



Vermont's First Film Cameraman, Francisque Doublier

Francisque Doublier was one of the first cameramen trained by cinema pioneers Lumière et ses fils of Lyon, France. Doublier spent ten years working for the Lumière North American Company in Burlington, Vermont, making film history along the way.

By HUGO MARTÍNEZ CAZÓN

The ten-year working residency of Francisque Doublier, at the start of the twentieth century, brought Burlington, Vermont, into the storyline of the emerging motion-picture industry. Two inventions by the Lumière et ses fils company of Lyon, France—the Cinématographe (cinema, or moving picture) and the development of direct color photography—would find in Burlington a fertile environment in which to flourish, and heralded the dawn of the era that has freed the human imagination to pursue visual storytelling.

When the Lumière brothers perfected and patented the Cinématograph in 1893, the innovation was not quickly understood. At a showing in the basement of the Grand Café on December 28, 1895, the Paris public included George Méliès, director of the Robin Houdin Theater and later the creator of the Voyage to the Moon film. He, along with another twenty of Lumière's invitees, thought it was going to be nothing other than the "projections" and lantern shows (slideshow projections)

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HUGO MARTÍNEZ CAZÓN is a professional engineer who lives in Burlington, Vermont. He is the author of "The Lumière North American Company: Seeing is Believing," *Vermont History* 89, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2021): 118–49. He has also researched a natural ravine that crosses the city of Burlington, and the first international ice hockey game played in Burlington in 1886 as part of the Winter Carnival.

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that were already known. At the start of the projection, Méliès observed that “a horse-drawn cart moved toward us, followed by other vehicles and then pedestrians—in a word—street life! We stared flabbergasted at this sight, stupefied and surprised beyond all expression. At the end of the show there was complete chaos. Everyone wondered how such a result was obtained.”¹

The Lumière company was already the largest maker of black-and-white photographic plates in Europe, and that had made father Antoine Lumière a worldwide success. Lumière’s plates were in direct competition with Eastman company products. The scientific, trade, and newspaper ads the company ran in 1897 warned buyers to check that their photographic plates were authentic Lumières, as the individual boxes were often reused and resealed, with cheaper, knock-off, inferior products.² Auguste and Louis, Antoine’s sons, made the company even more successful, generating over \$29 million (in today’s money) between 1895 and 1900, with the introduction of cinema.

The Lumières prepared three cameramen—Eugène Promio, Félix Mesguich, and Francisque Doublier—to operate the Cinématographe, and to go out into the world and record the first cinema footage, bringing cultures together for the first time visually, and allowing a mass audience to witness other customs.³ Together over these early years these cameramen would produce 1,200 films.⁴ Francisque Doublier would go on to live in Burlington, Vermont, and to work at the Lumière North American Company, for ten years.

Unlike the immobile equipment that Thomas Edison operated at his contemporary “Black Maria” studio in West Orange, New Jersey,⁵ the Lumière cinématographe camera weighed only ten pounds, and could easily be operated from a tripod. Importantly this allowed the projection of the image onto a screen. Going to the movies was born out of their invention. An eager public offered a profitable market. An 1897 ad placed by Lumière touted the opportunities.

The American Public is ever willing to patronize any meritorious entertainment and it is now possible for the exhibitor to sustain the interest by presenting, to multiplied audiences, new and eventful subjects never before seen in America, thereby increasing his earnings tenfold. Such subjects as skirt dances and many of the early commonplace scenes are passé. Attractive scenes and sensational incidents taken in all sections of the globe have been photographed at large expense by a staff of experts who are constantly on the alert for novel and interesting events and travel thousands of miles in order to secure them.⁶

For the exhibitor, one such feature cost about \$569 in today’s money. For the attending public, the ten-cent admission would today roughly equal \$4.

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The B. F. Keith Theater in Union Square in New York was the first to feature showings of Lumière cinématographe, on June 29, 1896.⁷ Very quickly the Keith Theaters group (in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia) was making \$10,000 profit a week from the cinématographe showings (approximately \$339,000 per week in today's value).⁸ By 1918, the motion-picture industry would become the sixth-largest industry in the US.⁹

The Lumière cameramen spread across the globe, capturing footage that astounded people everywhere. Francisque Doublier was sent by Lumière to Moscow in 1896, along with his colleague Charles Moisson. He was eighteen years old. There Doublier and his team made their names in cinema history as cine-reporters and filmed the coronation of Nicholas II as tsar of Russia.



