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MAPPING THE MASS CIRCULATION OF EARLY CINEMA: FILM DEBUTS COAST-TO-COAST IN CANADA IN 1896 AND 1897

Résumé: Si peu de travaux ont été consacrés à ce sujet, on sait aujourd'hui que dans les quelques mois qui ont suivi la première projection publique, à Montréal en juin 1896, les films ont voyagé d'un océan à l'autre partout au Canada. Chaque localité a sa propre histoire du cinéma et, mises en commun, ces histoires permettent de cartographier la nouveauté d'une pratique culturelle qui embrasse beaucoup plus que la simple collection de dispositifs technologiques et la chronique d'évènements touchant des publics disparates. Documenter la circulation des premiers films montre comment le nouveau médium permettait la relation de chaque localité à sa région et même davantage. Pour inclure cette réalité régionale, cet article prolonge la portée et la durée de ce que nous appelons les débuts du cinéma à l'échelle nationale et couvre toute la première année de projections. En se basant sur les comptes rendus des journaux et sur la publicité, l'article donne ainsi une vue complète de la circulation massive du cinéma des premiers temps au Canada et rend ainsi compte des variations régionales dans l'exploitation des films en relation avec les réseaux de communications commerciaux déjà existants.

Moving pictures traveled across Canada coast-to-coast within months of their debut in Montreal in 1896, although few previous accounts have looked past metropolitan cities. From the very start of its commercial availability, cinema existed as a mass practice, animating modernity for its audiences by gathering publics as instances of regional, national, continental and imperial collectivity. The invocation of those possible publics varied from region to region across Canada, as cinema in southern Ontario circulated in patterns distinct from the Maritimes, Quebec, Manitoba, southwest British Columbia, and the great expanse across the Prairies and the Rocky Mountains along the Canadian Pacific Railway route. Within each of those regions, too, villages, towns, and cities had differing first encounters with cinema, although they were entwined through interconnecting forms of publicity and touring routes. Each locality has its own cinema history, which taken together map out the novelty of a cultural practice that encompassed much more than a collection of technological apparatuses and a series of events for disparate audiences. The following compilation of historic details about the debut of film across Canada, gleaned from archived newspapers, documents the extent of public knowledge about cinema, and in turn becomes a record of early cinema's mass circulation that illustrates how the new medium connected every locality to its region and beyond.

Reporting in small town newspapers often documented the local appearance of modern novelties in greater detail and with more contextual relevance than their mass circulation big city counterparts. Consider the record of early cinema in the *Carberry News* in Manitoba: an article about recent "Electrical Wonders" exhibited in town in August 1896 noted that two kinetoscope peepshow machines had "created considerable comment," although "its drawback was that the images so produced were less than two inches square and only one spectator could see them at a time." However, the very next week an "improvement" visited town.

> It is called a vitascope. The instrument has an apparatus for projecting images on a screen.…Various dances were shown, the figures moving with as much grace and precision as if they were living. Street scenes from New York, showing moving wagons and electric cars as well as pedestrians were given in so natural a manner that it was difficult to realize that the spectators were not gazing on the actual reality.…The operators left for Portage by Thursday's train.[1]

Carberry's other weekly newspaper, the *Express*, gave the showman's name as Hardie—no doubt the same Richard A. Hardie who had toured throughout Manitoba in 1892 giving Edison Phonograph concerts, and the showman behind Vitascope exhibits in Winnipeg and Brandon the previous weeks in July 1896.[2] It took a full year for moving pictures to appear a second time in Carberry, when the *News* reviewed a show of the Cosgrove Vaudeville Company, who had played in town three years earlier but had not changed its repertoire. "Next time they appear here, a change would be appreciated," the reporter warned. Instead of the stage performance, the accompanying projecting kinetoscope exhibition "was well worth the price of admission and was warmly received." Hardie was again operating the picture machine, and this time he also filmed scenes in town.

> Every motion in the scene photographed can be reproduced on the sheet with absolute fidelity…The view taken was that on the C.P.R. field immediately south of the track, no less than three binders engaged in cutting.… The view is one of a series taken for the Manitoba government for exhibition in the old country.…Many Carberry citizens will walk across the lime lit sheet to the entertainment and instruction of thousands to whom Manitoba was merely a name, and whose ideas as to its residents were summarized in the general idea that it was inhabited by scalp hunting savages.[3]

Having a local encounter with cinema, and having local scenes filmed, was thus linked to being modern and civilized—a way of marking how this part of Canada was settled by people other than First Nations communities. Since bringing an Edison Vitascope to Manitoba in 1896, Hardie had pitched a scheme to government and railway executives to use moving pictures to promote immigration to

the Prairies. Hardie deserves credit as a pioneering exhibitor and filmmaker in Canada, but my purpose here is a more general overview of early cinema in Canada outside the metropolis.

What are we to make of the knowledge that cinema was exhibited in rural Manitoba before Toronto, and that films were made there, too, before any record of their production in Ontario outside Niagara Falls? Here is an opportunity to revise the history of early cinema in Canada, extending the temporal frame in order to see the geographic margins in relation to the metropolis. Such a project begins with neglected, localized sources. When Peter Morris published *Embattled Shadows* in 1978, he was the first person from outside the film industry itself to write a significant history of Canadian cinema. Primarily interested in film production up to the 1930s, a first brief chapter recounted the beginnings of exhibition in the 1890s. His account relied on the Canadian film industry's existing history of itself, beginning with autobiographical statements and stories of showmen who remained part of the industry in later decades. Morris never expected the book to remain uneclipsed for so long, and his preface takes pains to note the book is "a first attempt," that was "essentially descriptive," in order to "raise questions on which further research is necessary." He went as far as to state: "I make no claims for the book's definitiveness…I hope it will serve as a useful point of departure."[4]Although many tangents have been studied for particular moments, places, people and institutions, subsequent histories of early cinema in Canada have cautiously avoided comparative surveys on a national scale.[5]

In its first year in Canada, cinema was exhibited in storefront shows (in big cities and in small towns), at variety theatres, and at summer amusement parks as a season-long attraction. It was both a headlining act and the supporting "chaser" on vaudeville bills, accompanied by lecturers, pianists or orchestras; shown as lengthy feature attractions, or interspersed with illustrated songs, amateur variety, and gramophone selections. This variety of cinematic context demonstrates the futility of choosing the first few screenings—or any few—as prototypical, leaving all other sites to be of only esoteric interest to autonomous local historical societies. Metropolitan cities might be privileged as sites of heightened exchange and concentrated activity, but they do not monopolize mass practices that by their very definition circulate across the entire public. A metropolitan focus esteems novelty and innovative breaks, whereas continuity and gradual cultural change is made evident in a spatial approach that aims to map the relation between metropolis and periphery. This premise marks out an approach that traces distinctions, maps differences, and catalogues variation and change. Franco Moretti charts literary history as an atlas, as a matter of graphs, maps, and trees, continuing Fredric Jameson's claim that contemporary theorizing requires a spatial sensibility in order to maintain a critical distance from modernism's temporal bias that favours the present.[6] Moretti turned to maps in order to grapple with immense amounts of detailed data derived from "distant reading" across texts and genres.[7] For early cinema, especially in Canada, the point is not to analyze existing quantitative information, but to amass quantities of information. Outside metropolitan cities, simply noting the existence of an audience is in itself a sig-

nificant fact, but only if connected to the wider circulation of cinema.

Circulation is more than a mere process of dispersal of a novelty from centre to periphery. The continuity of the touring route, the same actors, plays, and novelties touring from town to town, creates the "public" for entertainment as part of a mass market—interregional, crossing borders, linking places in series rather than distinguishing between them. Newspaper publicity is crucial as the primary archive of the existence of a cinematic public, but also for its role in helping create that cinematic public. As Michael Warner has pointed out, the circulation of texts such as newspapers is the basis for making modernity meaningful.[8] The relation between vernacular "print-capitalism" and modernity can thus be generalized beyond Benedict Anderson's overt concern with nationalism.[9] Circulation with promotion within mass markets transforms localized and individuated consumption into a collective practice.[10] News *about* cinema did much more than communicate or legitimate the social importance of film. As much as the experience of cinema itself, news and promotions of cinema as a circulating practice facilitated masses of strangers to potentially understand their relationship to each other, linked together by electricity and leisure. Cinema thus becomes a "cultural technology of space," to use Jody Berland's phrase, even without considering the experience of viewing or film content.[11] This approach corrects oversights in my own previous research that claimed that the mass culture of cinema began through its urban, municipal regulation in the nickel show from 1906 to 1916.[12] I had focused on Toronto in relation to other big cities, especially cities in the United States through secondary sources. This turned out to be less productive than comparisons with smaller cities and more remote regions within Canada. I need now to modify my argument to emphasize how the modernity of mainstream cinema was *metropolitan*—not simply urban—insofar as it almost simultaneously included the hinterland to create a mass market for cinema.

