

Managing the Muses: Musical Performance and Modernity in the Public Schools of Late-Nineteenth Century Toronto

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ABSTRACT

This paper employs the lens of sensory historical analysis to examine public school music in the making of a modern middle class in late-Victorian Toronto. Its aim is to show how this subject both shaped and was shaped by the culture of modernity which increasingly pervaded large urban centres such as Toronto during the course of the nineteenth century. The paper goes beyond pedagogic and bureaucratic justification, to present the evolution of school music within a much broader acoustic framework, that is, to weave it into the increasingly-urban soundtrack of Toronto, to gain some appreciation of how it would have been heard and understood at the time. Its aim is to offer historians of education an understanding of what actually occurred in the classrooms of Toronto during the period by listening to these experiences and the acoustic environment in which they would have been understood.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article analyse le rôle joué par les cours de musique dans les écoles publiques de Toronto dans le processus de formation de la classe moyenne à l'époque victorienne. L'auteur propose une analyse historique sensorielle afin de démontrer comment cette matière scolaire a influencé et était influencée par la culture de modernité dont s'imprégnaient graduellement les grands centres urbains au cours du dix-neuvième siècle. Au-delà des justifications pédagogiques et bureaucratiques, il présente l'évolution des cours de musique dans un cadre élargi en lien avec la musique diffusée dans cette ville aux sonorités de plus en plus urbaines. Il veut ainsi favoriser une meilleure compréhension de ce qu'était le contexte sonore et sa réceptivité chez les auditeurs à cette époque. Ce texte trace pour les historiens de l'éducation un portrait de l'évolution de l'enseignement de la musique dans les classes torontoises dans le contexte particulier de la nouveauté musicale.

Historians of education must often tease the 'truth' about pedagogic experience from overwhelmingly bureaucratic evidence. Public school music history provides a rare opportunity to overcome such empirical limitations. Unlike other subjects, school music attracted public attention, was widely reported in the press, and thus produced a significant body of non-bureaucratic evidence. This provides historians with

a perspective largely freed of bureaucratic intent and more attuned to popular reception. It also helps to shed new light upon what happened in classrooms (as opposed to prescriptive discussions about what *ought* to occur).

This paper couples this advantage with the tools of sensory history to show that public school music played an important part in making a modern middle class in late-Victorian Toronto, by demonstrating how it fit into the city's increasingly-urban soundtrack—an environment that blurred definitions that had traditionally distinguished “noise,” “information” and “art” from one another.

In this multi-layered acoustic context, an evolving calendar of school concerts not only came to embody the public face of state education for citizens, but also symbolized all that was positive about progress and modernity. Singing in harmony (and when accompanied by drill exercises, “keeping together in time”¹) not only demonstrated the capacity for schools to inculcate skill, but also assuaged public worry about rapid modernization. In this sense, school music was more than the application of subject matter, but rather an expression of a late-Victorian cultural desire to reconcile innovation with tradition, progress with conservatism, chaos with control.

To begin, a brief overview is provided of Toronto during the period, to establish a context within which to interpret the place of school music in the city's social fabric. The change the city underwent mirrored that being experienced in many other communities in North America.

Toronto, once a colonial backwater, became what D. C. Masters called “a budding metropolis” during the latter half of the nineteenth century.² Massive immigration and urbanization altered everyday life, requiring Torontonians to re-interpret what they heard and saw, tasted and touched.

As the city's population grew and commercial and industrial production intensified, so too did the volume and complexity of sound in it. Altogether they reminded all who heard them that change was afoot. Some thought the new soundscape signalled progress, others decried elements of the modern soundtrack as intrusive and a threat to traditional values. As a result, Toronto city officials found themselves crafting controversial legal definitions for what constituted “noise,” and how it might be regulated and controlled. Interpretations of and responses to the changing sounds of the city differed, and as more layers were added to the soundtrack it became increasingly difficult to distinguish noise from information and art. Depending upon the time and place, sounds might occupy different categories, possibly taking on multiple definitions simultaneously.

Evidence of this difficulty can be found in local legislation governing definitions of “noise” and “nuisance.” In 1834, for example, both were contained in a single bylaw, and covered such sounds as bell-ringing, crying wares to advertise, and the unnecessary ringing of fire alarms. By century's end not only was each defined separately, but even the same sound—for example, steam whistles—could be interpreted as noise or necessity, depending on circumstance.³

Although bylaws governing noise were crafted in response to sounds generated by Toronto's commercial and industrial activity, they became the de facto framework of subsequent official judgments about sound. Distinguishing unacceptable nuisances

from tolerable ones eventually went beyond mere amplitude. Could, for example, the noise bylaw be used to silence whistling peanut vendors? What about “loud” piano playing? In the latter instance, at least, the city’s Chief Constable informed the complainant that “[w]hether such music could be ‘noise’ was not clear because the city bylaw specified the combination of annoyance and ‘discordance.’”⁴

The rise of mass entertainment in urban centres such as Toronto during the latter half of the nineteenth century represents one of the defining aspects distinguishing the modern city from its early nineteenth-century predecessor. Often employed to epitomize the modern age, mass consumer entertainments were, in many respects, by-products of the revolutions in transportation, technology and communication that created the modern city. Improved transportation made it easier to bring in a greater variety of performers throughout the year. It also facilitated the introduction of new forms of amusement, which were fast becoming staples of British and American theatrical circuits.⁵

As an intrinsic part of the shift to modernity, mass entertainments presented another challenge. Because of the association with the new urban environment, popular forms of leisure such as music hall, vaudeville and an assortment of other cheap amusements fuelled public debate concerning their purpose and effect, particularly upon children. In this way, deciding what should be heard became contested ground in the battle between some who wished to recreate and preserve traditional cultural ideals and others whose aims appeared to threaten the status quo. The battle also became a matter of straightforward competition for customers. In scrambling to balance the demand of both camps and hence, reap maximum profits, venue entrepreneurs employed a variety of tactics—including publicity, posh interiors and codes of conduct—to cultivate and cater to particular tastes.

What emerged from this dialogue added new dimensions to the music culture of late-Victorian Toronto and its public schools. As active state agents, public schools provided one point from which to counter the increasing presence of such activities in the city. The moral unease generated by the advent of mass entertainment brought it to the attention of public educators, and thus made it an inseparable part of larger debates about the purpose and aim of education. In the ensuing battle to inoculate Toronto’s school children against perceived evils emanating from such places, school music was enlisted as one of the moral vaccines.