A still taken from the motion picture by Francisque Doublier of the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II in Russia. 1896, courtesy of the Lumière Institut.

At the banquet with the tsar and his entourage, Doublier dutifully and discreetly kept the cinématographe camera between his knees, in keeping with warnings from Auguste and Louis Lumière, who were well aware of the significance of the world-changing invention they had entrusted to him.¹⁰ Many would attempt to make their own imitation cameras. In the last interview he gave, Louis Lumière called Doublier his most loyal “disciple.”¹¹

During the ceremonies, as was the custom, the tsar invited the attending peasants to participate in the buffet. The ensuing riot reflected the desperate conditions of the day. Over 1,000 people died that day,

crushed in the stampede. Doublier, operating his camera, had a direct view and filmed the disaster. The authorities were quick to take the film into custody, a first in the censorship of graphic journalism. Doublier never saw the Lumières' "precious camera" again after his interrogation by the police. He recalled, "We finally came to our senses and began filming the appalling scene. We had only brought five or six eighteen-metre rolls with us; three were devoted to filming the screaming, fighting mass that came to die at the foot of the imperial canopy, where we had planned to record a completely different scene. I saw the police charging the crowd, trying to stop this human tidal wave. We were absolutely surrounded."¹²

In contrast, the five-page *Harper's Weekly* article by Richard Harding Davis offered a "from where I stood" narrative.¹³ Davis described at length the ceremonies of the coronation, the voluptuousness of the attire, and the radiance of the jewelry, and his story was accompanied by several drawings. He wrote of the tsar being crowned with his oath to "protect the welfare of one hundred million souls." But the article mentioned nothing about the stampede of desperate serfs, and even if it had, it could not match the immediacy of the filmed report. The written word was no longer enough, and the actual moving image became part of the valid narrative.



The comparison of the Cinématographe to the invention of the printing press was not an outlandish claim.¹⁴ At the time, it was a breakthrough invention, inaugurating the birth of a new era of modernity for the twentieth century. The feeling was that suddenly humanity could see itself fully, in every difference, commonality, and

An illustration of Tsar Nicholas at his coronation. Harper's Weekly, February 1897. The set of hand illustrations accompanying the reporter's article could not match the truthfulness and directness of the Lumière moving pictures.

tragedy. Today audiovisual media is foundational to our discourse, art, and journalism.

Francisque Doublier traveled to Mongolia, Calcutta, Cairo, St. Petersburg and many places in between, developing film in pails, as he rode the train, or at his hotel. He would recall once filming the arrival of a locomotive at the St Petersburg station, head on. Doublier was pleased with himself, to recall how the public would jump away in dismay as the train arrived, seemingly ready to go right through the screening room. At every stop on his journey, he brought cinema to that place for the first time.¹⁵

While working in Kiev, Ukraine, he was asked for news about the Dreyfus Affair (in which a French Jewish military officer was accused of treason in 1894), often by the local Jewish population in that city. Showing his eye for an attention-grabbing opportunity, as well as calling on his ability as a cameraman, Doublier spliced together scenes from existing films and created a short that told the Dreyfus story. Scholars still debate if he actually did make this bit of creative news, or if he embellished the memories as he retold the vignette.¹⁶ The fact that it was now possible to fabricate realistic images to tell a story underscored the magnitude of the changes brought about by the portable, lightweight, high-quality film camera created by the Lumières.

Doublier having completed a rich and varied tour of Asia and Eastern Europe, the Lumières made the decision to send the globetrotting “camera showman”¹⁷ to the United States. They formed the Lumière North American Company, and erected a duty-specific factory building in 1901–1902. The Lumières were getting ready to enter the US market with their upcoming invention: direct-color photography.¹⁸ At the end of his career Louis Lumière stated that of all his inventions, Autochrome was his greatest achievement.¹⁹ Color photography was going to be an unchallenged market, and a factory inside the import tax wall of the US was vital. Equally important was the protection of these advances from the curiosity of competitors. The French-speaking population of the town of Burlington represented a possible and secure production location.²⁰

On October 18, 1903, the Ellis Island registry²¹ shows the arrival of Francisque Doublier (passenger 102702040624), age twenty-five, accompanied by his wife Louise, on the steamer *La Bretagne*. Along with Doublier came Louis Leureau (age twenty-four), a Lyon-registered professional chemist,²² with his wife Edmonde. Leureau also worked for Lumière, and had been enlisted for the journey to the US. Accompanying them was future plant manager Captain Claudius Poulaillon, an engineer from L’Ecole Polytechnique (age twenty-nine), and his wife Josephine (age thirty-five).

