 1927 and in Salem, Oregon in January 1928.³⁸ Operafilm exemplified not only the new creations that were possible with the film acting as one of many modes in a multi-modal work, but the possible potential for trade journals, such as *Motion Picture News*, to spread successful experiments from smaller cities to others across North America. With Horsfall's small production, Ottawa was at the start of a new way of considering the grouping of film, theatre, and music.

newspapers, chew tabloid gum, can appreciate grand opera when its glories are compressed." "Tabloid Opera." *Time* 5, no. 10 (March 9, 1925): 15. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost, accessed June 4, 2017.

³⁷ "New Opera-Film Gives Best of Stage, Screen," *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, November 8, 1927: 15.

³⁸ Donald B. Smith, *Calgary's Grand Story* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005): 210. "Operafilm Creating Interest," *The Capital Journal, Salem, Oregon*, January 3, 1928: 5. The articles and advertisements in Winnipeg, Salem, and Ottawa were the only relevant results I received when searching newspapers.com for "Operafilm" for the 1910s and 1920s. This is not to say they were the only cities that presented opera together with a film.

Picture

IMPERIAL

Opera

ONE WHOLE WEEK

COMMENCING SATURDAY, APRIL 17TH

BASIL HORSFALL Presents

TWO SHOWS DAILY
Mats. 2.30. Eves. 8.15

OPERA FILM

The Latest Unique Sensation

Combining Picture Presentation With the Personal Appearance of Several Well Known Opera Stars in

"THE BOHEMIAN GIRL"

GWLADYS JONES-MORGAN - Soprano
JOSEPH SHEEHAN - Tenor
MARTHA RICHARDSON - Contralto
EDWARD EVANS - Barytone
GEORGE O. MINER - Basso



Hear the Old Favorite Melodies—
 "The Heart Bowed Down"—"Then
 You'll Remember Me"—"I Dreamt
 I Dwelt in Marble Halls."

PRICES

Mattrees Daily 30c
 Including Tax.
 Evenings—Orchestra 50c
 Family Circle, 50c; Balcony, 35c

Figure 2-2. Basil Horsfall's "Operafilm," a combination of live costumed opera singers alongside an on-screen dramatization, would appear in Winnipeg, Calgary, and Salem after its initial presentation in Ottawa. Source: Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 16, 1926: 9, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

Transmedial Cinematic Concept Spectacles

In her 2016 article on Coldplay's *Mylo Xyloto*, popular music theorist Lori Burns coins the phrase "concept spectacle" to describe a grander rendition of a concept album, describing it as a "multi-dimensional artwork" where multiple modalities interact on different platforms to create "an extensive transmedial storyworld."³⁹ Between the advertisements, promotional paraphernalia, prologues, overtures, musical accompaniments, songs, and feature film, silent film showings in Ottawa present an early model of the concept spectacle which expanded the storyworld of the feature film.

In February 1925, the Regent went all out on its promotion and creative exhibition of the British war film *Zeebrugge*, which included actual battle footage. As well as the addition of "Kiddie Showings" taking place just after school hours, each showing began with several navy men presenting a "dummy submarine attack" before the film (see Figure 2-3).⁴⁰ The *Ottawa Journal* explained "This event at the Regent is unusual, and is a rare opportunity for the Ottawa public to witness a naval gun in action. The picture is being shown under the distinguished patronage of Their Excellencies The Governor-General and The Lady Byng of Vimy."⁴¹ As will be discussed in terms of the members of the 1917 Regent Concert Orchestra in Chapter 5, cinemas were keen to promote associations with upper classes and the military. In addition to mentioning the Governor General's patronage, the brilliantly illustrated February 28, 1925 advertisement for the film (see Figure 2-4) included a quote from the Prince of Wales: "I Am

³⁹ Lori Burns, "The Concept Album as Visual-Sonic-Textual Spectacle: The Transmedial Storyworld of Coldplay's *Mylo Xyloto*," *Journal of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music* 6 no. 2 (2016): 94 & 95.

⁴⁰ "Kiddies' Matinees for 'Zeebrugge'," *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 15. "12-Pdr. Naval Gun on Regent Stage With An Ottawa Naval Crew," *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 15.

⁴¹ "12-Pdr. Naval Gun on Regent Stage With An Ottawa Naval Crew," 15.

Glad the People of Canada Will Have the Opportunity of Seeing ‘Zeebrugge.’”⁴² In terms of the musical accompaniment for *Zeebrugge*, the *Journal* went on to describe “The Regent Concert Orchestra has been augmented for the presentation of “Zeebrugge,” a thrilling film version of the of the British Navy’s successful blockade of a German submarine base at the mouth of the Bruges Canal [...] The orchestra will consist of fourteen musicians and, under the direction of Rudolph Pelisek, will render a special patriotic score at all four performances daily.”⁴³

The transmedial combination of a prologue with the “crew from the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve” and a naval gun; the two pages of descriptive articles, illustrations, and a still from the movie (see Figure 2-5) in the *Ottawa Journal* on February 28, 1925; and patriotic musical accompaniment alongside the combination of real and dramatized film footage lends itself to the cinematic concept spectacle. In this case, the authenticity of the film footage and those involved in all parts of the production served to reinforce the sincerity of the Regent theatre’s patriotism, or to put it in the words of one reporter, “‘Zeebrugge’ is a purifying bath of distilled patriotism and all who experience it will be the better and serener for it.”⁴⁴ This is in line with historian Roger Smithers’ explanation that contemporary audiences wanted to “[share] the experience” with the soldiers although they were aware, even in the case of newsreels, that “the ‘experience’ they were sharing was a sanitised one. As soldiers who could compare the true horrors of the front line trench with its cinematic representation pointed out, [film] spared its audiences the smells and sounds of war, as well as providing them a view which typically omitted much detail about causalities.”⁴⁵ In other words, although *Zeebrugge* was indisputably

⁴² Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 14.

⁴³ Will McLaughlin, “Twixt Stage and Screen,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 15.

⁴⁴ “‘Zeebrugge’ on the Regent Screen,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 15.

⁴⁵ Roger Smithers explains that, during the war, newspapers were the primary source of information. By the time the public went to watch a newsreel, they “would in all probability

patriotic, it would not have been seen as completely authentic. Nevertheless, the Regent's exhibition created a unique experience by augmenting the sentiment and storyworld of the film.

A more concise example of a silent film concept spectacle can be found almost a decade before when the Imperial advertised its showing of *Pride of the Clan* in February 1917, the first showing of the film in Canada. This cinematic concept spectacle was publicized through a half page of articles on Mary Pickford's role in the film followed by a half page advertisement (see Figure 2-6), which also featured Pickford extensively.⁴⁶ The managers of the Imperial thoroughly advertised the lavishness of the film exhibition, noting "There will be no increase in prices, although the management have been put to tremendous expense to show this wonderful picture to their patrons."⁴⁷ Organist J.W. Craig, previously of the Nickel Theatre, "arranged a special programme of Scotch music on [the] huge \$35,000 Symphonic Orchestral wonder organ" and "Little Nan MacGregor, the brilliant exponent of Scotch dances and songs" was engaged to perform, probably before the film showing.⁴⁸ By including film music and additional acts that fit the film theme, or "provide the proper atmosphere," theatres demonstrated to the public that they were committed to providing creative, forward thinking, and high-class exhibitions.⁴⁹ Newspaper marketing allowed theatres to show stills from the film, both in advertisements and related articles. In the case of the Imperial's *Pride of the Clan*, the articles above the advertisement gave

know the facts of what they were about to see, to which film added the sense that they were sharing the experience with those who were actually involved," Roger Smither, "Film/Cinema," in 1914-1918 online, *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin 2015-08-20. DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10705.

⁴⁶ "Mary Pickford Scores Again In Her Latest Production 'The Pride of the Clan'," *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 16.

⁴⁷ Imperial theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 16.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

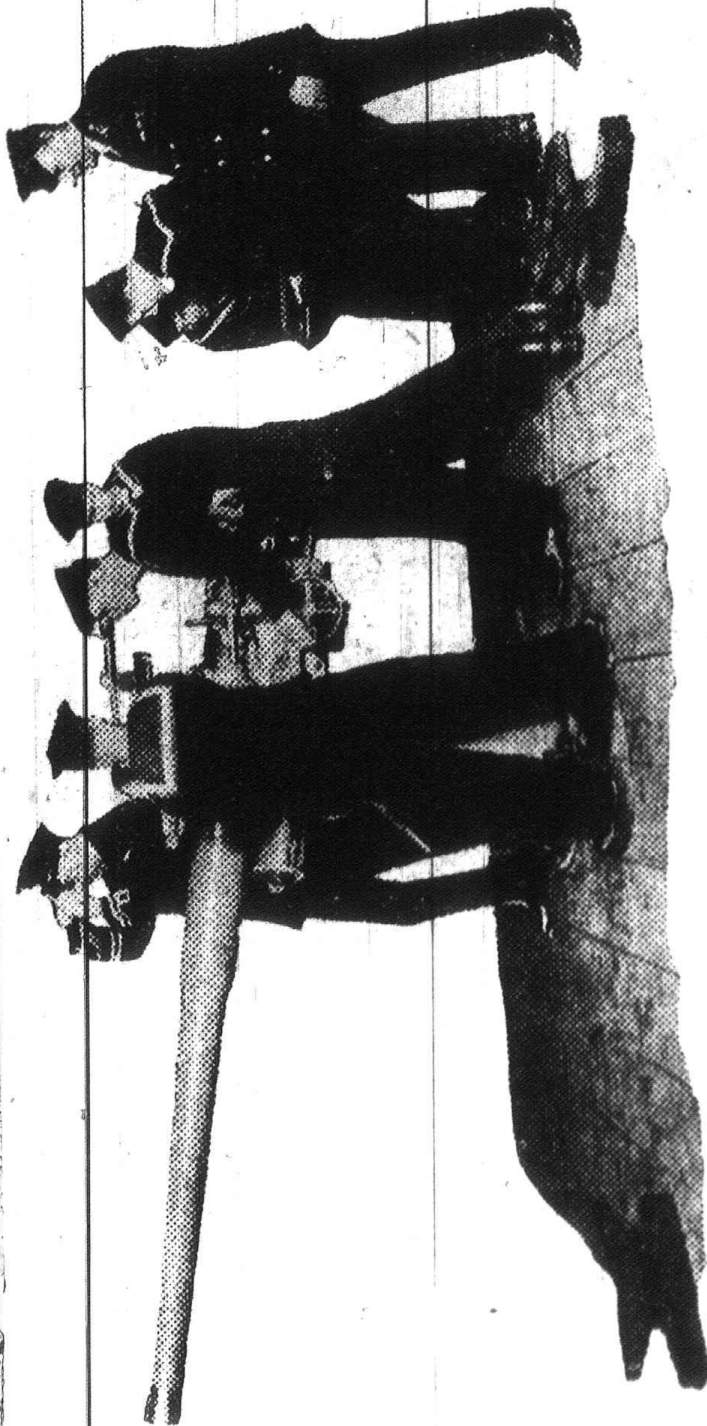
a lengthy synopsis of a the film, two shorter summaries, and a behind-the-scenes story of how the director Maurice Tourner saved Pickford from “dashing waves” when the filming of a “half sunken fishing boat” scene went wrong (a moment “which the camera has faithfully recorded”).⁵⁰ The Imperial used an incredibly similar advertising campaign once more in January 1924 for showings of *Rob Roy* (another Scottish film), again using half-page of articles and a half-page advertisement on the film and promoting the “special musical accompaniment of Scottish airs by the new Imperial Orchestra.”⁵¹ Concept spectacles consisting of themed entertainments and extensive transmedial marketing created larger and more engaging storyworlds for these films than the moving pictures alone. Although they are perhaps smaller in scope than the concept spectacles of popular musicians today, these silent film concept spectacles displayed an imaginative and open appreciation for how film, music, and its surrounding media could interact.

We can therefore see examples of both slim connections between films and their musical accompaniment and added entertainments, and examples of highly cohesive works, sometimes reported (like the Imperial and the Regent’s cinematic concept spectacles) and sometimes barely mentioned (like the Strand’s prologue). It appears that Ottawa audiences were open to how these modes related as long as they got a good show. These cases bring forth imaginative ideas of what could be understood as film music, film and music, and everything in-between.

⁵⁰ “Little Mary Makes First Screen Appearance as a Scotch Lassie,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 16. “Star Has Narrow Escape Off Massachusetts Coast,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 16.

⁵¹ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 5, 1924: 21.

12-Pdr. Naval Gun on Regent Stage With An Ottawa Naval Crew



The ship's gun and crew from the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve, Ottawa Company, engaging in a dummy submarine attack, as presented in a prologue to "Zeebrugge," the official Admiralty reconstruction of the Glorious Naval Epic which took place on St. George's Day, 1918. The naval gun is now in the Regent Theatre. Its weight is almost 1 1-2 ton. The crew is composed of Ottawa boys, all of whom have seen service on warships during their annual summer training. The training periods of this company consist of drills in Ottawa on Friday evenings in local barracks, 305 Wellington street, during the year, and two weeks at the coast in summer, in barracks or on a warship, all expenses being paid. The summer trips are taken when best suited to each individual. This event at the Regent is unusual, and is a rare opportunity for the Ottawa public to witness a naval gun in action. The picture is being shown under the distinguished patronage of Their Excellencies The Governor-General and The Lady Byng of Vimy.

Figure 2-3. A photo giving *Ottawa Journal* readers a glance of the prologue to the Regent's showing of *Zeebrugge*. Source: "12-Pdr. Naval Gun on Regent Stage With An Ottawa Naval Crew," *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 15, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

S.W. SMITH Presents
The **GLORIOUS NAVAL EPIC**
ZEEBRUGGE
The **STORY OF THE MOST DARING EXPLOIT IN HISTORY**




H.M.S. VINDICTIVE sending Marines over the Mole at Zeebrugge in defiance of the death dealing fire of the German batteries

Produced with the co-operation of the British Admiralty, and endorsed by their Majesties, the King and Queen.

Their Majesties received by Earl Beatty at premier performance of 'ZEEBRUGGE' from Photo. of Marble Arch Pavilion, London

"I Am Glad the People of Canada Will Have the Opportunity of Seeing 'ZEEBRUGGE.'"
 —H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.

BRITISH PRESS OPINIONS
TIMES—The countless thrills that it contains puts to shame most of the artificial devices of the Conventional American Film. It is a credit to the British Film Industry.

DAILY NEWS—Never was a story so well worth filming or more magnificently carried out.

Under the Distinguished Patronage of Lord and Lady Byng of Vimy.

BRITISH PRESS OPINIONS
WESTMINSTER GAZETTE — The boldest and most successful achievement in the history of the Kinema.

SUNDAY HERALD—Zeebrugge is a great film. A picture that will grip British audiences as no drama has ever done.

Prices of Admission
MATINEES
 Balcony and Family Circle 25c
 Orchestra 35c

Children will be admitted to the 4.30 Performance on Week Days for 15c.

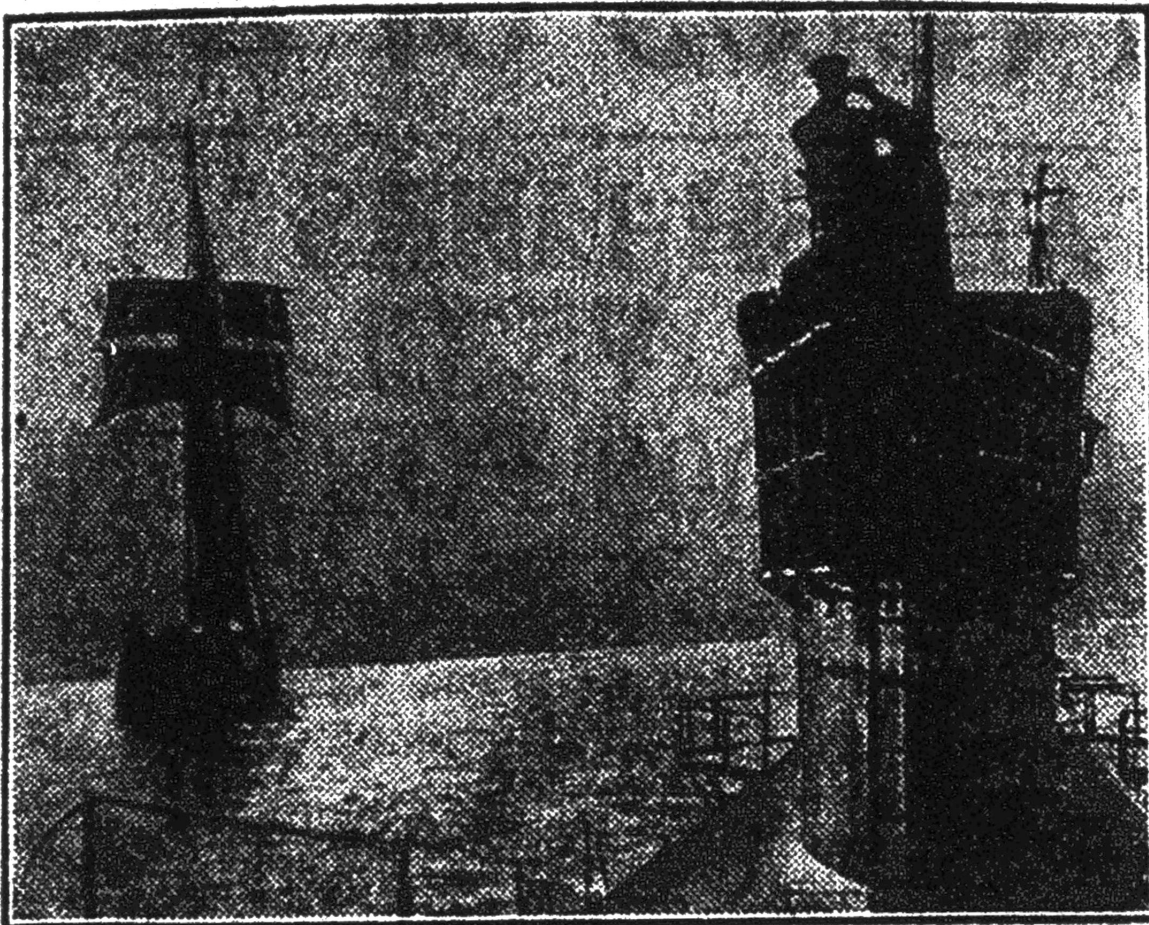
EVENINGS
 Balcony 50c
 Orchestra and Family Circle 65c
 Tax Included

TODAY
 Augmented Orchestra at Every Performance
 Special Musical Setting
 at 2.30-4.30-6.30 and 8.30

Regent
 Entertainment

Figure 2-4. An advertisement for the Regent's showing of *Zeebrugge* with vivid illustrations and royal approval. Source: Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 14, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

ON THE REGENT SCREEN



Scene from "Zeebrugge," the British Admiralty's reproduction of historical naval epic, on the Regent screen for one week commencing today.

Figure 2-5. A still from the film *Zeebrugge*. Source: "On the Regent Screen," *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 14, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

MARY PICKFORD

Scotch Dances

The management have been very fortunate in securing the services of Little Nan MacGregor, the brilliant exponent of Scotch dances and songs. This clever little artist will be seen in some very pretty dances of the Highlands. There will be no increase in prices, although the management have been put to tremendous expense to show this wonderful picture to their patrons.

ALL NEXT WEEK
FEBRUARY 5 to 10

In Her Latest and Greatest Aircraft Offering

Scotch Music

To provide the proper atmosphere for this picture Prof. Craig has arranged a special program of Scotch music on our huge \$35,000 Gramophone Orchestral wonder organ comprised of violins, violas, cellos, piccolo, flutes, cornets, trombones, French horns, trumpets, saxophones, oboes, bassoons, clarinets and piano and the percussion instruments such as bass drum, snare drum, crash cymbal, small cymbal, chimes, orchestra bells, washphone, xylophone, etc., all controlled by one man, and a musical feature exclusive to Canada's Theatre Beautiful.

"The Pride of The Clan"

In Eight Massive Parts---The Most Charming and Sweetest Story Mary has Ever Told



FIRST TIME SHOWN IN CANADA

Commencing Monday, Feb. 5th, and all week, we will present the World's Sweetheart, Mary Pickford, in her new photoplay produced by her own company and released by Artcraft, "The Pride of the Clan."

Every Scotchman in the country will delight in the news that "Little Mary" has selected the role of "Margaret MacTavish" as her next screen impersonation. For a long time Galedonians have hoped to see the most popular girl in the world characterize the charming lass of the heather and that she will forever immortalize the typical winsomeness of Scotland's fair daughters with characteristic effectiveness is readily expected. However, the wonderful heart appeal as well as dramatic fitness displayed in "The Pride of the Clan" makes it an offering that will prove of universal appeal. During her long and brilliant career on the screen, "Little Mary" has portrayed characters of a number of different nationalities, her recent photoplay, "Less than the Dust," having met with record-breaking success throughout the entire country. It is a long way from the banks of the Gauges to the wind blown fields of Scotch heather, but it is a trip that Miss Pickford has taken in the interval between "Less than the Dust" and "The Pride of the Clan," a story of the northwest coast of Scotland.

LET YOUR PULSE BEAT WITH MARY'S.
LET YOUR HEART LEAP OUT TO HER.

Shown Exclusively
All Next Week
Feb. 5-10

IMPERIAL

Exclusively
High
Class

Prices :
MATTINEE—5c and 10c.
EVENING—10c and 20c.
Showings :
MATTINEE—1:30 and 3:30
EVENING—7:00 and 9:00.

Figure 2-6. A full page of the *Ottawa Journal* was dedicated to *The Pride of the Clan* on February 3, 1917 with this notice taking up half the space. Source: Imperial theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 16, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

Chapter 3 **Connecting Ottawans to the Movies**

Perhaps the most compelling argument for studying local movie exhibition in the silent film era is that the idea of what entertainment should be and the social composition of audiences varied between and within cities. In this chapter, I argue that the relationships that a theatre developed with its community were integral to its respectability in Ottawa and in other cities. Although not discussed in the trade journals I have reviewed, recent studies of impresarios in the United States similarly reveal that this was an important aspect of a theatre's success. I will first present cinematic events and tactics that were used to connect audiences to the theatre, comparing them with practices reported in other cities. Then, through a study of Regent organist and pianist Amédée Tremblay's Ottawa career, I will illuminate the crucial role theatre musicians had in exemplifying a theatre's continuous and stable commitment to the community. Silent film theatre musicians were and are often described as a number and rarely individually identified in local reporting or in trade journals, and yet, as demonstrated here and in Chapter 5, they were one of the most important signifiers of a theatre's quality and respectability.

Several recent articles provide details on marketing strategies in other towns and cities, and emphasize impresarios' need to connect the films with local practices, public figures, and standards. Writing on the pre-New York career of notable cinema impresario Samuel "Roxy" Rothafel in the Midwest United States between 1911 and 1913, Ross Melnick describes Rothafel's accomplishment at the Lyric Theatre of making films socially acceptable in Minneapolis. Although the movies were frequented by the working class, the middle- and upper-classes were deterred from the picture houses as, according to Rothafel,

Minneapolis had been flooded with sensational, objectionable film, and that a wave of protest and indignation had followed. The parasites who seek "easy money" with no thought of the future had descended upon the city, reaped a harvest by catering to the

based natures, and then fled, leaving in their wake a seething cauldron of outraged dignity, shattered ideals, religious uprisings and moral protest.¹

Rothafel faced a challenge in promoting the pictures as legitimate to these audiences that would potentially purchase higher priced tickets. His strategy centred around the idea of exhibiting films in the same manner as high-class theatre. Some tactics included ranked seating allowing higher-class patrons to purchase higher priced box seats and show their prestige, and enforcing professional standards by giving the staff “a military-style inspection each day.”² He also presented a number of prestigious and morally sound events (including an annual presentation of *The Passion Play* around Christmas), inviting respectable members of the community such as firefighters, priests, and politicians, to bring his theatre credibility by association.³ Melnick only discusses the extravagant musical accompaniment of a \$2,500 pipe organ, a concert grand piano, and the all-woman Fadette Orchestra of Boston in terms of the prestige it added to film showings. However, the all-woman orchestra, as well as the female ushers, would have also added to Rothafel’s goal to attract women to the theatre. One of his main successful tactics to achieve this goal was a device allowing pictures to be projected with the lights on called “Daylight Pictures,” which he brought to cities across America and to Canada in 1910 and 1911.⁴ Melnick explains that being able to see other audience members “was, of course, a particular concern for women and those who worried about the social composition of film audiences.”⁵

¹ Rothafel’s words are from “How an Exhibitor Made Good,” *Motion Picture News* (January 10, 1914): 20, as quoted in Ross Melnick, “A Transformative Moment: Samuel Rothafel and the Rise of Multi-Class Moviegoing in the Midwest, 1911-1913,” in *Beyond the Screen: Institutions, Networks and Publics of Early Cinema*, ed. Marta Braun, Charlie Keil, Rob King, Paul Moore and Louis Pelletier (New Barnet: John Libbey Publishing Ltd., 2012): 273.

² Melnick, “A Transformative Moment,” 273 and 275.

³ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁵ *Ibid.*

This was also the case in Ontario where this concern led “the provincial treasurer and the censor board” to declare that “hereafter no theatre may be kept in darkness during a performance,” and “a two-candle power white light” must be placed on the wall for every 350 square feet of floor space in 1912.⁶ Interestingly, a more regional benefit of Daylight Pictures was advertised in the *Ottawa Journal* when Rothafel visited and installed the device at the Nickel Theatre on Albert Street in January 1911. The *Journal* noted “The Daylight Pictures will do away with the dark houses which have been necessary in the past to show pictures and will also be a great advantage in the summer time when the windows and doors can be left open and the theatre will be well ventilated.”⁷ Nonetheless, Ottawans would have also appreciated the safety aspect of Daylight Pictures as, similarly, the lighting at the Ottawa Electric Park was advertised at its opening and later critiqued. Film historian Charles Tepperman writes that “Like many other cities, Ottawa introduced electrical lighting to its public parks and places of evening recreation as a safeguard of decent behavior,” and quotes an *Ottawa Journal* article of 1896 as recommending the addition of “a score more electric lights, and a couple more policemen” to the Park since it “became a less desirable resort in the evenings” the previous summer.⁸ It is important to consider impresarios’ different strategies and new cinematic gimmicks as being multi-purposed. Rothafel’s Daylight Pictures may have brought a sense of safety for women worried about who was in the audience in Minneapolis while also allowing for cooler theatres in hot Ottawa summers. Furthermore, a cinema’s musical forces could bring prestige and respectability, but could also bring a notion of

⁶ The article also describes stricter censorship regulations and new fire safety regulations, “Must Show Authority,” *Ottawa Journal*, May 10, 1912: 11.

⁷ “Daylight Pictures,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 26, 1911: 1.

⁸ Charles Tepperman, “The Perfect Order of a Canadian Crowd: Cinema in Ottawa, 1894-1896” (master’s thesis, Carleton University, 2000): 64-65. Tepperman cites an article from *Ottawa Journal*, May 11, 1896: 4.

safety (respectable employees in the pit before you).⁹

Melnick argues for an examination of Rothafel's career before his time in New York and the role of other American audiences in the development of an American cinema, but the exceptionality of Rothafel's regional practices still needs to be questioned. The study echoes the narrative and goals lauded by contemporary trade journals, with the aim of theatre impresarios being to bring in middle- and upper-class audiences, to show the movies to be a respectable form of entertainment, and to present high-class orchestral music. Despite the specifics of exhibition practices varying by locale, the strategy of connecting communities to cinemas was integral to making the movies respectable and to their success in the silent film era.

Joel Frykholm's study of Philadelphia's Stanley Mastbaum and the Stanley Theatre in 1914 describes a similar marketing strategy as Rothafel's, with Mastbaum associating his theatre with both "the local and national" and balancing "civic responsibility and corporate strategizing."¹⁰ Frykholm remarked that the national advertisement campaigns for feature films "had led to an inflation of superlatives that drained the advertising of all credibility."¹¹ Therefore, Mastbaum aimed to connect the local audience with the films in a more personal way through

⁹ A 1909 *Ottawa Journal* report suggested that the audience could equally make the employees feel safe. After concerns arose about the employment of girls at Ottawa picture houses, the *Ottawa Journal* investigated the age of ushers and ticket sellers at six shows. The report explained that most theatres had female ushers "well over the 14 year limit," one had a 13 year old boy taking tickets (only after school hours), and only one theatre had a girl claiming to be 14 whom the reporter doubted. In contrast, the owner of the "Rideau street show" only employed men and disapproved of employing young girls, stating "You see how it is; anyone can come in here off the street. Some of the men may be bad characters or a little tipsy." Despite these worries, the reporter stated that nothing of "an objectionable nature was shown or sung" during his visits to these shows and mainly young children and ladies were in attendance, "Employment of Young Girls in Moving Picture Shows," *Ottawa Journal*, February 9, 1909: 10.

¹⁰ Joel Frykholm, "Local Showmanship in the Early Feature Era: The Case of Stanley Mastbaum," in *Beyond the Screen: Institutions, Networks and Publics of Early Cinema*, 267.

¹¹ Frykholm, "Local Showmanship in the Early Feature Era," 265.

“active involvement in the city’s social, cultural, and, at least occasionally, political life” and by hosting communal gatherings ranging “from Red Cross events to Boy Scout conventions.”¹² In addition to featuring the local community at the cinema, he also brought movie stars, including Canadian Mary Pickford, to the Stanley Theatre for events he called “movie balls.”¹³ Similarly, on November 8, 1920, Marcus Loew and many movie stars came to Ottawa for the opening of Loew’s on Bank Street. Miguelez describes the event as follows:

At 11:45 a.m. on Monday November 8, 1920, a train from New York with two special cars pulled into Union Station. Loew, accompanied by architect Thomas Lamb and actors Vivian Martin, Will Morrissey, Grace Valentine, Muriel Ostriche, Matt Moore, Lilian Walker, Gladys Leslie, Texas Guinan, and ten other Hollywood stars stepped out of the train and were greeted by the Governor General’s Foot Guards band and cameramen capturing the momentous event of film. Thousands of people were massed in the station concourse, on the side-walk, and along the street.¹⁴

The group were then brought to City Hall to meet Mayor Harold Fisher, to the Parliament Buildings “where they were greeted by the Acting Prime Minister, Sir James Lougheed” and to the Château Laurier where they were staying.¹⁵ Frykholm, like Melnick, only discusses the Stanley Theatre’s music in terms of prestige, noting its musical ensemble of a “twenty-five-piece orchestra, conducted by the Philadelphia Orchestra’s Harry W. Meyer, [and] a massive Hastings organ” were associated with “[attracting] a ‘high-class’ clientele.”¹⁶

There are several examples of Ottawa theatres hosting communal events and these demonstrate that personal connections with the local community and a focus on local exhibition practices counteracted the impersonal nature of national feature film campaigns in Ottawa cinemas as well. One notable example garnered much attention in *Motion Picture News* in

¹² Ibid., 265-266.

¹³ Ibid., 264.

¹⁴ Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You*, 179.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Frykholm, “Local Showmanship in the Early Feature Era,” 264.

September 1920 when the Russell Theatre's manager, J. T. Moxely, partnered with the *Ottawa Journal's* photoplay editor, Will McLaughlin, to present Ottawa's first prologue.¹⁷ The Russell Theatre's original three-scene prologue *Pollyanna at the Court of Happiness* (written by McLaughlin) preceded showings of the Mary Pickford film *Pollyanna* for a week starting on Easter Monday, April 1920, arguably creating a cinematic concept spectacle somewhat different to those described in Chapter 2.¹⁸ Notably it was presented on the same week as the Strand's showing of *The Woman Thou Gavest Me* with the creative musical tableau (see Chapter 2). The Russell's prologue was an incredibly successful venture, providing a locally created paratext to bridge the community to the film. It featured 130 children trained by Professor and Mrs. Sinclair, "dancing instructors of considerable local reputation" (see Figure 3-1) as well as elaborate costumes and sets (see Figure 3-2).¹⁹ Opened in 1897 (And rebuilt in 1901 after a fire earlier in the year), the Russell was a high-class play house.²⁰ *Motion Picture News* reported that, by incorporating its theatrical strength to cinema exhibition, "the financial success of the run of 'Pollyanna' was phenomenal, especially since the Russell is a legitimate house and motion picture attractions have seldom proved popular there."²¹ Furthermore, the report explained that the *Ottawa Journal* emphasised the prologue's relation to North American show business and celebrity, with McLaughlin advertising a search "for a girl of the Mary Pickford type to play the

¹⁷ "Ottawa's 'Pollyanna' Prologue Goes Big," *Motion Picture News* 22 no. 12 (September 11, 1920): 2034, Internet Archives.

¹⁸ The prologue extends the storyworld of the film, but, unlike the examples in Chapter 2, the advertisements for this showing are more about the techniques and people involved in the exhibition rather than about bringing audience members into the story of *Pollyanna*.

¹⁹ Ibid., "Ottawa's First Prologue Was For Mary's 'Pollyanna'," *Motion Picture News* (11 September, 1920): 2033, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew222unse>.

²⁰ Miguez, *A Theatre Near You*, 34.

²¹ "Ottawa's 'Pollyanna' Prologue Goes Big," 2034.

role of Pollyanna,” which drew “several hundred embryo Pickfords” to audition. The musical accompaniment is not described at all in the *Motion Picture News* article, but the photographs of the production, showing angels with harps, and the fact there were dance instructors suggests there was incidental music.²² It can be gathered that although there were many figurative connections between the content of the prologue and the film, the orchestra and the music would have provided the only literal element of continuity between the two productions.

Although it was a thoroughly local creation, the theatre used techniques associated with New York theatres and promoted this aspect of their production. The *Motion Picture News* article went on to explain that advertisements associated the prologue with New York practices: “full length single column ads calling attention to the unique prologue ‘presented on a scale similar to the prologues produced at the Capital, Strand, Rivoli, and Rialto theatres of New York City.’”²³ Also, in the April 6 *Ottawa Journal* review of the Russell’s exhibition, “A. E. McG” stated, “The programme as staged last evening is undoubtedly the best thing in motion pictures that has ever been attempted in Ottawa and should, on its merits, fill the Russell for the remainder of its run.”²⁴ Mainly praising the prologue, McG echoed some of the comparisons with New York practices found in the Russell’s April 1 full column advertisement: “Augmented orchestra, beautiful scenic and lightning [sic] effects and novel stage properties all combined to produce a lavish display which rivals or possibly surpasses, the famous production of the Rivoli, Rialto, Strand and Capitol theatres of New York.”²⁵ The review reflected what it took to

²² “Ottawa’s First Prologue Was For Mary’s ‘Pollyanna,’” 2033.

²³ Ibid. The following is one of these advertisements with New York comparisons, “Read This!” Russell Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 12.

²⁴ A. E. McG, “‘Pollyanna’ Presentation is a Remarkable Success,” *Ottawa Journal*, April 6, 1920: 13.

²⁵ Ibid. “Read This!” 12. As well as the “Read This!” advertisement, a March 27 *Ottawa Journal* article on the film itself promoted it as being for the public good during the “period of

successfully present a movie in Ottawa more generally: a combination of the razzle dazzle of New York theatres and of the creativity of Ottawa's artistic community.

Moxely and McLaughlin's prologue was in line with Mastbaum's and Rothafel's focus on attracting high-class audiences and forging links with the community, and it achieved the same level of success. However, it is important to note that the Russell was associated with the higher end of Ottawa entertainment.²⁶ How lower-class Canadian and American audiences perceived the movies and were drawn to the cinema is only beginning to be investigated. Judith Thissen's analysis of Jewish communal life and movie-going in the Lower East Side of Manhattan during the Nickelodeon era provides an important alternate narrative to the connections forged between cinemas and the community. She explains that the low admission price on weekdays allowed "women and children unprecedented access to cheap amusement and thus enhanced the neighbourhood character of the audience."²⁷ This was also the case in Ottawa

readjustment" (perhaps commenting on the aftereffects of World War I). The following excerpt describing the film's benefits matched the spirit of the communal prologue: "There is a great craving at the present time on the part of the public, according to best informed showmen, for something more than mere entertainment. Of course, diversion is always the paramount thing whenever amusement is considered, but at the same time people want something big and compelling – something that will drive home a few truths without preaching a sermon or spoiling the flavor of a show which is meant to entertain. | Such a story is 'Pollyanna,' with its cheerful philosophy of gladness. It is believed that this production, coming at a time when the country is upset by a period of readjustment, will have an unprecedented reception from the picture patrons," "Prologue Arranged For 'Pollyanna,'" *Ottawa Journal*, March 27, 1920: 18.