Although it had been formally recognized as a bona fide classroom activity as far back as 1846, it wasn’t until later in the century that vocal music came to prominence as a recognizable and marketable public activity. Although student singers had been included in public ceremonies and special occasions, the appointment of James L. Hughes as Toronto’s chief public school inspector in 1874 heralded several changes to their roles and responsibilities at these events. Drawing inspiration from the child-centred philosophy of Friedrich Froebel, his bold approach foreshadowed what would in later years be recognized as hallmarks of progressive education, emphasizing individual creativity and cooperation.⁶ Soon after arriving, Hughes began advocating more musical activity in the schools, introducing a formal course for musical instruction in 1877 and initiating annual public school music concerts in 1884.

In 1886, he had also been instrumental in incorporating a choir of school children into the Toronto Musical Festival, a three-day musical extravaganza organized by Metropolitan Church musical director Fredrick H. Torrington. Most significant, however, was Hughes' decision to hire Alexander Thom Cringan in 1887, a figure who not only would come to prominence as an innovator of music curriculum in Toronto, but who would also go on to influence provincial and national school music during his long career.⁷

In many ways, Cringan's appointment proved serendipitous. By the late 1880s, Chief School Inspector Hughes had firmly established his credentials as a progressive educator. His tireless enthusiasm for change and improvement across Toronto's school system created an environment within which many of the music instructor's innovative ideas could germinate and, ultimately, thrive. Not only did Cringan advocate what he believed were superior methods to teach school music to large groups of students and teachers, but he backed his claims with regular public performances by school choirs that, over time, became familiar and expected features in the city's annual calendar of events. In so doing, public school music took on the mantle of progressive education, demonstrating to anxious late-Victorians that despite all the uncertainty and chaos wrought by modernity, schools could infuse in their children those intellectual, physical and moral qualities required to navigate what promised to be an unpredictable future. These models of character development were widely understood and had been adopted by the time Queen Victoria celebrated her Diamond Jubilee.

Born in Carlisle, near Glasgow, on October 13, 1866, Alexander Cringan had visited Toronto in 1885, and a year later decided to settle there permanently. In Scotland he had trained under John Curwen, a leading proponent of the tonic sol-fa method for teaching vocal music.⁸ This approach was distinct from the Holt system then in use in the schools of Ontario. Cringan was appointed choirmaster at Central Presbyterian Church in 1886, and was hired by the school board in March of the following year as an 'assistant music teacher' in the city schools.⁹

As it turned out, Cringan's arrival coincided with renewed enthusiasm towards school music. Coming fresh on the heels of the 1886 festival, public attitudes were favourable to the subject and led to calls for a purpose-built venue to host similar musical events. The presence of drill in Toronto schools (reintroduced in 1877), with its emphasis upon rhythm and synchronized movement, and the fact that several local volunteer militia bands were available as a ready source of instrumental music, made it relatively easy to insert student choirs into existing activities involving the schools. Schools themselves sought permission from the Board to hold concerts and raise funds to purchase their own pianos and organs, a practice which hitherto had been frowned upon. As well, 1887 witnessed the launch of the *Musical Journal*, which offered a monthly synopsis of music-related events and sheet music, sprinkled with notes on local personalities and happenings.¹⁰ By publishing sheet music and articles covering topics such as famous composers and technique, the Journal attempted to provide its middle-class readers with the musicological knowledge necessary for cultural refinement and, despite its brief existence, it also provided a platform to air differences of opinion.¹¹

Admittedly, there were also some immediate challenges. Cringan had been hired in March of 1887, at the tail end of the school year, and a mere three months prior to the celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. The board had hired A. Perrin to teach music in the public schools four years earlier; it appears, however, that his duties were limited. In the *Annual Report* of 1885, Hughes was still repeating his recommendation "that a special teacher of music" be appointed.¹² Trustees had, to this point, turned to the expertise of outside musicians such as F. H. Torrington and E. W. Schuch to oversee major musical productions involving school children; given the circumstances, one would have expected such preference. In fact, two weeks prior to Cringan's official hire, the board had received correspondence from Schuch, offering to organize a school choir for any such Jubilee event.¹³

Nevertheless, it was Cringan and Perrin who were present in Queen's Park on 23 June to lead the singing of the school children. The day began with a general religious service at the Metropolitan Church that included a series of speeches, as well as music supplied by a choir drawn from the city churches and led by the Metropolitan's musical director, F. H. Torrington. On the street, children from the several public schools of the city were assembling for the grand march planned for the day. First meeting at their individual schools, the students eventually came together and were organized into marching columns by school drill instructor John Thompson. The *Toronto Mail* later recounted the spectacle for its readers, stating:

The school children's Jubilee procession yesterday was one of the most interesting events in the annals of this city. Fully eight thousand children assembled on the Queen street avenue at 10 o'clock and marched with banners and martial music to the Queen's Park where anthems to her Majesty's praise were sung by a chorus composed of these eight thousand voices.¹⁴

Almost two miles in length, the procession itself also included several of the city's national and volunteer societies, interspersed by militia bands and members. At its head was none other than Inspector Hughes, astride a coal black steed, followed by the Grenadiers' band, school trustees and teachers, and finally, the children, organized by school. Somewhat apologetically, the *Mail* reported:

The children were fagged and weary after their long march under a hot sun, and it was not expected that they could respond heartily to the conductor's baton. Nevertheless, the singing was good, under the circumstances, and showed, perhaps better than anything else could, the careful training of the music teachers, Messrs. Perrin and Cringan. The large choir, occupying a space of some eighty yards deep and fifty yards wide, was under the direction of Mr. A. T. Cringan, assistant music teacher of the public schools. He showed good confidence and steadiness in beating time, and had the children well under command. The songs sung were "God Save the Queen," "Rule Britannia," and "Queen Victoria's Jubilee," the words of the latter being by Mr. John Imrie. It was the best and most heartily sung."¹⁵

The school drill companies then performed a number of drill exercises, all under the watchful inspection of Lieutenant-Colonel William Otter. After complimenting their instructor Captain Thompson on their training, Otter turned his attention to his young audience:

It was no doubt a great benefit to them to be properly drilled. It was a great physical advantage and also inspired a love of manliness in them. They would never forget their early discipline, and when they grew up to be men, no doubt many of them would be found in the volunteer services as efficient officers and men. They were fortunate in having an Inspector like Mr. Hughes who was possessed of sufficient public spirit to originate a drill department and in having school trustees ready to back up the Inspector. The scheme of school drill had his entire approbation and he was very much gratified with the movements they had that day gone through so well.¹⁶

The companies were then dismissed until 1:15 p.m. when they reformed to participate in drill and exercise games led by their teachers; all of whom, the reporter noted, were female.

