



SILENT FILM SOUND

Rick Altman

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Moving Picture Orchestras Come of Age

In the early teens, film music was primarily a keyboard affair. Most theaters employed a single musician, usually a pianist, to accompany films and song illustrators. Orchestras remained small when they existed at all. In fact, the term *orchestra* was regularly applied to groups as small as the once preferred piano/percussion duo or the frequent combination of piano, drums, and violin. Around 1912, a “large orchestra” was an ensemble of four to twelve musicians, still led by the pianist or first violin.¹ Union guidelines reveal contemporary expectations regarding orchestra sizes. In 1912 the Springfield (Mass.) chapter of the American Federation of Musicians sent a letter to local theaters demanding that orchestra size be increased as follows: “houses seating 400 to 700, two men; houses seating 700 to 1,000, 4 men; theaters holding 1,000 to 1,500, 5 men, and theaters exceeding 1,500 must employ 6 men.”² Even at that, in 1913 *Motion Picture News* reported that in Pittsburgh, and in Columbus, Springfield, and Dayton (Ohio), most theaters, “especially the best known houses,” use only a piano and drummer.³ Given the heavy preponder-

ance of moving picture pianists in the new decade, trade press columnists aimed their comments principally at pianists, and photoplay music collections like Frelinger's *Motion Picture Piano Music*, Haviland's *Moving Picture Pianist's Album*, Zamecnik's *Sam Fox Moving Picture Music*, and Smith's *Carl Fischer Professional Pianist's Collection* were all written for solo piano. When orchestras were mentioned, it was most often to decry their uselessness for accompanying motion pictures. Appealing to theater owners' economic interests, piano and organ manufacturers created during the teens a dizzying succession of photoplayers and one-man orchestras, making it increasingly easy to justify using a single musician (or even a nonmusician, with automatic instruments) to provide the entire musical program. From 1914 to 1916, a series of circumstances conspired to change this situation radically.

During the late aughts and early 1910s, moving pictures remained an iffy proposition. Competition between the Motion Picture Patents Corporation and the Independent Manufacturers jeopardized the availability of a steady supply of quality films at a reasonable price. In many cities, reformers achieved substantial success in limiting moving picture locations, practices, or hours. Municipal authorities often outlawed Sunday shows, mandated expensive security measures, and refused to grant building permits for theaters without a second exit. Before 1910, capital for motion picture investment was thus hard to come by, forcing theaters into rental space. The new decade brought resolution of patent litigation, stabilization of distribution patterns, quieting of reformer protests, and standardization of exhibition practices. Like all systems emerging from an identity crisis, cinema finally constituted a good investment. The early teens thus saw an explosion of theater construction and radical changes in the pecking order of moving picture venues.

Blockbusters and Picture Palaces

During the nickelodeon era, exhibition reports came from every region of the country, and from theaters

of all sizes. Family-run storefronts regularly appeared side-by-side with immense converted vaudeville theaters. Film music columnists reflected this variety: Ernst Luz (*Moving Picture News*) was a Pennsylvania cornetist who settled in New York, Clarence E. Sinn (*Moving Picture World*) was a Chicago musician with a melodrama background, and Clyde Martin (*Film Index*) was house pianist at Dodge's Theatre in Keokuk (Iowa). In addition to the variety of their own very diverse careers, these three columnists regularly published letters from theater musicians in towns of all sizes, all across the nation. A 1914 flurry of activity in Manhattan changed this pattern permanently. Broad national coverage of exhibition practices would not survive New York's mid-decade theater-building spurt. Henceforth, Broadway theaters would be the national center of attention; in many publications they were the *only* theaters regularly reported on.

In 1914, Vitagraph opened its flagship Vitagraph Theatre in the former Criterion at 44th Street and proceeded to publish for all its prestige productions musical suggestions based on the selections made by the theater's one-man orchestra keyboard wizard. However forward-looking this move may have seemed, it was totally eclipsed by the opening of the Strand just three blocks uptown. Financed by the Mitchell H. Mark Realty Corporation, designed by famous theater architect Thomas W. Lamb, and presided over by Samuel L. "Roxy" Rothapfel, fresh from his triumph at the 116th Street Regent, the Strand rapidly became a model for theaters around the country, both as a building and for its exemplary musical program.⁴ As George W. Beynon put it, "live exhibitors everywhere began to pattern their amusement palaces after the Strand model."⁵ At the Regent, Roxy had drawn national attention by having an orchestra accompany films with high-class music. For *Quo Vadis?*, for example, he had used selections from *Faust*, *Tannhäuser*, *Tosca*, and *Parsifal*.⁶ At the Strand, the same policy continued. Lasky's *Rose of the Rancho* was accompanied by Drigo's "Serenade" and selections from *Carmen*, conducted by Carl Edouarde,

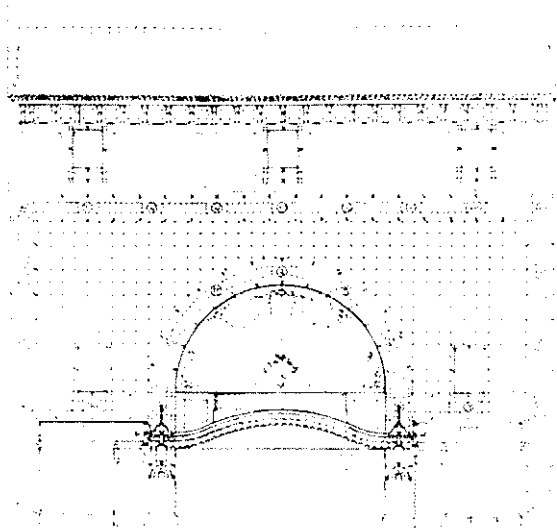
whom Roxy brought with him from the Regent.⁷ Thanks to its size (3,500 seats), luxury, location, and exemplary musical programs, the Strand was instrumental in modifying trade press practices. Whereas previous film music columns had always been fully given over to technical recommendations and musical suggestions for piano players, reports on the music at the Strand (and eventually other New York theaters) became *de rigueur*. Speaking of the regular *Motion Picture News* feature on "Music and the Picture," H. S. Fuld admitted that, "These columns have spoken often enough on the proper accompaniment of the picture, fitting the music as it were with each scene separately, and if necessary to improvise. But always the pianist, or Wurlitzer, or other one-man orchestras were in mind; never was an orchestra, especially a large one at that, deemed capable of so doing."⁸ Now, Fuld and his colleagues regularly turned their attention to orchestral accompaniment in New York theaters. For the Strand's sixth anniversary, in a *Musical Courier* column praising renditions of Tchaikovsky's "Capriccio Italien," Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E Minor, and a duet from *Carmen*, May Johnson affirmed that the Strand

was the first to present motion pictures in conjunction with a high class musical program. When the Strand management announced that it contemplated showing motion pictures to the musical accompaniment of a large concert orchestra with vocal and instrumental soloists between films, it was predicted that the project would be a dismal failure by theatrical experts who claimed to be in a position to know. The news of the Strand's success quickly spread throughout the country, however, and in less than two years almost every city of any consequence had a large theater offering entertainments after the pattern created by the Strand in New York.⁹

In Boston, the Park Theater was remodeled as "a duplicate of the Strand Theatre in New York City, the same management controlling both houses." The new theater boasted magnificent furnishings, beautiful decorations, artistic lighting effects, a \$50,000 organ, and a splendid orchestra.¹⁰ In Buffalo (N.Y.),

a 15-piece orchestra, led by Buffalo Symphony conductor Herman E. Schulz, was installed in late 1914 in the 2,500-seat New Victoria Theatre, built by New York Strand Theatre owner Mitchell H. Mark.¹¹ All over the country, theater owners named their new theaters "The Strand," installed large orchestras, and hired top-flight musicians. In 1915 at William Fox's Riverside Theater, 17-year-old Max Steiner conducted a 100-piece orchestra playing his own music for *The Bondsman*.¹²

Roxy would eventually oversee the operations of a succession of new Broadway theaters designed by Thomas W. Lamb: the Rialto in 1916, the Rivoli during the last week of 1917, and the Capitol in 1920. Like the Strand, these theaters all featured large orchestras, distinguished musical directors and conductors, and carefully chosen programs of high-toned music. Vienna-born violin soloist Hugo Riesenfeld was engaged as the Rialto's conductor. A protégé of Gustav Mahler, Riesenfeld had been first violinist, as well as conductor of ballet music, at Vienna's Imperial Opera House, before being brought to the United States as concertmaster of the Metropolitan Opera.¹³ The very model of Roxy's preferred prestige musician, Riesenfeld would eventually serve simultaneously as musical director of the Rialto, the Rivoli, and the Criterion. Ever demonstrating his characteristic nose for talent, Roxy then appointed Hungarian gold-medal-winning composer Erno Rapee as conductor of the Capitol Theater. Rapee would go on to become the most influential film musician of his generation.¹⁴ Roxy's organists were also leaders in their field, including American composer Alfred G. Robyn at the Strand,¹⁵ eventual Society of Theater Organists president Frank Stewart Adams and John D. M. Priest at the Rialto, and Firmin Swinnen at the Rivoli. With the leadership of such talented musicians, Roxy's New York theaters were guaranteed substantial space in the daily and trade press alike. These theaters and musicians continued the Strand's tradition of national influence. The Chicago debut of Cosmopolitan's hit film *Hu-moresque* was arranged only "after a mission had



FORD THEATER

15.1 As far away as Cedar Rapids (Iowa), Roxy's New York Strand Theater had immediate repercussions: the theater slated to be named Ford (after its owner) was rebaptized Strand and outfitted with its own orchestra.

come East to study the production as presented by Hugo Riesenfeld at the Criterion Theater.¹⁶ Henceforth, the country was on notice: the way to attract attention (and make a buck) is to emulate Roxy's Broadway techniques.