²⁶ Miguelez notes that from the turn of the century until the mid-1920s, "the Russell remained Ottawa's centre for the performing arts. Whereas other theatres would offer vaudeville, comic operas, or movies, the Russell staunchly staked out its place as a cultural beacon with its stage offerings. Plays, opera, and symphony concerts remained the focus of the theatre's successive managers. The Governor General, Members of Parliament, senators, diplomats, and senior government often attended performances. Even King George V graced the Russell's royal box," Alain Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in Ottawa-Gatineau* (Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2004), 39.

²⁷ Judith Thissen, "Early Cinema and the Public Sphere of the Neighbourhood Meeting Hall: The Longue Durée of Working-Class Sociability," in *Beyond the Screen: Institutions, Networks and Publics of Early Cinema*, 303-304.

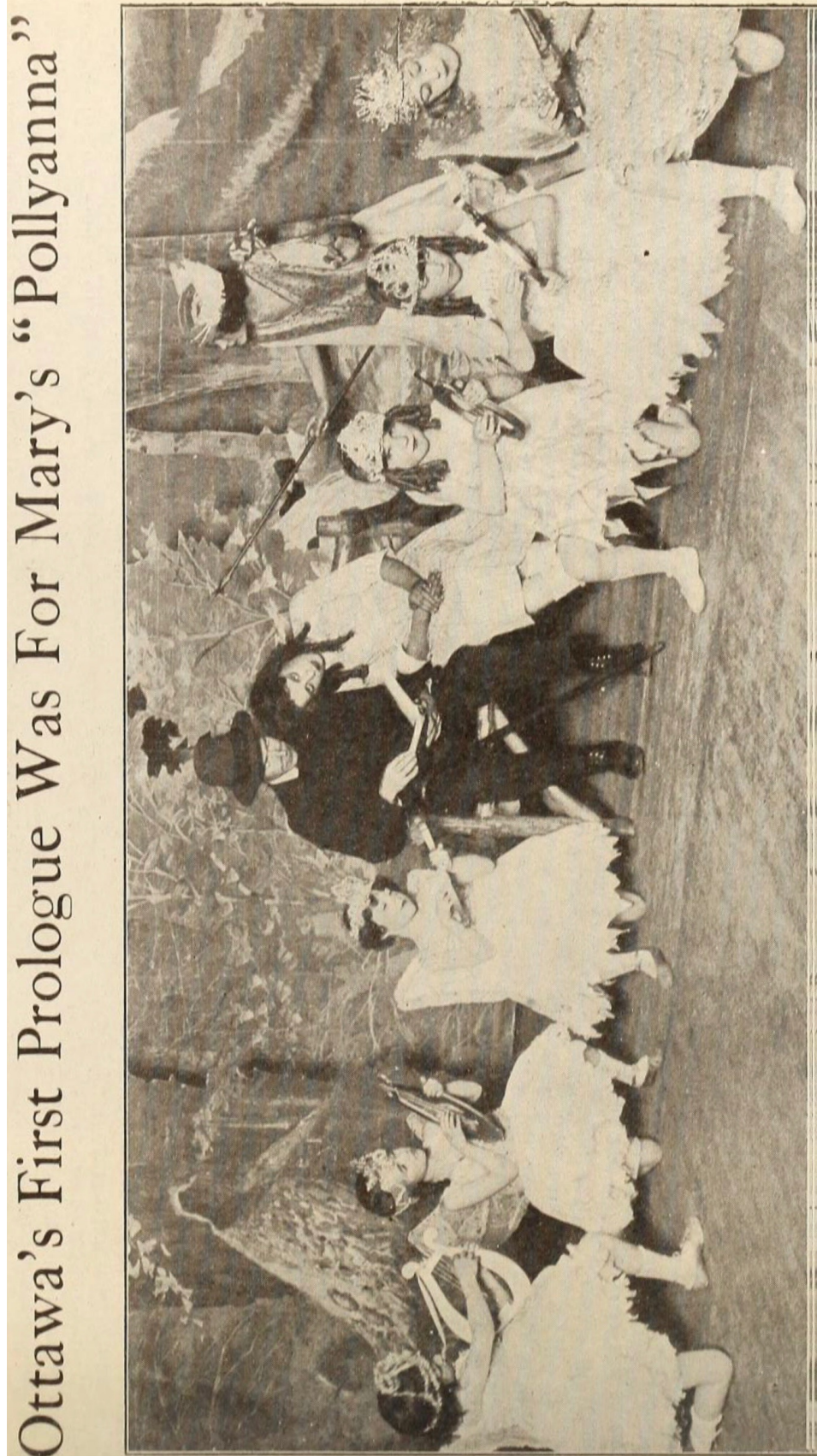
TALENTED DANCERS.

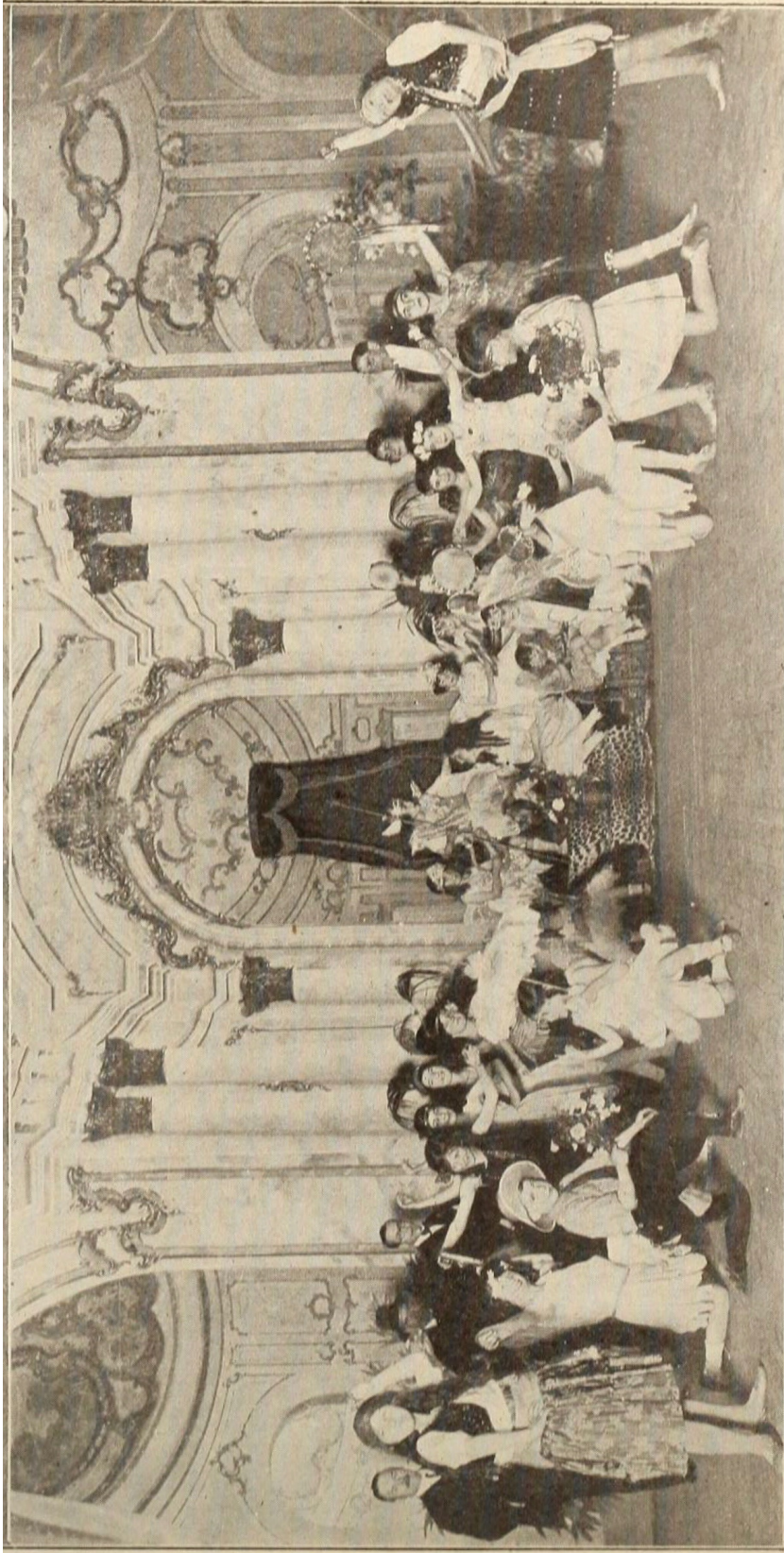


Prof. and Mrs. Sinclair need no introduction to the Ottawa public, having long ago established an enviable reputation as exponents of the Dance. This young couple are producing "Pollyanna at the Court of Happiness," a prologue to be presented on the Russell stage all next week, in conjunction with Mary Pickford's great photoplay, "Pollyanna."

Figure 3-1. Photo of the Sinclairs, the dancing instructors for *Pollyanna at the Court of Happiness*. Source: "Talented Dancers," *Ottawa Journal*, April 3, 1920: 20, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library. According to an April 8, 1920 advertisement, they also presented a "Dancing Exhibition" as part of the programme, "Everybody Is Talking," Russell Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 8, 1920: 4.

Figure 3-2. *Motion Picture News* published a full page of photos of the Russell's 1920 prologue, *Pollyanna at the Court of Happiness*, as well as an article. Source: "Ottawa's First Prologue Was For Mary's 'Pollyanna'," *Motion Picture News* (11 September, 1920): 2033, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew222unse>.





Two views of the prologue number arranged by William McLaughlin for the showing of "Pollyanna" at the Russell theatre, Ottawa, as described on the opposite page

Figure 3-2.
Continued.

where a 1909 report describes the city's nickelodeons to be "composed mostly of young children and ladies, the former being present in numbers at some of the places."²⁸ Thissen goes on to explain a different idea of exhibition and movie-watching to the practices previously described:

"Because patrons often knew each other, the movie theatre was a homey place where one could chat with one's neighbours and friends. There was no effort to ensure a discipline of silence. Neither the managers nor their patrons cared much about genteel codes of respectability. Although the architecture and interior furnishing of the larger neighbourhood theatres offered the trappings of bourgeois culture, this was merely a matter of decoration and a suggestion of luxury without the pressures of having to behave like a middle-class American."²⁹

She understands this practice as "[resisting] the hegemonic efforts to standardise film exhibition and reception" by maintaining a communal aspect to watching films rather than giving in to "the capitalist logic of individual consumption."³⁰ However, in its own way, this practice was much like those of the aforementioned theatres that were more in line with the trade journal standardisation of practice: the focus on connecting a sense of community to the cinema was integral to success, but the manner of creating the connection was adapted to the unique social codes and expectations of the Jewish immigrant community.

Ottawa's Early Reactions to Moving Pictures

With these possibilities in mind, what were the expectations of Ottawa audiences and how did theatre impresarios attract them to the cinema? Charles Tepperman's 2000 thesis, "The Perfect Order of a Canadian Crowd – Cinema in Ottawa, 1894-1896," provides historical context to Ottawa cinema-going in the late 19th century.³¹ Although we cannot assume this context

²⁸ "Employment of Young Girls in Moving Picture Shows," 10.

²⁹ Thissen, "Early Cinema and the Public Sphere," 304.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Tepperman's thesis also includes an appendix listing "Films Exhibited in Ottawa, 1894-1896," Tepperman, "The Perfect Order of a Canadian Crowd, 122-126.

applied to the 30 or so years of silent film viewing that followed, Tepperman does provide a number of perspectives and social considerations unique to Ottawa and not mentioned in silent film histories of other cities. It is reasonable to consider that some of these views remained to some degree, and 1909 and 1910 *Ottawa Journal* articles on nickelodeons suggest they did.

Tepperman argues that Ottawa audiences would have been prepared for the premier of the Vitascope (projected moving pictures) at the Ottawa Electric Park in 1896 as electric light shows (such as the illumination of “Chaudière and Rideau Falls, ice palaces and a number of arches” at the 1895 Ottawa Winter Carnival), and Kinetoscope motion picture viewings had already appeared in the city.³² Ottawa-born brothers, Andrew and George Holland, were involved with the Edison’s Kinetoscope Company and first presented the Kinetoscope, “a peepshow device which viewers experienced individually, peering through the glass slit of a wooden cabinet,” in Ottawa in 1894 several months after opening “the first commercial Kinetoscope parlour at 1155 Broadway in New York.”³³ Right from this showing, Ottawa’s first moving picture exhibition, there was a local connection to bridge the community to the new technology and commercial New York entertainment. Tepperman notes that the ticket prices were high, where “a dime would purchase at most three minutes’ entertainment” whereas at the Wonderland Musée patrons could enjoy two hours of entertainment for the same price.³⁴ This contradicts the idea that the first movie-showings only attracted lower-class audiences, but

³² Ibid., 37, 73-74.

³³ Ibid., 37-38. An elaboration of the Holland Brothers’ relation with the company and their exhibition in Ottawa can be found in Tepperman’s thesis from page 36 to 55.

³⁴ Ibid., 40-41. Advertisements from March and April 1894 suggest that the Wonderland Musée Theatre showcased light entertainment, including “a Grand Wood Sawing Contents [sic],” “Le Petite Dot the smallest commedienee [sic] on the stage,” and Professor Edmonds “The modern Mystifier, the Prince of living Magicians.” Wonderland Musée advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 31, 1894: 7. Wonderland Musée advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 21, 1894: 7.

perhaps at the time of this early exhibition the commentary denouncing the movies had yet to be made and influence the upper-class audiences. A decade later, the lower classes frequented Ottawa's nickelodeons (in 1909 six movie shows were running in the city) where a nickel or a dime for half-an-hour of entertainment was reasonable.³⁵ In 1910, the *Ottawa Journal* argued against taxing picture houses, stating "The moving picture theatre is the working man's amusement. For five or ten cents he can enjoy a half hour's amusement, that until the science of the last decade made possible, was entirely out of reach," and promoted the idea of rational recreation by suggesting that a civic tax "would simply put a great deal of clean educative pleasure out of the reach of the poorer people of the city's population, and would not strike at the evils complained of in connection with these shows."³⁶ It is interesting to see that when discussions of the morality of moving pictures came up in the *Ottawa Journal*, reporters often refuted misconceived negative opinions.³⁷

Tepperman's thesis also outlines how entertainment varied depending on social class (and was often enforced by ticket prices), and he explains that "the notion of 'rational recreation': that the increasing amount of time not spent at work be devoted to morally and

³⁵ "Taxing Poor Men's Pleasure," *Ottawa Journal*, June 22, 1910: 6. "Employment of Young Girls in Moving Picture Shows," 10.

³⁶ "Taxing Poor Men's Pleasure," 6.

³⁷ As seen in both of the following articles: "Taxing Poor Men's Pleasure," 6. "Employment of Young Girls in Moving Picture Shows," 10. A 1910 *Ottawa Journal* report provided a complicated discussion about the morality of exhibiting prize fights in regards to an upcoming fight between James J. Jeffries and Jack Johnson, and included an interview with Mayor Hopewell who was "opposed to the pictures, but does not see that he has any right to suppress them. The censorship of the moving pictures shows has, up to the present, rested with the chief of police." Manager Kenneth Finlay (then of the Nickel and St. George theatres, later of the Family), was not opposed to the showing of the pictures, but would not show them at his theatres as he explained they were expensive and "I have no thought of using them because of my lady audiences, and the children for whom I cater the better class of stuff." "Prize Fight Pictures Raised Discussion Here," *Ottawa Journal*, July 6, 1910: 1 and 9.

socially redeeming activities,” governed the “[l]eisure activities of the middle and upper classes in Ottawa at the end of the nineteenth century [which] were centred, for the most part, in community-based and participatory associations.”³⁸ Tepperman’s study of Ottawa, similar to Melnick’s analysis of Minneapolis, suggests that the working class would easily attend cinemas, but the middle and upper classes required more attention to draw their attendance. He explains that, for cinematic entrepreneurs, “[w]ary of the stigma accompanied by commercial entertainment, they couched their endeavours in terms of patriotic and [...] scientific pursuits. For working class citizens, commercial entertainments, when affordable, were a welcome respite from work and domesticity.”³⁹ It was therefore necessary to “[blur] the boundaries [...] between commercial and non-commercial amusements.”⁴⁰ As seen with the *Zeebrugge* and *Pollyanna* showings, and as will be discussed, Ottawa theatres often blurred the boundaries between the commercial films they were showing and the production of associated communal programming (sometimes also commercial, sometimes not). This in turn promoted the respectability of each theatre and increased the potential audience for film exhibitions

A Case Study of Amédée Tremblay’s Ottawa Career

In this thesis, I argue that the individual musicians of Ottawa theatres were the main connections between the cinema and the local community, or, in other words, the main way cinemas blurred the boundaries. They not only added prestige, but they also associated cinemas with civic duty and the church, and they brought a breadth of diverse training to their accompaniment.

Additionally, we can better understand their creative frame of reference based on the training,

³⁸ Tepperman, “The Perfect Order of a Canadian Crowd,” 19, 26-28.

³⁹ Ibid., 25.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 31.

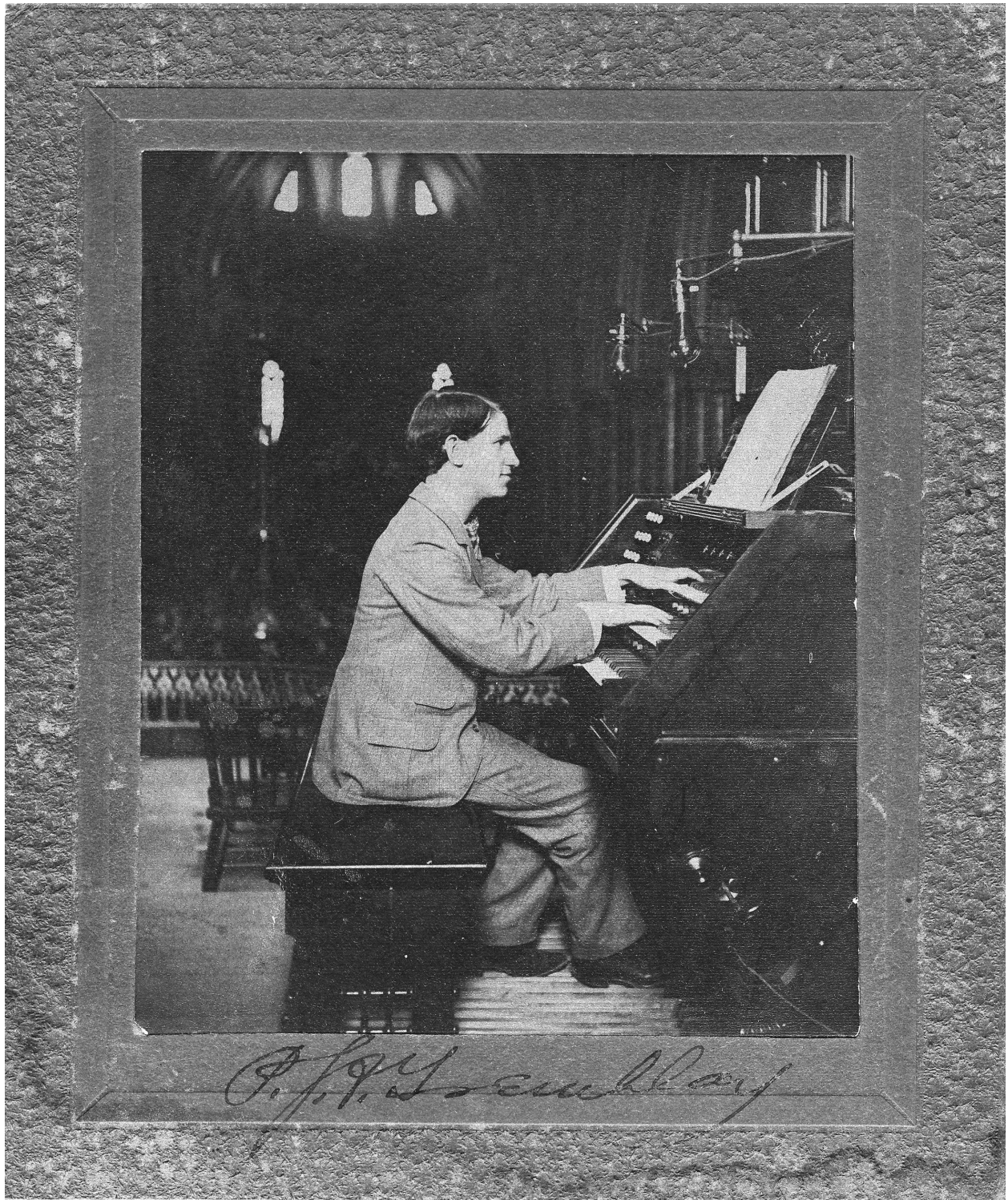


Figure 3-3. Amédée Tremblay at the organ, n.d. Source: courtesy of Library and Archives of the Organ Historical Society.

other jobs, and future careers of theatre musicians. This theory is the basis of the social network analysis in Chapter 5 which shows how the associations formed by the Regent Concert Orchestra of 1917-1918 demonstrated that the theatre was invested in the community and was high-class. I will now investigate the connections that one Ottawa musician, Amédée Tremblay (See Figure 3-3), had with the community to demonstrate how multifaceted the life of a silent film theatre musician could be and the implications of these connections on theatre programming. Tremblay was an exceptional musician and composer, with a 1906 piece in *Musical America* calling him “one of the most talented composers among the younger generation of Canadian musicians,” and his Ottawa career included many communal connections: he was associated with promoting French Canadian culture, with civic duty, with the church, and with high art. Born in Montreal in 1876, he trained under organists at several churches and eventually received posts in the city.⁴¹ From 1894 to 1920, he was the organist of Ottawa’s Notre-Dame Basilica.⁴² He then went to the United States, moving to new organ and music director posts at churches in different cities, and he passed away in Los Angeles 1949.⁴³ Although overlooked in his *Canadian Encyclopedia* entry and a recent profile on him found in *The Tracker – Journal of the Organ Historical Society*, Tremblay worked as a pianist and an organist at Ottawa’s Regent Theatre from 1916 to his departure from the city in 1920.⁴⁴

⁴¹ The following article was initially published in *Musical America* and then republished in the *Ottawa Journal*. It also includes a headshot of Tremblay, “Music,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 27, 1906: 17. Gilles Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last modified December 16, 2013, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/amedee-tremblay-emc/>.

⁴² The “Music in Ottawa” *Canadian Encyclopedia* page claims that Tremblay principally made his living as a civil servant. Although it is possible, probably before his time at the Regent Theatre, I have not found any documentation supporting this. Southworth, “Music in Ottawa.”

⁴³ Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay.”

⁴⁴ Ibid. Bynum Petty, “Archives Corner: Pierre Tremblay,” *The Tracker – Journal of the Organ Historical Society* 26 no. 2 (Spring 2012): 40-41. It is also possible that Amédée

Tremblay played a large role in promoting French Canadian and French music in Ottawa. The *Canadian Encyclopedia* credits him with being one of the first composers “to make concert arrangements of French-Canadian folksongs,” elaborating that, “His collection, *Dix-huit Chansons populaires du Canada*, was published in 1902 in Ottawa by Orme.”⁴⁵ He also dedicated his 1920 composition (published by J. Fischer in 1924), *Suite de quarter pièce pour grand orgue*, to Joseph Bonnet, a famous French organist and composer of the time.⁴⁶ Furthermore he taught his son George, who would become a respected and influential musician and composer in his own right, by having him “[duplicate] the sounds of Debussy on the piano,” and his daughter Gertrude, who would become a concert pianist (see Chapter 5 for more information).⁴⁷ In September 1920, before Tremblay left Ottawa, he played a farewell recital at the Basilica and was given a sending-off by his friends at the Monument National (a prominent French Canadian meeting hall, which sometimes showed movies, located near the ByWard market from 1906 to 1939) with addresses in both French and English.⁴⁸ The chairman for the

Tremblay continued to take up cinema positions alongside his church work in other cities, but determining whether or not this happened is beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁴⁵ Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay.” Several recordings of Tremblay’s arrangements of French Canadian songs can be heard at the Library and Archives Canada’s Virtual Gramophone website and the Library of Congress’s National Jukebox website. *The Virtual Gramophone: Canadian Historical Sound Recordings*, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/films-videos-sound-recordings/virtual-gramophone>. *National Jukebox*, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/>.

⁴⁶ “Ottawa Loses Leading Musician; Amedee Tremblay Goes to Utah: Leaves In Autumn to be Organist of Big Salt Lake City Cathedral – Departure is Great Loss to City,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 10, 1920: 16. Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay.”

⁴⁷ David Ewen, “George Amedée Tremblay,” *American Composers: A Biographical Dictionary* (Toronto: General Publishing Co. Limited, 1982): 675. George had a successful career as a composer in Los Angeles, taking lessons from Arnold Schoenberg and later teaching many prominent composers and musicians such as Alexander Courage and Quincy Jones. See Chapter 5 for more information. “George Tremblay,” *Wikipedia*, last modified June 17, 2016, accessed June 16, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Tremblay.

⁴⁸ “Tremblay’s Farewell Recital Heard by Big Basilica Audience,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 20, 1920: 8. Miguez, *A Theatre Near You*, 44.

proceedings of the latter event was “Mr. Oscar Paradis, head translator of the law branch, House of Commons.”⁴⁹ The *Ottawa Journal* noted that “The [French] addresses, which were beautifully worded, spoke in highest terms of Mr. Tremblay’s achievements, and stressed the fact that not only Ottawa but the whole of Canada would suffer a heavy loss in his departure.”⁵⁰ These sentiments were also echoed in the English address, read by “Mr. Wm. McCaffery, past choir master of St. Brigid’s Church,” who expressed “In this thought are many English-speaking friends gathered here with intent to offer their congratulous regrets that such an artist as Mr. Amedee Tremblay should leave Canada, and more so the Capital City of the Dominion.”⁵¹ Interestingly, the English address states the reverse of the French address as the emphasis is on Ottawa’s loss while in the French address the emphasis is on the whole of Canada’s loss. This was likely because most of those giving speeches in French were from Québec.⁵² Additionally, as discussed in Chapter 5, Tremblay was part of a network of French Canadian musicians, ensembles, and institutions in Ottawa: he was the director and founder of L’Orphéon d’Ottawa, “a male-voice glee-club consisting chiefly of the choir at the Basilica” which primarily sang French Canadian folk songs.⁵³

Although the Regent was an English cinema (likely with English only title cards since no

⁴⁹ “Tremblay’s Farewell Recital,” 8.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid. William McCaffery also read a speech written by the French Canadian author Jules Tremblay (also an Ottawa resident at probably the same time), so we cannot assume his role as orator necessarily equated to him authoring the English speech. “Jules Tremblay,” *Quebec History*, Marianopolis College, last updated January 2005, accessed June 20, 1027, <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/encyclopedia/JulesTremblay-QuebecHistory.htm>

⁵³ For a praiseful and detailed review of a L’Orphéon practice, see “Music: The Universal Language,” *Ottawa Journal*, March 16, 1901: 11. Tremblay founded a similar group in Montreal in 1894, L’Orphéon de St-Joseph, “which became the Orphéon Goulet when J. J. Goulet succeeded Tremblay as directory [of St-Joseph Church] in 1895,” Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay.”

mention is made otherwise), the inclusion of such a prominent French Canadian musician and his promotion of French music could well have attracted a French-speaking audience to the cinema and added more French music to the silent film accompaniment compared to other cinemas.⁵⁴ As discussed in Marta Braun and Charlie Keil's study of early Toronto film sound practices, sound could be used as a "signified of national identity":

Aspects of regionally inflected identity derived from the presence of locally trained musicians and speakers, who existed within a cultural environment shaped by a network of musicians' unions, instrument makers, music publishers, elocution instructors and exhibition-site owners. To the degree that regional particularities might be supplied as a supplement to a foreign-based filmic text, they would reside in the performative dimension of the sound component of the experience.⁵⁵

The idea that part of the cinematic exhibition was French, even if it was not the film itself, would have been to the Regent's advantage during Tremblay's tenure as it was competing with several other large English theatres in the city including the Russell, the Imperial, and the Family.⁵⁶

Other clues also suggest the Regent tried to draw a French audience. For example, many advertisements referred to the theatre's Bulgarian lead violinist as Monsieur Rudolph Pelisek.⁵⁷

Also, in a 1918 photo of the Regent's interior (see Figure 3-4), there are two flags just above the orchestra pit: one American and one French. This may have been a multi-purpose use of the flags, as France and the United States were allies with Canada and Britain during WWI.

⁵⁴ Tepperman mentions that francophone events in Ottawa were rarely advertised, even in the French daily newspapers, between 1894 to 1896 and that "French-speaking citizens had few options besides attending Anglo-Ottawan amusements." I have not searched through Ottawa's contemporary French newspapers, but it is possible that there is more information on theatre music in those publications. Tepperman, "The Perfect Order of a Canadian Crowd," 25 & 29.

⁵⁵ Marta Braun and Charlie Keil, "Sounding Canadian: Early Sound Practices and Nationalism in Toronto-Based Exhibition," in *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, ed. Richard Abel and Rick Altman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001): 200.

⁵⁶ I have not researched which theatres advertised in Ottawa's French newspapers, but this would be an interesting avenue on investigation.

⁵⁷ For example, Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 3, 1917: 20.

Tremblay also brought prestige to the Regent and was associated with the “high-class music” the cinema often advertised.⁵⁸ His monthly organ recitals featuring classical music and some of his own compositions at the Notre-Dame Basilica (first mentioned in 1914 and continued until 1920) were often reviewed and promoted in the *Ottawa Journal*.⁵⁹ A 1920 report commented on his success: “Mr. Tremblay, who is recognized as one of the leading organists and composers in the city, has for the past few years been providing a most refreshing hour of music in these Sunday afternoon recitals. And they seem to become more popular every year.”⁶⁰ There are earlier reports of performances that link Amédée Tremblay with high-class music: a 1903 review of a “Grand Concert of L’Institute Canadien [sic] under the distinguished presidency of their Excellence the Governor General and Lady Minto,” provided an early mention of his own compositions in the capital. He “accompanied” his piece, “La Mer,” but no mention of the complete instrumentation was provided.⁶¹ Additionally, in 1910, *Musical Canada* reported that Tremblay and violinist Emile de Calenne gave “a series of four lectures,” in Ottawa. The reporter continued: “These two were an innovation of which we might well have many more. The lectures were on the ‘Evolution of the Sonata,’ beginning with Mozart, 1756, to Guy Ropartz, 1864, illustrated most artistically by two of Ottawa’s well known musicians.”⁶²

⁵⁸ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, December 29, 1917: 9.

⁵⁹ Tremblay played many other organ recitals at the Basilica before this, including a series of Sunday concerts in 1900, “Sunday Music at the Basilica,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 8, 1900: 3. A 1906 article notes that Tremblay had been giving “a series of organ recitals” each winter, “Organ Recital at the Basilica,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 28, 1906: 3. “Delightful Recital by Mr. Amedee Tremblay,” *Ottawa Journal*, May 11, 1914: 9. “Organ Recital in the Basilica is Given by Mr. A. Tremblay,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1920: 3.

⁶⁰ “Organ Recital in the Basilica,” 3.

⁶¹ Several other musicians at the concert, including a baritone, a pianist, a tenor, and a violinist, could have contributed. “Harmony Hall,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 5, 1903: 20.

⁶² L.W.H., “At the Capital,” article dated November 24, 2010, *Musical Canada* 5 no. 8 (December 1910): 214, Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/musicalcanada05parkuoft>.

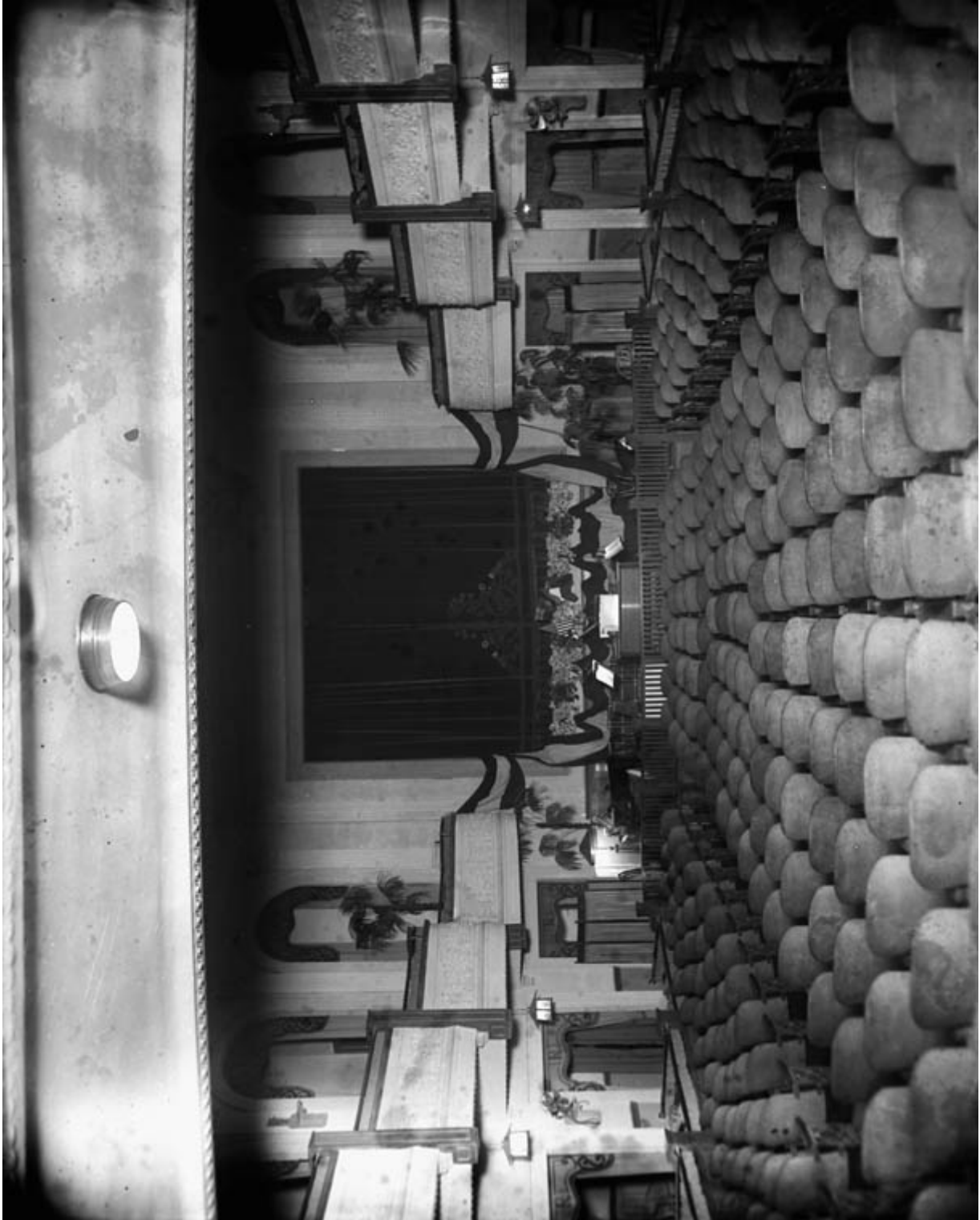


Figure 3-4. An American and a French flag can be seen just above the orchestra pit in this 1918 photo of the Regent' interior. Source: Studio of William James Topley, "Regent Theatre, N.W. corner of Bank and Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ontario," February 1918, Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN no. 3381032

Tremblay's association with high-class music composition, education, and performance was noted before and during his time at the Regent.

Furthermore, the 1920 review of Tremblay's farewell recital suggests the organist had a talent of evoking scenes and imagery through his playing of scores and his improvisations, skills that would have been very useful when accompanying motion pictures:

Under the spell of his magic touch the organ, from something metallic, seemed to be suddenly transformed into something human. Thunderous awesome notes, long drawn cadences, solemn sweeping chords, and soft, almost hushed notes followed one another as the organ responded to the touch of Mr. Tremblay's deft fingers.

A remarkably facile improviser, Mr. Tremblay probably scored his greatest success during the evening with his improvisations, based on the airs of Christmas hymns. In one improvisation he gave, a wonderfully realistic imitation of the music of bells ringing in the distance, calling the people to church for midnight mass on Christmas eve.⁶³

The *Ottawa Journal* reporter's highly descriptive review (possibly influenced by the prevalent combination of silent film and live music in Ottawa) is only an individual account of the event, but considering the newspaper's continual praise for Tremblay during his Ottawa career, we can suppose that this expressive playing would have successfully connected the audience with the action on the Regent's screen.

More directly, as well as his film music accompaniment duties at the Regent, Tremblay also participated in "The People's Forum" at the same venue. This added another level of community that was associated with the Regent and the organist/pianist, this time advocating civic duty and exemplifying "rational recreation." For example, J. S. Ewart, K.C. gave a charged talk on "The Roots of the War" at a People's Forum meeting in December 1919. Building on his discussion of why World War I occurred, Ewart argued for an independent Canada, commanding "that henceforth and forever imperialist centralization in London shall not be tolerated in

⁶³ "Tremblay's Farewell Recital," 8.