Having successfully completed his first year, Cringan now began to consolidate his position, gradually assuming the role of lead music instructor for the public schools. In spite of Perrin's seniority, it appears he was content to let Cringan take matters in hand. With the approval for use of the latter's text in 1888, the stage was set for Cringan and his musical ideas to dominate Toronto school music for the next decade.¹⁷ Dispensing with the previous pattern of activity, in which musicians had been parachuted in to manage large public displays incorporating school choirs, Cringan assumed ongoing responsibility for musical training both in and out of the classroom. He standardized teaching methods and provided continuity to both teachers and students. Along with Perrin, his main duty was to visit assigned schools each week to give classes in vocal music; the Board picked up the cost of travel.¹⁸

Under the official sanction of the school board, a regular schedule of events began to take shape during the 1880s and 1890s that featured school choirs as part of the programme. Patriotic, state-sanctioned dates of importance had long been hallmarks of the regular school year. However, closer to the end of the century these events increasingly featured cadet corps and school choirs as their main attraction, in effect becoming the *de facto* persona of the public school system. Dominion and Victoria Day festivities, as well as commemorations of the battles of Ridgeway and Queenston Heights, drew large crowds of spectators and provided an irresistible opportunity to display well-trained, disciplined child soldiers. The addition of large choirs adorned such spectacles with the cultural respectability embodied in the ideal of muscular Christianity. For many citizens, this might be the only glimpse "inside the school," creating a powerful image of public schools as the perfect moral training ground for the next generation, equipped mentally, morally and physically to navigate the ambiguous cultural terrain of the modern city.

Under teachers Cringan and Thompson, these celebrations were transformed into

audio-visual spectacles of scholastic achievement. Whether it was at Hughes' suggestion, or at their own initiative, the music and drill departments increasingly pooled resources and coordinated efforts, fusing and refining the image of public schools in accordance with the aforementioned muscular Christian ideal that was epitomized by marching cadets. The Dominion Day parade of 1889 had been led by cadets from the newly-formed Industrial School. In their respective contributions to the 1890 *Annual Report*, both Cringan and Thompson referred to that year's Dominion Day programme, featuring a 1,400-voice choir in combination with a gymnastic display put on by female students at the main building in Exhibition Park.¹⁹ Thompson had been so impressed with Cringan that he recommended the creation of a fife-and-drum band under the music instructor's direction.²⁰ At the city's industrial school where both subjects had been included as part of its mission to educate those youth who hitherto had escaped the system's regimen, Hughes confidently reported: "The pupils are rapidly attaining to a high degree of efficiency in music and drill under the training of Mr. Cringan and Captain Thompson."²¹ In the fall of the same year, the school board gave its official support to designate October 13 for annual commemoration of the Battle of Queenston Heights, which would include patriotic music and drill inspection at Queen's Park.²²

The school board, alone or in partnership with outside interests, also invented ceremonies that emphasized particular aspects considered significant enough by officials to warrant space on the itinerary. Activities connected with the closing of the school year had included a regular student concert since 1884,²³ and the recognition of School Children's Day at the city's late-summer Industrial Exhibition at about the same time provided additional opportunities for public school music in the official school calendar.

By the opening of the last decade of the century, "Floral Day," or "Flower Day," as it became known, also began to appear in Cringan's list of annual concerts. Although he did not refer to it by name until 1891, Cringan's 1890 report suggests that something akin to it may have already been in place. His report states that during the first three months of that year, he had trained a 400-voice choir for a concert which took place on March 21, at which Thompson's "Broom Drill Corps and Calisthenic (*sic*) Class" had also provided "valuable assistance in adding to the success of the entertainment."²⁴ The chorus formed the basis of the 1,400-voice choir which was assembled for Dominion Day, already noted above.

A similar pattern emerged in 1891. That year, Cringan had "by instruction of the School Management Committee... organized a choir of eight hundred voices to supply the musical part of the programme for the Floral Day concert." Once more, this core group was expanded, this time with an additional 800 voices, in preparation for the 1891 Dominion Day concert. Whether it was initially Cringan's idea to hold a spring concert remains unclear. However, the fact that a music-focused event received immediate—and as it turned out, enduring—official endorsement indicates that it was considered a worthy endeavour in its own right.²⁵

Another musical highlight of the 1891 school calendar occurred on July 16, when the same mass public school chorus performed at the annual convention of the

National Educational Association. Although American-based, the organization had, in deference to Hughes, held its proceedings outside of the United States for the first time.²⁶ Toronto's school inspector had first spoken at an N. E. A. convention in 1885, and his rising reputation as both an educational visionary and flamboyant presenter quickly made him a favourite at the annual gatherings of the progressive organization. In fact, so impressed were its members that they awarded him honorary membership at its Toronto meeting, and the following year appointed him to sit as a member of the 1893 convention's organizing committee.²⁷ The occasion once more underscores how Toronto's public school system was exemplified through a well-trained contingent of students whose discipline, order and harmony reflected back upon all of the work being accomplished in the classrooms of the city.

Each of these events did have its own *raison d'être*, but the repetitive, spectacle-driven presentation strategy employed by Cringan resonated throughout them all. Having children sing, and sing well, in public reflected positively not only on him personally, but also upon the progressive pedagogical views espoused by Hughes and implemented on a daily basis. With the possible exception of drill, it was public school music alone that could conjure such a captivating illusion for late-Victorians. Here was an institution mandated to provide education for all that could educate the city's youth, training them to discern and distinguish worthy from unworthy entertainments among the seemingly ubiquitous supply now available in the modern city. Through public displays of school music, the children of Toronto's increasingly foreign and strange population could be immersed and thus indoctrinated with desirable middle-class traits thought essential for good citizenship and character.

