

Movie Palaces on Canadian Downtown Main Streets: Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver

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Article abstract

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Abstract

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Résumé

Les rues Sainte-Catherine à Montréal, Yonge à Toronto et Granville à Vancouver accueillent les premières salles de cinéma. À partir de 1896, les films sont présentés dans des lieux de divertissement variés. Lorsque les salles consacrées au cinéma apparaissent en 1906, elles sont édifiées çà et là, avant la délimitation nette au centre-ville d'un quartier réservé au cinéma. C'est vers 1920 que les théâtres de variétés, avec leurs primeurs cinématographiques, occupent une place prédominante quant à la fréquentation du cinéma en milieu urbain, position qu'ils conservent jusque dans les années 1950. Après avoir exposé brièvement la manière dont a pris forme la fréquentation des salles de cinéma, l'article traite de la proximité entre les salles du centre-ville et le plus grand magasin de chaque ville. Vient ensuite une analyse théorique portant sur la manière dont le divertissement et la consommation donnent un sens au fait d'être au « cœur de la ville » dans le quotidien en milieu urbain. Les marquises des salles de cinéma renouvellent l'utilisation sociale de l'éclairage électrique et du divertissement urbain, et deviennent ainsi un symbole de l'organisation des foules et des consommateurs du centre-ville en grand public attentif. La conclusion offre un bref exposé du déclin des salles de cinéma, des années 1970 à l'année 2000, et présente les conséquences de leur remplacement par les complexes cinématographiques, soit leur démolition ou leur préservation.

Understanding how the *sign* of the theatre marquee continues to be a meaningful way people imagine Canadian downtowns requires an examination of the prominence of first-run movie palaces in Canadian downtowns from the 1920s to the 1950s. This review of the geography of film-going combines histories of movie theatres and film distribution with discussions of the cultural significance of consumption, amusement, and electricity in urban life. Here, the emergence of downtown movie palaces at the top of a spatial hierarchy of urban film-going is outlined, followed by a consideration of the cultural relation of downtown to the everyday life of the city. Into the 1950s, downtown marquees and theatre signs became taller and brighter, reflecting their symbolic centrality, even as their economic importance waned. As the conclusion considers the decline of movie palaces, the implicit context is thus the changing relation of downtown to urban life. Although previous work on the social geography of film-going has taken up the tension between concentration downtown and expansion in the suburbs, it has not accounted for the Canadian situation, especially the nationwide near-monopoly of one company, Famous Players, from 1923 to 1941. Canadian film histories have, in turn, documented the dominance of Famous Players without considering the social context implied by where and when movie theatres were built.

The association of cinema-going with downtown's main street was neither immediate nor obvious when cinema first entered into the modern mixture of consumption and amusement in Canadian cities. The first decade of film shows, 1896 to 1906, occurred in many places as a peripheral part of pre-existing spaces, such as suburban amusement parks, exhibition fairgrounds, and theatre variety shows. Even as early movie theatres provided a space more prominently showcasing film after 1906, they were situated in neighbourhoods throughout Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, without clearly combining cinema with vaudeville in large "palace" theatres downtown. Movie-going and downtown only became more systematically and symbolically connected after the First World War, when the film industry became a big business, vertically integrated from production to theatrical exhibition including vaudeville companies, based on a rationalized distribution hierarchy of "runs" and "zones," where downtown movie palaces commanded the highest prices and most recent films.

The Emergence of the Movie Palace

In the largest Canadian cities, movie palaces on downtown's main street dominated film-going from about 1920 into the 1950s, perhaps because one company, Famous Players, operated almost all of them. During these decades when film was a mass medium, downtown movie palaces were the prestige locations, both for the audience when considering where to go out, and for the industry when setting prices and collecting profits. However, the importance of downtown palaces was not immediate when film projection began in Canada. The conglomerated organization of theatre spaces and film exhibition took at least a decade to emerge after the first nickelodeons opened and not until after movie houses were built throughout



Figure 1: Vancouver's Granville Street, circa 1936, looking north from Smithe

the cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, and even in their suburbs.

The history of movie-palace building differs from city to city, especially among the larger metropolitan centres.¹ For example, in the late 1920s, Loew's movie palaces in Brooklyn, Queen's, the Bronx, and New Jersey were built larger than most of the Times Square theatres in New York City, although film premiere showings and the highest prices remained to distinguish Manhattan's central role.² In Chicago, the suburban movie palaces of the Balaban and Katz chain, several built before their downtown Chicago palace, allowed this regional chain to dominate film-going in the city through dogmatically rational management, even though they did not initially have access to the top Hollywood films.³ Downtown movie palaces in Los Angeles were never built as large as theatres in other cities, and the prominence of Hollywood theatres like Grauman's Chinese make it debatable how and when downtown was important to

film-going in L.A.⁴ In comparison to the U.S. experience, film-going in the largest Canadian cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver was more clearly focused on the movie palaces along the main downtown shopping street of each city.

Beginning around 1906, throughout North America in small towns and big cities alike, the moving picture theatre became a fixture of the retail mix of shops along downtown and neighbourhood main streets. Cinema had already existed for a decade as a subordinate part of other amusements, as just one of the many attractions available at variety theatres, amusement parks, and exhibition grounds. Three of the earliest public projections of film in Canada illustrate how cinema was included in various amusement spaces. In what is now accepted as the first film show in Canada, Louis Minier presented films using the Lumière Cinematographe as part of the variety bill at Montreal's Palace theatre on St. Lawrence Street on June 27, 1896.⁵ Shortly after, in Ottawa's West End Park on July 21, 1896, films

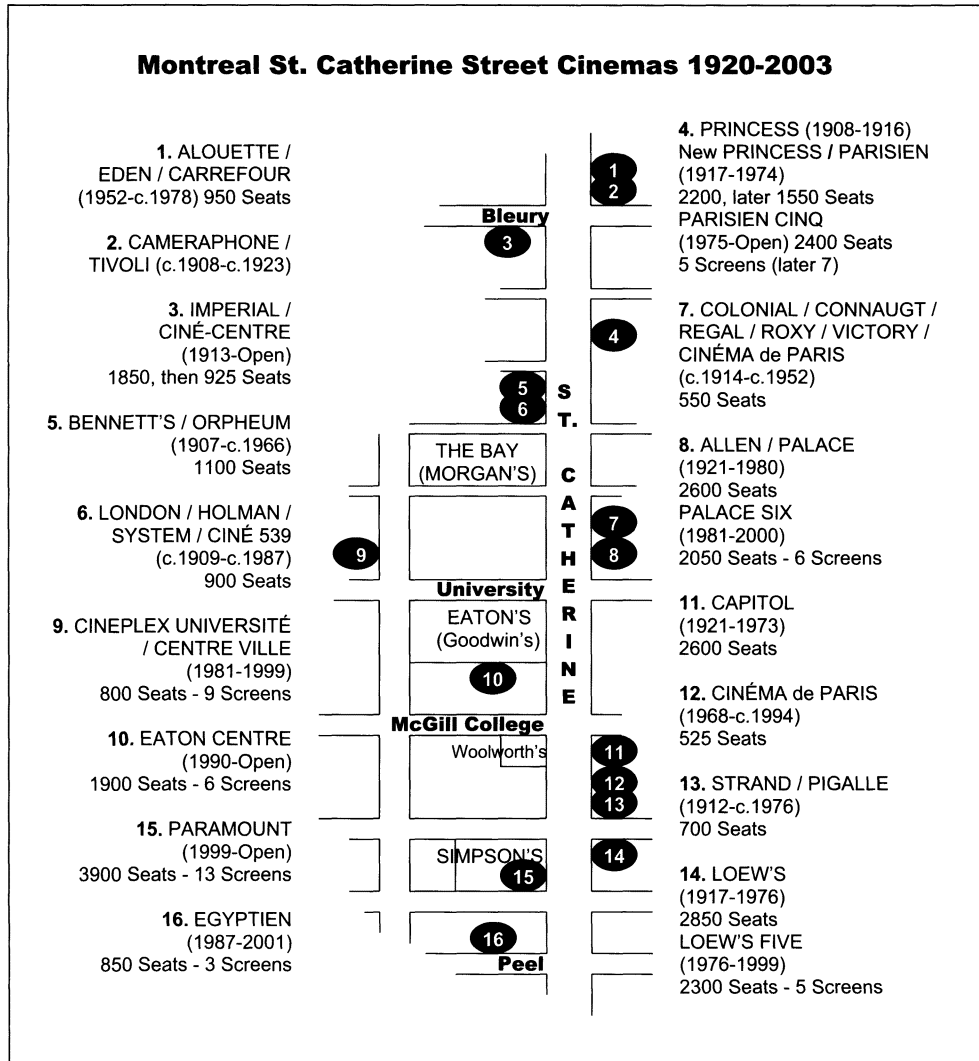


Figure 2: Montreal's theatre district emerged west along St. Catherine Street from Bennett's, the Princess, and Imperial playhouses, and each soon became a cinema itself. From 1920 into the 1970s, there were about nine cinemas downtown, a maximum of ten after the Capitol and Allen opened, but before the Tivoli closed. Although stable in number, names changed with renovations. Multi-screen theatres replaced older cinemas in the 1980s, and the Paramount in 1999 became the largest ever on the strip.

were shown using the Vitascope, licensed from Edison by local entrepreneurs Andrew and George Holland.⁶ On August 31, Ed Houghton brought the Edison Vitascope to Toronto, including it among the attractions available at Robinson's Musee on Yonge Street at King Street. Beginning the next day, September 1, the competing Lumière films were shown at the fairgrounds of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition by H. J. Hill, who held an Ontario licence for the Cinematographe. Hill remained in Toronto after the exhibition, renting a vacant space that had been a billiard hall on Yonge Street, opposite the Musee, giving films their first dedicated space in Toronto from September 23 into October, and again in December 1896.⁷ The range of circumstances for

these early film projections in Canada shows that the character of cinema was initially diverse and its niche in urban culture unformulated. In Montreal, the first film show was integrated into the daily roster of variety shows at an established theatre. In Ottawa, cinema was presented as part of a special occasion at a summertime amusement park. In Toronto, film was connected to industrial and commercial modernity on display at the exhibition grounds, but also followed up with a site of its own, albeit temporary, mixed in with retail consumption downtown.

For the next decade, films continued to be presented in such diverse places, at Canada's exhibition grounds and amusement

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parks in summer months, on the daily show bills at variety theatres, and as an attraction available at downtown dime museums of more dubious reputation. Shortly after the Shea's Yonge Street vaudeville theatre opened in 1899, films from American Biograph were added to the daily bill of acts.⁸ In Montreal, from at least 1901, films were occasionally part of Proctor's vaudeville at His Majesty's theatre on Guy Street, and also shown daily at Georges Gauvreau's newly opened National theatre on the east end of St. Catherine Street.⁹ In Vancouver, films were likely shown daily at the first Orpheum theatres, and on occasion at the Vancouver Opera House on Granville Street.¹⁰

There were also itinerant film exhibitors, many of them American, doubling as lecturers, or in Quebec as *bonimenteurs*, who travelled throughout Canada with their projectors and films, typically also including musicians or phonographs and continuing to use older technologies such as lantern slides of still photographs.¹¹ The first of these travelling showmen to rent a city space and set up a relatively permanent nickelodeon was probably J. M. Nash in Vancouver. On November 20, 1902, his Electric theatre opened on Cordova Street, generally accepted to be the first place in Canada that could be defined as a proper "movie theatre."¹² Other theatres opened along Cordova and Hastings Streets soon after, such as J. M. Smith's Unique in January 1903, Le Petit theatre in March 1903, and Walter Parkes's Grand in February 1904, which soon became W. W. Ely's Edison Grand.¹³ Each advertised in daily newspapers, and the change of show became increasingly important as the ability to frequently attend the movies became part of the promotion. Film-going was entering into the daily routine of city life in Canada, and beginning to mark itself as a distinct and separate amusement.