Canada. If in future any British or Canadian government shall be of a different opinion and try to impose that different opinion, then to quote the words of Lord Fisher, ‘Scrap the lot.’”⁶⁴ The article mentioned that the programme also included vocal solos from Kathleen Ewart, “Selections on the organ by Mr. Amedee Tremblay and motion pictures showing some of the famous scenic beauties of the St. John Valley in New Brunswick.” It is unclear if Tremblay accompanied the picture, but it was certainly possible.

It appears that Amédée Tremblay’s employment at the Regent was not a shock in 1916 (there are no *Ottawa Journal* articles denouncing it). Therefore, it is likely that the association of the pictures with immortality (as was apparent in Minneapolis and as Ottawa theatres regularly defended themselves from in the 1910s) had diminished in Ottawa by that point. Nonetheless, Tremblay’s presence and continued appointment as a church organist would have eased any continuing unfavorable opinions. Tepperman refers to an 1895 *Ottawa Journal* report of the warning of a Methodist preacher when discussing the perception of commercial entertainment being immoral in the late 19th century. According to the report, Rev. Elliot,

regarded the theatre as now tending to the degradation of humanity, rather than its elevation. He claimed, however, if theatricals can impress the worst, then they can impress the best. He urged that the church should give her young people theatrical performances in which every character is ideal and breathes equity, truth, love, purity and refinement.⁶⁵

Tepperman explains that this was one of many contemporary warnings against commercial entertainment: the arts were fine, but they should not be profited from.⁶⁶ At which point this

⁶⁴ “Thinks Canada Alone Should Decide Policy,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 15, 1919: 2. Ewart would publish his book in two volumes six years later, John S. Ewart, *The Roots and Causes of the Wars (1914-1918)* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925).

⁶⁵ *Ottawa Journal*, December 20, 1895: 3, as quoted in Tepperman, “The Perfect Order of a Canadian Crowd,” 22.

⁶⁶ Tepperman, “The Perfect Order of a Canadian Crowd,” 22.

perception changed, I am not sure. However, as it was evident by 1916 that the movies were a permanent fixture and not just a passing fad, perhaps Tremblay and other religious members of the community focused on spreading a good message through this commercial medium rather than denouncing the pictures.⁶⁷ His association with the Regent theatre provided it with the upmost moral and religious credibility, which other cinemas would not have been able to boast. However, it is important to note that Tremblay's position at the Basilica was never mentioned in the Regent's advertisements (this could have been for a moral reason or a commercial reason). Nonetheless, the numerous other mentions of Tremblay and his role at the Basilica in the *Ottawa Journal* would have made readers sufficiently aware of this moral association.

A report from June 1920 announcing Tremblay's departure from Ottawa observed, "He has been connected with the Regent Theatre orchestra for four years, and when he severs connections with that popular aggregation of musicians he will leave a breach not easily filled."⁶⁸ To some degree this was true, but Rudolph Pelisek, the leader of the Regent Orchestra, was the main musician that appeared in the cinema's advertisements and had a number of local (and international) connections himself. The theatre's musical success would be noted often in the *Ottawa Journal* in the years to come. However, as this sparse biography has shown, Tremblay's number of connections, and the strength and sincerity of those connections, could not be

⁶⁷ The censorship of and controversy around specific film showings in Ottawa is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I came across one article describing how a theatre proprietor was ordered to withdraw a film in Ottawa by order of the police chief, Chief Ross. In September 1913, Jewish residents protested the showing of *Firebug* "at the Casino and National theatres, which was passed by the Toronto Board of Censors, as "The film in question gives the impression, it is declared, that the Jewish people are professional firebugs and set fires regularly for financial gain." This raises the question of theatres perhaps catering to some Ottawa communities and neglecting others. "Film Causes Big Protest; Police Suppress Picture," *Ottawa Journal*, September 8, 1913: 1.

⁶⁸ "Ottawa Loses Leading Musician," 16.

duplicated.⁶⁹ It appears the Regent continued to benefit from the connection built with Notre-Dame Basilica and maintained a good relation as Manager O. D. Cloakey employed the “Basilica Notre Dame Cathedral Male Choir” to sing in synchronization with *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* for at least two weeks in February 1924.⁷⁰ In a rare piece of detailed commentary on the exhibition of a moving picture, the *Ottawa Journal* reported:

The beautiful quality and blending of the voice must be heard to be fully appreciated, which is enhanced by the arrangement of the prologue to the feature attraction. The atmosphere created by the choir is perfect, and the synchronizing of the voices to suit the action of the picture is arranged in a most novel manner.⁷¹

Pelisek and his orchestra were praised for playing “one of the most difficult scores ever written for a picture,” and for the novelty of the musicians having “the distinction of playing from the original score that was used on Broadway for the first presentation.”⁷²

Tremblay was a strong, respected, and well-known member of the Regent’s orchestra. Furthermore, the communal engagement of the Regent, the Russell, and other Ottawa theatres demonstrated their respect, generous creativity, and commitment to their audience’s well-being. These were integral to their success and social credibility. Local accounts bring forth the intricacies, changes, and complexities of discussions of what created trust between theatres and their audiences and the importance of employing respected musicians.

Remarkably, as well as Tremblay the Regent had several high caliber musicians with connections and drawing power that also contributed to its success (this is further discussed in

⁶⁹ Although this brief account of the types of communal connections Amédée Tremblay made is an appropriate length for this paper, I believe he is deserving of much more attention as he was an integral contributor to Ottawa musical life in the early 20th century, yet is not remembered in Ottawa today.

⁷⁰ “Basilica Male Choir Meets With Success at the Regent,” *Ottawa Journal*. February 9, 1924: 16.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

Chapter 5). Nonetheless, as discussed in the next chapter, successful theatres were not only dependent on strong connections with the community, but also on incorporating the “distinction” of New York, movie stars, and the film business into their programming and advertising. Still, these local stories are important and sometimes disappear in the advertisements and reporting of North American trade journals. When the Regent’s success was used to promote *A Hunchback of Notre Dame* to North American managers in the studio journal *Universal Weekly*, no mention was made of Tremblay, Pelisek, or the Notre-Dame Choir. The advertisement (see Figure 3-5) changed the narrative of the successful exhibition and attributed the theatre’s success solely to the film, adding “O.D. Cloakey Is Getting His Share of the Shower of Gold!”

**“Smashed all Records
for attendance!”**

CARL LAEMMLE,
Universal Pictures Corp.,
New York City.

“‘The Hunchback of Notre Dame’ smashed all records for attendance today on opening of its two weeks’ engagement. Hundreds turned away, and crowds a block long waited in bitter cold to reach box office. I had hot coffee served from near-by cafe to lineup to hold them. Can you beat that stunt? Special police necessary to keep crowd in order. Unanimous opinion of everyone that ‘Hunchback’ is the greatest picture ever played in Ottawa. Am forwarding all press material and exploitation campaign.”

O. D. Cloakey, Mgr.,
REGENT THEATRE,
Ottawa, Ontario.

**O. D. Cloakey Is Getting
His Share of the Shower
of Gold!**

Figure 3-5. In contrast to reports in the *Ottawa Journal*, this advertisement gave the film *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* sole credit for a successful week. Universal Pictures advertisement, *Universal Weekly* 19 no. 2 (New York: Moving Picture Weekly Pub. Co., February 23, 1924): 42, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/universal1820univ>.

Chapter 4 Musical Connections Between Ottawa and New York

Much secondary literature on silent film music focuses on New York as the creative centre of film exhibition, building on the contemporary attention it was given in trade journals. By and large, this thesis is a demonstration of the importance of other local narratives to the field of silent film music history as they have yet to be given the attention they deserve. Historian Robert C. Allen uses the term “Gothamcentrism” to describe how film histories focus on practices in large cities:

Gothamcentrism refers to the related tendencies to place the metropolis at the center of historical narratives of moviegoing and to encourage the assumption that patterns of movie exhibition and moviegoing found there can be mapped to a greater or lesser degree upon smaller cities and towns in all parts of the United States at any given moment in the history of American cinema.¹

There is certainly a need to investigate local silent film music practices with some distance from the New York paradigm found in the literature. Without local investigations, there are only these metropolis-based assumptions to go on. However, the contemporary praise given to New York and its many connections with Ottawa also indicate that the city is integral to this local history. These connections were largely positive for cinemas and musicians: they were used to promote the quality of Ottawa’s exhibition practices to North America and, in the *Ottawa Journal*, they were used to advertise the grandeur of movies to local audiences. However, the distance between Ottawa’s theatre workers and New York management sometimes caused local discontent. This chapter reveals the complexity of Ottawa’s integral cinematic relationship with New York in the 1910s and 1920s.

¹ Robert C. Allen, “Decentering Historical Audience Studies: A Modest Proposal,” *Hollywood in the Neighborhood: Historical Case Studies of Local Moviegoing*, ed. Kathryn Fuller-Seeley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008): 20.

Mentions of New York in Ottawa Reports and Advertisements

The article on the Regent's 1924 presentation of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* was not the only mention of New York in relation to cinemas in the *Ottawa Journal*. Advertisements sometimes used positive New York reactions to a moving picture to persuade Ottawans to come see a film. For example, an April 1917 advertisement for the showing of *A Daughter of the Gods* at the Imperial used this to emphasise the grandeur of the movie: "The Picture Beautiful Starring Annette Kellermann | Produced on a Magnificent Scale, At a Cost of Over \$1,000,000 | The Sensation of New York."²

Two New York orchestras came to play in Ottawa cinemas in 1917. In September 1917, the Flower advertised a showing of *Les Misérables* by noting the film's success in Chicago, New York, and London, and by announcing the engagement of "The Flower Theatre Orchestra | Direct From New York | Under the Leadership of Prof. G. F. Mercadaute."³ I searched the *Ottawa Journal* for "Mercadaute" and "Flower Theatre Orchestra" on newspapers.com and received no other results, so it is difficult to gauge whether the orchestra was a novelty or if it became a regular feature.⁴ Before the appointment of an orchestra at the Flower, the musical accompaniment was provided by organist Jack Neville and organ recitals were a regular feature (see Chapter 1 for a unique advertisement of these recitals).⁵ It appears that when the Flower became the Strand in 1918, an orchestra of three became the main musical accompaniment (see

² Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 21, 1917: 14.

³ Flower theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 12.

⁴ In fact, searching "Flower Theatre Orchestra" in the *Ottawa Journal* yields zero results despite its appearance in the 1917 advertisement.

⁵ Flower Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 17, 1914: 23. "Flower Theatre Changes Programme: New Serial Black Box on Monday 15th," *Ottawa Journal*, March 12, 1915: 19.

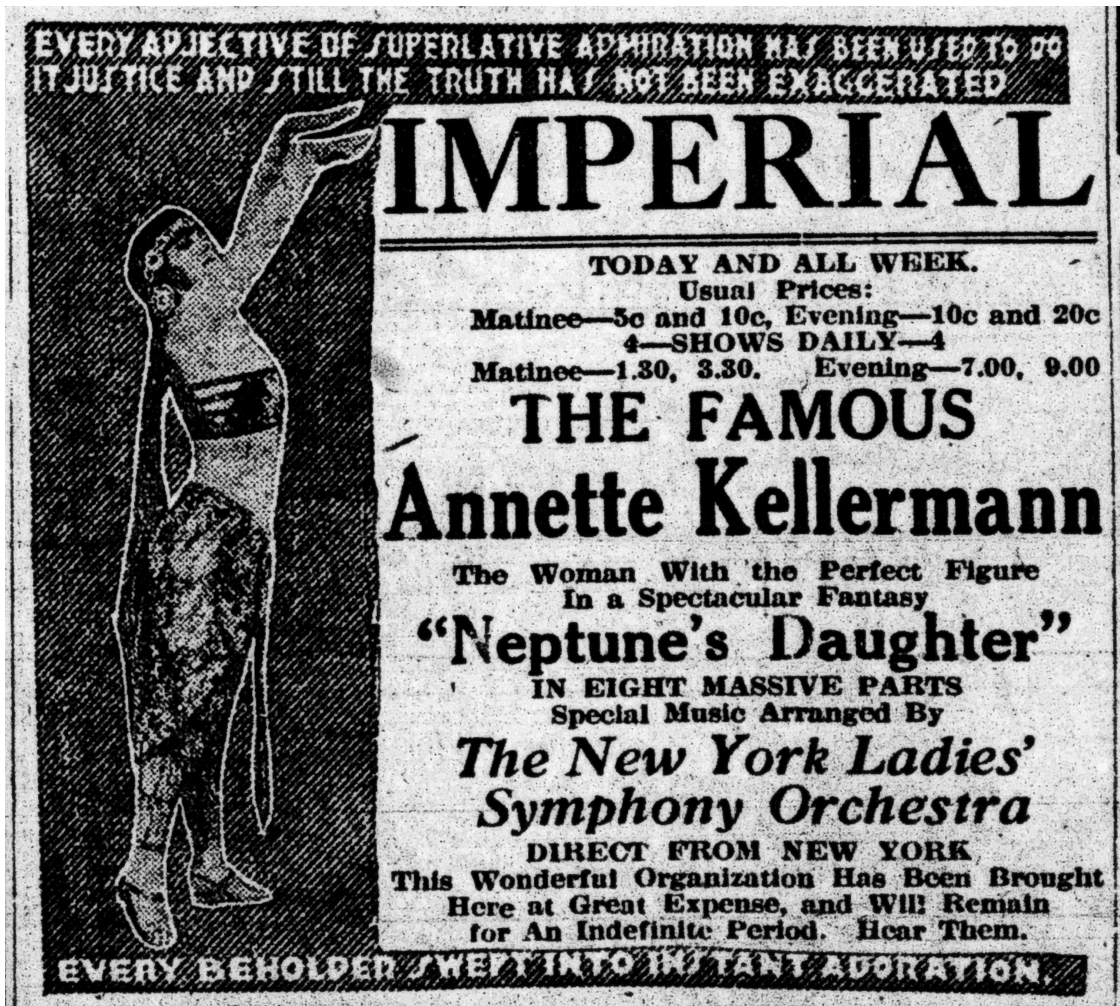


Figure 4-1. One of the Imperials several 1917 advertisements featuring the New York Ladies’ Symphony Orchestra. Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 16 1917: 5, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

Chapter 1) but Prof. G. F. Mercadaute was not part of this group. The engagements of the New York Ladies Symphony Orchestra (“the largest and best ladies’ orchestra that has ever visited the city”) at the Imperial (May 1917) and the Family (June and July 1917) on the other hand, were heavily advertised and most certainly a novelty (see Figure 4-1 for one of the larger Imperial Theatre advertisements).⁶ The 1917 appointments of New York orchestras and the advertisements mentioning New York and moving pictures together in the *Ottawa Journal*

⁶ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 7, 1917: 5. For the orchestra’s roster, see the Imperial advertisement found on *Ottawa Journal* May 10, 1917: 5.

demonstrates that the city was associated with quality and popularity. These mentions were irregular, but appear more frequently than other cities.

Mentions of Ottawa in North American Music and Film Journals

For the most part, cinematic and musical trade journals were prescriptive and those in the film industry often used New York as an example of fine and respectable entertainment. James Buhler explains that, in terms of *Moving Picture World*, the leading trade paper “devoted extensive space to articles on improving the quality of the films on the programme, on rebutting widespread criticism especially by general newspapers, politicians and clergy of moving picture houses as disreputable, and on strategies for enhancing the theatrical experience—notably by investing in the musical portion of the programme—in order to attract better paying audiences.”⁷ This prescriptive strategy involved promoting a number of different models. Buhler’s study shows that the journal increasingly reported on the improving features of London theatres between 1907 and 1913 in the hopes that North American theatres would take note.⁸ The seriousness associated with British exhibition practices and reports of high-class orchestral music forwarded *Moving Picture World*’s agenda “to make the case for the viability of a more expensive motion picture theatre that featured music and eschewed vaudeville.”⁹ The arrival of Samuel Rothafel in 1913 saw the paper focusing once again on New York as the city’s practices, allegedly, overtook those abroad.¹⁰ Rothafel and the “Roxy” theatre would be featured regularly

⁷ James Buhler, “The Reception of British Exhibition Practices in Moving Picture World, 1907-1914,” in *The Sounds of the Silents in Britain*, ed. Julie Brown and Annette Davison (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 144.

⁸ Buhler mentions that, prior to this, New York was used as a model.

⁹ Buhler, “The Reception of British Exhibition Practices,” 146, 148, and 153.

¹⁰ For speculation as to why this change in promotion took place, see Buhler, “The Reception of British Exhibition Practices,” 156-157.

in film and music journals for the remainder of the silent film era.¹¹ I have not determined whether or not *Moving Picture World* circulated in Ottawa, but there is evidence to show an active Ottawa readership of the New York based publications *The Metronome* (published by Carl Fisher) and *Motion Picture News* (published by Cinematograph Publishing Company), suggesting that the mainly New York ideas disseminated in cinematic and musical trade journals influenced Ottawa practice. However, the mentions of the Ottawa in these journals also suggest that city was participating in the betterment of film exhibition and musical entertainment and that these Ottawa ideas could have also caught on elsewhere (as was the case with Operafilm).

In my survey of *The Metronome* from January to December 1917, I found several pieces sent in from Ottawans. Most of these were programmes including those of the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra (OSO), which performed at the Russell Theatre, and of the Chateau Laurier Orchestra. Although these submissions came from higher-class entertainments than cinemas, the existence of regular Ottawa entries in *The Metronome* suggests an active readership amongst local musicians. Interestingly, the programmes included a variety of shorter “numbers” that are in line with Altman’s “aesthetic of discontinuity,” at a time when Ottawa cinemas were featuring long multi-reel films with only a few additional attractions, following the notion of “quality of overall effect.” For example, the OSO Concert of January 31, 1917 included a mixture of piano solos, songs, pieces for string orchestra, and a piano concerto (See Figure 4-2).¹² On the same day, the OSO would have had to compete for an audience with several dramatic and cinematic shows including the Imperial’s exhibition of the 50-minute film “The Travelling Salesman” (starring

¹¹ For example, a *Moving Picture World* article by Rothapfel, where he comments on how high-class music was education audiences, was reprinted in the April 1917 edition of *The Metronome*, S. L. Rothapfel, “High Class Music a Feature in Present-Day Moving Picture Productions,” 33 no. 4 (April 1917): 44, UR Research, <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/26103>.

¹² “Ottawa Symphony Orchestra,” *The Metronome* Vol. 33 No. 3 (March 1917): 66.

Frank McIntyre) with live organ accompaniment (See Figure 1-5).¹³

René Marier, a leading theatre orchestra violinist who lead orchestras at the Regent, the Imperial, and the Eden in the 1920s, was mentioned in the musicians' list for the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra's January 1917 concert. R. R. Wimperis, was in the Regent Orchestra later in 1917, and Helen Langdon (discussed in Chapter 5) were also in the orchestra. Otherwise, I only found one other mention of an Ottawa theatre musicians in my survey of *The Metronome*, and it was also the only piece of commentary (possibly only meant as a joke) coming from the city. A small letter from Ottawa's W. Hands in the October 1917 issue titled "Optimism" stated, "A certain theatre in Canada had a soloist whose ability was more or less doubtful. One evening after she had finished 'executing' a solo, and agonizing the audience, the lights went out and this title of the picture was thrown on the screen: 'It Might Have Been Worse.'"¹⁴

A brief search through digitized editions of *Motion Picture News* returns several discussions of Ottawa movie exhibitions each year including articles on the Russell's *Pollyanna* prologue, the Strand's multi-modal integrated prologue with the church scene, and the Imperial's Operafilm discussed in previous chapters.¹⁵ The coverage of these original Ottawa creations and others in the North American *Motion Picture News* demonstrates a two-way relationship between

¹³ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 31, 1917: 13. "The Traveling Salesman (1916): Technical Specifications," *IMDb*, accessed January 23, 2017, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0007474/technical?ref_=tt_dt_spec.

¹⁴ "Optimism," *The Metronome* 33 no. 10 (New York: Metronome Publishing Company, October 1917): 57, UR Rochester, <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/26103>.

¹⁵ These searches were through only a few digitized copies available on Internet Archives. Unfortunately, I only discovered the Lantern website at the end of my thesis research. It is a fantastic search engine for "nearly 2 million pages" of digitized documents on media history, a "co-production of the Media History Digital Library and the University of Wisconsin-Madison Department of Communication Arts. A search for "Ottawa" yields 17387 results, and I do hope someone begins to look through them. *Lantern*, <http://lantern.mediahist.org>.

OTTAWA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA,

under direction of Mr. Donald Heins, conductor, and assisted by Miss Millicent Brennan, soprano, and Miss Aline Van Barentzen, pianiste, gave a concert at the Russell Theatre, Wednesday evening, January 31, Ottawa, Canada. The program was devoted to such numbers as "Symphonie Spirituelle" by Asger Hamerik; Santuzza's Aria from Cavalleria Rusticana and Dalilah's aria "Mon coeur s'ouvre a' ta voix" from Saint-Saëns' "Samson and Dalilah; overture to Anacreon by Luigi Cherubini; piano solos, (a) Chopin, Ballad, (b) Gluck-Brahms, Gavotte, (c) Rubinstein, Etude (Miss Aline Van Barentzen); three pieces for string orchestra, (a) Mélodie ancienne, (b) César Cui Orientale, (c) D'Ambrosio en badinant; songs, (a) Mary Turner Salter, "Come to the garden, love," (b) Oley Speaks, "To You," (c) Horatio Parker, "Love in May," (d) Mary Turner Salter, "The Chrysanthemum (Miss Millicent Brennan); and the Robert Schumann Concerto in A minor with orchestra and a second piano played by Dr. Thomas Gibson.

This year's officers of the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra include: Executive committee, F. C. T. O'Hara, chairman; J. A. Machado, vice-chairman; J. P. Joynt, Hon. treasurer; C. G. Cowan, Hon. secretary; Dr. James Bonar, A. B. Brodrick, Dr. Thomas Gibson, M. D. Hamilton, Donald Heins, Dr. F. Montizambert, A. G. Parker, and W. L. Scott; and members of the corporation (in addition to the executive committee), George Burn, J. S. Ewart, K. C., W. J. Gerald, Rev. Dr. Herridge, D. Hossack, J. E. Macpherson, Matthew Orme, and H. S. Southam; and the instrumentation and membership of the orchestra is as follows:

First violins, Mrs. Donald Heins, Miss Nita Bennett, Miss Ina Blackburn, Miss A. Beattie, Miss Dale Harris, Mrs. J. Eyre C. Holmes, Miss Jolliffe, Miss Idyll King, Miss A. McCall, Miss Morrow, Mrs. T. F. Murdock, Mrs. McKnight, Miss Maye Neville, Miss E. Pope, Mr. H. Dumouchel, Mr. A. W. Joanes, Mr. Emile Rochon, Mr. Scales; violas, Mr. E. Schneider, Mr. Chamberland, Miss M. T. Armstrong, Miss Lily Orme, Mr. H. Botterel, Mr. W. L. Scott; violoncellos, Mons. J. B. Dubois, Mr. Van der Meersch, Miss K. Baldwin, Miss H. Langdon, Mr. J. P. Joynt, Mr. Mathé, Mr. J. W. D. Thompson; second violins, Miss M. Bonar, Miss Lily M. Anderson, Miss A. Boyd, Mrs. E. Brisbois, Miss Juliette Caron, Miss Beryl Cooke, Mrs. A. Fortier, Miss Edna Gaulke, Miss B. Jarvis, Miss D. McKenzie, Miss A. Mulligan, Mrs. E. Parson, Miss Mina Stewart, Miss M. Tilley, Miss E. Young, Mr. J. Cavill, Mr. Fred Johnston, Mr. R. Marier, Mr. N. W. McKnight; basses, Mr. T. O. Dionne, Mr. Walthieu, Mr. Brisbois, Mr. Denemoustier, Mr. E. L. Joynt, Mr. R. R. Wimperis; flutes, Mr. A. E. Parson, Mr. A. S. Greaves; oboe, Mr. Clarke; clarinets, Mr. Bysche, Mr. E. Drew Ingall; bassoon, Mr. W. Greaves; pianoforte II., Dr. Thomas Gibson.

Figure 4-2. *The Metronome* published programmes of the Chateau Laurier Orchestra and the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra several times in 1917. Source: "Ottawa Symphony Orchestra," *The Metronome* 33 no. 3 (March 1917): 66, UR Research, <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/26103>.

cities and trade journals. Both *The Metronome* and *Motion Picture News* regularly praised New York practices while highlighting high quality music and film exhibition from smaller cities (*Motion Picture News* appears to have included more coverage beyond New York than *The Metronome*). The presence of Ottawa news in both publications suggests that the local exhibitors and musicians were reading the prescriptive pieces praising New York and were influenced by them (as shown by the *Pollyanna* prologue and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* exhibition).¹⁶ Meanwhile, the Ottawa pieces also demonstrate that these theatre workers saw themselves to be participating in the general improvement of their trade and, possibly, to be influencing practices elsewhere.

The Dominion Theatre Strike of 1914

A more worrying side of the New York influence was described in 1914 when the attempted transportation of non-unionized musicians to Ottawa during a strike caused a stir. I have generally overlooked the effect of the First World War and the decline of vaudeville in this thesis as a general impression of the structures behind Ottawa's theatres, movie showings, and musicians is needed before analysing the pressures placed upon this cultural infrastructure. However, the 1914 strike at the Dominion Theatre, partly provoked by the management's reaction to the declaration of war and to the pressures from upper-management, demonstrated a more difficult relation where Ottawa theatre workers were dependent on their New York

¹⁶ Additionally, "In the World of Music" column from the then titled *Metronome* was reprinted in the *Ottawa Journal* in January 1899. "In the World of Music," *Ottawa Journal*, January 28, 1899: 12. Several ripped pieces of sheet music from *The Metronome* found in the uOttawa Silent Film Music Collection, which also includes a cue sheet with René Marier's name written on it, also suggest Canadian circulation.

superiors and thus outlines the management structure.¹⁷

The Dominion (opened in 1906 as the Bennett theatre; became the Dominion in 1910 and closed in 1921) was described as a “High Class Vaudeville” play house and featured Kinetograph pictures as part of the program in 1914 (see Figure 4-3 for a typical advertisement).¹⁸ During the summer, labour negotiations between the stage-hands union,

the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 (IATSE Local 95), and the theatre’s manager, Mr. Clancy, were unfruitful with the employees demanding a much larger wage increase (50 percent and later 33 and 1/3 percent) than the management was willing to provide (15 percent).¹⁹ According to the *Ottawa Journal*, the workers claimed they were willing to go back to work when the vaudeville season started in September “with the understanding that



Figure 4-3. A typical 1914 advertisement for the Dominion Theatre, featuring the Kinetograph. Dominion advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 16, 1914: 11, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

¹⁷ A November 4 Department of Labour Trade Dispute report mistakenly stated that the Dominion Theatre is part of the Canadian Amusement Company. “Trade Disputes,” signed November 4, 1914, Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 303, File no. 47, Reel T-2691, Library and Archives Canada. The *Ottawa Journal* stated that it is part of Canadian Theatres, Limited. The “Trade Dispute” report of October 23 notes a different start date for the strike than all the other documents, so perhaps the *Ottawa Journal* is more reliable, “Trade Dispute,” signed October 23 1914, Strike and Lockout Files.

¹⁸ “Trade Dispute,” signed October 23, 1914, Strike and Lockout Files.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, An *Ottawa Journal* article states that Clancy offered 20 percent rather than 15 and that the union demanded 40 percent rather than 33 and 1/3, but these figures do not appear in the Department of Labour documents, “Orchestra And Moving Picture Operator On Strike,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 20, 1914: 2.

the adjustment of the matter be left to arbitration.”²⁰ However, “The war broke out shortly afterwards and the management stated that the offer of a 20 per cent. increase would be withdrawn unless the men returned to work immediately and signed an agreement of three years,” and so the strike began on September 20, 1914.²¹ Clancy explained that the board of directors took this course of action “anticipating the disastrous effects of such a conflict in which Canada was closely involved would naturally have on business,” and hired new non-unionized stage hands.²² The Department of Labour noted, “The dispute apparently ceased to affect the employer.”²³

On October 12, seven musicians and one moving picture operator decided to strike in sympathy with the stage hands.²⁴ On October 20, the *Ottawa Citizen* reported that “Last week an effort was made to secure an orchestra from the United States to take the place of the regular orchestra but the union men acting with the Labor department had the men stopped at the border.”²⁵ On the same day, the *Ottawa Journal* reported that, “It was stated by the management of the theatre this morning that a full orchestra will be provided in the near future.”²⁶ New York musicians, likely those of the former report, were stopped after John Delaney (representative of the American Federation of Musicians Local 180 [AFM Local 180] and chairman of the strike

²⁰ “Orchestra And Moving Picture Operator On Strike,” 2.

²¹ Ibid., “Trade Dispute,” signed November 2, 1914, Strike and Lockout Files.

²² “Musicians Say That They Will Win the Strike,” *Ottawa Journal* (October 24 1914): 24, a clipping of this newspaper article is in the Department of Labour Strike and Lockout Files.

²³ “Strike of theatrical stage employees, Ottawa, Ont.: August 10, 1914 to Oct. 31, 1914.” Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 303, File no. 47, Reel T-2691, Library and Archives Canada.

²⁴ “Strike At Theatre,” *Ottawa Citizen*, October 20, 1914, found in Strike and Lockout Files, “Subject: Industrial Accidents,” Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 303, File no. 47, Reel T-2691, Library and Archives Canada.

²⁵ “Strike At Theatre,” *Ottawa Citizen*, October 20, 1914.

²⁶ “Orchestra And Moving Picture Operator On Strike,” 2.

committee), J. Thibault (business agent of IATSE Local 95), and Vice President Campbell of IATSE met with Mr. Doherty (deputy minister of Labour) and Mr. Blair (commissioner of immigration).²⁷ Thibault's "Business agent report for the month of October 1914" described a Monday morning where, "a committee composed of two members of each local watched for all incoming trains, being on the look out for the new musicians, we were very pleased to note that we had been successful with the immigration officials as they were stopped at the border."²⁸

The strike resolved in favour of the stage-hands on October 31.²⁹ Delaney declared in an October 24 article that "the current \$12 per week was not enough for a man to live on and raise a family. The men worked from nine in the morning till 11 o'clock at night, he stated, and \$12 per week for 14 hours a day was not sufficient."³⁰ The "Correspondent's report for October" found in the Department of Labour files stated, "On the last day of the month an agreement was affected whereby the strikers returned to work; the five stage workers receiving a wage increase of two dollars a week for the season of 1914 – 15; an increase of fifty cents a week for the stage carpenters and one dollar a week for the four other stage hands in the season of 1915 – 16 and an increase of one dollar a week for all four in 1916 – 17 and fifty cents increase for the stage carpenters."³¹ The musicians and moving picture operators returned without an increased wage.³²

The efforts by Thibault and Delaney to gain support of other local unions and to picket the

²⁷ "Business agent report for the month of October 1914," International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 fonds, Correspondence 1914, 2016.0005.4, A2016-0293, City of Ottawa Archives.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "Stage Hands & Musicians, Ottawa, Ont," 1914, Strike and Lockout Files. Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 303, File no. 47, Reel T-2691, Library and Archives Canada.

³⁰ "Musicians Say That They Will Win the Strike," *Ottawa Journal*, October 24, 1914: 24.

³¹ "Ottawa, Correspondent's report for October," Strike and Lockout Files.

³² "Trade Dispute," signed November 2, 1914, Strike and Lockout Files.

theatre appear to have been a large contribution to the strike’s success, with delegate McCann of the AFM Local 180 stating “This was the best conducted strike that I have ever seen [...] there was much co-operation. Lists were signed and sent to the theatre from all parts of the city, and the force of public opinion in favor of the strikers forced the theatre management to come to terms.”³³ However, the *Ottawa Journal*’s reports of the strike and Thibault’s business report suggest that the fight was being controlled by New York superiors. Delaney stated, “the presidents of the musician and stage hands unions came to Ottawa and to Montreal and that the settlement of the strikes in both cities were due in a large measure to their efforts.”³⁴ The IATSE head office was in New York at the time (see Figure 4-4). Similar strikes were occurring in Montreal, and the Ottawa and Montreal unions had formed a pact to not settle unless the other’s dispute was also settled (see Figure 4-5 for an undated pamphlet from the Montreal strike).³⁵



Figure 4-4. The main office for both the stage employees’ and musicians’ union were (and still are) in New York. Source: Letterhead of letter from International President of IATSE, July 8 1914, International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 fonds, Correspondence 1914, 2016.0005.4, A2016-0293, City of Ottawa Archives.

³³ “Business agent report for the month of October 1914,” International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 fonds. “Strike Settled,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 7, 1914: 13.

³⁴ “Strike Settled,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 7, 1914: 13.

³⁵ “Business agent report for the month of October 1914,” International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 fonds.

Au cas où vous oublieriez !

Ceci est pour vous informer que la **“Theatrical Federation of Montreal”**, comprenant : Musicians' Protective Union No. 406, Theatrical Protective Union No. 56, Moving Picture Operators' Union No. 262 et International Bill Posters and Billers of America No. 38, sont sortis des Théâtres “Gayety,” “Orpheum” et “Princess” parce qu'ils ont demandés les mêmes salaires et les mêmes conditions de travail qu'il est payé par les Gérants des autres Théâtres de la ville. Ils ont été obligés, amis, d'insister pour avoir des gages raisonnables ou d'obliger les employés des autres Théâtres de réduire leurs salaires.

Nos membres en sont les victimes parce qu'ils ont refusé de travailler dans ces conditions. Les Théâtres “Gayety,” “Orpheum” et “Princess” les ayant forcé.

Ces faits sont sans discussion, il n'y a pas un seul unioniste dans ces Théâtres. Est-ce ce que vous espérez obtenir des Gérants de ces Théâtres pour vous récompenser du patronage que la classe ouvrière leur accorde ?

Nos amis nous ont promis leur support moral et ils traiteront les Gérants de ces Théâtres de la même manière qu'ils traitent leurs employés, en se tenant loin de ces Théâtres aussi longtemps qu'ils continueront d'employer des non-unionistes.

Dites à vos femmes et à vos familles, à vos frères et amis que les Gérants de ces Théâtres refusent de reconnaître la classe des travailleurs, et, par ce fait, n'en ont pas besoin dans leurs Théâtres.


En retirant le patronage que vous leur avez accordé jusqu'aujourd'hui, ils réaliseront que leur manière d'agir envers leurs employés est une preuve de leur mauvaise foi envers tous ceux qui travaillent pour gagner leur vie honnêtement, c'est ce qui ne rencontre pas votre approbation.

Rappelez-vous que les Théâtres “Gayety,” “Orpheum” et “Princess” n'emploient pas d'Unionistes !



Theatrical Federation of Montreal.

Figure 4-5a. Pamphlet for the Montreal strike occurring at the same time as the strike at Ottawa's Dominion Theatre. Although the document is undated, it is next to the other October 1914 strike related documents in the collection. Source: “Au cas où vous oublieriez! | Lest You Forget” pamphlet (with hole punch markings) recto, undated, International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 fonds, Correspondence 1914, 2016.0005.4, A2016-0293, City of Ottawa Archives.



Lest You Forget

This is to inform you that the members of the **Theatrical Federation of Montreal**, composed of the Musicians' Protective Union No. 406, the Theatrical Protective Union No. 56, the Moving Picture Operators' Union No. 262 and the International Bill Posters and Billers of America No. 38, are locked out of the Gayety, Orpheum and Princess Theatres, because they asked for the same rate of wages, and working conditions, as is paid by the Managers of the other Theatres in the City, they were compelled, friends, to either insist on the fair rate of wages being paid, or else reduce the wages of our members working in the other Theatres.

Our members are being victimized because they would not accept the wages and conditions the Gayety, Orpheum and Princess Theatres wanted to force on them.


These are undisputed facts, there is not a union man employed in the Gayety, Orpheum or the Princess Theatres, hardly the kind of appreciation you would expect from the Managers of these Theatres in return for the patronage bestowed on them, by the working classes.

Our friends have pledged us their support, and will treat the Managers of the Theatres, in the sameway as they are treating their employees, by keeping away from the Theatres just as long as they refuse to employ union help.

Tell your wives and families, your brothers, sisters and your friends, that the Managers of these Theatres dont recognize the working classes, in fact dont want them in their Theatres.

The withdrawal of your patronage will make them realize that unfair attitude towards their employees is an evidence of their contempt towards all who work for an honest living, and does not meet with your approval.

Remember, the Gayety, Orpheum and Princess Theatres, are not Union Theatres.