Early on, Cringan had championed music's unique power to civilize and elevate taste. In the annual report of 1890, he drew attention to the issue, by reminding readers:

Music is not a mere amusement or recreation, but is one of the most refining agents that can be used in the development and formation of character.... Many of the children in the poorer localities have little or no opportunity of intercourse with music after leaving school, and every effort should be made to make the musical training as complete and thorough as possible during the time when this is available."²⁸

In a speech in 1895, Cringan went further, arguing that musical instruction at school was not only preferable, but critical for proper development of character and taste:

Thousands of children are brought under the influence of music through the agency of the public schools who would otherwise never learn a note. If deferred until after the school-period, music cannot be so well taught, as the faculties of voice and ear have been allowed to lie dormant. The systematic development of the whole being, mental, moral, physical and aesthetic should be aimed at during school-life. Special teachers are necessary, because school

teachers have never had the opportunities necessary for the efficient preparation for music teaching. It is a life work. Details of vocal physiology, musical theory, reading notes, harmony, and the application of pedagogical principles to the teaching of music must be mastered. Without the guidance of a special teacher it would be impossible to attain a satisfactory degree of proficiency in music. This fact has been recognized by the school trustees of nearly every city in Canada.... The results of music education in Toronto schools amply justify the expenditure.²⁹

Thus, school music represented a potent weapon in the cultural counteroffensive against the litany of moral temptations present in modern entertainments. In this regard, “the children in the poorer localities” were most at risk, and therefore, stood to benefit most from the culturally-uplifting moral vaccine inherent in the particular brand of music being provided in the city’s public schools. The association not only illustrated the worth of school music, but linked it inexorably to late-Victorian ideals of social reform and control.

The year 1894 marked another musical landmark for school choirs and the city itself. Thanks to a \$100,000 donation from Hart Massey, the Massey Music Hall was built. Toronto finally had its own state-of-the-art performance space. A staunch Methodist, Massey’s characteristic suspicion of leisure made him leery of the plethora of amusements now pervading the city. However, his respect for the arts and a long-time friendship with F. H. Torrington through the Metropolitan Methodist Church inspired him to endorse the idea of supporting the construction of such a facility as a way of honouring the memory of his late son Charles Albert, who had died from typhoid fever in 1884 at the age of 36.³⁰

Plans were drawn up by architect Sidney Badgley, who modified Torrington’s suggestion of a rectangular building by incorporating horse-shoe shaped galleries into its interior, as he had done with churches he had designed previously. The result, as William Kilbourn points out, met sacred and sensory pursuits: “The Protestant objective was to pull all members of the congregation as close as possible to the preacher and choir, who were at centre stage, so that every word, sound and gesture could be clearly understood and intensely felt.”³¹

A site was eventually purchased at the southwest corner of Shuter and Victoria Streets; the cornerstone was laid on 21 September 1893 by the elder Massey’s six-year-old grandson Vincent, a future governor-general of Canada and benefactor of Hart House at the University of Toronto. Despite criticism of motives and stewardship, construction proceeded apace and a grand opening was announced for June of the following year. Not surprisingly, many of the personalities who had participated in the 1886 music festival, including Hughes and Torrington, took part in planning the event. Although on a smaller scale than their predecessors, the 1894 concerts bore many of its characteristics. Once more, Torrington oversaw musical preparation—complete with a children’s concert—but this time it was Cringan who would train and conduct the school chorus.

Opening festivities were scheduled for June 14 through 16, featuring three

evening concerts Thursday, Friday and Saturday, and afternoon concerts on the latter two days. Works to be performed included Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*, with solo performances by singers Emma Juch and Lillian Blauvelt, and pianist Arthur Friedheim, among others. During the week leading up to the dates, notices began to appear in the local press that featured program highlights and reminded readers that on Friday evening, vice-regent Lord and Lady Aberdeen would be on hand to officially open the hall. So significant was the occasion that both the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific railway companies offered return fares for the price of a one-way ticket for out-of-town travellers, as well as adjusting train schedules to accommodate the evening concerts.³²

As final preparations were made for the event, the *Toronto Telegram* gushed: "There is not a city of Toronto's size on the continent that has an auditorium equal to the Massey Music Hall.... The work of local talent in the choruses and the orchestra shows that Toronto has the musical resources of a great city, and the inexpressibly noble hall is a part of every great city's equipment."³³ Through the benefaction of Hart Massey, Toronto had indeed achieved a milestone in its aspiration to be recognized as a budding North American metropolis, a cultural landmark in which its public school children would once more play a part.

The first day's concerts proved to be a mixed success. Attendance was mediocre at the afternoon concert of "miscellaneous selections," but Friday evening was a sell-out, thanks no doubt to the presence of the vice-regal party. Somewhat ironically, Lord Aberdeen departed early, to head back to Ottawa, but left behind a letter which was to be read to the school children the following day.³⁴ His message contained all of usual patriotic rhetoric associated with such an occasion, this time tinged with a little more militaristic fervour. As Kilbourn points out, the children "were duly reminded by Lord Aberdeen what a great thing it was for them as loyal subjects of the queen to belong to the British Empire and were bade to be worthy of the British name they bore, and of the Dominion of Canada, their country."³⁵

Although a matinee, the children's concert drew a respectable number of spectators. Among several miscellaneous selections which included solos by Blauvelt and Friedham, the 850 "bright, joyous, and happy-faced children" performed Torrington's "Canada, Fair Canada," the song that had proven such a crowd pleaser at the 1886 music festival, and Alexander Muir's "Maple Leaf Forever," by then becoming widely accepted as English Canada's unofficial national anthem.³⁶ When it was all over, the three-day, five-concert event had even made a small profit.