In Montreal, towards the end of 1905 and early in 1906, film projectionists and machine operators who had been employed at variety theatres began to lease their own spaces and advertise as "Scopes," where films took priority over accompanying live entertainment. The most successful of these was Ernest L. Ouimet, who was the projectionist in the summer months at the Parc Sohmer, and at the National theatre under manager Gauvreau. In 1905 Ouimet had set up temporary "Ouimetoscopes" in a few places around Montreal, advertising in English or French, or both, depending on which hall was rented. Beginning January 1, 1906, he opened the Salle Poiré as the Ouimetoscope, just a block west of the National where he had been an employee. Some other early "scopes" in Montreal were also named after their owners, such as J. D. Rochon's Rochonoscope, Alex Read's Readoscope, and Eugene Lasalle's Lasalloscope. But the Ouimetoscope, in particular, was successful enough to merit a complete rebuilding of the hall into a luxury movie theatre. Opening August 31, 1907, the new theatre was perhaps the largest and most ornate cinema house in Canada for years to come, although it advertised only in French-language newspapers.¹⁴

In Toronto, beginning in 1906, several showmen rented and renovated retail spaces, so that the "theatorium," or storefront theatre, soon became a new category on municipal building permits.¹⁵ The most successful was former circus show-

man John J. Griffin, who opened a theatre simply named the Theatorium in March 1906 on Yonge Street just north of Queen Street, usually cited as Toronto's first permanent movie theatre.¹⁶ Griffin, along with son Peter, soon had a small chain of theatres throughout downtown Toronto. Other showmen operating in Toronto by 1909 included L. J. Applegath of the Crystal Palace and David Minier of the Comique, both on Yonge Street, Frank Welsman of the Elysium in Riverdale, and William Joy of the Wonderland in West Toronto Junction.¹⁷

Although many of the first motion picture theatres were located in central shopping areas, they were not located on the city blocks that later became the theatre district. In Vancouver, early picture houses were clustered along Hastings, near the cheaper vaudeville theatres rather than up Granville Street close to the Opera House and the Orpheum.¹⁸ In Montreal, the "scopes" were mostly located in the francophone east end of St. Catherine Street and the lower Main of St. Lawrence Boulevard, far from the anglophone meeting halls west along St. Catherine, and even farther from His Majesty's theatre. In Toronto, theatatoriums tended to be on Queen Street and farther north on Yonge than Shea's vaudeville at King Street. All but a few were north of the older live theatres and burlesque houses such as the Grand Opera House and Majestic on Adelaide Street, the Star on Temperance, the Gayety on Richmond, and especially far from the Princess and Royal Alexandra playhouses on King Street West. As late as 1912, the pitfalls of disreputable Queen Street theatres, rather than Yonge Street, stood in for downtown picture shows from the point of view of the suburbs.¹⁹

Before the emergence of theatre districts and vaudeville-movie palaces, early cinemas were built throughout each city's neighbourhoods and suburbs. Only after the movie theatre industry began to become a big business, attracting venture capital, setting up formal links to vaudeville chains and American film distributors, did large downtown movie theatres become indisputably central to the film business. In Montreal, by 1908, one survey counted 26 "scopes," located in neighbourhoods north of downtown as well in St. Henri, Pointe St. Charles, and Maisonneuve.²⁰ In Vancouver, by 1912 there were at least 30 theatres open, including on Broadway, Commercial Drive, South Granville, and in North Vancouver.²¹ In Toronto, by the end of 1914, over a hundred cinemas had been built, not only downtown but on every major shopping street. On Queen Street there were more than 30 theatres from the Beaches to Parkdale; more than 20 theatres lined Yonge Street north to Eglinton Avenue.²² There were even a few large, ornate theatres built far from downtown before major movie palaces were opened. In the Junction, William Joy's Beaver theatre held over 1100 people and cost \$30,000, spent in part on a large, semi-circular picture window for its ornamental terra cotta façade, designed by Redmond and Beggs.²³ Others had almost as many seats and cost even more. On Lansdowne at Bloor, D. A. Lochiel's Park theatre, designed by Leonard Foulds, sat 950 and cost \$40,000.²⁴ The Madison theatre at Bloor and Bathurst had 1000 seats and cost James Brady \$45,000 to build with architect J. A. MacKenzie.²⁵

Cinema was an industrial product as well as an amusement.

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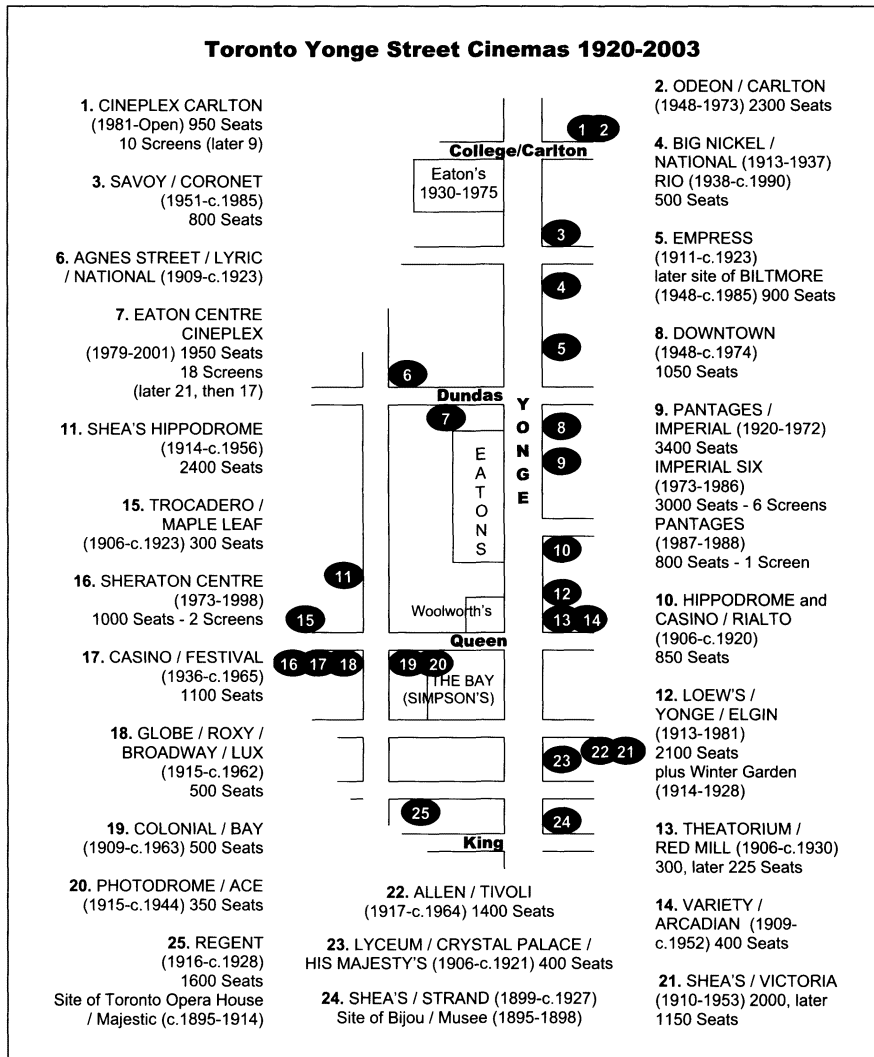


Figure 3: Toronto's theatre district emerged around Queen and Yonge Street, north of the older theatres and opera houses. Although four new theatres were built in the late 1940s, the greatest number of downtown cinemas was during the early 1920s, after the Pantages opened as Canada's largest movie palace, but before several older "theatoriums" closed. Four multi-screen theatres were built in the 1970s and early 1980s, but only one remains open in 2003, the Cineplex Carlton.

Its dependence on electricity for projection was promoted as part of the spectacle of technology. Its distribution of multiple copies of mass-produced celluloid films was framed in terms of reproducing experience.²⁶ These industrial factors gave film-going—compared to other amusements—a distinct relation to the space of the city and its regulation. In terms of location, film's relatively low cost and easy distribution allowed small-business owners to open movie theatres on neighbourhood shopping streets. Live theatres, amusement parks, and exhibitions had been more discretely contained, built in spaces more clearly separate from the domestic sphere. Movie theatres were bringing modern amusements closer to home. Further,

this dispersed and entrepreneurial appearance of film-going throughout the city, combined with the flammability of early celluloid, quickly resulted in government supervision. Film projectionists were soon required to have a degree of expertise and safety training, and motion picture shows became inspected and licensed under provincial laws in Quebec and Ontario in 1908.²⁷ In both provinces, police were also permitted to censor films and promotional posters as they surveyed theatres for fire safety. The movie palace mix of film and vaudeville was not even considered when the 1908 Quebec Safety Act for Public Buildings made a clear distinction between theatres and film shows. When the provincial film censorship board was created

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in 1912, this distinction continued as a loophole exempting films shown *in combination* with theatre, requiring an amendment in 1914.²⁸ Another early loophole came from the 1909 Ontario amendments, which specified a licence to project “combustible” celluloid. The flammability reference was removed the next year, so that all film shows would continue to be inspected and licensed even as celluloid became materially safer.²⁹

Although the legal inspection and licensing of film-theatres came into relief because of fire safety and the need for proper building codes, it was the cultural and moral effects of film content that soon became the point. In British Columbia, a 1906 law providing for municipal licensing and inspection of theatres and “places of amusement” was strong enough to delay a law specific to film until 1913.³⁰ But when the “Moving Pictures Act” was introduced, it detailed the responsibilities of the provincial censor to include “prevention of the depiction of crime or pictures reproducing any brutalizing spectacle, or which indicate or suggest lewdness or indecency, or the infidelity or unfaithfulness of husband or wife, or any other such pictures which he may consider injurious to morals or against the public welfare, or which may offer evil suggestions to the minds of children, or which may be likely to offend the public.”³¹ The 1913 B.C. law also outlawed children less than 14 years of age from attending films unless accompanied by an adult, except for a few hours after school and at Saturday or holiday matinees. The Ontario and Quebec laws were even stronger; in 1911, both provinces banned children under 15 from *any* film show unless accompanied by a guardian, not amended to allow Saturday matinees (in Ontario) and children’s films (in Quebec) until 1919.³² In all three provinces by 1913, the cinematograph acts were expanded and formalized further to centralize censorship provincially and separate it from municipal policing. Local police became subservient to the provincial censor’s stamp, unable to stop film shows that had passed provincially. Also, theatre inspection and licensing was provincially centralized so that municipal authorities became unable to permit or deny a film show that was already provincially licensed. There was little regulation of theatrical amusements prior to these “Motion Picture Acts,” and the need to regulate film-going demonstrates that it had a distinct social and spatial character, seen more as a matter of public safety than the live theatre, variety shows, and burlesque that predated film.

