Women in the Silent Cinema

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

3. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 151.
13. Ibid., 149.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 57
Ibid., 14


For a detailed list of holdings see http://library.boisestate.edu/Special/Finding Aids/fa81.htm


Musidora mentions the donation in correspondence with Henri Langlois of July 10, 1945 and July 29, 1945, preserved at the BiFi, Fonds Musidora. At times, she took the films out for screenings when lecturing. That she was creating a file on Colette, she reported in her tribute to Colette, Musidora, “Colette et le Cinéma Muet. Souvenirs de Musidora,” *L’Écran français*, 241 (February 13, 1950), reprinted in Cazals, *La dixième Muse*, 195-99.

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**ADRIÈNNE SOLSER ON THE DUTCH POPULAR STAGE**


2 The director of the Amsterdam Flora Variété Theater, F. A. Nöggerath Sr., produced and directed three films in 1899, which were screened during variété programs. See: Geoffrey Donaldson, *Of Joy and Sorrow: A Filmography of Dutch Silent Fiction* (Amsterdam: Stichting Nederlands Filmmuseum 1997), 51-52. However, these were not the first Dutch film productions, nor the first films to be screened in the programs at the Flora: Nöggerath created a fixed slot for film in his shows from March 1896 onwards. See: Ansje van Beusekom, *Kunst en amusement: Reacties op de film als een nieuw medium in Nederland, 1895-1940* (Haarlem: Arcadia 2001), 26.

3 One of the notebooks, “Couplettenboek van Adriënne Solser, soubrette”, with verses dating from 1904 through 1916, contains a list with names of German theaters, directors, and, sometimes, honoraria. It is unclear whether this was the record of a few months’ work or the result of a series of inquiries. The source for Solser’s stay in Belgium is Piet Hein Honig, *Acteurs- en kleinkunstenaarslexicon: Drie duizend twee honderd namen uit honderd jaar Nederlands toneel* (Diepenveen: Honig 1984), 865.


Ibid.

A marriage certificate issued by the Municipality of Rotterdam on November 2, 1876, listed another sister, Jeannette Johanna (1855-unknown), but her name does not come up in the variété context; this certificate is held in the file Solser Family (no. 620) in the TIN-collection at the University of Amsterdam (hereafter TIN). Nor does her name appear in the files of the Bureau voor Genealogie (hereafter BvG). I thank Peter Christiaans for checking this information.

The annual awards for theater acting, issued today in the Netherlands, are named in their honor: the Theo d’Or for actresses, the Louis d’Or for actors.

The children were born in different towns in the province of Zuid-Holland. (For this information, I wish to thank John Willemsens.)

According to the Marriage Certificate, File Solser Family. These dates concur with those provided by the BvG.


According to the Marriage certificate, File Solser Family.

Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 58.


T. K. Looijen, Een geschiedenis van Amsterdamse theaters: Wie kwam er nou niet in de Nes? (Nieuwkoop: Heuff, Amsterdam: Uniepers 1981), 40-43. In Dutch entertainment histories, the sketch is often referred to as “De Artiestenrevue”, but this was not its title when it was performed at the Vic.

Ibid. For a detailed description of the Nes in its years of glory, see also Joost Groeneboer, “Schouwburgen en vermakelijkheden in de negentiende eeuw" in: Joost Groeneboer and Hetty Berg (eds.), ... Dat is de kleine man ..: 100 jaar joden in het Amsterdamse amusement, 1840-1940 (Amsterdam: Joods Historisch Museum; Zwolle: Waanders 1995), 69-70.

Samuel Falkland, Algemeen Handelsblad, 4 February 1911, newspaper clipping page 18168 A in the Collection Hartkamp at the Stadsarchief Amsterdam (hereafter SAA).
Collection of program leaflets from the Grand Café-Concert Victoria (code U 00.1376), SAA.

See: advertisements for the Grand Café-Concert Victoria, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 December 1887, 8 October 1888 and 26 October, 1888.

Advertisements for the Grand Café-Concert Victoria, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1 February 1889) and 1 January 1890.


See: advertisements for the Karseboom Cabaret at The Hague, *Haagsche Courant* 24 April 1919 and 29 April 1919.


Solser formed an occasional and short-lived duo with Marinus de Wilde in 1918. See: the advertisement for the Theater Astoria, Rotterdam, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 27 December 1918.

See: the advertisements in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 14 October 1887 and *Algemeen Handelsblad* 18 October 1888, as well as a review of the annual fair in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 15 May 1889, in which it is stated that Michel and Josephine made the public cry with laughter with their comical scenes and duos. I have found no documentation to confirm the assumptions of some historians that Adriënne also played in duos with Michel or with Chrétienni.

H., “In en om den Schouwburg: Michel Solser †“ and Rössing, “Lion Solser †,” 1001. According to the BvG, Johannes Solser died two months before his son Michel, in August 1893, at the age of sixty, but Engelina Solser-Hartlooper passed away in 1920, at the age of eighty-five.

Adriënne Solser played the part of Queen Scaroline in “Juffrouw Sans-gêne” and of Emilie Roerbek in the one-act-comedy “Jochem Pezel,” both on the program for January 1895; she had the supporting part of a night-bird in the operetta “n Amsterdamse Hartjesdag” in April 1900. See: the collection of program leaflets from the Frascati-Schouwburg 1879-1922 (code T 728129), SAA. The titles of the operettas in which she is reported to have played are listed by Wolf, “Adriënne Solser,” 357.

Another child was born in 1912. The BvG lists four children. A problem results from a comparison of the obituaries for André Boesnach, Solser’s son, with the newspaper reports of his funeral: whereas the obituaries list three sisters and two brothers-in-law, the reports mention a brother who thanked those present for attending. For the obituaries, see *Nieuwe Schiedamsche Courant*, 22 March 1928 and *Schiedamsche Courant* 22 March 1928. For reports of the funeral, see “André Boesnach †: De begrafenis,” *Nieuwe Schiedamsche Courant*, 24 March 1928; “Stadsnieuws, André Boesnach †,” *Nieuwe Schiedamsche Courant*, 26
March 1928; and “Begrafenis André Boesnach,” Schiedamsche Courant, 26 March 1928.

34 Honig, Acteurs- en kleinkunstenaarslexicon, 865.

35 See: the advertisement for the Vauxhall Doelen, Rotterdam, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 11 August 1902; and “De Kermis,” Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 15 August 1902.

36 Son of one of the first comedians of Dutch variété, Nico de Haas, Alex (1896-1973) took up the craft in 1914, first as piano-humorist, composer, and entertainer, later also as writer of radio-revues and film scripts (Honig, Acteurs- en kleinkunstenaarslexicon, 359). The last three decades of his life were dedicated to documenting the early Dutch entertainment business, and to writing about its history from the perspective of a contemporary insider. I thank Leo Akkerman for making me aware of the collection of Alex de Haas’ scrapbooks at the TIN.

37 Alex de Haas, “Hoe mooi het was en hoe lang geleden,” De Groene Amsterdammer, 30 January 1954, clipping in Haas’ scrapbooks.

38 See: the advertisements for the Karseboom Cabaret in Haagsche Courant, 24 April 1919 and 29 April 1919, announcing her jubilee.

39 Haas, Speenhoff, 21.

40 M. O. Nocle, “Moment-Opname no. 64, Soubrette... !,” Theatergids, 17 March 1917, 11.

41 Program leaflet “Grand Café-Concert Victoria.” Anna Judic was a French diseuse of the stature of her contemporary Yvette Guilbert.

42 Solser married Neumann Wittkower on March 15, 1893, and divorced him on September 27, 1894. On May 27, 1893, a daughter was born: Rebecca Rachel. The date of Solser’s second marriage, with Louis Joseph Boesnach, is unknown, but, as already mentioned, she left with him for Pretoria in 1895, where they had two children: Andreas Louis and Adela Michelina. Solser divorced Boesnach on April 22, 1909, and married Salomon d’Oliveijra on March 22, 1912. The date of their divorce is likewise unknown, but it must have been before March 11, 1925, when he remarried. On August 13, 1912 she gave birth to her last child, Engelina Jeannette. (Source: BvG.)

43 Historians consider the fairgrounds—together with the circuses—as the cradles of the variété. According to Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 14, fairs were originally markets where goods—material and immaterial—from the foreign and the new world were imported, including entertainment. When, by the end of the nineteenth century, they had lost this function on account of the rise of middle class and of consumer society, they were believed to be sites of immoral and indecent behavior for the working class and accordingly abolished (Ibid., 36): in Amsterdam in 1876, in Rotterdam in 1908. At the time, café-concerts were gardens around the city in which, during the summer months, foreign performers were on the bill (Ibid., 34), of which the name Vauxhall Doele, in its reference to
the London Vauxhall Gardens, is reminiscent. See also: Charles Albert Cocheret, *Openbare vermakelijkheden: Een Rotterdams tijdsbeeld, 1875-1925* (Rotterdam: Donker 1955), 72.


46 Klöters questions both men’s and women’s image-building alike, placing it in the context of the social and sexual practices and norms within the actors’ community, which differed from those in the rest of Dutch society. See Klöters, *Honderd jaar amusement*, 172.

47 Ibid., 58.

48 Ibid., 100; emphasis mine.

49 Louise Fleuron (1877-1943) began in 1898 and remained popular throughout the 1910s, after which she turned to the legitimate stage and the operetta (Alex De Haas, “In memoriam Louise Fleuron,” *Cinema en Theater*, 15 January 1943, in file Louise Fleuron no. 212, TIN). Louisette (1882-1965) first appeared in 1900 in the Circus Carré in Amsterdam (according to the collection of program leaflets at the SAA) as a “pupil” of Chrétienri, with whom she scored repeated triumphs until their separation in 1915. She continued her career as a solo revue and variété artiste or in collaboration with her husband Armand Haagman, and earned herself the epithet “the Dutch Mistinguett” (Roeland van Ruyven, “Louise Fleuron,” *De Hollandsche Lelie*, 10 September 1930, 179; press-clipping in Particulier Archief Louisette (code 389/12), SAA).

50 Women’s “genres” in French music-hall were, among others, chanteuses, gommeuses, and diseuses. See Philippe Chauveau and André Sallée, *Music-hall et café-concert*, (Paris: Bordas 1985) 14; and my careerography of Musidora in Part II of this book.


54 Haas, “In memoriam Louise Fleuron.”

55 Ibid.


57 Introducer, “Uit de Residentie,” *De Komeet*, 16 March 1925.

58 Klöters, *Honderd jaar amusement*, 56. See also his discussions of the careers of Louise Fleuron (Ibid., 67) and Emilie Culp (Ibid., 75 ff.).

59 Emilie Culp made her debut in Rotterdam and passed away in the midst of her career, in 1902 (Ibid. 75.)

60 *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 21 November 1891.
In Rotterdam, Carl Pfläging operated the Doon or Place des Pays-Bas from 1883-1891, the Tivoli-Wintertuin from 1892, and opened his first class hall the Circus-Variété or Circus Pfläging in 1895. After his sudden death in 1904, it was run by his wife, Mrs. Pfläging-Hradetzky until 1907, when the former comic and later revue manager Henri ter Hall took over, to be succeeded from 1914 until 1929 by Marius Spree. The other major player in Rotterdam was the former variété performer Samuel Soesman, who worked his way up from operating the notorious Salon des Variétés to running the second largest variété-theater in town, the Casino, beginning in 1898. After Soesman’s death in 1911, the direction was taken over by his brother, the one-time duettist Philip Soesman, until the variété and revue star Louis Davids succeeded him during the early nineteen-twenties.

In The Hague, Boekholt began operating the Scala, in 1901. One legendary variété-theater of Amsterdam was the Flora Variété Theater, which flourished under the direction of Franz Anton Nöggerath, Sr. from 1893 until his sudden death in 1908. Once again, a wife took over, Mrs. Lilli Nöggerath-Alscher, while their son Franz Anton Nöggerath, Jr. continued the film business. In 1928, the film distributor Jean Desmet bought the Flora and turned it into a cinema. (See: Ivo Blom, Jean Desmet and the Early Dutch Film Trade (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2003), 325.) Other popular locales were the Grand Théâtre, under the direction of the Van Lier brothers, Isidore, Lion, and Joseph from 1905 to 1912; the Paleis voor Volksvlijt under various directors, including Pfläging from Rotterdam, and Frits van Haarlem, Sr.; and the Panopticum, managed during the 1910s by former bandmaster Sol. J. Kinsbergen. The variété palace of Amsterdam that enjoyed the highest reputation, however, was the former circus-hall Carré, under the management of Frits van Haarlem, Jr., between 1899 and 1913, and thereafter under the direction of the widow Elisa Maud Carré-Adams, who was usually featured in the program with her famous Lipizzaner horses. While many variété managers earned their good reputations with the help of a supportive family environment, the involvement and competence of their wives only became clear once the women were widowed.
Adriënne Solser-Willemsens (1872-1962), daughter of the operetta baritone Jos Willemsens (1844-1928) and sister of the actress and soubrette Isabella Kaart-Willemsens (1876-1939), moved in 1888 from Belgium to Amsterdam. She worked as a soubrette with Gustave Prot until she married Lion Solser in 1899 and joined the Ensemble Solser en Hesse, with which she remained active until 1920. See: Honig, Acteurs-en kleinkunstenaarslexicon, 1040. Anna Hesse-Slauderof (1861-1933) sang in a chorus and in the variété, for instance at the Vic with the Solsers, before she married Piet Hesse and joined the Ensemble Solser en Hesse, with which she stayed until 1924. See Ibid., 848.

The advertisements in Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad indicate that during the early 1910s Solser was defeated in this regard by Louise Fleuron.

Haas, Speenhoff, 87.

Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 121.

Giovanni, “Kunst en Wetenschappen, Grand Théâtre, Ueberbrettl-avond,” Algemeen Handelsblad, 17 May 1903. The principal performers were actress Julia van Lier-Cuypers, the comedian pianist Jules Boesnach, and actor and director Louis Chrispijn, Sr.


For these dates, see Honig, Acteurs-en kleinkunstenaarslexicon, 869 (for Speenhoff), 630 (for De la Mar), and 734 (for Pisuisse). Speenhoff’s “Het Kleine Tooneel” of 1909 ought not to be confused with Eduard Verkade’s theater company “Klein Tooneel” of 1915 and 1916. For Verkade, see ibid. 954.

See Alex de Haas, De Minstrel van de mesthoop: Liedjes, leven en achtergronden van Eduard Jacobs, pionier van het Nederlandse cabaret, 1867-1914 (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij 1958). See also: Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 121; and Honig, Acteurs-en kleinkunstenaarslexicon, 462.

Jeanne Reyneke van Stuwe, Madame Nicotine (Amsterdam: L. J. Veen, 1921), 58.

Ibid., 79-80.


Rido, “Revueparade,” De Telegraaf, 10 April 1954; clipping in file Rido (no. 546), TIN.

Ibid.


Advertisement for the Theater Panopticum, *De Kunst*, 18 April 1914, 456; and a review of the evening, *De Kunst*, 18 April 1914), 455. Another review appeared anonymously in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 April 1914); clipping held in Collection Hartkamp, (P 18053 B), SAA.


There had been a promising future as an actor in store for Nap de la Mar (1878-1930) when he, at age twelve, had an accident that partially paralyzed one of his arms and, as his necrologists have it, shattered his father’s dream of an impressive acting career for his son. Instead of the legitimate stage, then, in 1903, De la Mar chose the world of variété and operetta, but decided to turn to non-comic parts in the legitimate theater during the 1920s. Therefore, it was assumed that the latter was what he had really wanted and that his twenty years of involvement in the popular theater was just a detour prompted by his slight disability. Already in 1930, apparently, theater critics were no longer aware of how popular and respected “low” theater culture had been during the 1900s and 1910s. See the obituaries by Frits Lapidoth, G. Zalsman Jr., and Pieter Koomen, “Nap de la Mar †,”; unidentified and undated newspaper clippings in file Nap de la Mar (no. 439), TIN.


See: the advertisement in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* of 1 February 1916.

“Bioscopisme en Tooneel,” *De Kunst*, 26 April 1913, 1.


Geoffrey Donaldson, “Caroline van Dommelen,” *The Silent Picture*, Summer 1972, 33-34, and “Wie is wie in de Nederlandse film tot 1930: Dommelen, Johannes Sebastianus Engelbertus van (Jan),” *Skrien*, Winter 1986, 39. To Donaldson goes the honor of saving Caroline van Dommelen, as the first Dutch woman to direct films, from oblivion. See also: Annette Förster, s.v. “Caroline van Dommelen,” Women Film Pioneers Project at wfpp.cdrs.columbia.edu/pioneer/caroline-van-dommelen-2/.


Beusekom, “De dubbele salto,” 179.

Beusekom, *Kunst en amusement*, 43.


N. N., *De Theatergids*, 22 March 1913, 2.

See the advertisement for the Olympia Palace, *De Kunst*, 9 July 1910.

Julia Culp was related to Emilie Culp and Cato Culp.

“Anna Klaasen,” *Theatergids*, n.d. 1917, 16. Anna Klaasen (1881-1944) was an actress at the Koninklijke Vereeniging het Nederlandsch Tooneel until 1912, but during the war, she entertained the audience as a soubrette. In 1919, she left for the Dutch East Indies, where she continued to perform. Honig, *Acteurs- en kleinkunstenaarslexicon*, 507.


Heintje Davids soon would become more of a revue-star than a soubrette like Solser, as a consequence of her collaboration with her husband Rido/Philip Pinkhof, who wrote many successful revues in the 1910s.

Haas, “In memoriam Louise Fleuron.”


“Specialiteitenvoorstelling,” press clipping from *Pak me mee*, 2 March 1910, in the scrapbook of Rob du Mée, “Recenties etc. betreffende de voorstellingen in Variété Flora,” running from November 16, 1909 to October 1, 1910 (hereafter: scrapbook Rob du Mée I). I thank Ansje van Beusekom for providing me access.
to this source. Chanteuse à diction was an alternative name for voordrachtskunstenares or diseuse.

The terms appeared in this order: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 3 October 1908, (advertisement for the Casino Variété); Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 2 June 1909, (advertisement for the Casino Variété); Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 2 June 1911, (advertisement for the Circus Variété); De Kunst, 2 November 1912, 80 (advertisement for the Casino Variété); De Kunst, 16 November 1912, 111 (advertisement for the Grand Théâtre); De Theatergids, 17 May 1913, 7 (advertisement for the Beurs-Bioscoop); De Kunst, 18 April 1914, 456 (advertisement for the Panopticum); in an article by Wolf, “Oorlogs-cabaret-programma’s,” De Kunst, 2 December 1916, 104 and in “Adriënne Solser,” De Kunst, 19 April 1919, 346.

Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 97.

See: the advertisement for the Rozen-Theater, De Theatergids, 10 January 1914, 4; and the advertisement for the Cabaret Metropole, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 2 February 1914, respectively.


From the “Couplettenboek van Adriënne Solser, soubrette,” Archief Adrienne Solser en Lien d’Oliveyra, Folder 1, EYE Filmmuseum (hereafter: AAS). The Dutch text reads: “Ik wou dat ik een snijboon was. [...] Ik hoefde nooit alleen te gaan, want ’k werd steeds afgehaald.” The pun derives from the double meanings of the words “snijboon” and “afhalen.” In Dutch, “een snijboon” generally means a string-bean, but when referring to people it designates someone as being an oddball. The verb “afhalen” means “to fetch” when referring to people, but “to top and tail” when referring to beans. Another example of a nonsense verse is “Een bitter-zoete geschiedenis” (A bitter-sweet story), “Repertoire Adriënne Solser,” Folder 5, AAS.

From the “Couplettenboek van Adriënne Solser.”

“Couplettenboek Adr. Solser,” p. 8, Folder 10, AAS. This is one of two notebooks equipped with an index, albeit incomplete, and one of the few in which the pages are numbered.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Letter from Adriënne Solser to the Board of Film Censors, November 24, 1932, Dossier Centrale Commissie voor de Film Keuring, EYE Filmmuseum.

“Amsterdam in de Blommetjes” (Amsterdam celebrates), revue written by Rido and performed by Chrétienni and Louisette. See, Rido, “Revue-Parade. ‘Amsterdam in de Bolommetjes’,” De Telegraaf, 23 January 1954; clipping in file Rido.

Contained in a notebook without a headline, Folder 17, AAS.

See “De vrouwen voor het eerst ter stembus,” Het Leven, 3 May 1921, 565.

From the notebook without a headline. In Dutch, the line reads: “door de vrouw de tweede kamer/nog ’n beste kamer wordt.” The pun is on the Dutch word...
“kamer,” which means a chamber or house of parliament, but more generally for a room in the home, the realm of woman. The “beste kamer” is the finest room in the dwelling.