The week following its official opening, the same school choir gave another concert at the hall, this time in aid of a local charity. Adhering to a programme similar to its earlier performance, the choir was, at the behest of the Toronto Public School Board, "to give a concert in aid of the Children's Aid Society."³⁷ Although it is not clear precisely why the Society was chosen, the pairing seems logical enough. The Society after all was one of Hart Massey's favourites and the utilization of a chorus of school children in such an honourable cause certainly fit well with the emerging image of public education being crafted by the likes of Hughes and Cringan. The spectacle was not lost on the *Toronto Mail*, which reported:

The eight hundred or more children who sang on Saturday afternoon at the Music Festival repeated their selections last night at the Massey hall in aid of the Children's Aid Society. There was an audience of about two thousand people.... The school children, under the able direction of Mr. A. T. Cringan, sang their selections in excellent style. Their greatest success, as on Saturday, were (sic) made in the patriotic songs by Messrs. Muir and Torrington, both of which were encored. The exhibition of singing from manual signs was a surprising illustration of the training of the children.³⁸

The evening also included a speech by R. S. Baird, the chairman of the school board, about the mission of Children's Aid, and an appearance from Hughes in which he thanked Torrington for the orchestral support and also announced the creation of three music scholarships, to be presented by the Toronto College of Music.

In many ways, the linkage among these pieces can be seen as symbolic. Here was one of the premiere musical institutions of the city bestowing artistic benevolence upon local youths, coming from across the city, employing standards of excellence to which all might aspire. In turn, in their organized and choreographed roles, choir participants became models of ideal Victorian children, disciplined, cooperative and deferent to authority. Surely charges of the Children's Aid Society would look to these peers as their models, further extending the message of self-discipline and social order conveyed by public education.

The concert not only laid the groundwork for associating public education with charitable activity, but also gave a cultural example for other prominent social institutions to follow, as each sought to raise money and attract public attention to a particular cause. The very next year the Methodist Social Union, which had evolved from the denomination's Toronto Home Mission Council, organized the first "Festival of the Lilies" concert on Easter Monday, 1895; participants from Methodist church choirs throughout the city, under Torrington's direction, sang at the Massey Music Hall. Event proceeds totalling \$800 were used to aid three needy churches in the city's west end.³⁹

The following year's concert at the hall raised \$206.17 and included instrumental accompaniment supplied by the Sabbath School orchestras, while the 1897 event featured an appearance by the band of the Queen's Own Rifles, and raised \$346. A couple of weeks prior to the concert, James L. Hughes had been invited to speak at the Union's Eighth Banquet about the upcoming convention of the International Epworth League. Not surprisingly, Hughes was chair of the executive committee overseeing the event.⁴⁰ In 1898, the concert added a chorus of 700 Sunday school children, led by Cringan and accompanied by the Band of the Royal Grenadiers, and by century's end, a complete public school-inspired template was in place, with a children's chorus, military band and patriotic displays. As noted in the Union handbook:

The programme was on somewhat similar lines to that of the previous year, being composed of singing by a highly trained chorus of 800 children from the different Methodist Sunday Schools of the city under the direction of Mr.

Cringan, and accompanied by the Royal Grenadiers' Band. In addition to this, a cantata representing Canada's relation to the British Empire, and illustrated by various regiments comprising Canada's contingent to South Africa was presented by a number of children under the direction of Mrs. H. B. Somers. The whole effect was exceedingly beautiful and attractive. This was the most successful concert ever given by the Union, the Hall being unable to hold all who came. The net proceeds (\$705.05) were granted for the relief of the Perth Ave. Methodist Church.⁴¹

In repeatedly drawing upon the model provided by school displays, the public image of organizations such as the Methodist Social Union thus became visually and acoustically indistinguishable from it. Indeed, like so many other similar agencies during the period, it blended its musical entertainments with the ideals of muscular Christianity; both appeared to imbue children with all the virtues necessary to withstand the social uncertainty inherent in modernity.

This sensory tapestry reached its zenith in 1897, with Toronto's celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Although Golden Jubilee celebrations had sparked some civic interest a decade earlier, the eagerness and enthusiasm with which Toronto marked the sixtieth anniversary of her accession to the British throne provides ample evidence that much had changed. In the initial absence of other models, Cringan, Thompson and Hughes had been provided with an opportunity to craft a formula for public celebration that had not only augmented and justified the significance of classroom music, but had also revitalized the public image of schools in the city, and beyond. It was this popular formula that could—and in the case of the Diamond Jubilee, would—overshadow the place of school music in Toronto's modern culture.

In anticipation of the celebration, school board preparations for the Diamond Jubilee in Toronto began in February 1897, with the striking of a Diamond Jubilee Committee.⁴² In addition to arranging and coordinating board-sponsored activities involving school children, members were to liaise with other groups planning related events, including participation in a grand parade planned for 22 June. The expected request came from the city on 4 March, care of its Civic Demonstration Committee chair, Alderman John Hallam. What eventually emerged from the discussions proved to be one of the most multi-faceted and ambitious public relations schemes yet undertaken by Toronto school children. It incorporated athletic games, drill and calisthenic displays, and two choral concerts. Of the latter, one was of 800 voices at Massey Hall, and another, featuring a chorus of 4,000 students, would be given at the Exhibition grounds at the conclusion of the parade.

As the day drew nearer, schedules of games events and notices were published. They designated areas for participating groups to organize. The city even issued a formal "Queen's Diamond Jubilee Proclamation" which, among other things, encouraged citizens to decorate and illuminate their homes and places of business on June 22 as a way of demonstrating their loyalty.⁴³ Notices also appeared for special "accession" church services on June 20, the actual date upon which Victoria had taken the throne in 1837, and a "Diamond Jubilee Grand Patriotic Concert," to be conducted

by F. H. Torrington and held at the Massey Music Hall. Businesses also scrambled to associate themselves with the event. Hoping to lure customers, several local entrepreneurs employed “jubilee” advertisements to draw attention to their products. “Jubilee cakes,” “jubilee roses,” and even a “jubilee production” at the Grand Opera House were among the many items and services that adopted the moniker as a way to commemorate the royal celebration and increase profits.⁴⁴

The first school concert took place on June 19, pairing the Royal Grenadiers band with a chorus of 800 children led by Cringan. The programme, by now a familiar combination of military music and drill display by the boys and girls—all of which was interspersed with patriotic songs and speeches—garnered the usual praise, although the *Toronto Mail and Empire* noted that some boys failed to maintain an erect, soldier-like posture throughout their exercises. Once more, the picture painted for readers was one of order, beauty and promise, rife with emotion and patriotism:

No one present on Saturday evening will forget the singing of “Rule Britannia,” which was probably the finest number. When the full strength of the fresh young voices and the lusty band swelled out on the last chorus, there were many moist eyes in the house, for it was an inspiration to which none could be insensible to hear the rising generation of Britons proclaim so heartily the “Britons never shall be slaves.”⁴⁵

With a nod perhaps to the 1886 musical festival, Cringan borrowed one of its gimmicks. “In the last chorus of “Victoria is Our Queen,” written by Mr. Cringan, each child suddenly produced a little flag, and, waving it in time to the music, ended it with a rapid fluttering that threw a shimmer of colour over the white dresses and bright faces.”⁴⁶

It was then Cringan’s turn to be surprised. Just before Education Minister George W. Ross came to the podium to speak on the progress of the past sixty years, James L. Hughes appeared and beckoned the music master to join him on stage. Hughes began by pointing out that Cringan had taught the children of Toronto’s public schools for ten years. At some point early in his career, he had expressed to Hughes his hope that one day he would complete a music degree in Toronto. At the time, Hughes had promised that, pending board approval, he would see to it that Cringan received a medal for such achievement. Now the time had come.