With this comparative history of the debut of film in Canada, I do not simply aim to extrapolate to the periphery what is already known about cinema at the centre. By its very definition, the metropolis is distinct from smaller cities, towns and rural areas, but it is not necessarily in opposition to them. The periphery has distinctions rather than absence, a point repeatedly argued for moviegoing by Robert C. Allen in his efforts against "Manhattan myopia" in film history.[13] Studies of small-town cinema are not rare, but a regional or comparative approach is stymied by a lack of common frameworks or methods.[14] It is vital to know how newspapers differ from each other according to the geographic focus, frequency, and depth of reporting and advertising, which more or less reflects the populations of their localities (i.e. the size of their markets of readers). The appearance of cinema in newspapers followed a typology depending on the size of town and type of newspaper.[15]

In Quebec, for example, Germain Lacasse caught Morris' oversight of articles (not advertising) in Montreal's French (not English) newspapers, reviewing the advance press screening of the Lumière Cinématographe on Saturday, June 27, 1896.[16] Morris had repeated the Canadian film industry's own convention that moving pictures had debuted in Ottawa with an Edison Vitascope show that
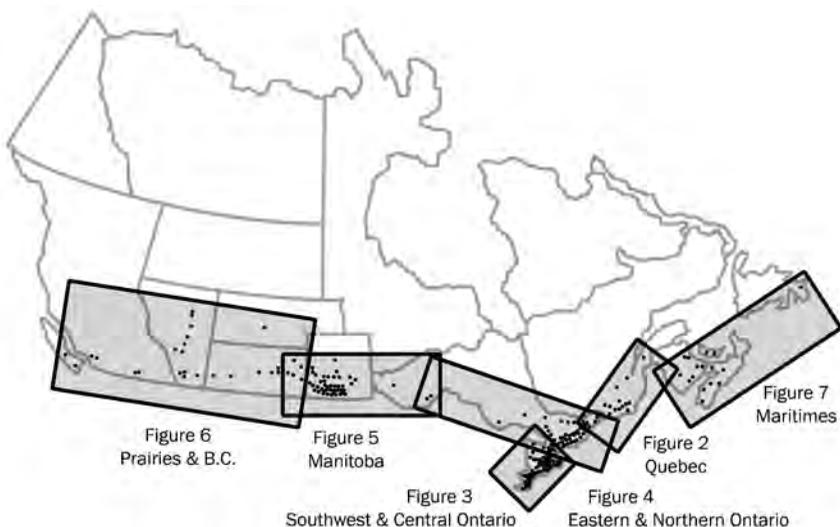
Fig. 1. Coast-to-coast regions of itinerant cinema routes showing Provincial and Territorial boundaries for 1896-1897. Each dot marks a city or town hosting moving pictures by the end of 1897.

began July 21, 1896.[17] An explicitly comparative approach might have explained Morris' slip as a consequence of method, not "amnesia" (as Lacasse dramatically wrote at the time). Among North American cities with daily newspapers, only in Montreal in June 1896 does cinema arrive unannounced and without advertising. Only in Montreal was its debut unnoticed and ignored afterwards by major local newspapers because the English press was apparently not invited to the advance screening. Brought direct from France by Lumière representatives, Louis Minier and Louis Pupier, the Cinématographe in Montreal had a strangely parochial debut, more like the arrival of moving pictures in a small town than, for example, the advertised and publicized arrival of Hardie's Vitascope in Winnipeg two weeks later on July 18, 1896. The Manitoba Vitascope was also overlooked by Morris despite appearing before the better-known exhibitions in Ottawa.[18] The lack of advertising in Montreal newspapers alongside the unnoticed record in Manitoba newspapers mark out concisely the need for the comparative project aspired to in this review of the debut of cinema coast-to-coast in Canada.

Broadening the reach and duration of what is meant by the "debut" of cinema to include marginal places alongside the metropolis throughout the entire year following the very first exhibitions, I have been able to confirm the appearance of moving pictures in every present-day Canadian province by December 1897, and to every part of the national railway route by April 1898. More than sixty different cinema projectors visited more than 200 different cities and towns across Canada in 1896 and 1897, including places with populations as small as a hundred people. As extensive as that summary of cinema's reach seems, it includes only towns where local events were recorded by newspapers, and in turn only those newspapers that have thankfully been archived. Most moving picture apparatuses circulated on surprisingly restricted regional touring routes. Forgotten shows, such as Hardie's Vitascope in Manitoba, were prototypical of cinema's

early circulation, while the familiar Cinématographe in Montreal and Vitascope in Ottawa turn out to be aberrations. Far from a metropolitan novelty, by the end of 1896 at least fifteen other moving picture machines had appeared in at least twenty-five other places in five provinces. The striking national characteristic is the absence of any national norm. Each region of the country welcomed cinema distinctly, although each did so within the context of a continental mass market. Cinema exhibitors largely adopted or joined regional circuits for itinerant commercial amusements, facilitated by reliable railway travel and the existence of local newspapers and a performance hall in almost any town with a population of more than a few hundred people.[19]

Until late in 1897, nearly all showmen selected their films from the same pool of moving pictures available for sale, with little local variation. Most Edison scenes originated as Kinetoscope peepshow views of celebrity performers and comedic gags filmed in Edison's New Jersey studio. An alternative type of early scene derived from the Lumières' specialty of reproducing natural and imperial spectacles. Although practices varied widely at first, an early moving picture lasted only a minute or so, and might be shown several times in quick succession within a program of 20 or more different views.[20] Even the smallest itinerant shows needed to intersperse the program with performers or phonograph recordings to make a program of an hour or more in duration.

I present below an aggregation of local detail amassed by searching every available newspaper in Canada from July 1896 to the end of 1897. Because this represents more than 300 newspapers from more than 200 communities, I will not catalogue the entire "database" nor cite sources unless specifically referenced; suffice to note that if a town is mapped, the information came from its local newspaper. Sometimes, especially in small towns, the appearance of moving pictures accompanying a variety show is unstated; I have inferred their arrival from details mentioned about itinerant shows in nearby towns.[21] I searched newspapers iteratively whenever possible, rereading local reports with new knowledge gained from other places. I have condensed the research into a set of regional maps illustrating the circulation of early cinema from coast to coast in Canada. Each map represents projectors, shows, and audiences that merit their own more detailed accounts; many could easily sustain their own descriptive histories from newspaper accounts alone, but that is not my purpose at present. As a foundation for further comparative research across the entirety of the country, my aim here is to document how almost every community was connected to cinema from its debut with important regional distinctions.