Complementing the audible influence of Roxy's picture palaces was an extraordinary 1915-16 concentration of blockbuster films, accompanied by large orchestras playing original scores in well-publicized runs at prestigious theaters. Before 1913, programs were typically composed of several short films, supplemented by illustrated songs or vaudeville acts. While an influx of longer foreign films had led to the production of American multireel films, few of these were long enough to carry the entire program. D. W. Griffith's longest film for Biograph, the four-reel *Judith of Bethulia* (1913), lasted less than an hour. His 1914 Mutual films averaged only a bit longer. While the term *feature film* had by this time already been coined, it referred to any film treated as the featured portion of the program, and not to a fiction film of

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Love Life Types Everybody Knows

ALICE JOYCE
JEAN HERSHEY
LOUIS MORAN
DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR.
DOUGLAS GILMAN

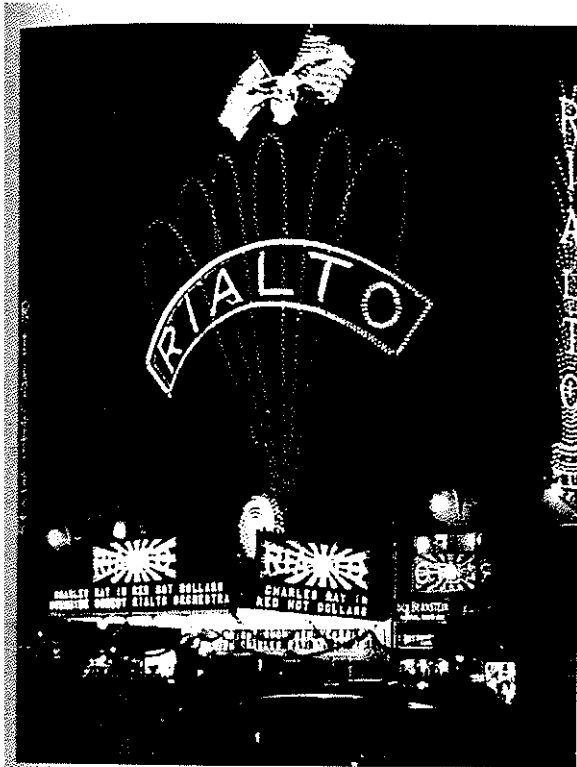
Samuel Goldwyn presents
The HENRY KING Production
STELLA DALLAS
by HENRY KING
Screenplay for the screen by FRANKS MARION
Starring ALICE JOYCE - JEAN HERSHEY - LOUIS MORAN - DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR. - DOUGLAS GILMAN
"Stella Dallas" tells the story of a woman's love — in the love through which the love life of every woman is carried.

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and
BOBBY VERNON

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at least ninety minutes' duration, as the term now implies.¹⁷ At a whopping twelve reels, Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* was a revelation to the moving picture public. Since the film industry had by the mid-teens become concentrated in southern California, the film first premiered in Clune's Auditorium, Los Angeles, on February 8, 1915. Still carrying the title of

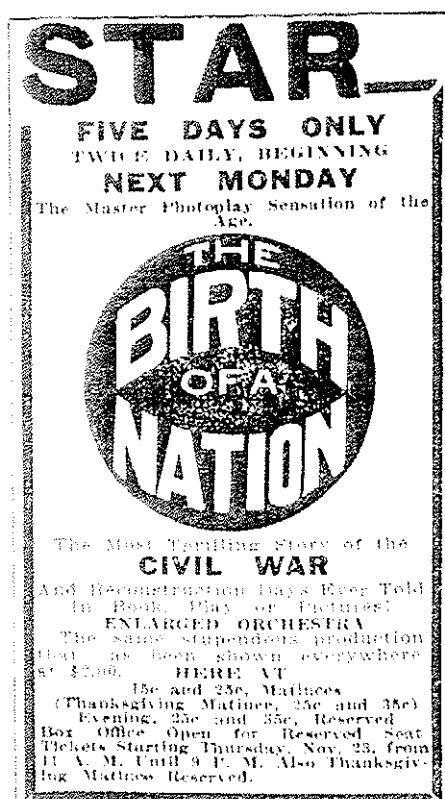


35.2 New York's Rialto Theater by night

the Thomas E. Dixon, Jr. story on which it was based, *The Clansman* was accompanied throughout its 22-week Los Angeles run by an "Augmented Orchestra," as Clune's program put it. Forty instrumentalists, several solo vocalists, and a chorus of twelve all intoned Carli Elinor's compiled score, which employed several of the era's most common selections: overtures by Mozart, Rossini, Suppé, and Wagner, plus music from Bizet's *L'Arlésienne*, Massenet's *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*, and Offenbach's *Orphée aux Enfers*. In addition, Elinor employed portions of Beethoven's First Symphony and Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony.¹⁸ On March 8, the film opened at New York's Liberty Theatre with a new title: *The Birth of a Nation*. The choice of the Liberty was deliberate. As a legitimate theater, the Liberty carried a level of prestige that film venues were only beginning to capture. Borrowing the legitimate theater's price scale, *Birth* tickets cost more than had

ever been charged for a motion picture—as much as two dollars. Several strategies were set in motion to justify such outlandish prices. In addition to a lavish advertising campaign beginning weeks ahead of time in the New York papers, *Birth* boasted a new score and an orchestra expanded to fifty instrumentalists—in short, the kind of orchestra that the Strand had accustomed New Yorkers to expect for important film events. With these incentives, patrons kept *The Birth of a Nation* at the Liberty through the end of the year, a record that would not soon be equaled.¹⁹

Like many other late teens and twenties film settings, *The Birth of a Nation's* score was written by a musician who had spent many years working for Harms, Remick, and other music publishers.²⁰ A former tenor soloist, choir director, and theatrical conductor, Joseph Carl Breil had previously provided musical suggestions for Griffith's Biograph films²¹ and composed scores for several upscale imports (*Camille*, *Mme. Sans-Gêne*, *Queen Elizabeth*, *Cabiria*) and a series of Famous Players films (*The Prisoner of Zenda*, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, *In the Bishop's Carriage*).²² The score for *Birth of a Nation* combined Breil's own compositions with familiar classical, folk, and popular selections.²³ In addition to numerous warhorses of early teens film accompaniment (Grieg's "Peer Gynt Suite" and several overtures, Suppé's *Light Cavalry*, Tchaikovsky's *1812*, Wagner's *Rienzi*, Weber's *Freischütz*), Breil expanded the repertoire to include Beethoven's Sixth Symphony, the overture to Bellini's *Norma*, Mozart's Twelfth Mass in G Major, and Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries."²⁴ Folk favorites, including everything from "Auld Lang Syne" to "My Old Kentucky Home," are joined by marches and patriotic numbers like "The Bonnie Blue Flag," "Dixie," "Hail Columbia," and "Marching Through Georgia," as well as popular tunes including "Where Did You Get That Hat" and "Zip Coon." In addition, the film offers a veritable lexicon of bugle calls, including assembly, reveille, and taps. Especially remarked among Breil's original compositions were his love theme for northerner Elsie Stoneman and



15.3 Even in Providence, *The Birth of a Nation* benefited from an "enlarged orchestra."

southerner Ben Cameron, and the "Clan Call" of the Ku Klux Klansmen. Published by Chappell under the title "The Perfect Song," the love theme sold almost ten thousand copies in 1916 alone and was later adopted as the theme song of radio's *Amos 'n' Andy* show.²⁵ Taking on a life of its own, "The Perfect Song" was even programmed as accompaniment music for other films. In October 1915, while *The Birth of a Nation* was still playing at the Liberty in New York, the Detroit Strand used "The Perfect Song" to accompany *The Melting Pot*, along with selections from Delibes, Mascagni, Tchaikovsky, Grieg, Puccini, Wieniawski, and Beethoven.²⁶

Protested by the NAACP and censored in several states, *The Birth of a Nation* added a definite *succès de scandale* to its other attributes. By April 1915, twenty-two road companies were already traveling around

the country, playing *Birth of a Nation's* 151-page score.²⁷ Even at the Englert Theatre in tiny Iowa City (Iowa), full-page newspaper advertisements promised an orchestra of forty pieces.²⁸ In Providence (R.I.), advertisements for the Star Theater proudly proclaimed that New York's two-dollar show would be "offered at the Star at popular prices." Lest local patrons fear getting a lesser version of Griffith's blockbuster, the Star assured that, "There will be the same big symphony orchestra to play special music during the production and add to the interest and thrills of the production."²⁹ Within its first year, Griffith's film was shown to some three million people, always accompanied by an orchestra of unaccustomed proportions. The gargantuan size of the orchestra was achieved by combining the film's traveling orchestra with local formations. When *Birth* played the Majestic Theatre in Cedar Rapids (Iowa), for example, the "*Birth of a Nation* Symphony Orchestra" directed by Carl Mahlman was "Augmented by [the] Majestic Orchestra."³⁰ The film's music had an enormous impact. Three years later, conductors of local orchestras were still being asked to feature it—with other films.³¹ For the first time, *The Birth of a Nation* proved that motion pictures could serve as prestige vehicles. In order to fulfill this promise, however, a film had to be accompanied by an orchestra of unprecedented size.

Birth's lessons were quickly learned by Hollywood producers. With the very start of the new season, Morosco opened *Peer Gynt* at the Broadway Theatre with an orchestra of fifty instruments playing an overture and music by George W. Beynon, adapted from Grieg.³² A Canadian composer and arranger, Beynon had studied at the Toronto Conservatory of Music and in Leipzig, where he received a Doctor of Music degree.³³ A week after *Peer Gynt* opened, the three major companies distributing films through Paramount announced that Beynon and his assistants would produce orchestral settings to be published by Schirmer, for all Famous Players, Lasky, and Morosco productions. Pathé promised free special music for all its prestige Gold Rooster re-

leases.³⁴ In the past, production companies like Vitagraph had regularly made musical suggestions available to exhibitors, but these had almost always been straightforward keyboard versions (the only exception being the orchestrations by the “master musicians” of the Tams Music Library distributed in early 1914 with “Thanhouser ‘BIG’ Productions”).³⁵ Now, for the first time, all Paramount scores would be arranged for orchestra. As Beynon put it,

We are going to give trial orchestral showings of our settings, and when the managers hear these they will no longer be satisfied with only the piano, but will install a small orchestra. This orchestra will sound pretty good to them at first, but in time they will see the wisdom of raising their prices from fifteen to twenty-five cents and putting in a large orchestra. I believe this movement is going to mean the general adoption of orchestras in picture houses.³⁶

According to Morosco’s representative Julian M. Solomon, Jr., complete orchestrations would be provided for an orchestra of sixteen to twenty pieces—double the size of pre-1915 orchestras.³⁷

The next film to receive Beynon’s attention, this time using Bizet’s music under Roxy’s supervision,³⁸ proved the worth of quality orchestral scores as marketing devices. With a large orchestra conducted by Hugo Riesenfeld, Lasky’s *Carmen* premiered on the first of October 1915 in Boston’s Symphony Hall, star Geraldine Farrar’s hometown. An all-night ticket line, capacity crowds, and intense press coverage made this opening an event of *Birth of a Nation* proportions.³⁹ Within a matter of weeks, other producers rushed to commission and distribute special orchestral scores for their prestige productions. Before the month was out, Thomas Ince announced that Daniel Dore, conductor of the Astor Theatre orchestra, would prepare a special score for the Ince release of *The Alien* (also often referred to as *An Alien*).⁴⁰ A week later, Triangle proclaimed that it would now make William Furst’s scores for its films available to exhibitors.⁴¹ Eventually, even Harvard psychologist and film theoretician Hugo Münsterberg would join the fray, insisting that only specially prepared or-

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A superb drama played by real stars.