Form No. 1
June 1, 1902

SAILED, CARRIAGE, AND STEERAGE ALIENS MUST BE COMPLETELY MANIFESTED.
THIS ENTRY IS FOR SECOND-CLASS PASSENGERS.

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE U. S. IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT PORT OF ARRIVAL.

Required by the regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, under Act of Congress approved March 3, 1903, to be delivered to the U. S. Immigration Officer by the Commanding Officer of any vessel having such passengers on board upon arrival at a port in the United States.

S. S. LA BRETAGNE.

sailing from HAVER.

October 1st, 1903.

Arriving at Port of New York.

October 6, 1903.

No.	NAME IN FULL	Age	Sex	Color	Religion	Country of Birth	Place of Birth	Place of Departure	Place of Destination	Place of Residence	Place of Employment	Place of Education	Place of Marriage	Place of Birth of Spouse	Place of Birth of Children	Place of Birth of Grandchildren	Place of Birth of Great-Grandchildren	Place of Birth of Great-Great-Grandchildren	Place of Birth of Great-Great-Great-Grandchildren
1	Wheeler, Alice	21	F	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
2	Wheeler, Paul	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
3	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
4	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
5	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
6	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
7	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
8	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
9	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
10	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
11	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
12	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
13	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
14	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
15	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
16	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
17	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
18	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
19	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris
20	Leureau, Jean	21	M	White	Protestant	France	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris	Paris

Ship manifest showing Doublier, his wife, and colleague Louis Leureau as passengers on La Bretagne in October 1903. Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Foundation.

The rest of the nearly twenty trained Lumière workers from Lyon²³ travelled in steerage, and there is little information about the women who made that trip. Just two years after their journey to Vermont, *Collier's* magazine ran a cover story on the deplorable and inhumane conditions on the ships that brought immigrants to Ellis Island. The story focused exclusively on the worst of them, *La Bretagne*.²⁴



NO PRIVACY FOR THESE WOMEN

These passengers on "La Bretagne," of the French line, are huddled together, with life preservers for pillows, baggage piled in the berths, and no partitions between the bunks as required by law

Cramped conditions in third class (steerage) of the ship La Bretagne, Collier's magazine, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Al8wAQAAIAAJ>, accessed 12 February 2025.

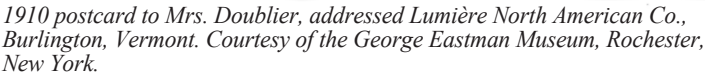
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In those days, arriving immigrants were asked to declare their destination, their occupation, nationality, and the amount of cash they were traveling with. The typical amount of cash declared on Doublier's voyage ranged from \$5 to \$20 (between \$150 and \$600 today). The arriving immigrants were going on to Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and New Jersey, or staying in New York City. Doublier's answer was atypical. Occupation? Artist. How much money are you bringing with you? \$200 (today over \$6,000). Where are you going? 168 Pine Street, Burlington, Vermont (Home). In contrast, professional chemist Louis Leureau and his wife Edmonde declared a comfortable \$50 (about \$1,500 today).

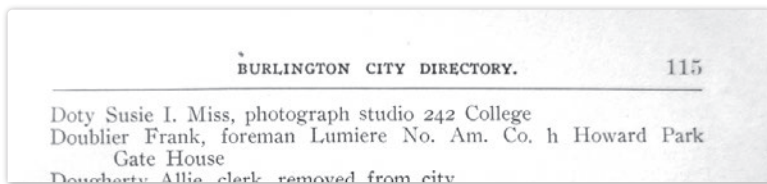
The successful artist, Doublier, was heading to the Lumière North American Company as part of the best team assembled by Auguste and Louis Lumière, to establish themselves in the United States, and to promote the scope of the Lumières' products. These included magic lanterns, X-ray film, black-and-white photographic plates, motion-picture "pellicule," and Autochrome. Of these, the black-and-white and direct-color photographic plates were produced at the 200-worker Burlington plant,²⁵ to provide plates that could fit into the cameras made in inches.