FROM MONTREAL AND TORONTO TO URBAN QUEBEC AND ONTARIO

In the year following the June 1896 Cinématographe debut in Montreal, at least seven different projectors claiming to be Lumière Cinématographes travelled to eight present-day provinces, stopping in more than fifty places, including four or five different venues in both Montreal and Toronto. The genius of the Lumières' invention was its simplicity, in particular its numerous technical and practical benefits compared to the first Edison Vitascope.[22] Heavier and less adaptable
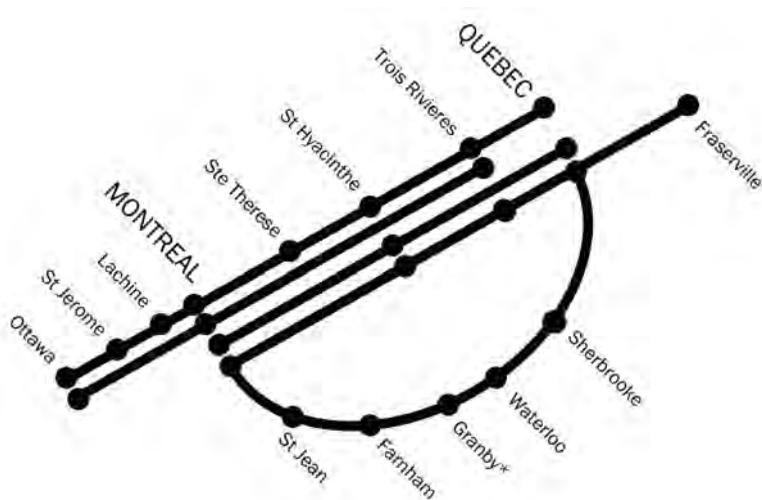
Fig. 2. Itinerant cinema in Quebec from June 1896 to May 1898. Shows in towns marked by asterisks in this and the following figures are inferred to have taken place.

than the Lumière apparatus, the Vitascope required relatively precise electric current for its power supply. The licensee for North Dakota, for example, wrote to Raff & Gammon, Edison's New York marketing agents, in profound distress when he discovered—only after the Vitascope was delivered—the apparatus was incompatible with the power supply in Grand Forks and Fargo.[23] He quickly resigned himself to sending the machine prematurely to Hardie in Manitoba, managing a single stop in his home territory first, in the border town of Pembina.[24]

In Ottawa, Andrew and George Holland had a long-standing relationship with Raff & Gammon, dating to their shepherding of Edison's Kinetoscope into the public realm in New York in 1894.[25] Although loyal and understanding, Andrew Holland nonetheless repeatedly wrote to New York documenting the disadvantages of the Vitascope compared to competing Lumière operators, who were able to produce local views in Montreal, and able to admit audiences free of charge in Toronto.[26] Holland's plans for a Vitascope tour of the Maritimes were abandoned after a disappointing ordeal adapting to Halifax's power supply, the September 1896 exhibitions significant only as the Nova Scotia debut of cinema.[27] Aside from the well-known extensive runs of six weeks each in Ottawa and Toronto, he managed to play the Vitascope in a single other location in London, Ontario, the last for the Vitascope in Canada, which was unfortunately scheduled to compete against the local debut of the Lumière machine late in October 1896.[28] Multiple other moving picture apparatuses were just then available for purchase, all more portable and practical than the Vitascope.

A trio of Cinématographes eventually toured throughout Ontario and Quebec. Almost always the first moving pictures in town, the exhibitions were marketed as a modern wonder and technological marvel on the basis of the show's first months' success in Toronto and Montreal. The Lumière representatives in Montreal, Minier and Pupier, did not pay for newspaper advertising, but it seems clear that the Cinéma -

tographe was exhibited until September 1896, then moved to the fairgrounds during Montreal's annual Exhibition. By the end of September, F. A. Jackson had purchased the rights to exhibit the Cinématographe throughout the province of Quebec. He was averse to neither publicity nor advertising, in both English and French and in newspapers outside Montreal. He opened first in a storefront in Lower Town Saint-Roch in Quebec City on September 30, 1896. Jackson held an advance screening for the press, inviting local dignitaries and officials. His advertising noted that "The Greatest Wonder of the Age!" had already been "Patronized and Endorsed by the Clergy and all Classes." He held shows "for the benefit of school children" and took pains to invite "people from the upper wards" to his "spacious, scrupulously clean and neat" room in Lower Town for four weeks, then extended the show at another location for two weeks in Upper Town. He solicited private screenings for community groups and schools, a strategy followed by subsequent showmen in Quebec: Prof. Dohan's Phantoscope by December 1896 and a Theatrograph company by March 1897. A conspicuously articulate, lengthy letter to the editor of the *Quebec Telegraph* (November 5, 1896) was written by G. Baillairgé after taking his children to see the pictures. He waxed poetic about the wonders of the Cinématographe, explaining the etymology of the name deriving from the Greek *kinetos* (motion), giving details of the scientific basis of its optical illusion and the technology of its mechanism. The letter concluded with a plea to the teachers of Quebec, "even the nuns," to prompt schoolchildren to beg their parents for the nickel or dime needed to see the show.

The urgency and effort taken to prompt everyone across all of the linguistic, religious, geographic, and class lines to patronize the Cinématographe in Quebec City was perhaps needed because of the limited time given the engagement compared to Montreal—where word of mouth seems to have been allowed to work more slowly to maintain an audience. Jackson's early advertising in the *Quebec Telegraph* (October 6, 1896) stated: "for a short time only previous to exhibiting at other cities in this province now asking for it." The public of the city, having only just obtained access to the novelty from Montreal, were informed they were holding back the rest of Quebec from becoming part of the audience for the great wonder. In the fall of 1896, the device appeared in Trois Rivières and Sherbrooke before returning to Montreal. In the winter of 1897 came a more thorough tour of the Eastern Townships: St. Jean, Farnham, Waterloo, Granby, Sherbrooke again, and St. Hyacinthe—and perhaps several other places, but many Quebec newspapers are lost. In the summer of 1897, the Cinématographe returned to Montreal and Quebec City before appearing at the summer fair in Fraserville (now Rivière du Loup).

The Cinématographe in Ontario debuted on the fairgrounds of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition on September 1, 1896, at first assisted by Minier and Pupier. The rights to Ontario, along with two more machines, were purchased by the Exhibition's renowned manager, H.J. Hill, who mounted the Cinématographe in a Yonge Street storefront in Toronto for four weeks following the fair. This gave him time to arrange and promote a tour of larger cities southwest of Toronto in October and November before returning to Yonge Street. In all these cities Hill
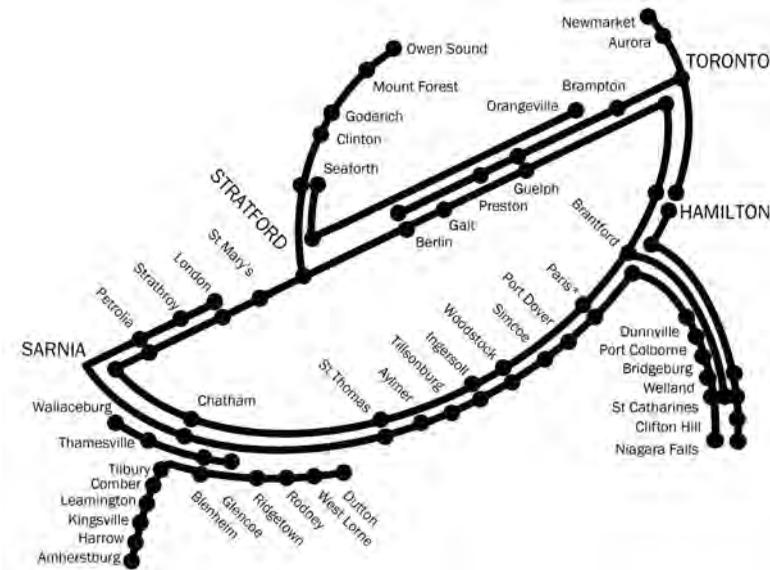
Fig. 3. Itinerant cinema in Southwest and Central Ontario from September 1896 to November 1897.

was exhibiting against the well-established opera houses used by American touring variety and dramatic productions; none of his shows were booked in the primary theatre in town. Unlike Jackson's various efforts to address all the people of Quebec City, a simple advertisement and publicity item in each city's daily newspapers sufficed in Ontario, where linguistic, class, and religious divides were more easily bridged through the established commercial common ground of smaller cities' downtowns.

Hill's Ontario tours covered southern and eastern Ontario extensively between September 1896 and May 1897. Beginning at the end of December in Oshawa, a second Cinématographe swung north to Peterborough and Orillia, then back southwest through the more densely populated areas in southern Ontario. The other apparatus left Toronto at the end of January on a separate route that toured east as far as Cornwall. The Cinématographe tours of Ontario were promoted as links between small city life and the metropolitan culture of Toronto, in particular because of the debut of the novelty at the Exhibition. Before the tours began, advertisements implored readers outside Toronto to patiently anticipate its arrival. For example, Hill's ad in the *Toronto Star* on October 9, 1896 explained: "Don't be mislead by cheap imitators!…After the Xmas holidays it will visit all important towns north and east of Toronto. Wait for it." Who were those cheap imitators that needed to be warned away?