 9

Theatrical Federation of Montreal.

Figure 4-5b. “Au cas ou vous oublieriez! | Lest You Forget” pamphlet (with hole punch markings) verso, undated, International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 fonds, Correspondence 1914, 2016.0005.4, A2016-0293, City of Ottawa Archives.

The *Ottawa Journal* article of October 24 included a statement where the Dominion's Manager Clancy outlined his considerations. Delaney stated in the same report that, "in his opinion, had the setting of this trouble rested in the hands of Manager Clancy, it would soon be arranged. The manager of the theatre was under instructions and could do nothing. He stated that he was of the firm belief that the whole arrangement was being manoeuvred from New York."³⁶ Clancy's statement suggested that Delaney was correct as he explained that, as well as the war, the decline of theatre attendance contributed to his position: "Our receipts this season are far below those of the other years. This is not only true of the vaudeville theatres but fully ninety-five per cent. of the legitimate shows cancelled as a result of bad business throughout the Dominion."³⁷ A meeting earlier in the month showed that many vaudeville managers were under instruction to make cuts. Clancy stated:

On Tuesday, Oct. 13, Mr. E. F. Albee, general manager of the United Booking Offices in New York, called a meeting of the various vaudeville managers and it was decided in order to meet the bad conditions of the theatrical business at the present time brought on large on account of the depression caused no doubt by the conflict abroad, that a retrenchment was necessary to some extent by every department, as the artists from actual figures received from sixty to seventy per cent. of the gross receipts of the vaudeville theatres, and having enjoyed this prosperity for a great number of years past,

³⁶ "Musicians Say That They Will Win the Strike," *Ottawa Journal*, October 24, 1914: 24. It appears that Clancy's New York superiors were either Clark Brown of the Palace Theatre or managers of the Keith Vaudeville Circuit. An article in October 1915 delineates a complex management structure for the Dominion Theatre: "This theatre is owned by the Canadian United Theatres, Ltd., with head offices at London, Ont., and the company owns and operates, in addition to the Dominion, the Orpheum and Gaiety in Montreal; the Temple and Lyric, Hamilton; the Majestic London; and the Strand, at Stratford. This is a purely Canadian company and every dollar invested is Canadian money. Booking offices are maintained in the Palace Theatre, New York, of which Mr. Clark Brown, the general manager of the company, is in charge. This house is affiliated with the bookings of the Keith Circuit which controls all the first class vaudeville in the eastern states and the Orpheum in the west, and several smaller circuits. Agencies are also maintained in London, Paris, Vienna, Rome, and before the war broke out they had one in Berlin." "Phenomenal Growth of Theatrical Business in Ottawa – Theatres Will Now Seat Fifteen Thousand People," *Ottawa Journal*, October 9, 1915: 14.

³⁷ "Musicians Say That They Will Win the Strike," *Ottawa Journal*, October 24, 1914: 24.

the managers felt that it was no more than right that they should take a reduction in salaries consistent with the conditions. In a large number of theatres only enough money has been taken in to pay the performers' salaries leaving nothing for the other expenses which must be met, so next week every act that plays this theatre will be receiving a reduction of twenty-five per cent. in salary. In view of this display of loyalty on the part of the actor, does it not seem a little inconsistent for stage hands to come forward in war time with a demand for a thirty-three and a third per cent. increase in wages?"³⁸

The 1914 strike and its reporting demonstrated the complex relationships between unions (local and national) and between New York management and Ottawa employees. It also showed that the maintained absence of musicians provoked a stronger public reaction than the easily replaced stage hands. For example, the *Ottawa Journal* reported "The patrons of the theatre were not generally aware that a strike of the stage hands had been instituted, as the management effectively drilled the new men in the work."³⁹ When the dispute ended, the headline was "Musicians' Strike Has Been Settled" rather than "Stage-hands' Strike Has Been Settled."⁴⁰

Furthermore, the documents in the IATSE fonds suggest a strong alliance between the AFM Local 180, IATSE Local 95, and IATSE Local 257 (Moving Picture Machine Operators) which lead to the formation of the Theatrical Federation of Ottawa and District (see Figure 4-6).⁴¹ The three groups would also strike together in 1921, and the musician's union would strike in sympathy with the stage hands again in 1924 and 1929 (see Appendix 3 for a list of Ottawa theatre strikes involving musicians).

³⁸ The article mentions Mr. Clark Brown, manager of the Canadian Theatres, Limited being involved in earlier negotiations with Gilbert Graham, president of the Ottawa Local. I have not determined the arrangement between the Canadian Theatres, Limited and the United Booking Offices. Newspaper article found in Reel, *Ottawa Journal*, October 24, 1914: 24.

³⁹ "Orchestra And Moving Picture Operator On Strike," 2.

⁴⁰ "Musician's Strike Has Been Settled," *Ottawa Journal*, November 2, 1914: 11.

⁴¹ The IATSE Local 95 fonds contains five letters from the Theatrical Federation between 1915 and 1919 (none of these indicate when the group formed). I reviewed the correspondence files, which range from 1914 to 1919, but I did not read the detailed meeting minutes lasting from 1902 to 1928. Miguez mentions the Federation in regards to the Galvin strike of 1929 (see Appendix 3 for more details).

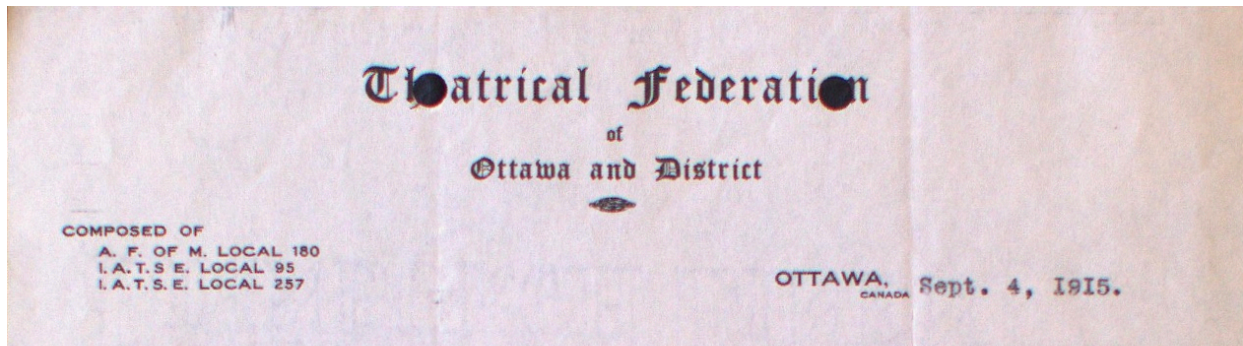


Figure 4-6. The unions of Ottawa’s theatre employees (musicians, stage hands, and moving picture machine operators) joined together to form the Theatrical Federation of Ottawa and District, which lasted at least between 1915 and 1919. Source: Letterhead (with hole punch markings) of letter from William Lodge, Secretary Treasurer of the Theatrical Federation of Ottawa and District, September 4, 1915, International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees Local 95 fonds, Correspondence 1915, 2016.0005.4, A2016-0294, City of Ottawa Archives.

The practices of New York cannot be imposed on the history of Ottawa and Robert C. Allen is right to point out the uncritical and misrepresentative nature of *Gothamcentric* film histories. On the other hand, it is also necessary for researchers of local practices to understand that theatres and cities did not exist alone. Managers and employees were influenced by and participated in the discussions found in trade and studio journals, and they often functioned under larger management structures. The employees sometimes included unionized workers that operated by an additional structure. In other words, the longstanding and momentary connections that constitute the local microstructure of silent cinemas existed within a macrostructure of national and international connections. At least in regards to Ottawa, New York City played a significant role in the macrostructure.

Chapter 5

The Social Network and Social Capital of the Regent Concert Orchestra

As the last chapters have demonstrated, there are many connections occurring not only within a performance but also within local communities, national cinematic infrastructures, and other organizations. There is a wealth of stories about people and relationships to be investigated in our search to understand what it meant to be a musician for silent films and what it meant to be an audience member experiencing a showing. In this chapter, I will use social network visualisations to demonstrate one way we can begin to have a larger understanding of these communities without having the full details of each musician's life. These diagrams are presented with the intention to encourage further investigation and the use of social network analysis to understand artistic communities. I will introduce a few concepts through information on Amédée Tremblay and his son George, and then present a network diagram of the musical connections of the Regent Concert Orchestra of 1917-1918.

Tremblay Diagrams

One difficult aspect of creating network diagrams is narrowing down the historical information represented and, sometimes, having to simplify connections in order to convey a hypothesis more clearly. I will illustrate the process of creating and reading a network diagram using secondary sources on Amédée and George Tremblay as a basis of information. This study is a step away from the focus of my thesis, but it provides a more straightforward introduction to terminology that will make a network analysis of the Regent Concert Orchestra easier to understand. Taking the first paragraph of the *Canadian Encyclopedia Online* entry for Amédée Tremblay, quoted below, this analysis exemplifies the considerations involved in producing a historical data set and in deciding what type of connections and actors are important:

(Pierre-Joseph) Amédée Tremblay. Organist, composer, teacher, b Montreal 14 Apr 1876, d Los Angeles 1949. He began study at 12 with Father Sauvé, the organist at St-Joseph Church, Montreal, continuing with Alcibiade Béique (piano and organ) and Father Cléophas Borduas (Gregorian chant). Though he competed successfully for the post of organist at the Dominican Church, St-Hyacinthe, he accepted instead a post at St-Joseph Church in Montreal, which he held 1892-4. In 1894 he founded a choral society, the Orphéon de St-Joseph, which became the Orphéon Goulet when J.-J. Goulet succeeded Tremblay as director in 1895. Tremblay was organist 1894-1920 at Notre-Dame Basilica in Ottawa and was a prominent figure in the musical life of the capital as an organist, composer, and teacher. His pupils included Wilfrid Charette, Oscar O'Brien, and his own son, the composer George (Amédée). Tremblay Sr moved to Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1920 as organist at the Cathedral of the Madeleine, then settled in 1925 in Los Angeles as organist at St Vincent's Roman Catholic church, remaining there until his death.¹

Table 1. Network Data Parsed from *Canadian Encyclopedia* Paragraph on Amédée Tremblay

Actor 1	Relation	Actor 2	Time
Amédée Tremblay	Studied under	Father Sauvé	1878 or 1879 to ?
Amédée Tremblay	Studied under	Alcibiade Béique	After 1878
Amédée Tremblay	Studied under	Cléophas Borduas	After 1878
Amédée Tremblay	Worked for	St-Joseph Church	1892 to 1894
Amédée Tremblay	Directed	Orphéon de St-Joseph	1894 to 1895
Amédée Tremblay	Worked for	Notre-Dame Basilica	1894 to 1920
Amédée Tremblay	Taught	Wilfred Charette	n.d.
Amédée Tremblay	Taught	Oscar O'Brien	n.d.
Amédée Tremblay	Taught	George (Amédée) Tremblay	n.d.
Amédée Tremblay	Worked for	Cathedral of the Madeleine	1920 – 1925 (?)
Amédée Tremblay	Worked for	St Vincent's Roman Catholic church	1925 – 1949 (?)

Table 1 was compiled by simplifying the information from the *Canadian Encyclopedia* paragraph while maintaining the subject-object relation of the sentences (although “studied under” equates to “taught,” this biographical entry favors Tremblay as the subject and changes the action accordingly).² I omitted details about the relations and geographical information (e.g.

¹ Gilles Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last modified December 16, 2013, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/amedee-tremblay-emc/>.

² According to the discussion of Tremblay in *The Tracker – Journal of the Organ Historical Society*, as a composer he was “self-taught for the most part.” This is not supported with any primary sources. Bynum Petty, “Archives Corner: Pierre Tremblay,” *The Tracker –*

Tremblay studied *the organ* under Father Sauvé). Although the table brings to light several interesting connections, the timeline is incomplete and there are multiple types of actors (people, ensembles, and churches) and relations (studied under, worked for, directed, and taught). It is possible to represent the information in the table as a network diagram, but it would not be of much help to visualise these details as they are.

Marten Düring describes the difficulty of turning unstructured text into data in his 2015 guide “From Hermeneutics to Data to Networks: Data Extraction and Network Visualization of Historical Sources” stating “Networks created from pre-existing data sets need to be considered within the context in which they were created (e.g. wording of questions in a questionnaire and selected target groups). Networks created from unstructured text pose challenges on top of this: interpretations are highly individual and depend on viewpoints and context knowledge.”³ He explains that “the challenge is to systematize text interpretation.”⁴ In Table 1, in order to minimize mediation, I did not systemize the text interpretation in a useful way. However, mediation is a part of network creation as these diagrams provide meaningful interpretations and representations of data.

Düring provides a useful set of questions for historians setting out to create network diagrams that helps in the delineation, selection, and structured interpretation of data⁵:

1. What defines a relationship between two actors?
2. Who is part of the network? Who is not?
3. Which types of relationships do you observe?
4. Which attributes are relevant?
5. What do you aim to find?

Journal of the Organ Historical Society 26 no. 2 (Spring 2012): 41.

³ Marten Düring, "From Hermeneutics to Data to Networks: Data Extraction and Network Visualization of Historical Sources," *Programming Historian*, last updated February 18, 2015, accessed June 20, 2017, <http://programminghistorian.org/lessons/creating-network-diagrams-from-historical-sources>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

Table 2. Network Data of Tremblay Family’s Pedagogical Connections

Actor 1	Relation	Actor 2
Father Sauv�	Taught	Am�d�e Tremblay
Alcibiade B�ique	Taught	Am�d�e Tremblay
Cl�ophas Borduas	Taught	Am�d�e Tremblay
Am�d�e Tremblay	Taught	Wilfred Charette
Am�d�e Tremblay	Taught	Oscar O’Brien
Am�d�e Tremblay	Taught	George Tremblay
David Patterson	Taught	George Tremblay
Arnold Schoenberg	Taught	George Tremblay
Arnold Schoenberg	Taught	John Cage
George Tremblay	Taught	John Cage
George Tremblay	Taught	Alexander Courage
George Tremblay	Taught	Larry Fotine
George Tremblay	Taught	Hugo Friedhofer
George Tremblay	Taught	Earle Hagen
George Tremblay	Taught	Quincy Jones
George Tremblay	Taught	Richard Markowitz
George Tremblay	Taught	Randy Newman
George Tremblay	Taught	Marty Paich
George Tremblay	Taught	Mel Powell
George Tremblay	Taught	Jack Smalley
George Tremblay	Taught	Mark Snow

Table 2 and the following network visualisation are based on the aforementioned *Canadian Encyclopedia* paragraph on Am d e, the Wikipedia entry on his son George, the 1982 *American Composers Biographical Dictionary* entry on George, and a 1935 letter from John Cage to Adolph Weiss.⁶ These are four of the main sources I found on these two members of the Tremblay family.⁷ As will be discussed later in this chapter, daughter Gertrude Tremblay was

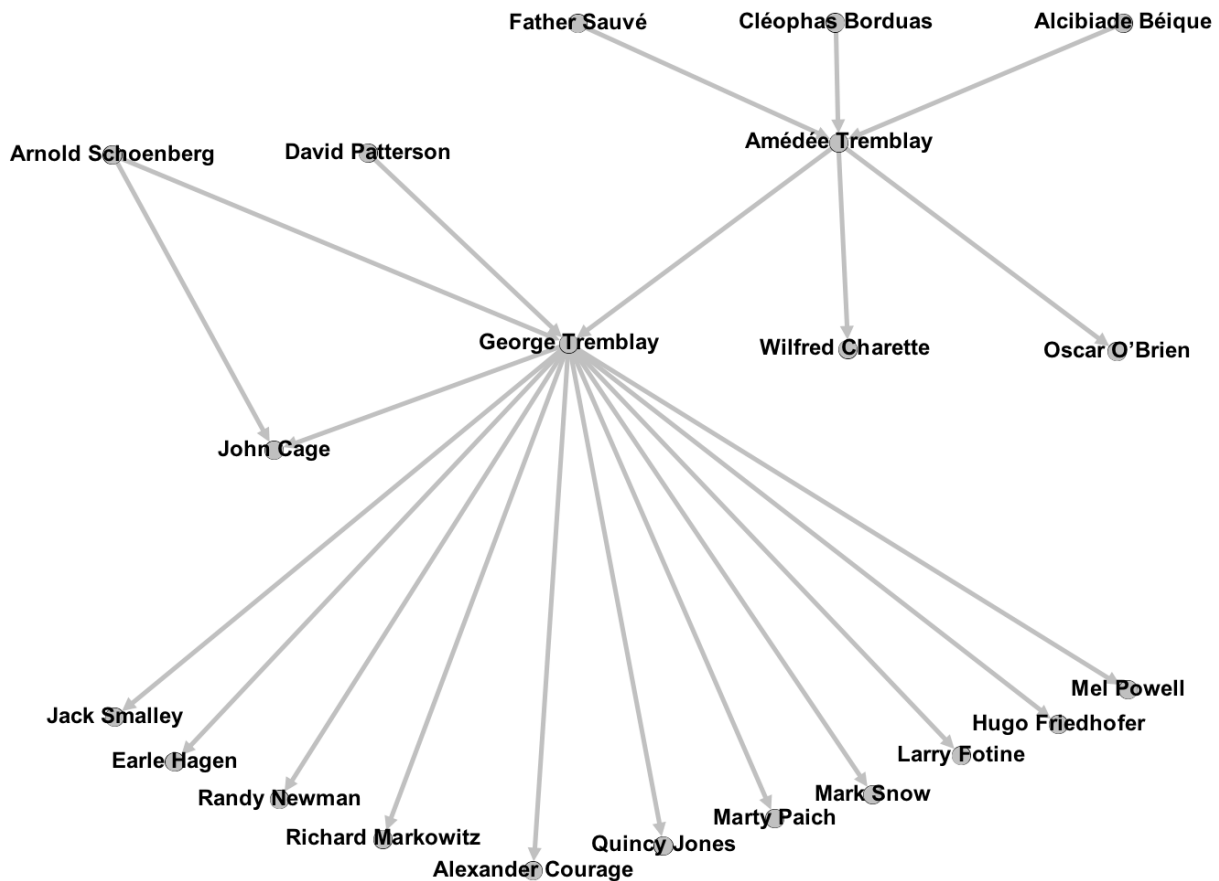
⁶ Potvin, “Am d e Tremblay.” David Ewen, “George Amed e Tremblay,” *American Composers: A Biographical Dictionary* (Toronto: General Publishing Co. Limited, 1982): 675. “George Tremblay,” *Wikipedia*, last modified June 17, 2016, accessed June 16, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Tremblay. Letter from John Cage to Adolph Weiss dated May 1935, *The Selected Letters of John Cage*, edited by Laura Kuhn (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2016): 20.

⁷ Additional sources on the father and son, which I did not include in Table 2 include the following: Petty, “Archives Corner: Pierre Tremblay,” 40-41. Severine Neff, “Point/Conterpoint:

also a prominent musician but has been overlooked in writings on the family.

Based on Table 2, the *directed network* of Diagram 5-1 vertically depicts generations of teachers and students with arrows pointing from the teacher toward the pupil.⁸ It does not consider time or geography. In network analysis terminology, each circle/actor is a *node* which is connected to other nodes by arrows/relations known as *edges*. In an *undirected network*

Diagram 5-1. Network Visualisation of the Tremblay Family’s Pedagogical Connections



John Cage Studies with Arnold Schoenberg,” *Contemporary Music Review* 33 no. 5-6 (November 2014): 451-482.

⁸ Unless mentioned otherwise, this is the shared vocabulary of network analysis. Diagram 5-1 bears similarities to the “Innovation Evolution Models” presented by Francis C. Moon. It is more grounded than the innovation models as it does not claim one individual lead to the work of the next, Francis C. Moon, *Social Networks in the History of Innovation and Invention*, History of Mechanism and Machine Science 22 (New York: Springer, 2014): 7, e-book, SpringerLink Books Complete.

the edges would be lines rather than arrows, depicting a neutral relation. Here the directed edges equate to the verb “taught” (e.g. Arnold Schoenberg taught George Tremblay).⁹

To use Düring’s framework, in this network, the relationship is defined by one actor teaching another something musical. Teaching relationships mentioned in these sources that are at most one *degree* away from a member of the Tremblay family are part of the network; in other words the shortest *path* from any given node to a Tremblay consists of one edge. Any teaching that involves music is observed, whether that be performance or composition, but I do not identify the type in the table and diagram. If I did specify that information I would have had different types of edge or nodes, each with different *attributes* that could involve different colour or sizes (size is described as *weight*).¹⁰ I believe a diagram of a pedagogical network such as this is a useful tool for investigating potential avenues of influence.

The diagram includes one interesting example of *triadic closure*. A *triad* is a group of three *dyads*, “a pair of nodes with an edge between them.”¹¹ *Triadic closure* is the tendency for triads to form: in some networks, when A connects to B and B to C, there is a likelihood that A will eventually connect to C.¹² We can apply this idea to the section of the network that includes

⁹ My understanding of a directed edge equating to a predicate between a subject node and an object node (in this case, “taught”) developed from the following lectures. In Carolin Rindfleisch’s lecture, she described the subject-predicate-object schema when introducing Resource Description Frameworks in the context of semantic webs and linked data. These “triples” were discussed again in a later talk on linked data by Kevin Page with further musical examples. Carolin Rindfleisch, “Linked Data and Leitmotifs – Digitally Researching the Reception of Richard Wagner’s Music-Dramas,” University of Oxford video, 47:22, published July 7, 2016, lecture at 2016 Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School (July 6, 2016), <https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/linked-data-and-leitmotifs-digitally-researching-reception-richard-wagners-music-dramas>. Kevin Page, “Representing Musicological Knowledge on the Web Using Linked Data,” lecture at Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School (July 6, 2016).

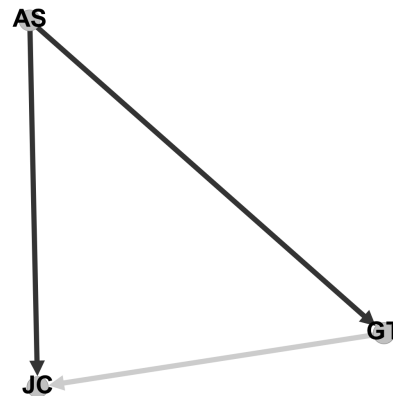
¹⁰ Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian’s Macroscope* (London: Imperial College Press, 2016), 203.

¹¹ Ibid, 204 and 205.

¹² Ibid, 206.

George Tremblay, Schoenberg, and Cage (see Figure 5-1).

Figure 5-1. Example of triangulation from Diagram 5.1



The connection between Tremblay (tutor) and John Cage (student) was formed because they were both studying under Arnold Schoenberg. In a letter to Adolph Weiss in May 1935, Cage wrote that Schoenberg had allowed him to take part in his counterpoint class that had already started, “suggesting that, with the aid of George Tremblay, [Cage] might ‘make up’ what [he] had missed.”¹³ Cage took up this suggestion, writing later in the letter that “with Tremblay I have completed the five species of 2-part writing, and am now working on mixed species.”¹⁴ For the purpose of this example, I made the edges connecting to Schoenberg darker as these came first. The grey edge, which represents Tremblay teaching Cage, forms the triadic closure.

Despite how intricate this diagram appears, there is a need to critically consider what it means. On one hand, the entry for George Tremblay in the *American Composers Biographical Dictionary* states “Still in his childhood, guided by his father, Tremblay learned to duplicate the sounds of Debussy on the piano.”¹⁵ However it later makes a seemingly contradictory claim:

Though he received some instruction on piano and organ from his father, his formal musical training was haphazard, because “lessons” were emphasized whereas he preferred “making music.” He says “My education was widespread. Half the time, I didn’t know whether I was teaching or being taught. To say that one is self-taught is an

¹³ Letter from John Cage to Adolph Weiss dated May 1935, 20.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ewen, “George Tremblay,” 675.

unwarranted conceit, it seems to me, since one learns and is taught from everyone and everything.”¹⁶

This passage also needs to be considered carefully. Understanding the degree to which an individual influenced another is hard to determine, and George’s statement neither proves nor disproves that his father played an influential role in his training. Rather, it identifies a problem in assuming the teacher-student relationship as one of direct influence. Diagram 5-1 accurately visualises pedagogical relations through several generations, which in turn can lead to new questions and sources. It does not, however, prove a line of influence. If it was understood as showing influence, George Tremblay would be a *weak tie* as his node “[connects] two otherwise insular and disconnected clusters” (his own and that of his father’s) and “could break easily.”¹⁷

High-Class and Respectable: “The Incomparable Regent Concert Orchestra” of 1917-1918

As discussed in previous chapters, several Ottawa movie theatres strove to highlight their “high-class” entertainment. In the 1917-1918 season, the Regent published a photo of the Regent Concert Orchestra three times in the *Ottawa Journal*. In Figure 5-2, we see a full-page advertisement from September 29, 1917 where the “Incomparable Regent Concert Orchestra” is featured in the centre around promises of the “Latest and Greatest Feature Films in the World” and “Artists of World Wide Reputation.” The photo then appeared in an October 16, 1917 advertisement as the first of “3 Reasons Why Our Patrons Were Delighted With Last Evening’s Performance,” and alone in the movie section of the *Ottawa Journal* on January 12, 1918 (Figure 5-3).¹⁸ It is clear that the size of the orchestra was being showcased, but more specifically

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Graham, Milligan, and Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data*, 230.

¹⁸ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 16, 1917: 11.

ANNOUNCEMENT EXTRAORDINARY

- OF THE -

MOST PROGRESSIVE POLICY EVER PURSUED BY ANY CANADIAN THEATRE

THE REGENT

Have made arrangements for the purchase at a tremendous price of the
LATEST AND GREATEST FEATURE FILMS IN THE WORLD

Recognized as the most exclusive, extensive

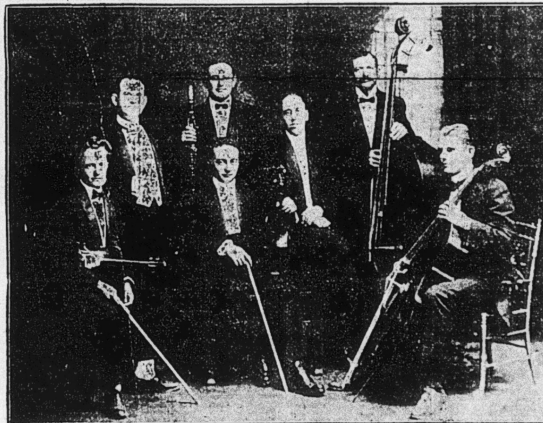
AND HIGH CLASS FILM FEATURES ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT

Some of the Features:

The Incomparable Regent Concert Orchestra

Some of the Stars:

- "BABY MINE"
- "THE SLACKER"
- "FIGHTING ODDS"
- "WOMANHOOD"
- "TWIN BEDS"
- "The CALL of HER PEOPLE"
- "MOTHER O' MINE"
- "THE SPREADING DAWN"
- "The Eternal Magdalene"
- "THE AUCTION BLOCK"
- "THE MANXMAN"



PROF. ANDEE REMELAY PROF. RUDOLPH PELISEK PROF. HORACE WILSON
 PROF. JOSEPH PELISEK (Director) PROF. S. E. WIMPERIS
 PROF. J. HILLAS PROF. LUCIEN LABELLE

- MADGE KENNEDY
- JANE COWL
- EMILY STEVENS
- MAXINE ELLIOTT
- ALICE JOYCE
- ETHEL BARRYMORE
- MAE MARSH
- Mme. OLGA PETROVA
- HAROLD LOCKWOOD
- FRANCIS X. BUSHMAN
- MARY GARDEN
- CLARA KIMBALL YOUNG

EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!

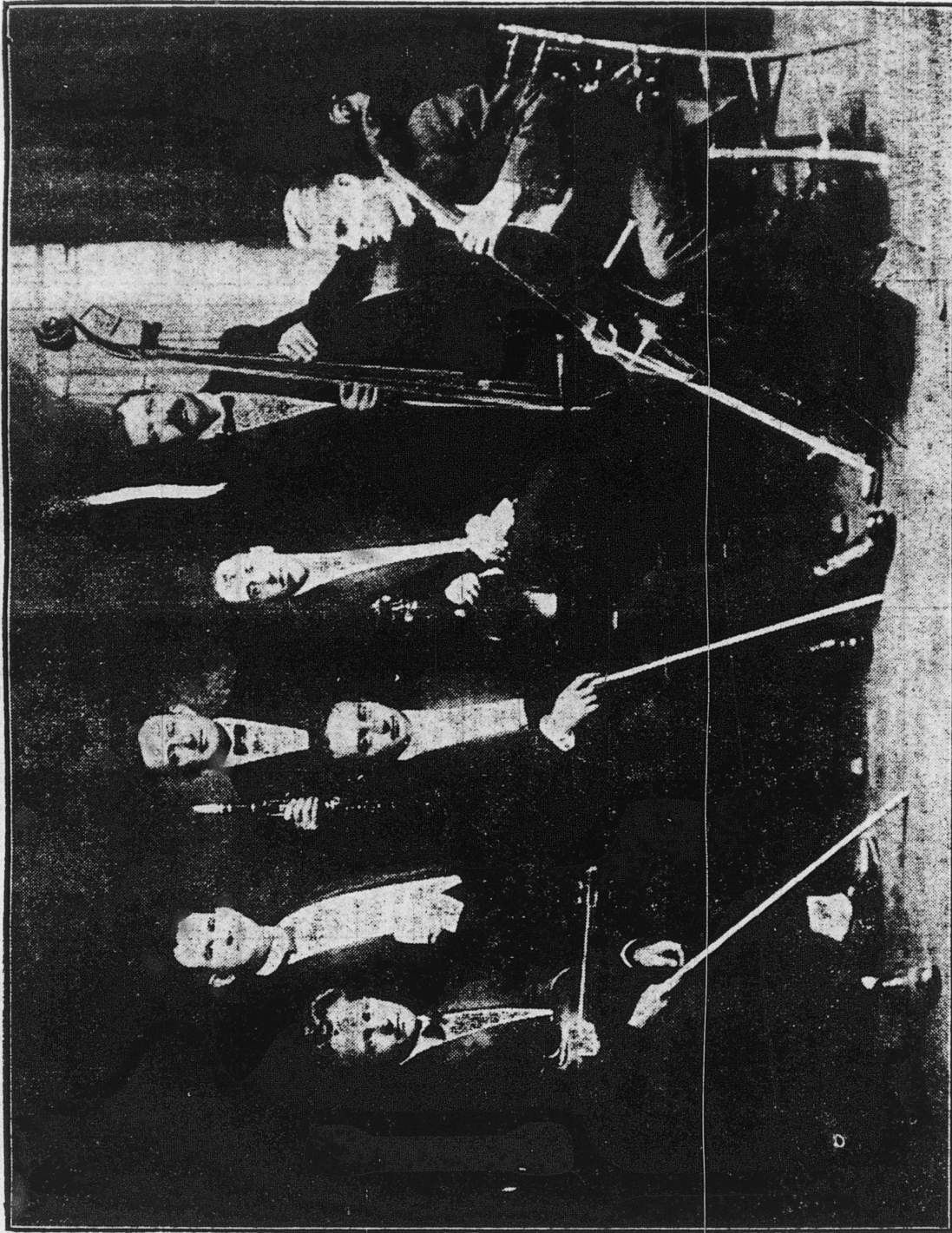
In addition to this wonderful Film Service and Famous Orchestra THE REGENT will present during the coming season Artists of World wide reputation. They will include WILLIS FLANAGAN, Tenor; Mlle. RUBANNI, Soprano; MADAME CHOISEUL, Soprano; HAROLD JARVIS, America's Most Popular Tenor.

POPULAR PRICES WILL PREVAIL--- Matinee 10c, 15c. Evening 15c, 20c, 25c Box Seats 35c

ALL NEXT WEEK - Madge Kennedy **"BABY MINE"** Miss Irene Delory
in - - - Lyric Soprano, Direct from Boston

Figure 5-2. This full-page advertisement includes a rare example of a photo of a theatre orchestra in the *Ottawa Journal*. Source: Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

REGENT CONCERT ORCHESTRA.



This talented organization, under the direction of Prof. Rudolph Pelisek, has established an enviable reputation in local musical circles. The orchestra will be heard in a special programme of selections from the world's greatest composers during the Regent Anniversary Week, beginning next Monday.

Figure 5-3. The photo of the Regent Concert Orchestra was featured in the *Ottawa Journal*'s "What is New at the Moving Picture Theatres" page in early 1918. Source: "Regent Concert Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

(especially in the 1917 advertisement where the names are listed), the Regent was using the social capital of their musicians to strengthen their claim to high-class exhibition practices and to create personal and communal links between the theatre and its potential audience.

The following network diagrams created using the software Gephi, depict the links between the musicians in the 1917-1918 photograph and the ensembles and institutions they worked with before and during 1917. More information on this diagram, including citations of articles mentioning these links, can be found in Appendix 5. In the following analysis, I will consider this network in three different ways. First, I will consider Diagram 5-2 (1887-1917) in terms of the 1917 and 1918 advertisements, showing how the previous work of the musicians gave them credibility in their profession and represented associations with a variety of Ottawa organizations. Second, I will consider the network in terms of the formation of the orchestra, interpreting the links to suggest how the ensemble may have formed by comparing Diagrams 5-2 (1887-1902), 5-3 (1887-1912), and 5-4 (1887-1917). Third, I will propose potential alternate network diagrams and expansions of the diagrams I have presented here. This network diagram is based on the following answers to Düring's questions.¹⁹

1. What defines a relationship between two actors?
 - a. Any relation that involved musical performance or composition (most are performance activities)
 - b. Familial relations
 - c. All relations/ edges are undirected
2. Who is part of the network? Who is not?
 - a. musicians, ensembles, and institutions that helped to create a musical performance
 - b. within three degrees of the Regent Theatre
 - c. some exceptions have been made
3. Which types of relationships do you observe?
 - a. familial relations (when pertinent) and musical participation. I have not included information about self-employment (some of the musicians taught privately): this is

¹⁹ Düring, "From Hermeneutics to Data to Networks."

useful information but difficult to depict as the edge would start and end at the same node creating a loop.

4. Which attributes are relevant?
 - a. Years of occupation
 - b. Three types of nodes/actors: institutions (purple), ensembles (orange), and people (green).
 - c. Two types of edges: confirmed link (black) and hypothesized link (green)
 - d. Weight is not used correctly in this diagram, but in a way that makes it more legible. The Regent Theatre Orchestra and the musicians in its 1917 photo are given larger nodes than others as they are the main subjects of this study.

5. What do you aim to find?
 - a. a better understanding of what types of organizations a theatre musician worked for and how these relations did or did not match the marketing of silent films.
 - b. The social capital associated with the musicians, as understood by audience members

Originally, I considered having multiple edge types. I narrowed the type of musical occupation that connected a musician and an institution as being related to either composition, performance, or education. However, networks with multiple nodes, known as *multimodal* or *k-partite* networks (where *k* refers to the number of node types), and networks with multiple edge types, known as *multiplex networks*, can lead to diagrams that are difficult to analyse.²⁰ The Musical Network Diagrams I present here are multimodal-multiplex networks, but I have avoided parallel edges (for example Amédée Tremblay played for and composed for L'Institut Canadien but I have not distinguished these activities visually) as the diagram would have been more convoluted. I have included only two edge types, confirmed and hypothetical, to denote links that can be traced to a source and those that can be reasonably deduced but have no record. The authors of *The Historian's Macroscope* advise not to connect nodes of the same type in a

²⁰ Graham, Milligan, and Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data*, 209 and 213. The use of the term multimodal in this chapter is not to be confused with the term “multi-modal” (meaning an artistic work comprising of several artistic modes) used mainly in Chapter 2. Both are similar but refer to different types of “modes” in the context of this thesis.

multimodal network for mathematical reasons.²¹ As this network is intended to be used as a map and does not provide enough data for mathematical analysis, I have ignored this suggestion: I have linked musicians who are related to each other and institutions that worked together for an event. However, if I were to create a more expansive network I would take this suggestion into account.

The last decision I made, after trying several models, is to create this network as a timeline. I have included three diagrams that accumulate the ties over time: Diagram 5-2 shows 1887-1902, Diagram 5-3 shows 1887-1912, and Diagram 5-4 shows 1887-1917.

The accumulation addresses the problem that the *Ottawa Journal*, my main source of information, often only mentioned a player's name in association with an ensemble one or twice. For example, I only found one mention of Amédée Tremblay playing and composing for "L'Institut Canadien" (in 1903) and two others for the "Canadian Institute" (in 1898 and 1910), but it is possible he was involved with the organization in the years before, in-between, and after these accounts. Including this connection only for first two diagrams would reflect the source, but it is too specific given the source's nature of reporting information. As such, the final diagram represents the cumulative knowledge audience members may have had about the musicians before ever attending the Regent.