Settled in Burlington, Doublier eventually moved the family out of the boarding house on Pine Street, and made their home at Lumière Park, by the banks of Lake Champlain, at the plant's administrative building.²⁶ A postcard sent to Madame Doublier in 1910 clearly shows the address: Lumière North American, Burlington, Vermont.²⁷ And the 1910 census shows the "French" Doublier family, with sons George and Marcel, born and living in Burlington.²⁸ Doublier's residence at that address was convenient for Lumière North American Company, as he could also keep an eye on the factory in the evenings. In 1903 there had been an incident with a disgruntled former plant manager, and Doublier's presence, along with the new French manager Claudius Poulaillon, offered a safeguard against mischief or potential industrial espionage.²⁹ Clearly, however, the accomplished cameraman was far more than the factory "foreman" listed in the Burlington city directories of the day.

During his nearly ten years of work at the Burlington Lumière North American Company, Doublier likely interacted with Vermont geologist and professor George H. Perkins, who had experimented with telescopic lenses and Autochrome to take the first direct-color images of the Adirondack mountains.³⁰ Perkins' son, Henry F. Perkins, then went on to collect the first Autochrome color photography of Yellow-

[illegible]

Record from the 1910 US census showing Francisque and Louisa Doublier and their two sons living in Burlington.



"Frank" Doublier, "foreman." Source: City Directory of Burlington, 1904 (Newburgh, NY: L. P. Waite & Co., 1904), 115.

stone Park in 1909, and to create audiovisual presentations, accompanied with live classical music.³¹ The younger Perkins' work inspired many future landscape Autochrome photographers who, like Helen Murdock (1913), Guy C. Caldwell, naturalist and entertainer Herbert W. Gleason, Fred Payne Clatworthy (1914), Herbert Gleason, and Dr. C. D. Williamson created the compelling color photographic documentation



Two men standing in a field, possibly Henry F. Perkins (left) and, with a camera, possibly Francisque Doublier. Landscape Change Program, image LS06043_000.jpg, original at the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration, Middlesex.

of remote national parks, which generated public enthusiasm and contributed to the establishment of the US National Park Service in 1916.³²

An image of a glass-plate photograph in the digital collections of the University of Vermont seems to show Henry Perkins in his goatee and suit standing formally in a field, accompanied by a younger, athletic-looking man in a white driving coat. Next to him is a tripod, and what appears to be a camera. The image is in color.³³ Could the man in the driving coat be Doublier? Without seeing the original photographic plate, it is not possible to know if the image is an Autochrome.

Although Lumière et ses fils of Lyon had previously decided to get out of the market of making cinema releases, in 1909 they again decided to try their hand at feature movies that were longer than the standard shorts. Titles including *The Love Trip*, *The Cook's Mistake*, and *A Good Trick* were announced and then released in October 1909.³⁴ At first the public interest in Lumière's cinematograph outpaced the demand for the rival Edison Kino, but American critics were not favorable, and soon the Lumière feature-film efforts ended. Competition also came from many other studios, including Gaumont and Pathé. Filmmaking was a profitable and growing creative industry, but the Lumières decided that the production of "independent" blank film material was the reliable best choice for the company.

That same year the Casino cinematograph theater, managed by Smith and Neiberg, opened on Church Street—the first cinema in Burlington.³⁵ Also in 1909 an Independent Film Service company, Granit Film Company of Burlington, Vermont, was advertised in the *Moving Picture World*.³⁶

But the Lumière North American Company factory in Burlington closed in 1911–1912. Despite the broad success of Autochrome in every market, the home office, a newly combined Jouglia-Lumière, determined that it was now cheaper to make the color photography (Autochrome) plates in Lyon. One can surmise from 1908 congressional records³⁷ that a very likely factor in the decision was an increase in import taxes on photographic gelatin produced in France.³⁸ The Lumière North American Company was one of a few companies in the US reliant on the French product, as the domestically processed gelatin was not of a purity suitable for Lumière's photographic plates. Factories like Brigham Sheet Gelatin³⁹ of Randolph, Vermont, were nearby, but the quality was not compatible with Autochrome.

It is reasonable to speculate about other motives for closing the factory, but nothing indicates another persuasive explanation. The taxes on gelatin were unusual, because they were combined somewhat incoherently in the same category as the tax on imported glue, which was much more widespread in the US market. During the whole era of early cinema, the competition was for a market that seemed endless and unexplored. The import and sales taxes played a key role to business decisions. A series of production and importation alliances sent representatives to many congressional Ways and Means Committee hearings. Jules E. Brulatour, the New York City representative of Lumière North American Company, was the treasurer of one such organization, the National Independent Motion Picture Alliance, that mounted efforts to oppose the potential for marketplace monopolies.