ENTREPRENEURIAL SHOWMEN IN ONTARIO

Southern Ontario was unique in Canada for its populous, dense network of industrialized cities and towns, well connected by a web of train routes. More than half of Canada's largest cities coexisted here in close proximity, and the circulation of amusement flourished on par with its development in the Midwest United States nearby. Compared to eight cities in Quebec with populations of

more than 5000 in 1898, eight such cities in the Maritimes, four tucked into southwest B.C., and especially compared to the Prairies where Winnipeg was still the only sizable city, in southern Ontario fully twenty-five cities coexisted in a well serviced rail network, all with active opera houses routinely hosting shows on their North American tours. These venues regularly hosted dramas, vaudeville, and classical music featuring Broadway stars and celebrated European performers.[29] In the rest of Canada, from Halifax through Quebec, northern Ontario, the Prairies across to Vancouver, all the larger cities and towns were effectively connected along just one rail line, with vast lengths of prairie or forest in between. In southern Ontario, however, a traveling show could easily move from city to town and be assured of a large audience, night after night. By the end of November 1896, just as Hill's ad in Toronto for the Cinématographe tried to warn off "cheap imitations," a new type of early cinema outfit began to appear all around Ontario: the locally-owned projection outfit touring in a well-drawn, tightly knit regional route. In the next year, at least a dozen cinema shows toured to every town and many villages in all parts of southern Ontario. They did not criss-cross the province but instead marked out regions within a hierarchy of sites so as not to compete against each other. For some of them the business arrangements were reported and touring routes are easily tracked.

Thomas H. Duncombe owned and managed an eponymous opera house in St. Thomas, Ontario, one of two main venues for dramas in this industrial city just off Lake Erie. Duncombe's New Opera House was renovated extensively and reopened in October 1896 by hosting one of the earliest stops on H.J. Hill's first tour of the Lumière Cinématographe. With his connections to the amusement business and awareness of the appeal of the novelty of cinema, Duncombe bought one of the first projectors to become widely available: Edward Amet's Magniscope, manufactured in Illinois.[30] The apparatus was set to debut in St. Thomas late in November 1896 as the Ametomagnoscope, although its arrival from Chicago was delayed and instead the first show happened in neighbouring Aylmer. As with other first exhibitions, such as the Holland Brothers' Vitascope in Halifax, the electric current in Aylmer caused some trouble and the first night of the Ametomagnoscope was something of a failure; everyone who attended was invited back for a subsequent show free of charge. Duncombe's electrician quickly learned how to set up the moving picture show for its subsequent travels, and the device was sent touring to nearby cities and towns. With a relatively large staff of five on the outfit, including an advance agent, Duncombe's Ametomagnoscope was unusual compared to subsequent itinerant cinema shows in Ontario because its route spanned relatively far and lasted several months. Playing in cities and villages alike, the outfit toured as far west as Petrolia and Chatham, as far east as Brantford and throughout Niagara, extensively exploiting the territory of small towns along the way. A final exhibition back in St. Thomas in April was "absolutely its final appearance as the machine has been sold." In its five months of operation, the Ametomagnoscope played at least 23 stops in at least 18 different places in Ontario. Duncombe took advantage of his early adoption of moving pictures, but once the novelty wore off he returned his focus to his primary theatre business.

THE MASS CIRCULATION OF EARLY CINEMA IN CANADA **67**

A show called the Cinagraphoscope had two weeklong runs in Hamilton in the fall of 1896, preceded only by Hill's Cinématographe. It seems likely that the apparatus was owned by a local businessman, probably the owner of a factory, as it was used for cross-promotion for a locally-made brand of baking powder. After two weeks in Hamilton in February 1897, the show and promotional scheme moved to Brantford, then Welland and other places in Niagara. In each place, advertising noted demonstrations of the baking powder, and free samples were given away at the exhibitions. Local reports mention that this promotion was detrimental to the entertainment; the shows were not well attended, nor well received by those who did attend.

These first shows in Ontario were anchored in larger cities, but they toured towns nearby with populations as small as 2000. Two more early Ontario shows followed similar routes. J. Ausman's Anamatagraph was based in Toronto where it began with a three week run at the Bijou Variety Theatre leading up to Christmas 1896 (the same venue where Holland installed the Vitascope). In January and February 1897, the Anamatagraph then went on tour, first to villages (now sub-urbs) north of Toronto, then to Berlin (now Kitchener), before a full week's engagement in both Guelph and Hamilton. Concurrently, but leaving far less trace of its path, a Phantoscope show spent a fleeting two weeks in Ontario late in January 1897, stopping in Cardno's Opera House in Seaforth after a couple of days in the major railway hub of Stratford. Typical of the apparatuses circulating around Ontario at the time, the Phantoscope and the Anamatagraph appeared intensely for a short period of time. With both Cinématographes and the five independent shows reviewed above touring Ontario simultaneously in February 1897, it is no surprise that other early itinerant cinema showmen sought out routes through the bypassed villages and neglected small towns. Thomas A. Simonds called his show the Zenomettascope, and stopped in places such as Thamesville and Blenheim in Kent County, but not in the city of Chatham, where the Ametoma-gonoscope had already been exhibited. Windsor and Essex County were neglected entirely until very late, no doubt because of the ease of crossing to theatres in Detroit. Not until November 1897 did a Windsor entrepreneur, John Smith, purchase a machine and tour a circuit of nearby towns, although apparently not including Windsor itself. Given the brevity and restricted geographic range covered by all these smaller showmen, it is not surprising to note almost all were local entre-preneurs. There is no indication these early cinema shows were itinerant American outfits, nor did the Canadian showmen proceed to the United States with their projectors. Only one show crossed into Ontario from south of the border: a Projectoscope based in Ogdensburg, New York, that toured extensively around the Thousand Islands area on both sides of the St. Lawrence River.

An informal border split Ontario into distinct territories east and west of Toronto; only the extensive tour of the Cinématographe crossed Yonge Street. Eastern Ontario was nonetheless well served by early cinema beginning in February 1897, the busiest month of the first year of cinema in Ontario. A pair of Belleville entrepreneurs with recent pasts in journalism, S. G. Retallack and W. H. Davis, purchased a moving picture apparatus and toured extensively between
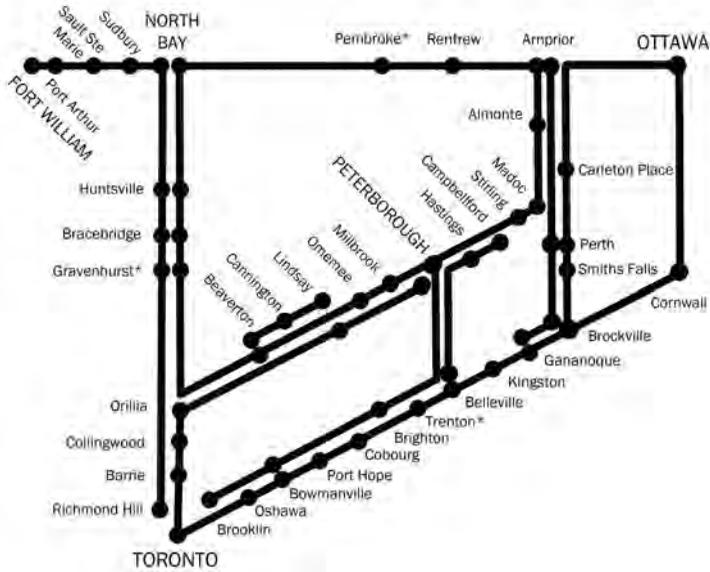
Fig. 4. Itinerant cinema in Eastern and Northern Ontario from December 1896 to October 1897.

February and April 1897, starting with villages and small towns near their home-town. They first called their device a Kineoptiscope (spelled differently at almost every stop), and they followed no obvious pattern, perhaps returning to Belleville between engagements. Late in March, with their apparatus renamed as the Cineograph, they toured up the Ottawa Valley and back through Muskoka, bring-ing the first moving pictures to those parts of Ontario.