²¹ Ibid., 209.

Diagram 5-3. Musical Network of the Regent Concert Orchestras of 1917-1918: Musical Connections from 1887 to 1912

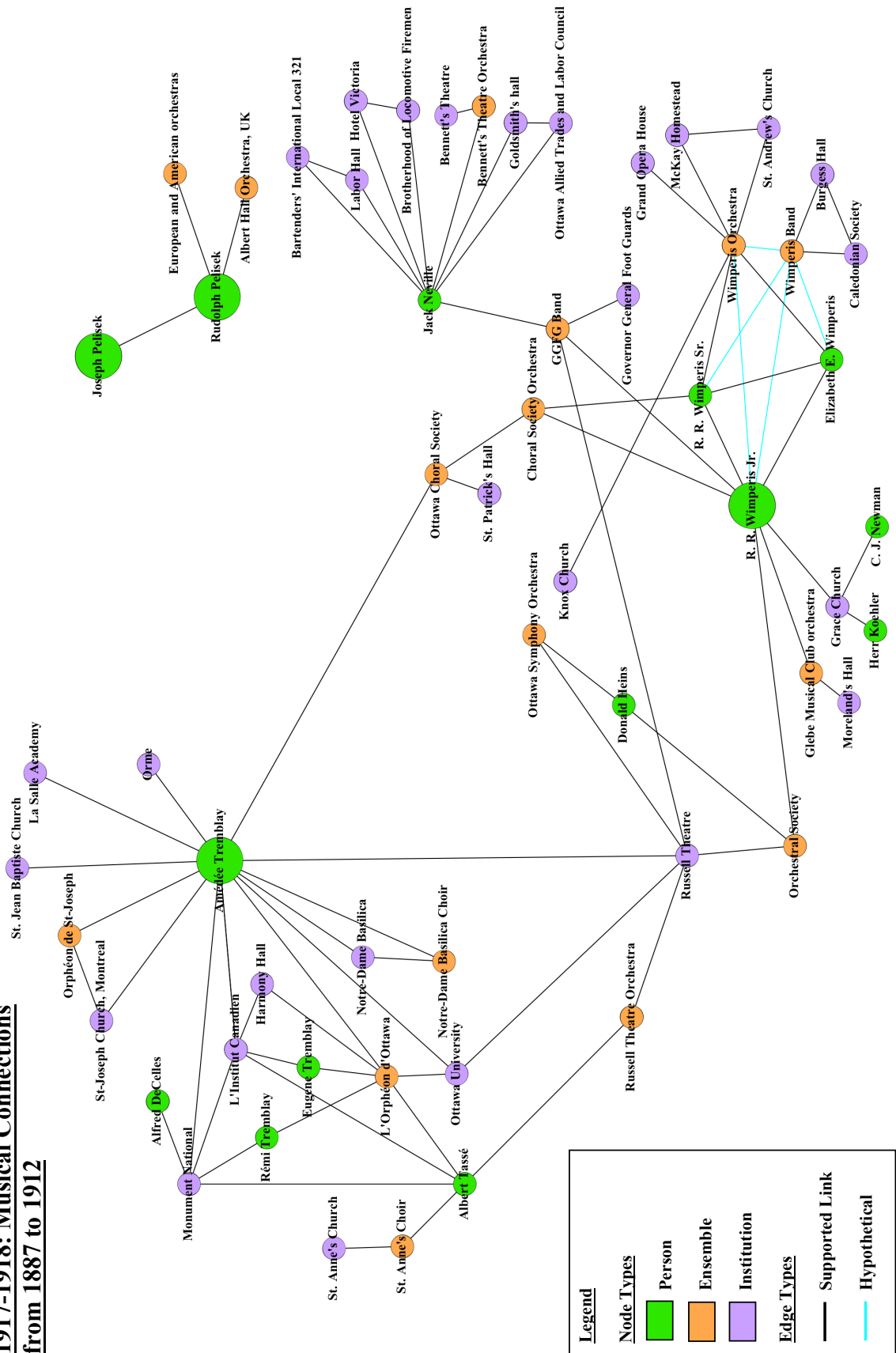
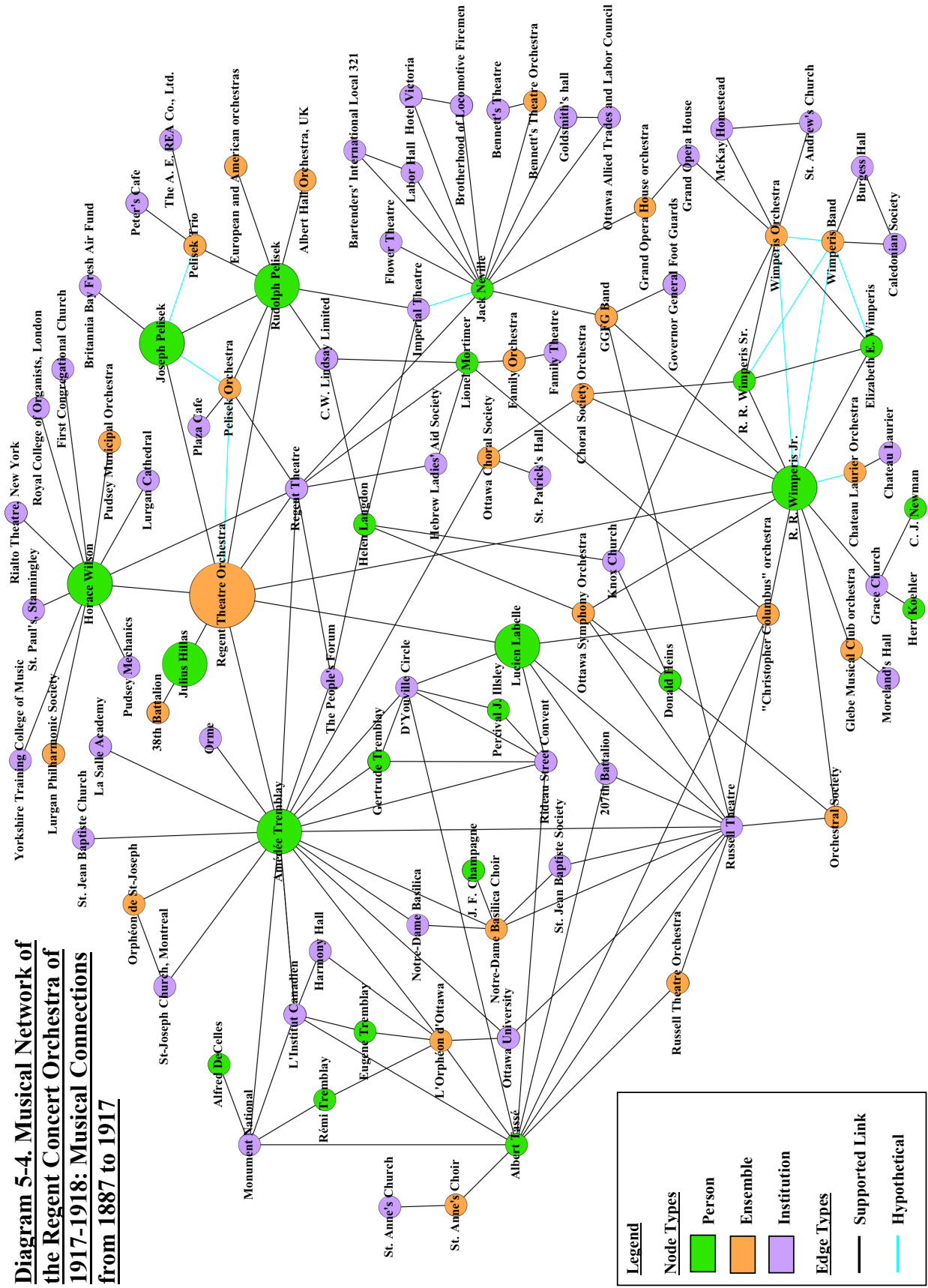


Diagram 5-4. Musical Network of the Regent Concert Orchestra of 1917-1918: Musical Connections from 1887 to 1917



Social Capital

The hypothesis that shapes these diagrams is two-fold: theatre musicians added to the class and respectability associated with a cinema by way of their relations with other institutions, and, in Ottawa, they were often highly qualified.²² These aspects can be understood as “embedded resources” found in the social network of Ottawa musicians.²³ One of the benefits of investing in a social network is what sociologist Nan Lin calls “social-tie resources.”²⁴ He explains that “social-tie resources, and their acknowledged relationships to the individual, may be conceived by the organization or its agents as certification of the individual’s *social credentials*, some of which reflect the individual’s accessibility to resources through social networks and relations – his/ her social capital.”²⁵ Applied to these musicians, their association with high-class musical events affirmed their playing ability. Theatre musicians tend to be overlooked as individuals in silent film literature where discussions of class often do not go beyond the mere presence of an orchestra and its instrumentation. Even without knowing exactly

²² This contrasts the view of silent film musicians in Vienna described Claus Tieber and Anna K. Windisch’s recent study. As the following passage exemplifies, such differences in the cultural composition of a city affected the reception of silent film music and demonstrates the need for local studies: “With few exceptions, cinema musicians were not regarded as equal with their colleagues from concert halls or opera houses. Reviews and comments in the film trade press hint at the inferior qualities of cinema musicians, and the pianists employed in film accompaniment were not even part of the Musicians’ Union. Adding the fact that film was consistently struggling to establish and defend its standing among legitimate art forms, it is not surprising that cinema musicians had a lower social status. The competition in Vienna was stiff and jobs were much sought after, which also resulted in low salaries in this profession.” Claude Tieber and Anna K. Windisch, “The Sound of Music in Vienna’s Cinemas, 1910-1930,” in *The Sounds of Silent Films* ed. Clause Tieber and Anna Katharina Windisch, Palgrave Studies in Audio-Visual Culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 92.

²³ Nan Lin, “Building a Network Theory of Social Capital,” *Social Capital: Theory and Research*, ed. Nan Lin, Karen Cook, and Ronald S. Burt (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2001), 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

what was played at every showing, we can learn more about the sort of musicians and the likely quality of music making through social network mapping and analysis, and contemporary audiences who were involved with the connected institutions could have perceived similar links.

Furthermore, we can see the balance between the national and the local is found in the collective biographies of these musicians, with their social capital bringing both *instrumental* and *expressive* returns to the Regent. Lin defines *instrumental* outcomes as “the gaining of added resources, resources not possessed by the ego” and *expressive* outcomes as “the maintaining of possessed resources.”²⁶ Whereas instrumental action can create new bridges to other networks and new ideas that provide “economic, political, and social” returns, expressive action strengthens trust between individuals and the likelihood to share resources, thus benefiting “physical health, mental health, and life satisfaction.”²⁷ In the context of the Regent’s 1917 photo, these outcomes occurs on two levels. The photo itself can be seen as an attempt to better the theatre’s reputation by showcasing its musical network in order to generate a larger audience, an instrumental action that Lin defines as “social gain.”²⁸ On another level, the musicians being showcased took part in varying degrees of instrumental and expressive actions which reflected on the Regent’s branding as an exciting new theatre that was also respectable. For the purposes of the following discussion, I understand instrumental action as bringing in outside influences and ideas by creating bridges with networks outside of Ottawa, and expressive action as maintaining a sense of local community (this builds on Lin’s description of expressive action where “social capital is a means to consolidate resources and to defend against possible resource

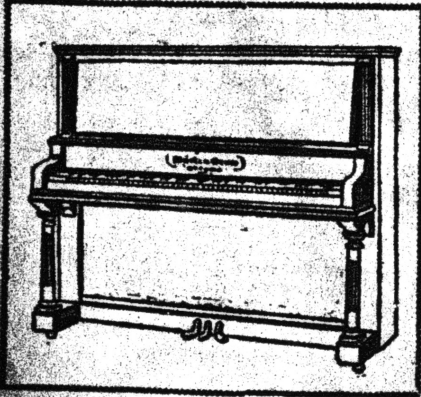
²⁶ Ibid. 13.

²⁷ Ibid. 10 and 19.

²⁸ Ibid. 19.

Mr. Amedee Tremblay's Letter

**ORGANIST OF
THE
BASILICA, OTTAWA.**



MESSRS. ORME & SON, LIMITED:—
Gentlemen,—

It gives me much pleasure to state that in my opinion the Martin-Orme Piano is an "Artistic instrument, par excellence." Its perfect mechanism and delicate touch permits of the most infinite variety in tone and shading.

Very sincerely yours,
AMEDEE TREMBLAY.

For Your Information

The Martin-Orme is made in four different sizes and styles, any one of which may be bought on easy terms of payment. Prices range from \$350 upwards, on time. We have a handsomely illustrated booklet showing just how the piano is made, if you call or write we shall be pleased to give you one.

ORME and Son, Limited OTTAWA

Figure 5-4. Tremblay's reputation was used to sell pianos in 1907. Source: Orme advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 8, 1907: 10, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

losses").²⁹ In this way, the theatre was understood as leading the way intellectually and musically while respecting and investing in the community.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Amédée Tremblay was strongly associated with Ottawa's Notre-Dame Basilica while he played at the Regent, a link that enforced the theatre's association with expressive outcomes. His social capital was similarly used to promote Orme and Son,

²⁹ Ibid.

Limited in a 1907 advertisement in the *Ottawa Journal* (See Figure 5-4).³⁰ His counterpart at the Regent, Horace Wilson, was also involved in religious activities as seen in the Diagram 5-4: he acted as the organist and choir director of Ottawa's First Congregational Church from 1917 to at least 1920, and before his arrival in Ottawa in 1916 he worked at Lurgan Cathedral in Ireland and at St. Paul's, Stanningley, Yorkshire.³¹ Within months of his arrival, Wilson was gaining local popularity as his British training (his instrumental social capital) began to improve the quality of the local community/network. A February 1917 article reporting on the First Congregational Church's annual concert stated "Members Were Treated to a Rare Event," in the headline and claimed "The performance was the best ever presented by the choir."³² The concert included "the exhibition of living wax works" where performers did impersonations while "Mr. Harry M. Hands" described each character. While it is unclear in the article how the music was integrated into the entertainment, Wilson received high praise from the *Ottawa Journal* reporter: "The musical troupe, with an exclusive selection of part songs, including the well known sextette from Florodora, was received with great applause, and reflects much credit on Mr. Horace Wilson, organist and choir leader."³³ Also, Mrs. Wilson was praised for her singing. "Horace Wilson A.R.C.O" was mentioned in several notices of the First Congregational Church in 1917 and in December he presented *Agatha: The Lost Child of the Manor*, "A Sprightly English

³⁰ A quote from J. Albert Tassé was similarly used to promote Orme pianos in a 1907 advertisement in the French Ottawa newspaper, *Le Temps* (published between 1896 and 1916), Orme advertisement, *Le Temps*, April 10, 1907: 7, Google Newspapers, <https://news.google.com/>. "Quick reference of Ottawa's French history (1826-2006)," *Ottawa raconte-moi*, Muséoparc Vanier, last updated 2017, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://www.racontemoiottawa.com/en/57>.

³¹ "New Organist for Regent Theatre," *Ottawa Journal*, November 11, 1916: 8.

³² "Annual Concert was Great Success," *Ottawa Journal*, February 24, 1917: 2.

³³ Ibid.

Operetta” at the church.³⁴ Alongside the annual concert, the operetta demonstrated not only that Wilson was a good organist and director, but also that he was valued for his instrumental musical ability to develop and produce high-class communal productions.

Although his arrival to Ottawa was announced with the article “New Organist for Regent Theatre” on November 11, 1916 and there was a coinciding advertisement featuring his name equally alongside Rudolph Pelisek’s, Wilson was not included in any of the Regent’s advertisements in 1917 other than the one with the photo.³⁵ Nonetheless, the November 1916 article was full of praise and credited the Regent with bringing Wilson to Ottawa. It promoted the theme of “good music” by relying on his instrumental social capital, listing his previous associations with orchestras and churches in the UK and stating,

The Regent Amusement Co., are to be commended on their progressiveness in bringing to Ottawa an organist of such high repute. Music lovers will no doubt be eager to avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing Mr. Wilson in special recitals which will be features of the Regent programme from now on. Good music is a feature that excels all other forms of entertainment and there is none can question the superlative qualities of the music at the Regent. With Mons. Pelisek and Mr. Horace Wilson, A.R.C.O., two artists of such renown, it is very evident that the Regent Orchestra will long hold the favoritism of lovers of good music in the Capital City.³⁶

The article suggests that British musical credentials, and European credentials in the case of Rudolph Pelisek, were held in high regard in Ottawa at the time. The instrumental action of musicians coming from across the pond brought an increase in Ottawa’s perceived social capital (“bringing to Ottawa an organist of such high repute”) and strengthened the Regent’s claim to an elevated quality of music (“it is very evident that the Regent Orchestra will long hold the

³⁴ “First Congregational Church,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 27, 1917: 15. “Present Operetta,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 12, 1917: 5.

³⁵ “New Organist for Regent Theatre,” 8. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 11, 1916: 20.

³⁶ “New Organist for Regent Theatre,” 8.

favoritism of lovers of good music in the Capital City”).³⁷ This is in line with Marta Braun and Charlie Keil’s study of early movie exhibition practices in Toronto. There was an increase in immigration at the start of the 20th century, with many coming from the British Isles and Continental Europe. Braun and Keil point out that “Canada’s class structure at the turn of the century was indebted to a notion of society as a vertical mosaic [...] vestiges of the class structure inherent to the European system still remained, and the hierarchical structure allowed those of Anglo heritage to assume a position of authority as Canada’s cultural elite.”³⁸ It appears to have also allowed European immigrants to assume a position of authority in Ottawa musical circles as well.

In terms of the Diagram 5-4, we can see its uses and what it misses. The 1887-1917 visualisation shows the associations that would have given Wilson musical and communal credibility in Ottawa before the Regent’s photo was published. Without knowing the details of the depicted links, it is clear that Wilson was involved with religious work in the United Kingdom and in Ottawa, but, considering the diagram alone, the manner in which these associations were promoted is not specified and the degree to which audiences would have known about the connections is not known. In this case, there are two articles that give additional details on what audiences and the newspaper thought of him; however, this type of information is not readily available for all of the Regent’s musicians. Nonetheless, the diagram depicts Wilson as still being an outsider to the local network, suggesting he was still understood more in terms of instrumental outcomes rather than his expressive outcomes at the time the Regent Orchestra

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Marta Braun and Charlie Keil, “Sounding Canadian: Early Sound Practices and Nationalism in Toronto-Based Exhibition,” in *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, ed. Richard Abel and Rick Altman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 199.

photo was published.³⁹ However, as churches are understood to preserve and defend communal values, Wilson's work at the First Congregational Church would have demonstrated his valuing of the community's expressive outcomes.

This promotion of the Regent and the First Congregational Church's ties with Wilson was mutually beneficial. As Wilson's instrumental capital was used to promote the respectability of these institutions as well as their high quality musical practices in 1917, Wilson in turn would use his associations with the Regent and his later church, St. John's, to bolster his credibility in a 1920 advertisement (see Figure 5-5). In other words, by 1920 he chose to rely on his expressive social capital to promote his services as a local music teacher.

The social capital of the Regent Concert Orchestra musicians of 1917 mainly suggested expressive/communal results. In addition to Wilson's work at the First Congregational Church, we can see that Tremblay and cellist Lucien Labelle had connections with the Rideau Street Convent and Wimperis once played a concert at Grace Church. Clarinetist Julius Hillas and double bassist Robert Richard Wimperis added to these expressive connections by their participation in military ensembles. Before his time at the Regent, Hillas was the bandmaster of the 38th Regiment. Wimperis was part of the Governor Generals Foot Guards (GGFG) Band from 1894 to 1939, participated in Ottawa's Orchestra Society and was possibly part of his father's "Wimperis Orchestra" in the late 19th century (See Appendix 4). The inclusion of these two musicians in the Regent Concert Orchestra would have forwarded the theatre's patriotic image, a virtue many Ottawa theatres strove to promote as seen in the Regent's 1925 showing of

³⁹ In the Diagram 5-4, I have shown Wilson's connection with the Rialto Theatre in New York as described in "Horace Wilson Has Won Many Honors," *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 18. I only found this mentioned in one source several years after Wilson's arrival in Ottawa, and I find it odd that they would not have mentioned it in the 1917 article and believe the *Ottawa Journal's* claim that he worked with the Rialto needs to be further examined.

Horace Wilson
A. R. C. O.
 Organist and Choirmaster
ST. JOHN'S
CHURCH
 Organist
REGENT
THEATRE
 Professor of Voice Pro-
 duction, Singing, Piano,
 Organ, Elocution,
 Harmony, Counterpoint,
 etc.
STUDIO-APT. 6
289 Metcalfe St.



Figure 5-5. As the Regent benefited from Wilson's instrumental social capital in 1916, Wilson benefited from the Regent's expressive social capital in 1920. Source: Horace Wilson A.R.C.O. advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 21, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

AUTHENTIC . YOU AUTHENTIC
WILL RECOGNIZE FRIENDS
Many OTTAWA BOYS
 Who Took Actual Part in the Canadian Victory at Vimy Ridge.
REGENT -- This Week Only

Figure 5-6. Several of these smaller advertisements were used in the *Ottawa Journal* to promote showings of *The Battle of Asse* or *Canadians at Vimy Ridge* at the Regent in 1917. Source: Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 25, 1917: 11, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

Zeebrugge and in its 1917 promotion of the official war film *The Battle of Asse* or *Canadians at Vimy Ridge* (see Figure 5-6), which was advertised as “authentic” and including Ottawa men (refer to Chapter 2 for a discussion of war films and authenticity in regards to the Regent’s *Zeebrugge*). John P. “Jack” Neville, was also a part of the GGFG Band in 1908 alongside Wimperis. He was the organist at the Regent’s opening in 1916 but was replaced by Horace Wilson later in the year. He also played organ at the Imperial and Flower theatres, and between 1906 and 1909 he played piano for several union gatherings including those of the Bartenders International league, Ottawa Allied Trades and Labor Council, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He opened a music store at 172 Rideau Street in January 1910, but no mention of it is made in the *Ottawa Journal* beyond the article announcing its opening.⁴⁰

Whereas Neville was a shopkeeper and union man himself, Rudolph Pelisek was understood as a musical promoter of Ottawa shops. Violinist Rudolph Pelisek, the leader of the Regent’s orchestra from 1916 to 1925, was almost always advertised in terms of the instrumental returns of his international social capital. He appears to have used his European high-class musical credibility to his advantage from his arrival in Ottawa in 1909 or 1912 to his death in 1926, as did the Regent.⁴¹ By the time of the 1917 photo, R. Pelisek had been playing frequently in Ottawa’s classy secular establishments including concerts at C.W. Lindsay Limited Pianos at 189 Sparks Street (See Figure 5-7), the Tea Rooms of the A. E. REA Co., Ltd. department store next to “Connaught Square” (now featuring the National War Memorial and called Confederation square), the Plaza Cafe, and Peter’s Cafe at 77 Bank Street.⁴² The last three of

⁴⁰ “Mr. Neville Opens New Music Store,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 14, 1910: 1.

⁴¹ “Pelisek Orchestra Elevated Standard: Young Bohemian Leader Left Native Land at Fourteen” *Ottawa Journal*, April 22, 1919: 13. “Rudolph Pelisek, Violinist and Orchestra Leader, Dies In His Thirty-Seventh Year,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 20, 1926: 1.

⁴² “Lindsay Recital,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 29, 1915: 15. The A. E. REA Co., Ltd.

these performances were by a group billed as the Pelisek Orchestra or the Pelisek Trio. It could be that this ensemble was like the Wimperis Orchestra, which played social functions and concerts around Ottawa in the 1890s and advertised itself as a piano and violin duo with the possibility that “Up to full Orchestra [could] be engaged for Concerts, Balls, etc.”⁴³ In the network diagram, blue hypothetical edges connect Joseph Pelisek with the Pelisek ensembles since he was a working violinist in Ottawa and R. Pelisek’s brother.

A November 1916 advertisement for Peter’s Cafe (taking up about a quarter of the page) again conveys the balance of expressive local and instrumental international interests, noting that R. Pelisek was “well known in Ottawa” and the leader of the Regent’s orchestra while promoting his European credentials: “His wonderful talent has delighted the most critical audiences in London, Paris, Petrograd, and Madrid” (See Figure 5-8).⁴⁴ He was mainly associated with musical quality in *Ottawa Journal* articles, with the April 1919 report “Pelisek Orchestra Elevated Standard: Young Bohemian Leader Left Native Land at Fourteen” highlighting the child prodigy aspect of his biography:

Mr. Pelisek is a young Bohemian who received his early education in Bohemia. At the age of fourteen he left his native land and went to London, England, where he played with the famous Albert Hall Orchestra, and later with some of the larger European and American orchestras. He finally came to Ottawa ten years ago, and since his association with the Regent Theatre Orchestra in this city, has done much to elevate the standard of music in motion picture houses.⁴⁵

advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 21, 1916: 3. Rea's advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 24, 1917: 3. Plaza Cafe advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 11, 1915: 2. Peter's Cafe advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 20, 1916: 7. “Confederation Square,” Wikipedia, last modified February 2, 2017, accessed June 17, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confederation_Square.

⁴³ “Music: Wimperis’ Orchestra” classifieds, *Ottawa Journal*, November 20, 1895: 3.

⁴⁴ Peter's Cafe advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 20, 1916: 7.

⁴⁵ “Pelisek Orchestra Elevated Standard: Young Bohemian Leader Left Native Land at Fourteen” *Ottawa Journal*, April 22, 1919: 13.

LINDSAY RECITAL

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 30th, 1915, AT 3.30.

PROGRAMME

1. Victrola—La Favorite (Spirit So Fair). No. 88004. Caruso.
2. Solo—Apollo Player. Romance (Svendseir). Roll No. 400056.
3. Violin Solo—Selected. Rudolph Pelisek.
4. Victrola—Stabat Mater (Rossini). No. 88132. Homer.
5. Solo—Apollo Player. Ballade in A Flat (Chopin). Roll No. 80224.
6. Victrola—Madame Butterfly (Finale Act 1). Duet, Farrar—Caruso. No. 89017.
7. Violin Solo—Selected. Rudolph Pelisek.
8. Solo—Apollo Player. Valse in E. (Moszkowski). Roll No. 80477.
9. Victrola—Rose of My Heart (Hermann Løhr). R. Warrenrath. No. 17618.

Rudolph Pelisek—Violinist.

God Save The King.

C. W. LINDSAY
LIMITED
189
Sparks St. **Pianos**

Figure 5-7: Rudolph Pelisek was advertised as playing at secular venues before the Regent Orchestra photo, including several shops. Interestingly, in his first mention in the *Ottawa Journal*, he is listed as the soloist alongside a mechanical player piano and a turntable in this concert at the C. W. Lindsay Limited Pianos shop. Source: C. W. Lindsay Limited Pianos advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 29, 1915: 15, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.



The Famous Trio

Commencing Tonight

MONSIEUR RUDOLPHE PELISEK

and

His Well-Known Orchestra

Will Play

**A Selection of Classic and Popular Music Every
Evening from a Quarter to 6 to a Quarter
Past 7**

**Sundays from 5.30 to 7.30 and from
9.00 to 10.30 in**

M. Rudolphe Pelisek

is an artist of the highest rank. His wonderful talent has delighted the most critical audiences in London, Paris, Petrograd, and Madrid. Mr. Pelisek is well known in Ottawa, and is at present engaged as orchestra leader at the Regent.

PETER'S CAFE

77 BANK STREET

NOTICE

The costly improvements just completed will insure the quickest and best service in the city. The new, upstairs kitchen is a wonder. Come and try its products once and you're sure to come back. Something new, something special every day at "Peter's."

Figure 5-8. This 1916 advertisement emphasises Pelisek's good reputation in Ottawa and abroad. Source: Peter's Cafe advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 20, 1916: 7, microfilm from Ottawa Public Library.

Joseph Pelisek was barely mentioned in the newspaper before the 1917 photo was taken, although he arrived in Ottawa in 1911. The one article mentioning his playing violin described a high-class fundraiser for the Britannia Bay Fresh Air Fund taking place at “‘The Pebbles,’ the summer residences of Mr. and Mrs. S. Rosenthal,” suggesting he was understood to be part of similar social circles to his brother.⁴⁶ A 1923 article described him as “Ottawa’s own composer, playing his latest song success ‘Won’t You,’” at the Regent and he later became the leader of the Regent Orchestra and the Capitol Theatre Orchestra.⁴⁷

The Regent successfully invested in both instrumental and expressive outcomes with its employment of a variety of musicians. It brought exciting international and high quality musicians to its audience members, expanding their perception of the world while arguably diluting the network. Simultaneously, it also demonstrated respect towards institutions that strengthened the expressive outcomes of the local network such as the military and churches.

The Formation of the Regent Concert Orchestra

In engineer Francis C. Moon’s 2014 book, *Social Networks in the History of Innovation and Invention*, he argues for the use of social network diagrams in understanding how inventions arise, “[presenting] evidence that invention is not just a moment of epiphany in a lone genius inventor, but is a culmination of an evolutionary process resulting from a network of people and institutions.”⁴⁸ In his chapter on James Watt and the steam engine, Moon explains that a number of experiments and discussions occurring in Watt’s social network lead to his inventing the

⁴⁶ “Raised \$400 For Fresh Air Cottage,” *Ottawa Journal*, August 19, 1915: 10.

⁴⁷ “Extended Run of Regent Feature,” *Ottawa Journal*, March 3, 1923: 20. “Canada,” *Moving Picture World* 86 no. 1 (May 7, 1927): 46, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/movingpicturewor86mayj>.

⁴⁸ Moon, “Introduction: James Watt’s Social Network,” *Social Networks in the History of Innovation and Invention*, 1.

steam engine (though Moon does question the idea of one inventor, “can we really say who invented the steam engine?”).⁴⁹ It was not entirely a solo endeavor. He continues, “This network does not diminish the contributions of Watt to steam power, but makes more explicit his connection to a community of other contributors to the technology and to the science of steam power and thermodynamics.”⁵⁰

Moon presents multimodal and directed *historical innovation network* diagrams where people, companies, universities, and social events constitute different node types and each diagram is formatted alongside a vertical time axis (older connections at the top, newer ones at the bottom).⁵¹ In the case of Watt, the diagram shows that he was in contact with a number of other inventors, relations he developed “in the Lunary Society of Birmingham as well as [through] letters, books and historical links.”⁵² Moon concludes, “Thus before the first steam engines were employed in the early eighteenth century there was already established a network of scientists and inventors.”⁵³

This use of the historical innovation network diagram partly inspired and strengthened my decision to create a multimodal network to depict links of Ottawa’s theatre musicians. Much like the coming of the steam engine and other inventions, the creation of new ensembles requires a pre-existing network of musicians.⁵⁴ Between Diagrams 5-2, 5-3, and 5-4, as early as 1902 we

⁴⁹ Ibid. 13.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 10.

⁵¹ The historical innovation network is one of a number of other models and graphs Moon presents. The historical innovation network is the closest to Diagrams 5-2, 5-3, and 5-4 in this chapter. Ibid. 13 and 14.

⁵² Ibid. 10.

⁵³ Ibid. 6.

⁵⁴ I have overlooked the role of theatre managers in these diagrams in order to focus on the musicians, but their network, and how it related to the musicians’ network, would be an important point of investigation.

can see indirect links forming between the musicians that would form the Regent Concert Orchestra of 1917-1918 season, depicting an established musical network similar to Moon's scientific networks. In these diagrams, the Regent musicians appear at their noted date of arrival in Ottawa, or when they are first connected with an Ottawa organization when information of how long they were in the city is unavailable. Other nodes appear when the first connection to a Regent musician is made.

In Diagram 5-2, which shows musical connections from 1887 to 1902, there are no connections that lead Amédée Tremblay to R. R. Wimperis Jr. although both were in the city at the time. However, these musicians had already forged early links that were likely pivotal in their later connection with the Regent. Tremblay had worked twice with Albert Tassé, the leader of the Russell Theatre Orchestra from 1897 to 1905: in 1898 they assisted tenor Eugene Tremblay in a concert raising funds for his music tuition at the Canadian Institute and in 1900 they took part in a concert at Harmony Hall.⁵⁵ The latter concert was presented as being the first by L'Orphéon d'Ottawa, "a French-Canadian musical organization somewhat recently formed in this city," and was a success.⁵⁶ Amédée Tremblay was the music director of L'Orphéon, and composed a choral piece for the occasion with words by Rémi Tremblay, "translater [sic] of the House of Commons."⁵⁷ As seen in Diagram 5-3, which shows connections between 1887 and

⁵⁵ Tassé may have been the director beyond these dates but an August 1905 article states "the Russell theatre orchestra is now under the capable direction of Mr. R. Berry," "Coming Amusements: Russell Theatre Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, August 29, 1905: 11. "A Musical Treat," *Ottawa Journal*, May 18, 1900: 5. Tassé was noted as directing an orchestra at the Russell for a 1917 concert as well. "St. Jean Baptiste Concert a Success," *Ottawa Journal*, June 25, 1917: 12.

⁵⁶ "A Musical Treat," 5.

⁵⁷ Ibid. Of note, Rémi was a good friend of Amédée, writing the poem "A M. Amédée Tremblay" for the third anniversary of his arrival in Ottawa in December 1897. The following book, *Vers l'idéal*, also includes lyrics for a song for L'Orphéon d'Ottawa called "Notre-Dame des Arts" (harmonised by Amédée) and the libretto for their 1906 opera *L'Intransigeant*, Rémi

1912, these connections lead to the development of concerts at the Monument National, an important French Canadian meeting hall in Ottawa (triangulation and clustering are evident in the diagram). In 1906, Rémi Tremblay and Amédée Tremblay's opera, *L'Intransigent* premiered at the hall "Under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor General and His Grace Archbishop Duhamel," and in 1907 Tassé and A. Tremblay presented a concert together there, "assisted by Mr. Alfred DeCelles, who [gave] an address on comic monologues."⁵⁸

A. Tremblay's association with Tassé put him in close connection with the Russell Theatre where he acted as an accompanist in a 1904 fundraising concert for Ottawa University alongside Donald Heins.⁵⁹ Additionally, he was complimented for his "arrangement" and performance of Jules Tremblay's "Dans le Filet" (written "in honor of the French heroes who fell in 1870") alongside the Notre-Dame Basilica choir, which was under the direction of J. F. Champagne, at a 1917 concert at the Russell presented by the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Ottawa and Hull in aid of the Red Cross.⁶⁰ The programme also featured an orchestra directed by

Tremblay, "A M. Amédée Tremblay," dated December 9, 1897, *Vers l'idéal* (Ottawa: 1912), 269-271, digital copy available from Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec numérique, <http://collections.banq.qc.ca/ark:/52327/2021939>.

⁵⁸ "Le Monument National: L'Intransigent," *Ottawa Journal*, June 22, 1906: 6. "Concert in Monument National," *Ottawa Journal*, April 11, 1907: 7.

⁵⁹ Heins formed the Canadian Conservatory Orchestra in 1903 and renamed it the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra (OSO) in 1910. In 1908, Tassé formed the first OSO including both amateurs and professionals, but this was not successful. Southworth writes, "In [its] second season, when the musicians' union would not allow the professional players to continue performing with the amateurs, the orchestra lost its wind section but survived as the Ottawa String Orchestra. Tassé authorized Heins to use the name Ottawa SO for the conservatory ensemble in 1910, prior to forming the Ottawa String Quartet in 1914." Jean Southworth, "Music in Ottawa," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last modified August 29, 2007, accessed August 1, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ottawa-ont-emc/%20music%20in%20ottawa>. Heins's remarkable Ottawa and Toronto career is beyond the scope of this thesis but is well described in the following article; Louis-Gérard Alberti, "Donald Heins," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last updated December 16, 2013, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/donald-heins-emc/>.