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15.4 By the fall of 1915, all of Pathe’s Gold Rooster films sported a free special music program.

chestral accompaniment for each film could solve cinema’s music problem.⁴²

Throughout the 1915–16 season, producers scurried to take advantage of the trade’s new penchant for blockbuster films accompanied by orchestral scores. April 1916 brought the ten-reel *Civilization*, an antiwar film personally directed by Thomas Harper Ince, with an entirely original score by Victor L. Schertzinger. A former concert violinist who would later become a respected Hollywood director, Schertzinger had written scores for several five- to seven-reelers since *Birth*, *Peer Gynt*, and *Carmen* had set the style: *Aloha Oe*, *Peggy*, *Hell’s Hinges*, *Beggar of Cawnpore*, *The No-Good Guy*, and several others.⁴³ Like *The Birth of a Nation*’s “Perfect Song,” *Civilization*’s score includes one number that took on a life of its own. Schertzinger’s “Peace Song,” with lyrics by Ince himself, was recorded by Columbia,

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15.5 Trade press ads for *The Fall of a Nation* offered both 16-piece and 3-piece orchestra versions of Victor Herbert's score.

with sheet music available for purchase in theater lobbies.⁴⁴ A stunning success, *Civilization* opened "with a full orchestra in full blast, with off-stage singing, both solo and choral."⁴⁵ It ran continuously through October 22, 1916, appropriately accompanying Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson's successful election campaign based on the slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War."⁴⁶

In June the National Drama Corporation opened *The Fall of a Nation* at the Liberty Theatre, where *Birth of a Nation* had debuted just sixteen months earlier. Directed by Thomas Dixon from his own novel, a sequel to *The Clansman* entitled to profit from the success of Griffith's film, the eight-reel *The Fall of a Nation* had an original score by Victor Herbert, one of the era's most famous musical names. An Irishman with German musical training, Herbert's solo cello concertizing eventually netted

him the position of principal cellist in the Metropolitan Opera orchestra. Always ready to mix popular music with classical fare, in the midst of an active composing career Herbert became Patrick S. Gilmore's heir as conductor of the 22nd Regiment Band (1893). After achieving considerable success as an operetta composer with *The Serenade* (1897) and *The Fortune Teller* (1898), for six years Herbert conducted the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra (1898–1904), where he wrote his best-known operetta, *Babes in Toyland* (1903), followed by other enduring hits: *Mlle Modiste* (1905), *The Red Mill* (1906), *Naughty Marietta* (1910), and *Sweethearts* (1913). Before turning to motion pictures, Herbert even tried his hand at grand opera. *Natoma* (1911) featured Irish tenor John McCormack, while *Madeleine* (1914) served as a curtain-raiser for Enrico Caruso's legendary performance in *Pagliacci*. Whereas Joseph Carl Breil was virtually unknown when he scored *The Birth of a Nation*, Herbert was America's most respected composer. Ads called *The Fall of a Nation* "The World's First Grand Opera Spectacle," with "Music by VICTOR HERBERT, America's Foremost Composer."⁴⁷ The prestigious *New York Dramatic Mirror* didn't hesitate to liken Herbert's collaboration with Dixon to Grieg's partnership with Ibsen, extolling the value of pairing a major composer with a major author.⁴⁸

As soon as *The Fall of a Nation* abandoned the Liberty Theatre, D. W. Griffith moved back in, on September 5 opening his oversized (fourteen-reel) *Intolerance*, with a Joseph Carl Breil score played by the Metropolitan Opera orchestra. The film weaves together stories from four widely divergent historical periods, each demonstrating the destructive consequences of intolerant behavior: Babylon in ancient times, Palestine during the life of Christ, the 1572 St. Bartholomew Day's massacres in France, and a modern story set in the United States. Designed by Griffith to answer criticism directed at *The Birth of a Nation*, *Intolerance* succeeded only in confusing the moving picture public. Though active advertising assured strong initial response, the film had little stay-

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in which four parallel stories of the world's progress unfold before your vision in thrilling sequence

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BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST—
THE HUMBLE NAZARENE
IN THE HOLY LAND—
PARIS UNDER THE SCOURGE
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A GRIPPING MODERN STORY
CONTRASTED WITH THESE
HISTORIC PERIODS—

Accompanied by Orchestra
from the Metropolitan Opera House
Formerly Known as "The Mother and the Law"

IMPORTANT!

The regular Box Office seat sale for the engagement of "INTOLERANCE" will open next Tuesday morning, April 10th. But in order to avoid disappointing out-of-town patrons, and for the benefit of those who do not wish to stand in line, mail orders accompanied by remittance and self-addressed stamped envelope will be filled immediately. Make all checks and money orders payable to Will S. Collier.

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NIGHTS:—Lower floor: First 15 rows, \$1.50; last 5 rows, \$1.00. Balcony: First 4 rows, \$1.00; last 4 rows, 75c. Entire Second Balcony, 50c. Gallery, 25c. Boxes, \$2.00.

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Greene's Opera House Three Days Only Starting **THURS. NIGHT, APR. 12**

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"Intolerance"

LOVE'S STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT THE AGES!

125,000 People! 7,500 Horses! 1,200 Chariots!
Symphony Orchestra! Operatic Chorus!

Mr. Griffith's First Production Since "The Birth of a Nation"

THRILLING! AWE-INSPIRING! EYE-STAGGERING!

15.6 Whether in New York's Liberty Theatre or Greene's Opera House in Cedar Rapids (Iowa), *Intolerance* ads gave special attention to Breil's orchestral accompaniment.

ing power. At a time of national anxiety over America's potential entry into the First World War, *Intolerance* offered only a murky, hard-to-follow general thesis. Like the year's previous mega-productions, *Intolerance* was kept afloat by expensive sets, an enormous orchestra, and a prestigious score. Once again working on the basis of unspecified contributions from Griffith, Joseph Carl Breil now benefited from the stardom conveyed by the *Birth* score and its best-selling knock-off, "A Perfect Song." Like many silent features, *Intolerance* was recut throughout its first release, and later reissued in vastly reduced form, including one version limited to two of the four stories and another showing only the modern section (entitled *The Mother and the Law*). Only recently has the film been reconstructed in such a way

as to fit Breil's score. Culminating in 1989, Museum of Modern Art film conservator Peter Williamson and Library of Congress musicologist Gillian Anderson restored a 210-minute version of the film, filling gaps with copyright-deposit stills, and using the Breil cues as a guide for continuity and scene duration. Conducted by Anderson at several worldwide venues, the score calls for a large orchestra (27 pieces in the Chicago version I heard), a substantial chorus (nine voices in Chicago), and a male vocal quartet.

Breil's music deserves far more attention than it has received.⁴⁹ Though the *Intolerance* score follows the *Birth of a Nation's* compilation method, the later film's multiple stories offered far greater opportunities for musical originality. Like Edgar Stillman Kelley's 1899 score for the Klaw & Erlanger stage pro-

THE GOLDEN ERA OF SILENT FILM MUSIC

24

Mae in room

B Just saw the boss

15.7 A page of music from *Intolerance*, offering a minor-key version of "Wild Irish Rose" whenever the Dear One (Mae Marsh) is in danger

duction of Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur* (which Breil surely knew, since it was performed more than five thousand times as the play circled the globe),⁵⁰ *Intolerance* offered Breil the opportunity to experiment with non-Western scales and tonalities. In addition, the variety of venues introduced into the film's four intertwined stories justified a far greater assortment of music than the constantly repeated folk songs and marching tunes of *Birth*. In the Babylonian story, cymbals, gongs, castanets, and other foreign-sounding effects join unaccustomed musical modes to cre-

ate a sense of otherness. Choral and instrumental selections from *Aïda* coincide with Ishtar's arrival and Belshazzar's celebration, while a French art song (possibly a Delibes ballet) accompanies Belshazzar and Princess Beloved. In the section on the St. Bartholomew Day's massacre, Luther's "Ein' Feste Burg" ("A Mighty Fortress") is used to identify the Protestant faith of Brown Eyes' Huguenot family, whereas the modern family is clearly typed as Irish by the consistent use of Irish folk songs. The many popular selections employed in the "Mother and the

Law" section are used in two quite distinct fashions. Whereas the tunes of "Wild Irish Rose," "Sweet Rosie O'Grady," and "All Those Sweet Endearing Charms" are regularly employed motivically, a single catch-phrase providing brief commentary, Breil also calls for selected songs to be performed in toto. "Wild Irish Rose" is sung in its entirety at the start by a quartet, later returning for a full chorus.⁵¹ Shortly afterward, all thirty-two bars of "Sweet Rosie O'Grady" are played by strings and woodwinds, only to be several times reprised by the full orchestra. Later, the couple's romancing is accompanied by a complete instrumental rendition of "In the Good Old Summertime." This tendency toward marked juxtaposition of one large block of musical material to another further undermines the film's already tenuous continuity, though as the film approaches its conclusion(s), cutting back and forth between shorter and shorter stretches of each story, Breil increasingly allows his musical selections to bridge the sections, thus helping to restore some of the thematic unity targeted by the film's overall structure. Like *The Birth of a Nation* and *The Fall of a Nation* before it, *Intolerance* ends with a rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner," fast on its way at the time to becoming the national anthem.

Telling four times over the melodramatic story of innocence unjustly victimized, *Intolerance* not surprisingly bears many familiar scars of melodrama accompaniment.⁵² Early portions offer ringing major-key definitions of the faultless eventual victims, interrupted by minor-key or dissonant musical characterizations of the villains-to-be. As the modern plot thickens and the self-styled reformers shift into high gear, first the Dear One's father and then the uplifters are subjected to several measures of Mickey Mousing.⁵³ But when the reformers prove not just comic but also dangerous, Breil resorts to the familiar treble chromatic descent against a bass *tremolo*. As the king signs the Huguenots' death warrant in the St. Bartholomew Day's story, the music expresses impending doom through the customary device of an *agitato* passage featuring minor-second *tremolos*. In typical Griffith

fashion, the horror of this scene is intensified by the innocent family gathering that follows. Breil takes full advantage of this juxtaposition, treating the Huguenot family to a bell-clear *calmato* F major passage, modulating to C major, followed by five measures of rock-solid B-flat major for the opening line of "Ein' Feste Burg." As Brown Eyes and her sister blow out the candles, just a brief note of anguish is allowed to slip through as the strings modulate to E-flat major. Shortly, danger stalks the modern couple as well. Now, "Wild Irish Rose" is given *tremolo* treatment as the Dear One sits alone in her room. After the Musketeer peeks through the keyhole and the Friendless One enters the house, the opening bars of the song are twice repeated in a minor key. Soon Breil again resorts to increasingly rapid descending chromatic runs over *tremolo* octaves. Changing keys often to accommodate different instruments, voice ranges, and tone colors, Breil modulates frequently and easily, often employing a simple device that has the advantage of taking only a few measures—a series of chromatically related chords, which he easily arranges to end on the required tonalities.