Still, through all of this theatre-building and new regulation, film-going was not yet focused on downtown first-run movie palaces. The shift toward downtown did not come from entrepreneurial local building, or from provincially administered inspection, but from the emerging importance of the feature film as an increasingly frequent focus of vaudeville shows. Beginning around 1912, the feature film gained its profile and economic viability.³³ Films became longer and more elaborate in their narration, eventually able to serve as the focus for an entire evening’s entertainment, and the basic product for the entire Hollywood production and movie star promotional system.³⁴ Even then, the phenomenal success of D. W. Griffith’s *The Birth of the Nation* in 1915 was based on roadshow exhibitions at leased playhouses. There was not yet a standardized movie palace location for feature films, and the epic blockbuster had its de-

but in Toronto at the Royal Alexandra theatre on September 20, 1915; in Montreal at the Arena stadium on September 27, and in Vancouver at the Avenue theatre beginning December 25, the same day the film returned to Toronto at Massey Hall.³⁵

Vaudeville was still expanding until after the First World War, with national and American international theatre chains building large theatres in Canada. Bennett’s vaudeville theatres were built in Ottawa (1906), in Montreal on St. Catherine Street (1907, later named the Orpheum in 1910), and other cities. In Toronto, the Shea’s circuit, of upstate New York, built a new theatre on Victoria Street (1910), and the Hippodrome on Terauley Street, opposite City Hall (1914). The Orpheum circuit built theatres in Winnipeg (1911) and other cities, and took over running the Vancouver Orpheum after it moved to the Opera House in 1912. The Pantages circuit had theatres in Vancouver on Hastings Street (1912, another in 1917), Winnipeg (1914), and others. The Keith circuit (not yet merged with Orpheum, not yet producing RKO films) built Imperial theatres in Montreal on Bleury off St. Catherine Street, and Saint John, N.B. (both 1913). And the Loew’s circuit (not yet producing MGM films) built theatres in Toronto on Yonge Street (1913), in Montreal on St. Catherine Street, and in Hamilton (both 1917), plus others in 1920.³⁶ These large vaudeville palaces began to demarcate the main street theatre districts, west along St. Catherine Street in Montreal, up Yonge and Queen Streets in Toronto, and up Granville Street in Vancouver. Only as the feature film took central place on the vaudeville bill, around 1916, did the importance of these theatres as picture palaces become institutionalized through a focus on first-run, high-priced film-going.

Film-going was geographically widespread after the initial expansion of movie theatres, from 1906 to 1914, and it soon reshaped the vaudeville format at palaces downtown. At first, neighbourhood theatres and smaller nickelodeons coexisted separately with big-time vaudeville. However, when films became a shared focus, a more rationalized system emerged to manage prices and maximize profits by distinguishing first-run downtown film-going from subsequent-run neighbourhood theatres, where the audience paid less for a ticket but waited significantly longer to see films that were increasingly promoted through the Hollywood star system. Within this conglomeration of the film industry, the downtown movie palace became an urban icon, symbolically representing a central space in the city that was economically vital to film-going as an industry.

Distribution rights to American films became key to the success of movie theatres, and the companies who owned those rights began to build their own theatre chains across the country rather than rely only on income from renting films to independent theatres. The most important franchise was the rights to Paramount-Artcraft films, a company that itself began to vertically integrate, purchasing the Rialto and Rivoli on Broadway.³⁷ In Canada, the Paramount film franchise was held by the Allen brothers from 1914 to 1919. They moved their head office from Calgary to Toronto because of it.³⁸ In 1916, Nathan L. Nathanson, sales agent at the Ruddy-Connors Advertising agency, helped orchestrate the creation of the Regent Theatre Co. Ltd., with his boss, E. L. Ruddy, as its first

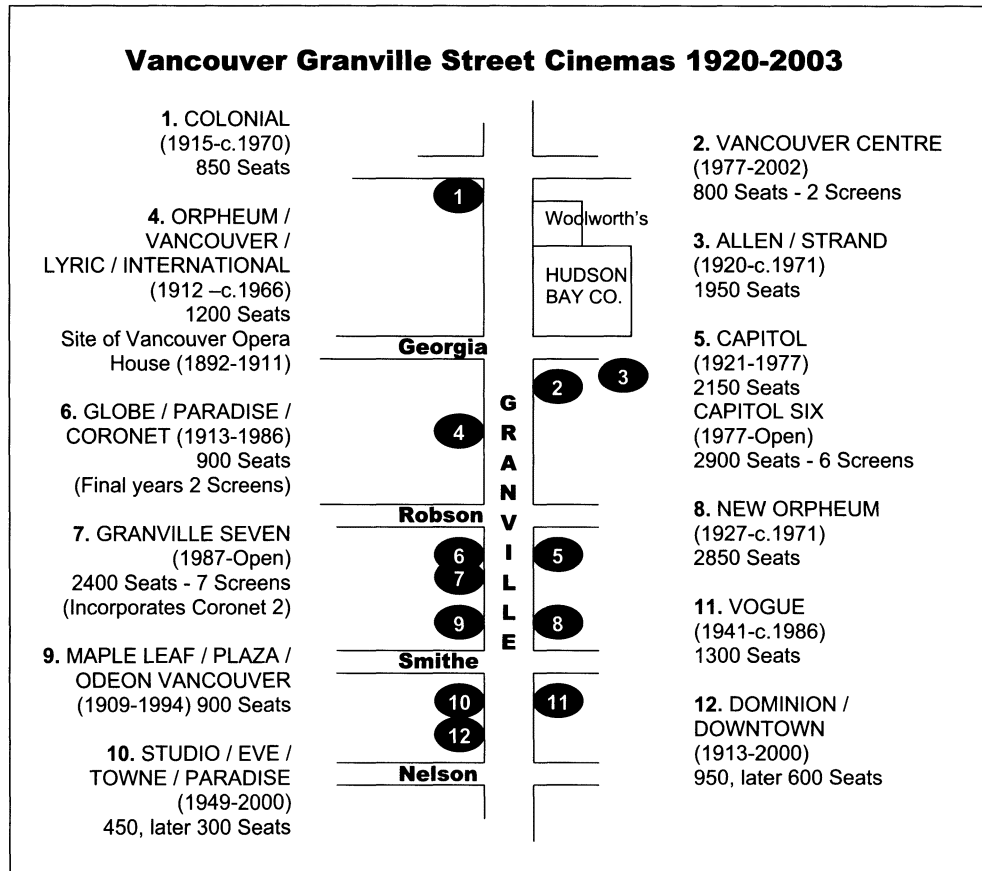


Figure 4: Vancouver's theatre district emerged around the site of the Opera House when it became the Orpheum vaudeville theatre. In 1920 and 1921, the Allen and Capitol movie palaces opened, followed by the new Orpheum in 1927. The Vogue and Studio in the 1940s brought the total to a maximum of ten theatres through the late 1960s. Theatres often changed names as they were renovated or rebuilt.

president. The company completely rebuilt the Majestic as the Regent, hiring the same architect who designed the Toronto Loew's and many New York theatres, Thomas W. Lamb. When the Regent opened, it promised a steady supply of Paramount films, although there was no formal link to the Allens or U.S. Paramount.³⁹ The Allens themselves expanded their theatre ownership from its prairie roots, building large Allen movie palaces in Toronto (1917) and throughout Ontario, as well as in Montreal, first in Westmount (1918).

The Regent Theatre Company, under Nathanson in Toronto, soon became a small chain of Ontario theatres, Paramount Theatres Ltd, using the name of the American company without formal connections. When the Allens refused to sell out to U.S. Paramount in 1919, Nathanson's position was strong enough to take over the Paramount franchise and enter into a formal partnership with the U.S. company, creating Famous Players Canadian. The new company was formed in 1920, built on a combination of U.S. Paramount film rights and Canadian money, and quickly became a national chain, competing against the Allens, by building large theatres downtown in major Canadian

cities.⁴⁰ On Granville Street in Vancouver, Famous Players took over the Dominion and began building the Capitol against the Vancouver Allen (later Strand) nearby. Famous built the Capitol in Montreal just a block from the Allen (later Palace) theatre on St. Catherine Street.⁴¹ In Toronto, the competition took place primarily in the neighbourhoods, but in 1920 Famous built the Pantages (later Imperial) theatre on Yonge Street, which always remained the largest movie palace in Canada. The theatre building war between Famous Players' Capitol theatres and Allen theatres ended in 1923 with the Allens' bankruptcy. Nathanson picked up the best of the competition's theatre assets at a fire sale price of \$650,000.⁴² Throughout the 1920s, Famous Players bought or affiliated with other chains across Canada, setting up an official partnership in 1926 with Quebec's United theatres (operators since 1912 of the Strand on St. Catherine Street), and buying out the Langer chain in British Columbia in 1927 (just before Langer could open the New Orpheum on Granville Street in Vancouver). In 1929, Famous formally established partnerships with all Loew's and Keith-Orpheum theatres in Canada, except the two Toronto Loew's.⁴³

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Famous Players thus nearly had a monopoly downtown in every major city in Canada, enough to merit an anti-trust investigation in 1930. The White Commission concluded there was indeed an illegal combination of interests, but follow-up lawsuits failed to prove it in court.⁴⁴ From the 1920s to the 1940s, their control over Canada's film market did not come from direct management, since Famous operated only a minority of the total number of theatres in Canada. The key was their control of almost all of the largest, most profitable theatres in the downtown cores of major cities. "The success of any motion picture 'feature' depends to a very large extent upon its opportunity for showing in certain populous centers and its reception there," explained an economic review of the U.S. film industry in 1927. "These first-run houses are regarded by the production end of the business as their 'show windows.' This is why producers have given so much attention of late to getting control of representative houses in this class."⁴⁵ In Canada, Famous's control of these major theatres meant influence with distributors (including overlap on the boards of directors), indirectly dictating how and when films were shown everywhere else as well. The movie industry, the White Report explains in detail, was based on a strict system of "runs" and "zones." First run was the downtown zone of the largest cities. Subsequent runs were neighbourhood and smaller city zones. Within each zone, Famous's affiliated theatres had prior run compared to independents.⁴⁶ There was also a "clearance" time set before any film could cross from one run or zone to the next. Independent theatres in outlying areas could wait well over a year to book a film, long after the clamour to see a movie star's latest film had waned. Ticket prices thus reflected the run-zone system.⁴⁷

White summarized the reasons given for the "protection" of downtown first-run theatres, saying that "the largest part of the revenue derived in Canada by the distributors, and through them by the producers, variously estimated from something over 50 to as high as 72 per cent, is obtained from the downtown first runs in the key centers in the Canadian territory."⁴⁸ While there are no reports of box office statistics to demonstrate the profitability of downtown first-run theatres, there are comparisons of chain and independent theatres in Canada. In 1937, although the chains owned only a quarter of the theatres, they sold just under half the tickets, and generated just over half the box office gross. By 1947, the situation had tipped even more in favour of the chain theatres, still owning just under a quarter of the locations, but now selling 57 per cent of the tickets, and taking 61 per cent of the box office.⁴⁹ Of course, not all chain theatres were downtown, but the disparity between the proportions of box office and theatre ownership means Famous sold more tickets, and at higher prices, implicitly as a result of their movie palaces.