The second device to travel through Muskoka up to North Bay was report-edly built in Toronto: Thomas A. Baker's Canadagraph, which was accompanied by a relatively large troupe of variety performers. In May 1897, the Canadagraph gave the first cinema shows in Sudbury and Sault Ste Marie, before arriving in Port Arthur and Fort William (together now called Thunder Bay). The Canadian Pacific Railway had opened the first internal rail route across northern Ontario to the Prairies just a decade earlier. In that light, the overtly nationalist moniker of this first cinema show to tour northern Ontario stands as a reminder that ordinary consumer goods and traveling amusements provided an ideological connection to the young nation for more remote regions.

CINEMA AS AN EXTENSION OF PRAIRIE RAILWAY AND SETTLEMENT

As in southern Ontario, early cinema in Manitoba and the Prairies circulated courtesy of local entrepreneurs. The main difference with the more densely pop-ulated part of Canada was that the entirety of the Canadian northwest was traversed as a single market for entertainment—spanning from the head of Lake Superior in northern Ontario all the way to the Rockies and ultimately across the British Columbian interior to the Pacific Coast. I have already noted the importance of Richard A. Hardie of Winnipeg, who brought moving pictures to Manitoba in 1896. Following this early start, Hardie purchased a new projecting Kinetoscope,

but not until June 1897. By then he had competition. An Anamatagraph had just arrived in Winnipeg, recently purchased by William McCarthy of Rat Portage (now Kenora)—perhaps the machine of the same name that had earlier toured southern Ontario. McCarthy had no experience in entertainment, but he was nonetheless versed in the skills of showmanship as an exploiter of mining claims and other ventures near Rat Portage. He arranged to partner with the well-known variety show of John Cosgrove and family from St. Mary's, Ontario. The Cosgrove Comedy Company had extensively toured the Canadian Prairies several times since 1891, and were headed westward again through northern Ontario just as McCarthy bought his projector. The Anamatagraph started with a two night engagement at the Port Arthur Town Hall in May 1897, then went to neighbouring Fort William and onto McCarthy's home town of Rat Portage. After a weeklong engagement in Winnipeg for the May Victoria holiday, the Anamatagraph and Cosgrove Company proceeded to tour extensively along the southern railway routes of Manitoba from Carmen to Wawanesa, from Souris to Morden, and a dozen other towns. Meanwhile, Hardie's new Kinetoscope played in various Winnipeg summer parks.

In July 1897, the entire arrangement of the Anamatograph show was upended. Cosgrove became partners with Hardie's Kinetoscope, leaving McCarthy to assemble his own troupe of performers. As the Royal Anamatagraph and Speciality Company, McCarthy set out across the main Canadian Pacific Railway line in August 1897, becoming the first to exhibit moving pictures in the Northwest Territories of Assiniboia and Alberta.[31] The Anamatagraph exhibited the first moving pictures in present-day Saskatchewan with a show in Moosomin on August 6, 1897, where the *Spectator* (August 12, 1897) reported that "its performances are well worth the very low admission charged by the company," a remarkable judgment given that the cost was 25 or 35 cents for a ticket. Continuing along the C.P.R., McCarthy brought moving pictures to present-day Alberta with an engagement in Lethbridge beginning August 31, 1897. The show then proceeded to Macleod and Cardston without venturing to Calgary or Edmonton. The return leg of the tour solicited only meager attendance and disappointment that the pictures were repeated, although a little novelty was created for the repeat shows in Regina, for example, by including the Citizens' band in the entertainment.

If repeated views of moving pictures were already a problem, a new set of films came to Assiniboia and Alberta soon enough. Hardie's Kinetoscope joined the Cosgrove Company for its own tour westward across the Prairies, beginning in Brandon and points north of the main C.P.R. line in Manitoba in August 1897. The outfit returned to Winnipeg early in September in order to pursue Hardie's latest venture: Manitoba moving pictures. Few of the pictures are mentioned specifically, but they included the Winnipeg and Brandon fire brigades racing down city streets, sidewalk crowds, trains racing toward the camera, and plenty of wheat being harvested, including Manitoba Premier Thomas Greenway at work in his own fields. These are the same films brought to England by James S. Freer in 1898 as an immigration and settlement promotional tool.[32] Although Freer has long been assumed the filmmaker, his role as lecturer for the British tour
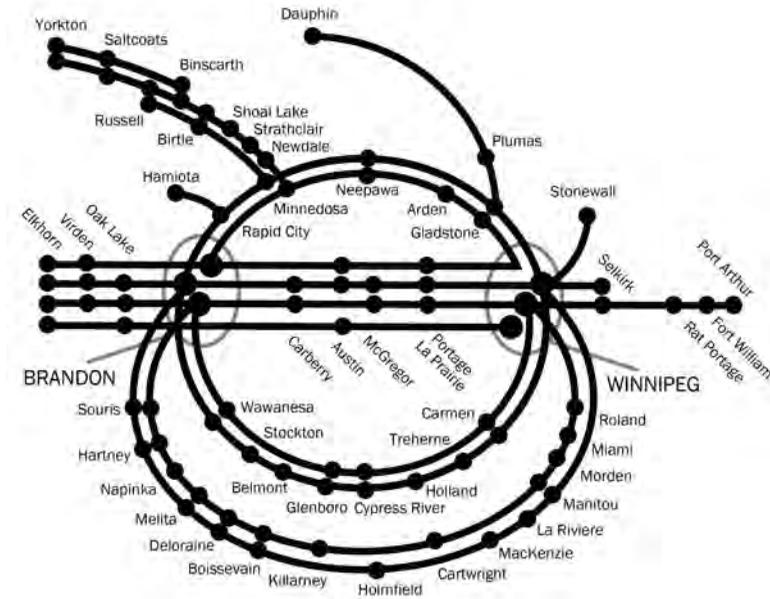
Fig. 5. Itinerant cinema in Manitoba from May 1897 to January 1898.

was not negotiated until December 1897, months after the films had already been exhibited across the Prairies. Their official debut happened in Winnipeg in September 1897, as part of a special screening for officials from the railways and government.[33] Hardie and the Cosgroves then toured the path taken by McCarthy's Anamatagraph a month earlier, but now stopping at more towns and venturing off the main railway line to bring the first moving pictures to Prince Albert, Edmonton, Calgary and Red Deer, with a rest in Banff before returning to Manitoba. In November and December, the tour continued through the southern part of Manitoba. The Manitoba films were shown all along this route, although they were only rarely given any prominence in newspaper promotion and commentary.

At the very beginning of 1898, just as Freer headed to England, Hardie and Cosgrove severed their partnership and each set off on yet another tour across the Prairies—this time in winter—each with his own brand new Kinetoscope, each with copies of the Manitoba local films, each with his own variety acts in support, disparaging the other as a mere copy. Supported with performers called the Ideals, Hardie headed straight out on the C.P.R. line, whereas the Cosgrove Company began in small-town Manitoba, jutting up to Yorkton in present-day Saskatchewan. Cosgrove's engagements were uniformly shorter by a day or more, so that the rivals recklessly began playing the same town just days apart. They played in Edmonton simultaneously, to the amusement of the local press and the confusion of the public. While Hardie then returned to Winnipeg, Cosgrove traveled with his Kinetoscope over the Rocky Mountains, thus bringing moving pictures for the first time to Revelstoke and Kelowna in March 1898, and to Kamloops and Chilliwack in April 1898. Moving pictures had first appeared in British Columbia in Victoria in February 1897, but Cosgrove's Kinetoscope was the first to arrive on the coast via the Canadian Pacific Railway.[34]
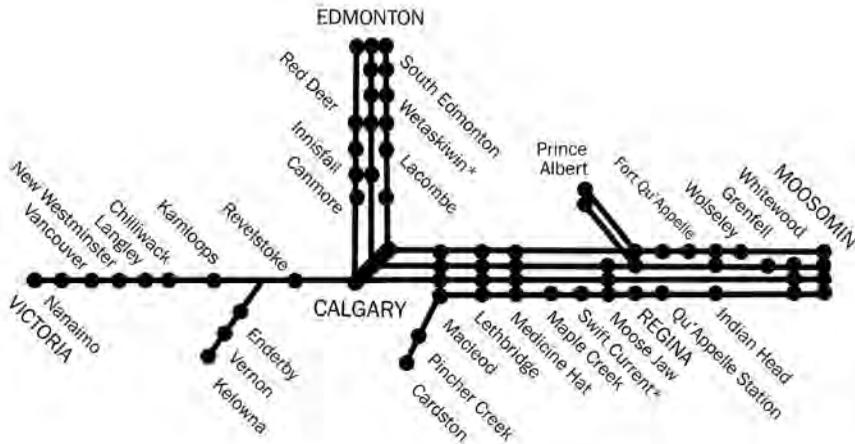
Fig. 6. Itinerant cinema in the Prairies and British Columbia from August 1897 to June 1898.