126 Ibid.
129 Consider, for instance, “Rijk en arm,” in the “Couplettenboek van Adriënn Solser, soubrette.”
130 From “De dief,” in “Repertoire Adriënn Solser.”
131 Traditionally, in the Netherlands, Sinterklaas or Sint Nikolaas (St. Nicholas) brings presents on 5 December, the eve of his birthday.
132 Ibid.
133 Ibid.
134 From “De Baanwachters,” Ibid., and in “Repertoire Adriënn Solser.”
135 From “Vrouwelijke Politiebeambte,” a sketch with songs, verses and prose, in “Couplettenboek van Adriënn Solser, soubrette” and in “Repertoire Adriënn Solser.” It is probably dated to 1916.
136 In Dutch: “dat is de eerste politieagent die ze niet kunnen oplichten, en dat geeft ons de verzekering dat bij de keuze van de eerste vrouwelijke Agenteuse ze niet te licht bevonden is.” In Dutch, “oplichten” can mean “to cheat” or “to lift up,” and “te licht bevinden” means to be deemed not good enough or not heavy enough.
137 From “De lieve mannen,” in “Couplettenboek van Adriënn Solser, soubrette.”
138 Ibid.
139 From “Komaan, wees zoo verlegen niet,” Ibid.
140 From “De arme soubrette,” in “Repertoire Adriënn Solser.”
141 “De Nachtvlinder,” Ibid.
142 “De mannen begrijpen ons niet,” in “Couplettenboek Adr. Solser.”
143 From “De liefste van allen,” in “Couplettenboek van Adriënn Solser.”
144 “De mannen begrijpen ons niet.”
145 Signed J. Decb., 1907.
146 Signed T. W. Gebing.
147 Ibid.
148 “Repertoire Adriënn Solser.”
149 From “De nachtvlinder,” ibid.
150 See Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 68.
151 Jeanne Reyneke van Stuwe was one of the few female copy-writers I have come across.
152 Ruyven, “Louissette,” 179; emphasis mine.


162 “Duettenboek,” Folder 10, AAS. The notebook is undated, but in view of the other verses in it and the revue after which it follows, this entry must have stemmed from the mid-1910s.

163 In Dutch: “wat ik laat zien is geen kuitenparade, geen asem in ballingschap, maar echte ware volksstukken waar de kouwe rillingen van over je rug loopen.” “Asem” means breath in Dutch, but the word is used here as a pun on an illiterate pronunciation of the name Adam. “Adam in Ballingschap” (Adam in Exile) is a classical play by Joost van den Vondel, which was parodied by Solser en Hesse.

164 “Bet en Hein aan het tooneel,” in “Couplettenboek van Solser en De Wilde” (dated Rotterdam, December 16, 1918), Folder 2, AAS.


166 G. P. M. Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde, vol. 4: De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse letterkunde van 1875 tot 1916* (Den Bosch: Malmberg 1977) does not include Bouber’s work.

167 Esther de Boer-van Rijk (1853-1937) began acting in 1873 and remained with the legitimate theater throughout her long career. The list of plays she was cast in takes up three columns in Honig, *Acteurs- en kleinkunstenaarslexicon*, 803-4. She also acted in various films by Maurits Binger, Alex Benno, and others.


169 Of these poets, the most important representative is Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero, writer of the farce “De Spaansche Brabander” (1618), about common people’s life in Amsterdam, which has become one of the classical works in the Dutch theater. See: Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse let-


171 Piet de Rooy, “Toen zijn de mannen uithuizig geworden: De sociaal-culturele verandering van Amsterdam, 1864-1929.” In: Groeneboer and Berg (eds.), Dat is de kleine man, 10. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Jordaan was a quarter where many students and artists lived, but it has since been gentrified into a neighborhood for the nouveaux riche.


174 Barbarossa, as quoted in “Lion Solser †,” De Telegraaf.

175 Krijn, Bonte pracht, 83. Gustave Prot, Sr. operated the Frascati-Schouwburg from 1879 until 1895, which mainly produced comic operettas by and with the three K’s: the comedians Kreeft, Kelly, and Kiehl. From 1895 through 1912, Gustave Prot, Jr. joined the direction, generating a new heyday for the theater with racy French comedies of the Palais Royal type. See: Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 117.

176 Spree spent the last ten years of his life as director of the Circus Schouwburg in Rotterdam, where he staged the famous “Rooie Sien” (Red Sien) in 1918, with his second wife Sophie Spree-te Mijtelaar in the principal role. Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 177.

177 “Het Amsterdamsche Volkstheater,” De Prins, 10 August 1901, 64; press clipping in the file Marius Spree (no. 633), TIN.


180 “Het Tooneel,” file Spree.

181 “Marius Spree,” Bekende Rotterdammers, 224.

182 “Jan Smees” played during November 1919 at the Circus Schouwburg in Rotterdam, with Spree’s second wife Sophie Spree-te Mijtelaar in the principal role. At the Plantage-Schouwburg, Spree’s first wife Jeanne Spree-Monch used to play the principal female roles.

183 Krijn, Bonte pracht, 16.

184 Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 109. The actors were the operette-komiek Jan Grootveld and the actress Geertruida André-Meeuwissen, who were otherwise not involved in the Jordaan genre.

185 Krijn, Bonte pracht, 23.

186 See Knuvelder, Handboek 4, 384, 388.
Johan Kelly, the director and comic lead of “n Amsterdamsche Hartjesdag” at the Frascati-Schouwburg, was another writer-actor.


Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 89.

This was the revue “Weet je moeder ‘t al?” (Does your mother know it already?), performed in the Rozen-Theater during August and September 1915. It was advertised in Nieuws van den Dag, 30 August 1915; reviewed in De Telegraaf, 2 September 1915; and in De Theatergids, 4 September 1915, 3-4.

Aaf Bouber-ten Hoope (1885-1974) began acting in 1900. During the 1910s she was attached to the Plantage-Schouwburg where she played in typical melodramas and volksstukken. Before joining her husband’s ensemble in 1918, she performed in revues with Ter Hall and Rip. From 1919 onwards, she took parts in Jordaan-komedies. Between 1915 and 1953, she acted in nineteen movies, including several adaptations of volksstukken. See: Honig, Acteurs- en kleinkunstenarslexicon, 438.

Krijn, Bonte pracht, 108.

“Jan Grootveld †: Populair artist uit den tijd van Reijdings revues,” unidentified newspaper clipping dated 24 April 1939 (code AA 2000.81), SAA.


“Lion Solser †,” Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 5 August 1915.

“Jan Grootveld †.”

Rössing, “Lion Solser †,” 1001: Solser and Hesse were stage partners for eighteen years.

They did so, for instance, at Christmas 1909: see the advertisement for the Frascati-Schouwburg in De Kunst, 25 December 1909.


De Kunst wrote on “Kom j’ook naar de bruiloft van Mietje?” (Will you be coming to Mietje’s wedding too?): “It was surprisingly good, very amusing, no high art – no art even; but in terms of entertainment very well done, and in terms of performance excellent.” “Amusementskunst: Mietje’s 50ste Bruiloft,” De Kunst, 28 October 1911, 63-4.
204 Rössing, “Lion Solser †,” 1000.
206 Rido, “Revue-Parade. Solser en Hesse op dreef”.
209 Rido, “De Boubers: Deel 1,” De Telegraaf, n.d. December 1955; newspaper clippings held in file Bouber and file Rido. This was the first of a seven-part series on the careers of Herman and Aaf Bouber, running through January 1956.
211 Aaf Bouber’s engagement with the playhouse occurred while the latter was under the direction of Colnot and Poons, who took over the direction from Stoel and Spree in 1912.
212 Rido, “De Boubers: Deel I.”
215 Rekers, “De Boubers en het ‘bouberen’,” 101, lists a certain Lien Solser as the actress playing Mooie Neel, but a person with that name never existed to my knowledge. Mooie Neel was played by Tine van der Werff (or Werf), an actress formerly engaged by Stoel and Spree and the Ensemble Solser en Hesse. See: Theatergids, 21 April 1917, 14; and Honig, Acteurs- en kleinkunstenaarslexicon, 1029.
216 Rido, “De Boubers: Deel II.”
219 See: Donaldson, Joy and Sorrow, 274 and Giovanna Fossati, From Grain to Pixel. The Archival Life of Film in Transition (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2010), 250. The restoration of ZEEMANSVROUWEN as a sound film was motivated by the knowledge that it was meant to be that way, whereas technical difficulties prevented its completion at the time. Instead of the first Dutch sound film production, it thus became the last silent film production. The dialogue was reconstructed with the help of lip-reading and intertitles.
220 See for a discussion of DE JANTJES Beusekom, “De dubbele salto,” 179-200 and
ADRIËNNE SOLSER AND THE DUTCH SILENT CINEMA

1 See, among others: Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 13.
2 She may have watched moving pictures in South Africa, as in 1895-1899 they were shown widely in South African music-halls too. See: Guido Convents, s.v., South Africa, in: Richard Abel, Encyclopedia of Early Cinema (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge 2005), 598.
3 Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 31 and “De dubbele salto,” 187.
4 Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 32-33.
5 See: the advertisements for the Variété Flora Amsterdam in De Kunst, 10 January 1914, 240, and 18 April 1914, 455. The Dutch term bioscope, which is spelled bioscoop today, is still the equivalent for the English word cinema as it indicates the location where films are screened and viewed.
6 Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 41.
7 See: the advertisements for the Cinema Palace in De Theatergids, 1 March 1913, 4; for the Plantage Bioscope in De Kunst, 4 January 1913, 222; and for the Cinéma de la Monnaie in De Kunst, 1 March 1913, 350. See also: Blom, Jean Desmet, 123-4, in which he states that continuous film screenings remained the rule in cinemas in Amsterdam up until 1914.
8 See: the advertisements for the Casino Variété Soesman in Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 6 June 1904, 2 March 1908, 2 June 1909, and 2 October 1909; in De Kunst, 2 November 1912, 80; and the advertisement for the Flora Variété Amsterdam’s program running from 1 to 15 March 1917; held in the scrapbook Rob du Mée II.
See also: Cobi Bordewijk, “Prachtvol gekleurd doch zeer boeiend,” *Jaarboek Mediageschiedenis*, 8, 1997, 153-77, who surveyed this phenomenon in the city of Leiden.

For an account of the Dutch discussion on cinema as art versus cinema as entertainment, which took place in the Netherlands during the 1920s, see Beusekom, *Kunst en amusements*, chap. 4.


Het Vrije Tooneel and Het Vroolijk Tooneel took turns at the Bioscope-Theater from January through March 1910. During this period, two jubilees were celebrated there of other performers who played particular roles in Adriënn Solser’s career: Solser en Hesse in December 1909, and Alex Benno in January 1910. See: the scrapbook Rob du Mée I.


See: the advertisement for the Bioscope-Theater in *De Kunst*, 13 August 1910 and the scrapbook Rob du Mée I.

Ibid. and “Bioscope-Theater,” *Nieuws van den Dag*, 3 September 1910.


Advertisement for the Bioscope-Theater in *De Kunst*, 1 March 1913, 350. The film was not specified beyond being a Gaumont drama in two acts.

See: the advertisement for the Bioscope-Theater in *Theatergids*, 17 August 1918, 4, in which the live act was set in smaller typeface than the film title; as well as the program for the Bioscope-Theater from 17 to 23 March 1922, contained in the scrapbook Rob du Mée II.


Reviews in *De Telegraaf*, 3 September 1910; and *De Komeet*, 16 September 1910; held in the scrapbook Rob du Mée I.

Blom, *Jean Desmet*, 77-80. This information is based upon an advertisement of the films available for rental in *De Komeet*, 31 December 1909. See also: Ibid.
NOTES

227-32, and the advertisement for the Bioscope-Theater in *De Kunst*, 4 January 1913, 222.


26 See: Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 79 and 131-2, respectively.

27 Advertisement for the Bioscope-Theater in *De Kunst*, 21 June 1913, 605.


29 Scrapbook Rob du Mée II. The Cunard-Ford serials were not the first to reach the Netherlands, but they were released at a time when the serial genre had permeated Dutch cinema. They were preceded by, to name a few, Fantômas (Gaumont 1913), and Under the Crescent (Universal Gold Seal 1915), and they reached the Netherlands around the same time as did The Exploits of Elaine (Pathé 1915) and Les Vampires (Gaumont 1915-16). For an overview of serials shown in the Netherlands, see Rudmer Canjels, “De Serial in Nederland: 1915-1925,” *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 4, 1 (2001), 108-28, and his *Distributing Silent Film Serials. Local Practices, Changing Forms, Cultural Transformation* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge 2011).


31 See: the advertisement for the Thalia-Bioscoop-Theater in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 24 August 1912. In March 1915, Severo Torelli, featuring Musidora, was screened and complemented by a live performance by Albert Bol, and in February 1916, Adriëlle Solser was featured “in her entirely new repertoire” together with an otherwise unspecified film called Collin’s Dagboek. See: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 11 February 1916. Nöggerath, Abraham Tuschinski continued to combine staged and screened acts even well into the 1920s. See: Beusekom “De dubbele salto,” 196. At Tuschinski’s Rotterdam cinemas Thalia and Nieuw Olympia, Alex de Haas was engaged as the comic performer at the piano from 1920 through 1928; see the scrapbooks in the Collection Alex de Haas at the TIN.

32 Advertisements in various issues of *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (1913). The performers belonged to the later generation of Dutch comedians.

33 Advertisement for the Grand Théâtre in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 November 1912; repeated in the issues of 21 November 1912 and 23 November 1912, the latter with a change of the feature film title. In *De Kunst*, 23 November 1912, 123, there ran an advertisement that explicitly stated: “AdriënneSolser soubrette, extended run.” Alberts Frères were the regular summer exhibitors at the Grand Théâtre beginning in 1909. See: Beusekom, *Kunst en amusement*, 35.


35 The Tip-Top-Theater opened in March 1914 with a program of music, humor,
and film. I base my case upon a systematic survey of the advertisements in *De Kunst* between 1909 and 1916 and in *De Theatergids* between 1912 and 1915.

36 “Variété-Tooneel: Gemengde programma’s,” *De Kunst*, 1 March 1913, 351.

37 Around the turn of the century, the Rembrandt Theater was a variété-theater that mainly presented foreign attractions. The Rembrandt Theater already began to include films in December 1903. For this information, I drew from the advertisements in *Algemeen Handelsblad*. Under the direction of Max Gabriel from 1910 through 1914, the theater became known for staging operettas starring, among others, Piet Köhler. During the war, film was again included, and in 1919, it was bought by the UFA and turned into a cinema, which continued to include live acts during the 1920s. See: the file “Specialiteitentheaters, Rembrandt Theater” (file T 732.110), SAA. De Vereeniging opened in May 1893 as a café-concert and was the place where Louis Davids made his debut. When showing films during the 1910s, it was renamed the Beurs-bioscoop. Bellevue was the former café-concert Maison Stroucken where Michel Solser, together with Chrétien, gave three exceptional presentations of “De Revue Artistique” in 1892. In 1910, it began including film in its program, but eventually returned to staged entertainment. See: the illustration in Klöters, *Honderd jaar amusement*, 53.

38 “Specialiteitenvoorstelling: Apollo-Theater,” *Pak me mee*, 2 March 1910; clipping in scrapbook Rob du Mée I.


40 Advertisement for the Rozen-Theater in *De Theatergids*, 10 January 1914, 4. The advertisement for the same program in *De Kunst*, 10 January 1914, 240, however, did single out the opéra comique “De List van Pierrot” typographically.

41 Advertisement for the Beurs-Bioscoop in *De Theatergids*, 17 May 1913, 7.


43 Nevertheless, *De Theatergids* can be considered among the forerunners of Dutch film criticism, in the footsteps of *De Kunst*, whose pioneering role has been pointed out by Beusekom, *Kunst en amusement*, 75.


46Advertisements in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* during September and October 1915.


48 For instance, in an advertisement for Cinema Imperial in Rotterdam in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 14 June 1915.

49 Advertisement for the Cinema Pathé-Tivoli Bioscope in *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 25 September 1916. In December 1918, the Bioscoop Luxor Theater showed JOE DEEbS, ZIJN BESTE VRIEND (Joe Deebz, His Best Friend) along with a further extensive program and variété and the Princes-Theater supplemented

WOMEN IN THE SILENT CINEMA
DE HELD MACISTE, ALS BEVRIJDER (The Hero Maciste, the Liberator) with two variété acts. Advertisements in Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 27 December 1918.

Advertisement for the Nieuw Olympia Theater in Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 4 June 1917. The page of advertisements in the same newspaper of October 4, 1918, announces Lucien, the Gentleman on Stage, at the Cinema Royal, Willy Derby and Les Niotnaz (a transformation dance-act) at the Thalia-Theater, and Sophie Smith and Raf Kapper at the Nieuw Olympia Theater.

See, for instance: the advertisements for the Cinema Royal and Thalia in Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 4 October 1918.


This sketch is in the third monologue in the notebook that includes the revue by Uiltje, “Kom j’eens kijken, zág?,” from May 1916, but was obviously written prior to that. (Folder 10, AAS).


Ibid.

Ibid., 223.

N. H. Wolf, “Kinematografie: Explicatie (III),” De Kunst, 1 March 1913, 351.


I agree with Ansje van Beusekom’s observation that lecturing with films seems to have been a man’s job. One woman who was mentioned in advertisements was Nelly Nieuwstraten, a lecturer and piano player at the Amsterdam Odeon in 1912. See: Beusekom, “Rise and Fall of the Lecturer,” 141-42, note 4. However, the advertisements in Kunst en Amusement of 1920 and 1921 do show a remarkable number of female pianists and singers active in film accompaniment.

See: Chef van Dijk, “De Explicateur (Slot),” Nieuw Weekblad voor de Cinematografie, 31 October 1924 (hereafter: NWC); and Beusekom, “Rise and Fall of the Lecturer,” 136.

Chef van Dijk, “De Explicateur (II),” NWC, 2 October 1924.


Ibid.

Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 88.
70 Dijk, “De Explicateur (Slot).”
71 Ibid.
72 Ruud Bishoff makes the point that Alberts Frères’, i.e., the Mullens’ fiction film production has been neglected in Dutch film studies largely because it did not seem to be in line with their later non-fiction. See: Ruud Bishoff, “De zwijgende speelfilm.” In: Dibbets and Van der Maden (eds.), 65. Here I wish to emphasize that while their production did include fiction, it was mainly comic fiction.
73 Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 55 and 61 respectively. The latter film is one of the few to have been preserved.
74 Ibid., 71.
76 See: Geoffrey Donaldson, “Wie is wie in de Nederlandse film tot 1930,” *Skrien*, (Winter 1983-84), 35; Krijn, *Bonte pracht*, 107; and Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 66. Donaldson mentions Heintje Davids as being the duet partner of Louis, whose activity in that field, however, was only launched a year later, in 1907, in the Ter Hall revue “Doe er ‘n deksel op!” (Put a Lid on It!) at the Circus Variété in Rotterdam. See: Krijn, *Bonte pracht*, 108.
77 For details of their tours, see Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 77.
78 Undated and unspecified British and American press clippings held in Particulier Archief Louisette. She visited the USA with the act for the first time in 1913. See: Ruyven, “Louisette.”
79 Ibid.
80 From the American press clippings in Particulier Archief Louisette.
81 In 1924, when Solser made and accompanied her film *Bet, de koningin van de jordaan* (Bet, The Queen of the Jordaan), Louisette performed the act again, including newly-shot film inserts with her husband Arnold Haagman. See: Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 238.
82 The slang word “blom” signifies both flower and young woman.
83 File “Specialiteitentheaters, Circus Carré,” (T 738039), SAA.
84 “Circus Carré,” *Nieuws van den Dag*, 8 September 1908.
86 Geoffrey Donaldson, “Wie is wie in de Nederlandse film tot 1930: Nöggerath, Franz Anton (Senior),” *Skrien*, 128 (Summer 1983), 34; and Bishoff, “De zwijgende speelfilm,” 58.
87 F. A. Nöggerath, *Ons bioscopisch bedrijf voorheen en thans* (Amsterdam: Nöggerath 1911).
Starring, most notably, the Dommelens and the Bouwmeesters.

In Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 78, the film is listed under the name of the revue and ascribed to the direction of Léon Boedels. The revue, however, was directed by Louis Chrispijn, Jr., the *jeune premier* of Gustave Prot.

Isidore Zwaaf (1873-1940) began his career at age 21 and collaborated for many years with Sam Soesman’s brother Philip, before he switched to the revue in 1910 and became the leading actor in all the revues at the Flora written by Rido. One of his famous acts was “De Artiestenrevue,” after the sketch “De Revue” by Michel Solser, which was made into a film by Alex Benno in 1926, with Zwaaf as Philip and Adriëne Solser’s daughter Adèle Boesnach as one of the actors interviewed. Aside from this, Zwaaf was an operette comedian. See: Honig, *Acteurs- en kunstenaarslexicon*, 1059; and Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 260.