Famous Players remains the dominant theatre chain in Canada today. Even the creation of national competition with Canadian Odeon Theatres, in 1941, quickly settled into an informal agreement with Famous Players to maintain the same run-zone policy.⁵⁰ Odeon had a strong presence downtown only in Vancouver, where its flagship, the Vogue (1941), joined its Plaza (1936, renovation of the Maple Leaf) and Paradise (1938, renovation of the Globe), all on Granville Street. In Toronto, the



Toronto Telegram microfilms

Figure 5: Toronto post-war marquees. Opening ads for the Odeon, Downtown, Biltmore (all 1948), and Savoy (1951), included illustrations of the theatres at night.

Odeon (1948) on Carlton off Yonge, was the "showplace of the Dominion," but was the new chain's only theatre amidst Famous's competition.⁵¹ In Montreal, Odeon did not build downtown. The Odeon Champlain (1948), east on St. Catherine at Papineau, became a French-language flagship for a French-language chain. Odeon in Montreal stopped advertising in English-language newspapers and made their logo "Films Parlant Français."⁵²

A few new theatres other than Odeons appeared downtown in the late 1940s. In Vancouver, the narrow Studio (1949) opened across Granville from the Vogue. In Toronto, the mid-sized Downtown (1948) was affiliated to Famous, and the Biltmore (1948) and Savoy (1951) were initially part of a small Ontario chain. The elite new theatres in Toronto were uptown on Bloor Street, the University and the Towne (both 1949), both affiliated with Famous Players. In Montreal, the Alouette (1952) joined the scene on St. Catherine. Still, the post-war theatre-building boom of the late 1940s and early 1950s was largely focused on distant suburbs, an era when the first dual-auditoriums were built, when drive-ins sprung up on farmland just outside city limits, when cinemas began to appear as part of shopping plazas.

The Mix of Downtown Main Streets: Marquees and Shop Windows

To the reader familiar with Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver, it should be apparent that the vaudeville movie palaces were built near each city's major department stores. The parallel logic of urban spaces of shopping and cinema-going goes beyond

simple proximity.⁵³ The hierarchical run-zone system of film distribution, from downtown movie palace to neighbourhood independent theatre, was a more formally administered version of the spatial organization of shopping in the city.⁵⁴ By the 1890s, downtown department stores helped reinforce the prestige of their main street locations compared to those of peripheral streets. By the 1920s chain stores on neighbourhood shopping streets helped distinguish central blocks, so that independent shops were spatially and economically sidelined.⁵⁵ Downtown's centrality combined amusement, shopping, and office work, underpinned by the organizing capacity of transit and zoned planning.

From the 1920s into the 1960s, the central strips of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver combined the scene of nighttime amusement with the daytime location of shopping. Being on Yonge, on St. Catherine, on Granville at night at the movies was a counterpart to being there during the day at Eaton's, at Morgan's, at The Bay, respectively. In each city, however, these downtown spaces were distinct from earlier city centres, and this "movement" of downtown can be linked to corresponding moves of the biggest department stores. As late as 1870, Toronto's King Street was considered greater and grander than Yonge.⁵⁶ One contemporary observer noted that "King Street is honoured by the daily presence of the aristocracy, while Yonge is given over to the business man, the middle class and the beggar."⁵⁷ Despite the condescension meant by this comment, the speaker has identified exactly the mixture of types and classes on Yonge that made it the more modern centre of the city, realigning centrality with a gravity of crowds. At the time of this comment, Timothy Eaton had just opened shop at the southwest corner of Yonge and Queen. Eaton's moved north of Queen on Yonge to much larger premises in 1883. The store's previous location became an expanded Simpson's department store in 1884.⁵⁸ Relocation of the main department stores in Montreal and Vancouver signalled the formation of new streets as central to the organization of mass consumption.⁵⁹ Morgan's moved from Victoria Square on St. James Street to Phillips Square on St. Catherine in 1891.⁶⁰ The Hudson's Bay Company moved from just off Hastings Street to Granville in 1890.⁶¹

During the 1896 Exhibition that brought film-going to Toronto, Eaton's used a bird's-eye view sketch of the store in its newspaper ads, under the banner "Bigger than Ever. Better than Ever." By then, the store spanned an entire city block and could be entered from any of four streets. Such growth was held up as evidence of Eaton's "progress" later that year in Thanksgiving Day advertising that depicted a stereopticon slideshow comparing the 1884 and 1896 stores.⁶² Morgan's in Montreal and the Hudson's Bay in Vancouver also eventually spanned entire city blocks by 1920. By this time, as well, the chain store five-and-dimes had been added to the urban retail mix, with the main branches of Woolworth's in Canada located close to the major department stores, too.⁶³

Studies and theories of the city responded to a culture anchored downtown by new institutions such as department stores and movie palaces. In 1925, Chicago-school sociologist Ernest W. Burgess published his influential model for the growth

of the city in terms of concentric zones. Burgess's metropolitan map juxtaposed two spheres of power: the central business district and the bright lights of the residential zone. Closest to downtown was the location of the worst poverty, disreputable activities, and ethnic enclaves. The centrality of downtown, its symbolic power, can be seen as exaggerated by the need for distance, at least culturally, from what was closest in the map of the city.⁶⁴ Downtown's significance as a respectable public gathering place depended upon its distinction from the immediately surrounding areas, and thus required authorities to control the impure activities and types of people who lived nearest.

This was part of the process of developing Canadian downtowns as much as American. In Toronto, for example, policing downtown focused partly on eliminating such activities as prostitution and homosexual encounters, which were publicly reported as under control, as they were continually thwarted in laneways off Yonge Street.⁶⁵ In Vancouver, merchants called for stricter enforcement against what was seen as an unsanitary mix of commerce and residence, especially in nearby Chinatown.⁶⁶ In Montreal, the western orientation of St. Catherine Street department stores can be seen as distinguishing the supposedly mainstream public from the eastern francophone end of the street, which had its own Dupuis Frères department store.⁶⁷

One means of controlling acceptable activities downtown was electric lighting, and the association of electric light with shopping display windows or theatre marquees was combined with its use as a form of policing. Mark J. Bouman details the history of night in the city as the establishment of safety and panoptic policing. Lights became the "best police" by associating luxury consumption with social control.⁶⁸ Bouman points out that "an important dimension of 'lights as control' is that they are for the 'controllers,' not the 'controlled,'" with the result that lights first appear where the social classes had contact with each other, downtown in the central business district. "Up to about 1800, night lighting did not necessarily come with any urban territory: it developed under particular conditions—cities with nighttime economic activity, elites with plenty of leisure time, a social order regulated both by place and by the development of manners."⁷⁰ The display of the luxuries of urbanity through a well-lit city night was both the intent and the consequence of explicitly focusing on control. The anxiety that prompted the move to control with lighting reinforced the prominence of public areas of luxury and leisure where rich came into contact with poor.⁷¹ Cinema entered into the retail mix of a downtown organized partly with this logic connecting luxury consumption with crowd control.

The roots of capitalist consumption in the conspicuous display of luxury has been well theorized.⁷² Mass consumption in the modern metropolis of the early 1900s seemed to be based on rationally ordered spaces that made luxury consumption accessible to the entire public, at least to some degree. Department stores combined high fashion with bargain basements, often organizing upward mobility spatially in the floors of the store. Film-going combined downtown palaces with cheaper second-run theatres, organizing upward mobility in relation to downtown.

Movie Palaces on Canadian Downtown Streets



Toronto Telegram Negative Collection, York University Archives, 1974-002-283

Figure 6: Crowd becomes audience: left, part of an ad for the opening of the Imperial, Toronto (March 1930); right, outside a film premiere at the University, Toronto (10 March 1962).

This rationalizing capacity of urban consumption can be related to the symptoms of urban life, as described by Georg Simmel in *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. The constantly changing barrage to the senses from the city encourages deliberation and organized thought as a retreat.⁷³ The escapist retreat of a movie could thus be seen as part of this mental process, as the movement from the over-excitement of the streetscape with all its promises, to the darkened focus of the film.⁷⁴ In these terms, the marquee contributes to the activity of the street at night, drawing people inside and drawing attention to the possibilities of amusement. Inside restaurants, nightclubs, but especially inside the cinema, the capture of attention was total, but temporary. *The End*, lights up, prompted a return home and preparation for the next day's work. Such themes of urban mass culture were explicitly applied to the ornamentality of the Berlin movie palace and its spectacular shows by Siegfried Kracauer in Weimar-era essays like "The Cult of Distraction" and "The Little Shopgirls Go to the Movies." For Kracauer, the rhythms of urban culture were reflected in the form of its "free time busy-ness," or entertainment.⁷⁵ The movies were not an escape, but merely a diversion from the work and consumption of the modern city.⁷⁶

The diversions of modern urban amusements, the formation of a mass audience at night, directed as an ensemble in the enjoyment of giving things over to pleasure, is thus an extension of work in the skyscraper offices and shopping at the department stores. The interdependence of day and night, of theatres and department stores, is evident in their similar ties to the consumption and display of electricity, through the spotlight exhibition of consumer goods in shop windows and on movie screens.⁷⁷ In a less abstract way, their proximity downtown followed from needing large numbers of people to be profitable. Their close-

ness even blurs the distinction between day and night activities, since the ladies' matinee relied on department store shoppers, and the movies kept people downtown at night, allowing department stores to remain open late.⁷⁸

Making film-going part of the everyday routine of the entire public, especially in shopping districts downtown, went hand-in-hand with designating cinema as part of a mainstream pursuit of respectability. Cinema management worked to exclude any sense of degeneracy and social problems associated with the working class. Beginning in the mid-1800s, theatres had worked to eliminate rowdiness, drunkenness, and lewdness in the audience, efforts that continued even more firmly with family-oriented vaudeville by the turn of the century.⁷⁹ The decorum expected of movie palace patrons was managed by ushers, with reminders to be well mannered, and implied with the extravagant ornament of lobbies, lounges, powder rooms, and the auditorium.⁸⁰ Racial segregation of theatre spaces, too, controlled the audience, not only in the southern U.S., but in Canada, too.⁸¹ Although such strict management of theatre spaces did not exclude sensationalist exploitation of supposedly degenerate themes in the films on the screen, the presentation was often framed by a pretext of social education or protection of middle-class values.⁸²

The disciplining of the audience applied equally to all classes and allowed for a relaxation of caution towards strangers. As a mechanism for mixing the classes, shopping and entertainment palaces are associated with reformist attempts to reshape working-class culture.⁸³ However, there was a corresponding change in middle-class culture, too. Roy Rosenzweig, writing about Worcester, Massachusetts, connects the rise of the

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Still frames from *Montreal by Night*, dir. A. Burrows & J. Palardy. © National Film Board of Canada, 1947

Figure 7: Montreal's St. Catherine Street

elegant movie palaces to moralistic attacks on working-class sites such as taverns, but also acknowledges a concurrent disappearance of segregated bourgeois culture as all classes learned the new habits of being in public together. As the "first medium of regular interclass entertainment," cinema became a relatively disciplined and mannered space for working-class movie-goers, but the relative informality and intimacy with strangers was an equally radical change for middle-class movie-goers.⁸⁴

In a way, the emerging mass public at the cinema was part of creating a common order while downtown. Learning new habits and disciplines was part of the creation of an audience out of a crowd. Chicago-school sociologist Robert E. Park saw crowds as having a productive character, not necessarily dissolving into a riot or revolt.⁸⁵ The crowd's coherence is an abstract theoretical notion in his work, and the focus of the crowd could be directed just as easily toward heroism or hurrah as to destruction. The *sociological* crowd, then, as defined by Park, is much like an audience, and his efforts to distinguish mere mass agglomerations from self-aware mass congregations contains the key to distinguishing between downtown in the day and at night. Although people spend the evening differently, at a restaurant

instead of a movie, a nightclub instead of a dancehall, all these spaces, even the more private ones, are part of the collective experience of going out, of being downtown at night.