By the mid-1890s, the populous cities of the southwest part of British Columbia were already part of a well established touring show route through the western United States for dramas and comedies or vaudeville-style variety shows. Winnipeg was on the same route. In September 1896, for example, an itinerant version of *Side Tracked*, starring Jule Walters, began its tour in Illinois, trekking north through Iowa and Minnesota to a stop in Winnipeg. From there, the show headed west through the United States through North Dakota and Montana, arriving in Washington before engagements in Victoria, Nanaimo, New Westminster and Vancouver and back east through Oregon, Utah and Colorado. This show featured "Edison's Electric Nitacope," which could be easily mistaken for moving pictures although it was actually an electrically-lit glass-floored platform on which a butterfly dance was performed.[35] Major U.S. touring shows on this route eventually included cinema. For example, a version of *The South Before the War* with a Cinématographe appeared in Winnipeg in early October 1897, arriving in British Columbia early in November. On a similar route, the Veriscope films of the Corbett-Fitzsimmons prize-fight went to Winnipeg in early November 1897 before proceeding to the coast with engagements in British Columbia in December. This production will be discussed in full shortly, with reference to its extensive tour in eastern Canada.

Moving pictures first arrived in British Columbia from the nearby United States through smaller scale regional shows.[36] In Victoria on February 5, 1897, Dr. Gregory de Kannet included moving pictures as part of an illustrated lecture, "The Heart of Russia." He had been lecturing about his native country throughout the United States for years, including at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, but most recently in Washington and Oregon.[37] There is some suggestion that he failed to get his Magniscope working in Victoria, but it certainly worked—to poor
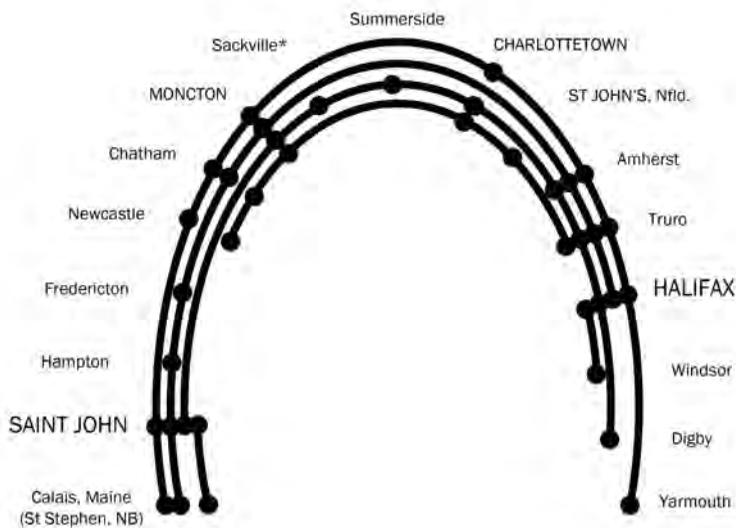
Fig 7. Maritimes cinema on the New England Vaudeville circuit from June 1897 to October 1897.

results—in Vancouver the following week. Back in Victoria in May, he is reported as heading to Alaska to forge links between the Canadian Pacific and Trans-Siberian Railways.[38] His was just the first of many moving picture shows to arrive in B.C. in 1897. Soon after, a Bioscope appeared in Victoria, its showman L. Perry arriving on the Rosalie streamer from Seattle. Perry returned to Washington without venturing further. Another itinerant picture show in B.C. again appeared only on Vancouver Island; an Electrograph exhibition late in May 1897 played one night each at the Victoria Theatre and the Nanaimo Opera House, large legitimate venues. In June, a Magniscope show spent a week in Nanaimo before heading to Vancouver with a week-long engagement at Market Hall, which was interrupted mid-week to give a special show at Herring's Opera House in New Westminster. This machine may then have toured the Kootenays.[39] Storefront shows soon made moving pictures as commonplace in Victoria and Vancouver as anywhere else in Canada. For six weeks beginning in early October 1897, a Cinématographe ran daily on Yates Street in Victoria, before proceeding to Carrall Street in Vancouver for three more weeks. Among others, a Projectoscope had begun with a week run in Vancouver early in November before moving to Victoria for three weeks, leasing the same Yates Street site as was used before and calling it "Cinematographe Hall." Despite daily promotional notes in newspapers, there is no indication of whether these showmen were from British Columbia or from the United States.

Fig.4.

THE MARITIMES AND THE NEW ENGLAND VAUDEVILLE CIRCUIT

Like the cities of the B.C. coast, entertainment circuits in the Maritimes in the mid-1890s extended from the United States into Canada. Shows on the smalltime New England vaudeville route would venture into the Maritimes, although some-times only as far as Saint John. Thus the first two cinema exhibitions in

New Brunswick in the fall of 1896 were Saint John vaudeville turns for a Cinagraphoscope accompanying the Ethel Tucker Company in November 1896, and a Rayoscope supporting the Ralph Bell Comedy Company in December. Unlike in Ontario, there were only a couple of locally-run early itinerant cinema shows in the Maritimes. An exceptionally early show called the Zooscope visited Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, late in September and again in October 1896. The showman must have been from New England, traveling by boat to Nova Scotia but not venturing further by train, since Boston is the only other location where a machine with that name appears.[40] In May 1897, a local photographer in Halifax, A. R. Cogswell, purchased a Kinetoscope and exhibited moving pictures successfully—the first in the city since the botched Vitascope nine months earlier. He may have toured this apparatus to smaller towns around Nova Scotia (his Kinetoscope show exhibited for a single night in Windsor in June 1897) but there are too few archived newspapers from the province to verify anything beyond the largest cities, where this particular show does not appear.

It took until June 1897 for more than these scattered picture shows to appear in the Maritimes, but then four different vaudeville shows on the Maritimes circuit toured within just a few months of each other. A Cinephotograph had joined the Ethel Tucker Company earlier in 1897 on its tour throughout New England (it may be the same apparatus called the Cinagraphoscope that accompanied them in Saint John in 1896). In June and July, the show toured all three Maritimes provinces, bringing the first moving pictures to Prince Edward Island with a stop in Charlottetown beginning July 5, 1897. The Cinephotograph then appeared in Summerside and Digby without Tucker's company before it joined up with the Miles Ideal Stock Company, starting in Halifax for a second tour around the circuit. The main stops on the Maritime vaudeville route were Saint John, Moncton, Charlottetown, Amherst, Truro, and Halifax, but there was no set order or clear circuit; any of those cities could be skipped. Only Moncton hosted all of the 1897 shows that included moving pictures, and only one show stopped in all six of those main sites, a Cinématographe with Prof. Wormwood's Monkey Circus. On one side of the circuit, Fredericton and Chatham in New Brunswick were included with a little effort on the part of John C. Rice's Comedians accompanied by a Vitascope; on the other side, Prof. Wormwood's Monkeys started its tour in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.

The Quebec Cinématographe also toured the Atlantic coast of Canada, at first accompanied by the refined lecturing skills of Monsieur G. de Werthemer, a journalist from Montreal who had joined the company as early as July in Quebec City. Whereas months earlier in Ontario and Quebec the Lumière apparatus was always the first in town and was promoted as the "wonder of the century," now that it toured the Maritimes after several other machines had already introduced the novelty, the Cinématographe became eccentrically European, almost comically so. The advertisement in the *Truro News* (September 11, 1897) feigned an accented sense of humour: "Vait! Vait! For Living Pictures by the Cinematograph. Who Want Laugh, Who Want to Learn, Must Come In." The Lumière Cinématographe went on to St. John's, Newfoundland, causing a brief sensation on that

farthest east part of North America.[41] With these shows in St. John's, in December 1897 cinema had finally circulated to all ten present-day provinces.[42] By the end of 1897, the only missing link coast-to-coast was the Rocky Mountain route through Kamloops, which was soon traversed by John Cosgrove and his Kinetoscope.