Ibid.

M. v. A., “Theater Panopticum,” *De Theatergids*, 29 September 1913, 1. Under review was a re-use of the film insert in “Amsterdam op hol!” for the act “Zwaaf is zoek” (Zwaaf’s gone missing), in Rido’s anthology-revue “Uitzoeken maar!!” (Just take your pick!).

999+1 was directed by Louis Chrispijn Jr., son of the later Hollandia director Louis H. Chrispijn Sr., and co-produced by Film-Fabriek F. A. Nöggerath in conjunction with Het Vroolijk Tooneel, a company featuring the former Prot actor Jan Buderman.


Other revues by Rido and with Zwaaf that made use of film inserts, were “Rotterdam op hol!,” mounted in the Casino Variété in Rotterdam, and “Een schandaal” (A Scandal), in the Flora, both in 1912. See: Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 86 and 92, respectively.

With Zwaaf, he produced *Willem gaat melk halen* (Willem Fetches the Milk) (Ibid., 87-88); with Kelly and Lageman, *De gebroken spiegel* (The Broken Mirror) (Ibid., 84); and with Buziau, *Die verworfene* (The Female Outcast) (Ibid. 84), *A helping hand* (Ibid., 88), *Jopie gaat trouwen* (Jopie Is Going to Get Married) (Ibid., 94), and *Attractive Archibald* (Ibid., 98). Lageman was also the author of the *verwisselingskomedie* (comedy of errors) *De pantoffelhelden* (The Henpecked Husbands), whose actors are unknown (Ibid., 94).

The titles are as follows: *Mie en Ko uit den Jordaan met de gevonden damschat* (Mie and Ko from the Jordaan in Amsterdam With the Recovered Dam Treasure), with the Jordaan duo Mie and Ko, i.e., the actors Willem Munnik and
Johannes Siliakus, but otherwise very little is known about this missing film (Ibid., 162); ER WAREN EENS DRIE HOEDEN (Once Upon a Time There Were Three Hats) (Ibid., 174); and AMERICAN GIRLS (Ibid., 181).

101 Louis Bouwmeester in Het Vaderland, quoted in De Theatergids, 5 September 1912, 1.


104 See: Bishoff, “De zwijgende film,” 76


106 Ibid.


108 Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 91-2.

109 “Alex Benno’s jubileum,” De Komeet, 1 January 1910; clipping in the scrapbook Rob du Mée I.

110 Benno’s remark, made vis-à-vis KEE EN JANUS NAAR PARIJS (Kee and Janus Go to Paris) and BLEEKE BET, in the interview “Over de Hollandsche film: In gesprek met Alex Benno.” In: Herman van Lee and Sjoerd Broersma, De wonderen der filmwereld (Utrecht: Lewandowski 1926), 12.

111 P[jet] K[loppers], “Passage-Bioscoop: Kee en Janus naar Parijs,” Algemeen Handelsblad, 13 January 1924; my emphasis.


113 The tramp’s actual name was Cornelis de Gelder, and he had earned his nickname in 1916 when he was hired to advertise the revue “Hadt-je-me-maar” by Nap de la Mar. See: Donaldson, Joy and Sorrow, 206; and the advertisement for the Circus Schouwburg in Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 1 December 1916.


116 The latter two functions are not mentioned in Westhoff’s essay, but can be supplied on the basis of press clippings held at the EYE Filmmuseum, file biographical clippings, Alex Benno: “Hoe de Nederlandse film ontstond,” unspecified press clipping dated 2 March 1934; and Rido, “Pionier van de Nederlandse film: Alex Benno,” undated and unspecified press clipping.


118 Donaldson, Joy and Sorrow, 131, mentions Benno as the possible director of BET TREKT DE 100.000. For the credits of the MIJNTJE EN TRIJNTJE-series, see ibid. 109 and 115, and for the farce DE VERWISSELING ONDER HET BED, 125.

119 Advertisement in Kunst en Amusement, 25 November 1921 as cited in Westhoff,
NOTES

“Alex Benno,” 282.
120 See: Bishoff, “De zwijgende film,” 88; and “Hollands filmmindustrie herleeft!,” 
NWC, 2 November 1923.
122 See: ibid., 112 and the advertisement for Actueel Film in NWC, 5 January 1923.
123 Benno directed and produced ORANJE HEIN in 1925, initiated and co-scripted 
with the director Jaap Spyer the sound version of DE JANTJES in 1934, co-directed 
with Richard Oswald the sound version of BLEEKE BET in 1934, and directed and 
produced AMSTERDAM BIJ NACHT (Amsterdam at Night), adapted from Bouber’s 
play “Ronde Ka”, in 1937. On top of these, Benno directed and produced DE 
ARTIESTENREVIEW in 1926. See also: NWC, 4 January 1935.
124 Lee and Broersma, “In gesprek met Alex Benno,” 12.
126 Ibid., 86.
February 1922; “De films van de week: ‘De Jantjes’”, Kunst en Amusement, 24 
March 1922; “Bioscoop.” De Telegraaf, 26 March 1922; and “Witte Bioscoop: ‘De 
Jantjes’,” Algemeen Handelsblad, 27 March 1922.
129 “De Jantjes’ voor de filmlens,” Cinema en Theater, n.d. 1922, 8. In 1934, a sound-
film adaptation of the play was directed by Jaap Speyer, in which Heintje Davids 
played the role of Na Druppel.
130 “De films van de week: ‘De Jantjes’.”
131 See her photograph included in the article “De Jantjes voor de filmlens,” 8.
133 See: “Witte Bioscoop. “De Jantjes”,” De Telegraaf, 26 March 1922, which maintains 
that the play’s plot was faithfully followed, but that many scenes were added.
136 Pruis was a gentleman humorist who had also worked with Bouber and De la Mar.
137 Lee and Broersma, “In gesprek met Alex Benno,” 11-12.
139 See: Donaldson, Joy and Sorrow, 239; and Algemeen Handelsblad, 13 January 
1924.
141 Lee and Broersma, “In gesprek met Alex Benno,” 12.
142 It is difficult to tell to which film the still belongs. Yet it seems that Piet Köhler 
features in it, because the picture was published alongside an article referring 
to Köhler and Solser reappearing as a comic duo in another film. See: M., “Film-
It is therefore unlikely that it stems from Solser’s own production of BET, DE
KONINGIN VAN DE JORDAAN, to which both Bishoff, “De zwijgende film,” 90, and the EYE Filmmuseum have ascribed the still. See also: Annette Förster, *Ladies First: Een programma met films van vrouwelijke cineasten* (Amsterdam: Nederlands Filmmuseum 1992), 28.

146 For Kee and Bet characters before 1920, see, for instance, “Groen-maken,” a prose monologue and verse, in the “Couplettenboek van Adriënn Solser, soubrette;” “Duettenboek van Solser en De Wilde;” and the prose monologues “Bolle Bet als 1ste vrouwelijke Schotsche Hooglander” and “Bolle Bet gaat naar ’t toneel” in “Duettenboek.”
150 “Premières: Kee en Janus naar Berlijn,” 4
152 “Passage-bioscoop: Kee en Janus naar Berlijn,” *De Telegraaf*, 7 January 1923.
153 See: the advertisement from Alex Benno-Actueel Film for *Kee en Janus naar Berlijn* in *NWC*, 9 February 1923, 24; and for *Kee en Janus naar Parijs* in *NWC*, 29 February 1924. For details of these films’ runs, see also: Westhoff, “Alex Benno,” 285.
155 Also to contemporaries, see *Cinema en Theater*, which twice used the term ‘verbazend’ (surprising) when referring to the popularity of *Kee en Janus naar Parijs* with the public. See: *Cinema en Theater*, n.d. 1923, 3.
156 These were the current economic crisis and the high cost of tickets, as a result of high rental prices and the entertainment tax; moreover, it was an exceptionally hot summer that year. The consequence was that cinemas and distribution offices had to close. See: “De malaise in het filmbedrijf,” *Kunst en Amusement*, 9 June 1922.
157 Beusekom, *Kunst en amusement*, 139.
159 Ibid.
160 Ibid.
161 Lee and Boersma, “In gesprek met Alex Benno,” 12.
162 Ibid., 14.


“Uit de studio’s,” *NWC*, 1 February 1924.

Westhoff, “Alex Benno,” 285. Benno continued his career in directing and producing films just as energetically. After 1934, when economic and political circumstances made filmmaking impossible, he concentrated on distribution prior to the Second World War, and on exhibition afterwards. He died in 1952.

For an overview of Frenkel’s career, see Bishoff, “De Zijvijgende film,” 91-98.

Advertisement by the Dutch Film Co. for *AMSTERDAM BIJ NACHT* in *NWC*, 25 April 1924.

Ibid.

“Premières: Amsterdam bij Nacht,” *NWC*, 25 April 1924. The star of the film was Annie Bos, the only true film diva of Dutch silent cinema.

“Union-Bioscoop: Amsterdam bij Nacht,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 April 1924.

Donaldson gives two more synopses of feature films with Jewish characters: for *WEERGEVONDEN* (Found Again 1914) by Louis Chrispijn Sr. and for *DIAMANT* (Diamond 1916) by Johan Gildemeijer, see: Donaldson, *Joy and Sorrow*, 131 and 147, respectively.


“Union-Rialto-Passage: Het Hollandsche Circus,” *De Telegraaf*, 18 October 1924.


See my discussion of possible dates for Solser’s debut on stage at the beginning of this careerography.

Beusekom, “De dubbele salto,” 195, too has noted that BET, DE KONINGIN VAN DE JORDAAN may be considered an extended soubrette act.

As Beusekom has analysed it, three views dominated the discourse on cinema in the Netherlands during the mid-1920s: a derogatory view based upon the notion of cinema as posing a danger to culture and society, which prevailed in the press; the view of the new generation of intellectual critics, who embraced film fragments and experimental aspects that heralded a new art; and a more popular view of cinema as entertainment for the masses, which, however, was
given less articulation in the press than in the creative attitude of cinema programmers. See: Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 137.

181 See: Jan Klopper, “Jordaan, Kismet en de Kritiek,” Kunst en Amusement, 9 August 1924, 381. L. J. H. Jordaan was one of the new generation of critics and criticised by Klopper in this article for having accused the popular film KISMET of deceiving good taste. A tirade from the Jordaan against comic film was also published as a supplement.

182 See: Beusekom, Kunst en amusement, 136.

183 Advertisement for the Hollandia-Belgica Film Mij. “Eureka” in NWC, 12 September 1924, and 3 October 1924. With respect to the name of this film company, note that, by December, when BET, DE KONINGIN VAN DE JORDAAN was released, the term “Hollandia” had been changed into “Hollando.” See: NWC, 5 December 1924.

184 “De film-studio ‘Eureka’: Hollywood in Schiedam,” Schiedamsche Courant, 22 September 1927, back page. Boesnach stated that he also had been to Berlin, Vienna, and Rome during his eleven years of apprenticeship in film studios. In one of his obituaries, it was said that he had entered the studios at age eighteen, that is to say, in 1914. See “A. Boesnach †,” Schiedamsche Courant, 22 March 1928.

185 This possible intent of Solser’s to establish the company for her son’s sake, was suggested to me by the Dutch filmmaker Anouk Sluizer, who has done research for a film on Solser and who, for that aim had spoken to the late Stien Hanou, the life companion of Lien d’Oliveyra.


188 See: the scrapbook “Recentie-boek van Adriënne Solser voor de film: Bet naar de Olympiade (Bet to the Olympic Games) begonnen te Groningen Vrijdag 28 October 1932” (Folder 25a), AAS.

189 “Ons eigen land. Adriënne Solser’s laatste film,” NWC, 12 September 1924. It is unclear for how long Suikerman remained affiliated with the company, but beginning with the advertisement in NWC, 3 October 1924, his name no longer appeared in the advertisements.

190 Advertisement for the Hollandia-Belgica Film Mij. “Eureka” in NW C, 12 September 1924.

191 The Eureka advertisement in NWC promised the release of two films by the French director Jacques de Baroncelli.


Two film titles, of which positive prints were listed as belonging to the inventory, corresponded to those advertised: de klokkenluider van midernacht (The Midnight Bell-ringer) and de poolsche jood (The Polish Jew). Those were listed as films by the French director Jacques de Baroncelli, yet only the first title can be matched to those in his filmography in the IMDb (Le carillon de minuit 1922).

195 NWC, 9 September 1927.
197 Advertisement about bet, de koningin van de jordaan in NWC, 21 November 1924; and in Kunst en Amusement, 6 December 1924. See also: Donaldson, Joy and Sorrow, 264-6.
199 See: the contract between the Smits heirs, Boesnach, and Solser, in Civiele Dossiers 1928, no 569, docket number 239, Zeeuws Archief Middelburg.
200 Agreement between Hadima and Boesnach, dated 31 August 1927, in Civiele Dossiers 1928.
201 Verdict case 239/1928. The last advertisement for the film is in NWC, 19 August 1927.
202 “P. W. A. H. Hulsman †,” NWC, 9 May 1941. I thank Geoffrey Donaldson for pointing out this article to me. In his filmography of Dutch silent film, he states that the co-direction credit was given to Hulsman only on the film print, not in further contemporary documentation such as advertisements or reviews.
204 IMDb and other internet sources do not contain any information on Gauthier’s career.
205 See: Donaldson, Joy and Sorrow, 247.
206 See: Klöters, Honderd jaar amusement, 195
208 “Trianon Theater: Bet Trekt de 100.000,” Haagsche Courant, 30 January 1926.
209 See: Honig, Acteurs- en kunstenaarslexicon, 695.
210 Ibid., 638.
211 Donaldson has listed her as the editor of Solser’s first bet-film in 1924, but this seems unlikely as Lien d’Oliveyra was only twelve years old at the time. Here, he refers to her as sixteen years old, which was her age at the time of the final bet-production.
“Uit de pers: Belangstelling voor Filmkunst,” NWC, 20 May 1925. This item included a reprint of an article by L. Willing in Het Vaderland that had argued for better information and thus for not advertising every film as a wonderful film or of definitely first quality, as such platitudes failed to educate the audiences to appreciate films for their particular qualities.

Advertisement for Actueel film in NWC, 9 February 1923.

Advertisement for the Dutch Film Company in NWC, 11 January 1924.

Advertisement for Eureka in NWC, 12 September 1924.

Advertisement for Eureka in NWC, 29 May 1925.

Advertisement for Actueel film in NWC, 9 February 1923.

Advertisement for bet, de koningin van de jordaan in NWC, 21 November 1924.

Advertisement for Eureka in NWC, 21 January 1927.

Advertisement for Eureka in NWC, 25 February 1927.

A certain agreed-upon degree of bluff was permitted as a public-relations strategy, it was stated [probably the editor, Pier Westerbaan]: “Nog even een woord over “waardering’”, (II) NWC, 14 October 1927, cover page.

Advertisement Eureka in NWC, 30 January 1925.


Neither Alex Benno nor Theo Frenkel, Sr., nor the cinema managers who had benefited thus far from Solser’s BET-series, but only the secretary of the NBB and the director of the Rotterdam division of the organization, André de Jong, cared to be present. See “Stadsnieuws: Opening Film-Studio ‘Eureka’,” Nieuwe Schiedamsche Courant, 23 September 1927, front page; “Stadsnieuws: De filmstudio ‘Eureka’ geopend,” Schiedamsche Courant, 23 September 1927; “Opening Eureka Studio te Schiedam,” NWC, 23 September 1927; and the “Gastenboek Opening Eureka September 1927” (Folder 2), AAS.

“Nog even een woord over ‘waardering’;,” (I), NWC, vol. 5, no. 53 (September 30, 1927), cover page.

See: “Nog even een woord over ‘waardering’;,” (II) cover page.


[Probably Westerbaan], “Nederland in de oogen van een Franschman,” (I) NWC, 11 November 1927, cover page.

“Nederland in de oogen van een Franschman,” (II), NWC, 25 November 1927, cover page.
See: *De Filmwereld*, 15 September 1927, 9; clipping in “Gasten- en recensieboek opening Eureka.”

“Nog even een woord over ‘waardering’”, (II), cover page.


In the November 24, 1932 letter to the Board of Censors, Solser expressed her despair: “How I survived those four years with my little daughter, God alone knows.”

See: the advertisement for N.V. Studio Eureka in *NWC*, 20 July 1928. According to the advertisement, the film was booked until the middle of November.

See: Eindvonnis in Verdict Case 239/1928.

A former comedian of the revues of Ter Hall, a brother of Piet Köhler and the husband of Roosje Köhler-van Gelder, Johan Köhler planned to venture into the production of commercials at Schiedam.

Cover of *Kunst en Amusement*, 15 December 1922.

Cover of *NWC*, 30 October 1925.

Advertisement for Bet, de koningin van de jordaan in *NWC*, 21 November 1924.

“Passage-bioscoop: Bet, de Koningin van de Jordaan,” *De Telegraaf*, 22 November 1924.

Ibid.

From the speech by André de Jong, quoted in *Het Vaderland* and cited in *NWC*, 20 March 1925.

“Bet trekt de 100.000,” *NWC*, 22 January 1926; emphasis mine.

Ibid.


See, for instance: *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, 17 February 1943, and other clippings held in the scrapbook “Recentieboek van Adriënne Solser van de film: BET NAAR DE OLYMPIADE begonnen te Groningen Vrijdag 28 October 1932” (Folder 25a), AAS.

“Adriënne Solser,” *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 29 October 1933; clipping in ibid.

“Pandora, Hoogstraat,” *Schiedamsche Courant*, 10 September 1927.

“Filminnieuws,” *De Alkmaarsche Courant*, 26 August 1933; clipping in “Recentieboek.”

This association led to an interesting juggle with words when one journalist tried to comprehend the performance: “We have in fact seldom seen a silent film that is nonetheless a talkie.” “Bet wil naar de Olympiade,” *Nieuws van den Dag*, 11 March 1933.


256 “Bet trekt de 100.000,” *NWC*, 22 January 1926. This took place during a screening at the Trianon Theater in The Hague.


258 Ibid., 16.

259 Ibid.


261 See: the advertisement for Eureka Film Production, under the headline “In voorbereiding productie 1927-1928,” *De Filmwereld*, 15 September 1927; clipping in “Gasten- en recensieboek.”

262 Advertisement for Eureka in *NWC*, 21 January 1927.


264 *Middelburgsche Courant*, 2 August 1933; clipping in “Recentieboek.”

265 *De Twentsche Courier*, 24 April 1934; clipping in ibid.

266 Quite well done by the actor Hugo Blum.

267 “Beurstheater,” *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 18 May 1935; clipping in “Recentieboek.”

268 One of these bears the title Duo Solser, which Solser probably formed with Felix Swart Verwer, an actor who was mentioned in the 26 March 1935 reviews of the performances in Groningen. It contains a song about people who say things behind your back that they would not tell you to your face, which, with the history of Eureka Studio in mind, is rather heartbreaking.

269 From “Dat zal ik lekker doen,” undated, in untitled notebook (Folder 12), AAS.

270 Undated and unidentified newspaper clipping in “Gasten- en recensieboek.”

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**MUSIDORA ON THE FRENCH POPULAR STAGE**


3 “Notre vedette Musidora,” *Ciné-Revue* 5, 1923, 1. This text follows, almost verbatim, Musidora’s self-presentation for an undated four-page publicity folder issued by impresario Charles Baret, pasted between clippings from 1921 and 1922 in the Musidora scrapbook “Biographie-Critique” held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Arts du Spectacle (hereafter: BNF, DAS), Collection Rondel (RT 9736).


6 Waelti-Walters, *Feminist Novelists*, 4. The first women’s rights congress was held in 1878.


17 Musidora’s self-presentation, Baret publicity folder.

18 Gautier was one of the most widely read writers, poets, and playwrights of nineteenth-century France and was, in his fiction, an exponent of literary Romanticism, but nonetheless highly regarded by the Parnassians. See: the web sites “Théophile Gautier: sa vie, son oeuvre 1811-1872” at: http://mercator.ens.fr/home/letourne/gautier/biographie.html and “17. Gautier, Nouvelles (1845)” at: http://buweb.univ-angers.fr/PRESSES/Godenne/Nouv17.html.

19 Musidora in conversation with Renée Carl, minutes of the Commission Recherches Historiques (hereafter: CRH) conducted by the Cinémathèque française, interview 043, (1946), BiFi.
Daisne, “Souvenirs gantois”, 4. See also: Daisne’s tribute to Louis Feuillade and *Judex, Kroonfilms van Altijd* (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon 1950) and his correspondence with and writings about Musidora 1950-1958 preserved in Fonds Johan Daisne, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent.