Gathering is contextualized by David E. Nye as part of the *American Technological Sublime*. "A steady burning light drew a crowd," and the effects of lighting downtown came from theatres and department stores as the first places to install new lighting technologies, especially for decorative and attention-grabbing spark that gathered crowds of people.⁸⁶ Joachim Schlor adds that for *Nights in the Big City*, "only the street produces the feelings that the *whole city* is at 'my disposal'; but it is precisely in this that it awakens needs. It offers a network of relations, contacts and encounters, and the ability to find one's way through this network is one of the significant gains of 'inner' urbanization."⁸⁷ This form of urbanization, of the inner self, is part of the sublime streetscape, of the well-lit public space. For Nye, "it offers a heightened sense of reality, suggesting that the individual can leave behind the accidents and problems of daily life and merge with the flashing lights."⁸⁸ But more than electric signs on the sidewalk, a merger with flashing lights can be more acutely found inside the theatre when watching a film. The film experience consummates the promise given by the electric

signs outside the theatre. In a sense, the excitement, the over-excitement, of a downtown street at night is made sensible at a movie.

All this attention paid to organization of the audience can obscure how movie-going was optional. To this end, a warning can be taken from Schlor, who asserts that being in an audience in the city at night is only one option open to the wanderers who compose the crowds. For these solitary walkers, too, "part of the pleasure of the night is their knowledge of the existence of these places (cafés, restaurants, bars, theatres)."⁸⁹ Indeed, part of the revelry of downtown, where cinema is only one part among many, is the brief and unhindered sampling of activities and possibilities. The crowd's attention may be captured, but "the characters of the street together constituted 'night life'; the linking elements were the 'stroller' and the 'night-reveler', who moved from place to place in search of pleasure and according to their whims."⁹⁰ A night at the cinema is not the entire night, even if saying "downtown at the movies" describes an entire evening of excitement. Getting there and back involves a trip by car or transit, a wait for friends, an aimless stroll or cruise in the car up the street before or after, a drink, a meal, a chance encounter, and always the temptation, if not the practice, of a taboo thrill, in the burlesque houses, strip joints, or red-light areas just off the well-lit main street.

Even as the downtown movie palaces became less profitable and, within the movie industry, of secondary importance to suburban locations, their symbolic power and the icon of the movie marquee remained a cultural signifier. A picture of a main street after dark, ablaze with theatre marquees, stands in for the experience of being downtown at night. Night, light, and cinema are symbolically conflated into the downtown main street's movie theatre marquees. A standard urban studies textbook is called *City Lights*, its cover designed as neon and bare-bulb marquees, although it does not refer substantively to cinema in the city.⁹¹ *Bright Lights, Big City* becomes the title of a novel about the fast pace of New York, having nothing to do with cinema, a history of London's West End theatres, and an archival review of Toronto Hydro, whose cover features the electric cinema signs of Yonge Street at night without referring to marquees in the text.⁹² These examples show how the entrance to a cinema, flashing lights and neon letters, can easily connote the excitement of being downtown and often refers to the entirety of meanings of night in the city. The movie marquees set the scene for the rest of the story.

The Decline of the Movie Palace

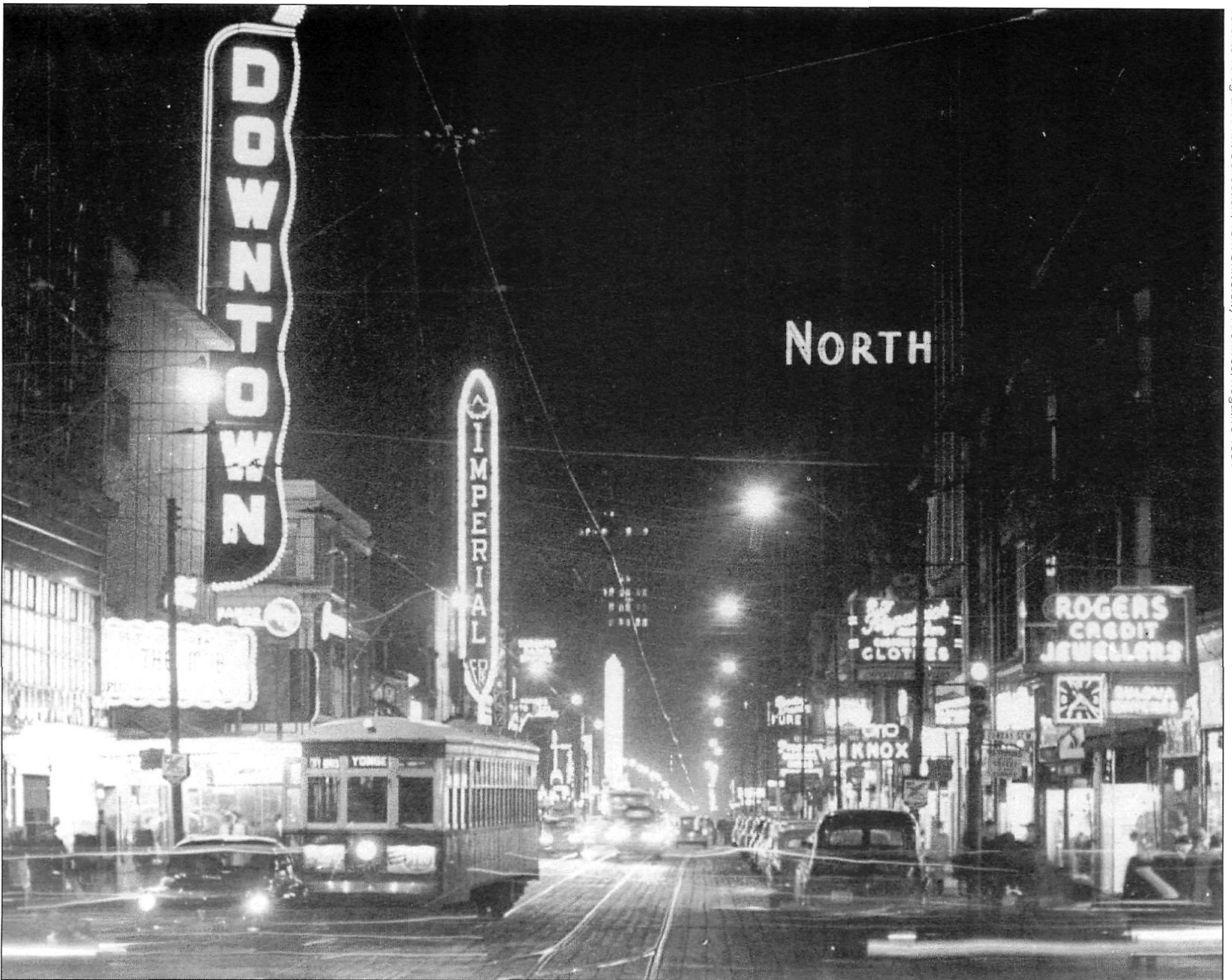
Already by the 1920s, there was an implicit acknowledgement that there were other business districts and places to shop, that downtown might be central, but it was not the exclusive site of the city's attention. Robert M. Fogelson notes in *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall* how the spatial separation of residences from downtown in zoning policies was key to concentrating activity downtown, but also the roots of congestion and transit problems that became irreversibly part of downtown as well. In the U.S., by the late 1930s, people were starting to realize that stagnant downtown real estate following the Great Depression

was "the product not so much of the collapse of the national economy as the decentralization of the urban economy . . . Downtown was in trouble and . . . a large and growing number of people were going to the outlying business districts rather than to the central business district—that they were shopping in chain stores, doing business with branch banks, and patronizing neighborhood movies and roadside restaurants."⁹³

In Canada, the trends were delayed, in part because the department stores were still making moves to become national in scope. Not until the 1950s did Morgan's open suburban locations around Montreal.⁹⁴ They also opened a small store uptown on Bloor Street in Toronto in 1950 and, in 1955, a suburban Toronto store at Lawrence Plaza, years before either Simpson's or Eaton's expanded with branches outside downtown.⁹⁵ Eaton's and Simpson's instead focused on mail-order divisions and national expansion in cities across the country, waiting until the 1960s to open suburban locations.⁹⁶ In Vancouver, Eaton's opened at the Brentwood Mall in 1961 and at the Park Royal Shopping Centre in 1962.⁹⁷ In Toronto, after initially opening their suburban warehouses for special sales, Eaton's expanded to the Danforth Shoppers' World and Don Mills Shopping Centre, and Simpson's opened in Cedarbrae, all in 1962. Both anchored the Yorkdale regional shopping mall in 1964.⁹⁸

The movie theatre industry, too, epitomized an ambivalent relationship with downtown. Downtown cinemas remained important, but expansion happened elsewhere. Independent competitors in the movie theatre business had to lay foundations in the suburbs because Famous Players had control of early sites. In the late 1940s and the 1950s, suburban theatres, drive-ins, and shopping plaza cinemas were opened by independent operators.⁹⁹ But, with its long-time dominance and Canada's weak anti-trust laws, Famous Players was able to buy out successful competitors, so that innovations were incorporated into a downtown-centred industry. The decline of downtown cinemas in Canada was thus centrally organized from national head office, at least in comparison to the United States where suburban competitors remained independent following a 1948 anti-trust decision.¹⁰⁰ Still, in Canada, even if the downtown Imperial, Palace, or Capitol were crowning jewels of theatre chains, the decline of their central importance was embedded in the cinema industry's chain structure of suburban expansion from its very beginning.