In October, as *Intolerance* was playing out its welcome, Fox opened Herbert Brenon's ten-reel extravaganza, *A Daughter of the Gods*, with an original score by Robert Hood Bowers that would in later years often be cited as a high point of motion picture music. *A Daughter of the Gods* is an appropriate successor to *Civilization*, *The Fall of a Nation*, and *Intolerance* in other ways as well. When one contemplates the plots of the 1916 blockbusters that—along with the Strand, Rialto, Rivoli, and other mid-teens picture palaces—permanently established cinema's dominant position in the entertainment world, it is hard not to wonder how such films drew audiences at all. *Civilization* tells the story of a submarine commander who dies at the hands of the war-mongering king of Wredpryd, but once resurrected he contains the soul of Christ and so preaches peace by revealing the horrors of war. *The Fall of a Nation* recounts the vigilante activities of the Daughters of Jael, who save America from a band of German-backed immi-

grants who have taken over the country. *Intolerance* represents a story of eternal intolerance by alternating between Lillian Gish endlessly rocking a cradle and characters with names like the Dear One, the Boy, the Friendless One, Brown Eyes, Christ, and Princess Beloved. *A Daughter of the Gods* spins the tale of Sultan Omar, who promises to help the Witch of Evil to destroy the mysterious Anita if only she will revive his drowned son Omar. Ten reels later, having escaped to Gnomeland, Anita leads the gnomes to Omar's defense. By any objective standard, these are four of the strangest plots ever registered on celluloid, certainly not the stuff that long runs are normally made of. Clearly, the unprecedented size of these films' audiences was determined not by the films themselves but by the circumstances of their presentation. What spectators were seeking was a prestige experience, the kind that could be had only in a picture palace with a large orchestra. Today, with the sole exception of *Intolerance*—in spite of the importance that contemporaries accorded to their scores—these films have entirely disappeared from public memory. What has remained is the new ideal that they propagated—the importance of a large orchestra and quality music as required elements of an upscale motion picture experience.

The Motion Picture Orchestra

In 1913 the Commonwealth Club reported that less than 14 percent of San Francisco's moving picture theaters had an orchestra, even though the term was regularly applied at the time to ensembles of as few as two musicians.⁵⁴ Judging from contemporary letters to trade press columnists and the heavy proportion of photoplay music targeting pianists, this figure appears representative of urban exhibition practices throughout the country, with rural theaters offering even fewer orchestras. The mid-teens development of large orchestras in New York City theaters, in conjunction with higher admission prices, had a profound impact on this situation. When it first opened in 1914, the Strand's orchestra, described as "large," counted

somewhere between sixteen and twenty-one pieces.⁵⁵ After the triumph of *The Birth of a Nation*, however, a twenty-piece ensemble would seem paltry. When the Rialto debuted in 1916, it more than doubled the size of the Strand orchestra. Opened at the end of 1917, the Rivoli also boasted an orchestra of over forty pieces. When the Capitol was inaugurated in 1920, the stakes were doubled once again, with an orchestra of over seventy concert-level musicians.

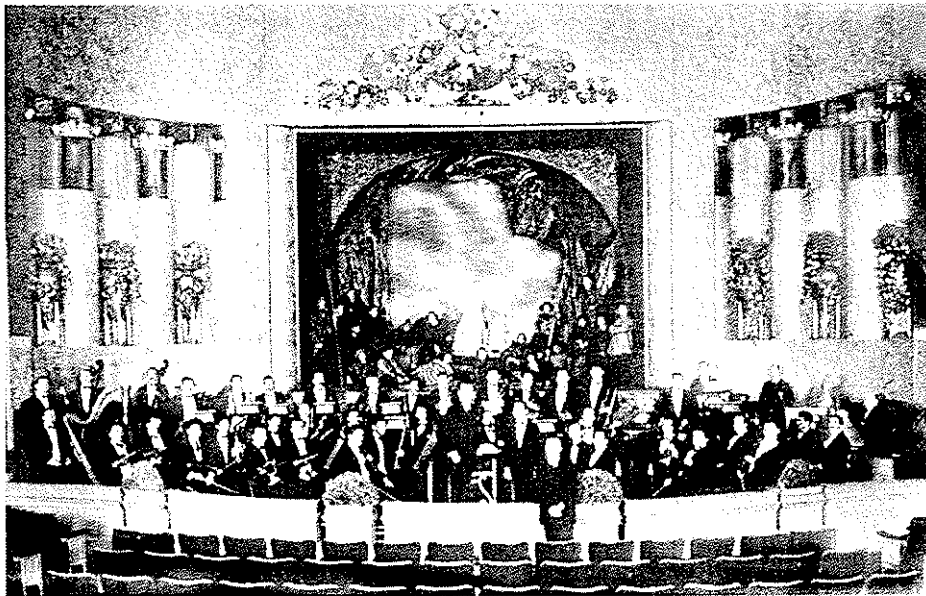
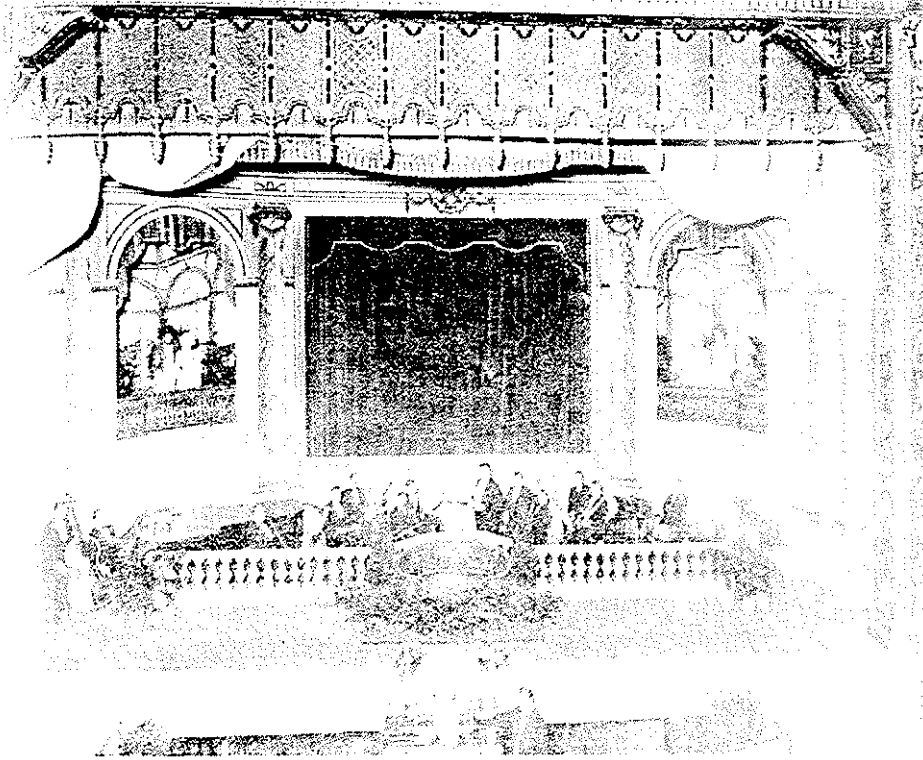
Large theaters across the country moved quickly to follow New York's lead. But managers could not conjure up serious orchestras simply by snapping their fingers. The cases of Pittsburgh (Pa.) and Providence (R.I.) offer fascinating case studies of the profession's reaction to the overwhelming success of the "New York plan." In 1917, when Roxy announced that Rialto ticket prices would be raised to a top of \$1.00, no Pittsburgh theater charged more than 15 cents. Taking over the Pitt Theater, William Moore Patch followed Roxy's lead. Setting his prices at 25 cents to \$1.50, Patch resolved to offer spectacles based on the New York model.

For instance, with *The Garden of Allah*, the theatre was converted into an immense tent, of the Oriental canopy type.

In the lobby an oasis was reproduced, on the stage a wonderful set was erected in which fifty tons of sand, and twenty camels, imported from New York, formed part of the picture.

For *Joan the Woman*, the theater was transformed into a cathedral, with draperies and lighting effects, which tourists declared to equal anything seen in the most famous edifices abroad. An entire Russian ballad was introduced in the presentation of *The Dumb Girl of Portici*, while during the showing of *The Bar Sinister*, the theater was transformed in a veritable pine forest.

These examples illustrate only in a brief way the lengths to which this manager goes. Equally unique tableaux, effects and decorations were provided for *Civilization*, *The Birth of a Nation*, which has played three return engagements at the theater, none of which was less than five weeks, *Intolerance*, *A Daughter of the Gods*, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, *The Italian Battlefront*, *The Honor System*, and other of the big productions which have been presented at the Pitt.⁵⁶



15.8 Roxy's early orchestras were placed on stage, including at the Regent and the Rivoli

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 Labor Day, Sept. 1st,
 At 10:30 A. M. Performance
 Continuous to 10:30 P. M.

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Among the popular screen stars booked for the first few weeks of the season are Constance Talmadge, Eugene O'Brien, Norma Talmadge, Owen Moore, Alice Brady, Dustin Farnum, Florence Reed, Charles Ray, Anita Stewart, Olive Thomas, Harry Carey, Mae Murray, Priscilla Dean, Jack Pickford, Kitty Gordon and others.

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WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, FRIDAY
 Famous Players Present
MARY PICKFORD
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 IN FIVE PARTS
"Mistress Nell"

SPECIAL MUSICAL PROGRAM BY MISS BURDICKER'S FOUR-PIECE ORCHESTRA

1. Morgenstimmung (The Morning) E. Grieg
2. Overture, Merry Wives of Windsor Mendel
3. Minuet-Allegro from "Surprise" Symphony Herbert
4. Minuet-Allegro from "Surprise" Symphony Haydn
5. Selection, Tom Jones Edward Geeman
6. Waltz, Gold and Silver Franz Lehar
7. Selection, Lucia di Lammermoor Donizetti

Admission: 5c and 10c. Tickets: 15c and 25c.
 9, 10:25

15.9 The late teens offered unusual opportunities for women's orchestras, in Providence as in Cedar Rapids.

Tearing a page out of Roxy's book, Patch understood marvelously well how to convince patrons they were getting their money's worth. But the musical side of things was a greater challenge still. Sand can be trucked in, but what about a forty-piece orchestra, well-rehearsed and ready to play? Patch went straight to the heart of Pittsburgh culture, the Pittsburgh Festival Orchestra. Considered "the sacred property of the social life of Pittsburgh," the Festival Orchestra regularly sold out concerts at prices up to five dollars a seat. Patch simply hired the entire orchestra—lock, stock, barrel, and conductor Carl Bernthaler.⁵⁷ Instead of comparing Patch's prices to ticket costs at other theaters, patrons were delighted to get a quality concert at a substantial reduction. By holding films for several weeks, Patch reduced his unit costs and

avoided extra rehearsals for his musicians. All over the country, symphony orchestras were plundered by moving picture theaters. In San Francisco, conductor Nikolai Sokoloff "indefinitely postponed" the symphony orchestra's season because he was unable to replace the men hired away by theaters.⁵⁸

When Keith's Theatre in Providence was torn down and replaced in 1919 by the Victory Theatre, the management was anxious to take advantage of the theater's new configuration. Like most vaudeville theaters, Keith's Theatre had space for no more than a small ensemble, whereas the Victory, emulating successful New York models, had room for a full orchestra. Like Patch in Pittsburgh, manager Charles Lovenberg had to exercise creativity in order to find an adequate orchestra. As longtime manager of

MOVING PICTURE ORCHESTRAS COME OF AGE

Keith's Theatre, Lovenberg scoured previous programs to find what he needed. Once a headline act on Keith's vaudeville programs, the all-girl Fadettes had been put out of work by vaudeville closings. Using upscale selections like the overture of Verdi's *Force of Destiny*, the Fadettes became the regular orchestra at the Victory.⁵⁹ Though they would eventually be replaced by the "Victory Symphony Orchestra," the Fadettes, under conductor Caroline B. Nichols, had provided exactly what the new theater needed: a ready-made orchestra that would attract patrons from other venues, inducing them to evaluate the new moving picture price scale not in comparison to nickelodeon prices but to the vaudeville price scale.