Thurman, *A life of Colette*, xvii. (Emphasis Thurman)


Musidora, “Souvenirs sur Colette,” first conversation RSR.


Cazals’ caption suggests that Musidora was fifteen when the picture was taken, but, given that she was preparing for her finals, seventeen seems more likely. The book in her hands, moreover, was probably not *Fortunio*, but one of the *Claudines*.

According to Lacassin, Musidora toured the French provinces in “Claudine à Paris” for three months in the summer of 1911 (*Musidora*, 446). Cazals has included a poster of a representation of the play with Miss Musidora at the town of Laon, dated February 13, 1911, which, however, announced that it concerned “One single and extraordinary performance” (*La dixième muse*, 18). Musidora also inquired with Johan Daisne about her having played “Claudine à l’école” in 1911, 1912, or 1913 in the Belgian town Gent, but, despite his investigations into
programs and newspapers, no trace of the performance could be found. Neither Musidora nor Colette mentioned the fact in their published references to each other.


37 Ibid., 183.

38 For the French radio, she said 1906 (Cazals, La dixième muse, 183); for the Swiss, 1908.

39 Colette entered into a relationship with a woman, Missy, also known as Sophie-Mathilde-Adèle-Denise de Morny, Marquise de Belboeuf, in March 1905. The legal divorce between Colette and Willy was announced in 1910. Thurman, A Life of Colette, 154 and 204. Colette’s letter is published in Colette, Un bien grand amour. Lettres à Musidora 1908-1953 (Paris: L’Herne 2014), 28-29.

40 Thurman, A Life of Colette, 259.

41 The friendship lasted until Colette’s passing in 1954. It has often been suggested that they also had a sexual relationship, particularly during the months shortly before and after the outbreak of the war, when they shared an apartment and formed a threesome with the actress Marguerite Moreno. (See, for instance: Thurman, A Life of Colette, 259.) I would have loved to unearth confirmative documentation for such a romance, but have found only those usually cited in this context: Colette’s remark about Musidora “showing her ass” and Musidora’s evocation of her “deep but chaste love” for Colette. In my view, even Musidora’s sermon to Willy does not do: the adulating rhetoric may attest to Musidora’s infatuation with Colette, or otherwise her cleverly taking advantage of men’s (and Willy’s) fascination with lesbian sex, but it does not evince that it ever manifested. During the war years, as also Musidora recounted, Colette was deeply in love with Henry de Jouvenel.


43 Thurman, A life of Colette, 162.

44 Joë Bridge, “Après la répétition générale de la revue ‘Ça grise à Ba-ta-clan,” Comoedia, 6 April 1912, 4. I thank Sabine Lenk for drawing my attention to Comoedia.


47 Cited and translated in Thurman, A Life of Colette, 194.


*Comoedia*, 15 July 1910, 2, in its column “Informations,” actually a collection of excerpts from press releases issued by the theaters, noted about the vaudeville play “La nuit de noces” (The Wedding Night) that it was “the triumph of guffaw”. Neither Jeanne Roques nor Musidora are mentioned in the column.

See: the advertisements on the program page of *Comoedia*, 11 September 1910, 6.


Musidora played the part of Salopette in this “grand detective drama in five acts and eight tableau”, but was not singled out in the very positive review in *Comoedia*. See, for an announcement: *Comoedia*, 1 October 1910, 4; for the cast list the advertisement *ibid.*, 6; and for the review *Comoedia*, 5 October 1910, 4. Including the performances at the annexes of the Theatre Montparnasse, the piece ran until 20 October 1910.

Playing the role of Lyane in this vaudeville, pièce militaire à grand spectacle (military spectacle play) or fantaisie militaire, which was written by two of the most renowned revue authors, Celval and Charly. Musidora was first noticed by a critic of *Comoedia*. See: Harry Whist, “A Ba-ta-clan. ‘Zizi’ ‘Le Matricule 607’,” *Comoedia*, 5 October 1912, 4.


The play began its three month run on 7 November 1913. During the final two weeks of January 1914, Musidora took on the principal role of Odette, but this change of cast did not prompt renewed critical attention.


Not to be confused with American vaudeville, which, in French, was captioned with the anglicism music-hall. See: Dominique Jando, *Histoire mondiale du music-hall* (Paris: Éditions Universitaires Jean-Pierre Delarge 1979), 7.


Ibid.

Corvin, “Boulevard, (le théâtre du),” 118.
See, for instance: the review of *Le matricule 607* by Harry Whist, “Moulay-Hafid nous parle du ‘Matricule 607’,” *Comoedia*, 31 August 1912, 1-2, in which the same terms were used to praise the performances of the comic actors.


*Fantaisie* is a work of imagination in which the artistic creation is not subjected to formal rules. *Le Petit Larousse illustré* 1992, s.v. “fantaisie.”


Ibid.


See, for an analysis of audience stratification along the lines of class, status, and gender: Rearick, *Pleasures*, most notably his chapter 4: 84-116.


Chauveau and Sallée *Music-hall et café-concert*, 16.


See: *Annuaire des artistes-Paris* 1921-1922.


Chauveau and Sallée practically omit considering the first two decades of the twentieth century in their articles. See also: J.M. Thomasseau, “Music-hall” in: *Dictionnaire*, 17.

Louis Laloy (1874-1944) was a leading music critic and scholar, who co-founded the Parisian section of the Société Internationale de la Musique (S.I.M) and the periodical *La Revue musicale S.I.M.* (See: Deborah Priest, *Louis Laloy on Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky* (Aldershot, England and Brookfield Vt.: Ashgate Publishing 1999).) The aim of his articles on the importance and qualities of *music-hall* and *revue* was to win prejudiced readers over, while the reviews in *Comoedia* were clearly written for fully informed devotees. Curnonsky (1872-1956) was the *nom de plume* of Maurice Edmond Sailland, who had begun his career in 1896 as a ghostwriter for Willy, turned to *music-hall* journalism in the mid-1900s, and abandoned it for writing on gastronomy in the 1920s, for the latter of which he
is best remembered. (See: L’Association des amis de Curnonsky, Curnonsky et ses amis (Paris: Edgar Soete Librairie 1979)).

87 A typical music-hall program could, for instance, be found in 1909 at the Folies-Bergère on which Curnonsky offers a closer look. He watched daredevil équilibristes (tight-rope walkers), a group of cyclists, a dance act by a dozen of pretty women with “admirable” legs, and the extraordinary “kinemacolor”. Next followed a one-act drama, one performance with dogs, and one with horses, which the observer thought much less fun for the animals than for the audience, and a ballet featuring the dancer Stacia Napierkowska. The evening was closed off with two sketches, one comic and one dramatic, played by entertainers and mimes, as well as a tour de chant by “notre Mayol national”, the vedette of the program. Curnonsky, “La semaine au music-hall,” Paris qui chante, 17 October 1909, 2.

89 Ibid. 54.
90 Laloy, “Cabarets et music-halls,” (15 February 1913), 55.
91 Laloy, “Cabarets et music-halls,” (15 March 1913), 53.
93 Ibid.; Annuaire des artistes-Paris 1921-1922, 264 (Alhambra) and 287 (Olympia).
94 Ibid. 264.
95 Coulonges, La chanson, 41.
96 Thérésa (1837-1913) began her career singing sentimental songs at the Divan Japonais, but saw little success until the accidental discovery of her comic talent in 1862. She was not particularly beautiful and gained weight over the years, but used those features to the advantage of her comedy and to destroy every suggestion of feminine coquetry. Her stage persona brings to mind Adriënne Solser’s, both in terms of the character she impersonated and the elements with which it was constructed. See also: Kelley Conway, Chanteuse in the City. The Realist Singer in French Film (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 2004), 37-41.
97 Coulonges, La chanson, 35.
99 Chauveau and Sallée, Music-hall et café-concert, 12 ; Conway, Chanteuse in the City, 34.
100 Coulonges, La chanson, 29. See also: Yvette Guilbert, La Chanson de ma vie (Paris: Grasset 1927), 60-67 and 132.
101 Chauveau and Sallée, Music-hall et café-concert, 12.
102 Coulonges, La chanson, 44.
103 Colette, Mes apprentissages, 164.
NOTES

104 Ibid. 149
105 See also: Curnonsky, “La semaine au music-hall,” 2.
107 Guilbert, *La chanson de ma vie*, 64.
109 See also: Curnonsky, “La semaine au music-hall,” 2.
111 Lacassin gives another title, “J'adore ça” (I Love It), a revue mounted at the Bata-clan in the winter of 1911-1912, but neither the cast list of the program leaflet (BNF, DAS, RO 18287) nor the one published in *Comoedia*, 8 November 1912, 6 include Musidora’s name.
113 Sallée, for instance, mentions Colette’s writing before her acting in *music-hall* and categorizes her under the label “comédiens de passage”, actors making guest appearances, and hence suggests that her *music-hall* acting was just a brief stint away from her real profession. However, Colette worked as a mime for six years. See: Chauveau and Sallée, *Music-hall et café-concert*, 26.
114 Joë Bridge, *Nos Vedettes*, (Paris: private publication, 1922; Bridge’s songs were published in the early 1910s in *Paris qui chante* and his reviews in *Comoedia*.
115 Program booklet “Ça grise!.”
116 Song text in program booklet “Ça grise!”.
119 In 1911-1912, Mistinguett was affiliated with the Folies-Bergère and Andrée Spinelly with the Cigale. Eve Lavallière was a leading lady of the boulevard theater.

130 Guilbert, *La chanson de ma vie*, 93. (literally: into Paris; meaning: away from Montmartre, where the Divan Japonais was located as well as towards the renowned café-concerts of Paris.)


134 “Spectacles et Concerts. Soirée Parisienne,” unidentified paper clipping, 6 November 1912, (BNF, DAS, RO 18287)

135 Rasimi directed the Ba-ta-clan from 1910 through 1926. Further female directors were: Mme Varin (Ambassadeurs, 1840-1874); Thérésa (Alcazar d’Hiver, 1885-1893); Mme Varlet (Gaiétet Rochechouart 1874-1915); Mme Roissu (Scala, 1876-1884); Mme Allemand (Scala 1884-1894; Eldorado 1887-1894; Folies-Bergère 1886-1894); the widow Dorfeuil (Concert Mayol 1904-1907); and the widow Marchand (Scala 1901-1905).


137 Laloy, “Cabarets et music-halls,” (15 February 1913), 55. Laloy was also defending *music-hall* against moralists like the senator Béranger, who conducted a crusade against the *tradition académique*. See: Jando, *Histoire mondiale du music-hall*, 114.


139 Laloy, “Cabarets et music-halls,” (15 March 1913), 53.


141 Laloy, “Cabarets et music-halls,” (15 March 1913), 53.

142 Bibliothèque Nationale (ed.), *Colette*, 54.

143 Ibid., 56-57.


147 Ibid., 163.


150 Laloy “Cabarets et music-halls,” (15 February 1913), 56.
151 Ibid. 55.
152 Ibid 56. The incapability to offend distinguished the revue à grand spectacle from the short revue as it survived in the cabaret of the time, of which Laloy noted that it was much less respectful towards politicians and other authoritative figures, because, in contrast to the masses frequenting music-hall, the elite frequenting the cabaret did not have faith in authorities. Laloy, “Music-halls et chansonneries,” 54.
153 Celval et Charley, Ça grise!, verses and monologues. (BNF, DAS, RO 18287 (2)).
154 Celval et Charley, Bien, Marie!..., verses and monologues (BNF, DAS, RO 18311 (3)).
158 Celval et Charley, Bien, Marie!....
166 The film constituted the ninth tableau of “La Revue Galante” and was announced to be featuring the artistes of the Folies-Bergère. No print of it is known to survive. The revue was also preceded with non-fiction films by the French Film Company Éclair, which were not discussed in the reviews. See: Program booklet of “La Revue Galante” (BNF, DAS, RO 18340 (3)).
169 About Sarah Duhamel, only scant and scattered information can be retrieved. From Chauveau’s “Dictionnaire Historique” it can be distilled, that she, in 1895, performed in a revue at Le Divan Japonais, and, between 1897 and 1899, was a member of the troupe of the Fourmi. After the turn of the century, she performed at the Libre-Échange and at the Casino de Tourelles, all café-concerts. (Chauveau and Sallée, Music-halls et café-concerts, 142, 158 and 164). When
exactly she traded the stage for the screen is unclear. Lacassin mentions that in the ROSALIE-series, which was released between March, 31, 1911 and June, 13, 1913, she usually played a cleaning woman, but that does not hold for the surviving films ROSALIE ET SA PHONO (Rosalie and Her Phonograph) and ROSALIE ET SES MEUBLES FIDÈLES. In the first one, she has a maid, suggesting a (petit) bourgeois milieu, and, in the second, she is poor, but no job indications are given. In a third surviving film, ROSALIE ET LÉONTINE VONT AU THÉÂTRE (Rosalie and Léontine Visit the theater, 1911) she plays a melodrama spectator, which marks her-and her friend-as lower class (See: Thomas Brandlmeier, “Lachkultur des Fin de siècle.” In: Slapstick & Co. Frühe Filmkomödien/Early Comedies (Berlin: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek and Argon Verlag GmbH 1995), 23.) In addition to Rosalie, Duhamel played the lead in an eleven-part Éclair-series, PÉTRONILLE, directed by Georges Rémond between November, 8, 1912 and March 1915. See: Francis Lacassin, Pour une contre-histoire du cinéma (Lyon: Institut Lumière/Actes Sud 1994), 142, 148, and 152; and Richard Abel, The Ciné Goes to Town. French Cinema 1896-1914 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 1994, 391-392). Abel’s research discloses that Duhamel likewise starred in four films with Little Moritz, which were released in the summer and fall of 1911.

Abel, Ciné, 62. The stop-motion technique was also used for ROSALIE ET SA PHONO, in which Rosalie demonstrates the magic of her new gramophone, which prods her and her maid into dancing the quick-step, and the furniture and other objects in the room as well. (Abel, Ciné, 391).


“Music-Halls, Cafés-Concerts, Cabarets, Cirques, etc.,” Comoedia, 7 February 1914), 4.

Stage photo published in Le Théâtre, December (II) 1913, 23.

Program leaflets of “Ça grise!” and “La Revue de Ba-ta-clan.”

Picture collection Musidora in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Arts du Spectacle, 4e Ico Per. (Iconographie Personnalités). Most of the pictures in this collection are of later date.

Lacassin, Musidora, 450 and 455.

See: http://www.flickr.com/photos/r3dqu33n/55845899/. I thank Ivo Blom for making this picture available to me.

Musi-chat was a stray cat that Musidora had given shelter at her dressing room at the Ba-ta-clan. “Music-Halls, Café-Concerts, Cabarets, etc.,” 4.

In April 1916, Musidora was the vedette of the revue “C’est Maouspiloipoil!” (That is very classy!) by Jean Bastia in the Scala (BNF, DAS, RO 18423 (2, 3)); in January 1919, she appeared in Bastia’s revue “French spoken” in the cabaret Le
Perchoir (BNF, DAS, RO 18517 (1)); at the same venue, she performed in Bastia’s “La revue ‘Hop’!...” in October 1919 (Comoedia, 8 October 1919), 3 and BNF, DAS, RO 18517 (1)); and, in May 1921, she replaced the vedette of Magre’s play “L’Arlequin” (Musidora, “Journal d’un jour,” Ève, 1 May 1921, 3).


“Music-Halls, Cafés-Concerts, Cabarets, Cirques, etc.,” 4.

**MUSIDORA AND THE FRENCH SILENT CINEMA**

1 The date cannot be established more exactly from the documentation at hand. The synopsis of one of Musidora’s first films with Feuillade, LE CALVaire, was deposited for copyright in April 1914, and features her as “the famous music-hall dancer”. (BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont Scénarios (Code G3431 (03374), Gaumont Hallmark (20 April 20 1914), Depot legal 1623/1914). Part and synopsis seem to have been tailored and conceived to introduce Musidora as a Gaumont actress. Advertisements with stills from the film that picture Musidora in her role were published from the end of May 1914. (See: Le Courrier Cinématographique, 30 May 1914, 26-27; hereafter: LCC) Sévero Torelli, another Feuillade film, but with Musidora in a supporting part only, was advertised two weeks earlier, but without stills, so that it remains unclear if she was already cast in it or added to it later on. (See LCC, 16 May 1914, 1.)

2 Musidora’s self-presentation, Baret publicity folder. See also: “Notre vedette Musidora,” 1.

3 The exact date of the end of her affiliation with Gaumont is irretrievable, and neither Lacassin nor Cazals mention it. In February 1917, it was announced in the trade press that she just had signed a contract with the film company of André Hugon. See : L’Opérateur, untitled note, LCC, 24 February 1917, 12.


4 Only in April 1916, coinciding with the release of the seventh episode of LES VAMPIRES, SATANAS, Feuillade’s name as the director of the series was revealed in the booklets recounting the stories of the various installments, which he had co-authored with Georges Meirs and which were published halfway the series. See: Anonymous, “Les Vampires en roman,” Le Film, 15 April 1916, 23, and Alain Carou, “Le Film au coin du feu. Feuillade et les «Romans-cinéma».” In: 1895. Revue de l’association française de recherche sur l’histoire du cinéma, numéro hors série Louis Feuillade (October 2000), 228.


Fescourt, La Foi, 81.


Quoted without source reference in Lacassin, Musidora, 451-52.

Letter from Feuillade to Musidora, written from the front between March and July 1915, printed in Cazals, La dixième muse, 31.

These were not Musidora’s very first screen appearances. As already noted, she had acted in a Pathé Film inserted in the revue at the Folies-Bergère. In 1913, moreover, she had played in a propaganda film for the anarchist film corporation Le Cinéma du Peuple, which was shown at community centers. Directed by the stage actor and her colleague from the Châtelet, Raphael Clamour, the film, LES MISÈRES DE L’AIGUILLE (The Miseries of the Needle) made a case against the exploitation of women home workers. While acting under her real name Jeanne Roques, she offers the screen presence of Musidora: seemingly natural, reliant on the expressivity of her face and her eyes. A print is held at the Cinémathèque française and was shown at Il Cinema Ritrovato in Bologna 2014. See also: Isabelle Marinone, “Les Misères de L’Aiguille” film muet d’Armand Guerra” (the male actor in the film) at http://raforum.apinc.org; Lacassin, Musidora, 448, Cazals, La dixième muse, 19, and Laurent Mannoni, “Le Cinéma du Peuple.” In: Richard Abel (ed.), Encyclopedia of Early Cinema (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge 2005), 123.

Musidora, “La Vie d’une Vamp.”

Fescourt, La Foi, 94.

Fescourt did not mention the title of the tableau, but Musidora referred to her Virginie-part in this context and not to the “Tangomaniaque,” which, moreover, seems not to correspond with the dance described by Fescourt. It might well be that Fescourt mixed up his recollections with another performance Musidora did in the revue “Hop!...,” in the cabaret Le Perchoir in October 1919, in which she indeed enacted a plant while wearing a silken bodysuit that made her dance appear quite sensual according to contemporary critics.

Musidora, “La Vie d’une Vamp.”

Fescourt, La Foi, 94.

Musidora reconfirmed that her debut had been in SEVERO TORELLI at a session of the CRH in 1946 (See: minutes BiFi, CRH 043, 9.) In “La Vie d’une Vamp”, however, Musidora points out a scene from LE CALVAIRE as the one in
which Feuillade tested her screen qualities, which should imply that this film,
although released after, was shot before SEVERO TORELLI.

21 Gaumont advertisements and program leaflets, for instance, announce PEINE
D’AMOUR and GUIGNOL with the predicate. These films were not directed by
Feuillade, according to the filmography established by Lacassin. (Francis Lacas-
1995), 308-12). See: advertisement LCC, 6 June 1914, 1 and program leaflet Gaum-
ont-Palace 30 April 1915 at Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, Fonds
Actualités, Dossier Gaumont-Palace (hereafter BHV).

22 Musidora, “Mes projets: Être la Méchante Femme,” Le Film, January 1920, n.p.;
“Informations. Au ‘Gaumont-Palace’ SEVERO TORELLI,” Comoedia, 6 June 1914,
4.

23 The print is held at the Cinémathèque française. It has a length of 1026 metres,
lacks title cards and tinting, but seems complete as far as the scenes are con-
cerned.

24 Abel, Ciné, 302-25.


26 Fescourt, La Foi, 92.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Yvette Andreyor, “Yvette Andreyor par elle-même,” Le Film, 3 December 1918,
18.

30 Fescourt, La Foi, 95.

31 J.-L. Croze, “Cinématographes,” Comoedia, 6 June 1914, 4. The play had been
staged at the Odéon and the Renaissance. Advertisements LCC, 16 May 1914, 1
and Ciné-Journal, 16 May 1914, 8.