As attendance declined in the late 1950s and 1960s, downtown cinemas eventually specialized into a space more or less geared toward rambunctious young men, exactly the demographic "threat" that early showmen worked hard to control with efforts toward respectability. Thus, the imagined enjoyable discipline of downtown providing something for everyone gradually changed into the location of cheapness and sleaze. On Yonge Street, the Rio and the Biltmore lasted into the 1970s as cheap, disreputable, triple-bill grind houses, while the Downtown specialized in B-movies. On St. Catherine Street, soft core pornography filled screens during the 1970s as older cinemas changed their names into the Eden, the Ciné 539, the Pigalle, and the Ciné Centre, and the same in Toronto at the Coronet, and in Vancouver at the Eve, which joined video-porn parlours



Toronto Telegram Print Collection, York University Archives, negative 1091

Figure 8: Toronto's Yonge Street, circa 1950, looking south from Dundas

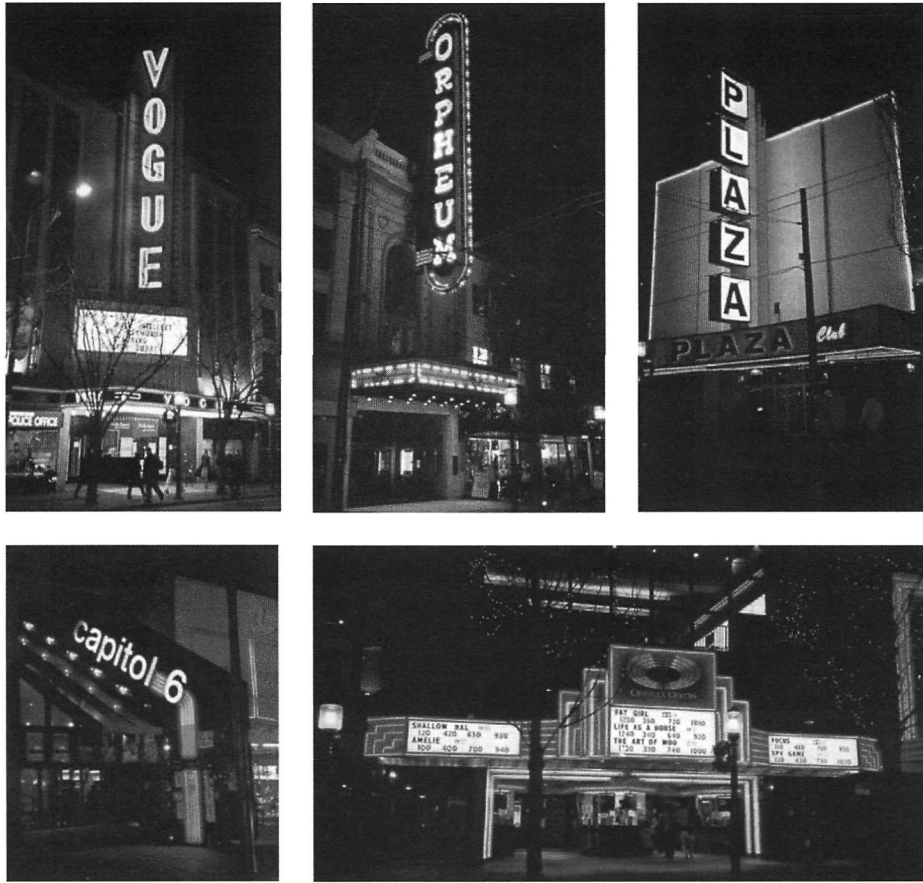
like the Kitten on Granville and Cinema 2000 on Yonge. On all three of Canada's major main streets, movie palaces were split into multiplexes (Capitol 6, Imperial 6, Palace 6, Loews 5, Parisien 5), which, especially downtown, specialized in exploitation flicks and teenage fare.¹⁰¹ Architecturally, these new multiplexes downsized their marquee lettering to allow for multiple titles, and introduced cheaper, sleek, modernist façades. The neon towers were dismantled.

On Montreal's St. Catherine Street, all of the great theatre signs are long gone. The Orpheum, Capitol, and Strand were demolished decades ago. Of the older cinemas, only the Imperial and the Parisien remain places for an audience to see a film in 2003. Along with the recently closed Palace and Loews, all the theatres had, by the 1980s, replaced their ornate electric marquees

with simplified, cheaper signs and entrances. The massive street entrances of the old movie palaces were rebuilt to resemble the shopping-centre box offices of underground multiplexes like the Cineplex Centre Ville and the Egyptien, closed in 1999 and 2000, respectively.

In Toronto, on Yonge Street, two vaudeville-era theatres, the Pantages and the Elgin, have been meticulously rebuilt to their original designs, but their marquees replicate the vintage of smaller bare-bulb signs from the 1920s, rather than the towering neon logos that used to spell *Imperial* and *Loews* in the 1950s. The equally impressive signs for the Downtown and the Odeon disappeared in the early 1970s along with the theatres, and the smaller versions for the Coronet, the Biltmore, and the Rio were gone by the mid-1980s. Now even the Eaton Centre

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P. S. Moore

Figure 9: Vancouver marquees in 2001. Multi-screen theatres, the Granville 7 and the Capitol 6, show movies alongside repaired marquees for the Vogue, Orpheum, and Plaza, maintained for the buildings' new purposes. Also nearby, the Downtown, Paradise, and Vancouver Centre await re-use or demolition.

Cineplex, which never had an imposing entrance, sits idle. The only movies downtown in 2003 are just off Yonge at the Carlton Cineplex, but its marquee consists of a few light bulbs and just enough size to list the titles and times for its nine small screens.

The only Canadian main street that retains some of its past visual spectacle is Vancouver's Granville Street. Vancouver has a tradition of fondness for its neon signs, and in the 1950s was cited as having more per capita than any other city in North America.¹⁰² The vertical signs for the Orpheum and the Vogue remain in place and in good repair, along with the sign for the Plaza. The closure, since 2000, of a couple of smaller theatres on Granville does not change the scene much. The Capitol 6 and Granville 7 remain open in 2003 on opposite sides of the same downtown block.

The move to secure older movie palaces as heritage sites is seen by Sharon Zukin as part of a wider tendency of gentrification in *The Cultures of Cities*. In her explanation, "visual representations have 'sold' urban growth. Images, from early maps to picture postcards, have not simply reflected real city spaces . . . The development of visual media in the 20th century made

photography and movies the most important cultural means of framing urban space, at least until the 1970s. Since then, . . . the material landscape itself—the buildings, parks and streets—has become the city's most important visual representation."¹⁰³ In linking historic preservation to gentrification, she provides an opportunity to recognize how the historic and symbolic importance of main street cinemas is in fact closely tied to downtown's decline.

A contrast to the preservation of cinema architecture downtown can be found with the recent demolition of suburban mall multiplexes. Beginning in 1997, megaplexes opened all over Canada, almost all of them in suburbs. Each of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver also had at least one new cinema complex in the city centre, leading to closures and demolitions of older downtown theatres. All of the grand openings, downtown and suburban, were accompanied by advertising blitzes, with media reporting many of the openings and most of the downtown closures. A simultaneous part of the process went largely without comment; the new suburban super-cinemas primarily replaced other suburban multiplex theatres. Much of the previous 30 years of cinema architecture (almost all of it inside spaces of

suburban shopping malls) had been unceremoniously closed, briefly boarded up, and reconfigured. It happened without protest. The idea of protesting the remodelling of a suburban mall might even seem ridiculous.

Compared to downtown cinema demolitions over the past 30 years, there was no suburban organizing to save the mall multiplex. There have been no concerned citizens' groups attuned to protecting the architecture of shopping malls and office-building plazas.¹⁰⁴ This is contrasted to organized petitions and historic preservation societies that stay attuned to downtown cinema architecture, careful to define it as part of the heritage of the city. Starting in the 1970s with the closure of many movie palaces, groups have fought hard for the preservation and restoration of downtown cinemas.¹⁰⁵ Turning attention to older neighbourhood cinemas as well, such groups continue, formally organized, or forming only on an ad-hoc basis for particular cinemas that are threatened with demolition.¹⁰⁶ The movement to save these theatres relies on a particular type of memory of going to the movies, one that is understood to have gathered "everyone" under the bright marquees of Canadian city streets at night.

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Notes

1. For a thorough Canadian history, see Hilary Russell, "All That Glitters: A Memorial to Ottawa's Capitol Theatre and Its Predecessors," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* 13 (1975): 5–126. For an analysis of differences among cities, see Douglas Gomery, "Movie Audiences, Urban Geography, and the History of the American Film," *The Velvet Light Trap* 19 (1982): 23–29.
2. *Loew's Wonder Theatres* (Elmhurst: Theatre Historical Society of America Annual 29, 2002).
3. Douglas Gomery, "The Movies Become Big Business: Publix Theatres and the Chain Store Strategy," *Cinema Journal* 18 (1979): 26–40. Also, Douglas Gomery, *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 40–56.
4. Andrew C. Fowler, "The Big Theatre List," *Marquee* 23 (1991): 27–30. In terms of seating, the largest theatre in Los Angeles, Grauman's Metropolitan, is 54th on the list, the next largest in L.A. is 124th. Theatres in 23 cities were larger than any in L.A., including New York, Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis, which each had at least three movie palaces larger than any in Los Angeles.
5. *La Presse*, 27 June 1896, as noted in Germain Lacasse, *Histoires de Scopes: Le cinéma muet au Québec* (Montreal: Cinémaèque Québécois, 1988), 6.
6. *Ottawa Citizen*, 20 June 1896, as noted in Peter Morris, *Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema 1895–1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1978), 1. This film exhibit in Ottawa was long accepted as the first in Canada, until the correction offered by Germain Lacasse, "Cultural Amnesia and the Birth of Film in Canada," *Cinema Canada* 108 (1984): 6–7, acknowledged by Morris in the preface to his 1992 reprint of *Embattled Shadows*.
7. *Toronto Star*, 31 August, 21 September, and 2 December 1896. See also Morris, *Embattled Shadows*, 7–9.
8. *Toronto Star*, 4 November 1899, through January 1900. Shea's had opened 4 September 1899, completely rebuilding the Bijou theatre, where Robinson's Musee had debuted films in Toronto.
9. A. Gaudreault, G. Lacasse, and J. P. Sirois-Trahan, *Au pays des ennemis du cinéma* (Québec: Nuit Blanche, 1996), 21–31.
10. The first Orpheum, on Westminster Avenue (Main Street), was operated by Russell and Evenson, opening 3 October 1904. The second Orpheum took over the People's theatre on West Pender Street in December 1906. Neither was part of the U.S. Orpheum chain. The Vancouver Opera House, opened in 1891, was managed by E. B. Ricketts and owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1912 it became the third Orpheum, soon part of the American chain. Robert B. Todd, "The Organization of Professional Theatre in Vancouver 1886–1914," *BC Studies* 44 (1979): 3–24. See also Fred Thirkell and Bob Scullion, *Places Remembered: Greater Vancouver, New Westminster and the Fraser Valley* (Surrey: Heritage House, 1997), 128–29.
11. Germain Lacasse, *Le bonimenteur de vues animées: Le cinéma muet entre tradition et modernité* (Québec: Nota Bene, 2000). For a brief review of the role of lecturers at early film shows in Toronto, see Charlie Keil and Marta Braun, "Sounding Canadian: Early Sound Practices and Nationalism in Toronto-based Exhibition," in *The Sounds of Early Cinema*, eds. R. Abel and R. Altman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 198–204.
12. Date and showman's name from advertising in the *Vancouver Province*. Also, Morris, *Embattled Shadows*, 19, but note "Johnny Nash" was the stage name for John A. Schuberg. Although there were certainly variety acts at the Electric and other early movie theatres, the promotion was focused on the films and the electric machinery used to project them.
13. Dates, names, and addresses from advertising in the *Vancouver Province*.
14. Lacasse, *Histoires de Scopes*, 15–38, relying primarily on advertising from *La Presse*.
15. Although *Moving or Motion Picture Theatre* is also used, *Theatorium* was preferred for City of Toronto building permits, written on 100 of them from 29 October 1909, until June 1914.
16. Russell, "All That Glitters," 17–18, 36n. There is no advertising or building permit to document the Theatorium's March opening. However, in July 1906 it was surveyed for the 1907 municipal assessment rolls, along with the Crystal Palace at 141 Yonge.
17. Information from Toronto city directories. Robert Gutteridge, *Magic Moments: First 20 Years of Moving Pictures in Toronto, 1894–1914* (Whitby: Robert Gutteridge and Gerald Pratley, 2000), includes an index to Toronto's early theatroids.
18. Todd, "Professional Theatre in Vancouver," provides a map of early theatroids.
19. Letter to the editor, *Weston Times*, 29 November 1912. The letter was written in the context of the suffragette Town Improvement Society's proposal to run a low-profit picture show for Weston to prevent an entrepreneur from exploiting the town's children.
20. Lacasse, *Histoires de Scopes*, 23, combined with advertising in *La Presse*.
21. Vancouver city directory for 1912, combined with advertising from the *Vancouver Province*.
22. Toronto city directories, building permits, and advertising in the *Toronto World*, corroborated with Gutteridge, *Magic Moments*.
23. City of Toronto building permit (19 July 1912). The Beaver opened 24 December 1913 (*Toronto World*, 24 November 1913). It was profiled along with the Loew's Yonge Street, Shea's Hippodrome, and other neighbourhood cinemas in *Construction* 8 (1915): 131–56.
24. City of Toronto building permit (26 February 1913). The Park opened 4 September 1913 (*Toronto Star Weekly*, 2 August 1913).
25. City of Toronto building permit (29 April 1913). The Madison opened in December 1913 (*Toronto Star Weekly*, 20 December 1913). Entirely rebuilt in 1941 as the Midtown, the building remains open as the Bloor cinema today.
26. The relation between the industrial and communicative aspects of film-going became central to theories of film, perhaps most famously in Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in