In 1915 the Federal Trade Commission decided to issue a consent decree to the Eastman Kodak Company in an antitrust case, which required Eastman to cease monopolistic practices.⁴⁰ The case alleged that Eastman operated a trust by buying up competitors and obliging merchants to sell only Eastman Kodak products, in violation of the Sherman Act. Eastman Kodak denied the allegations. The case record mentions Lumière as the other, independent maker of film stock for motion pictures. The judge's ruling indicates that Eastman was the first to patent and commercialize film stock,⁴¹ but it does not acknowledge that in 1895 Lumière was already making, projecting, and advertising the sale of it. Eastman is noted in the record as being organized in 1901. During the period the case was being deliberated, the Lumière North American Company closed (1912), and all its operations continued in Lyon. The case was decided in favor of the US government on August 24, 1915.

Whatever the reasons, the production of cinematographic celluloid film, Autochrome plates, X-ray plates, magic lanterns, and the highly valued black-and-white plates were again all produced solely at Lyon.

Louis Leureau was called back, and the Lyon registry of licensed chemists indicates that he returned to work at the Lyon Lumière factory in 1911.⁴² His return strengthened the Lyon technical team for Autochrome. By 1913, Autochrome production there reached 6,000 plates per day.⁴³ The cinema world certainly seemed to have changed significantly since the heady promises of 1900.

Some of the Lumière team chose not to return to Lyon. Jules E. Brulatour, who had left Lumière North American in 1910, decided to establish a film company in New York City, along with Claudius Poulaillon and Francisque Doublier. It did not result in a lasting endeavor. Brulatour then offered Doublier a job at the new Eclair Studios.⁴⁴ Eventually Brulatour would leave and become a representative for Eastman.⁴⁵ At the onset of World War I, Poulaillon returned to France to serve as an officer in the French army.⁴⁶ During the war, the Lumière Autochrome process recorded the human tragedy of battles like Verdun.⁴⁷ For a few more years, Lumière continued to sell film stock through its remaining Fifth Avenue office location in Manhattan.⁴⁸

For Francisque Doublier, the future would be a rich experience. Doublier went on to collaborate at Solax Studio (of Alice Guy Blaché fame⁴⁹), Ideal Studios, Eclair Studios, and Hirliograph Studios, and serve as technical manager at Eclipse Studios, and he designed Paragon Studios. He also was principal general manager at the Palisade Film Laboratories.⁵⁰ The Fort Lee, New Jersey, area became the center of filmmaking for the early, pre-Hollywood, silent feature films that starred the likes of Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and Charlie Chaplin, and Doublier was involved in making many of them.⁵¹ He was part of a cadre of French film pioneers who were pivotal to the establishment of cinema in the United States.⁵² When Doublier died on April 3, 1948, in Englewood, New Jersey, he left behind his wife Louise, and children George, Marcel, and John.

Today, sadly, although many early films still exist, more than 70 percent of the earliest silent films do not. Many 16-meter celluloid films simply wore away with repeated use, while others were lost or simply crumbled as the material gave way to the years. The newspaper critiques, advertisements, casting calls, trade magazines, printed interviews, and court cases are the closest we can come to understanding the excitement of a completely new medium for creativity, and these sources can assemble the pieces of the story of early cinema. Although we do not (yet) have footage that was filmed by Doublier during his nearly ten years in Burlington, we do know that he remained creative as a cameraman, and would be recognized as the pioneer of US film.⁵³ Some home-movie footage taken by Doublier on 16mm film does survive.

Doublier's broad collection of memorabilia and notes, as well as photographic images and films, were donated to the Eastman Museum in Rochester, New York, upon his death. The items include correspondence showing Doublier's lifelong closeness and affection with the Lumière family. The collection serves to underscore his presence among the pioneers of cinema in Fort Lee, New Jersey, and Burlington, Vermont.⁵⁴

Doublier is still little known in the United States, outside of the circle of film enthusiasts, but in Russia there is at least one tribute website for the man who recorded the coronation of Nicholas II.⁵⁵ The cinematograph recording of that event has been preserved and digitized, and is viewable online. Quite a journey for images collected by a young man in 1896! That journey included ten years of making film and color photography plates in Burlington, Vermont, at the dawn of the twentieth century.