32 BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios no. G3431, Gaumont Hallmark (31
March 1914), Dépot légal 1276/1914.

33 LCC, 30 May 1914, IV.

34 See: picture in Lacassin, Musidora, 450; Jacques Richard, “Une troupe à géomé-
trie variable” in: 1895. Revue de l’association française de recherche sur l’histoire
du cinéma, numéro hors série Louis Feuillade (October 2000), 236, and BNF,
DAS, Iconographie Personnalités, Musidora, (4e SW 12153).

35 Musidora interviewing scriptwriter Nora Januxi for the CRH of the Ciné-
mathèque française, undated minutes Bifi, CRH 041, 9. Musidora stated that
the actors were dressed in all costume films, but for contemporary films they
ought to have their own wardrobes and very often change dress.

36 Musidora, “La Vie d’une Vamp.”

37 Advertisement and synopsis can be found in LCC, 30 May 1914, 26-7 and in
the inlay, III and IV, respectively. Synopsis also at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont
Scénarios, no. G3431 (03374), Gaumont Hallmark (20 April 1914), Dépot légal
1623/1914. The publicity booklet contains the Gaumont Hallmark (11 June 1914), Dépôt legal 2324/1914.


39 Ibid., 497.

40 Preserved at the Cinémathèque Gaumont, Neuilly-sur-Seine.

41 Abel, *Ciné*, 41.


45 Quoted in Carou, “Art et imitation,” 39.

46 Quoted in Champreux, “La vie telle qu’elle est,” 63. Translation from Richard Abel, *French Film Theory and Criticism 1907-1939, vol. 1, 1907-1929* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1993), 54. Abel also clarifies the name of Rocambole: “Rocambole evolved from arch criminal to fearless detective as the hero of some thirty adventure novels written by Ponson du Terrail in the middle of the nineteenth century. Here he is used to stand in for all of the adventure heroes of the French séries (criminal, detective, western) which were so popular from 1907 to 1914.” The Rocambole books were filmed in 1914-1915 as a four-part series by Georges Denola for the SCAGL. (Abel, *Ciné*, 49, Lacassin, *Maître*, 123.) Marcel Levesque recollected how Feuillade himself, ironically enough, acquired the title Ponson du Terrail du Cinéma because of his serials. (Levesque, “Cinq ans,” 3.)


48 Fescourt, *La Foi*, 91.


52 Abel, *Ciné*, 301, 328.

53 In a survey of the film historical reception of Feuillade’s oeuvre, I have argued that the focus on his authorship and on a reassessment of his crime series in terms of film aesthetics and cinematic specificity primarily has sprung from the urge to right a wrong presumably done by critics and filmmakers of the postwar


55 Abel, *Ciné*, 249-250.


57 Abel, *Ciné*, 334.


64 Abel, *Ciné*, 123.

65 Other actors include Armand Numès, Gaston Sylvestre, and Maria Fromet. See: the catalog of Il Cinema Ritrovato at Bologna 1999, 7.


67 Abel, *Ciné*, 78 describes the 1904 DANSE DES APACHES (Apache Dance) as serving “to display the power of an underworld tough guy through his rough, abusive handling of a female partner.”


70 Ibid., 124, 133, 170.

71 The number and list of titles has yet to be established. See, for a tentative filmography of Mistinguett D’Hugues and Marmin: *Le Muet*, 163 and 56 as well as the website http://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2010/09/postcard-friendship-friday-mistinguett.html.


The films listed here are extant today, the first two at the EYE Filmmuseum, the third at the British Film Institute Film Archive, and the fourth at the National Film Center, The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. The latter three films were rediscovered by Mariann Lewinsky for Il Cinema Ritrovato, Bologna 2010.

Abel, Ciné, 235.

Deviant from this practice was the publicity for two vaudeville films released in September and December 1916, respectively. In the publicity for them, the label ciné-vaudeville was alternated with indications such as “comédie” or “comédie comique”, (Ciné-Journal, 27 May 1916), 26), although in reviews they were invariably referred to as ciné-vaudeville or even vaudeville play.

Marcel Levesque, “Par lui-même,” Le Film, 3 December 1917), 6-8.

These figures are based upon my count of relevant titles in the filmography of Feuillade established by Lacassin, Maître, 308-12. They do not entirely correspond with Lacassin’s count of a sum total of 32 titles on p. 130, nor with the number given by the catalog of the nineteenth Giornate del Cinema Muto at Pordenone/Sacile (2000:25), which is 30 ciné-vaudevilles. Laurent Le Forestier, “Feuillade et les cinévaudevilles, ou le paradoxe de la théâtralité,” in: 1895. Revue de l’association française de recherche sur l’histoire du cinéma, numéro hors série Louis Feuillade (October 2000) p. 73-87 gives no sum total but discusses two series of ciné-vaudevilles: the 1913-1914 series, La Vie drôle, and the 1921-1922 series, La Belle humeur. I do not consider the latter series because it did not feature Levesque nor Musidora.

I thank Jacques Champreux, Feuillade’s grandson and a committed researcher of his oeuvre, for informing me in 2000 that an unrestored print of this film was held at the Cinémathèque Gaumont. The print was restored by the Cineteca di Bologna and shown at Il Cinema Ritrovato 2011.


Musidora, “Mes projets.”

Le Forestier, “Feuillade et les cinévaudevilles,” 78.


Le Forestier, “Feuillade et les cinévaudevilles,” 74.

Ibid., 78.

D’Hugues and Marmin, Le Muet, 60-61; Fescourt, La Foi, 84.

Abel, Ciné, 390.

Ibid., 219.

Le Forestier, “Feuillade et les cinévaudevilles,” 77.

A print was screened at the Giornate del Cinema Muto 2000 at Pordenone/Sacile and is held at the Cinémathèque française.
BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont Scénarios (Code G3431) gives as date of drafting December 24, 1914, as date in the Gaumont Hallmark January 4, 1915, Dépôt légal no. 58/1915.

G. Dureau mentioned the film’s banishment from the screen in his article on film and censorship in Paris in Ciné-Journal, vol. 8, no. 7 (May 1, 1915), p. 7.

Lacassin, Maître, 309 mentions the initial title BOUT DE ZAN ET LE BOCHE.

The same uncertainty holds for another film from the series in which Musidora was reputedly cast, the comédie patriotique BOUT DE ZAN ET LE POILU (Bout de Zan and the French soldier in The Great War) (1915).

See: the listings of the programs at the Gaumont-Palace in Comoedia, for instance 6 June 1914, 4 and 21 June 1914, 4. Furthermore: D’Hugues and Marmin, Le Muet, 79, Fescourt, La Foi, 96-103 and Abel, Ciné, 407.

For Prince and Perret see D’Hugues and Marmin, Le Muet, 54 and 79, respectively.

Abel, Ciné, 419.

Ibid., 425.

Notes for LE COUP DU FAKIR, handwritten by Feuillade, BiFi, Fonds Feuillade.

Guillaume Danvers, “La présentation hebdomadaire,” Le Film, 2 December 1916, 10.

Ibid., p. 29.


Toulet, “Une année,” 137.

Meusy, Paris-Palaces, 262.

The play is mentioned in Paris-Palaces on p. 261, but without specification of the film or the filmmaker. The film has been listed in Alice Guy filmographies established by Victor Bachy, Alice Guy-Blaché (1873–1968). La première femme cinéaste du monde, (Perpignan: Institut Jean Vigo 1993), 42 and by McMahan, Alice Guy Blaché, 76, whose research shows that it was shot in the summer of 1896 and screened for the public as of 14 November 1896.

Meusy, Paris-Palaces, 261.

Fescourt, La Foi, 91.

Meusy, Paris-Palaces, 262.

Adrian, “Cinéma et music-hall,” 34.

Abel, Ciné, 55.

Legrand, Chronique, 123 and 127, Abel, Ciné, 31.

Program advertisement in the column “Cinematographes,” Comoedia, 21 June 1914, 4.

Program advertisement in the column “Cinematographes,” Comoedia, 29 June 1914, 4.

Program brochure *LE COUP DU FAKIR/DEUX FRANÇAISES*, Gaumont 1914-1915, BHV.

See: advertisement of the Gaumont-Palace program in *CÉCR*, 2 June 1916, 6 and program flyer Gaumont-Palace, 3-8 March 1917, BHV.


Toulet, “Une année” 135.


Abel, *Ciné*, 60.


*l’arroseur arrosé* was one of the first comic films ever made, by the Lumière Brothers in 1895, and brought to the screen a well known *music-hall* motif.


Le Forestier, “Feuillade et les cinévaudevilles,” 74.


Synopsis *LE COUP DU FAKIR* in program flyer Gaumont 1914-1915, BHV.


Le Forestier, “Feuillade et les cinévaudevilles,” 79.


Notes for *LE COUP DU FAKIR*, Fonds Feuillade 2, BiFi.

Ibid.

Synopsis *LE COUP DU FAKIR*, BHV.

Ibid.

Ibid. Le Forestier has observed a similar sketchiness in the notes for a *cinévaudeville* *LA SOURIS BLANCHE* (The White Mouse) that is in the possession of Jacques Champreux; Le Forestier, “Feuillade et les cinévaudevilles,” 79.
Ibid. The paradox that Le Forestier observes is a shift from theatricality to a more modernist cinema aesthetics and liberty in mise-en-scène techniques and organisation.


The following analysis is based upon the synopses of: Tu n’épouseras jamais un avocat at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3488, Gaumont Hallmark (4 May 1914), Dépot légal 2150/1914; Débrouille toi! at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3824, Gaumont Hallmark (4 July 1917), Dépot légal 1908/1917; Le collier de perles at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3643, Gaumont Hallmark (15 April 1915), Dépot légal 597/1915; Les fourberies de pingouin at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3761, Gaumont Hallmark (18 April 1916), Dépot légal 708/1916; Le sosie at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3647, Gaumont Hallmark (15 April 1915), Dépot légal 595/1915; L’escapade de filoche at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3633, Gaumont Hallmark (22 March 1915), Dépot légal 146/1915; La peine du talion at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3782, Gaumont Hallmark (18 July 1916), Dépot légal 1207/1916; Les fiançailles d’agénor at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3752, Gaumont Hallmark (31 March 1916), Dépot légal 579/1916; Mon oncle at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3827, Gaumont Hallmark (4 August 1917), Dépot légal 1909/1917; Si vous ne m’aimez pas at BNF, DAS, Dossier Gaumont scénarios G3783, Gaumont Hallmark (28 July 1916), Dépot légal 1550/1916.


Fescourt, La Foi, 90.


Synopsis Les fourberies de pingouin.

Synopsis Si vous ne m’aimez pas.

Synopsis Le collier de perles, printed in program flyer Gaumont Palace, Season 1914-1915, BNF, file RK 1033 bis.

Jacques Richard’s brief acting descriptions in the 1895 special issue on Feuillade shows that, in fact, most of the members of his troupe had stage acting or dancing experience. Richard, “Une Troupe,” 237-68.


Richard, “Une Troupe,” 251; D’Hugues and Marmin, Le Muet, 73.


See also: Levesque “Par lui-même,” 6.
163 See: advertisements for les fourbières de pingouin Ciné-Journal, 20 May 1916, 11; for les fiançailles d’Agénor Ciné-Journal, 27 May 1916, 26; for la peine du talion Le Film, 25 November 1916, 4; and for lagourdette gentleman cambrioleur Le Film, 2 December 1916, 4.
164 In addition, Levesque performed at the Théâtre Michel, the Comédie Marigny, the Gaiété, as well as at the Ba-ta-clan, in a vaudeville play by Cottens and Veber, La Dame du Commissaire and the Théâtre Albert 1er in a crime story adapted to the stage by Yves Mirande. For Levesque’s further career, see: D’Hugues and Marmin, Le Muet, 73, and Richard, “Une Troupe,” 251-52.
165 See: the Gaumont advertisement announcing Nouvelle Série de Vaudevilles in Ciné-Journal, 20 May 1916, 10 and idem listing all his ciné-vaudevilles produced so far in CÉCR, 11 August 1916, 4, as well as in Le Film, 12 August 1916, back page. The accent aigu on the first “e” was only rarely used, for which reason I have chosen to write his name without it.
168 Guillaume Danvers, “La Présentation hebdomadaire,” Le Film, 18 November 1916, 18.
169 Edmond Floury, “Gaumont. débrouille-toi!. Cinévaudeville,” LCC, 8 September 1917, III; “Film,” “Courrier de l’Étranger. La Suisse,” CÉCR, 19 October 1917, 2.
170 Louis Delluc, “Notes pour moi,” Le Film, 12 November 1917) and “Le cinéma existe,” Le Film, 5 November 1919, reprinted in: Delluc and L’herminier, Cinéma et Cie, 153 and 264, respectively.
173 Lacassin, Maître, 311.
174 Ibid., 310-11.
175 A prominent moralist was Ballot, who in, Hebedo-Film, signed the section “Échos et indiscretions” and who wrote against the crime films in Hebedo-Film, 1, 3, and 8 April 1916, 3. Hebedo-Film’s editor-in-chief André de Reusse openly disputed Ballot’s vision in his editorials and opening articles. Other adepts of the moralist stance included Gustave Féry, film critic of L’Oeuvre, J. Ernest-Charles of L’Opinion, and Edouard Julia of Excelsior.
177 [Louis Feuillade], synopsis Mon oncle, LCC, 25 August 1917, IV.
180 See: Le Film, 2 December 1916, 4; Ciné-Journal, 2 December 1916, 23; and CÉCR, 8 December 1916, 5.
Except for the advertisements for *Tu n'épouseras jamais un avocat*, none of those for the *ciné-vaudevilles* listed her name. Sometimes, she was present in the stills, as in those for *la peine du talion* and *mon oncle*.

Program flyer *Pie... Ouit!* in *La Pie qui Chante* in September 1916, BNF, DAS, RO 18420. Likewise, she was on the top of the bill in *La grande revue sensationelle* in the Concert Mayol in July 1917 as well as in the revues *Comme une fleur* in the Théâtre des Capucines in January 1918 and *La Cigale réchante* in *La Cigale* in April 1919. BNF, DAS, RO 18449, 18468 and 18502.


The scene was mentioned in Interim, “Les nouveautés de la semaine,” 5.

Lacassin, *Maître*, 311. Both films were released in December 1916.

A still from *la peine du talion*, in which Levesque pulls her hair up and she makes an extremely surprised face, suggests that she used physical comedy at other occasions. See: advertisement Gaumont in *Ciné-Journal*, 25 November 1916), 34. The still has been reprinted in Lacassin, *Maître*, 132, but there it has been ascribed to another *ciné-vaudeville*, incorrectly so, apparently.

Feuillade continued making serials until his death in 1925.

In April 1916, Musidora acted in the costume in Jean Bastia’s revue “C’est maouspoilpoil” at the Scala; in October 1917 she reappeared in it in a sketch that she wrote, “Le maillot noir”, and staged at the Théâtre Saint-Denis; in November 1917, she wore the suit in the revue “C’est une affaire” at the Gaité-Rochechouart and, in December of that same year, in the music-hall’s next revue with the telling title “Le dernier exploit de la vampire”, in which she also appeared in a pink bodysuit. Likewise, she wore a silver-gray suit in a transvestite role at La Cigale, in the revue “La Cigale rechante” that premiered on 23 April 1919.

Förster, “De verering van een schim,” 25.


The sessions on Feuillade are most notably CRH 068 and 069. Musidora occasionally—but each time very briefly—mentioned two of the films she directed and produced, *pour don carlos* (BiFi, CRH 037) and *soleil et ombre* (BiFi, CRH 051).


198 Ibid., 40.

199 Ibid., 85.

200 Ibid., 92.


208 Musidora’s top-right signature on the poster as it is displayed in the film suggests that it was her own design.

209 Video released by Waterbearer Film.

210 See: Levesque, “Cinq ans,” 6 about hotel de la gare.

211 Musidora speaking at the 4 April 1952 session of the CRH, according to the minutes CRH 070, 37-38, held at the BiFi.

212 As Nathalie Leplongeon has argued in her highly illuminating analysis of the narrative organization of *les vampires*, this direct address is not the remnant of an earlier mode of cinematic representation, but a choice of aesthetics and communication that brings the film in line with popular narrative arts like serial novels, vaudeville plays, and melodramas. She considers the device a cinematic transcription of the contact and the complicity with the audience established by such popular arts. See: Nathalie Leplongeon, “*Les Vampires* de Feuillade, une logique de transition,” in: Jean A. Gilli, Michèle Lagny, Michel Marie, Vincent Pinel (eds), *Les vingt premières années du cinéma français* (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle 1995), 268.


Musidora interviewed by Jean Thévénot for RSR (18 November 1947).

Lacassin writes that it was designed by the couturier Paul Poiret, but does not disclose his source for this information (*Maître*, 208). Musidora indeed wore designs by Poiret, who, moreover, belonged to Colette’s circle of friends. In addition, the suit would have matched Poiret’s interests, because his creations are well-known for liberating the woman’s body from the corset and for using smooth, flowing, and elastic materials in underwear instead. To my knowledge, however, Musidora never mentioned Poiret’s design of the suit.


Napierkowska switched to film around the same time as she performed at the above prestigious places, that is to say, around 1909, when she was invited by SCAGL-director Albert Capellani. At Gaumont, she worked with Feuillade and Jacques Feyder. In 1921, she played the protagonist of the legendary *L’Atlantide* by Jacques Feyder, to which I will return.

This artistic standard was set by Loïe Fuller, who, since 1892, had presented her dance acts at the Folies-Bergère. “La Dance Serpentine” and “La Dance du Feu” were neither routine nor regular dance, but compositions of bodily movements, flowing veils, and choreographed colors, in which the eye was attracted to the performance of physical strength and ephemeral beauty. See: Giovanni Lista, *Loïe Fuller. Danseuse de la Belle Époque* (Paris: Éditions Stock 1994).

See, for a discussion of this tradition: Dall’Asta, “Il costume nero,” 164-81.

Abel, *Ciné*, 367 mentions that it was missing. I had a chance to view the print as restored by Cinémathèque française in 1998 and shown at Il Cinema Ritrovato in Bologna 1999. This print runs 1059 meters or 45 minutes screening time and is probably incomplete. It was shown again at the same festival in 2010, together with *Zigomar Peau d’anguille* (a print from the British Film Institute National Archive) in the program “Le donne aventurose del muto” curated by Mariann Lewinsky and Monica Dall’Asta.


Guérin reported that Feuillade gave him full freedom in framing and lighting. See: CRH 069 (24 November 1951) and Sadoul, *Histoire générale*, 198 (footnote).

There is a fan letter from a soldier with a drawing of Irma Vep in her suit in which the pubic hair shines through the cloth. See: *Lettres d’admirateurs à Musidora 1915-1919*, Fonds Musidora, BiFi Paris. See also Förster, “De verering van een schim,” 14.

In the session of the CRH devoted to *Les Vampires* and Feuillade, Musidora explained that she never saw the film in the cinema in the 1910s, because she was too busy working, acting for the camera, and rehearsing stage performances in daytime, and performing on stage at night. BiFi, CRH 056 (30 June 1948).

Abel, *Ciné*, 367.

M.P. Sales agency advertised in March 1915 that *The Hazards of Helen*, starring Helen Holmes, was available for exhibition. See: *Ciné-Journal*, 15 March 1915, 20. October that year the advance of Pearl White, also known as Elaine Dodge, set off with *Les Mystères de New York* (The Mysteries of New York), a compilation of *The Exploits of Elaine*, *The New Exploits of Elaine*, and *The Romance of Elaine* made for the French market. The French title played up the association with the 1842 serialized novel *Les Mystères de Paris* by Eugène Sue. The first American serials, with Kathlyn Williams, had reached France a few months before the war broke out, according to Albert Bonneau, “Le Film à épisodes,” *Cinémagazine*, 27 July 1923, 125, and Selig advertised them in *Ciné-Journal* of May 1914. In the USA, the serial queen vogue dated from the early 1910s, and was at its peak by the mid-1910s.

Musidora interviewed by Jean Thévénot for RSR (18 November 1947).

André de Ruesse, “Encore une censure?...,” *Hebdo-Film*, 27 May 1916, 2.


“Échos, Informations, Communiqués,” *Le Film*, 17 March 1916, 22.


Ibid.

Le Voyeur, “Les Films de la semaine,” (1 April 1916), 4


According to Lacassin, the production period of *Les Vampires* ran from the third week of August 1915 through the first of March 1916. (*Maître*, 204)

The earliest mention of the publication that I have come across was in the rubric “Échos, Informations, Communiqués,” *Le Film*, 15 April 1916, 23.