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- Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1968), 217–51; and André Bazin, "The Myth of Total Cinema," in *What Is Cinema?* Vol. 1 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 17–22.
27. Quebec, *Statutes* (1908) 8 Edward VII, Chapter 52; Ontario, *Statutes* (1908) 8 Edward VII, Chapter 60.
 28. Quebec, *Statutes* (1912) 3 George V, Chapter 36, Section 3; Quebec, *Statutes* (1914) 4 George V, Chapter 40, Section 8.
 29. Ontario, *Statutes* (1909) 9 Edward VII, Chapter 87; Ontario, *Statutes* (1910) 10 Edward VII, Chapter 26, Section 3.
 30. British Columbia, *Statutes* (1906) 6 Edward VII, Chapter 32, Section 24; British Columbia, *Statutes* (1913) 3 George V, Chapter 72.
 31. British Columbia, *Statutes* (1913) 3 George V, Chapter 72, Section 6.
 32. Quebec, *Statutes* (1911) 1 George V (2nd Session), Chapter 34; Quebec, *Statutes* (1919) 9 George V, Chapter 48; Ontario, *Statutes* (1911) 1 George V, Chapter 73, Section 10; Ontario, *Statutes* (1919) 9 George V, Chapter 66.
 33. One of the first influential features in the U.S. was *Queen Elizabeth* starring Sarah Bernhardt, released in 1912. John Izod, *Hollywood and the Box Office 1895–1986* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 34. See also the first-person production account, Adolph Zukor, "Origin and Growth of the Industry," in *The Story of the Films*, ed. Joseph Kennedy (Chicago: A. W. Shaw, 1927), 55–76.
 34. On the development of the narrative style and spectatorship for classical Hollywood films, see David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); and Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). On the star system, see Janet Staiger, "Seeing Stars," *The Velvet Light Trap* 20 (1983): 10–14; Richard DeCordova, "The Emergence of the Star System in America," *Wide Angle* 6 (1985): 4–13.
 35. Each engagement lasted three weeks, according to news articles and advertising in each city's local newspapers. Ticket prices ranged from 25¢ to \$1.50, except at the Royal Alexandra in Toronto, where the cheapest seats were 50¢. The engagement in Montreal was changed to the Arena at the last minute because of a fire at the Princess theatre on St. Catherine Street, attributed to faulty wiring, although gossip circulated it was connected with protests against the racism of the film on the part of Montreal's "coloured population." *Montreal Gazette*, 24 and 27 September 1915. When the Princess reopened in December 1915, the upper gallery (second balcony) had been removed. The manager explained how the clientele for those cheapest seats was now going to the movies instead. *Montreal Gazette*, 17 December 1915.
 36. All dates are from advertising in each city's local newspapers. For Montreal, see Dane Lanken, *Montreal Movie Palaces: Great Theatres of the Golden Era 1884–1938* (Waterloo: Penumbra, 1993). Lanken offers brief accounts with many archived photographs of the Bennett's (Orpheum), Imperial, Loew's, and other neighbourhood theatres.
 37. Adolph Zukor, while president of Paramount, gave his personal explanation for vertical integration in the movie business to Harvard MBA students in 1927, published as Zukor, "Origin and Growth of the Industry." For a review of Paramount Studios to the present day, see Bernard Dick, *Engulfed: The Death of Paramount Pictures and the Birth of Corporate Hollywood* (Louisville: University Press of Kentucky, 2001).
 38. Kirwan Cox, "The Rise and Fall of the Allens: The War for Canada's Movie Theatres," *Lonergan Review* 6 (2000): 52–53.
 39. *Toronto World*, 26 August 1916; Russell, "All That Glitters," 37.
 40. Famous Players's first board of directors included Isaac W. Killam (of Royal Securities, originally based on Lord Beaverbrook's financing), mining magnate J. P. Bickell, the Royal Bank's Herbert Holt, and the Bank of Nova Scotia's W. D. Ross. The final deal is outlined in "Famous Players Canadian Corporation Has Strong Financial Backing," *Canadian Moving Picture Digest*, 20 February 1920. The company became more directly controlled by U.S. Paramount through a stock swap in 1930. For more on the creation of Famous Players Canadian, see Paul Moore, "Nathan L. Nathanson Introduces Canadian Odeon: Creating National Competition in Exhibition," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*, forthcoming.
 41. Lanken, *Montreal Movie Palaces*, 86–94 (Capitol), 98–104 (Palace).
 42. Cox, "Rise and Fall of the Allens," 72.
 43. On Famous's takeover of the Loew's in Windsor, see *Canadian Moving Picture Digest*, 17 November 1928; On Famous's takeover of Canadian Keith's interests, see *ibid.*, 8 June 1929.
 44. Peter White, *Investigation into an Alleged Combine in the Motion Picture Industry in Canada* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931). "Rex v. Famous Players," *Canadian Criminal Cases* 58 (1932): 50–96. Articles in the *Canadian Moving Picture Digest* are "The Canadian Film Probe," 25 October 1930; "Commissioner Finds a Combine," 4 July 1931; "Not Guilty Is Verdict in Combine Prosecution," 12 March 1932. See also Kirwan Cox, "Canada's Theatrical Wars: The Indies vs. the Chains," *Cinema Canada* 56 (June 1979): 47–53; Manjunath Pendakur, *Canadian Dreams & American Control: The Political Economy of the Canadian Film Industry* (Toronto: Garamond, 1990), 95–110.
 45. Halsey, Stuart & Co., "The Motion Picture as a Basis for Bond Financing: Prospectus 27 May 1927," reprinted in *The American Film Industry*, ed. Tino Ballo (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 181–82.
 46. White, *Investigation into an Alleged Combine*, 130–37.
 47. For example, for evening shows in the first week of September 1936, the Vancouver Orpheum and Capitol charged 50¢ for downtown first-run orchestra seats, the Dominion and Plaza charged 25¢ for downtown second-run, while in the neighbourhoods, the Dunbar charged 20¢, the Kingsway, Olympia, Hollywood, and Fraser each charged 15¢. *Vancouver Sun* advertising. In Toronto for evenings the same week, the Shea's charged 60¢, the Loew's 55¢ for downtown first run with vaudeville, the Tivoli 38¢ for downtown second run, while in the neighbourhoods the first-run Eglinton and Hollywood each had a bargain 27¢ until 6:45 p.m., the Madison had 27¢ in the balcony, the Apollo, Grant, and Mimico Rex each had 22¢, and the Bluebell and Strand had 16¢. *Toronto Telegram* advertising.
 48. White, *Investigation into an Alleged Combine*, 128.
 49. Dominion Bureau of Statistics as reported in "Indies Share Th'tre Expansion," *Canadian Film Weekly*, 1 December 1948. Also reprinted in Pendakur, *Canadian Dreams*, 101.
 50. For its first few years, Odeon was a Canadian company. It became a partner with the Rank Organization's British Odeon in 1944, then a subsidiary in 1946. "Rank–Nathanson Partnership," *Canadian Film Weekly*, 29 November 1944; "Paul Nathanson Resigns," *Canadian Film Weekly*, 27 February 1946. On informal agreements between Odeon and Famous Players, see *Variety*, 10 April 1946; "How's that Again? It's a Starter," *Canadian Film Weekly*, 24 April 1946; Pendakur, *Canadian Dreams*, 98–100.
 51. Paul Moore, "The Ontario Odeons of Jay I. English," *Marquee* 34 (2002): 4–13.
 52. For more on the creation of Odeon and its regional differences, see Moore, "Nathan L. Nathanson Introduces Canadian Odeon."
 53. Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). Barth writes chapters on the department store and vaudeville, among others, as case studies for the more general phenomena of the rise of urbanism.
 54. The debatable legality of the movie industry's run-zone policies thus provides a possible spatial critique of retail consumption more generally.
 55. For chain store retailing in Canada, see David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing 1890–1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Ken Jones, "The Urban Retail Landscape," in *Canadian Cities in Transition*, ed. P. Filion and T. Bunting (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1991), 379–400. See also Alfred Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 209–84; Richard Tedlow, *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