As Mr. Cringan had only recently realized his intention, Mr. Hughes felt more pleasure than ever, because of the inestimable services Mr. Cringan had since given to the schools of the city, in now presenting to him the medal spoken of so long ago. That the presentation accorded with the sentiments of pupils and parents was at once evidenced by repeated outbursts of applause.⁴⁷

No doubt a little taken aback, Cringan briefly thanked Hughes and the board for the recognition. Despite his modesty, his accomplishments for school music in ten years had been truly remarkable, and had made a lasting impression upon the city and its

people. He would again demonstrate this gift at Exhibition Park three days later.

Meanwhile, jubilee activities continued, with the *Globe* reporting several "accession day" services on Sunday, June 20 at Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in the city. Notable too were special parades that day of the Masons and the Queen's Own Rifles, who had gathered at the Horticultural Pavilion in the morning and afternoon, respectively, and a mass meeting of the Sons of England at St. James Cathedral. There, at 4 o'clock, all joined in the singing of "God Save the Queen," "in agreement with the striking plan whereby the national anthem rolled round the world at that hour."⁴⁸

Several other events were planned for the days leading up to the official June 22 date, all of which were encouraged, if not formally endorsed. Editorials advised readers that the best way to express their feelings was to dress up their own homes. This conspicuous display represented the ultimate expression of modern middle-class patriotism, creating a genuine bond with the rest of the Empire.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, final adjustments were being made for the parade day. The school board announced it had set aside \$350 for prizes for the athletic games. At its June 17 meeting, the Board asked parade organizers to shorten the route of the procession, so as not to tire the younger school children.⁵⁰ Aside from the sheer logistics of assembling and marshalling such a mass, organizers also had to contend with dozens of musical bands, both military and otherwise, which would have to be interspersed among the 14,000 marchers from various ethnic, labour and fraternal organizations, so as not to interfere acoustically with one another.

In spite of all of these challenges, the day appears to have come off without a hitch. The *Mail and Empire* observed that there had been no arrests or ambulance calls in the downtown during the parade itself, and that only one case of pocket-picking had been reported. Acoustically, it had also been a success. "The music was well chosen and the bands were placed so as not at all to interfere with one another."⁵¹ The "school brigade," consisting of 1,451 students making up 24 drill companies from 21 city schools, wended their way from Queen's Park to the city's Exhibition grounds. All in all, the march from Queen's Park to the city Exhibition grounds took just under three hours, almost the same amount of time it had taken the Queen herself to complete her jubilee parade route through London that same day.⁵² The message conveyed by such discipline and order was evident in one press report:

Of the great number of bodies which joined the procession, few created a greater feeling of interest than the long line of boys, marching with the sturdiness and precision of veterans; frank-faced, intelligent little fellows, bearing themselves with self-reliance, and giving promise of a manhood not a whit inferior to that which built up their country, the city which owns them.

Connecting the length of Queen Victoria's reign to the change brought about by universal state-funded education, the piece underscored its importance to the rise of a meritocratic middle class:

Sixty years ago such a sight would have been impossible in any city of the Empire the size of Toronto. Boys there would have been enough, but not of the same quality. Education had not then spread over the land, gathering children by the tens of thousands into the schools, teaching them that which would help to make them into good citizens and enforcing a healthy discipline both of mind and body. No greater evidence of the progress of the Victorian era could be furnished than this display, and not even the most notable scientific achievement in discovery can rank beside the emancipation of the bulk of the population from the thralls of ignorance which bound it in the earlier part of the century. Now it is the proud boast of the Empire that no child is so humble that it cannot obtain facilities for self-improvement, and that the general tone has been so elevated and the advantage of education become so generally recognized among all classes that there is little disinclination to put aside the opportunities offered.⁵³

Further proof of the potential for such order and progress came with the performance of the mass school choir early that afternoon. Positioned in the Exhibition grandstand amid the hubbub of the crowds, the choir of 4,000 school children provided an equally compelling sensory experience.

Bands were stationed all over the grounds and their playing proved a great feature of the afternoon's entertainment.... Thousands of children, boys and girls and their parents, were assembled there, and as the time arrived for the programme of music from the little ones, every person was all attention. The singing was excellent, and well deserved the hearty cheering it received.⁵⁴

After greetings to the assembled multitude from city mayor R. J. Fleming, "a very small proportion of whom could hear him," provincial Conservative party leader J. P. Whitney expressed his hope that "in the future our children may reap similar benefits from the example set by our Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria, and that hereafter as they tell their children the part they took to-day in the celebration of this diamond jubilee, that the lessons learned will have a lasting influence not only upon the Canadian people, but upon all peoples upon the earth."⁵⁵

The remainder of the afternoon was taken up with athletic games, which ended at 5:30. People then began to make their way to various areas throughout the city to witness what was a truly modern spectacle—its virtually complete illumination by human design. Huge lighted displays graced the tallest downtown buildings and massive bonfires were built to be lighted at 8 p.m. on Toronto Island, and in Dovercourt and Riverdale Parks. Lighting up parts of the city at night was certainly nothing new. However, as Keith Walden notes, innovations in technology that "created unparalleled opportunities for brilliant demonstrations" held public fascination during the period.⁵⁶ Collectively, this particular experience was so novel that the following day newspapers featured illustrated depictions of buildings so festooned in an attempt to convey the grandeur of the accomplishment.