⁶⁰ Jules Tremblay was a French Canadian author, so it appears that, by "arranged," the

Tassé and a composition by the violinist, an orchestral number titled “Berceuse.”⁶¹ With Tremblay’s prominence in Ottawa and his associations with the Russell Theatre, it makes sense that he would have been sought after to play in the Regent’s orchestra. Diagram 5-3 also shows the possibility that Wimperis Jr. and Tremblay may have worked together at the Russell by 1912. A full page 1907 article on the growth and strength of the relatively new American Federation of Musicians Local No. 180 listed Wimperis Jr. and Jack Neville as players in the Governor General’s Foot Guards Band and also notes that the band “supplies the orchestra for the Russell Theatre.”⁶² Wimperis Jr. was also part of the Orchestral Society in 1903, which played at the Russell, and the Ottawa Choral Society provided another possible avenue for Wimperis and Tremblay to meet with their names listed in articles on 1898 and 1909 concerts respectfully.⁶³

In Diagram 5-4, which shows connections made between 1887 and 1917, there are interesting differences between each musician’s links. Horace Wilson and Julius Hillas were surprisingly not reported to be connected with any of the other musicians before the Regent Concert Orchestra. In contrast, Lucien Labelle appears to have been part of the Tassé-Tremblay-Russell cluster. Additionally, in 1914, Labelle, Tassé, Wimperis Jr., and Lionel Mortimer (director of the Family Theatre Orchestra) were part of the 71-piece orchestra for the symphonic ode *Christopher Columbus* by Felicien David, “produced in the Russell Theatre in aid of St. Charles Home of the Aged.”⁶⁴ By 1917, Rudolph Pelisek created a network that was relatively

Ottawa Journal reporter is describing Jules Tremblay’s words being set to music. “St. Jean Baptiste Concert a Success,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 25, 1917: 12.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² “Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 2, 1907: 11.

⁶³ “Concert Was A Success,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 16, 1903: 3. “Choral Society Orchestra: Those who Will Assist in the Opening Concert Next Month,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 30, 1898: 8. “Choral Society Scores Success,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 7, 1909: 6.

⁶⁴ “Two Hundred Will Sing in Musical Extravaganza,” *Ottawa Journal*, May 23, 1914:

distant from Tremblay and the Russell, mainly associating himself with Ottawa shops. However, his work at the Regent lead him to becoming part of that musician group: he appeared at the Russell, alternately directing an orchestra with Donald Heins for an Ottawa Musicians' Protective Association gala in 1920 (as discussed in Chapter 1).⁶⁵

Next Steps

As shown by the Regent Concert Orchestra's social network (Diagram 5-4), Ottawa's theatre musicians took part in many musical activities alongside their theatre duties, forged strong links with the community, and were associated with high-class music making. Therefore, beyond the mere existence of a 7-piece orchestra at the Regent in 1917, the musicians themselves were important in drawing audiences and creating the Regent's image of respectable and quality entertainment.

This final network diagram could certainly be expanded and provide a greater understanding of the creation of other Ottawa ensembles and concerts. It could be extended in time to show connections that came out of these musicians' work at the Regent during their tenure, including Pelisek's 1920 concert at the Russell, and afterwards. Some Ottawa theatre musicians moved to other cities in the 1920s. It would be interesting to investigate whether or not their experience of playing with silent films, and the connections they consequently forged, had an effect on what they did afterwards. For example, Milton Blackstone, the Centre theatre's music director from at least 1919 to 1920, would become the founding violist of the University of Toronto's Hart House String Quartet from 1924 to 1941.⁶⁶

15.

⁶⁵ "Crowded House at Russell for Big Musicale: Sir Arthur Currie Suggests Many Civic Band Concerts – A Delightful Performance," *Ottawa Journal* May 1, 1920: 30.

⁶⁶ "Milton Blackstone," *The Hart House String Quartet 1924-45*, last updated 2010, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://www.harthousestringquartet.ca/members/blackstone.html>. The

An expanded network that includes all of Ottawa's theatre ensembles may give clues to how and why the usual and exceptional performances described in Chapters 1 and 2 came about. It would also show how different theatres related to different communities in the same manner that the Tremblay-Tassé-Russell network shows a strong connection to French Canadian and Catholic music making. For example, the Family/Franklin vaudeville theatre appears to have been connected with the Jewish community. Lionel Mortimer was the music director at the Family Theatre before it became the Franklin, and he would later direct the orchestra at B.F. Keith Vaudeville and play violin in the Centre Theatre Orchestra. He was reported to have played for several Jewish events in the city including at a Feast of Lots festival (along with his orchestra) at the Rideau Street Synagogue and a patriotic concert at the Regent under the auspices of the Ottawa Hebrew Ladies' Aid society, both in 1916.⁶⁷ His colleague at the Franklin and B. F. Keith's, Jack Sniderman, known as Jack Snider, was a composer and drummer, and he founded and conducted the Young Judaea Symphony Orchestra in Ottawa.⁶⁸ His 1923 song, 'Sweet Caroline' was later recorded by Canadian singer-songwriter Tommy Ambrose in 1960, and his piece *Melody for Heavy Bells* was "part of the Dominion Carillonners' repertoire for

following *Ottawa Journal* notice mistakenly describes Blackstone as a violinist rather than a violist, Will McLaughlin, "Twixt Stage and Screen: Hart House Violinist Well Known Here," *Ottawa Journal*, October 19, 1929: 30.

⁶⁷ "Feast of Lots to be Observed To-morrow," *Ottawa Journal*, March 14, 1916: 10.
"Patriotic Concert by Ladies' Aid Society," *Ottawa Journal*, May 13, 1916.

⁶⁸ "Jack Snider," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last updated May 15, 1914, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jack-snider-emc/>. The Ottawa Jewish Archives houses the Young Judaea Ottawa with documents from 1926 to 1968. Although I have not looked at the finding aid, the description on the following page for the collection mentions the "Young Judaea Symphony Orchestra," "Fonds-Young Judaea Ottawa fonds," Ottawa Jewish Archives, *Archeion*, <https://www.archeion.ca/young-judaea-ottawa-fonds>. The uOttawa Silent Film Music Collection includes several pieces by "Jack Snyder" but I have yet to determine if this is the same composer.

more than 50 years.”⁶⁹ Snider’s son, Dave Snider started a successful family-run music school in Toronto in 1949 which is now the Snider School of Music and still runs today.⁷⁰

Additionally, women are hardly featured in Diagram 5-4, with only Helen Langdon and Gertrude Tremblay making an appearance. I have overlooked that side of the history of Ottawa’s music making as it often did not overlap with Ottawa theatre orchestras. However, cellist Helen Langdon, who was described as “one of the foremost ’cellists in the Capital and Dominion [...] a ’cellist of extraordinary skill and understanding,” was featured in many Ottawa recitals in the 1910s and 1920s.⁷¹ For example, she was featured at the Imperial in April 1916, she performed at the Women’s Morning Music Club at C. W. Lindsay Limited in January 1917, and she played a concert alongside Donald Heins and Dr. Herbert Sanders, F.R.C.O. in November 1924.⁷² In the course of this research I found that many wives and daughters of these theatre musicians were also musicians. For example, Gertrude Tremblay, the daughter of Amédée, was a virtuoso musician herself. She played many concerts in the city including a 1916 lecture recital by Prof. Percival J. Illsley at the Rideau St. Convent where her father, Albert Tassé, and Lucien Labelle were amongst the other musicians playing.⁷³ The *Ottawa Journal* reporter gave her a stellar review: “Here, must be mentioned very particularly, little Miss Gertrude Tremblay, daughter of Professor Amedee Tremblay, who played Bach, probably the most difficult master to execute, with exceptional skill, and a command of the instrument far beyond her years.”⁷⁴ However it was

⁶⁹ “Jack Snider,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*.

⁷⁰ “History,” *Snider School of Music*, last updated 2016, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://sniderschoolofmusic.com/history/>.

⁷¹ “Banner Evening at Knox Church Friday,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 6, 1916: 2.

⁷² Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 19, 1916: 15. C. W. Lindsay Limited advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 10, 1917: 11. “Donald Heins in Concert Recital,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 8, 1924: 10.

⁷³ “Last Night’s Lecture at Rideau St. Convent,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 27, 1916: 8.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

only in 1927 that she made “her first professional appearance in Ottawa as a pianist-rectalist” at the Chateau ballroom.⁷⁵ In his review of the concert, Dr. Sanders was full of praise, commenting on her “exceptional” technique and her creative independence: “She interprets in a way which shows she is capable of thinking for herself inasmuch as she habitually puts a purely personal note into her playing.”⁷⁶ For women instrumentalists, an expanded version of the Diagram 5-4 might not be too useful as theatres often only advertised female vocalists (another important area of investigation). An alternate network built with the purpose of understanding the social network of Ottawa’s female musicians would likely provide many new insights to the sort of concerts they were involved in and how their playing was advertised and received.

These musical network diagrams of the Regent Concert Orchestra of 1917 begin to shed light on the complexity of what it meant to be a theatre musician in Ottawa, and perhaps in other cities, clearly depicting what made these musicians respected and seen as professionals (their musical relations and social capital); their relation with both building communal links (expressive outcomes) and bringing new ideas (instrumental outcomes); and a host of musical organizations, ensembles, and venues that structured professional playing. In Ottawa, connections with the church and with the military appear to have been very important. Additionally, high-class music making was continually promoted. In terms of employment, R. R. Wimperis was a civil servant as well as a double bassist and a member of the Governor General’s Foot Guards Band while it appears most of the orchestra consisted of full-time musicians (often also playing in other contexts as well as teaching and composing) such as Rudolph Pelisek, Amédée Tremblay, and Horace Wilson. The diagrams are also tools for

⁷⁵ Herbert Sanders, “Miss Gertrude Tremblay Reveals Fine Technique In Her Recital,” *Ottawa Journal*, April 21, 1927: 3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

research, revealing aspects of the city's cultural infrastructure and relations that might lead to further material on the orchestra at the centre of the diagram or other interesting stories of Ottawa music making and organization. They are only a beginning and are made with the hope that they will be expanded and refined.

Conclusion

Although a degree of standardisation is evident within Ottawa (as seen by the 10-piece orchestras at many Ottawa theatres in the early 1920s, discussed in Chapter 1), the flux of silent film music practices and audience interpretation in the city demonstrates the importance of understanding silent film music within each locality. As demonstrated in this thesis, a middle level perspective that involves the constant negotiation between large-scale and local narratives illuminates the disparities and similarities between trade journals and local commentary, and between the practices of different cities. These bring forth tales of experimentation and lost ideas of screen-music relations that are important in our search to understand how early audiences and musicians considered the relation or lack thereof between film and music. Some of these early audio-visual practices have since resurfaced in multi-media popular music concerts and theatrical productions. Additionally, investigating different levels of networks (local, national, and international) displays the complexity of how ideas travelled (as in the case of Operafilm, discussed in Chapter 2) and of the demands and considerations of theatre managers (as seen in the case of the Dominion Strike, discussed in Chapter 4).

Returning to our initial question, how do we choose which cinema to go to? There is still some variety in screening techniques (general screenings, IMAX, 3D, VIP experiences, etc.), but even these are relatively widespread and certainly standardised. The main factor has become location with several cinemas often showing the same films. Considering the highly varied music that accompanied and surrounded silent films in the early 1900s, and the theatrical events sometimes grouped with the feature, it is rather astonishing to see the difference in our perception of film and cinema-going now compared to 100 years ago. Although audiences of this time sometimes choose to go to a certain theatre because it was the only one showing a film with

their favourite star, a cinema's quality and respectability were also important factors in selecting a theatre, especially with the density of competing photoplay houses in Ottawa's downtown core (e.g. there were six theatres showing films within two blocks of Bank and Sparks in 1920).¹ As shown in Chapters 5, high-class music and musicians were indicators of these characteristics, and a theatre and musician's dedication to the community also portrayed the movies as a safe and family friendly entertainment. Despite repeated efforts to advertise the music of film showings as high-class in Ottawa, which appear to have been successful at the time, this was not enough for the practice or the musicians to have been remembered for their craft. Even with the scarcity of archival sources (discussed in Chapter 1), this thesis has shown that remaining documents and fragmentary newspaper reports and advertisements are sufficient to provide a glimpse of the music and musicians of Ottawa's three decades of silent film showings.

What also differentiates us from Ottawa's silent film audiences is an understanding of film as a completed text rather than one mode of entertainment that could be surrounded by creative local interpretations. We also largely understand film exhibition as a product of mass-culture with the communal showing of local and independent films at Ottawa's Mayfair and ByTowne cinemas being idiosyncratic. However, the practice of showing a pre-recorded moving image alongside live music is now prevalent at popular music concerts. Additionally, the combination of light show, pictures, and film with orchestra is now found at recent performances at the National Arts Centre (NAC) located approximately where the Russell Theatre once stood.²

¹ See the "Silent Film Music in Downtown Ottawa (1900-1928)" exhibit at *Silent Film Music in Canada* for an idea of how close cinemas were to each other in Ottawa's downtown core <http://biblio.uottawa.ca/omeka1/silentfilmmusiccanada/>.

² The Russell Theatre and Hotel burnt down in April 1928 just before its planned demolition, Alain Miguélez, *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in Ottawa-Gatineau* (Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2004), 43.

For example, the collaborative multi-modal work *Life Reflected* was premiered by the NAC Orchestra (NACO) in 2016 and uses many practices mentioned in this thesis in an updated fashion. It is interesting to see this mixture of light show, voice, moving image, and live orchestral music presented as original and framed as a product of the 21st century, with conductor Alexander Shelley commenting that the commission “[stemmed] from my desire to create an alternative context for new music in the symphony hall, with the symphony orchestra. This germ then developed into this idea of why don’t we create a collaborative, immersive show” and creative producer Donna Feore describing it as “new and innovative.”³ *Life Reflected* is certainly spectacular and original for many reasons. However, this thesis has shown that some of these supposedly new multi-modal practices are not all that new: in some ways, the NAC’s *Life Reflected* unknowingly recovers and reinterprets the collaborative spirit and audio-visual practices that its cultural and geographical predecessor, the Russell Theatre, experimented with 96 years before with its presentation of the Mary Pickford film *Pollyanna* and the theatrical prologue *Pollyanna at the Court of Happiness* with live orchestra. The Ottawa and Canadian musical community seems to have forgotten these silent film music practices and, remarkably, have created them all over again. As discussed in regards to multi-modal exhibitions and transmedial cinematic concept spectacles in Chapter 2, music and theatrics related to a silent film sometimes preceded or occurred simultaneously with a feature, and as shown throughout this thesis the combination of live orchestra playing music alongside moving images (although with

³ The following website lists the multiple composers, poets, and other creators, “Life Reflected,” *National Arts Centre*, accessed July 27, 2017, <https://nac-cna.ca/en/lifereflected>. “Life Reflected/ Réflexions sur la vie,” YouTube video, 3:31, posted by “National Arts Centre,” April 14, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QUmY_OQ0az0. Robert Rowat, “First Play: NAC Orchestra, Life Reflected,” *CBC Music*, last updated April 12, 2017, accessed July 27, 2017, <http://www.cbcmusic.ca/first-plays/269/first-play-nac-orchestra-life-reflected>.

smaller ensembles than the NACO) was common in Ottawa in the 1910s and 1920s. Whereas most photoplay houses used classical music to present the movies as respectable and high-class in Ottawa during the silent film era, in 1920 the Russell (primarily a playhouse) used film to bring audiences to appreciate its theatrical and musical strengths and the NAC is now similarly using film to make new music more approachable and, arguably, to attract audiences beyond its usual high-class patrons. The live and recorded multi-modal practices of the silent film era have not disappeared, but it is fair to say the central medium has shifted from the moving image to the music in live classical and popular music audio-visual productions.

In some ways, how we now choose which cinema to go to, what our perception of cinemas, music, and film is now, has limited our ability to imagine and recover the mostly lost history of Ottawa's silent film music and musicians. My hope is that this local musicological study has shown not only interesting practices, people, and perspectives, but also the continued need for musicians, music educators, and music administrators to understand the ephemeral nature of documents, practice, and collective memory. History does not simply exist, it is built from these primary sources, and it can easily disappear. Recording interviews with those involved in musical activities (both creators and audience members) and organizing and maintaining archival collections are important practices not limited to librarians, archivists, and historians. For music historians, perhaps we can do more to teach the ongoing nature of recording history and show that local stories are valuable. For Ottawans and specifically Ottawa musicians, the theatre musicians discussed in this thesis are our counterparts of a century ago and were integral to the musical networks that created the organizations we are a part of today. By investigating these formative networks, we gain a better understanding of not only the history of our theatres, many of which are no longer standing, but also of the prominent contemporary

ensembles, compositions, and musicians that preceded us. As shown in Chapters 3, cultural leaders, especially musical ones, played a significant in how Ottawans understood silent films and, as shown in the case of the Regent Concert Orchestra in Chapter 5, the movies provided an unprecedented opportunity for musical employment and the development of the city's musical network. Expanding and refining the social network diagrams presented in Chapter 5 may give us a better idea of how Ottawa's cultural infrastructure developed in the century that followed.

More generally, by investigating the musicians who played in silent cinemas by locale, we gain a better understanding of which practices were regular and which were exceptional. Also, we find the ways new silent film accompaniment ideas originated and spread. The discussion of terminology in Chapter 1 and of Ottawa's relation with New York in Chapter 4 demonstrate that the city participated in the larger dialogue of what film and film music were and should be. To restate a point Verhoeven made in her discussion of digital infrastructure, infrastructure is never neutral. As this thesis has demonstrated, in the case of the Ottawa's musical networks and the cultural infrastructure between New York management and trade journals and Ottawa theatres and reporting, neither is it one sided. These top-down and bottom-up narratives co-existed and present a history of silent film music practice that reveals a continued negotiation between the need for regional expressive ideas of safety, community, and respectability, and the need for the new instrumental ideas from New York, Europe, and other areas that expand the imagination of locals.

My hope is that this thesis has inspired some readers to take a local approach to musicological research and to discover more about the Imperial Theatre or the Young Judea Orchestra, to research what came of Joseph Pelisek or Helen Langdon, to uncover the theatre musicians of their own city, to record interviews with their musical colleagues, or to create new

works and concerts inspired by the audio-visual experiments of a hundred years ago. There are musicians, ensembles, and ways to dream that we have long since forgotten, and we can bring them back to the fore.

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Appendix 1
Table of Film-Music Commentary and Theatre Musicians in *Ottawa Journal* and *Motion Picture News* Reporting (1895-1929)

The following information is used on the *Silent Film Music in Canada* Omeka site as part of the “Silent Film Music in Downton Ottawa (1900-1928)” exhibit. Each entry in the exhibit includes information about musicians (names, instrumentation, and/or number) or unique film-music attractions. A few mentions of visiting musicians who were not playing for films have been included. The dates provided are of the newspaper advertisements or articles. Again, this information is not all encompassing but covers what I have found, and as such some theatres are not listed. Unless otherwise noted, the cinema names, addresses, and dates of opening and closing come from Alain Miguélez, *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in Ottawa-Gatineau* (Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2004). Numbers on the right correspond with footnotes.

Britannia Park		
1897	June 6 - Biograph showing with music by the 43 rd Battalion Band (possibly under the direction of James McGillicuddy)	1
1899	August 29 - Prof. Joly presents the Cinematograph. Free show supported by the Hull Electric Company. “The scenes are described by an able lecturer, a good orchestra discourses appropriate music.”	2
1904	June 10 – “Free entertainment every evening at 8.30, commencing Monday, June 13 th . Moving Pictures. Special Music.”	3
Grand Opera House – Colonial (1875-1913) 134 Albert Street		
1895	Wimperis Orchestra associated with the Grand Opera House in the <i>Ottawa City Directory</i>	4
1902	November 24 - Moving pictures of the Coronation of King Edward and other recent events.”; “Mr. Edward E. Boyd, the monarch of song illustrators, will also make his first appearance before an Ottawa audience, singing the latest New York successes.”	5
1903	December 4 – Two pictures to be shown as part of Ireland Brothers’ entertainment	6
1907	November 2 – Grand Opera House Orchestra: A. Brown, R. A. Berry (leader), T. David, T. Dunn, H. Hellard, T. Lake, M. R. Quinn	7
1913	July 5 - Grand Opera House burns down	8

¹ “Victoria Park Auditorium,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 6, 1897: 5. “Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 2, 1907: 11.

² “The Diamond Jubilee Parade,” *Ottawa Journal*, August 29, 1899: 6.

³ “Britannia-On-The-Bay,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 10, 1904: 3.

⁴ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1895-96* (Ottawa: Might Directory Co. of Toronto, 1895): 449, Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

⁵ “To-Night at The Grand,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 24, 1902: 3.

⁶ “Moving Pictures at the Grand,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 4, 1903: 6.

⁷ “Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor,” 11.

⁸ “Nickel Theatre and Masonic Hall Destroyed By Fire,” 11.

Russell Theatre (1897-1928) Corner of Queen and Canal Streets		
	A 1907 article states that James McGillicuddy “led the Russell Theatre orchestra under the management of Dr. Drowne, for five seasons.”	9
1897	December 13 – “Mr. Albert Tassé, the violinist has been appointed leader of the Russell Theatre orchestra”	10
1900	February 8 - The Biograph; “Only perfect moving pictures of the parades and departure at Halifax of The Second Contingent With splendid moving views relative to the War in South Africa.”; “Music by the military bands”; “Songs by Miss Beerley Robinson”	11
	June 18 – Albert Tassé, first violinist of the Russell Theatre orchestra (also leader of St. Anne’s church choir)	12
1905	August 29 – ““Manager P. Gorman has made several additions to the Russell theatre orchestra which is now under the capable direction of Mr. R. Berry.”	13
1907	November 2 – Governor General’s Foot Guards’ Band “supplies the orchestra for the Russell Theatre.” Bandmaster J. M. Brown, conducted Guards’ band since 1900. Full list of bandsmen found in article. Includes, amongst others, E. J. Cockburn (secretary of the AFM Local 180), J. Delaney (president of the AFM Local 180), R. R. Wimperis, and J. Neville.	14
1916	September 28 – “The Great Symphonic Dancer Maud Allen and Symphony Orchestra of 40,” Ernest Bloch conducting	15
1920	September 11 – <i>Pollyanna at the Court of Happiness</i> prologue. Manager: J.T. Moxley; see Chapter 3 for more details	16
1922	March – Cast photo by William James Topley appears to show 10 musicians	17
	April 8 – Showings of <i>The Eternal Light</i> accompanied by choir of St. James Cathedral, Montreal	18
1923	October 6 – Augmented orchestra and “special musical accompaniment” for	19

⁹ “Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor,” 11.

¹⁰ “Newslets,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 13, 1897: 5.

¹¹ Russell Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 8, 1900: 3.

¹² “Wedded at St. Anne’s,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 18, 1900: 7.

¹³ “Coming Amusements: Russell Theatre Orchestra,” *Ottawa Journal*, August 29, 1905:

11.

¹⁴ “The bands at the two roller rinks and the Arena and Rideau ice rinks are likewise supplied by the Guards’ band.” “Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor,” 11.

¹⁵ Russell advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 28, 1916: 11.

¹⁶ “Ottawa’s ‘Pollyanna’ Prologue Goes Big,” *Motion Picture News* 22 no. 12 (September 11, 1920): 2034. Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew222unse>.

¹⁷ William James Topley, “Group photo of the Russell Theatre troupe,” March 1922, Library and Archives Canada, Topley Series E, Topley Studio fonds, MIKAN no. 3411755, PA-206877, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁸ Russell Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 8, 1922: 17.

¹⁹ “Sir Hall Caine’s Biggest Story Made into Gigantic Film Epic,” *Ottawa Journal*,

	showings of <i>The Prodigal Son</i>	
1924	March 29 – Jascha Heifetz to play	20
Monument National (1906-1939) 113 George Street		
1916	September 9 – “Mathe Orchestra Every Evening”; movies	21
Bennett’s – Dominion (1906-1921) 230 Sparks Street		
1907	May 2 – Wilmott Fowler, leader of Bennett’s Orchestra since October 1907. Away from May 8 to end of August, where he returned to orchestra.	22
	November 2 – Bennett’s Theatre Orchestra: A. Carter, W. T. Fraser, A. Heyendel, R. Lake, James McGillicuddy (leader), S. Savage, W. P. Wood, A. E. Powell	23
1910	January 14 – John P. Neville, pianist in the Bennett’s Theatre Orchestra	24
	December 31 – Kinetograph showing	25
1914	September 20 to October 31 – Strike. 7 musicians, 5 stage employees. See Chapter 4 and Appendix 2 for more information.	26
1918	June 8 – Showing of <i>The Birth of a Nation</i> with “Original Effects” and a “Big Orchestra.”	27
The Nickel (1907-1913) Harmony Hall, Albert Street²⁸		
1907	November 8 – Grand opening Monday Nov. 11 “Illustrated Songs and the latest Moving Pictures. Realistic and amusing scenes harmonized with high-class vocalists. Polite attention.”	29

October 6, 1923: 14.

²⁰ Russell advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 29, 1924: 20.

²¹ National advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 9, 1916: 27.

²² “Mr. Wilmott Fowler,” *Ottawa Journal*, May 2, 1908: 4.

²³ “Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor,” 11.

²⁴ “Mr. Neville Open New Music Store,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 14, 1910: 1.

²⁵ “The Dominion,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 31, 1910: 17.

²⁶ “Trade Dispute,” signed November 2, 1914, Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 303, File no. 47, Reel T-2691, Library and Archives Canada.

²⁷ Dominion advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 8, 1918: 13.

²⁸ “Nickel Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 22, 1907: 6. “Nickel Theatre and Masonic Hall Destroyed By Fire,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 7, 1913: 11. This is not to be confused with the Nickelodion that opened in 1907 at 226 Albert Street and which Miguelez names the Albert Street Nickel Theatre. Miguelez names the Broadway theatre as being at 140 Albert Street, but implies that Harmony Hall (located at 140 Albert Street) opened a separate Nickel Theatre. Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You*, 97. However, it seems that the Albert Street Nickel Theatre, managed by Kenneth E Finlay and otherwise known as “The Nickel,” was not the Nickelodion. The following articles as well as the November 22, 1907 one suggest it replaced Harmony Hall at the lower level of 140 Albert Street in 1907. “Ken. E. Finlay Goes to Family Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 10, 1911: 18. “Order of Owls” notice, *Ottawa Journal*, July 22, 1912: 5.

²⁹ Nickel Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 8, 1907: 8.

	November 21 & 22 - Illustrated songs, “Mr. Harry Coombs, the celebrated English baritone, will sing the latest popular song hit, Honey Boy, accompanied by beautifully illustrated pictures.” Manager: Prof. MacQuarrie	30
	November 26 - “This week’s bill is strengthened by the engagement of four members of the Society Pierrot party, namely, Miss Jessie Adams, Miss Maud St. Malo, Mr. Harry Coombs and Mr. Billy Keene.” Bijou management	31
1908	February 3 - Illustrated songs by H. Coombs, Maud Coombs and L. Marchand; “Through the words being thrown on the screen those in the audience got a chance to join in the choruses, and did so heartily.”; “Lively piano selections at all stages serve to add to the general effectiveness of the pictures...”	32
	February 5 – “Say, fellows, ‘Get Busy’ and see the moving pictures and hear the best songs of the season Excellent music. Realistic mechanical effects. Uniformed users. Matron in attendance.”	33
	February 11 – “The feature of having almost continuous music during the time the pictures are moving across the screen seems to take well”; singers: Mr. Albert Marchand, Maud Coombs, Harry Coombs	34
1909	January? - Kenneth E. Finlay begins to manage Nickel (until June 1911 at least)	35
1911	January 26 – Samuel L. Rothafel visits and installs “Daylight Pictures.” For more information see Chapter 3.	36
1912	January 2 – J.W. Craig, piano player	37
1913	July 5 - The Nickel Theatre (where the fire started), the Masonic Hall above it, and the Grand Opera House next door burn down	38
Odéon – Laurier (1908-1933) 118 Rue Principale		
1919	December 27 – “Quality Photoplays. Three Shows Daily. Excellent Orchestra.”	39
1920	January 24 - “Theatre Laurier Concert Orchestra, in Popular and Classical Selections”	40
1925	February 28 – René Marier’s Concert Orchestra an “Added Attraction”	41

³⁰ “Nickel Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 21, 1907: 8. “Nickel Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 22, 1907: 6.

³¹ “Coming Amusements,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 26, 1907: 12.

³² “At the Theatres,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1908: 12.

³³ Nickel advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 5, 1908: 8.

³⁴ “At the New Nickel,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 11, 1908: 3.

³⁵ “Ken. E. Finlay Goes to Family Theatre,” 18.

³⁶ “Daylight Pictures,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 31, 1910: 17.

³⁷ “Names of Roomers, etc.,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 2, 1912: 9.

³⁸ “Nickel Theatre and Masonic Hall Destroyed By Fire,” 11. A 1913 article announces that a new theatre would be built on the site of the former Nickel. I have not found any additional information on it, “New Theatre to Replace the Nickel,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 18, 1913: 1.

³⁹ Theatre Laurier advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, December 27, 1919: 14.

⁴⁰ Theatre Laurier advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 24, 1920: 15.

⁴¹ Laurier Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 11.

1926	April 10 – René Marier’s Concert Orchestra	42
1927	March 5 – René Marier’s orchestra	43
Casino – Majestic – Capital (1909-1933) 592 Little Sussex Street		
1920	November 20 – Casino orchestra directed by Mr. E. Snell	44
Family – Franklin – Capital – Galvin – Embassy (1910-1932) 204 Queen Street		
	A Parks Canada paper notes the theatre had an orchestra of 7 players, possibly when it opened, but does not provide a date or citation.	45
1910	October 20 – Illustrated lecture by Frederic Viller with musical programme provided by 43 rd Regiment, included “Pictures of Many Modern Wars and Personal Recollections of His Late Majesty, Edward the Peacemaker”	46
1911	Kenneth E. Finlay becomes the manager of the Family Theatre, adding a male quartet and full orchestra for evening performances and a new ventilation system.	47
1912	Michael Coscia, leader, joins Family Theatre Orchestra	48
1915	January - Michael Coscia leader of Family Theatre Orchestra; G. H. Bayne, pianist	49
1917	June - July – New York Ladies’ Symphony Orchestra; John Fiddes Scottish-Canadian tenor (July 16)	50
	October 20 – “The New Family Orchestra Now Under the Direction of Professors Lionel Mortimer”	51
1920	January 10 – <i>Checkers</i> , screen version of <i>Bumping Into Broadway</i> , shown with “Special Music by Big Family Orchestra”	52
	April 1 – Lionel Mortimer, music director; 10-piece orchestra	53
1921	November 1 – Musical accompaniment for <i>The Three Musketeers</i> “provided by an	54

⁴² Laurier advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 10, 1926: 19.

⁴³ Laurier advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 5, 1927: 15.

⁴⁴ “Casino Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 20, 1920: 18.

⁴⁵ Hillary Russell, “All that Glitters: A Memorial to Ottawa’s Capitol Theatre and its Predecessors,” *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* No. 13, *Parks Canada*, last updated October 24, 2006, accessed June 7, 2017, <http://parks.canadahistory.com/series/chs/13/chs13-1n.htm>.

⁴⁶ “Tickets for Villers’ Lecture,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 20, 1910: 10.

⁴⁷ “Ken. E. Finlay Goes to Family Theatre,” 18.

⁴⁸ “Family Orchestra Makes Presentation,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 28, 1915: 9.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, “The Elopement of Miss V. Shannon and Prof. Coscia Causes Sensation,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 13, 1915: 2.

⁵⁰ Family Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 25, 1917: 2. “Popular Scotch Tenor at The Family Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 16, 1917: 2.

⁵¹ Family advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 20, 1917: 13.

⁵² Family Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 10, 1920: 17.

⁵³ “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music,” *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 18.

⁵⁴ “The Three Musketeers’ at Family Theatre Is a Marvellous Motion Picture Production,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 1, 1921: 18.

	orchestra under the direction of Mr. M. H. Ryder, of New York, who is here specially for the week's engagement..."	
1923	September – "Let's All Go To the Franklin" song by Jack Sniderman published in <i>Ottawa Journal</i> for Franklin week. Manager, J.M. Franklin; Music director, Lionel Mortimer	55
	December – Jack Sniderman in Franklin Theatre Orchestra	56
1924	April 12 – "A comedy film and News Weekly add to the enjoyment of a Franklin programme, all of which is considerably enhanced by the musical accompaniments of the Franklin Superior Orchestra under Lionel Mortimer's direction."	57
	June 28 – "The Franklin Theatre closes after this evening's performance following a record-breaking season of forty-three weeks of Keith vaudeville. On Monday Joe Franklin and his assistant manager, Roy MacDonald, will motor to New York City to confer with Mr. E. F. Albee over the situation arising from the recently reported deal whereby the Keith vaudeville interests are to operate the Loew Theatre next season."	58
1928	March 24 – Julius Hillas' obituary of this date mentions his being a clarinetist in the Galvin Theatre orchestra.	59
1929	March 25 to April 8 – Strike, 7 musicians.	60
	October 28 to December 14 – Stage hands strike. 6 musicians strike in sympathy. Oscar O'Shea Players, a union house owned by the Ottawa Theatrical Federation, (directed by Mr. Michael Oscar O'Shea) replaced "Johnny" Galvin's dramatic company as of December 30, 1929. Agreements signed for conditions to remain as they were before the strike. See Appendix 2 for more information.	61
St. George's Theatre – Winter Garden 297-299 Bank Street (1910-1920)⁶²		
1910	January 11 – Manager: Ken E. Finlay; music, pictures, and songs.	63

⁵⁵ "Let's All Go To the Franklin," *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1923: 16.

⁵⁶ "Twixt Stage and Screen," *Ottawa Journal*, December 29, 1923: 14.

⁵⁷ "English Music Hall Favourites Franklin Headline Attraction," *Ottawa Journal*, April 12, 1924: 19.

⁵⁸ "Twixt Stage and Screen," *Ottawa Journal*, June 28, 1924: 16.

⁵⁹ "Julius Hillas Dies Suddenly," *Ottawa Journal*, March 24, 1928: 1.

⁶⁰ "Industrial Disputes" form dated April 9, 1929, Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 342, File no. 23, Reel T-2745, Library and Archives Canada.

⁶¹ Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 303, File no. 47, Reel T-2755, Library and Archives Canada. Miguez, *A Theatre Near You*, 77.

⁶² *The Ottawa City Directory 1911* (Ottawa: Might Directories Ltd., 1911): 27, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/ottawadirec191100midiuoft>. St. George's Hall and Nickel Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 10, 1910: 2. Winter Gardens advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 21, 1920: 12. "Grand Opening a Big Success," *Ottawa Journal*, January 11, 1910: 9.

⁶³ "Grand Opening a Big Success," *Ottawa Journal*, January 11, 1910: 9.

Empire Theatre (1910-1918?) 219-221 Bank Street⁶⁴		
1914	June 17 – Recently purchased a Wulitzer Motion Picture Orchestra organ from C. W. Lindsay Limited Pianos.	65
Français Theatre (1913-1961) 328 Dalhousie Street		
	A Parks Canada paper notes the theatre had an orchestra of 9 players, possibly soon after its opening, but does not provide a date or citation	66
1917	October 13 – <i>Within the Law</i> , “A Vitagraph Picturization of Bayard Veiller’s Sensational Crook Play Special Music by the Français Orchestra”	67
1920	December 24 – Français Concert Orchestra	68
Imperial Theatre (1914-1955) 325 Bank Street		
1915	September 29 – Imperial begins to advertise as “The House With the Organ IMPERIAL Canada’s Theatre Beautiful”	69
1917	February 3 – “Little Nan MacGregor” engaged to present Scotch dances and songs at showings of <i>The Pride of the Clan</i> . Organist J.W. Craig “arranged a special programme of Scotch music on [the] huge \$35,000 Symphonic Orchestral wonder organ”	70
1917	May – Musical accompaniment by New York Ladies’ Symphony Orchestra	71
1919	August 9 – Manager, Joe O’Leary; “The Imperial theatre does not have an orchestra but it does have an organ and an organist who plays to suit the action of the picture. The organ is played continuously throughout a performance and an organ overture is also a distinct number of the programme.”	72
1920	April 1 – Jack Neville, organist; no orchestra	73
1923	November 26 – Imperial Orchestra	74
1924	January 5 – <i>Rob Roy</i> screening to include “special musical accompaniment of Scottish airs by the new Imperial Orchestra.” add to concept spectacle bit	75

⁶⁴ “The New Moving Picture Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 30, 1910: 3. The last notice I could mention of the Empire Theatre I could find in the *Ottawa Journal* was a notice in the classifieds declaring “For Sale – Several hundred opera chairs at \$1.00 each.” “For Sale,” *Ottawa Journal*, May 9, 1918: 11.

⁶⁵ C.W. Lindsay Limited advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 17, 1914: 8.

⁶⁶ Russell, “All that Glitters.”

⁶⁷ Theatre Francais, *Ottawa Journal*, October 13, 1917: 16.

⁶⁸ Francais advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, December 24, 1920: 15.

⁶⁹ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 15, 1915: 11.

⁷⁰ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 16.

⁷¹ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 16, 1917: 5. Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 19, 1917: 14.

⁷² “Making a ‘Drive’ Help Out for Full Weeks,” *Motion Picture News* 10 no. 7 (August 9, 1919): 1245, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew201unse>.

⁷³ “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music,” 18.

⁷⁴ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 26, 1923: 11.

⁷⁵ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 5, 1924: 21.