For an overview of papers appearing and reappearing during the war, see: Abel, *French Film Theory and Criticism*, 95.

See: Le Voyeur’s review of *LES EXPLOITS D’ELAINE* in “Les Films de la Semaine,” *Hebdo-Film*, 22 July 1916, 9-10 and Musidora’s own story “Le Moyen” in which she gave her fictional alter ego the telling name Pearl Dora (*Le Film*, 23 September 1918, 5-6).


Ibid., 290.

Musidora, “La Vie d’une Vamp.”


Ibid., 289.


Musidora, “Mes projets.”

Callahan, *Zones of Anxiety*, 91-103.

Ibid., 95.

For this reason, Callahan sees in Daisy a reference to the American serial-queens (*Zones of Anxiety*, 103).


Musidora, “Mes projets.”


Supplement à *Hebdo-Film*, 20 July 1918, 2 and 15 March 1919.


276 André de Ruesse, “Présentation Pathé,” *Hebdo-Film*, 19 March 1919, 12.


279 Early December 1916, Minne was advertised as newly released in three trade papers: *Ciné-Journal*, 2 December 1916, 41, *Hebdo-Film*, 2 December 1916, 11, and *Le Film*, 2 December 1916, 9. The latter two mentioned Musidora as the lead actress and Films Lumina as the production company, yet none specified a director. Neither did any of the follow-up advertisements in *Le Film*, 23 December 1916, 10 and in *Ciné-Journal*, 13 January 1917, 18, after which the title vanished from the Films Lumina advertisements. None of these papers, moreover, ran reviews of the film, neither was it mentioned in a 1918 overview article on Jacques de Baroncelli, director of Lumina Films and, according to Lacassin, also of Minne. See: Arlechino, “Monsieur Jacques de Baroncelli. Compositeur de Films,” *La Cinématographie Française*, 23 November 1918, 10-11. Musidora used omitted the title from her self-presentations, so that Lacassin’s conclusion (*Musidora*, 495) that the film was either never made or never finished, seems justified.

280 The French term *scénario* refers to plot outline, while *adaptation* rather refers to scenario.

281 In her retrospective radio lectures and article on Colette, Musidora claimed the co-adaptation and co-direction of *La Flamme Cachée*. To underpin her point, she cited from articles in *Le Monde* and *Le Théâtre* of 2 November 1918, but not from any film periodicals, which, moreover, did not pick up the news. Musidora, “Colette et le Cinéma Muet,” *L’Écran français*, 13 February 1950, 8-9; reprinted in Cazals, *La dixième muse*, 195-99.


283 Advertisement Union-Éclair in *LCC*, 3 April 1920, 15.

284 Ibid.


286 According to Tami Williams, Dulac’s first article on cinema was “Mise en scène,” *Filma*, 15-31 July 1918, 2, reprinted from *Le Film*, 19 November 1917. See:


288 See: Virmaux (eds.), Colette at the Movies, 13 and 20. Colette stopped writing for Le Film because there was no money in it; she was succeeded by Louis Delluc, who was almost immediately appointed editor-in-chief of the paper.

289 Virmaux (eds.), Colette at the Movies, 59.

290 Ibid.

291 See, for an excellent overview of the various positions of critics and aspirations of filmmakers of the time and the overlaps and the divergencies in their views: Abel, French Film Theory and Criticism, 95-124, and for an historical reassessment of the convoluted uses of the term then and later, Frank Kessler, “Foto-genie en fysionomie,” Versus, 1 (1991), 64-80.


293 Ibid., 69-70.

294 Ibid., 71-2.

295 Abel, French Film Theory and Criticism, 110.


297 Ibid., 8.


299 Musidora, “Petit cours,” 1.

300 Ibid.

301 Ibid.

302 Abel, French Film Theory and Criticism, 110.


304 Cinéa was a deluxe weekly, modelled after the prestigious Comoedia Illustre, which, according to Abel, (French Film Theory and Criticism, 197), for at least a year and a half after its inception on 6 May 1921, functioned as the primary forum of debate on independent film art in France.

305 Cinéa, 8 July 1921, n.p. The photograph was reprinted in Legrand, Chronique, 191.

306 The dog was Musidora’s own and it also plays a small comic part in Musidora’s film POUR DON CARLOS, after the novel by Pierre Benoit, which I shall discuss.
shortly. According to Lacassin, Musidora, 483, its name was Lacosalé, after Benoits novel Le Lac salé, which Musidora intended to adapt to the screen as well, but the project never materialized.

307 Louis Delluc, “Metteurs en scène français,” in: Louis Delluc and Lherminier, Cinéma et Cie, 124; originally published in Le Film, 1 October 1917.

308 Louis Delluc, “JUDEX (Bruxelles)” in: Delluc and Lherminier, Cinéma et Cie, 92; originally published in Paris-Midi, 6 July 1919. Delluc is not very consistent in his judgment, because, in the previous year, he had applauded JUDEX for its innovative imagery, beautiful landscapes, modernist set-dressing, and for the comic character of Cocantin as played by Levesque. See: his “Notes pour moi” in: Delluc and Lherminier, Cinéma et Cie, 177, originally published in Le Film, 29 April 1918. Delluc did not write anything specific on LES VAMPIRES, and may not even have seen it, because his interest in film emerged in the fall of 1916, after having seen THE CHEAT, while LES VAMPIRES had closed its first run early that summer. His crusade, as can be concluded in retrospect, predominantly concerned the serials made by Feuillade after JUDEX.


310 Musidora, “Mes projets.” In 1919, after Delluc had left Le Film, the periodical turned from a weekly into a monthly.

311 V. Guillaume-Danvers, “Musidora,” Cinémagazine, 22 July 1921, 7

312 “On dit que...,” Filma, 1 December 1919, 7.

313 Lacassin, Musidora, 474 notes that he had been unable to retrieve official documents for the company’s establishment.

314 Ibid.


316 Ibid.

317 Ibid.

318 Nyctalope, “Union-Éclair,” La Cinématographie française, 17 April 1920, 60.


320 Musidora, “Vicenta,” 207.

321 Lacassin, Musidora, 475.

322 Musidora, “Mes projets.”

323 That is to say, this is how one plot summary depicts the character, which, moreover, seems to correlate with Musidora’s view on it. See: André de Reusse, “Les Présentations. Union-Éclair,” Hebdo-Film, 3 April 1920, p. 4.

324 Lacassin, Musidora, 475-76 cites from a Nice newspaper, and from an article by Delluc in his Le Journal du Ciné-Club. The latter periodical was, according to Abel, French Film Theory and Criticism, 197, an inexpensive and unpretentious alternative to Le Film. Le Film itself and most other film periodicals that I have examined, did not run a review of VICENTA. The reviews cited by Lacassin were highly critical of the film, most notably on its intelligibility, whereas the review
from the trade paper *La Cinématographie française* was mild on that point and stated that there were better scenarios but also worse ones. Cazals, *La dixième muse*, 75 summarizes one single, favorable, assessment of Musidora’s acting and the film’s imagery published in *L’Œuvre*, yet without reference details.

I thank Frank Kessler for making me aware of the rediscovery of a nitrate print of this film at the Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC), Bois d’Arcy, France, in a deposit from the Cinémathèque de Toulouse.

Jean-Luc Croze announced the intended adaptation to film of Benoit’s novel, including crew and cast, in his column “Informations” in *Comoedia*, 17 April 1919, 3. According to Lacassin, *Musidora*, 495, *VICENTA* was shot in July, August and September 1919.

Musidora, “Comment j’ai tourné POUR DON CARLOS,” *Lectures pour tous*, undated and unpaginated clipping, private collection. In this text, she mentions a friend who introduces her to Benoit. Without disclosing his name, she answers him (in a dialogue format) that she knows *L’Atlantide* to be filmed. This is a more extensive account of how she came to shoot the film than the excerpts from it published under the same title in the women’s magazine *Ève*, 30 January 1921), 10. The unnamed friend was probably Feyder, who is reported to have wanted Musidora for his film but was forced to cast Stacia de Napierkowska in her place (Abel, *The First Wave*, 156). Musidora knew Feyder from her Gaumont time, as she acted in his parody on serials *LE PIED QUI ÉTREINT* (The Foot that Clutches, 1916) and apparently was still in touch with him, as she was with other Gaumont filmmakers, including Marcel L’Herbier and Henri Fescourt. See also: Marcel L’Herbier, *La Tête qui tourne* (Paris: Éditions Pierre Belfond 1979), 20-21; Fescourt, *La Foi*, 95. I thank Theodore van Houten for bringing L’Herbier’s autobiography to my attention.

The novel was published in June 1920 by Albin Michel. Since his debut in 1918, Pierre Benoit (1886-1962) used to write one novel a year (with the exception of 1943-1947), all romance and adventure stories, with a heroine whose name invariably had the initial A. See: Bernard Vialatte (President of the Association des Amis de Pierre Benoit), “Pierre Benoit, écrivain français et académicien dans le calme du Quercy qu’il a tant aimé” at: http://www.quercy.net/hommes/pbenoit.html and http://www.roman-davontures.info/auteurs/france/francais2.htm.

Musidora, “Mes projets.”


Musidora, and, in 1951, invited her to visit Gent. (Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, Dossier Musidora).


334 Musidora, “Comment j’ai tourné,” and Lacassin, Musidora, 480. Based on correspondence now irretrievable, Lacassin assumes that Musidora initially felt a bit overruled by this demand, but, as indeed her published accounts attest to, eventually happily accepted the contribution as it did not hamper her project; moreover, she assigned De Lasuen/Lasseyne as the co-director for her next film, SOLEIL ET OMBRE.

335 Musidora, “Comment j’ai tourné.”


338 Ibid., 96.

339 Ibid., 102, D’Hugues and Marmin, Le Muet, 92. By 1921, when Fabris performed in the Jaques Charles revue Avec le Sourire at the Casino de Paris, the culte du maillot gave way to veritably nude dancers. Jaques Charles had introduced the nude dancer at the music-hall in 1919, although he regretted the “innovation” in retrospect. See: Chauveau and Sallée, Music-hall et café-concert, 27 and 133.

340 Lacassin, Musidora, 495.

341 Abel, French Film Theory and Criticism, 96.


344 Abel, The First Wave, 96.

345 Musidora, “Comment j’ai tourné.”

346 See, for a discussion of films set in various southern French regions: Abel’s chapter in The First Wave (94-138).

347 Musidora, “Comment j’ai tourné.”


349 Both Lacassin (Musidora, 495) and Cazals (La dixième muse, 214) give 2400 meters for the film’s length, without specifying if this concerns the initial or the revised cut. According to a short notice by André de Reusse, “Agence Générale Cinématographique. Pour Don Carlos,” Hebdo-Film, 22 October 1921, 57, the released print measured 2000 metres. The information that the film was shortened by one fifth is derived from Legrand, Chronique, 188; if indeed, the length
given by Lacassin and Cazals concerns the initial cut. Projected at a speed of 18 frames per second, 2400 meters would take 127 minutes screening time, that is to say, a bit over two, but not nearly three hours, as Lacassin (Musidora, 481) and Cazals (La dixième muse, 82) unanimously suggest.

This length was measured on the editing table when I viewed the unrestored nitrate print in March 2001 at the CNC. To my regret, I have never been able to see the film in projection, let alone with musical accompaniment. Neither was a video copy of it available for closer scrutiny. Another print of the film held at the Cinémathèque française was not available for research, but I was notified (by telephone in May 2001), that it was more incomplete and had no intertitles at all.

Scenario pour don carlos, BiFi, Fonds Musidora B1 (3).

Musidora, “Comment j’ai tourné “Don Carlos”,” Ève, 30 January 1921, 10. The painter was Guy Amont, according to this article, but a publicity leaflet held at the BNF, DAS (code 4RK 7565) assigns it to Pierre Labrouche. It represents a mountain village, with a church and white timbered houses. According to Jean-Louis Meunier, who has published and annotated Musidora’s radio lectures on the writer Pierre Louys, Labrouche was a painter and etcher from Bayonne, a town in the Basque Pyrenees, and a friend of Musidora’s. See: Musidora, Souvenirs sur Pierre Louys (Muizon: Éditions “À L’Écart” 1984), 32 (footnote 10).

De Ruesse made the remark, as well as Colette, in a private note to Musidora quoted in Lacassin (Musidora, 483). But Colette may have responded to the initial cut, as she also asks if the film had been shortened already.

Musidora to Johan Daisne, cited by Daisne in “Souvenirs gantois,” 4.

Musidora interviewed by Jean Thévénot for RSR.

Germaine Dulac’s 1928 adaptation of a Benoit novel in her film la princesse mandane (Princess Mandane) likewise has two women leave the man who loves them both and take off together, albeit it does not constitute the very end of the film, but of a dream. A rare opportunity to watch this film was the 2002 retrospective of all extant films by Dulac: both her well-known avant-garde work and her extensive popular oeuvre to which la princesse mandane belongs. The retrospective was organized by the Kinothek Asta Nielsen in Frankfurt am Main.

“Pour Don Carlos,” Cinéa, 16 December 1921, 5.

Musidora to Pierre Benoit, undated, cited in Cazals La dixième muse, 79-80.

Lucien Wahl, “Pour don Carlos,” Cinéa, 28 October 1921, 15.

Quoted in Lacassin, Musidora, 483.

Colette to Musidora, ibid.

The print does not contain a single moment representing Lucille’s view on things, or a scene explaining her instantaneous commitment to the cause and unconditional closeness to Allégria. Neither did the novel, as one critic pointed out, “Pierre Benoit. Pour Don Carlos,” Le Film, June 1920, n.p.
The action unfolds as follows: Allégria slaps a soldier and a lieutenant in the face; she is then pushed down by the latter, who, thereafter, gets stabbed by Maypur. A possible explanation would be that the situation is hopeless and that the men are ready to give up, whereas she orders them to hold out; another explanation could be that she has gotten angry for not finding Olivier. The unrestored nitrate print does not, or no longer, contain indications for what the narrative logic may have been.

Scenario pour don carlos; “Pour Don Carlos,” 5.


“Ibid.”

“Pour Don Carlos,” 7.

According to Lacassin (Musidora, 495), Musidora and Lasseyne made a short in between the two feature films, una aventura de musidora en españa (An Adventure of Musidora in Spain), which was intended and shown as an introduction to a play, but which is not known to survive. A print of soleil et ombre is held at the Cinémathèque française.

Abel, The First Wave, 153. Other Spanish films mentioned by Abel are la fête espagnole (The Spanish Feast, 1920), directed by Germaine Dulac from a scenario by Delluc, and, most notably, the box-office hit el dorado (1921), directed by a friend of Musidora’s, Marcel L’Herbier.

In 1920-21, when Musidora became acquainted with Antonio Cañero/Baena (1885-1952), he was the owner of a “ganaderia” (bull breeding farm) and practiced bull fighting only at benefit festivities. In 1922, the year that soleil et ombre was made, Cañero began his career as a professional rejoneador, which he pursued until his retirement in 1936. He was the second most famous bull fighter of Cordoba behind the legendary Manolete (Manuel Rodriguez Sanchez). See: Museo Taurino, Cordoba, and http://www.ayuntcordoba.es/ayunta/html/ilus/canero.htm.

See, for instance, Agustín Jurado: “Musidora y Antonio,“ El Dia de Cordoba, 16 May 2010, Torí Caravaca, “Anonio Cañero, rejoneador y actor,” El Mundo, 12 May 2010 and M. Roso, “Cañero, rejoneo de cine,“ ABC, 9 May 2010. These articles were written on the occasion of a program of Musidora’s films with Cañero presented by the Cineteca de Andalucía. The latter article also points out the sites where the film was shot.

Also Callahan included the publicity still of this shot in her Zones of Anxiety, 115. Her caption erroneously states that it shows Juana imprisoned.

Maria Star was the nom de plume of the writer, art collector, and Maecenas baroness Ernesta Stern, who presided over a literary salon in Paris that was frequented by illustrious artists such as the writer Marcel Proust, the composers Reynaldo Hahn and Gabriel Fauré, the paintress Madeleine Lemaire, and the
soprano Lina Cavallieri. The style of her novels was said to be vivid and clear, with a novel imagination and a moving knowledge of the human soul. See: Jean Bouscatel, “Ernesta Stern/Maria Star Chévalier de la Légion d’Honneur,” Ève, 17 October 1920, 3 and André de Fouquières, “Mme Ernesta Stern,” www.apo phetegme.com/ROULE/stern.pdf.

Publicity booklet SOLEIL ET OMBRE, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, Fonds Johan Daisne, Dossier Musidora.

Lacassin, Musidora, 486.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=52ut-CBSGBg.

Musidora, “Grandes enquêtes d’Ève: Comment je suis devenue ‘Torera,’” Ève (September 28, 1924), clipping in scrapbook “Musidora,” BNF, DAS, Biographie-Critique (RT 9736).

It has often been suggested that Musidora’s fascination with bull fighting stemmed from Louis Feuillade, who was an aficionado as well. On the basis of the interview in Ève, however, I doubt this, because Musidora explained that she had had to learn the passion: “It is a passion which begins with abomination, abhorrence, anxiety, and which results in enthousiasm and the most immense excitement.”


For instance, chapter 24, p 177-193 cites diary fragments, and Musidora explains in a footnote that they follow Flora’s notes to the letter, but the friends and the stage performances mentioned are Musidora’s; chapter 25 is set in Bois-Le-Roi, where Musidora’s mother lived and her father Jacques Roques was buried as described on p. 206; and chapter 26 is dedicated in a footnote on p. 207 to Clément Marot, Musidora’s husband at the time when she wrote the novel.

Lacassin, Musidora, 488-9; Cazals, La dixième muse, 87-8.

Musidora, Paroxysmes, 179.


Callahan, Zones of Anxiety, 113.


María Camí-Vela, “Mujeres, toreros e identidad en el cine español: Sol y sombra (1922) de Musidora,” in: Consejería de Cultura y XI Congreso de la Asociación Española de Historiadores de Cine (eds.) Savia nutricia. El lugar del realismo en el Cine Español II (Córdoba: Filmoteca Andaluza 2006), 43-46. The print is held at the Filmoteca española in Madrid and bears the title L’ESPAGNOLA.

This may be a consequence of some historical fallacies put forward by Callahan and reproduced by Camí-Vela, which need correction because they concern Musidora’s filmmaking practice and the functions she took in it. Callahan
suggests that Musidora directed ten films, only two of which are known to be extant today, SOLEIL ET OMBRE and LA TERRE DES TAUREAUX. (“Screening Musidora,” 59, Zones of Anxiety, 112.) As my research shows, POUR DON CARLOS also survives, and this latter film, as well as SOLEIL ET OMBRE, were co-directed by Jacques Lasseyne. Although it is hard to distinguish this co-director’s contributions, there is no reason to doubt that they have been significant, because Musidora chose to work with him again after their first joint effort, and because she attributed the full direction to him in the contemporary publicity, however incomprehensible this may seem in retrospect. Of the lost seven titles, only two feature films can, more or less safely, be attributed to Musidora as their director or co-director, namely VICENTA (direction) and LA FLAMME CACHÉE (co-direction with Roger Lion), while LA MAGIQUE IMAGE was a short homage to Louis Feuillade directed by Musidora in 1950. Camí-Vela (“Mujeres, toreros,” 43 note 2) further lists, on the basis of Lacassin’s filmography, but without the due cautions this historian has put forward, the feature films MINNE, which, as we have seen, most likely was never made; MAM’ZELLE CHIFFON, which was directed by André Hugon; and LA VAGABONDE, which was directed by Eugenio Perego. As noted before, LE MAILLOT NOIR was a filmed insert in a sketch in a revue and UNA AVENTURA DE MUSIDORA EN ESPAÑA was a filmed introduction to a stage performance.

388 Lucien Wahl, “Soleil et Ombre,” Cinéa, 20 November 1922, 7, Anonymous, “Présentations,” Ciné-Journal vol. 16, 12 August 1922, 26. 389 “Les Présentations,” Hebdo-Film, 12 August 1922, 24. This particular title, however, misses from the surviving print. 390 Vicki Callahan, “Screening Musidora,” 75-76. 391 Lacassin, Musidora, 489. As Lacassin told me, there was no film print accessible at the time of his research. I have also found no reviews, only two very brief announcements written by Musidora to Cinémagazine, 26 October 1923, 145 and 11 April 1924), 67, and the above cited text by Musidora as part of the five-page publicity folder with pictures tied in in Ève. 392 Callahan, “Screening Musidora,” 76. 393 Ibid., 59. 394 Ibid., 75. 395 Ibid., 76. 396 See also: “Musidora nous écrit,” Cinémagazine, 11 April 1924, 67. 397 Scenario LA TERRE DES TAUREAUX, BiFi, Fonds Musidora, Boîte 1 (3). 398 This may have been intended for live performance. 399 All titles with her first person narrative, moreover, have a first letter richly decorated with drawings, whereas the other titles are plain text. 400 See: http://www.flickr.com/photos/confetta. I thank Ivo Blom for drawing my attention to existence of this postcard.