A study performed by cue sheet compiler Max Winkler for the Goldwyn Pictures Corporation suggests that by 1920 the country counted some 300 theater orchestras of thirty or more musicians (two years later Hugo Riesenfeld set the number at 500), out of a total of approximately 15,000 motion picture theaters. Some 3,500 theaters had orchestras of seven to twelve pieces, and another 3,500 had small ensembles of three or four musicians.⁶⁰ According to these figures, approximately half the nation's film theaters employed an orchestra. A 1922 *Motion Picture News* survey offers somewhat more conservative figures. This study reports about 30 percent of theaters featuring some form of orchestra. Of those, 7 percent are larger than ten pieces, with five to ten musicians most common.⁶¹ Even these levels represent a substantial increase over pre-1915 numbers. In rough terms, it would seem that in the late teens and early twenties orchestras tripled both in number and in size. Cities like New Orleans, which before 1915 had not a single orchestra, quickly moved to rectify that situation.⁶²

Though theaters wanted to capture vaudeville audiences, they built orchestras that would avoid association with vaudeville or local bands. Shying away from brass instruments, they instead emphasized the strings, which constituted as much as two-thirds of the formation. Listed below for comparison's sake are the instrumentation of Erno Rapee's ideal 25-in-

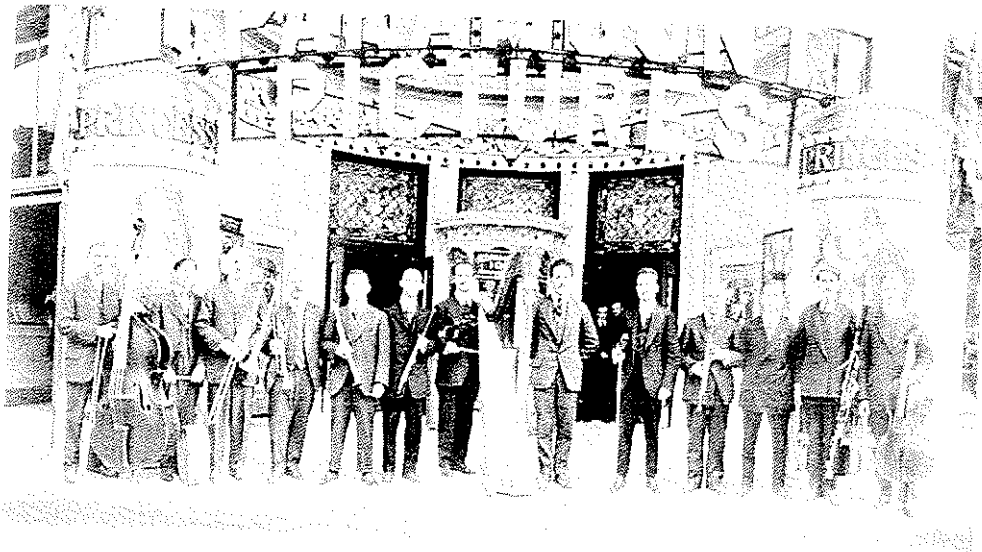
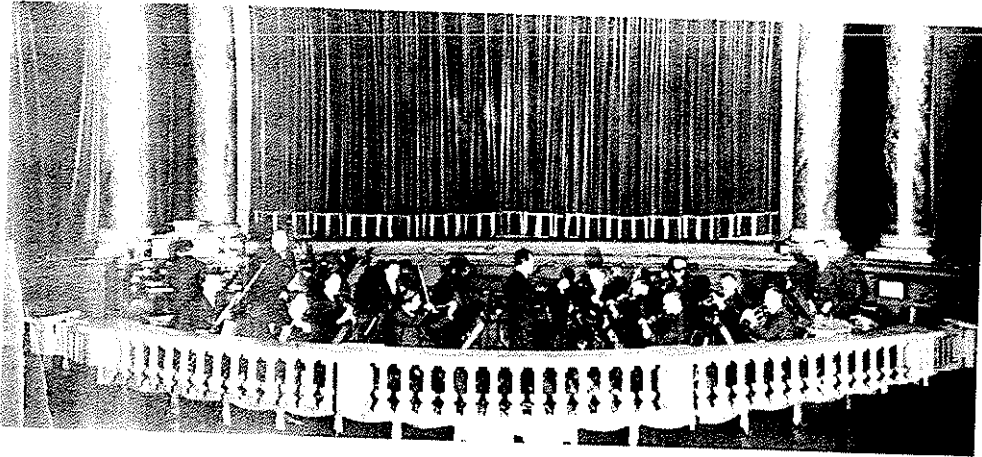
strument combination and the actual early twenties makeup of the Rialto and Capitol orchestras:

	25 pieces	Rialto	Capitol
first violins	6	10	16
second violins	2	6	10
violas	2	4	8
cellos	2	4	7
basses	1	3	6
flutes	1	2	2
oboes	1	1	2
clarinets	2	2	2
bassoons	1	1	2
French horns	2	2	4
trumpets	2	3	4
trombones	1	2	3
tubas	0	0	1
drummers	1	2	3
harps	1	1	1
<i>Total</i>	25	43	71 ⁶³

With nearly two-thirds of the musicians playing stringed instruments, none of these orchestras could possibly be mistaken for a vaudeville ensemble or brass band. In later years, the Capitol orchestra would grow to as many as 88 pieces, under the baton of conductor David Mendoza and assistant conductor Eugene Ormandy (who would later conduct a Philadelphia Orchestra enlarged by Leopold Stokowski to 104 instruments).⁶⁴ In 1929 the Roxy Symphony Orchestra boasted 110 members. As Capitol's musical director Erno Rapee points out, only the lack of a third player in each woodwind section separates the Capitol orchestra from a full symphony orchestra.⁶⁵ In his comparison of the standard symphony orchestra's configuration to the "Concert" or "American" orchestra (equivalent to a large theater orchestra like those listed above), the main distinction stressed by Gaston Borch is the latter's lack of separate parts for oboe, second clarinet, bassoon, and French horn. Otherwise, composition and scoring are virtually identical.

Instrumentation for smaller orchestras also accentuated the strings. In nickelodeons the first musician to be added to the pianist was always the drummer, with violin and trumpet coming in a poor third and fourth; but once the orchestra revolution got under

THE GOLDEN ERA OF SILENT FILM MUSIC



15.10 Two representative small city orchestras: Harry Struble's Des Moines Theatre orchestra (*above*) and Cavallo's Orchestra at Denver's Paramount Theatre (*below*)

way the recommended three-person combination was piano, violin, and cello, with opinions divided as to whether the best fourth instrument was a second violin or a clarinet. A drum would be added only as a fifth member (or even later, according to Erno Rapee), with the trumpet or cornet listed as sixth (and muted, at that).⁶⁶ The standard motion picture orchestra of twelve to fourteen members, now called "small" by trade press writers, contained two first violins (or a first violin and viola), second violin, cello, bass, flute, one or two clarinets, two trumpets, one or two trombones, a drummer, and a pianist or organ-

ist.⁶⁷ Depending on strings for less than half its instrumentation, thin on woodwinds (without a single oboe, bassoon, or horn), and lacking a second clarinet or second trumpet part, this small orchestra not only lacks the lush sound of the larger formations, it also requires the pianist or organist to work very hard filling in for the absent instruments.

For small orchestras without a keyboard instrument, orchestrators resorted to "cross-cueing" to compensate for the fact that their music would be used by so many differing formations. The parts that would have been played by a missing instrument

MOVING PICTURE ORCHESTRAS COME OF AGE

(oboe and bassoon in fig. 15.11) are cued (i.e., written in small notes) above the preferred replacement instrument (clarinets I and II), then—just in case those instruments are missing as well—cross-cued to further instruments (the flute and first violin, which typically shows all cross-cued parts, so that the first violinist can if necessary take over for any missing instrument, and because the first violinist would in all likelihood be the leader of an orchestra of this size). In terms of tone color, a passage written for oboe and bassoon would hardly sound the same played by the flute and first violin. In their eagerness to play “quality” music, small formations often overlooked this problem in their choice of music, thereby deserving this caution from Erno Rapee:

A warning word must be said to the over-anxious Musical Director to choose only such works as the number of men at his disposal can do justice to. Although there are modern orchestrations of practically all the big symphonic works, it is not a pleasure for an intelligent audience to listen to one lone trombone playing English Horn, French Horn and Bass Clarinet parts, which, although they are cued in the Trombone part as a rule, will not give the desired coloring and effect.⁶⁸

Just as turn-of-the-century bandleaders were often required to serve as arrangers, so late teens and twenties conductors and musical directors regularly reorchestrated familiar numbers. Even Victor Herbert was repeatedly forced to reorchestrate his score for *The Fall of a Nation* in order to fit his music to a wide variety of local formations.⁶⁹ This need to arrange the “same” music for orchestras of radically different sizes gave rise to important technical manuals such as the 1918 *Practical Manual of Instrumentation* by perennial photoplay music composer Gaston Borch, including several chapters devoted to orchestration, with particular attention to the adaptation of pieces written for large orchestra to small moving picture theater formations.⁷⁰

One of the reasons why trade press columnists at first discouraged the use of orchestras to accompany films is that orchestras could not improvise to follow screen action, yet theater routines and budgets made

Ex 91 (Clarinet Solo)

The musical score for Ex 91 (Clarinet Solo) is presented in a vertical layout with the following instruments and parts:

- Flute:** *pp* *giocoso*
- Oboe:** Solo, *pp* *giocoso* (Oboe Solo)
- Clarinet I in Bb:** *pp* *giocoso* (Bassoon Solo)
- Clarinet II in Bb:** *pp* *giocoso* Solo
- Bassoon:** *pp* *giocoso*
- Horns in F:** (Empty staff)
- Cornet I in Bb:** (Empty staff)
- Cornet II in Bb:** (Violoncello or Clarinet II)
- Trombone:** *pp* *giocoso* Triangle
- Timpani and Triangle:** (Empty staff)
- Violin I:** *pp* *giocoso*
- Violin II:** *pp* *giocoso*
- Viola:** *pp* *giocoso*
- Violoncello:** *pp* *giocoso*
- Contrabass:** *pp* *giocoso*

15.11 An example of cross-cueing

no allowance for preparing the musical program to be played by the orchestra. One of Roxy's most widely imitated innovations was the establishment of a regular weekly routine for selecting and rehearsing music.