	June 28 – Manager, Harry Brouse; new organist, Norton H. Payne	76
	August 1 to 16 – Strike along with Regent and Centre. 1 male musician at the Imperial. Motion picture operators strike in sympathy. See Appendix 2 for more information.	77
1925	August 2 – Imperial Theatre Orchestra	78
1926	April 16 – Operafilm, opera singers alongside showing of <i>The Bohemian Girl</i> . See Chapter 2 for more details.	79
1927	July 16 – “Musical Accompaniment By Rene Marier and his String Orchestra”	80
1927	October 1 – New music director at the Imperial, Alfred Quirouet	81
Flower – Strand (1914-1921) 126 or 128 Sparks Street⁸²		
1914	June 17 – F. W. Carling purchases a Wulitzer Motion Picture Orchestra organ from C.W. Lindsay Limited Pianos: “The cost of installing this marvellous instrument will mean an expenditure of thousands of dollars. It is the wonder of the musical age since it combines 27 different instruments all under the control of one operator. While the initial cost is great, it is designed to take the place of a full orchestra and will mean an ultimate saving to the management.”	83
	September 16 – “Organ Recital Daily by Mr. E. F. Jores”; “The Only Photo-Play Theatre in Ottawa honored with presence of Their Royal Highnesses.”	84
1915	April 28 – “Special music by Jack Neville”	85
	March 13 – Jack Neville at the organ, “Jack has long since won the hearts of the patrons of the Flower”	86
1917	September 29 – “The Flower Theatre Orchestra Direct From New York Under the Leadership of Prof. G. F. Mercadaute”	87
1920	April 1 – Manager, Harry Pomeroy (once in famous vaudeville act, professional musician). Three musicians: Kellard Gamble, piano soloist; Harry Massey, xylophonist; Mrs. Mitchell, relief pianist	88

⁷⁶ “Twixt Stage and Screen,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 28, 1924: 16.

⁷⁷ Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 333, File no. 48, Reel T-2745, Library and Archives Canada.

⁷⁸ Imperial Theatre Orchestra,” *Ottawa Journal*, August 2, 1925: 3.

⁷⁹ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 16, 1926: 9.

⁸⁰ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, July 16, 1927: 15.

⁸¹ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 1, 1927: 22.

⁸² Miguezlez gives the address 128 Sparks Street, Miguezlez, *A Theatre Near You*, 123.

However, some contemporary advertisements give the address 126 Sparks Street including the following, Strand advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 31, 1918: 12.

⁸³ C.W. Lindsay Limited advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 17, 1914: 8.

⁸⁴ Flower Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 16, 1914: 13.

⁸⁵ Flower Theatre Photo-Plays advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 28, 1915: 15.

⁸⁶ “Flower Theatre Changes Programme,” *Ottawa Journal*, March 12, 1915: 19.

⁸⁷ Flower Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 12.

⁸⁸ “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music,” 18.

	June 26 – Creative musical tableau involving an organist and vocalist (William Nixon of Ottawa) before/during <i>The Woman Thou Gavest Me</i> .	89
Eden (1914-1929) 94-96 Rue Principale (Hull)		
1921	René Marier starts providing “special Sunday evening concerts”	90
1923	November 3 – René Marier becomes director of Eden’s orchestra. Mrs. Marier “will have the piano in the new Eden orchestra.” “Mr. Marier has also been providing special Sunday evening concerts at the Eden theatre”	91
1924	January 12 - Eden Theatre quartet: violin and leader, Prof. René Marier; piano, Mdm. Marier; cello, Rosario Caron; double bass, Alphonse Hayendal (spelling uncertain)	92
Centre – The Mall (1915-1973) 116 Sparks Street		
1915	October 26 – First of daily organ recitals. “new Master Organ, which is a combination of grand piano-orchestra and pipe organ and is revelation to music and photoplay lovers”	93
1919	October 11 – “Special Augmented Orchestra” directed by Milton Blackstone for presentation of <i>Mickey</i> . Also, “Hear Miss Agnes Aida Sing ‘Mickey’”	94
	December 31 – New Year’s Eve, midnight community singing with Milton Blackstone on solo violin.	95
1920	April 1 – Musical director, Milton Blackstone; organist, Cliff Payne; 10 piece orchestra	96
1922	September 16 – New augmented orchestra at Centre Theatre under direction of Frederick Brown who “comes to Ottawa with an enviable reputation having conducted orchestras in several of London’s west-end theatres before coming to America and more recently was musical director of the Allen’s Theatre Montreal.”; overtures “will be a feature of Centre programmes throughout the coming season”	97

⁸⁹ “Pomeroy Presents Musical Tableau of Merit,” *Motion Picture News* 12 no. 1 (June 26, 1923): 66, digitized copy, “Motion Picture News (Nov-Dec 1920)” Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew221unse>.

⁹⁰ “Canada,” *Motion Picture News* 28 no. 18 (November 3, 1923): 2151, available from Internet Archives thanks to Media History Digital Library (digitizing sponsor) and The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York (book contributor), https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew00moti_4.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² “Toronto Concert from ‘OA’,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1924: 4. “New Radio Station Splendid Opening,” *Ottawa Journal*, March 21, 1924: 7.

⁹³ “First Recital on Master Organ had Thrilling Effect at Centre Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 26, 1915: 2. “Irene Fenwick in Woman Next Door, 5 Acts,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 30, 1915: 2.

⁹⁴ Centre Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 11, 1919: 20.

⁹⁵ Centre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, December 31, 1919: 7.

⁹⁶ “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music,” 18.

⁹⁷ “Centre Theatre Music,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 16, 1922: 17.

	December 23 – Centre orchestra: musical director, Frederic A. Brown; violins, Lionel Mortimer and A. Bolvin; cello, Chas. Mathe; bass, A. Marier; flute, M. H. Lathey; clarinet, T. Stelges; trumpet, V. Snowden; trombone, W. Griffiths; piano, L. Paquette; organ, H. Norton Payne	98
1924	August 1 to 16 – Strike along with Imperial and Regent. 4 musicians. Went on unsuccessful strike, asking for a fifth musician. Motion picture operators struck in sympathy. See Appendix 2 for more information.	99
1926	March 13 – Centre Theatre Orchestra directed by Jack Fallen	100
	July 3 - Charleston dance lessons present on screen by “foremost dance master in America, Ned Weyburn”; “Special Charleston music by the famous Centre Theatre orchestra under the direction of Mr. Jack Fallen will add to the value of the lessons. If the combination of Ned Weyburn and the Centre orchestra doesn’t send you away “steppin’ “some you have better consult your doctor.”	101
	October 19 – Centre Theatre Orchestra plays “first of a series of symphonic concerts” to be held Mondays and Fridays; 25 players; directed by Jack Fallen	102
1927	September 19 - <i>Cameo Kirby</i> , directed by John Ford of the Fox studios; at intermission, Centre Theatre orchestra played “When Twilight Comes” with words on the screen; orchestra recently “strengthened”	103
1929	January 28 – Centre orchestra still directed by Jack Fallen	104
Regent Theatre (1916-1972) Bank and Sparks Streets (see Chapters 2, 3, and 5 for more information)		
1916	Amédée Tremblay becomes the pianist at the Regent	105
	January 5 – Mme. Petrova, Metro star, visits Regent theatre and the Conservative Club for the soldiers	106
	January 8 – “Below the picture screen there is a large platform where the big pipe organ is situated and where the orchestra will sit. There will be an orchestra of eight afternoon and night. The pipes of the organ are situated high up on either side of the building and are hidden behind lattice work. The organ which is one of the largest in the city was made by the Cassavant firm of St. Jyacinthe, Que.”	107
	March 25 & April 1 – Pelisek Orchestra, “Special Musical Programme both	108

⁹⁸ “The Centre Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 23, 1922: 18.

⁹⁹ Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 333, File no. 48, Reel T-2745, Library and Archives Canada.

¹⁰⁰ Centre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 13, 1926: 20.

¹⁰¹ “Charleston Taught on Centre Screen,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 3, 1926: 13.

¹⁰² “Opening Concert Charms Audience,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 19, 1926: 2.

¹⁰³ “Round the Theatres,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 19, 1927: 5.

¹⁰⁴ Centre Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 28, 1929: 15.

¹⁰⁵ “Ottawa Loses Leading Musician,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 10, 1920: 16.

¹⁰⁶ “Petrova Here To-Day,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 5, 1916: 2.

¹⁰⁷ “‘Regent’ Theatre Handsome House; Seats Over 1,600, Finely Furnished,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 8, 1916: 21

¹⁰⁸ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 25, 1916. Regent advertisement,

	afternoon and evening,”; “The orchestra holds a high place in musical circles in Ottawa”	
	August 9 – New manager, Harry Bryan; orchestra director, Pelisek; organ, Jack Neville	109
	October 28 – People’s Forum lecture includes Amédée Tremblay on organ and Helen Langdon on cello	110
	November 11 – New organist, Horace Wilson A.R.C.O.; Pelisek, orchestra director; “Daily musical programmes will be rendered especially featured at the matinees”	111
1917	Regent orchestra, directed by Rudolph Pelisek, mentioned throughout the year in the <i>Ottawa Journal</i> (more information in Chapters 2 and 5). Musicians as follows: organ and piano, Amédée Tremblay; violin, Joseph Pelisek; clarinet, Julius Hillas; violin and director, Rudolph Pelisek; organ, Horace Wilson; double bass, Robert Richard Wimperis; cello, Lucien Labelle	112
1918	René Marier joins the Regent orchestra	113
1920	Rudolph Pelisek leaves for several months, “on a visit to the musical centres of the continent” and returns as director. René Marier possibly substituted as conductor; Horace Wilson continues as organist; Amédée Tremblay leaves Ottawa. “The incomparable Allen’s Regent Concert Orchestra will add to your enjoyment of our photoplay presentations. The overtures of Master Musicians and composers, selections from the current musical comedy successes, and the popular numbers of present-day composers, as rendered by this musical organization offers a wide variety that will meet with the appreciation of the most discriminating lover of the best in music.”	114
1922	September 16 – Monday night symphony concerts, augmented orchestra of 16 to 22	115
	October 14 – Friday night “National Music Night” concerts added over and above the weekly Monday concerts, featuring one country each Friday.	116
	October 21 – “Positively 18 Musicians” for “Symphonic Concert Monday”	117

Ottawa Journal, April 1, 1916: 21.

¹⁰⁹ “Regent Theatre Has New Manager,” *Ottawa Journal*, August 9, 1916: 11.

¹¹⁰ “The People’s Forum,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 28, 1916: 2.

¹¹¹ “New Organist for Regent Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 11, 1916: 8. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 11, 1916: 16.

¹¹² Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15.

¹¹³ “Canada,” *Motion Picture News* 28 no. 18 (November 3, 1923): 2151.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., “Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreading the Gospel of Good Music,” 18. Allen’s Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 25, 1920: 12. Allen’s Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 27, 1920: 17. “Ottawa Loses Leading Musician,” 16. Horace Wilson A.R.C.O. advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 21.

¹¹⁵ “Symphony Concerts at the Regent,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 16, 1922: 17. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 16, 1922: 17.

¹¹⁶ “Music Programme at the Regent,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 14, 1922: 3.

¹¹⁷ Allen’s Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 21, 1922: 4.

	November 4 – Symphony night, Pelisek conducting augmented orchestra of 22, Edmund Sharpe on organ	118
	September 23 – Augmented orchestra of 16 for showings of <i>The Storm</i> , “This is the largest orchestra that ever played in any Ottawa theatre”	119
	December 23 – Manager Kennedy. Regent orchestra: musical director, Rudolph Pelisek; violins, Rudolph Pelisek (concert master), René Marier, J. Pelisek, and A. Quirouet; cello, Alfred Tassé; bass, A. Vastag; flute, A. P. Williams; clarinet, J. Hillas; cornet, W. Dymond; piano, H. G. Roberts; organ, W. Charette; tympani, George Williams	120
1923	March 3 – “Joseph Pelisek, Ottawa’s own composer, playing his latest song success ‘Won’t You’”	121
	March 31 – Showing of <i>A Sister to Assist ‘Er’</i> included “A musical programme of English Music Hall song successes will be rendered during the feature presentation by the Regent Concert Orchestra, under the direction of Rudolph Pelisek.”	122
	April 16 – Regent Concert Orchestra plays at church service at McLeod Street Methodist Church with augmented choir	123
	October 26 – Added evening attraction, “The Musical Contest” between the Regent Concert Orchestra, directed by Rudolph Pelisek, and Orville Johnson’s Rose Room Orchestra of 10 musicians. “A musical innovation embracing classical, popular and syncopated selections, by two distinctly different organizations”	124
	December 1 – Manager O.D. Cloakey plays xylophone with Regent Orchestra	125
	December 29 – Regent Theatre Orchestra directed by Rudolph Pelisek plays in a concert on the “OA”, “broadcast by the Ottawa Radio Association from Station O. A. Radio Test Room, Department of Marine and Fisheries”	126
	February 9 – <i>Hunchback of Notre Dame</i> screening features prologue, and accompaniment by Regent Concert Orchestra (directed by Rudolph Pelisek) and	127

¹¹⁸ “Regent’s Fine Orchestra,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 4, 1922: 18.

¹¹⁹ “The Storm at the Regent Sets New Pace in Film Thrills,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 23, 1922: 17.

¹²⁰ “Allen’s Regent Theatre,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 23, 1922: 16.

¹²¹ “Extended Run of Regent Feature,” *Ottawa Journal*, March 3, 1923: 20.

¹²² “Old Country Music Hall Success on Regent Screen All Next Week,” *Ottawa Journal*, March 31, 1923: 20.

¹²³ “Musical Programme at M’Leod St. Church,” *Ottawa Journal*, April 16, 1923: 14.

¹²⁴ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 26, 1923: 16.

¹²⁵ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, December 1, 1923: 19. “Unusually Attractive Drug Store Window Display Tying Up With ‘If Winter Comes’ Showing” photograph, *Motion Picture News* 18 no. 13 (September 22, 1923): 1433, Internet Archives, https://archive.org/details/motionpicturenew00moti_3.

¹²⁶ “Tonight’s Concert from ‘OA.’,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 29, 1923: 16.

¹²⁷ “Basilica Male Choir Meets With Success at the Regent: Synchronizing of Choir Voices With Action of Picture Proved Decided Novelty During Presentation of ‘The Hunchback of Notre Dame’,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 9, 1924: 16.

1924	Basilica Notre-Dame Cathedral Male Choir; Manager Cloakey	
	June 28 – Manager, Len Bishop	128
	August 1 to 16 – Musicians strike alongside those at Centre and Imperial. Motion picture operators strike in sympathy. Manager, Leonard Bishop. See Appendix 2.	129
1925	February 28 – Showing of <i>Zeebrugge</i> , “The orchestra will consist of fourteen musicians and, under the direction of Rudolph Pelisek, will render a special patriotic score at all four performances daily.”	130
	April 11 – “Joy Week -- Jazz Week,” featuring showings of Buster Keaton in <i>Seven Chances</i> and The Club Royal Synco-Symphony Orchestra as well as the usual Regent Orchestra	131
1926	January 20 – Rudolph Pelisek passes away	132
Loew’s – Keith’s – Capitol (1920-1970) 90 Bank Street		
1925	August 2 - “Note --- No vaudeville or Pictures on Friday, August 7, Afternoon and Evening, owing to the appearance of Sousa And His Band Of 85 Musicians”	133
1926	January 30 – Manager, Peter (Pete) Kehayes; installed a 10-piece orchestra, “being placed on the stage for all performances”; “Manager Kehayes recently discontinued the presentation of vaudeville and replaced the five acts with another feature picture, giving two features for a show along with short subjects. Programs are changed twice weekly”	134
1927	September 17 – “Keith-Albee Vaudeville,” Keith Theatre Orchestra directed by Lionel Mortimer	135

¹²⁸ “Twixt Stage and Screen,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 28, 1924: 16.

¹²⁹ Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), R224-76-4-E, Volume 333, File no. 48, Reel T-2745, Library and Archives Canada.

¹³⁰ Will McLaughlin, “Twixt Stage and Screen,” *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 15.

¹³¹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 11, 1925: 16.

¹³² “Rudolph Pelisek, Violinist and Orchestra Leader, Dies In His Thirty-Seventh Year,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 20, 1926: 1. “Canada,” *Motion Picture News* 33 no. 6 (February 6, 1926): 713, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpic33moti>.

¹³³ B. F. Keith’s advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 2 1925: 3.

¹³⁴ In *Ottawa Journal* advertisements, B.F. Keith’s was not called the Capitol Theatre until later than 1926 and there was a theatre named Capitol in Hull at the time. However, the obituary for Mrs. Regina Kehayes notes Peter Kehayes as a “motion picture operator at the RKO Capitol Theatre” and the *Motion Picture News* article describes the theatre as being “a downtown house” in Ottawa. “Funeral of Mrs. Kehayes,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 28, 1936: 3. “Ottawa Theatre Adds Stage Orchestra as Attraction,” *Motion Picture News*, 33 no. 5 (January 30, 1926): 562, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/motionpic33moti>.

¹³⁵ B. F. Keiths advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 17, 1927: 13.

Appendix 2
Strikes Involving Ottawa Theatre Musicians (1914-1929)

The following chart provides the details of strikes involving Ottawa theatre musicians between 1914 and 1929 found in Strike and Lockout Files, Department of Labour fonds, Economics and Research Branch, Strike and Lockout Files (microfilm), Library and Archives Canada. The current archival reference number is R224-76-4-E. The former archival reference number is RG27-D-2. These files contain Department of Labour Trade Dispute reports, newspaper clippings, and typed accounts. The strike dates are approximated as some documents give conflicting timelines.

Dates	Parties Involved	Description	File
September 20 to October 31, 1914	Dominion Theatre controlled by Canadian Theatres Limited, IATSE Local 95, AFM Local 180	- 5 or 6 stage employees - 7 musicians and 1 moving picture operator (struck in sympathy) - 3-year agreement, wage increase of about 16 2/3 % - Dominion described as “High Class Vaudeville” (see Chapter 4 for more information)	Volume 303, File no. 47, Reel T-2691.
August 31 to September 5, 1921	AFM Local 180, 10 theatres (not including Loew’s, the Veteran, the Princess, and the Laurier), IATSE Local 95	- Returned to work at \$37.90 and \$38.70 per week for men and \$49.50 and \$51.75 for leaders Prevailing wages were \$41 and \$42 per week for men, and \$55 and \$57 for leader. Went on strike because of proposed cuts to wages. - prevailing and returned hours of labor: 3 hours in afternoon and 3 hours in the evening - 31 males and 4 female musicians amongst 10 theatres - motion picture operators and stage hands also went on strike, mentioned in a newspaper clipping but there is no Trade Dispute report for this. - theatres threatened open shop unless cuts were accepted	Volume 327, File no. 183, Reel T-2711.
August 1 to 16, 1924	Centre, Regent, Imperial, AFM Local 180	- At the Centre, orchestra of 4 musicians returned to work with leader earning \$62.50 a week and men \$41 a week. Men employed nights only, \$20.75. returned to work with 5 ½ hours of work a day with two intermissions of ½ hour each. - prevailing wages: music director,	Volume 333, File no. 48, Reel T-2745

		<p>\$60; sidemen, \$40</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - prevailing hours of labour: 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.; 8 p.m. to 11 p.m (at Centre, second showing was from 7:45 p.m. to 10: 45 p.m.) - Centre theatre “refused to sign contract with clause as to minimum number of musicians to be employed.” AFM wanted 5 musicians as opposed to 4. - 1 male musician at Imperial, returned to work with no increase - motion picture operators struck in sympathy - Leonard Bishop, manager of the Regent Theatre 	
March 25 to April 8, 1929	Galvin, AFM Local 180, IATSE Local 95	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - musicians, stage hands struck in sympathy - 7 male musicians successfully retained as management attempted to reduce the pit orchestra to 5 musicians - Monte Hance, business manager at Galvin 	Volume 342 File no. 23, Reel-2754
October 28 to December 14, 1929	Galvin (Capital Players Limited), AFM Local 180, IATSE Local 95	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - stage hands strike (October 28 onwards) after management proposed reduction of fees - 6 musicians strike in sympathy (November 11 onwards), in accordance with agreement with IATSE. Likewise proposed a reduction in fees by management. - Oscar O’Shea Players (directed by Mr. Michael Oscar O’Shea) to replace “Johnny” Galvin’s dramatic company as of December 30, 1929. Agreements signed for conditions to remain as they were before the strike. <p>*According to Alain Miguelez, the Ottawa Theatrical Federation took over the theatre (O’Shea became the manager), making it a “100% union house”¹³⁶</p>	Volume 344 File no. 110, Reel T-2755

¹³⁶ Alain Miguelez, *A Theatre Near You: 150 Years of Going to the Show in Ottawa-Gatineau* (Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2004), 77.

Appendix 3
Overtures Mentioned in Regent Advertisements from 1916 to 1917

From August 1916 to October 1917, the Regent would often list what overture was being played with each half- or full-week programme in the *Ottawa Journal*. In 1922, some advertisements would mention the “Regent Overture” but would not specify what was being played.¹³⁷ The table below provides the details of the 1916 and 1917 advertisements that mention overtures.

Advertisement Date	Attractions	Overture	
1916			
August 24 and 25	Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>Little Eva Edgarton</i> (film) Thursday <i>The Scarlet Woman</i> (film)	<i>Bohemian Girl Overture</i>	138
In the text for the above advertisement: “Special Concerts Daily: 3 and 9 P.M.”			
August 26	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Notorious Gallagher or His Great Triumph</i> (film)	<i>Orpheus</i> , Jacques Offenbach	139
September 28 and 29	Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>The Flower of No Man’s Land</i> (film); “a score of picturesque settings”; Selig’s Athletic Pictures	<i>The Jolly Robbers</i>	140
October 2	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>River of Romance</i> (film); “Peg-O’-the Ring” (unsure what this is)	<i>Isabella</i> , Suppe	141
October 6	Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>According To The Code</i> (film); “Good Comedy Programme”; “Scenic and Athletic Pictures”	<i>Morning, Night and Noon in Venice</i>	142

¹³⁷ For example, Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 26, 1922: 14, and Regent advertisement *Ottawa Journal*, September 2, 1922: 18.

¹³⁸ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 24, 1916: 13. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 25, 1916: 13.

¹³⁹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 26, 1916: 18.

¹⁴⁰ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 28, 1916: 11. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1916: 15.

¹⁴¹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 2, 1916: 13.

¹⁴² Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 6, 1916: 17.

1917			
February 2	Today <i>Idle Wives</i> (film), <i>The Crimson Stain Mystery</i> (serial), Billy Mansfield (Baritone)	<i>Glow Worm</i> , Elgar	¹⁴³
February 3	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Half Million Bribe</i> (film); <i>Love Me, Love My Dog</i> (The Drews film); a travelogue; a comique Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>The Devil's Pay Day</i> (film), <i>The Crimson Stain Mystery</i> (serial), an educational, a comique	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Il Trovatore</i> (special request) Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>Der Freischutz</i> (special request)	¹⁴⁴
March 3 and 9 (Thurs-Fri-Sat repeated)	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>The Diplomatic Service</i> (film); Willis Flanagan (tenor); <i>The Future Man</i> (comedic film); A Travelogue Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>The Reward of the Faithless</i> (film); Willis Flanagan (tenor); <i>War Waifs</i> (film); A Comedy	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Un Peu D'amour</i> , Leo Lilsen Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>Poor Butterfly</i> , Raymond	¹⁴⁵
March 10	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>The White Raven</i> (Ethel Barrymore film); film featuring The Drews, a comedy couple Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>The Chalice of Sorrow</i>	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Sylvia Pizzicati</i> , Leo Delibes Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>Prelude</i> , Sergei Rachmaninoff	¹⁴⁶
In the text for the above March 10 advertisement, <i>The Chalice of Sorrow</i> is described as follows: "A Beautiful Bluebird Photoplay From 'The Opera of Tosca' The Regent Concert Orchestra will render from this beautiful opera throughout the picture."			
March 24, and 29 and 30 (Thurs-Fri-Sat)	Mon-Tues-Wed H. Ruthven McDonald (baritone); <i>Threads of Fate</i> (film); <i>Sweet Charity</i> (The Drews	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Admiration</i> , R. Tyers	¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 2, 1917: 15.

¹⁴⁴ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 3, 1917: 17.

¹⁴⁵ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 3, 1917: 20. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 9, 1917: 5.

¹⁴⁶ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 10, 1917: 15.

¹⁴⁷ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 24, 1917: 18. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 29, 1917: 5. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 30, 1917: 5.

repeated)	film) Thurs-Fri-Sat H. Ruthven McDonald (baritone); <i>Polly Red Head</i> (film); A Travelogue	Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>Farewell Aloha Oe</i> (Hawaiian) R. H. Tulley	
March 31 and April 4	Mon-Tues-Wed Paule Frebonie (soprano) with Mlle. Frebonie (piano); <i>The End of the Tour</i> (Lionel Barrymore film); <i>His Birthday Gift</i> (comedy film)	<i>William Tell</i> , Gioachino Rossini	¹⁴⁸
April 9, 10, and 11	Paule Frebonie (soprano); <i>The Barricade</i> (film); <i>His Wife's Mother</i> (The Drews film)	<i>Poet and Peasant</i> , Suppe	¹⁴⁹
April 12, 13	Paule Febronie (soprano); <i>The Gift Girl</i> (film)	<i>Raymond's Overture</i> , Suppe	¹⁵⁰
April 14 (for the next week), 17, and 20	<i>The Whip</i> (film); <i>Hand Henry</i> (Drews film)	<i>American Festival Overture</i> , Anton Ledger;	¹⁵¹
In text for April 17 and 20 advertisements: "Special Music by The Regent Concert Orchestra" for <i>The Whip</i>			
April 23	Today (Monday) <i>The Promise</i> (film); <i>The High Cost of Living</i> (Drews film) Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>Power of Evil</i> (Charlie Chaplin film)	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i> , Balfe (probably only for the first part of the week, not Thursday onwards)	¹⁵²
April 28	Mon-Tues-Wed Audri Rubanni (soprano); <i>The Awakening of Helena Ritchie</i> (Ethel Barrymore film); <i>Reliable Henry</i> (Drews film) Thurs-Fri-Sat Audri Rubanni (soprano); <i>The Argyle Case</i> (film); <i>Max Wants a Divorce</i> (Max Linder film)	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Il Trovatore</i> , Giuseppe Verdi Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>Faust</i> , Gounod	¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 31, 1917: 19. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 4, 1917: 5.

¹⁴⁹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 9, 1917: 5. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 10, 1917: 5. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 11, 1917: 5.

¹⁵⁰ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 12, 1917: 5. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 13, 1917: 5.

¹⁵¹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 14, 1917: 16. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 20, 1917: 5. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 23, 1917: 6.

¹⁵² Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 23, 1917: 6.

¹⁵³ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 28, 1917: 19.

May 26	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>A Wife by Proxy</i> (film); Drews film	<i>Zampa</i> , Herold	154
June 1	Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>The Mortal Sin</i> (film); <i>Max in a Taxi</i> (Max Linder film)	<i>Narcissus</i> , Schlegel	155
June 2 (for the next week)	<i>A Romance of The Redwoods</i> (Mary Pickford film); <i>The Great Secret</i> (film)	<i>Martha</i> , Flotow	156
In text for June 2 advertisement: "Special Music by The Regent Concert Orchestra"			
July 12	<i>Treason</i> (film); <i>The Great Secret</i> (film)	Violin Solo – "Le Canari", F. Poliakin, played by Rudolph Pelisek	157
In text for July 12 advertisement: "Special Carnival of Music written for this photoplay by M. Winkler, will be rendered by the Regent Concert Orchestra"			
August 23	Thurs-Fri-Sat <i>A Message to Garcia</i> (film); <i>The Great Secret</i> (film)	<i>Three Dances, from Henry VIII</i> , Edward German	158
September 11	Today and all week <i>Redemption</i> (film)	<i>Cathedral Chimes</i> (special request)	159
October 1, 2, 4, and 5	<i>Baby Mine</i> (film), Irene DeLory (soprano); Billy West (comedian)	<i>William Tell</i> , Gioachino Rossini	160
October 16	Mon-Tues-Wed <i>Fighting Odds</i> (film); Mlle. Lea Choiseul (soprano)	<i>Miserere (From Il Trovatore)</i> , Giuseppe Verdi	161

¹⁵⁴ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 26, 1917: 14.

¹⁵⁵ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 1, 1917: 10.

¹⁵⁶ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, June 2, 1917: 13.

¹⁵⁷ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, July 12, 1917: 10.

¹⁵⁸ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, August 23, 1917: 10.

¹⁵⁹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 11, 1917: 7.

¹⁶⁰ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 1, 1917: 12. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 2, 1917: 12. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 4, 1917: 11. Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 5, 1917: 11.

¹⁶¹ Regent advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 16, 1917: 9.

Appendix 4

Timeline of the Activities of Robert R. Wimperis Senior and Junior from 1882 to 1951

There were two musicians named Robert R. Wimperis, father (dates unknown) and son (born April 9, 1869, Kent, England; died 1951 Ottawa, Canada) who both lived in Ottawa from the late 1880s onwards.¹⁶² It is difficult to distinguish who is who in the *Ottawa Journal* without further contextual knowledge as both are referred to as R. R. Wimperis or some variation of that name at one point or another (I have not noted the variations here). The following timeline delineates the individual careers of the father and the son. The labels “Senior” and “Junior” are conclusions drawn by myself (they are never referred to as such in the sources). I believe the father was a violinist/ violist and the son was a cellist/double bassist. The son is sometimes referred to as R. or Robert Wimperis without his middle initial.

Library and Archives Canada has digitized Ottawa and Ontario directories up to 1901. The Wimperis Orchestra is not mentioned in the *Ottawa Journal* beyond 1898. It appears R. R. Wimperis Junior’s main source of income came from his work in the Post Office Department from 1910 onwards and his musical work (for the Regent, the Chateau Laurier, and the Governor General’s Foot Guards Band) was secondary. He had several children, some of whom would go on to have musical careers themselves, but I will not be investigating that here.¹⁶³

1882 R. R. Wimperis **Senior** arrives in Brantford, Ontario from Surrey, England.¹⁶⁴ He organizes and leads the band of the “38th Battalion, Dufferin Rifles of Canada”.¹⁶⁵ He also organizes and conducts Stratford’s Opera House Orchestra (6 musicians) in Brant where he plays violin and his wife plays piano.¹⁶⁶

1884-1887 R. R. Wimperis **Senior** listed as living on Colborne Street in Brantford with the profession “musical instruments” in Ontario Gazette and Business Directories.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² “Robert R. Wimperis,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 31, 1951: 23.

¹⁶³ In 1973, oboeist Anne Lapp, great-granddaughter of R. R. Wimperis Jr., won a scholarship at the International Festival of Youth Orchestras in Britain allowing her to study under Leon Goossens. At the festival she played in “a wind-up concert in London’s Royal Albert Hall conducted by Leopold Stokowski.” The article also mentions that R. R. Wimperis’ son, Charles, was in the GGFG band as well, “Music Notes,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 8, 1973: 23.

¹⁶⁴ Diane Hickman, “Wimperis,” *Query Archive*, Ontario Genealogical Society, Brant County Branch, last updated August 2007, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://comdir.bfree.on.ca/brantogs/Queryarchive.html>.

¹⁶⁵ The band developed in the years following, but Wimperis’s involvement is not specified. This is not the same as Julius Hillas’s 38th Battalion, which was based in Ottawa. For more information, see Cpt. George A. Ward, “The Soldiers of the King,” *The Expositor: Greater Brantford Number* (Brantford, Ont.: 1909): 95, Brantford Public Library, <http://brantford.library.on.ca/files/pdfs/localhistory/1909expositor.pdf>.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Pelham Mulvany, *The History of the County of Brant* (Toronto: Warner, Beers & Co, 1883): 315, Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/brantcountyhis00torouoft>.

¹⁶⁷ *Ontario Gazetteer and Business Directory* (Toronto: R. L. Polk & Co, 1884): 117, Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>. The

- 1887** R. R. Wimperis **Senior** listed as leader of the Stratford Opera House Orchestra for the 1887-1888 season.¹⁶⁸ It appears this is cut short, as Mr. and Mrs. Wimperis move to Ottawa in 1887. They are listed as pianists living at 264 Maria Street in in the Addenda for The Ottawa Directory of 1887.¹⁶⁹
- 1888-1889** R.R. Wimperis **Senior** listed as a musician living at 264 Maria Street in Ottawa Directory. R. R. Wimperis **Junior** listed as a painter living at 392 Albert Street.¹⁷⁰
- 1889-1890** R. R. Wimperis **Junior** listed as house painter living at 264 Maria. William D. Wimperis (another son?) listed as an apprentice as Harris & Campbell and residing at 184 George Street.¹⁷¹ In 1890 R. R. Wimperis **Junior** begins career in government service according to 1939 article.¹⁷²
- 1890-1891** R. R. Wimperis **Senior** (misspelled “Wimpheris”) listed as a musician living at 264 Maria Street in Ottawa Directory. R. R. Wimperis **Junior** listed as a painter living at 25 Waller with William Wimperis, who is also a painter.¹⁷³
- 1891-1892** R. R. Wimperis **Senior** listed as a music teacher living at 264 Maria.¹⁷⁴
- 1892-1893** R. R. Wimperis **Junior** listed as a music teacher living at 237 Gloucester.¹⁷⁵

obituary for R. R. Wimperis Junior notes that he moved to Ottawa in 1885. This is possible, but I believe it might be more likely that he moved with his parents in 1887. The obituary also makes no mention of Brantford. “Robert R. Wimperis,” 23.

¹⁶⁸ Henry C. Miner’s, *American Dramatic Directory for the Season of 1887-’88: A Complete Directory of the Dramatic and Operatic Professions and a Guide to the Opera Houses, Theatres and Public Halls of America, Together with Much Other Information of Value to the Amusement Profession* (New York: Publication Office, People’s Theatre, 1887): 268, Google Books, https://books.google.ca/books?id=yyY_AQAAMAAJ.

¹⁶⁹ *The Ottawa Directory* (Ottawa: A.S. Woodburn, 1884): 97, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁷⁰ *The Ottawa Directory* (Ottawa: A.S. Woodburn, 1888): “WIL,” digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁷¹ *The Ottawa Directory* (Ottawa: A.S. Woodburn, 1889): 485, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁷² “Robert Richard Wimperis Gets Imperial Service Medal,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 2, 1939: 2.

¹⁷³ *The Ottawa Directory* (Ottawa: A.S. Woodburn, 1890): 94 & 388, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁷⁴ *The Ottawa City Directory* (Ottawa: Might’s Directory, 1891): 499, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁷⁵ *Ontario Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1892-93* (Toronto: Might’s Directory

- 1893-1894** In 1893, the Wimperis Orchestra, lead by R. R. Wimperis **Senior** and including his wife Elizabeth. E. Wimperis, plays at garden party hosted by Mrs. McKay “under the auspices of the Home Missionary society of St. Andrew’s church.”¹⁷⁶ This orchestra may have sometimes included R. R. Wimperis **Junior** (perhaps on cello or bass), but there is no specific mention of his involvement. The Ottawa City Directory of 1893 to 1894 lists both R. R. Wimperis **Junior** of 237 Gloucester Street and R. R. Wimperis **Senior** of 264 Maria Street as music teachers.¹⁷⁷
- 1894** The Wimperis Orchestra plays at a lawn social held by the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society of Knox Church.¹⁷⁸ R. R. Wimperis **Junior** marries Christina Lillico (b1872, Hawthorne/Gloucester, Ottawa; d1939, Ottawa).¹⁷⁹ The marriage record is the only time the middle initial is spelled out, with **Junior** named “Robert Richard Wimperis.”¹⁸⁰ R. R. Wimperis **Junior** joins Governor General’s Foot Guards (he joins the band at some point, date undetermined but I, for the purpose of the network diagram, I have assumed it was the same year). This may have happened earlier, but a 1939 article notes he was part of the Foot Guards for 45 years and does not state when he left.¹⁸¹
- 1895-1896** “Wimperis’ Orchestra (Of the Grand Opera House)” listed in the classifieds of the *Ottawa Journal* and in *The Ottawa City Directory*, advertising “Up to full Orchestra can be engaged for Concerts, Balls, etc.”¹⁸² In The orchestra, R. R. Wimperis **Senior**, and his wife Elizabeth. E. Wimperis, are listed at 68 Albert Street (one block away from the Grand Opera House), and they also note that

Co., 1892): 943, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁷⁶ “Under Gold-Touched Maples and Spreading Pines: A Delightful Garden Part at the McKay Homestead,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 14, 1893: 1. Advertisements for The Wimperis Orchestra list R. R. Wimperis as the leader and his wife E. E. Wimperis on piano, “Music: Wimperis’ Orchestra” classifieds, *Ottawa Journal*, November 20, 1895: 3.

¹⁷⁷ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1893-94* (Ottawa: Might Directory Co. of Toronto, 1893): 98, 431, & 498, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁷⁸ “W. F. M.S. Lawn Social,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 6, 1894: 7.