**NELL SHIPMAN ON THE AMERICAN POPULAR STAGE**


2 Nell Shipman, *The Silent Screen and My Talking Heart: An Autobiography*, 3rd edition (Boise, Idaho: Hemingway Western Studies Centre, Boise State University, 2001), 23-24. (Hereafter: *Screen&Heart*). In these memoirs, Shipman alternates between the first and the third person when referring to herself.

3 Ibid., 21.

4 Ibid., 20.

5 Kay Armatage, *The Girl from God’s Country. Nell Shipman and Silent Cinema* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto, 2003) 53, writes in the biographical timeline that the family migrated to the United States in 1904. Tom Trusky notes that Arnold Foster Barham was a resident of Victoria, British Columbia, between 1891 and 1898 (*Screen&Heart*, 165-66, note 1.) See also: Shipman’s curriculum vitae, held in The Nell Shipman Archive in the Albertsons Library at Boise State University (hereafter: NSA), MSS 81, Box 1, Folder 2. In the unpublished first part of her autobiographical novel *Abandoned Trails*, “She Bear”, Shipman indicates that the move to the vicinity of Seattle took place when she was nine years old, that is to say, in 1901. NSA, MSS 81, Box 6, Folder 1, 37.

6 Her name was mentioned in the announcement of an event organized by the school in 1906. See: “Christmas in Stageland,” *Seattle Star*, 25 December 1906. See also *Screen&Heart*, 5.


9 *Screen&Heart*, 5.

10 Ibid., 19.

11 Nell Shipman, “Me,” *Photoplay*, February 1919, reprinted in: Nell Shipman, *Letters from God’s Country: Nell Shipman, Selected Correspondence and Writings, 1912-1970*, selected and edited by Tom Trusky, with the assistance of Alan Virta,

Shipman, “Me,” 324, and *Screen&Heart*, 14. In the unpublished first part of her autobiographical novel *Abandoned Trails*, Shipman mentions performances in Idaho, Montana, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, and Connecticut. NSA, MSS 81, Box 6, Folders 1, 56 and 60.


Nell Shipman, “Fade In,” unpublished autobiographical manuscript (which, given the address on it, was probably written in 1962), 6; NSA, Box 5, Folder 1.


*Screen&Heart*, 19.

Letter from the Alaska Historical Library to Nell Shipman upon her requesting the exact dates of her sojourn in Alaska, dated 24 May 1968; NSA, MSS 81, Box 1, Folder 41.


*Screen&Heart*, 22.

Ibid., 21.


Ibid. 13.

“Grand,” *Deseret Evening News*, 8 February 1910, reissued at UDNP.

Walker O’Loughlin, “Amusements,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, 14 February 1910, reissued at UDNP.
MSS 81, Box 3, Folder 18, as having occasioned the loss of the press books of BACK TO GOD’S COUNTRY; secondly, when she left everything behind in Priest Lake, Idaho in December 1924; and thirdly, the trunks with memorabilia stolen from her home in Cabazon, California on the day of her funeral, in January 1970. See: Alan Virta, introduction to The Nell Shipman Collection, at: http://library.boisestate.edu/Special/FindingAids/fa81.htm and Tom Trusky’s note 151 to her memoirs, 187.

Nell Shipman, “This Little Bear Went Hollywood,” Good Housekeeping, January 1931, 30-31 and 168-71 (photocopy in NSA, MSS 81, Box 5, Folder 15); and “The Movie That Couldn’t Be Screened,” Atlantic Monthly, March 1925, 326-32, and April 1925, 477-82 (photocopy in NSA, MSS 81, Box 5, Folder 5).

Further autobiographical fiction includes the two Alaska novels about a stock company actress in the early 1900s, “Little Lost Lady” (NSA, MSS 81, Box 8, Folder 4, 5) and “The Naked North” (NSA, MSS 81, Box 8, Folder 6). See: Virta, “The Nell Shipman Collection.”


52 Further autobiographical fiction includes the two Alaska novels about a stock company actress in the early 1900s, “Little Lost Lady” (NSA, MSS 81, Box 8, Folder 4, 5) and “The Naked North” (NSA, MSS 81, Box 8, Folder 6). See: Virta, “The Nell Shipman Collection.”


55 Shipman’s letter, dated 12 October 1968, to the editor of The Classic Film Collector, Thomas Fullbright (NSA, MSS 81, Box 2, Folder 22), and her letter, dated 28 March 1968 to her friend Archibald Stone, quoted in: Barry Shipman, “Afterword,” 212, both mention the other books. For the date of completion, see ibid., 217, and the letter to his mother, 3 February 1969, which includes his rave review of her memoirs, reprinted in Shipman, Letters, 309-10.

56 Letter to Thomas Fullbright, 2 March 1969, NSA, MSS 81, Box 2, Folder 3.


58 Letter from Gordon Sparling to Nell Shipman, apparently citing her own words, quoted in: Barry Shipman, “Afterword,” 211.

59 The connection between writing against film-historic oblivion and the choice for a personal perspective from which to tell reminiscences has also been pointed out by Amelie Hastie in the memoirs of Alice Guy-Blaché. However, as Hastie shows, while Guy-Blaché opens her account rather humbly, the overall tone appears to be quite self-assured, claiming labor, positions, innovations, and films. See: Amelie Hastie, “Circuits of Memory and History. The Memoirs of Alice Guy-Blaché.” In: Jennifer M. Bean and Diane Negra, A Feminist Reader in Early Cinema (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2002), 35.

60 Screen&Heart, 49-50.
Ibid, 16.

Ibid., 2-3.

The advertisement displays six pictures of Shipman in leading roles. It is held in the NSA as a photo, donated by Shipman’s son Barry (NSA, Series VIII, Photos). It was originally published on the back cover of the NYDM, 28 October 1916.

Screen&Heart, 34.

See: “‘The Barrier’ here next Tuesday night,” Laramie Republican, 13 September 1911, reissued at UDNP. The article announces Helen Barham as Necia, but it is illustrated with a picture of Eleanor Haber. In subsequent performances Haber, invariably plays the role.

Screen&Heart, 32.

“Theatre,” Evening Standard Ogden, 2 March 1911, 2, reissued at UDNP.

Shipman, “Me,” 324: my emphasis.

I gathered the term Northwest drama from the generic indicators employed in the American Film Institute Catalog, in which most of the films adapted from stories by London, Beach, or Curwood are identified as being “drama” or “melodrama” in their main category and for further specification given the label “Northwest”. The catalog categorizes several Shipman films under these same rubrics.


Letter to Thomas Fulbright, 19 November 1968 (NSA, MSS 81, Box 2, Folder 22), on “Get the Woman,” also known as “M’sieu Sweetheart,” Shipman’s serialized novel in McGall’s Magazine, June to September 1930.

The internet page (at: http://www.litrix.com/sec11.htm) of the Litrix Reading Room lists, aside from seven titles by London, three titles by Beach and two by Curwood, as well as two by Robert Service—“the spellbinder of the Yukon”—and one by William Macleod Rain.


The first adaptation to film was done in 1914, by Colin Campbell for Selig, featuring Kathlyn Williams, William Farnum, and future BACK TO GOD’S COUNTRY actor Wheeler Oakman. See: Speelfilmencyclopedie 1992, 107; AFI Catalog and IMDb.

See: the Olin Library, “Rex Beach.”


I am aware that the expression “half-breed” is now perceived as offensive, but I will retain it in this text—between quotation marks—because of its historic and racial specificity, that is to say it refers to the descent of a child from a Native American woman and a white man.

Wilson, *Three Hundred Years of American Drama*, 136, as quoted in Maguire, “Western American Drama,” 207.

Ibid.

*Screen&Heart*, 48.

The exception to this rule, in fact, is Curwood’s *God’s Country and the Woman*, but in this story the character is, as we shall see, completely dysfunctional in her role of the mother.


*Screen&Heart*, 32.

See: D.J. Turner, “Ernest Shipman: Some Notes,” *Griffithiana*, March-September 1992, 147-48; and *Screen&Heart*, 36. Trusky, in note 32 on p. 166, refers to a *Los Angeles Evening Herald* article of 1920 concerning their divorce for the information about the date of what was to be their first marriage, as well as about the second, which, for legal reasons, took place two years later.

Shipman, “She Bear,” 76.


*Screen&Heart*, 38.

Ibid., 36.

In a 1919 interview, Kimball Young recounted that, by 1908-1909, she was affiliated with the T. Daniel Frawley Stock Company in Seattle. This confirms Shipman’s memories of Kimball Young having played in town by the time Shipman
returned broke and very disheartened (Screen&Heart, 26).


98 IMDb. In 1915, after over 80 leads in Vitagraph films, including GOODNESS GRACIOUS opposite Sidney Drew (a satire on THE PERILS OF PAULINE), Kimball Young switched over to the World Film Corporation, with which she remained for two years. In 1916, she went independent, later making the transition to the talkies; she retired in 1943.


105 Screen&Heart, 38.

106 Ibid.

107 These were the seven-reelers THE COAST GUARD PATROL and THE TIGER OF THE SEA. See: D.J. Turner, “Nell Shipman Filmography”, Screen&Heart, 193-94.

108 “Ernest Shipman Secures Several New Productions,” MPW, 10 August 1918, 870.


110 Screen&Heart, 42. See also: IMDb and AFI Catalog, which claims that the feature was a documentary. The film was the directorial debut in cinema of the stage actor and director Norval MacGregor (1862-1933), who would direct over 20 films before 1927, including, for Selig, three James Oliver Curwood stories: SECOND CHILDHOOD (1914), CATS (1915), and THE LADY KILLER (1915). (See: the list of Curwood's films compiled by the Shiawassee District Library, at: http://www.
MacGregor’s screen acting debut, moreover, was in 1914, in *The Spoilers*, adapted from Rex Beach’s story, and by 1924 he had played in a dozen more films.

111 Shipman was hired to rework an earlier scenario. See: “To Revise Scenario”, *NYDM*, 4 December 1912, 30. *MPW* published a protest from one Harry A. Kelly, who claimed for his part to have written the scenario which “was faithfully followed from the start to the finish.” See: “Doings at Los Angeles,” *MPW*, 15 February 1913, 667.


### NELL SHIPMAN AND THE AMERICAN SILENT CINEMA


2 This company is mentioned in a report of Shipman’s doings and in an item on the search for a title for her second script for it, in *MPW*, 4 November 1916, 682, and 25 December 1915, 2373, respectively. I thank D.J. Turner for sharing this additional information with me.

3 Jon C. Mirsalis, “The Films of Lon Chaney, Sr.,” at: http://members.aol.com/ChaneyFan/filmog.htm, and “The Pine’s Revenge,” at: http://members.aol.com/ChaneyFan/66.htm; and *MPW*, 25 September 1915, 2062 and 2177. The screenplay was adapted from Shipman’s story “The King’s Keeper.” For the melody of love see J. Van Cartmell, “Along the Pacific Coast”, *NYDM* 9 September 1915, 30. The film was initially entitled “The Troubadour of El Dorado.”

4 “Giving Credit Where Credit is Due,” *MPW*, 12 March 1910, 269.

5 Ibid.


7 Shipman, “A Call to Arms,” 317.

8 Clipping held in NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 7.


12 “Represents Noted Authors,” *NYDM*, 8 January 1913, 27.

NOTES

1985), 146.

14 *Screen&Heart*, 41.


17 *MPW*, 27 March 1915, 1908.

18 Neither Trusky nor Turner has traced the copyright number. A notation in Shipman’s handwriting at the margin of the clipping reads: “1st movie N.S., 1st Prize, 1st Scenario Contest Ever Held. Tally was the judge.” Although Tally was a member of the jury, and Shipman indeed won first and second prizes at the Egan School contest, this was hardly the first scenario contest ever held, as such contests were already ubiquitous by 1912. None of the synopses from this series won a prize.

19 *Screen&Heart*, 42.


23 Denig, “Purple Iris,” 1271.

24 See: *NYDM*, 26 April 1911) 14, for the marriage date, and “Reflections,” *NYDM*, 3 April 1912, 10, for Ola Humphrey’s wish to regain her “American” freedom.


26 Ibid, xix-xx.

27 Ibid.

28 *Screen&Heart*, 39.

29 Denig, “Purple Iris,” 1271.

30 Further criticism was directed at the cinematography in the second episode, which rendered scenes “a little darker than was perhaps intended”, whereas the cinematography in the fourth episode was positively acclaimed. See: “Universal Film Mfg. Company, Specials,” *MPW*, 12 June 1915, 1779, and 26 June 1915, 2097.

31 Ibid., and Denig, “Purple Iris,” 1271.

32 “Universal Film, Specials,” 1779.

33 Barry Shipman’s letter to the Boise State University Library, 7 April 1988; NSA, MSS 81, Box 14, Folder 5.

See: “Nell Shipman Sails for West Indies,” *MPW*, 31 March 1917, 2112; and “Nell Shipman Returns from West Indies,” *MPW*, 7 July 1917, 99.

Nell Shipman, “The Last Empire,” cover sheet; NSA, MSS 81, Box 14, Folder 5.


Barry Shipman’s letter to the Boise State University Library, 7 April 1988. Capitalizations and quotation marks are his.

Shipman, “Last Empire,” second page.

Shipman, “Last Empire,” third page.

“Personal. Shipman,” 5.

Mabel Condon, “Pacific Coast Studio News and Gossip,” *NYDM*, 29 January 1916, 44. The revamping of the stage career concerned that she had been acting under the direction of Belasco and that she had been leading her own company in Alaska for two years. None of this seems to have happened.

“News of Los Angeles and Vicinity – Nell Shipman Leaves Vitagraph,” *MPW*, 9 November 1918; clipping held in NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 7; and “Nell Shipman is a Canadian,” *Canadian Moving Picture Digest*, 19 October 1918, 5; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 3.

See: *MPW*, 23 September 1916, 1985; and “Nell Shipman Returns from West Indies,” 99.

“Nell Shipman Independent,” *MPW*, 8 September 1917, 1558. The same declaration was printed some days earlier in “Nell Shipman Succeeds,” *NYDM*, 1 September 1917, 21.


*Screen&Heart*, 47-48.


55 Ibid., 34. (Her emphasis)
57 “News of Los Angeles and Vicinity,” MPW, 6 November 1915, 1057.
58 Paul Hubert Conlon, “In and Around the West Coast,” New York Clipper, 17 November 1915, 43.
64 “Stories of the Films – God’s Country and the Woman,” MPW, 6 May 1916, 1404. The adaptation diverged on one point: in the film, Jean, the “half-breed”, was killed in the fight with the villains, whereas in the novel he survived his injuries.
65 See, for instance: the full page advertisement for the film in MPW, 13 May 1916, 1108; and the advertisement for her second film with the company, THROUGH THE WALL, MPW, 30 September 1916.
66 Advertisement, MPW, 15 July 1916, 495.
68 “Nell Shipman Returns East,” MPW, 4 November 1916, 682.
69 See: MPW, 2 December 1916, 1334, and 10 February 1917, 853; and Turner, “Filmography,” 198.
70 “Nell Shipman Returns East,” 682.
71 Screen&Heart, 43.
72 Ibid., 44.
73 “A Jill of All Trades,” Photoplay, April 1917, 38; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 2.
74 Screen&Heart, 18.

“Two Large Feature Companies Combine,” *MPW*, 15 July 1916, 434; and see the Lasky Corporation’s advertisement ibid., 361.


See: Shipman, “Me,” 324.

This ranking was the result of a popularity poll in the fan-magazine *Motion Picture Magazine* of October 1914, as described and cited in Richard Koszarski, *An Evening’s Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915-1928* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 259. The list included both male and female stars, and the first five spots were filled as follows, in descending order: Earle Williams, Kimball Young, Pickford, J. Warren Kerrigan, and Fuller.


“Mary Fuller to Support Lou Tellegen,” *MPW*, 27 January 1917, 534.


George Blaisdell, “‘In the Power of the Hypnotist’: A Strong Three-Part Gauntier Players’ Picture Recently Released by Warner’s Features,” *MPW*, 1 November 1913, 499.


Quoted from the Solax advertisement in *MPW*, 1 November 1913, 548.

Quoted from the Universal advertisement in *MPW*, 19 June 1915, 1881.


*Screen&Heart*, 62.

IMDb.

Edward Weitzel reviewing the home trail, *MPW*, 6 April 1918, 130, and reviewing the girl from beyond, *MPW*, 20 April 1918, 587.

NOTES

96 Weitzel, “The Home Trail,” 130
97 Louis Reeves Harrison, “Up-to-Date Melodrama,” MPW, 13 April 1918, 216.
98 “Advertising Aids for Busy Managers,” MPW, 20 April 1918, 436.
99 Screen&Heart, 62-63.
100 Ibid.
102 See: Turner, “Filmography,” 200; and the release schedules in MPW, 13 September 1919, 1710.
103 Screen&Heart, i.
104 Screen&Heart, 63.
105 Hanford C. Judson, “‘Baree, Son of Kazan’: Remarkable Vitagraph Picture of the Far North – Will Surely Make a Sensation,” MPW, 8 June 1918, 1470.
107 The novel, Baree, Son of Kazan (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1917) has been reissued as a Project Gutenberg Etext at: http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/4748; for my discussion I have consulted a Dutch translation, De Zoon van Kazan (Amsterdam: De Geïllustreerde Pers, 1963).
108 This novel (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1919), is likewise available as a Project Gutenberg Etext, at: http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/4704.
109 I thank D.J. Turner for making a videotape of Nomads of the North available to me.
110 Screen&Heart, 58.
111 Ibid., 77.
112 “Nell Shipman is a Canadian,” Canadian Moving Picture Digest, 19 October 1918, 5.; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 3
113 Nell Shipman, “Abandoned Trails I,” 125-26; NSA, MSS 81, Box 6, Folder 2.
115 “Nell Shipman is a Canadian,” 5; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 3.
116 Screen&Heart, 63.
117 The entry “Women Filmmakers” (in Slide, The American Film Industry, 391-92) does not distinguish between filmmakers and producers, so the women’s film production companies go unnoticed in it. This is all the more surprising, as the same author had, in 1977, published one of the first, and for long afterwards still one of the very few, surveys of American women directors and producers of the silent era. See: Anthony Slide, Early Women Directors (South Brunswick: A.S. Barnes, 1977).

See: “Curwood and Nell Shipman Form Producing Company,” *MPW*, 9 November 1918, 678; and NSA, MSS 81, Box 2, Folder 13 for the original typewritten letter.


De Witt, “Frances Marion,” 74. Williams did, however, not go independent, but signed a non-exclusive contract with Paramount.

Reprinted in a 1920 collection of Curwood’s short stories, “Wapi, The Walrus” was re-baptized with the title of the film made from it, *Back to God’s Country: James Oliver Curwood, Back to God’s Country and Other Stories* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1920), 9-53. In the following citations I shall refer to its

132 Nell Shipman’s recovery was reported in *MPW*, 25 January 1919, 475. She also lost her mother to the influenza epidemic in those weeks.

133 “Nell Shipman Selects Two Canadian Stories,” *Canadian Moving Picture Digest*, 7 December 1918, 17.

134 “News of Los Angeles and Vicinity,” *MPW*, 16 November 1918, 728.


136 Ibid.

137 Ibid., 112.


139 See: the letter from the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan to Tom Trusky, stating that they hold material on only two of the films he asked for, viz., NOMADS OF THE NORTH and THE YELLOW-BACK; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 7.


141 *Screen&Heart*, 69.

142 Trusky in *Screen&Heart*, 171.

143 *Screen&Heart*, 69.

144 Ibid., 68.


146 Ibid., 36.

147 Letter from Curwood to Shipman.

148 Letter to Georgia B. McManis, her literary agent at the time, dated 8 September 1966; in: Shipman, *Letters*, 281.

149 Letter from Curwood to Shipman.

150 “Curwood Helped Produce ‘Back to God’s Country,’” *MPW*, 4 October 1919, 102.


152 See, for instance: *MPW*, 4 October 1919, NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 9; and 24 July 1920, 42.


154 “Animal Tracks Duplicated by Paint Brush Awaken Great Curiosity and Produce Good Results With the Box Office,” *MPW*, 20 December 1919, 992.

155 “James Oliver Curwood Forms His Own Company to Picturize His Own Novels,” *MPW*, 21 February 1920, 1243.
See: the advertisement in *MPW*, 22 May 1920, 1030; and “It was a Merry Holiday, Declares Ernie Shipman,” *MPW*, 10 January 1920, 272. The surviving print, too, introduces the film as being presented by the Curwood-Carver Company.