THE GOLDEN ERA OF SILENT FILM MUSIC

At first, visitors were stunned to note the amount of time Roxy and his musicians spent preparing their shows.⁷¹ Little by little, however, they established their own schedules designed to assure a quality musical program. Here, for example, is the routine regularly followed by the Stillman Theatre in Cleveland (Ohio):

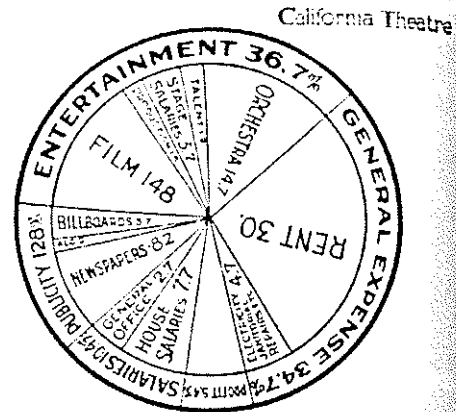
At three-fifteen on Tuesday afternoon, while the regular performance is running in the theatre proper, a little group consisting of House Manager, Newspaper Men, First Conductor, First Organist, Operator and Stenographer, gather in a private projection room in the basement of the theatre. The picture to be shown publicly the following Sunday is here screened. The manager suggests such cuts as seem advisable, the newspaper men prepare the press work, the musicians assimilate the moods, and the stenographer takes down a complete scenario of the picture, including all titles and a short description of each scene.

On Wednesday evening the first conductor and first organist meet and go over the scenario which has been type-written by the stenographer. This scenario ("dope-sheet") usually consists of about ten typed pages of legal cap. At this conference the parts of the picture to be played by the orchestra and those by the organ alone are agreed on and a general style of setting worked out. The dope-sheet is now divided into scenes; the average picture is made up of from forty to seventy separate scenes pasted together. Each scene suggests some musical style, and during the balance of the week the various scenes are assigned their settings.

At eight forty-five on Saturday morning a second group, consisting of conductor, organist, orchestral pianist, and operator, meet in the theatre proper. The picture is projected at exactly the speed it will be shown in public, and is accompanied by the pianist who plays the music to be used by the orchestra and, at the proper time, by the organist who plays the music he has set. At this rehearsal the musical accompaniment is made to be of the exact length needed and its dramatic intensity of proper strength. If a number is too strong for a given scene another is substituted; the setting must be satisfactory.

Sunday morning an orchestral rehearsal is called, lasting about three hours. This rehearsal is in charge of the first conductor and is attended by the full orchestra and first organist, and completes the preparation of the picture.

At one o'clock on Sunday the house is open for business and the new picture begins running.⁷²



ENTERTAINMENT		1. Film	14.8%	11. Janitor Service	1.0%
		2. Production	1.6%	12. Traveling	1.0%
		3. Stage salaries	3.7%	13. Telephone	1.0%
		4. Talent	1.9%	14. Electricity	1.0%
		5. Orchestra	14.7%	15. Heat and water	1.0%
		Total	36.7%	16. Repairs	1.0%
PUBLICITY		6. Newspapers	8.2%	17. Misc Supplies	1.0%
		7. Accessories	9.5%	18. Misc. Expense	1.0%
		8. Billboards, etc.	3.7%	19. Uniforms	1.0%
		Total	12.8%	20. Contributions	1.0%
SALARIES		9. House Salaries	7.7%	21. Rent	30.0%
		10. G. O. Supervisors	2.7%	22. Insurance	1.0%
		Total	10.4%	23. Taxes	1.0%
				Total	34.7%
Summary					
		Entertainment	36.7%		
		Publicity	12.8%		
		Salaries	10.4%		
		General Expense	34.7%		
		Total Expense	94.6%		
		Total Receipts	100.0%		
		Total Expense	94.6%		
		PROFIT	5.4%		

15.12 By the twenties, orchestra expenses equaled film costs.

This procedure presupposes not one but two conductors, so that one can be working on the following week's selections while the other conducts this week's music. This process also requires a second projection space within the theater; though virtually no pre-1915 theaters had such facilities, they were a regular feature of all new theater buildings. This approach to film accompaniment takes for granted the manager's right to censor or reedit the film. The extent of this practice is often forgotten by film historians. Vaudeville managers regularly excised passages of doubtful delicacy or reconfigured the films they showed. In 1917, Pittsburgh's successful manager William Moore Patch turned a film's final scene into a prologue to get the desired effect.⁷³ During the late teens and twenties, large theaters regularly created

their own newsreels out of actualities distributed by multiple companies. Decidedly, the personnel meeting together to map out a film's future felt themselves fully empowered to use the film in any way they saw fit.

Among Roxy's innovations, perhaps the most important was an expansion and reorganization of theater personnel. In the past, a film orchestra leader would have carried three separate responsibilities: music selection and arrangement, conducting, and playing the violin or piano part. At the Strand these functions were split among separate individuals. Roxy himself selected the music during a regular Saturday rehearsal. Carl Edouarde was responsible for conducting the music in synchrony with the picture. Instrumentalists could thus pay full attention to their playing. In subsequent years, all around the country, this distribution of responsibility would become the standard, with the eventual addition of still other specialized positions. Whereas Roxy doubled as manager and musical director at the Strand, his later theaters would all have a separate musical director, usually chosen from the ranks of former moving picture conductors. In many cases, the musical director would be a composer and cue sheet writer in addition to his local activities. The most famous was Hugo Riesenfeld, for many years musical director at the Rialto, Rivoli, and Criterion simultaneously.⁷⁴ In a large theater, the size of the music library required a whole team of librarians. In 1920, *Metronome* reported that the combined music library of the Rialto and Rivoli theaters had an indexed library of 32,000 compositions.⁷⁵ In 1927 the Roxy made big news by acquiring Victor Herbert's 30,000-piece music library from his widow. Music libraries were deemed so essential to a theater's success that they are often mentioned in theater publicity.⁷⁶ In keeping with current music-selection principles, numbers were typically categorized first by the mood or objects they are best suited to match (Spanish dances, running horses, religious ecstasy, etc.), and only secondarily by composer.

Successful coordination of such a large staff was assured by a new film turnover regime, with multiple

weekly changes abandoned in favor of full-week stands for all films (and multiple-week runs for many), thus facilitating timely selection of music and a weekly full-orchestra rehearsal.⁷⁷ Communication among personnel during the program was simplified by the development of high-tech conductor's desks. Equipped with telephone connections to all parts of the house, these substantial structures included switches, buzzers, and dials making it possible for the conductor to control virtually every aspect of the theater. The conductor's desk from Chicago's Granada Theatre, now preserved in the lobby of the Theatre Historical Society, offers a particularly attractive example. On the upper left are rotating controls for four separate elevators lifting orchestra, conductor, organ, and piano to any of three levels (high for the overture, middle for the picture, and low for out of sight). On the lower left are buttons requesting changes in stage lighting, curtain movement, film projection, slide projection, spotlights, and emergency action. The lower right offers call buttons for the conductor, assistant conductor, organist, and musicians. On the upper right are light switches for both conductor and musicians' lights, as well as two electrical outlets. The top middle features three round speedometer-like dials, one for each projector, showing both feet per minute and minutes per thousand feet of film, thus permitting the conductor to judge whether the film is being projected at the speed for which his synchronized musical program is planned. A second set of speedometers was located in the projection booth, and in some theaters, such as the Stillman in Cleveland, a third set was installed in the manager's office, making it possible for the manager to help the conductor obtain synchrony in the case of a particularly complex accompaniment.⁷⁸

The Evolving Musical Repertory

The film music repertory has always depended heavily on musicians' prior experience. Melodrama conductors brought with them the sheaf of music they had used for 10-20-30 performances. Vaudeville musicians

transferred to the nickelodeon their repertory of popular music and accompaniment practices. Young ladies with musical education contributed folk songs, "Oh Promise Me," and the latest Carrie Jacobs-Bond success. Concert musicians, though rare in the early years, added classical selections, primarily manageable solo piano numbers like Rubinstein's "Melody in F," Schumann's "Träumerei," Moszkowski's "Serenata," and Chopin's "Funeral March." The introduction of serious orchestras expanded the range substantially. This was not always to the film's benefit. Frank A. Edson tells the story of a New York theater where a small orchestra accompanied a film about Wall Street with De Beriot's Seventh Violin Concerto. To Edson's amazement, "one of the two violinists—evidently 'the leader'—played the three movements of this work from start to finish. One is justified in asking how in the name of common sense such a thing is possible and how a New York manager would pay a musician who had so deplorable an idea of the fitness of things."⁷⁹ Just as many nickelodeon pianists apparently brought little more with them than "Home Sweet Home," De Beriot's concerto was part of the repertory carried to the theater by this particular musician. The development of large orchestras and the popularity of the organ as a film accompaniment instrument introduced a steady supply of new musicians to moving picture theaters, thus accelerating repertory expansion.

In many ways, the post-1915 development of the moving picture music repertory differed from earlier expansion. Whereas previous musicians depended primarily on the music they brought with them to the nickelodeon, supplemented by each year's popular hits, in the teens the cinema industry spawned an entire film music publishing industry. Traditional music publishers like Carl Fischer and G. Schirmer developed whole new divisions dedicated to producing and marketing moving picture music. Pioneer publishing houses like Berg, Belwin, and Photoplay Music Co. sprang up in the mid-teens to meet the new demand. What had changed was not just an increase of motion picture musicians, but a shift from music as an exclusively oral/aural practice to music as a written form.