¹⁷⁹ “Mrs. R. R. Wimperis Dies in 67th Year,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 13, 1939: 12.

¹⁸⁰ In R. R. Wimperis Junior’s obituary, his mother’s maiden name is spelt “Watling.” “Robert R. Wimperis,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 31, 1951: 23. Here, the parents are listed as “Robert R. Wimperis & Sarah Elizabeth Watting.” “Carleton Co., 1894,” *Ontario Marriage Registrations 1800-1927 from Ontario Archives, microfilm M 932*, rootsweb, ancestry.com, <http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~maryc/carl94.htm>.

¹⁸¹ “Robert Richard Wimperis Gets Imperial Service Medal,” 2. “Robert R. Wimperis,” 23.

¹⁸² “Music: Wimperis’ Orchestra” classifieds, *Ottawa Journal*, November 20, 1895: 3.

they arrange music and teach.¹⁸³ R. R. Wimperis **Junior** living at 236 Nelson in *The Ottawa City Directory* but still listed as a music teacher at 237 Gloucester in *Ontario Gazetteer and Directory for 1895*.¹⁸⁴

1896-1897 E. E. and R. R. Wimperis **Senior** listed as music teachers at 68 Albert Street.¹⁸⁵

1897-1898 Elizabeth E. and R. R. Wimperis **Senior** listed as music teachers living with Constance Wimperis at 68 Albert Street. R. R. Wimperis **Junior** listed as a cleaner at a department building living at 50 Victoria Street and William S. Wimperis listed as a paper hanger (for a P Stewart) living at 177 Florence.¹⁸⁶ In 1897, the Wimperis Band (likely the same as the Wimperis Orchestra) plays at a lecture on Sir Walter Scott for the Caledonian Society.¹⁸⁷ In the same year, R. R. Wimperis **Junior** plays cello at the recital of C. J. Newman, organist at Grace Church, performing a trio with Newman and violinist Herr Koehler and possibly some solo repertoire.¹⁸⁸

1898-1899 Elizabeth E. and R. R. Wimperis **Senior** listed as music teachers living with Constance Wimperis (a milner?) at 68 Albert Street. R. R. Wimperis **Junior** still listed as a department building cleaner living at 50 Victoria Street and William S. Wimperis listed as a painter living at 27 Cambridge.¹⁸⁹ In 1898, R. R. Wimperis **Senior** and **Junior** play two concerts in the orchestra for the Ottawa Choral Society. **Senior** plays viola and **Junior** plays double bass.¹⁹⁰ The Wimperis orchestra plays at least three gigs in 1898, one for a Halloween party

¹⁸³ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1895-96* (Ottawa: Might Directory Co. of Toronto, 1895): 43 & 449, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁸⁴ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1895-96*, 129. *Ontario Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1895* (Toronto: Might Directory Co., 1895): 1524, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁸⁵ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1896-97* (Toronto: Might Directory Co., 1896): 446, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁸⁶ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1897-98* (Ottawa: Might Directory Co. of Toronto, 1897): 416, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

¹⁸⁷ "Lecture on Scott," *Ottawa Journal*, May 6, 1897: 3.

¹⁸⁸ "Heard on the Street," *Ottawa Journal*, March 13, 1897: 2. "Musical Recital: A Very Enjoyable Programme Presented at Grace Church Last Evening," *Ottawa Journal*, March 17, 1897: 6.

¹⁸⁹ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1898-99* (Ottawa: Might Directory Co. of Toronto, 1898): 427, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/>.

¹⁹⁰ "Choral Society Orchestra: Those who Will Assist in the Opening Concert Next Month," *Ottawa Journal*, December 30, 1898: 8. "Best Musicians in Ottawa: Will Take Part in the 'Elijah' Chorus," *Ottawa Journal*, March 1898, 29: 3.

at “Camp Argyle, Sons of Scotland.”¹⁹¹

- 1899-1900** Elizabeth E. and R. R. Wimperis (**Senior**) listed as music teachers living at 68 Albert Street.¹⁹² In 1899, R. R. Wimperis **Junior** plays double bass for the orchestra of the Glebe Musical Club (a new organization) at Moreland’s Hall.
- 1903** R. R. Wimperis **Junior** plays double bass for Ottawa’s Orchestral Society at the Russell Theatre.¹⁹³
- 1910** R. R. Wimperis **Junior** starts work at the government’s Post Office Department.¹⁹⁴
- 1917-1918** R. R. Wimperis **Junior** appears in a photograph of the Regent Theatre Orchestra published in the *Ottawa Journal* once in 1917, and again in 1918.¹⁹⁵
- 1937** R. R. Wimperis **Junior** plays alongside cellist Alfred Tassé (possibly related to Albert Tassé of the Russell theatre), violinist René Marier (also a theatre musician at the Regent, Imperial, and Eden theatres during the silent film era), and others in the La Salle Symphony Orchestra at the La Salle Academy auditorium.¹⁹⁶
- 1939** Christina, R. R. Wimperis **Junior**’s wife, passes away.¹⁹⁷ R. R. Wimperis Junior wins Imperial Service medal. The article notes he had already been awarded three other medals: “the King Edward VII long service medal for 45 years service in the G. G. F. G. [...] the King George V silver jubilee [medal] and the King George VI coronation medals.”¹⁹⁸
- 1951** R. R. Wimperis **Junior** passes away.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹¹ “Celebrated Halloween: Pleasant Time With the Members of Camp Argyle Last Night,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 1, 1898: 3. “Bell’s Corners,” *Ottawa Journal*, December 5, 1898: 7.

¹⁹² *The Ottawa City Directory, 1899* (Ottawa: Might Directory Co. of Toronto, 1898): 481, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/>.

¹⁹³ “Concert Was A Success: Orchestral Society Pleases Audience,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 16, 1903: 3.

¹⁹⁴ “Robert Richard Wimperis Gets Imperial Service Medal,” *Ottawa Journal*, September 2, 1939: 2.

¹⁹⁵ Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. “Regent Concert Orchestra” photograph, *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13.

¹⁹⁶ “La Salle Symphony Orchestra Wins Tribute of Large Audiences,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 25, 1937: 7.

¹⁹⁷ “Mrs. R. R. Wimperis Dies in 67th Year,” *Ottawa Journal*, November 13, 1939: 12.

¹⁹⁸ “Robert Richard Wimperis Gets Imperial Service Medal,” 2.

¹⁹⁹ “Robert R. Wimperis,” 23.

Appendix 5
Data for Network Diagram 5-4

The years noted here represent what is known rather than the total length of time a musician was in an ensemble. The information ranges from each musician's arrival in Ottawa to 1917. The following chart more or less follows the connections between nodes going clockwise from the top of the Diagram 5-4.

Actor 1	Actor 2	Location	Year(s)	Relation	
Regent Theatre Orchestra	Regent Theatre	Ottawa	1916-?		²⁰⁰
Horace Wilson arrived in Ottawa in 1916. ²⁰¹					
Horace Wilson	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1917 – 1918	Organist	²⁰²
	Regent Theatre	Ottawa	1916 – 1918	Organist	²⁰³
	Pudsey Mechanics	West Yorkshire	before 1916	Professor of harmony and singing	²⁰⁴
	Pudsey Municipal Orchestra	West Yorkshire	before 1916	Conductor	
	Lurgan Philharmonic Society	Ireland	before 1916	Conductor	
	Lurgan Cathedral	Ireland	before 1916	Master organist	
	St. Paul's, Stanningley	Stanningley, Pudsey, West Yorkshire	before 1916	Organist and choir master	
	Rialto Theatre	New York	before 1916?	Organist	²⁰⁵
	Yorkshire Training College of Music	Leeds, England	1899	Student of piano, singing, and	

²⁰⁰ The first mention of an orchestra at the Regent came in the following article: “‘Regent’ Theatre Handsome House; Seats Over 1,600, Finely Furnished,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 8, 1916: 17.

²⁰¹ "New Organist for Regent Theatre," 8.

²⁰² Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. "Regent Concert Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13.

²⁰³ "New Organist for Regent Theatre," 8. Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. "Regent Concert Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13.

²⁰⁴ "New Organist for Regent Theatre," 8.

²⁰⁵ "Horace Wilson Has Won Many Honors," *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 18.

Horace Wilson				theory	206
	Royal College of Organists	London, England	graduated 1905	Student, associate diploma	
	First Congregational Church	Ottawa	1917 – 1920	Organist, choir director	207
Joseph Pelisek arrived in Ottawa in 1911²⁰⁸					
Joseph Pelisek	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1917 – 1918	Violin	209
	Britannia Bay Fresh Air Fund	Ottawa	1915	Violin	210
	Rudolph Pelisek			Brothers	211
	Pelisek Trio	Ottawa		Violin (hypothetical)	n.a.
Rudolph Pelisek arrived in Ottawa in either 1909 or 1912²¹²					
Rudolph Pelisek	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1916 – 1925	Violinist, conductor, musical director	213
	Pelisek Orchestra	Ottawa		Violin	214

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ "First Congregational Church," *Ottawa Journal*, January 27, 1917: 15. "Annual Concert was Great Success," *Ottawa Journal*, February 24, 1917: 2. "First Congregational," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 18. First Congregational Church notice, *Ottawa Journal*, February 17, 1920: 4.

²⁰⁸ "Joseph V. Pelisek Was Ill Two Years," *Ottawa Journal*, March 29, 1937: 14.

²⁰⁹ Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. "Regent Concert Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13. "Joseph V. Pelisek Was Ill Two Years," 14.

²¹⁰ "Raised \$400 For Fresh Air Cottage," *Ottawa Journal*, August 19, 1915: 10.

²¹¹ "Canada," *Moving Picture World* 86 no. 1 (New York: Chalmers Publishing Company, May 7, 1927): 46, Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/movingpicturewor86mayj>.

²¹² A 1919 report stated he arrived in Ottawa in 1909, while Rudolph Pelisek's 1926 obituary gives 1912 as his year of arrival. Unfortunately, the second page of the 1926 obituary is missing from the original microfilm source at the City of Ottawa Archives and at the Ottawa Public Library. "Pelisek Orchestra Elevated Standard: Young Bohemian Leader Left Native Land at Fourteen" *Ottawa Journal*, April 22, 1919: 13. "Rudolph Pelisek, Violinist and Orchestra Leader, Dies In His Thirty-Seventh Year," *Ottawa Journal*, January 20, 1926: 1.

²¹³ "Regent" advertisement. *Ottawa Journal*, March 25, 1916: 24. Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. "Regent Concert Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13. "Twixt Stage and Screen," *Ottawa Journal*, February 28, 1925: 11. "Rudolph Pelisek, Violinist and Orchestra Leader, Dies In His Thirty-Seventh Year," *Ottawa Journal*, January 20, 1926: 1.

²¹⁴ "Pelisek Orchestra Elevated Standard: Young Bohemian Leader Left Native Land at

Pelisek Orchestra	Regent Theatre	Ottawa	1916		215
	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa		Same orchestra? (hypothetical)	216
	Plaza Cafe	Ottawa	1915		217
Rudolph Pelisek	Pelisek Trio	Ottawa	1916 – 1917		218
Pelisek Trio	The A. E. REA Co., Ltd.	Ottawa	1916 – 1917		219
	Peter's Cafe	Ottawa	1916		220
Rudolph Pelisek	European and American Orchestra		1903? – arrival in Ottawa	Violin	221
	Albert Hall Orchestra,	London, UK	1903 - ?	Violin	222
	Imperial Theatre	Ottawa	1914 – 1916?	Violin	
	C. W. Lindsay Limited (Pianos)	Ottawa	1915	Violin	223
Lionel Mortimer (b1890, d1964) was not a member of the Regent Theatre Orchestra, but was the orchestra director as the Family Theatre for a number of years.²²⁴					
Lionel Mortimer	C. W. Lindsay Limited	Ottawa	1914	Violin	225
	Regent Theatre	Ottawa	1916	Violin	226
	(Ottawa) Hebrew Ladies' Aid Society	Ottawa	1916		
Regent Theatre	Ottawa Hebrew Ladies' Aid Society	Ottawa	1916		

Fourteen” *Ottawa Journal*, April 22, 1919: 13.

²¹⁵ Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1916: 21.

²¹⁶ Before the Regent advertised its own orchestra, in 1916 it mainly advertised the Pelisek Orchestra. There was, possibly, some overlap between the Pelisek Orchestra and the Regent Orchestra. The following article uses both the terms “Regent Theatre Orchestra” and “Pelisek Orchestra,” “Pelisek Orchestra Elevated Standard,” 13.

²¹⁷ Plaza Cafe advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 11, 1915: 2.

²¹⁸ Peter's Cafe advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 20, 1916: 7.

²¹⁹ The A. E. REA Co., Ltd. advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, November 21, 1916: 3. Rea's advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 24, 1917: 3.

²²⁰ Peter's Cafe advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, May 20, 1916: 7.

²²¹ "Pelisek Orchestra Elevated Standard," 13. "Rudolph Pelisek, Violinist and Orchestra Leader, Dies In His Thirty-Seventh Year," 1.

²²² "Rudolph Pelisek, Violinist and Orchestra Leader, Dies" 1.

²²³ "Lindsay Recital," *Ottawa Journal*, January 29, 1915: 15.

²²⁴ “Deaths,” *Ottawa Journal*, October 13, 1964: 46.

²²⁵ C.W. Lindsay Limited Pianos advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, February 27, 1914: 6.

²²⁶ "Patriotic Concert By Ladies' Aid Society," *Ottawa Journal*, May 13, 1916: 5.

Lionel Mortimer	Family Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1917-1924	Director	227
Family Theatre Orchestra	Family Theatre	Ottawa			
Lionel Mortimer	"Christopher Columbus" orchestra	Ottawa	1914	First Violin	228
Jack Neville (John P. Neville) was the first organist at the Regent Theatre, noted at its opening night in 1916 and afterwards. He was born in Ottawa and passed away in Detroit in 1941.²²⁹					
Bennett's Theatre Orchestra	Bennett's Theatre	Ottawa	1910		230
Jack Neville	Bennett's Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1910	Pianist	
	Regent Theatre	Ottawa	1916	Organist	231
	Imperial Theatre	Ottawa	?	Pianist	232
	Flower Theatre	Ottawa	1915	Musician	233
	Hotel Victoria	Ottawa		Pianist	234
The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen	Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen	Ottawa	1906	Pianist	
	Hotel Victoria	Ottawa	1906		
Jack Neville	Goldsmith's hall	Ottawa	1907	Pianist	235

²²⁷ Family Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 20, 1917: 13. Last mention I could find of Mortimer at the then renamed Franklin Theatre, "Twixt Stage and Screen," *Ottawa Journal*, June 28, 1924: 16.

²²⁸ Had there been more space in the diagram, I would have included Chas. J. Charlesbois, the choir master of St. Jean Baptiste Church who directed the chorus for *Christopher Columbus*, "Two Hundred Will Sing in Musical Extravaganza," *Ottawa Journal*, May 23, 1914: 15.

²²⁹ "Funeral on Friday of J.P. Neville," *Ottawa Journal*, January 2, 1941: 17.

²³⁰ "Mr. Neville Opens New Music Store," *Ottawa Journal*, January 14, 1910: 1.

²³¹ "Regent Theatre Had New Manager," *Ottawa Journal* August 9, 1916: 11.

²³² "Funeral on Friday of J. P. Neville," *Ottawa Journal* January 2, 1941: 17.

²³³ Flower Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 29, 1915: 13.

²³⁴ "The Firemen at Aylmer: Splendid Time Spent At Hotel Victoria," *Ottawa Journal*, June 21, 1906: 10.

²³⁵ "Mr. P. M. Draper Asks Support: Talks to Allied Trades and Labor Council of Coming Controllorship Campaign. Will Speak Plainly," *Ottawa Journal*, December 13, 1907: 5.

Jack Neville	Ottawa Allied Trades and Labor Council	Ottawa	1907	Pianist	236
Ottawa Allied Trades and Labor Council	Goldsmith's hall	Ottawa	1907		
Jack Neville	Grand Opera House orchestra	Ottawa	? - 1913	Pianist and conductor	237
Grand Opera House orchestra	Grand Opera House	Ottawa			n.a.
Jack Neville	Governor General's Footguards Band (GGFG Band)	Ottawa	1907		238
The Regent's Robert Richard Wimperis (named R. R. Wimperis Jr. in this thesis) probably arrived in Ottawa in 1887 along with his parents. For more information see Appendix 4					
Ottawa Choral Society	Choral Society Orchestra	Ottawa	1898 -		n.a.
R. R. Wimperis Jr.	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1917 – 1918	Double bass	239
	Wimperis Orchestra			(hypothetical)	n.a.
	Choral Society Orchestra	Ottawa	1898	Double bass	240
R. R. Wimperis Sr.	Choral Society Orchestra	Ottawa	1898	Viola	
	R. R. Wimperis Jr.			Father and son	241
	Wimperis Orchestra	Ottawa	1892 – 1899	Leader, Violin?	242

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ "Funeral on Friday of J. P. Neville," *Ottawa Journal*, January 2, 1941: 17.

²³⁸ "Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor," *Ottawa Journal*, November 2, 1907: 11.

²³⁹ Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15.

²⁴⁰ "Choral Society Orchestra: Those who Will Assist in the Opening Concert Next Month," *Ottawa Journal*, December 30, 1898: 8. "Best Musicians in Ottawa: Will Take Part in the 'Elijah' Chorus," *Ottawa Journal*, March 29, 1898: 3.

²⁴¹ "Carleton Co., 1894," *Ontario Marriage Registrations 1800-1927 from Ontario Archives, microfilm M 932*, hosted by rootsweb, ancestry.com, <http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~maryc/carl94.htm>.

²⁴² "Under Gold-Touched Maples and Spreading Pines," *Ottawa Journal*, September 14, 1893: 1. "W.F. M.S. Lawn Social," *Ottawa Journal*, July 6, 1894: 7. "Wimperis' Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, November 20, 1895: 3. "Bell's Corners," *Ottawa Journal*, December 5, 1898: 7. "C.O.F.," *Ottawa Journal*, February 8, 1899: 8. *The Ottawa City Directory, 1895-96*, 129. *Ontario Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1895* (Toronto: Might Directory Co., 1895): 1524, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada,

R. R. Wimperis Jr.	Wimperis Orchestra	Ottawa		Double bass or cello (hypothetical)	n.a.
Elizabeth E. Wimperis	R. R. Wimperis Jr.			Mother and son	243
	R. R. Wimperis Sr.			Wife and husband	
	Wimperis Orchestra	Ottawa	1892 –1899	Pianist	244
Wimperis Orchestra	Grand Opera House	Ottawa	1895 – 1896		245
	Knox Church	Ottawa	1894		246
	McKay Homestead	Ottawa	1893		247
	St. Andrew’s Church	Ottawa	1893		
St. Andrew’s Church	McKay Homestead	Ottawa	1893		
Wimperis Band	Burgess Hall	Ottawa	1897		248
	Caledonian Society	Ottawa	1897		
Caledonian Society	Burgess Hall	Ottawa	1897		
Wimperis Band	R. R. Wimperis Sr.	Ottawa	1897	Musician (hypothetical)	n.a.
	R. R. Wimperis Jr.	Ottawa	1897	Musician (hypothetical)	n.a.
	Elizabeth E. Wimperis	Ottawa	1897	Musician (hypothetical)	n.a.
Wimperis Orchestra	Wimperis Band	Ottawa		Same ensemble? (hypothetical)	n.a.
R. R. Wimperis Jr.	Governor General’s Foot Guards Band	Ottawa	1894 – 1939	Musician	249

<http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

²⁴³ “Carleton Co., 1894.”

²⁴⁴ Advertisements for The Wimperis Orchestra list R. R. Wimperis as the leader and his wife E. E. Wimperis on piano, “Music: Wimperis’ Orchestra” classifieds, *Ottawa Journal*, November 20, 1895: 3.

²⁴⁵ *The Ottawa City Directory, 1895-96* (Ottawa: Might Directory Co. of Toronto, 1895): 449, digitized copy available from Canadian Directories Collection, Library and Archives Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/>.

²⁴⁶ “W. F. M.S. Lawn Social,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 6, 1894: 7.

²⁴⁷ Under Gold-Touched Maples and Spreading Pines, *Ottawa Journal*, September 14, 1893: 1.

²⁴⁸ “Lecture on Scott,” *Ottawa Journal*, May 6, 1897: 3.

²⁴⁹ “Robert Richard Wimperis Gets Imperial Service Medal,” *Ottawa Journal*, September

Governor General's Foot Guards Band	Governor General's Foot Guards	Ottawa			n.a.
	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1906	GGFG Band "supplies the orchestra at the Russell Theatre"	²⁵⁰
R. R. Wimperis Jr.	Glebe Musical Club orchestra	Ottawa	1899	Double bass	²⁵¹
Glebe Musical Club orchestra	Moreland's Hall	Ottawa	1899		
R. R. Wimperis Jr.	Grace Church	Ottawa	1897	Cello	²⁵²
Herr Koehler	Grace Church	Ottawa	1897	Violin	
C. J. Newman	Grace Church	Ottawa	1897	Organ	
R. R. Wimperis Jr.	Chateau Laurier Orchestra	Ottawa	?	Musician	²⁵³
Chateau Laurier Orchestra	Chateau Laurier	Ottawa	?		n.a.
R. R. Wimperis Jr.	(Ottawa Amateur) Orchestral Society	Ottawa	1903	Double bass	²⁵⁴
Orchestral Society	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1903		
Donald Heins	(Ottawa Amateur) Orchestral Society	Ottawa	1903	Lead Violin	
Donald Heins	Ottawa Symphony Orchestra	Ottawa	1903-1927	Conductor	²⁵⁵

2, 1939: 2. "Robert R. Wimperis," *Ottawa Journal*, December 31, 1951: 23. "Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor," 11.

²⁵⁰ "Upwards of 200 Ottawa Musicians in the Ranks of Organized Labor," 11.

²⁵¹ "Glebe Musical Club: The New South End Organization Gave its First Concert Last Night," *Ottawa Journal*, December 22, 1899: 3.

²⁵² "Music Recital: A Very Enjoyable Programme Presented at Grace Church Last Evening," *Ottawa Journal*, March 17, 1897: 6.

²⁵³ "Music Notes," *Ottawa Journal*, September 9, 1973: 21.

²⁵⁴ "Concert Was A Success," *Ottawa Journal*, January 16, 1903: 3.

²⁵⁵ Previously the Canadian Conservatory Orchestra. The "First Grand Symphony Concert" of the "Orchestra of the Canadian Conservatory of Music, Limited" was on March 3, 1904 and was under "The distinguished patronage and immediate presence of Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Minto." The orchestra was renamed the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra (OSO) in 1910. This is not the same organization as the current OSO nor the first OSO, which was formed in 1908 by Albert Tassé and was not successful. For the purpose of clarity, I have not included Tassé's orchestra in the diagram and I have likewise omitted some of Heins's connections to other institutions. Russell Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March

Ottawa Symphony Orchestra	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1904-?		256
	Helen Langdon	Ottawa	1917	Cello	257
	R. R. Wimperis	Ottawa	1917	Double bass	
Donald Heins	Knox Church	Ottawa	1915	Organist (n.d.); Violinist in string quartet	258
R. R. Wimperis Jr.	"Christopher Columbus" orchestra	Ottawa	1914	Double bass	259
Lucien Labelle					
Lucien Labelle	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1917	Cello	260
	"Christopher Columbus" orchestra	Ottawa	1914	Cello	261
	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1916	Musician	262
	207 th Battalion	Ottawa	1916	Musician (for fundraiser)	
207 th Battalion	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1916	Fundraising Concert	
J. Albert Tassé (b. 1879; d.1951, Montreal) was the leader of the Russell Theatre Orchestra from 1897 to 1905. In 1927, he advertised himself as an instructor of violin and cello at Sacred Heart Convent, Congregation de Notre-Dame Convent, and the University of Ottawa.²⁶³					
	207 th Battalion	Ottawa	1916	Musician (for	264

1, 1904: 10. Louis-Gérard Alberti, "Donald Heins," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last updated December 16, 2013, accessed June 19, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/donald-heins-emc/>. Jean Southworth, "Music in Ottawa," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, last modified August 29, 2007, accessed August 1, 2017, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ottawa-ont-emc/%20music%20in%20ottawa>.

²⁵⁶ "Ottawa Symphony Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 22, 1917: 7.

²⁵⁷ *The Metronome* published programmes of the Chateau Laurier Orchestra and the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra several times in 1917. Source: "Ottawa Symphony Orchestra," *The Metronome* 33 no. 3 (March 1917): 66, UR Research, <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/26103>.

²⁵⁸ Debra Ann Begg, "A History of Orchestras in Ottawa From 1894 to 1960," Master's thesis (Carleton University, 1981): 39. "Concert and Play" *Ottawa Journal*, February 2, 1915: 11.

²⁵⁹ "Two Hundred Will Sing in Musical Extravaganza," 15.

²⁶⁰ Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. "Regent Concert Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13.

²⁶¹ "Two Hundred Will Sing in Musical Extravaganza," 15.

²⁶² "The Man in Uniform, A Daily Review of Military Affairs in the Dominion Capital: 207th Concert To-Night," *Ottawa Journal*, May 11, 1916: 12.

²⁶³ "J. Albert Tassé," *Ottawa Journal*, June 11, 1951: 32. Albert Tassé advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 1927: 19.

²⁶⁴ "The Man in Uniform, A Daily Review of Military Affairs in the Dominion Capital:

Albert Tassé				fundraiser)	
	St. Anne's Choir	Ottawa	1900	Leader	265
	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1917	Musician	266
	Russell Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1897 – 1903 or 1905	First Violin/leader	267
St. Anne's Church	St. Anne's Choir	Ottawa	1900		268
Russell Theatre Orchestra	Russell Theatre	Ottawa			n.a.
Albert Tassé	"Christopher Columbus" orchestra	Ottawa	1914	Violin (conductor)	269
"Christopher Columbus" orchestra	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1914		
Albert Tassé	Monument National	Ottawa	1907	Violin, concert with A. Tremblay and Alfred DeCelles.	270
Alfred DeCelles	Monument National	Ottawa	1907	Comic/host, concert with A. Tremblay and A. Tassé	
Lucien Labelle	Rideau St. Convent	Ottawa	1916, 1919	Cello	271
Amédée Tremblay	Rideau St. Convent	Ottawa	1916, 1919	Organ	
Albert Tassé	Rideau St. Convent	Ottawa	1916, 1919	Violin	
Gertrude Tremblay	Rideau St. Convent	Ottawa	1916, 1919	Piano	
Percival J.	Rideau St. Convent	Ottawa	1916	Music professor/	272

207th Concert To-Night," 12.

²⁶⁵ "Wedded at St. Anne's: Marriage of Mr. Albert Tassé and Miss Bertha Leclair," *Ottawa Journal*, June 18, 1900: 7.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. "St. Jean Baptiste Concert a Success," *Ottawa Journal*, June 25, 1917: 12.

²⁶⁷ "Newslets," *Ottawa Journal*, December 13, 1897: 5. "Wedded at St. Anne's: Marriage of Mr. Albert Tassé and Miss Bertha Leclair," 7. An August 1905 article states "the Russell theatre orchestra is now under the capable direction of Mr. R. Berry," "Coming Amusements: Russell Theatre Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, August 29, 1905: 11.

²⁶⁸ "Wedded at St. Anne's: Marriage of Mr. Albert Tassé and Miss Bertha Leclair," 7.

²⁶⁹ "Two Hundred Will Sing in Musical Extravaganza," 15.

²⁷⁰ "Concert in Monument National," *Ottawa Journal*, April 11, 1907: 7.

²⁷¹ "Last Night's Lecture at Rideau St. Convent" *Ottawa Journal*, January 27, 1916: 8. *Ottawa Journal*, October 20, 1919: 7.

²⁷² "Last Night's Lecture at Rideau St. Convent" 8.

Illsley				lecturer	273
D'Youville Circle	Rideau St. Convent	Ottawa	1916		
	Lucien Labelle	Ottawa	1916	Cellist	
	Percival J. Illsley	Ottawa	1916	Lecturer	
	Amédée Tremblay	Ottawa	1916	Pianist	
	Albert Tassé	Ottawa	1916	Violin	
Gertrude Tremblay	Amédée Tremblay			Daughter and father	
Albert Tassé	L'Institut Canadien	Ottawa	1898	Violin	274
Eugene Tremblay	L'Institut Canadien	Ottawa	1898	Tenor	
Amédée Tremblay arrived in Ottawa in 1894 and left in 1920 ²⁷⁵					
L'Institut Canadien	Monument National	Ottawa	1910		276
L'Institut Canadien	Harmony Hall	Ottawa	1903		277
Amédée Tremblay	L'Institut Canadien	Ottawa	1898, 1903, 1910	Composer and Pianist	278
	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1916 – 1920	Organist and pianist	279
	Regent Theatre	Ottawa	1916 - 1920	Organist	280

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ "A Benefit Concert: The Friends of Mr. Eugene Tremblay Render Him Material Assistance," *Ottawa Journal*, March 16, 1898: 3.

²⁷⁵ Gilles Potvin, "Amédée Tremblay," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified December 16, 2013, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/amedee-tremblay-emc/>. I have not the following articles which mention Tremblay as an accompanist in this chart and diagram because of the large amount of reporting on Tremblay's musical activities in comparison to the other musicians: "Farewell Recital," *Ottawa Journal*, May 27, 1904: 4. "A Crowning Success," *Ottawa Journal*, December 12, 1900: 3. "Evening with L'Habitant," *Ottawa Journal*, January 14, 1908: 12. "Morning Music Club Concert," *Ottawa Journal*, November 20, 1913: 7. Additionally I omitted Tremblay's 1909 solo organ recital at St. Charles Church in Montreal and a 1901 recital in Arnprior. "Music," *Ottawa Journal*, June 26, 1909: 18. "Arnprior," *Ottawa Journal*, April 26, 1901: 7.

²⁷⁶ "The Musical World," *Ottawa Journal*, February 26, 1910: 17.

²⁷⁷ "Harmony Hall," *Ottawa Journal*, December 5, 1903: 20.

²⁷⁸ Ibid. "A Benefit Concert: The Friends of Mr. Eugene Tremblay Render Him Material Assistance," 3. "The Musical World," 17.

²⁷⁹ Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. "Moving Picture Theatres Assist Much in Spreaking the Gospel of Good Music," *Ottawa Journal*, April 1, 1920: 18. "Brilliant Ottawa Musician Amedee Tremblay Dies in U.S.," *Ottawa Journal*, July 19, 1949: 9.

²⁸⁰ "Ottawa Loses Leading Musician," 16.

	The People's Forum	Ottawa	1916 - 1917	Organist	281
The People's Forum	Regent Theatre	Ottawa	1916 - 1917		282
Helen Langdon	The People's Forum	Ottawa	1917	Cellist	283
	Imperial	Ottawa	1916	Cellist	284
	C. W. Lindsay Limited	Ottawa	1917	Cellist	285
	Knox Church	Ottawa	1916	Cellist	286
L'Orphéon d'Ottawa (also called L'Orphéon Society)	Harmony Hall	Ottawa	1900		287
	Rémi Tremblay	Ottawa	1900	Lyricist	
	Eugene Tremblay	Ottawa	1900	Singer	
	Albert Tassé	Ottawa	1900	Violinist	
Amédée Tremblay	L'Orphéon d'Ottawa	Ottawa	1900, 1903	Composer, director, pianist	288
	Ottawa University	Ottawa	1903, 1904		289
Ottawa University	L'Orphéon d'Ottawa	Ottawa	1903	Concert featuring A. Tremblay's works at the University's hall	290
	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1903	"Concert in aid of Ottawa University"	
Amédée	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1904, 1917	"Concert in aid of Ottawa University"	291

²⁸¹ The People's Form advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 28, 1916: 2. "Disaster Followed Them Along Route," *Ottawa Journal*, November 27, 1916: 3. The People's Forum advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, December 9, 1916: 2. The People's Forum advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 6, 1917: 2. "Too Much Militarism Here, Says Verteran," *Ottawa Journal*, October 22, 1917: 14. "Passion for Unity Exist in Canada," *Ottawa Journal*, December 31, 1917: 3.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ The People's Form advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, October 28, 1916: 2.

²⁸⁴ Imperial advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, April 19, 1916: 15

²⁸⁵ C. W. Lindsay Limited advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, January 10, 1917: 11.

²⁸⁶ "Banner Evening at Knox Church Friday," *Ottawa Journal*, December 6, 1916: 2.

²⁸⁷ "A Musical Treat," *Ottawa Journal*, May 18, 1900: 5.

²⁸⁸ Ibid. "Nordica and De Reszke Promise an Excellent Tour," *Ottawa Journal*, April 18, 1903: 16.

²⁸⁹ "Nordica and De Reszke Promise an Excellent Tour," 16. "Russell Theatre," *Ottawa Journal*, March 23, 1904: 10.

²⁹⁰ "Russell Theatre," *Ottawa Journal*, March 23, 1904: 10.

²⁹¹ Ibid., "St. Jean Baptiste Concert a Success," *Ottawa Journal*, June 25, 1917: 12.

Tremblay	St-Joseph Church, Montreal	Montreal	1892 – 1894	Organist	292
Amédée Tremblay	Orphéon de St-Joseph	Montreal	1894	Music Director and Founder	
Orphéon de St-Joseph	St-Joseph Church, Montreal	Montreal	1894 – 1895		
St. Jean Baptiste Society (of Ottawa and Hull)	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1917		293
St. Jean Baptiste Society (of Ottawa and Hull)	Notre-Dame Basilica Choir	Ottawa	1917		
Notre Dame Basilica Choir	Russell Theatre	Ottawa	1917		
J. F. Champagne	Notre-Dame Basilica Choir	Ottawa	1917	Director	
Amédée Tremblay	Monument National	Ottawa	1906, 1907	Composer (opera), pianist in concert with A. Tassé and Alfred DeCelles	294
Rémi Tremblay	Monument National	Ottawa	1906	Librettist (opera)	
Amédée Tremblay	Notre-Dame Basilica	Ottawa	1894 – 1920	Organist	295
	Notre-Dame Basilica Choir	Ottawa	1903, 1910, 1917	Director and composer	296
Notre-Dame Basilica Choir	Notre-Dame Basilica	Ottawa			n.a.
Amédée Tremblay	Orme	Ottawa	1902	Composer	297

²⁹² Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay.”

²⁹³ The concert was “in aid of the Red Cross and of the sufferers in the devastated regions of France and Belgium.” “St. Jean Baptiste Concert a Success,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 25, 1917: 12.

²⁹⁴ “Le Monument National: L’Intransigeant,” *Ottawa Journal*, June 22, 1906: 6.
“Concert in Monument National,” *Ottawa Journal*, April 11, 1907: 7.

²⁹⁵ Potvin, “Amédée Tremblay.”

²⁹⁶ “For Repose of Soul of Pope Leo.,” *Ottawa Journal*, July 29, 1903: 1. “Easter Music in Churches of the Capital,” *Ottawa Journal*, March 26, 1910: 3. “St. Jean Baptiste Concert a Success,” 12.

²⁹⁷ Amédée Tremblay, *Dix-huit chansons populaires du Canada* (Ottawa: J. L. Orme et

	La Salle Academy	Ottawa	1900	Pianist	298
	St. Jean Baptiste Church	Ottawa	1903	Organist (solos in a concert)	299
	Ottawa Choral Society	Ottawa	1909	Organist	300
Ottawa Choral Society	St. Patrick's Hall	Ottawa	1909		
Julius Hillas came to Canada in 1912 and passed away in 1928.³⁰¹					
Julius Hillas	Regent Theatre Orchestra	Ottawa	1917 - 1918	Clarinet	302
	38 th Battalion	Ottawa; Bermuda	1915 – 1916	Bandmaster	303

files, 1902). Orme advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, March 8, 1907: 10.

²⁹⁸ "The Brothers' Boys," *Ottawa Journal*, June 25, 1900: 3.

²⁹⁹ "In the Realm of Music; Many Items of Local Interest," *Ottawa Journal*, March 28, 1903: 9.

³⁰⁰ "Choral Society Scores Success," *Ottawa Journal*, December 7, 1909: 6.

³⁰¹ "Julius Hillas Dies Suddenly," *Ottawa Journal*, March 24, 1928: 1.

³⁰² Regent Theatre advertisement, *Ottawa Journal*, September 29, 1917: 15. "Regent Concert Orchestra," *Ottawa Journal*, January 12, 1918: 13.

³⁰³ "Julius Hillas Dies Suddenly," 1. Ken, "Acting Sergeant (Private) Julius Hillas," *Soldiers of the 38th*, last updated October 13, 2009, accessed June 8, 2017, <http://38thbattalion.blogspot.ca/2009/10/acting-sergeant-private-julius-hillas.html>.