The city's hospitals and charities also did their part. The Toronto Home for Incurables decorated its facade, as did St. Michael's and Toronto General hospitals, and Toronto's Grace hospital even held an ice cream and strawberry social on its rooftop, so that nurses and patients could view the festivities from a safe vantage point.⁵⁷ On the ground, the city streets teemed with traffic, prompting one observer to comment:

It was not too much to say that every man who was out carried his life in his hands for, with swiftly moving trolley cars and carriages, he was threatened at every corner.... It is almost a miracle that no one was run over, especially at the corner of King and Yonge streets, and the policemen on duty at the corner performed the labours of Hercules several times over, but it was a jubilee crowd and it kept its head.⁵⁸

Perhaps the most profound description of the evening came from a *Mail and Empire* reporter, who went aloft to the tower of his employer's building and beheld perhaps for the first time a night-time scene of urban light and colour, sound and smell:

The fierce, steady light from the grand illuminations of the great business blocks in the boundaries stated, reflected on the enormous masses of bunting and flags, produced a most peculiar effect. It was as though a great conflagration was raging, and sending out from its midst sheets of red and yellow flames. From the streets came the roar of traffic, the heavy tread of thousands of feet, and a babel (sic) of shouts and cheers. Ever and anon an enthusiastic man would call for cheers for the Queen, and from hundreds of throats would come a deep, hearty hurrah. Bands were constantly passing east and west on King street, the members seemingly undeterred by a day's playing for the procession, and bent upon adding theirs to the gaiety of the night. From drum and fife and brass bands came the ringing strains of tunes, which in almost every part of the known world have inspired the sons of the Empire to battle for the dear old flag. The National Anthem, "British Grenadiers," "Men of Harlech," and our own "Maple Leaf," rang out clear and bold, and the shouts and cheers were hushed at intervals, that the people might listen to the music—only to be renewed again and again as a band ceased playing, or struck up another air. Looking down on the vast crowds and recognizing the fact that the enthusiasm was a spontaneous outburst from the citizens of a representative city of the Dominion, one could not but be convinced of the fact that this glorious country is rapidly making for herself a place amongst the great nations of the earth.⁵⁹

Here was beauty and chaos on a grand scale, the hallmark of a modern city caught up in the ecstasy of celebration. Whether the revellers described had learned the songs at school, or through their oft repeated performances by school choirs cannot be known. What is certain is that most had experienced state schooling and so

would have been exposed to its influence, both musical and otherwise. This day had also shown that public schools remained an important component in the diffusion of late-Victorian middle-class values as they were expressed in Toronto. More than anything, the city's celebration of the Diamond Jubilee had proven that even displays of patriotism and loyalty were open to interpretation and could be manifested in a number of ways in a modern and complex urban environment. Thanks to the initiative of pioneers like Hughes and Cringan, Toronto schools had formulated a model of musical expression that suited the modern city. That it blended so well with the celebration at hand offered tangible proof that this, in fact, was the case. In so doing, they also provided a cultural template for school music which would endure long after they had left the scene.

The work of school music promoters like Hughes and Cringan might simply be seen as pedagogical innovations that swept North American education during the period. Indeed, their efforts complement larger narratives of this period.⁶⁰ In this sense, changes in school musical performance could be perceived as but one among many bureaucratic manifestations of a modernizing education system. But school music's aesthetic character and its public performance went beyond mere pedagogy. It also exemplified a larger Victorian desire for order and progress, providing new cultural vantage points for Toronto educators to counteract the social consequences of modernity. In associating school music with the lofty pretensions of Toronto's respectable music community, both Hughes and Cringan were reinforcing a vision of social harmony that enjoyed wide appeal. Like them, the rising cadre of middle-class professionals who were remaking the school system in their own image saw school music as part of a larger effort to imbue their charges with the moral tools necessary to comprehend a modern, urban industrial society. The tantalizing prospect of combining individual scholastic achievement with collective public display made school music the logical show-piece for officials, as it offered proof that students were being taught the essential elements of good citizenship, as understood by the Victorian middle class. It was this vision that would lay the foundation for a pattern of school music that would endure far past their time, as well as that of the students first affected by it.

Notes

- 1 William McNeill elaborates on the phrase, noting its particular effect as a means of establishing and reinforcing communal values. See William McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- 2 D. C. Masters, *The Rise of Toronto, 1850–1890* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), 65.
- 3 The various bylaws and amendments related to “noise” and “nuisance” can be accessed at the City of Toronto Archives (CTA). See in particular files located in Fonds 200, Series 755.
- 4 In the matter of the piano playing, the Chief Constable “recommended the complainant apply for a summons to test the case in court.” See Paul S. Moore, *Now Playing: Early Moviegoing and the Regulation of Fun* (Albany: State University of New York, 2008), 62, 67.

- 5 For an in-depth study of the impacts and influence of these types of entertainment, see Christopher Ernst, "The Transgressive Stage: The Culture of Public Entertainment in Late Victorian Toronto" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011).
- 6 The progressive education movement came to prominence in a more structured form with the publication of John Dewey's *The School and Society* in 1899. See Robert S. Patterson, "Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude, 1914–1945," in J. Donald Wilson, et al., eds., *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 373–374.
- 7 It must be noted here that, in spite of doctrinal differences, there appears to have been much common ground among church-affiliated music instructors when it came to school music. There are a couple of reasons for this. First, formal musical training provided a common denominator with which to both demonstrate and assess musical performance. Although there remained some lingering suspicion—particularly among Baptist and Presbyterian congregations—about the presence of music in church, these concerns had largely evaporated by century's end. Second, as William Westfall has pointed out, by the end of the nineteenth century, the mainstream Protestant churches saw common cause in reform movements such as the Social Gospel, contributing to a larger sense of what Westfall terms "Protestant culture." See William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). For discussion of varying denominational attitudes about music during the period, see Brian J. Fraser, "The Christianisation of Our Civilization: Presbyterian Reformers and Their Defence of a Protestant Canada, 1875–1914" (PhD diss., York University, 1982), Paul R. Wilson, "Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and the Standardization of the Businessman at Toronto's Jarvis Street Baptists Church, 1848–1921" (PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 1996).
- 8 *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, s. v. "Cringan, Alexander T."
- 9 Although initiated by Hughes, the actual recommendation came from the board's management committee. See Toronto District School Board, Sesquicentennial Museum and Archives (SMA), II.A.1.i. C1 S3, Committee Minutes and Reports, Management Committee, Public School Board, 29 January, 1886 to 26 December, 1889, 17 March 1887.
- 10 The journal ceased publication in the early 1890s. No complete set exists; however, some copies have been transferred to microfiche. The most comprehensive original collection is housed in the Baldwin Room Special Collections at the Toronto Reference Library.
- 11 Most notable among these was the 'methods controversy,' which erupted between vocal music teachers favouring the newer tonic sol fa approach over that of traditional staff notation. See issues of the *Musical Journal* for 1887, 1888.
- 12 SMA, Toronto Board of Education, Annual Reports (1885), 22.
- 13 Schuch's letter is recorded as received in the school board minutes of 3 March 1887. Cringan was hired 17 March 1887. See SMA, Toronto Board of Education, Minutes of the School Board (MSB), Appendix 56, 3 March 1887, 25.
- 14 *Toronto Mail*, 1 July 1887, 2.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 17 Permission was granted on 1 March 1888 for students to purchase the book. See MSB, Management Committee Report No. 3, Appendix 3, 1 March 1888, 45.
- 18 MSB, Management Committee Report No. 7, 5 May 1887, 84.
- 19 Both instructors were granted permission to offer after-hours classes, in order to prepare for the coordinated event. See MSB, Management Committee Report No. 7, Appendix 37, 24 April 1890, 109. For information related to female physical activity in the