By far the majority of nickelodeon musicians played either from memory or by improvisation. Though many could sight-read music, because they worked alone they were not dependent on printed scores. With the advent of theater orchestras, two important changes took place. With few exceptions, theater musicians came from a background where written or printed scores were the rule (as opposed to solo improvisation or ensemble "jamming"). Increasingly, film accompaniment became dependent on published music, for keyboard players as well as instrumentalists. A decade earlier, most music recommended in the trade press was already known to pianists accustomed to expanding their repertory by ear. After 1915, however, the range of music evoked by trade press authors and cue sheet compilers would outstrip the prior knowledge of even the most experienced musicians. The only solution was to buy the printed score, which is what columnists increasingly encouraged. Whereas previous musical suggestions had presumed familiarity with the prescribed music, in 1915 the trade press began to publish advertisements for the music recommended by columnists. As of August 1915, ads for Ernst Luz's *A.B.C. Dramatic Set* appear regularly alongside the "Music Plots" recommending his compositions. Starting at the end of 1915, a Schirmer's ad in each *Moving Picture World* issue lists the compositions mentioned in S. M. Berg's "Musical Settings." By the fall of 1916, Berg discovered a better system: he set himself up as music publisher and distributor and included his own ads along with his *Moving Picture World* musical suggestions. Even at the reduced prices practiced by Berg, the music for each feature film would have cost almost ten dollars. Though there are no surviving financial records of the many companies established solely to provide music to silent film musicians, the sale of photoplay music and classical scores for film accompaniment must have constituted a lucrative business.

In order to grasp the post-1913 development of the moving picture music repertory, it is essential to understand fundamental mid-teens changes in the film theater program. Until 1913, a large majority of

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15.14 S. M. Berg's ad for his first moving picture music publications

theaters that showed films also featured illustrated songs or vaudeville acts. With the passing of the illustrated song, space was created for some other form of entertainment. At first, many theaters simply expanded the film portion of the program. Before long, however, the nationwide publicity surrounding Roxy's New York theaters and their practices led to adoption of a new arrangement. Henceforth, the spaces previously taken up by the illustrated song would be allocated to an instrumental overture, high-class vocal performances, and an organ solo. Whereas the old configuration forced pianists to expand their repertory by the addition of each week's illustrated songs, the new program offered weekly training in classical or semiclassical fare. New numbers entered the moving picture repertory first as overtures or vocal numbers before reappearing as film accompaniment. As an overture, a composition would typically be repeated two to

four times daily, at least six days a week. First concertmaster then assistant conductor of the Capitol Theatre orchestra, eventual Philadelphia Philharmonic conductor Eugene Ormandy attributed much of his education to moving picture playing. "Works were played by the week," he noted, "and this meant that each one got performed twenty-eight times, Tchaikovsky's *Fourth*, Beethoven's *Fifth*, or whatever. By the end of the last show on Saturday night, you *knew* the music."⁸⁰ Once new pieces had been added to the overture repertory, they were likely bets to show up shortly in cue sheets.

Besides being attractive and varied, film overtures had to be relatively short. In spite of Ormandy's recollections, Tchaikovsky's *Fourth* and Beethoven's *Fifth* were rarely played in toto. Most often, a single movement would be used as a unit. As amateurish as this may appear to us today, during the teens it was common even in the concert hall.⁸¹ The choice for most overtures would fall, however, on compositions specifically designed for maximum variety in a short duration. Opera and operetta overtures were thus objects of choice. While orchestras regularly repeated the standards of previous years, especially those by Flotow (*Martha*), Gounod (*Faust*), Mascagni (*Cavalleria Rusticana*), Rossini (*William Tell*), Suppé (*Poet and Peasant*, *Light Cavalry*), Tchaikovsky (*1812*), Thomas (*Mignon*), Verdi (*Aida*), Wagner (*Rienzi*, *Tannhäuser*), and Weber (*Freischütz*), the repertory was substantially expanded during the mid and late teens to include additional overtures by the same composers (Rossini's *Barber of Seville*, Suppé's *Morning, Noon, and Night in Vienna*, Verdi's *Rigoletto*, *Sicilian Vespers*, and *La Traviata*, Wagner's *Lohengrin*, *Meistersinger*, and *Tristan*) and several others (Auber's *Masaniello*, Herbert's *The Red Mill*, Massenet's *Manon* and *Phèdre*, Mendelssohn's *Phaedra* and *Ruy Blas*, Offenbach's *Orpheus*, Puccini's *La Bohème* and *Tosca*, Weber's *Euryanthe* and *Oberon*). Several symphony movements and shorter pieces were also regularly pressed into service as overtures: pieces by Dvořák ("Carnaval"), Grieg ("Peer Gynt Suite"), Liszt ("Rhapsodies" and "Symphonic Poems," "Les Préludes"), Rimsky-Korsakov

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many old stand-bys ("Hackneyed 'has beens' like the 'Trio from Faust,' 'Quartet from Rigoletto,' and 'Sextet from Lucia,'" as George W. Beynon put it) were replaced by an entirely new selection.⁸² So proud were

theaters of their musical program that overture music was often mentioned in theater ads, and trade press organs regularly published overture lists as a measure of a theater's prowess.⁸³

The orchestra-driven expansion of the film music repertory took place in two stages. Beginning with the opening of the Strand in 1914, the first phase lasted until 1921. In addition to the development of cue sheets and a substantial increase in the publication of photoplay music, the mid- and late teens saw a rather extraordinary expansion of film music in several directions. As George W. Beynon put it in a 1918 *Moving Picture World* "Music for the Picture" column, "These certainly are the halcyon days for picture music."⁸⁴ During this period, virtually every composition used as an overture found its way into the film accompaniment portion of the program. Very nearly the entire repertory of Western music was searched for appropriate pieces, i.e., numbers that would sound good without a full symphony orchestra, and that could be handled by musicians brought up on Suppé rather than Liszt. Late teens additions to the film music repertory included several apparently unlikely composers, including Couperin, Handel, Boccherini, Haydn, and Meyerbeer. Among nineteenth-century composers, the most often tapped were Beethoven, Bizet, Liszt, Massenet, Mendelssohn, and Offenbach. Contemporary contributors included Dvořák ("Humoresque," "New World" Symphony), Lalo ("Symphonie Espagnole"), MacDowell ("Woodland Sketches" and "Sea Pieces"), and Saint-Saëns ("Rondo Capriccioso"). Conductors and musical directors with band or brass orchestra experience regularly turned to recent composers like Riccardo Drigo ("Serenata" from *Les Millions d'Arlequin*), Victor Herbert (selections from *Babes in Toyland*), Mayhew L. Lake ("The Evolution of Dixie," "In a Bird Store"), and Theodore Moses-Tobani ("Trip to Coney Island"). This list hardly does justice to the extraordinary riches added to the film music repertory during this period. During a single week in 1915, for example, Torpey's Lorenz Orchestra at the Lorenz Theatre in Bethlehem (Pa.) played compositions by Bizet, Godard, Grieg, Her-

bert, Jensen, Lehar, MacDowell, Mascagni, Mozart, Offenbach, Puccini, Rossini, Schubert, Schumann, Smetana, Suppé, Thomas, and Tobani, as well as popular selections and many works by lesser composers.⁸⁵

The early teens' prejudice against popular songs disappeared almost entirely in the late teens. Their prestige no longer in doubt, moving picture theaters could now return to their popular roots. In smaller theaters, where a lone pianist remained on duty, the repertory hadn't changed in years. At the Carlin Theater in Spalding (Neb.), from 1918 to 1920 Dot De-Backer played a steady diet of recent hits, including "A Hot Time in the Old Town," "Alice Blue Gown," and "Melancholy Baby," along with wartime favorites "Roses of Picardy," "I'm Always Chasing Rainbows," and "Smiles."⁸⁶ But popular songs were hardly limited to small theaters and solo pianists. "For example," says Jerome Lachenbruch in *Metronome*, "in a domestic life comedy, when the situation reveals a backsliding husband about to return home to an angry wife, it would be quite in order for the orchestra to strike up the dashing theme of 'There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight.' The significance of this particular song lies in its being universally known."⁸⁷ While some commentators suggest reserving popular songs for comic situations, virtually everyone follows Roxy in claiming the usefulness of familiar melodies for film accompaniment.⁸⁸ While moving picture theaters never returned to exclusive dependency on new hits, popular music remained an essential component of film accompaniments until the demise of silent films.

Carli Elinor's score for D. W. Griffith's wartime anti-German epic *Hearts of the World* offers an appropriate example of the late teens' musical aesthetic practiced in American theaters. Following a thematic approach common throughout the late teens and twenties, Elinor began by selecting an appropriate love theme for Lillian Gish and Robert Harron (identified simply as the Boy and the Girl). For this he chose "a dainty spring-song melody," the popular "Sweetest Bunch of Lilacs." When the two later suffer from parting and loneliness he shifts to the pathetic

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15.17 Volkwein ad (1922) for "Old Time Hits" at a time when the film music profession was rediscovering popular songs

"Connais-tu le pays," from Thomas's opera *Mignon*. As "the Little Disturber," a Paris street singer who tries unsuccessfully to win the Boy away from the Girl, Dorothy Gish is represented musically by the familiar Anna Held tune, "It's Delightful to Be Married." Similarly, the comic soldier known as "Monsieur Cuckoo" is given the popular "Ciribiribin" as his tag line, while the childhood song "Peek-a-boo" is applied to "the Little Brother." In addition to these tunes, as Elinor himself put it, "Compositions by the illustrious Rossinitchaikovskysuppegriegchopinwagner supplied the proper atmosphere for the remainder of my score."⁸⁹ In particular, portions of the overture to Verdi's *La Forza del Destino* are employed throughout the battle scenes. This mixture of popular songs, French opera, and an Italian opera overture is entirely representative of the period's film music. Typically, the heavier selections are used with relatively impersonal large scenes, while the more familiar material is reserved for sentimental, touching, or introspective moments that develop or reveal the characters' personalities.