FEATURE PROGRAMS TOUR EASTERN CANADIAN CITIES

Already by August 1897, two cinema programmes appeared that could gather an audience for the subject of a film, not just the novelty of its apparatus: Magniscope moving pictures of Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations, which had occurred in London on June 22, 1897; and Veriscope films of the Corbett-Fitzsimmons heavyweight prize-fight championship, which had taken place in Nevada on March 17, 1897. The strong connection in both cases between the film's program and the name of the machine testifies to the continued technological focus for cinema, even as specific scenes and films became the featured attraction. Licensed for eastern Canada from promoter Dan A. Stuart, the Veriscope opened in Canada in Toronto, playing two weeks from August 9, 1897, after a special exhibition for city council members to determine whether the sparring match should be banned or not. They gave it a pass, and the Veriscope went on to great success throughout Canada, playing in at least thirty-five cities in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes (another Veriscope stopped in Winnipeg and southwest British Columbia as part of its western U.S. tour). Back in April 1897, almost as soon as the prize-fight in Nevada concluded, a moral reform movement began throughout North America to ban the moving pictures since the prize-fight itself would have been illegal almost anywhere outside Nevada. Banning the Veriscope films was even debated in the House of Commons in Ottawa.

The debate over prize-fight films actually led to a showman being arrested in Chatham, Ontario in June 1897. Called the Feriscope in order to attract attention from the publicity surrounding the Veriscope, the sparring match shown was a poor quality print of a staged match between Corbett and Courtney, which was first distributed as a kinetoscope peepshow scene. This show spent two weeks touring from Montreal through Ontario, and quickly became more notorious for its false advertising rather than its questionable moral status. In Montreal, the showmen were careful not to make false claims, and it was advertised properly as "Corbett-Courtney," and the show skipped Toronto altogether. Elsewhere in Ontario, however, the Feriscope advertised its depiction as "Corbett-Fitzsimmons," drawing excited crowded audiences in cities such as Kingston and Hamilton, who were all disappointed with the quality of the show.[43] The *St. Thomas Journal* (June 12, 1897) was scathing about the false advertising, and sarcastically mocked the modest moral concerns raised by church groups in advance: "The correspondents who denounced the Feriscope…as brutal, debasing, and immoral, were at least correct in one particular. It was a brutal exhibition. A worse attempt to reproduce the mill in the form of living pictures could not well be imagined." When the Feriscope played in Chatham, the show was stopped before it began, and the showmen were briefly arrested before being booted out of town, sending the tour

Top: Feriscope
Fake Fight Film

Middle: Veriscope
Corbett-Fitzsimmons
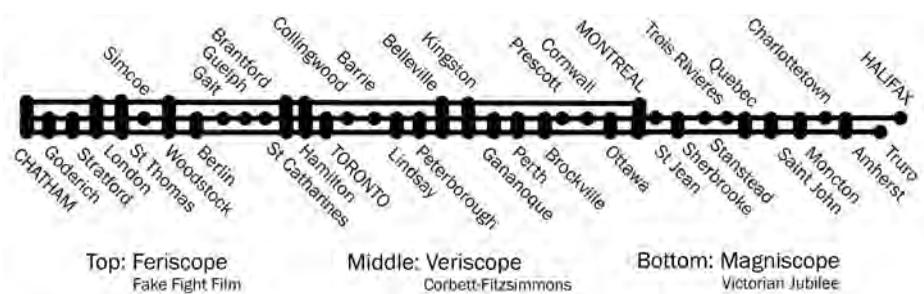
Bottom: Magniscope
Victorian Jubilee

Fig 8. Feature cinema in Eastern Canada from August 1897 to December 1897.

onto Michigan and Wisconsin. The fleeting scandal was forgotten and did not dampen the excitement of the authentic Veriscope when it toured between August and December.

The entire four months of the Corbett-Fitzsimmons Veriscope's tour of eastern Canada coincided with the concurrent circulation through the exact same territory of a Victorian Jubilee Magniscope. The Jubilee Magniscope opened first for two weeks in Montreal from August 16, 1897, then a week in Toronto, in both cases competing directly against an alternative set of Jubilee Cinématographe pictures at the annual exhibition fairgrounds. These Jubilee feature programs were crafted and promoted as a distinctly Canadian connection to the British Empire, and there seemed to be no similarly-promoted picture shows when pictures of the Jubilee played in the United States. The Jubilee Magniscope toured at least eighteen cities in southern Ontario, before traveling on the southern rail route through Sherbrooke to Saint John, a circuit around the Maritimes, and back on the northern route through Quebec City. Once the "feature" films were the main attraction, as in the cases of the Corbett-Fitzsimmons Veriscope and the Jubilee Magniscope, nothing was noted of the other films on the program, the accompanying variety acts, the showmen, or the business arrangements behind the itinerant show. The Veriscope and Magniscope illustrate how programming specific film content quickly displaced technological novelty as the primary way to address the cinematic public.

CONCLUSION

These maps of cinema's debut across Canada show that there was a cascading, almost instantaneous, mass market for cinema from the metropolis out to the smallest of towns, even to places that had hardly any other commercial entertainments visiting town. Film prints and the cinematic apparatus were available to purchase and tour through Canada, including the means to produce and exhibit local scenes, as early as anywhere else in North America. From its very origins, cinema was portable, cheap, mass entertainment that appeared in all parts of the commercial mass market, and was indeed used to connect the periphery to the centre. Although at first Edison's Vitascope attempted to restrict competition through licensed territorial rights, by the last months in 1896 film producers and projector manufacturers had commercialized the novelty fully to exploit entre-

preneurial competition. The result throughout 1897 was the swift inclusion of even the smallest villages on circuits of itinerant shows. This happened in Canada, too, as cinema became one of the means of communication that integrated regional publics into the North American mass market, and into the transnational cultures of empire and popular culture.

The extent and rapidity of the dispersion of cinema across Canada between June 27, 1896 and the spring of 1898 shows that cinema's mass audience cannot be reduced to an empirical measurement—a proportion of the population, an actual audience comingling across classes. The degree and variety of relations among early cinema programs, showmen, and apparatuses is precisely evidence that a mass public for cinema existed during its first year of commercial availability. Autonomous cinema showmen and apparatuses, however, circulated only on restricted, regional circuits, each with its own connection to neighbouring regions in the United States. Particular shows only spanned across multiple regions with the introduction of featured film titles late in 1897. The introduction of this technological novelty recombined existing mass relations to variously connect every locality in the country to its region, the nation, the continent and empire.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

NOTES

1. *Carberry News*, 14 August 1896.

2. Identical promotional articles with only local details changed appeared as "The Vitascope—The Latest Wonder on View in the City," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 20 July 1896, and the *Brandon Sun*, 30 July 1896. Hardie's tour with an Edison Phonograph early in 1892 was mentioned repeatedly in the *Manitoba Free Press*, including an exhibition in Elkhorn, 17 February 1892.

3. *Carberry News*, 3 September 1897. Hardie hired Edward Amet, a projector manufacturer of Waukegan, Illinois, to come to Manitoba to take films and train him to make his own. Amet is mentioned in notes about filming local scenes in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 September 1897, and the *Brandon Western Sun*, 22 September 1897.

4. Peter Morris, *Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema, 1895-1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992 [1978]), ix.

5.   Case studies of early cinema in Canada rely especially on local sources such as newspaper publicity and reporting. Recent examples include Gregory Canning, "Moving Pictures at the Opera House: The Introduction of Motion Pictures to the Town of Truro, Nova Scotia, 1897-1914," in *Rain/Drizzle/Fog: Film and Television in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Darrell Varga (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 47-65; Charles Tepperman, "Stolen From the Realm of Night: Modernity, Visual Culture and the Reception of Cinema in Ottawa," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 18.2 (2009): 2-25; Louis Pelletier, "An Experiment in 'Historically Correct' Canadian Photoplays: Montreal's British American Film Manufacturing Company," *Film History* 19.1 (2007): 34-48; JoAnne Stober, "Vaudeville: The Incarnation, Transformation, and Resiliance of an Entertainment Form," in *Residual Media*, ed. Charles Acland (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 133-55.