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56. Shifts along 19th-century King Street are studied by Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth, "Streetscape and Society: The Changing Built Environment of King Street, Toronto," in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, eds. R. Hall, W. Westfall, and L. Sefton MacDowell (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1988), 174–205.
57. Originally printed in *Canadian Illustrated News*, September 1870, quoted by Henry Scadding and John Dent, *Toronto Past and Present* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1884), as noted in Joy L. Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of His Department Store* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 55.
58. For a history of Eaton's, see Santink, *Timothy Eaton*; and Harold Kalman and Terry McDougall, "Big Stores on Main Street," *Canadian Heritage*, February 1985, 16–23.
59. On the changeable centre of downtown's focus, see Robert Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall 1880–1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). For a history of office building in Toronto, see Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth, "Building for a City, Region, and Nation," in *Forging a Consensus: Historical Essays on Toronto*, ed. Victor Russell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 272–319.
60. For a history of Morgan's (now the Hudson's Bay store) and other Montreal department stores, see Michelle Comeau, "Les grands magasins de la rue Sainte-Catherine à Montréal : des lieux de modernization, d'homogénéisation et de différenciation des modes de consommation," *Material History Review* 41 (1995), 58–68; see also the family history by David Morgan, *The Morgans of Montreal* (Toronto: David Morgan, 1992).
61. For a very brief history of the Hudson's Bay store in Vancouver, see Thirkell and Scullion, *Places Remembered*, 14–15.
62. *Toronto Star* advertising, 5 September and 21 November 1896.
63. For a history of Woolworth's with a brief overview of the company in Canada, see Karen Plunkett-Powell, *Remembering Woolworth's: A Nostalgic History of the World's Most Famous Five-and-Dime* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).
64. Ernest Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in *The City*, eds. R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 47–62. Recall that Balaban and Katz's Chicago movie palaces were primarily suburban. Gomery, *Shared Pleasures*, 44–47. This interpretation of Burgess's work draws heavily on Sharon Zukin's characterization of the Chicago School in *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disneyland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 181–83.
65. For a history of the policing of homosexuality in downtown Toronto, see Stephen Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5 (1994): 207–42.
66. For a discussion of business discrimination against ethnic shopkeepers, see Monod, *Store Wars*, 92–95. For a book-length overview specific to Vancouver, see Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada 1875–1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).
67. For distinctions in Montreal, see Annick Germain and Damaris Rose, *Montreal: The Quest for a Metropolis* (New York: Wiley, 2000); on class distinctions, see Robert Lewis, "The Segregated City: Class Residential Patterns and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montreal, 1861 and 1901," *Journal of Urban History* 17 (1991): 123–52.
68. Mark Bouman, "The 'Good Lamp Is the Best Police' Metaphor and Ideologies of the Nineteenth-Century Urban Landscape," *American Studies* 32 (1991): 63–78.
69. Mark Bouman, "Luxury and Control: The Urbanity of Street Lighting in Nineteenth-Century Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 14 (1987): 17.
70. *Ibid.*, 30.
71. Bouman refers to movie marquee lighting in a later essay, but as a contrast to the severe lighting of other commercial sites in business zones. See Mark Bouman, "The Best Lighted City in the World," in *Chicago Architecture and Design 1923–1993: Reconfiguration of an American Metropolis*, ed. John Zukowsky (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1993), 34.
72. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Macmillan, 1899); Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), originally published in German in 1913.
73. Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 324–39.
74. On escapism and film-going, see Paul Moore, "Weekday Matinee: Scene of the Daydream in Workaday Life," *Public* 22 (2001): 37–52.
75. Siegfried Kracauer, "The Cult of Distraction," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 325. The same translator uses *entertainment* instead of *free time busy-ness*, in an earlier version in *New German Critique* 40 (1987): 93.
76. The different senses of distraction and diversion are explored with reference to Kracauer's use of *Zerstreuung* by Sabine Hake, "Girls and Crisis: The Other Side of Diversion," *New German Critique* 40 (1987): 147.
77. On the symbolic overlap of shopping and cinema, see Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); on window shopping and urban space, see Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Gender and Public Life in London's West End 1860–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). On the display of consumption in films, see Sumiko Higashi, *Cecil B. DeMille and American Culture: The Silent Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Mark Garrett Cooper, *Love Rules: Silent Hollywood and the Rise of the Managerial Class* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
78. David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 232–34, also points out that many women downtown were *working* in the department stores.
79. On the theatrical matinee and women in its audience, see Richard Butsch, "Bowery B'hoys and Matinee Ladies: The Re-gendering of Nineteenth Century American Theater Audiences," *American Quarterly* 46 (1994): 374–405; on making vaudeville more family-oriented than theatre, see Barth, *City People*, 192–228; Robert Snyder, *The Voice of the City: Vaudeville and Popular Culture in New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
80. Charlotte Herzog, "The Movie Palace and the Theatrical Source of Its Architectural Style," *Cinema Journal* 20 (1981): 15–37; also Nasaw, *Going Out*, 221–40.
81. Perhaps the most famous Canadian case is Viola Desmond's 1946 court challenge in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia. Desmond was not only forced to leave a movie theatre for sitting in an area reserved for white patrons, she was jailed and fined for being in violation of the Cinematographs Act. See Constance Backhouse, "Racial Segregation in Canadian Legal History: Viola Desmond's Challenge, Nova Scotia 1946," *Dalhousie Law Journal* 17 (1994): 299–362; revised as part of *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada 1900–1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). Aspects of segregated film-going in the U.S. are included in Nasaw, *Going Out*; Mary Carbine, "The Finest Outside the Loop: Motion Picture Exhibition in Chicago's Black Metropolis 1905–1928," *Camera Obscura* 23 (1990): 9–41; Gregory Waller, *Main Street Amusements: Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City 1896–1930* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Steve Goodson, *Highbrows, Hillbillies, and Hellfire: Public Entertainment in Atlanta 1880–1930* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002).
82. For a detailed study of the tactful marketing of "white slavery" sensationalist films, see Shelley Stamp, *Movie-Struck Girls: Women and Motion Picture Culture after the Nickelodeon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 41–101.
83. On the reform movement in Ontario, see Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885–1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City 1880–1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).
84. Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City 1870–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 210–13.
85. From an essay reprinted in Robert Park, *The Crowd and the Public and Other Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972). Park draws heavily upon Gustave LeBon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*

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- (Atlanta: Norman S. Berg, 1968), originally printed in 1896.
86. David Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 176. On urban street lighting, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); John Jakle, *City Lights: Illuminating the American Night* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); and Barth, *City People*, 138.
 87. Joachim Schlor, *Nights in the Big City: Paris Berlin London, 1840–1930* (London: Reaktion, 1998), 241.
 88. Nye, *American Technological Sublime*, 191–92.
 89. Schlor, *Nights in the Big City*, 249.
 90. *Ibid.*, 252.
 91. Barbara Phillips and Richard LeGates, *City Lights: An Introduction to Urban Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). Note that the cover of the second edition uses the alternative connotation of city lights in a photo of a cityscape at night.
 92. Jay McInerney, *Bright Lights, Big City* (New York: Vintage, 1987). Gavin Weightman, *Bright Lights, Big City: London Entertained 1830–1950* (London: Collins and Brown, 1992). Robert Stamp, *Bright Lights, Big City: The History of Electricity in Toronto* (Toronto: Market Gallery of the City of Toronto Archives, 1991).
 93. Fogelson, *Downtown*, 227.
 94. Opening days for suburban Montreal Morgan's: Snowdon, on Queen Mary at Decarie, 2 September 1950, see advance promotion 12 August; Boulevard, on Pie IX at Jean Talon, 29 September 1953; Dorval Shopping Centre, 29 April 1954; Rockland Shopping Centre, 18 August 1959. *Montreal Gazette* advertising.
 95. Opening days for Morgan's in Toronto: Bloor Street, 11 October 1950; Lawrence Plaza in North York, 17 August 1955; Cloverdale Mall in Etobicoke, 9 August 1960. *Toronto Star* advertising.
 96. Monod, *Store Wars*, 211–19.
 97. Opening days for suburban Vancouver Eaton's: Brentwood, 16 August 1961; Park Royal, North Vancouver, 3 October 1962. Another Vancouver department store, Woodward's, on Hastings Street since 1892, built suburban locations even earlier than Eaton's, opening at Park Royal, 5 September 1950, and Oakridge Shopping Centre, 6 May 1959. Also, Simpsons-Sears opened on Kingsway in Burnaby, 5 May 1954. *Vancouver Sun* advertising.
 98. Opening days for suburban Toronto stores: Eaton's Shoppers' World, 16 May 1962; Eaton's Don Mills, 31 July 1962; Simpson's Cedarbrae, 7 August 1962; Eaton's and Simpson's Yorkdale, 26 February 1964. *Toronto Telegram* advertising.
 99. Canada's first shopping plaza cinema (Westdale, 31 August 1935) and drive-in (Skyway Drive-in, 22 July 1946) were both built in Hamilton, Ontario. If calling the Westdale development a shopping plaza is debatable, then the Golden Mile cinema (14 October 1954) in Scarborough outside Toronto would be the first. Certainly the opening ad illustration for the Westdale does not include adjacent storefronts, while the Golden Mile is clearly shown as part of a plaza development.
 100. Ernest Borneman, "United States versus Hollywood: The Case Study of an Antitrust Suit," and Michael Conant, "The Impact of the Paramount Decrees," both in *The American Film Industry*, ed. Balio, 332–70.
 101. For a reflection on his experience ushering at the Imperial 6, see Gerry Flahive, "Requiem for a Palace of Guilty Pleasures or Bell-Bottomed Exhibition at Its Finest," *Take One 6* (1998): 34–35.
 102. Some examples from the *Vancouver Sun*: In November 1941, a contest displayed two newspaper pages of the city's neon signs from which readers were to select their favourites and children submit coloured versions; on 21 February 1951, pictures of neon signs were shown in the context of traffic safety with the headline "Puzzle, Find Vancouver's Traffic Signals amidst Neon Signs." An article on 1 August 1953 went into the science and economy of neon gas, under a photograph of Granville Street captioned "Canada's Brightest Main Street," a judgment attributed to Yousuf Karsh. And 19 October 1966, on the front page, a new telephoto lens provides a way to condense Granville's theatre marquees into a narrow frame.
 103. Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), 15–16.
 104. An exception is a "memorial" Web site designed and contributed to by former employees: "Cineplex Odeon St. Laurent Cinemas Memorial Site: 1967–2001," <http://stlaurent0.tripod.com/> (accessed 18 February 2004).
 105. One ambitious example, Toronto's Theatre Block, was an effort to remake Yonge and Queen into a "historically renewed" super-block linking Massey Hall, the Loews Elgin theatre with other new theatre spaces. See Paul Dilse, *Toronto's Theatre Block: An Architectural History* (Toronto: Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, 1989). For examples of preservation fights won, see Hilary Russell, *Double Take: The Story of the Elgin and Winter Garden Theatres* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1989); Caroline Jackson, "Encore at the Orpheum," *Canadian Heritage* (October 1983): 10–13. For an example of a lost fight, see Cynthia Henry, *Remembering the Halifax Capitol Theatre 1930–1974* (Halifax: Atlantic Black Books, 2000). For a case of privately funded preservation, see Constance Olszeski, *The Pantages Theatre: Rebirth of a Landmark* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1989).
 106. In Canada, the Historic Theatres Trust can be reached at P.O. Box 387, Station Victoria, Montréal, QC H3Z 2V8. Its director and founder Janet MacKinnon is a frequent spokesperson in fights to save local theatres in Montreal. A recent example of an ad hoc effort is Chad Irish's petition in Toronto, "Save the Eglinton Theatre," <http://www.petitiononline.com/503244/petition.html> (accessed 16 February 2004).