Ernest Shipman may have had a personal motive for devaluing his wife’s contributions to the production: Walker recounts (*Light*, 97) that Nell, earlier that year, had fallen in love with the film’s on-location business manager, Bert Van Tuyle, and was no longer making a secret of it after they returned from Lesser Slave Lake, following the filming of the winter scenes. The Shipmans separated on 18 April 1919, and the divorce was finalized in May 1920, according to both the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Evening Herald* (issues of 12 May 1920), reprinted in: Shipman, *Letters*, 327.


*Armatage, *Girl*, 78.*

*Shipman, *Trails*, 35.*

*Armatage, *Girl*, 96-97.*

*Ibid., 108.*

Tom Trusky also argues that the film cannot be considered as having been created by Shipman, in “The Light on Lookout: Racism, Homophobia & Utopia in the Films of Nell Shipman,” an unpublished paper, portions of which were presented at the Second International Conference Women and the Silent Screen, held at the University of California at Santa Cruz, November 2001, under the title “A Little Hand for the Villains: Same-Gender Touching in the Feature Films of Nell Shipman.”


The expression appears in title 10 of the film, but not in Curwood’s story.

Hence Dolores’ surname Lebeau, which would be later given to the villain in *Nomads of the North.*

*Title 11.*

*Screen&Heart*, 77. Of course, it is the girl who saves both the man and herself.

*Ibid., 80 and 81.*


*See: ibid., and *Screen&Heart*, 80. Shipman also recalled that Van Tuyle was directing the scene and that he whispered “cut” too early but that Walker “did not hear or went deaf in that ear”. See also: my discussion of a bear, a boy and a dog further on.*

*Back to God’s Country* was shot in 41 days between the middle of March and early June 1919, *Nomads of the North* between the end of April and the end
of June 1920. I owe this information to a letter of 24 November 2000 from D.J. Turner.

174 Ibid. Also see “Cyril Gardner (I)” in the IMDb.

175 See, for instance: the advertisement in MPW, 24 July 1920, 421.

176 Screen&Heart, 77. Trusky justly maintains in his note on p. 172, that Annette Kellerman’s nude scene in A DAUGHTER OF THE GODS dated from three years before Shipman’s.

177 Title 17.

178 Title 21.

179 Title 28.

180 Title 29.

181 Title 31.

182 Screen&Heart, 75.


184 Ibid., 113.

185 Title 6.

186 The expression “throwback” appears in both the story and the film’s intertitles; Curwood, “Wapi,” 17 and title 4.

187 Title 32.

188 Title 85, after Dolores has welcomed the dog at Fort Confidence: “Wapi – dear old Wapi – we’re going home – home – and you are going with us.” Likewise Curwood, “Wapi,” 109: “For Wapi, the Walrus, forty years removed from Tao of Vancouver, had at last come home.”

189 Ibid.

190 Titles 68 and 87, respectively.

191 Quoted from title 22, which ascribes the term to the writer Peter. In her memoirs, Shipman often uses the expression as well, for instance: “The make-believe came alive” (Screen&Heart, 63).


193 Title 81 reads: “Fighting at last the greatest of all fights – for a woman.”


195 Armatage, Girl, 108.

196 Early on, the titles inform the spectator that Wapi is “a white man’s dog in a brown man’s land” and an “alien without friends, hating the men who understand nothing of the magic of kindness and love;” and, later on in the film, they state that he is on “the trail of the white woman—the first friend Wapi the Killer has ever known,” aware of “the swift-approaching menace of the men and beasts he hates.”

197 Title 56.


199 Screen&Heart, 69.

Shipman, “Me,” 325.


Ibid., 109.

Ibid., 96.

Bean, “Technologies,” 47.

Ibid., 45.

Ibid., 46.

Shipman clarified: “The Honey Stick was just that, a stick dipped in honey and used to lure sweet-tooth animals to a quick starting point and not to waste time.” (*Screen&Heart*, 76)


Armatage provides a historical overview of such organizations in *Girl*, 296-99.

For a full list, see: *Screen&Heart*, 95.

Trusky, in his footnote 119 in ibid., 183, adds that, “the size of Shipman’s zoo is sometimes trebled by memory or desire.”

*Screen&Heart*, 78; my emphasis.

Haraway, *Companion Species*, 3.

“For a full list, see: *Screen&Heart*, 95.

Trusky, in his footnote 119 in ibid., 183, adds that, “the size of Shipman’s zoo is sometimes trebled by memory or desire.”

*Screen&Heart*, 78; my emphasis.

Haraway, *Companion Species*, 3.

“Sensitive Bear,” *Los Angeles Times*, 11 September 1921; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 5.


“At the Capitol – Unusual First National with Nell Shipman,” *NYDM*, 8 January 1920, 40.

“Reviews Taken from Our ‘Strike Bulletin’, Back to God’s Country,” *MPW*, 20 December 1919, 1013. Due to a printers’ strike from 11 October through 1 November, the trade paper had seen its publication interrupted and had only issued short reviews on type-written pages. These reviews were then reprinted in this regular issue.

Compare also D.J. Turner’s examination of reviews of the film in his article on Ernest Shipman, which deals with several more instances, including those appearing in Canadian and British papers, among which there is one in which
the role of Dolores was considered to be the best Shipman had ever done. Turner also notes, as an explanation for the unusually denigrating tone of the review in *Variety*, that the editor was reputed to dislike Ernest Shipman. See: Turner, “Ernest Shipman,” 154.


226 See, for instance: “News from Los Angeles and Vicinity,” *MPW*, 5 August 1916, 933 and “Medal for heroism for Nell Shipman, Movie Star,” *The Watchman and Southron*, 27 December 1919, n.p., which reported that she had saved already three people from drowning because of her “aquatic ability”.

227 It is worth noting that the music for the film composed by Lindsay Cooper significantly influenced my perception of Shipman’s acting. With the music, the acting seemed much more measured than without.


229 Shipman, *Trails*, 63.


231 See: “James Oliver Curwood Forms His Own Company to Picturize His Own Novels,” *MPW*, 2 February 1920, 1243. According to Peter Morris (*Embattled Shadows*, 110), Ernest Shipman was also involved in a consecutive Curwood-Carver production, *THE GOLDEN SNARE* (1921).


233 Ibid., 88.

234 Ibid., 96-97. Walker erroneously wrote “Playter” while in fact it was Arling who played Blake. I thank D.J. Turner for the correction.

235 *Screen&Heart*, 80.

236 Ibid., 94.

237 Ibid., 111.

238 “Nell Shipman’s Next to be ‘Girl from God’s Country’,” *MPW*, 21 August 1920, 999; and “Nell Shipman Enters Production Field with Company of Her Own,” *MPW*, 9 October 1920, 802.


240 Walker and Walker, *Light*, 111. He also recalled it as being a one-reeler, which it is not.

241 Ibid., 112.

242 Which indeed, shows, as soon as one has become aware of it, from the rush with which the bear climbs upwards.

243 *Screen&Heart*, 86.
My discussion of this film draws from and revises a paper I gave at the Screen Studies Conference at Glasgow in 1996, “Nell Shipman: A Career Like a Serial Queen – Or: ‘None of It Ever Really Happened!’.”


The picture on the cover of Trusky's edition of her correspondence is a frame enlargement taken from these shots.

Another appearance of Shipman as a writer-figure can be found in her 1924 short subject *Trail of the North Wind*, in which, however, “the writing girl”, Dreena, remains entirely diegetic and is missing the meta-layers resulting from playing with the diegetic and the extra-diegetic writing woman in *Something New*.


*Screen&Heart*, 85.

See: the coverage in the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Examiner* of 18 and 21 September 1918, and 10 August 1919; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 5. Walker’s 1918 Maxwell film is paired with Shipman’s *SOMETHING NEW* on the Idaho Film Collection DVD.

“A Pretty Scene and a Beautiful Car in Beverly Hills District,” *Los Angeles Times*, 10 June 1917; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 5; “Movie Star Has Record,” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 November 1918, V13; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 5.


“Nell Shipman on Dashing Auto Trip,” *Los Angeles Times*, 10 August 1919) and “Devil’s Punch Bowl in Danger,” *Los Angeles Times*, 24 August 1919; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 5.

“Win Wager in Fierce Battle,” *Los Angeles Times*, 14 September 1919; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 5.
The synopsis is printed in: Shipman, *Letters*, 327-30. Although it was copyrighted in 1920, according to the NSA, the synopsis was obviously written before the shooting of the film, for it includes a note: “Many comedy situations may be worked in during the trip as we meet the existing conditions.”

“Devil’s Punch Bowl.”


Ibid.

See: his groundbreaking article, “Female Power in the Serial-Queen Melodrama: The Etiology of an Anomaly,” *Camera Obscura* 22 (January 1990), 90-129, which has been republished in a revised form in his *Melodrama and Modernity*.

Singer *Melodrama and Modernity*, 224.


Brauerhoch, “La Belle et la Bête,” 42.

*Screen&Heart*, 87; my emphasis.

Ibid.

I do not believe that budgetary reasons played a role in the choice. The film was not made “on a shoestring”, nor was it an “extreme example of low-budget production” (Armatage, *Girl*, 153). According to identical pieces in the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Evening Herald* of 15 and 16 October 1921, respectively, “The picture cost over $28,000 to produce, in spite of the fact that it was filmed within less than 150 miles of Los Angeles,” and the producers were apparently proud of the amount, as if to suggest that no expense or trouble had been spared. This budget came to over 40 percent of the production costs of *Back to God’s Country*, which had amounted to $67,000, according to D.J. Turner (see: his letter in *Griffithiana* 46-47 (1993)). As Richard Koszarski contends, it is of little use to try to establish an average budget for film production at the time, because production costs varied widely and increased substantially in the postwar years. But even at a major company like Universal, in 1921, a five-reeler could be produced for a bit over $34,000, so for an independent like Nell Shipman Productions and for a film like *Something New*, with its original scenario, modest cast and crew, and nearby locations, $28,000 did not necessarily represent an extremely low budget. See: Koszarski, *An Evening’s Entertainment*, 111-13.

Trusky, unpublished paper.

Shipman, “Me,” 324.

*Screen&Heart*, 87.

See, for a further discussion of the issue: Annette Förster, “Humorous Reflections on Acting, Filmmaking and Genre in Comic Film Productions by Adrienne Solser, Musdiora, and Nell Shipman,” in: Sofia Bull, Astrid Söder-

272 See: Turner, “Filmography,” 203; and *Screen&Heart*, 88-89.

273 “Plenty of Action and Thrills in Colorful Picture,” *Wid’s Daily*, 18 September 1921, 9; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 4.

274 See also: the photograph of the company on their way to the location; NSA, Series VIII: Photos.

275 *Screen&Heart*, 87.


278 *Screen&Heart*, 87.

279 In his memoirs, he proudly describes the solution he came up with to conceal the fuzziness on both sides of the dividing line between double exposure images: having the blonde wear a boa. See: Walker and Walker, *Light*, 126-27. See also: the still from the film showing Shipman in her dual role, *Screen&Heart*, no. 25.

280 *Screen&Heart*, 91-92.

281 See, for instance: her stories of the earthquake and the burning hangar (*Screen&Heart*, 93), as well as of the wrangler named Keith and the canoe in the rapids of Kings River (*Screen&Heart*, 90-1).

282 *Screen&Heart*, 89.

283 Ibid., 87.

284 Ibid., 92.

285 Ibid., 101-102.

286 Ibid., 88 and 99, respectively.

287 “Bert Van Tuyle Again Promotes Film Capital for N. Shipman,” unspecified newspaper clipping, hand-dated 1922, found in the files of the Spokane newspaper *The Spokesman-Review*; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 10. See also: Trusky’s footnote 88 in *Screen&Heart*, 174-75. There is no evidence for the budget having amounted to the princely sum of $250,000, as Armatage, *Girl*, 161 believes. There was an announcement in the trade press that the Shipman Company was incorporated with a “paid-in capital of $250,000”, but it is unlikely that the budget set for the company’s first film matched the entire sum. See: “Nell Shipman Enters Production Field with Company of Her Own,” *MPW*, 9 October 1920, 802.

288 *Screen&Heart*, 94.

289 “Bert Van Tuyle Again Promotes Film Capital.”

290 *Screen&Heart*, 102.

291 Ibid., 103.

293 Screen&Heart, 102.

294 Advertisement for THE GIRL FROM GOD’S COUNTRY, ibid., 361.

295 Screen&Heart, 101.

296 “How I have always loved alliteration!,” she exclaims in her memoirs (Screen&Heart, 99).


298 A term used in the summary in the AFI Catalog and quoted in Armatage, Girl, 162 and 182.

299 Screen&Heart, 99 and 88, respectively.

300 NSA, Series VIII, Photos.


302 Walker and Walker, Light, 126.


304 Screen&Heart, 103.

305 Shipman also “packed” her ten year old son Barry, but he was a “toy” for private use, as he played only in one film, the 1923 two-reeler THE TRAIL OF THE NORTH WIND. See: Turner, “Filmography,” 205.

306 Screen&Heart, 103. Robert W. Service (1874-1958) was another Northwest fiction-writer, poet, and novelist, whose ballads were published in 1907 under the title The Spell of the Yukon. Shipman recited his verses during her three-week tour of “personal appearances” in support of THE GRUB-STAKE in Oregon and other states (see: Screen&Heart, 124.)

307 See: Trusky’s footnote 119 to Screen&Heart, 182; and The Spokesman-Review, 8 March 1922; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17.

308 “60 Years Ago,” Spokane Chronicle, 11 February 1982, reprint of a short item from the issue of 8 February 1922; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17.

309 “Film Syndicate Names Officers,” The Spokesman-Review, 17 February 1922, 7; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17. Shipman, in her memoirs, mentions a budget of $180,000, which was “the lowest since BACK TO GOD’S COUNTRY”, but both the amount and the comparison seem to result from her difficulty in recalling “facts and figures” (Screen&Heart, 101).

310 “Shipman Staff Here Monday,” The Spokesman-Review, 1 March 1922, 6; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17.

311 Lillian Leighton (1874-1956) had been a film actress since 1910 and would act in over 150 films until 1940. George Berrell (1849-1933) had been a film actor
since 1915 and would act in almost 50 films before 1927. Walt Whitman (1859-1928) had been a film actor since 1915 and would act in some 60 films before 1924. Cecil K. Van Auker (unknown-1938) had been a film actor since 1916 and would act in seventeen films through 1923. Ah Wing, also known as Ah Fong (1851-1941), had been a film actor since 1917 and would act in seven films through 1923; he had been cast together with Shipman in Wolbert’s THE GIRL FROM BEYOND (1918), and THE GRUB-STAKE was his final film part. The actors with whom Shipman had no previous working experience, Alfred Allen (in the role of the prospector-villain) and Hugh Thompson (in that of the hero-lover), were no less esteemed. Allen (1866-1947), who had been a film actor since 1915, would act in over 100 productions before 1931. Thompson (1887-unknown) likewise had been a film actor since 1915 and would act in over 40 productions before 1926. (Source IMDb)

312 “Film Made at Minnehaha,” The Spokesman-Review, 20 April 1922, 7; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17.
313 “Berrell, Now in Movies, Recalls Long Career on Stage,” The Spokesman-Review, 25 June 1922; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17.
314 “Miss Shipman at Priest Lake,” The Spokesman-Review, 26 August 1922, 5; NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17.
315 “Report Spokane Film Marketed,” The Spokesman-Review, 18 December 1922, NSA, MSS 99, Box 8, Folder 17.
316 The British print recovered by Trusky runs to eight reels or about 8,000 feet, and the AFI Catalog mentions 6,408 or 8,061 feet.
317 Screen&Heart, 109.
319 Shipman, Trails, 110.
320 Reynolds, “Van Tuyle Bungled Film,” 5.
321 Ibid.
324 Screen&Heart, 110.
325 Shipman, Trails, 123.
326 Ibid., 106.
327 Ibid., 110.
328 Ibid., 113.
329 Ibid., 115.
330 Only twice were temporal and seasonal plausibility overlooked. Namely, when the girl in a pinafore dress sets out to collect firewood in the snow, and when she, in the springtime, finds a berry bush.
See: Trusky’s footnote 119 to Screen&Heart, 182-83.

Ibid.

Ibid., 23.

The father in BAREE, SON OF KAZAN, in his dying hour, asks the girl to marry the man whom she distrusts and fears as a brute, because he would rather see her protected by marriage than alone; the father in BACK TO GOD’S COUNTRY lets himself be double-crossed and eventually killed by Rydal, too naïve to see through the villain’s disguise and to recognize his intentions concerning the girl.

Screen&Heart, 101-104.

Compare, for instance, the same actor’s role in Oscar Apfel’s comedy PHIL FOR SHORT (1919), in which Thompson plays the lead of a woman-hating teacher of Greek, who is seduced by a younger, beautiful, and permissive female colleague. Because initially they make an improbable match, his character has to go through several changes, from fearing women and sexuality to a transitional vacillation between feelings of attraction and of awkwardness, to feeling jealousy, and eventually to taking pride in and enjoying the girl’s beauty and personality. (The film was included in Le Giornate del Cinema Muto 2004 at Pordenone/Sacile.)

Screen&Heart, 103.


The narrative motif of telling white lies is, in this scene, connected directly to the women’s interests in a male-dominated society. Kate has to live with the lie to her son that she has a honorable job. In the plot, she also lies to the Mountie when she denies knowing anything about the dog-thieves. At this point in the story, her lying may be not just in Faith’s or her own interests, but also in her son Jeb’s and the Skipper’s. Furthermore, it is strongly suggested, when she play-acts before the Mountie her disapproval of dog-stealing, that she doubts whether she would consider the act to be theft in this case. In the penultimate sequence of the film, in which Faith lies to Jeb that she knows his mother from the post office, the reciprocal interest of the women is emphasized once again. The plot contains not the slightest suggestion that lying such as this is reprehensible; on the contrary, it is presented as a necessity for women in order to survive in the incriminating situations that result from the law’s alliance with male power.
The sources about Klondike Kate mention at least seventeen women in the turn-of-the-century Northwest who adopted the tag for themselves, which points not only to the extent to which a fictional character like Dawson Kate could be nonetheless true to life, but also to how many real life women could identify with it. Moreover, on account of Nell Shipman’s sympathy for the character, it may come as no surprise that she, after having created the part for the screen, befriended Belle Angstadt, a woman cut from the same cloth as Dawson Kate. In her memoirs, Shipman fondly featured her Idaho friend in a characterization that, in many ways, also applies to the fictional character of her film: “Maybe I was imitation Western folklore but Belle was the real thing. And Aunt Belle, as she was known and loved throughout the region, once shot a man. Now, gunning down a Bad Hat, in fiction, is the bread-and-butter of our trade. [...] But, as a make-believe shooter, the story fascinated me. I longed to ask the real life heroine how it felt to really kill someone. But never dared. There was that about Belle to make one step gently [...] Usually in winter she lived in a Priest River cottage with a mended front door, wrote squibs and verse for the local newspaper, fed, cheered and consoled every friend and, it can be said, was the greatest, biggest ‘heart of gold’ to step from the real life pages of wild West romance.” (Screen&Heart, 124-25).

See: Screen&Heart, 115-19, for a very fond account of Barry’s life during this period in her career, when the boy was not with her most of the time.

Armatage, Girl, 236.
Screen&Heart, 107-108.
Ibid., 105.
Ibid., 71.
Shipman, “She Bear,” 76.
Trusky too has pointed out this similarity in motivation for marrying a man with power and money; his unpublished paper.
Barry Shipman informed me of this during our conversation.
Armatage, Girl, 225.
From the caption of a photograph of Nell with a scared kitten, included in the section of illustrations, “Helen Barham becomes Nell Shipman,” between pp. 50 and 51 of Screen&Heart, photograph no. 13.
Armatage, Girl, 250.
See: Turner, “Filmography,” 204-06. The filmography lists only the light on look out and the trail of the north wind to be extant. However, after the third edition was published, the third little drama, white water, has been rediscovered by the George Eastman House, as well as the opening title cards of the fourth, wolf’s brush. See also: Trusky, Tom. “Nell Shipman.” In Jane Gaines, Radha Vatsal, and Monica Dall’Asta, eds. Women Film Pioneers Project. Center for Digital Research and Scholarship. New York, NY: Columbia

355 Screen&Heart, 108.
357 Screen&Heart, 111.
358 See: Trusky's note 126 to Screen&Heart, 184.
359 See: Trusky's note 158 to Screen&Heart, 188-89.
360 Screen&Heart, 157.
361 For a brief discussion of the film, see: Armatage, Girl, 343-46.