6.   Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005); Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1999); Fredric Jameson, "Space: Utopianism After the End of Utopia," in *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 154-80.

7.   Moretti's term "distant reading" is briefly defined in "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* 1 (2000): 54-68.

8.   Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics," *Public Culture* 14.1 (2002): 49-90.

9.   Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

10. Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma, "Cultures of Circulation: The Imaginations of Modernity," *Public Culture* 14.1 (2002): 191-213.

11. Jody Berland, *North of Empire: Essays on the Cultural Technolgies of Space* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). Berland extrapolates Canadian case studies and the ideas of Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan to develop a critical approach to media and empire. Several recent studies have linked the images of early cinema overtly to circulation by isolating affinities with the railway and traffic. Lynne Kirby, *Parallel Tracks: The Railroad and Silent Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Stephen Bottomore, "The Panicking Audience? Early Cinema and the 'Train Effect'," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 19.2 (1999): 177-216; Kristen Whissel, *Picturing American Modernity: Traffic, Technology and the Silent Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

12. Paul S. Moore, *Now Playing: Early Moviegoing and the Regulation of Fun* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008).

13. Robert C. Allen, "Relocating American Film History: The 'Problem' of the Empirical," *Cultural Studies* 20.1 (2006): 48-88; Allen's argument about the importance of the margins in cinema history was first stated in "Manhattan Myopia: Or, Oh! Iowa!" *Cinema Journal* 35.3 (1996): 75-103.

14. Kathryn Fuller-Seeley, ed., *Hollywood in the Neighborhood: Historical Case Studies of Local Moviegoing* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008); Gregory Waller, "Mapping the Moving Picture World: Distribution in the United States circa 1915," in *Networks of Entertainment: Early Film Distribution, 1895-1915*, ed. Frank Kessler and Nanna Verhoeff (Eastleigh, U.K.: John Libbey Publishing, 2007), 94-102; Charles Musser and Carol Nelson, *High-Class Moving Picutres: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880-1920* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991). Musser also charted the dispersal of the Vitascope and other early apparatuses across the United States in *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 109-128.

15. For a more detailed codification of the differences of city, town, and village newspapers, with respect to the nickel show period in Ontario, see my essay "The Social Biograph: Newspapers as Archives of the Regional Mass Market for Movies," in *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies*, ed. Richard Maltby, Daniel Bitereyst and Philippe Meers (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 263-279.

16. Germain Lacasse, "Cultural Amnesia and the Birth of Film in Canada," *Cinema Canada* 108 (June 1984): 6-7. See also André Gaudreault and Lacasse, "The Introduction of the Lumière Cinématographe in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 5.2 (1996): 112-23; Gaudreault, Lacasse and Jean-Pierre Sirois-Trahan, eds., *Au pays des ennemis du cinéma* (Québec: Nuit Blanche, 1996); and Serge Duigou and Lacasse, *L'Historiographe: les débuts du spectacle cinématographique au Québec* (Montréal: Cinémathèque Québécoise, 1985).

17. Morris also had to contend with the self-promoting showmanship of John C. Green, present in Ottawa as supporting act Belzac the Magician. Since at least 1917 until his death in 1951, he had inflated his involvement with the Vitascope's debut and vociferously claimed to be the first film showman in Canada. "Canada's First Exhibitor," *Moving Picture World*, 10 March 1917, 1498.

18. The anecdotal autobiography of Bud Schuberg (a.k.a. Johnny Nash) would have discouraged Morris from even looking at Winnipeg in 1896, since Schuberg claimed to be the first showman in town, in 1899. For a synopsis of the autobiography, see Robert M. Seiler and Tamara P. Seiler, "Movie Exhibition in Manitoba: The Case of John A. Schuberg," *Manitoba History* 58 (June 2008): 11-18. Despite his own recollections, "Prof. Nash" was advertised as accompanying a brief storefront show that Hardie set up in Winnipeg in July 1897.

19. For town populations and detailed information about local newspapers in Canada, see either *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal: A. McKim, 1899) or *The American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1898).

20. For an overview of early film exhibition practices, see Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema*, 109-190.

21. All weekly and daily newspapers available on microfilm for 1896-1897 were surveyed, both French and English for all provinces. I relied primarily on the collections at the University of Toronto and the Library and Archives Canada, with site visits to the provincial libraries of Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Quebec, and Ontario, online collections for Quebec and Alberta, interlibrary loans from the Saskatchewan Archives Board and the University of New Brunswick. An additional source was the *New York Dramatic Mirror*, which notes in the entire 18 months from July 1896 to December 1897 just a couple of shows not publicized locally. For a few cities and towns with no remaining newspapers to survey, I have indicated cinema shows that I have inferred to have taken place with an asterisk in the maps accompanying this article.

22. Deac Rossell, *Living Pictures: The Origins of the Movies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 129-130.

23. Correspondence from John Cryderman to Raff & Gammon. Baker Library of Harvard Business School, MSS 692, Volume 6, Folder 24 (6 July 1896).

24. "The City," *Grand Forks Herald*, 8 July 1896; "Around Town," *Pembina Pioneer-Express*, 10 July 1896.

25. Morris, *Embattled Shadows*, 3-7.

26. Correspondence from Andrew Holland to Raff & Gammon. Baker Library, MSS 692, Volume 6, Folder 7. A letter dated 10 August 1896 notes local scenes filmed and shown by the Cinématographe in Montreal; 23 September 1896 notes free admission to the Cinématographe for people purchasing at Eaton's department store in Toronto.

27. Correspondence from Holland. Baker Library, MSS 692, Volume 6, Folder 7 (9 September 1896); also noted in Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema*, 129.

28. Subsequent shows using the word "Vitascope" in 1897 featured projectors of a different design.

29. Populations from *Canadian Newspaper Directory* for 1899. For a listing of Canadian opera houses of the time, see *The Official Theatrical Guide* (New York: Julius Cahn, 1901), 712-728.

30. This is the same Amet that Richard Hardie brought to Manitoba to help film the Prairies. For a review of Amet's Magniscope, see Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema*, 162-163.

31. The present-day provinces and borders of Saskatchewan and Alberta were created in 1904.

32. Morris, *Embattled Shadows*, 30-33.

33. "Manitoba Reproduced," *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 September 1897; "Scenes for England," *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 December 1897.

34. Hardie eventually turns up in British Columbia a few years later to film the Royal Tour of the Duke and Duchess of York. See "Caught by Camera," *Victoria British Colonist*, 5 October 1901.

35. A full description of the Nitacope was given in the *Waterloo (IA) Courier*, 11 September 1896.

36. Further research in Washington would help track these shows south of the border. None of them are mentioned, however, in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* or the *Spokane Spokesman-Review*.

37. On De Kannet's later moving picture shows in Portland, see James Labosier, "From Kinetoscope to Nickelodeon: Motion Picture Presentation and Production in Portland, Oregon from 1894 to 1906," *Film History* 16.3 (2004): 286-323.

38. De Kannet's lecture in Vancouver on 8 February 1897 was picked up by newswires and widely reported for its claim that the Trans-Siberian Railway in conjunction with C.P.R. steamers and railway would allow an "all-around-the-world route that could be traversed in forty days." See, for example, "Steamers to Siberia," *San Francisco Call*, 9 February 1897.

39. I found two U.S. shows travelling up into Rossland and Trail in 1897. Further research for interior mining towns in British Columbia might confirm the recollections given by an electrician who assisted the first exhibitions in Victoria, noted in "First Movie Shown in 1897," *Victoria Times*, 24 March 1930.

40. Further research in New England, especially Maine, would help trace the origins of this and other apparatuses in the Maritimes.

41. Paul S. Moore, "Early Picture Shows at the Fulcrum of Modern and Parochial St. John's, Newfoundland," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 22.2 (2007), 447-471.

42. Moving pictures were also shot amidst the gold rush in Dawson City, Yukon, although no newspapers remain from 1897 to verify whether cinema was exhibited there that year.

43. For more on fake fight films and the Corbett-Fitzsimmons Veriscope, see Dan Streible, *Fight Pictures: A History of Boxing and Early Cinema* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008).

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