- schools, see Helen Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in Ontario, 1890–1830" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1983). See also Nancy R. Francis and Anna H. Lathrop, "'Children Who Drill, Seldom Are Ill.' The Rise and Fall of a 'Female Tradition' in Ontario Elementary Physical Education, 1850s to 2000," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 23, 1 (2011): 61-80.
- 20 *Annual Reports* (1890), n.p.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 71.
- 22 MSB, Management Committee Report No. 13, Appendix 70, 25 September 1890, 217.
- 23 See George Campbell Trowsdale, "A History of Public School Music in Ontario Schools." (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1962), 490.
- 24 *Annual Reports* (1890), 65.
- 25 The annual concert eventually assumed the title of "May Festival," and continues to the present day.
- 26 *Annual Reports* (1891), 114-115.
- 27 Hughes spoke on the kindergarten at the 1885 convention, returning in 1890 to give a speech on the "Training of Executive Powers." For details on this and other N. E. A. speech topics, see Bruce N. Carter, "James L. Hughes and the Gospel of Education: A Study of the Work and Thought of a Nineteenth-century Educator" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1966), 199-202.
- 28 *Annual Reports* (1890), 65-66.
- 29 The speech is dated 27 December 1895, but it appears that Cringan may still have been using parts of it in 1913, in his summer music classes for teachers. See Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Volume I, 2, MUS 73 File 1976-7, The Alexander Thom Cringan Collection.
- 30 There is some evidence to suggest that it was, in fact, Torrington's success with the 1886 festival that sparked Massey's interest. See William Kilbourn, *Intimate Grandeur: One Hundred Years at Massey Hall* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993), 21.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 22.
- 32 *Toronto World*, 12 June 1894, 2.
- 33 "The City's Thanks," *Toronto Telegram*, 12 June 1894, 2.
- 34 The *Telegram* reported an attendance at the evening concert of 3,500, however Kilbourn reports that the *Globe* put the figure at "about 4,000." See *Telegram*, 16 June 1894, Kilbourn, *Intimate Grandeur*, 26.
- 35 Kilbourn, *Intimate Grandeur*, 26-27.
- 36 Advertisements preceding the event had numbered the chorus at 1,000, the "great heat of the day" and competition from the "Wanderers Bicycle Rally" may have decreased choir attendance somewhat. The audience appears not to have been likewise affected. *Ibid.*, 26-27.
- 37 *Toronto Mail*, 18 June 1894, 5.
- 38 *Toronto Mail*, 20 June 1894, 8.
- 39 United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA), Pam BX 8251.A15 T68, Methodist Social Union of Toronto, 18-19.
- 40 The League was a Methodist youth organization dedicated to moral uplift and social reform. See Dan Breatly Brummitt, *The Epworth League's History and Our Pledge* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2010). See also UCCA, Methodist Social Union, 19-20.
- 41 UCCA, Methodist Social Union, 25-26.
- 42 Members appointed to the committee were trustees Kent, Brown, Baird and Starr. See MSB, 4 February 1897, 10; 25 February 1897, Management Committee Report No. 3. Appendix 15.
- 43 See *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 17 June 1897, 6.

- 44 The advertisements appeared in virtually all of the dailies during the week preceding the June 22nd celebration.
- 45 *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 21 June 1897, 3.
- 46 "School Children's Jubilee Concert on Saturday," *Mail and Empire*, 21 June 1897, 3.
- 47 "The Children's Festival," *Toronto Globe*, 21 June 1897, 5. Interestingly, the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* lists Cringan as having obtained his B. Mus. in 1899. See *EMC*, s. v. "Cringan, Alexander T."
- 48 "Jubilee in Toronto," *Toronto, Globe*, 21 June 1897, 5.
- 49 "Let Us Decorate," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 15 June 1897, 4.
- 50 See "Playground Policy," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 18 June 1897, 5. See also SMA, MSB, 2 July 1897, 117.
- 51 "The Great Parade," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 23 June 1897, p. 1.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 "Toronto's Loyal Tribute to Britain's Queen," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 23 June 1897, 1.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 Walden, *Becoming Modern: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 304.
- 57 See "Hospitals and Charities," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 23 June 1897, 8-9. To the 21st-century observer, these appear to fall far short of achieving their aims, however, one must remain mindful that photography was only just beginning to make inroads into the newspaper trade. See "Toronto's Tribute," 8.
- 58 "The City After Dark," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 23 June 1897, 8.
- 59 "From the Mail Tower," *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 23 June 1897, 8.
- 60 For example, see histories on nineteenth-century education in Ontario such as Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London: Althouse Press, 1988); R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990); Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Robert Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); J. Donald Wilson, "Education in Upper Canada: Sixty Years of Change," and "The Ryerson Years," in *Canadian Education: A History*, J. Donald Wilson, et al. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 190-213, 214-240.