NOTES

¹ A much more complete biography of Francisque Doublier is available thanks to the exhaustive work of Clara Auclair, PhD, co-secretary of Domitor (the early cinema historians' association). I am indebted to Clara for her kindness and generosity, and for the opportunity to work with her in documenting Doublier's life in Burlington. My gratitude also goes to André Gaudreault, professor of cinema and Canada research chair in Cinema and Media Studies at Université de Montréal, and to Louis Pelletier, professor and researcher of early cinema at Université de Montréal. I met Clara thanks to their open-mindedness and generous support, and we were able to work together to find the Vermont chapter of Doublier's life.

Glenn Myrent, "When Movies Began, and No One Came," *New York Times*, 29 December 1985, Section 2, 19. At the time, Myrent was associated with the Cinématèque Française of Paris.

² "Lumière" advertisement, *Phonoscope*, 1, 10 (October 1897): 4, <https://books.google.com/books?id=CS05AAAAIAAJ>.

³ Myrent, "When Movie Began."

⁴ "La dernière interview de Louis Lumière par Georges Sadoul," *L'Écran Français* du 15 juin 1948, *La Belle Equipe*, www.la-belle-equipe.fr/2020/12/26/la-derniere-interview-de-louis-lumiere-par-georges-sadoul-lecran-francais-1948/.

⁵ "Who's Who in the Film Game," *Nickelodeon*, 4, 3 (1 August, 1910.): 63.

⁶ "Lumière" advertisement, *Phonoscope*, 1, 6 (May 1897): 4, <https://books.google.com/books?id=CS05AAAAIAAJ>.

⁷ *New York Journal*, 28 June 1896, 5.

⁸ Robert Grau, "Advent of the Moving Picture at Keith's Union Square Theatre," ch. 7 in *The Business Man in the Amusement World* (New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1910), 108–9, https://books.google.com/books?id=n_YwAAAAIAAJ.

⁹ "In 1889 Eastman and Walker of Rochester New York placed upon the market the first commercially successful medium for the projection of the motion picture namely a strip of celluloid film. From this crude and by no means always reliable beginning the moving picture industry has developed into the sixth largest industry in the United States in respect to the number of individuals employed, the gross total of capital invested, and the average daily income and outgo. In fact at its present rate of growth it is inevitably destined in the immediate future to follow oil, steel, coal, and the railroads as the fifth leading industry of the country. Upwards of twelve million of our people spend each year approximately \$300,000,000 in moving picture theatres." National Association of Corporation Schools *Bulletin*, 5 (1918): 9.

¹⁰ Jay Leyda and Claude-Henri Rochat, *Kino, Histoire du Cinéma Russe et Soviétique* (Edition L'âge d'Homme, 1976), 23–24, https://books.google.com/books?id=VjL_Amg-TgoC.

¹¹ Georges Sadoul, "Louis Lumière Père du Cinéma," *Les lettres françaises*, 10 juin 1948, 1 and 6. www.retronews.fr/journal/les-lettres-francaises/09-juin-1948/1/cc29f2b5-e639-4fa0-ac10-9e18770812ac?search_text=pere+du+cinema+sadoul.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Richard Harding Davis, "The Coronation," *Harper's Weekly*, 94, no. 561 (February 1897): 335–52, https://books.google.com/books?id=xNw_AQAAMAAJ.

¹⁴ Myrent, "When Movies Began."

¹⁵ See Clara Auclair, "Collected Memory: Histories of the French Film Industry in Fort Lee, New Jersey" (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2023), <https://urresearch.rochester.edu/institutionalPublicationPublicView.action?jsessionid=0D2D845A2B00659E632340AFCDF274AD?institutionalItemVersionId=36746>. See also https://grimh.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&layout=edit&id=3483&lang=fr.

¹⁶ Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1926), 314–15.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *Los Angeles Herald*, 18 August 1907, 2.

¹⁹ *British Journal of Photography* 95 (1948): 402.

²⁰ Hugo Martínez Cazón, "The Lumière North American Company: Seeing Is Believing," *Vermont History* 89, 2 (Summer/Fall 2021): 118–46.

²¹ Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Foundation website, www.statueofliberty.org/, passenger list search page. Accessed 15 October 2023.