In spring 1921, an explosion of foreign film releases prompted a new repertory expansion. Recognizing the American postwar tendency to shun all things German, distributors waited two full years before introducing German imports. Even then, Lubitsch's *Madame Dubarry* (exhibited in the United States as *Passion*) was not frankly advertised as a German film. After a short tryout in New Jersey, *Passion* opened at New York's Capitol Theatre on 12 December 1920, with a new score by David Mendoza and William Axt. The film broke all records at the Capitol and later played to standing-room-only in Chicago, turning leading lady Pola Negri and director Ernst Lubitsch into stars, and freeing German films from their *de facto* embargo.⁹⁰ On 3 April 1921, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* opened at the Capitol Theatre with a daring score compiled by Samuel Rothapfel and Erno Rapee. Clearly seeking to make a musical splash, artistic director Roxy and musical director Rapee went out of their way to select difficult music, never before heard on Broadway or in any other American

moving picture theater. As a motif for *Caligari* they selected Richard Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel," balanced against Debussy's "Afternoon of a Faun," used as Cesare's theme. Mussorgsky and Prokofiev were also tapped, along with several composers never before included in film accompaniments: the 28-year-old American sensation Leo Ornstein, as well as modernist leaders Arnold Schoenberg and Igor Stravinsky. The production also featured a 60-voice chorus.⁹¹ In spite of repeated pronouncements by film scholars to the contrary, *Caligari* fared quite well in the American market, especially for an avant-garde film.⁹²

Just two weeks later, the Rivoli opened another Lubitsch film, *Anna Boleyn* (called *Deception* in the United States), with a score by Hugo Riesenfeld that is to historical reconstruction what the Roxy-Rapee *Caligari* score is to modernism. Delving deep into the massive combined libraries of the Rivoli and Rialto theaters—and even the British Museum—Riesenfeld reconstructed a musical atmosphere appropriate to the time of Henry the Eighth. While musical directors and pianists had for years sought to match accompaniment music to the country, period, and circumstances of on-screen action, nothing of *Deception's* magnitude had ever been attempted previously. In the name of authenticity, Riesenfeld added to his already substantial orchestra not only a harpsichord but also an oboe di caccia and a viola d'amore. Musical selections were chosen from a dizzying list of period composers, which reads like a who's who of baroque music: Handel, Bach, Rameau, Grétry, Vivaldi, Corelli, Purcell, Mattheson, Couperin, Scarlatti, and Lully. As recounted by May Johnson in the *Musical Courier*,

The celebration of Queen Katherine's birthday is held to a Bach suite, played by the clavecin and orchestra, while a pretty love scene between Anne Boleyn and Sir Henry Norris has a musical setting played by cello and clavecin. A charming and impressive spring festival held on a lake is held to the strains of Handel, while the music of Rameau, played by piccolos, bassoon, two violins, viola, cello and bass accompanies the playful movement

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Photo Plays week of May 1st will be

<p style="text-align: center;">RIVOLI Third Week "DECEPTION" The Romance of Anne Boleyn and King Henry VIII</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Broadway at 48th St.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">RIALTO DOUGLAS MacLEAN in "The Home Stretch"</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Times Square</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">CRITERION Sixth Week Sir James M. Barrie's "SENTIMENTAL TOMMY"</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Broadway at 44th St.</p>

15.18 The *Musical Courier's* "Amusements" column, touting Riesenfeld's film theater concerts

when the King, seeing a skirt caught in a door wonders who is wearing it—it is Henry's first meeting with Anne Boleyn. Grétry's music accompanies a lively tennis scene and Handel's "Concert Grosso" dramatically describes the moment when the King slips into Anne's room and tears off his mask—revealing to the frightened girl not her lover but her royal suitor.⁹³

Mezzo-soprano Inga Wank's final solo—"O Death, Rock Me to Sleep"—reaches new heights of authenticity. According to musical authorities, while she was in the Tower of London awaiting execution Anne Boleyn herself wrote the song that would accompany her to the executioner's block. The song's manuscript lies in the British Museum.⁹⁴ Like *Passion* and *Caligari* before it, *Deception* was warmly received and held over in New York before national release. In order to make sure that the Rivoli's innovative score would follow it to other theaters, Hugo Riesenfeld and his assistant Joseph Littau personally conducted the orchestra at Boston's Colonial Theater.⁹⁵

During the spring of 1921, following the First National Conference of Motion Picture and Musical Interests at the Astor Hotel in March,⁹⁶ Riesenfeld's theaters (the Rialto, Rivoli, and Criterion) began running joint advertisements with the caption

NO CONCERT SCHEDULE NEEDED IN NEW YORK
The best orchestral and vocal music is always available at the theatres under the direction of Hugo Riesenfeld

At this point, New York's musical programs could actually make good on this claim. These were extraordinary times for American film exhibitors. In May the Strand began a distinguished series of foreign imports with Lubitsch's *Carmen* (released in the United States as *Gypsy Blood*), which played New York with a Bizet-heavy score by Joseph Plunkett, then toured the country with a special score arranged by a team of musical stars (Hugo Riesenfeld, Carl Edouarde, James C. Bradford, and Joseph Carl Breil) for the Chicago-based Synchronized Scenario Music Co.⁹⁷ The following week Abel Gance personally attended a preview at the Ritz-Carlton of his antiwar film, *L'Accuse* (*J'Accuse*), with a score by Hugo Riesenfeld.⁹⁸ With a distinguished score by William Frederick Peters and Louis Silvers, Griffith's *Way Down East* had been packing them in at the 44th Street Theatre since September,⁹⁹ while at the Town Hall, the synchronized sound system used with Griffith's *Dream Street* continued to fascinate audiences. In June, *The Golem*

MOVING PICTURE ORCHESTRAS COME OF AGE

ADV. BY ALBEC Prop CHAS LOYENBERG Gen Mgr

VICTORY THEATRE WEEK of **OCT-17**

PRETTY FASCINATING
DORIS MAY
The JOY GIRL
IN
THE FOOLISH AGE

The STORY OF A GIRL WHO THOUGHT SHE HAD A MISSION IN LIFE

A LAUGH IN EVERY LINE

SUSPENSEFUL DRAMA OF LOVE & ADVENTURE

WHO AM I?

GERTRUDE ASTOR

BIG CAST INCLUDING CLAIRE ANDERSON, MILES WELCH, JOSEPH SWICKARD, LITERARY DIGEST AND OTHER FEATURES

OCT 24 A WIFE'S AWAKENING WITH FRITZI BRUNETTE & WEGARLETON
"THE JOURNEYS END" WITH MABEL BALLIN & WYNDHAM STANDING

Beethoven's "Moonlight Sonata"
"Danse of the Hours," from La Gioconda, Ponchielli
Festival Dance, from Coppelia, Delibes
"Angelas," from Scenes Pittoresques, Massenet
Ballad Music, from La Escluse De Saba, Gounod
Evening Reverie, from Suite Algérienne Saint-Saëns

15.19 Once music became a major attraction, many theaters, including the Providence Victory, provided detailed accompaniment programs in their ads.

opened at the Criterion and was held over until October. In the fall Lubitsch's *Sumurun* (shown in the United States as *One Arabian Night*) premiered at the Strand, followed by *All for a Woman* and *Vendetta*.

This distinguished run of foreign films both spurred and freed musical directors to reach beyond the currently accepted repertory and practices. Starting in the fall of 1921, novel musical settings for American films began to appear. In October 1921, Paramount's *Peter Ibbetson* opened at the Criterion. Based on the novel by George du Maurier, author of the celebrated *Trilby*, *Peter Ibbetson* carried some of the prestige associated with the recent spate of foreign offerings (enough to lead *Musical Courier's* editor Deems Taylor to turn it into an opera a decade

later). Laid in France in the mid-nineteenth century, the film was accompanied at the Criterion by a particularly well-crafted score carefully constructed from a wide variety of French compositions, including several folk songs and selections from Bizet's *L'Arlésienne*, Coates's "Children's Dance" (from "Miniature Suite"), Massenet's *La Navarraise* and *Hérodiade*, the traditional march "La Vosgienne," Debussy's "Réverie," Chabrier's "Habañera," and Gluck's "Minuet," with additional selections from Rossini's *Otello*, the second movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, and Mendelssohn's "Venetian Barcarole."¹⁰⁰ Until 1921, such a range of music would never have been employed. According to Erno Rapee, "This movement for better music reached its culminating

point in the year 1921 when I had the honor of producing for the first time in the history of any movie theatre, Richard Strauss' 'Till Eulenspiegel' and then one year later the same composer's 'A Hero's Life.'" ¹⁰¹ More than ever before, this was a period when exhibitors showed a clear recognition of the importance of musical accompaniment. Some theaters, like the Victory Theatre in Providence (R.I.), even began to list incidental music in their advertisements. ¹⁰²

What stands behind this drive to expand the film music repertory? On the one hand, the answer seems obvious. As they had done during the crisis of the late aughts, exhibitors in the early twenties employed music both as a form of product differentiation and as a means to increase the overall prestige of their enterprise. From Sousa to Roxy, early-twentieth-century musical figures never stopped repeating just how important moving pictures were for the American public's musical education. ¹⁰³ But other forces are at work here as well. While most discussions of film accompaniment stressed the importance of choosing quality music, expanding the repertory, and maintaining an extensive music library, from time to time columnists and conductors recognized the awkward fact that portions of their repertory were no longer as effective as they once had been. Repeatedly, commentators suggested that compositions like the overtures to Rossini's *William Tell*, Suppé's *Poet and Peasant*, and Wagner's *Rienzi* had been used often enough to wear out their welcome. ¹⁰⁴ During the 1928 presidential campaign, for example, the chief editor of *Musical Courier* offered several "planks with which any candidate can win our own vote for the Presidency," the very first of which was "Less use of Tschaiikowsky's *Pathétique* in moving pictures." ¹⁰⁵ Once novelties in a repertory primarily composed of popular songs, these pieces had suffered from what we might call the "wear factor." Critics repeatedly noted music's potential to interfere with film spectatorship. In the early teens, critics sought to banish from the theater any music that might compete with the film. In particular, they recognized that accompaniment by title or lyrics shunted the audience's attention from the film to the

accompanist. Later critics witnessed the same process with overly familiar classical selections. When spectators recognize the music from an opera, these critics claimed, their knowledge of that opera interferes with their concentration on the film at hand. ¹⁰⁶ When first introduced, a particular piece sidetracks the attention of no more than a handful of spectators already familiar with the music. But once the music becomes a standard part of the repertory, a substantial portion of the audience is likely to say "Oh, that's *Rienzi*" rather than concentrate on the film's action. The only solution to this wear factor is constant renewal of the film music repertory. One of the most symbolic events in the history of film music offers eloquent testimony to this process.

In the midst of the extraordinary atmosphere produced in the spring of 1921 by several high-profile imports and equally remarkable musical settings, Roxy had the temerity to bring back *The Birth of a Nation* for a return engagement at the Capitol, not with its original Joseph Carl Breil score, but with new music chosen by Roxy and his assistants (Erno Rapee, William Axt, and Herman Hand), played by a 90-piece orchestra. ¹⁰⁷ Like the music for *Deception*, the new score for *Birth of a Nation* was carefully selected to match not only the film's atmosphere but also its exact historical circumstances. Amid Civil War era songs, Breil's "Clan Call" was the only portion of the original score retained. In response to considerable discussion sparked by the new music, ¹⁰⁸ Roxy offered the following defense:

A score is nothing more or less than a musical adaptation or interpretation of the dramatic values of the picture. The art of the musical presentation has progressed so markedly during the seven years since *The Birth of a Nation* was first produced, that different standards and methods of adaptation have educated the public to new musical values. In the original adaptation such selections as "Rienzi," "Freischütz," "Ride of the Walkyrie," and "Light Cavalry" were used. The movie going public has since then become familiar through the medium of the motion picture

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theater and popular opera with these operas and the stories of these works, and their usage today in the accompaniment to *Birth of a Nation* would have seemed inadequate and misrepresentative. The *Clan Call*, which is an inspired bit of composition, was retained, but in the body of the setting it was thought in better taste to utilize the airs which are contemporaries with the period of history covered by this American screen classic.¹⁰⁹

While warhorse overtures were maintained as part of the overall film theater's program (the overture to *Rienzi* was played the very next week at the Strand),¹¹⁰ the wear factor precluded a continued film accompaniment role for these compositions. Apparently, the only solution was constant renewal of the film music repertory.