²² *Chimie moderne*, Bulletin de L'Association Amicale des Anciens Élèves de l'École de Chimie Industrielle de Lyon (a directory of licensed chemists and other occupations), (Lyon : Editions du Lama, 1903), 74, https://books.google.com/books?id=yv6F_USvEZgC. Leureau's name appears in several directories between 1903 and 1911.

²³ *St. Johnsbury Caledonian* (VT), 18 September, 1901, 7.

²⁴ Broughton Brandenburg, "The Inferno of the Third Class," *Collier's*, 29 July 1905, 15.

²⁵ "Manufacturing Plants," *Engineering News and American Contract Journal* 46 (19 December 1901): 211.

²⁶ See *City Directory of Burlington, Vermont* for the years 1903–1911 (New York: L. P. Waite & Co.).

²⁷ Clara Auclair, "The Personal is Technical: Strategies of Remembrance in the Francis Doublier Collection," ch. 5 in *Collecting Cinema. Rewriting Film History: Between the Visible and the Invisible*, eds. André Habib, Louis Pelletier, and Jean-Pierre Sirois-Trahan, in collaboration with Charlotte Brady-Savignac (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025).

²⁸ "Ward 6, Burlington, Chittenden County" *Department of Commerce, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1913), <https://books.google.com/books?id=55sWAQAAMAAJ>.

²⁹ Cazón, "The Lumière North American Company."

³⁰ "Telephotography with Autochrome Plates," *British Journal of Photography*, 61 (4 September 1914): 33.

³¹ *Barre Daily Times* (VT), 23 December 1909, 7. Henry F. Perkins later created and led the Eugenics Survey of Vermont; see Mercedes de Guardiola, "*Vermont for the Vermonters*": *The History of Eugenics in the Green Mountain State* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2023).

³² United States National Park Service, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1920), 164, <https://books.google.com/books?id=D83PAAAMAAJ>.

³³ LS06043 image, UVM, Landscape Change Program, https://landscape.uvm.edu/landscape_new/search/refine.php?imageSet=1617384557-6067546d41472.

³⁴ *New York Dramatic Mirror*, 62 (23 October 1909): 17, https://books.google.com/books?id=f_JNAQAAMAAJ.

³⁵ *City Directory of Burlington* (1909).

³⁶ "The Best Independent Film Service Advertisement," *Moving Picture World* 4 (1909), 735, <https://books.google.com/books?id=ygEpAAAAAYAAJ>.

³⁷ "The Defender Photo Supply Company Advocates a Uniform Duty of Twenty-Five Per Cent on Gelatin," *Tariff Hearings Before the Committee . . . Sixtieth Congress, 1908, Committee on Ways and Means*, (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1908), 6 January 1908, https://books.google.com/books?id=-_ksAAAAAYAAJ.

³⁸ Tariff Schedules: Hearings Before the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1913), 215, Schedule A (Payne Tariff), https://books.google.com/books?id=BCIuAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA6358&dq=randolph+vermont+%22+brigham+sheet+gelatin%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewik7vSL15aJAxWJC3kGHR0EEvUQ6AF6BAGHEAI Sent with Proton Mail secure email.

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⁴⁰ *US Federal Trade Commission Decisions*, Federal Antitrust Case #478, vol. 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917): 883ff, https://books.google.com/books?id=pdUZAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA883&dq=eastman+antitrust+sherman&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiJyb7I95GLAxUCF1kFHbz3I5cQ6AF6BAGIEAM#v=onepage&q&f=false.

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⁴² *Chimie moderne* (Lyon: Editions du Lama, 1911), 80, https://books.google.com/books?id=yv6F_USvEZgC.

⁴³ Maurice Bessy and G. Lo Duca, *Louis Lumière, inventeur* (Paris: Éditions Prisma, 1948).

⁴⁴ Auclair, "The Personal is Technical."

⁴⁵ "Among the Picture Theaters," *Nickelodeon* 4, 12 (15 December 1910): 349.

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⁴⁷ Jules Gervais-Courtellemont, *Verdun! Photographies Directes en Couleur* (Direct Color Photographs), L'édition Française Illustrée (1917), <https://books.google.com/books?id=xKhqiXHNYSwC>.

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⁵⁴ Auclair, "The Personal Is Technical."

⁵⁵ <https://cinemafirst.ru/pionery-kinematografa-dublie-fransi/>.