SOCIAL MUSIC IN LONDON, UPPER CANADA/CANADA WEST: ESTABLISHING A "SORT OF COLONIAL NOBILITY"

by

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ABSTRACT

It is often assumed that music performed outside of the home played a minor role in pre-Confederation Canadian society, however, the history of London, Upper Canada/Canada West, demonstrates that music was an important facet of Southwestern Ontario's urban development. The presence of the British Imperial Garrison in London (1838-53 and 1861-69) facilitated the settlement's exploration of a wide range of musical performances. The military was also an instrumental force in starting local, civilian musical endeavours.

However, before the 1860s, musical and theatrical performances were controlled by a small number of London's families who formed a self-styled elite. This group, well able to sponsor musical performances, employed music to aggrandize its position in London's society by making lavish musical presentations an integral feature of local balls and meetings of London's exclusive patriotic and fraternal societies.

Given the lack of public musical events open to a wide audience, local civilian musicians either moved to other urban areas or directed their energies to suit London's prevailing conditions. After 1860, however, the situation reversed: balls, incorporating opening concerts, became less exclusive, choral societies began to flourish and the number of public concerts increased. These developments led to an active musical culture in the later nineteenth century.

Keywords: London, Ontario, Canada; Music in 19th-century Canada; Sociology of Music; Herman Kordes; Thomas Charles Crozier; Edwin Longman; Elizabeth Raymond; Mr. and Mrs. J.H. Powell.

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Now, of all the parties held in the west,
This one was most essentially blest
  With what's known as good society
First on the list most conspicuously shine
A number of gents in the military line--
Colonels and Majors and Captains Divine,
  And subalterns in a great variety.

And home-brewed nobs so very genteel,
Who had drawn "a prize in Fortune's wheel,"
  If I might be allowed a quotation;
Of those there certainly was no lack,
If I had but the time I could trace their lineage back
  At least through a whole generation.

Elderly females with daughters to wed,
Not excessively rich, but extremely well-bred--
  A sort of colonial nobility;
And papas who hadn't been just the thing
In days ere those of which I sing,
But whose manners at present have the ring
  Of the highest kind of gentility.

And gushing young ladies, all ribbons and hair,
Some inclined to be fat, some decidedly spare,
Some who weren't and some who were
  What people would designate pretty;
And dashing young fellows, got up to kill,
Whose attractions are great but whose prospects are nil,
Who were always considered, and so are still,
  The particular lights of the city.

It was, to be sure, a delicious treat,
To see our gorgeous city elite
  (That's French for aristocracy),
As they walked the quadrille with courtly grace,
Or plied the gallop with quickened pace.
For not the closest observer could grace,
Neither in figure nor yet in face,
  Slightest taint of democracy.

Swiftly, of course, the time flew by,
And pulses thrilled and hearts beat high,
And bosoms expressed with many a sigh,
  That flames within them were burning.
And they laughed and flirted and drank champagne
And quadrilled and galloped and waltzed amain,
And toasted each other again and again,
  Till the wee "sma" hours of morning.[1]

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[1] Orlo Miller, *London 200, an Illustrated History* (London, Ont.: London Chamber of Commerce, 1992), 110-11. The poem was penned by Korn Kobb, Junior, who provided satirical editorials for *The London Free Press* during the 1850s and 1860s, and describes a ball held in London during this period.

INTRODUCTION

London, Upper Canada/Canada West, provides a most interesting example in the nineteenth century of a thriving, mid-sized Victorian community which, from the outset, attracted a broad spectrum of social classes. Although the site was originally surveyed in 1792 by Lord John Graves Simcoe, it was not settled until 1826. Over the following years until the turn of the century, London served as the wholesale and manufacturing hub for most of Southwestern Ontario.[1] After 1826, a large contingent of artisans, working in construction and related trades, almost immediately settled in the area, catering to the demands of a rapidly expanding community.[2] However, some of London's most prominent families arrived along with these settlers.[3] This unusually early influx of wealthy families[4] was influenced partly by the presence of the regional courthouse, completed in 1829, which served as the judicial centre for Southwestern Ontario, and later, in 1838, the arrival of the British Imperial Garrison. Both these presences differentiated the settlement from its neighbouring communities.

Wealthy Londoners, from the very earliest period, used obvious methods to distinguish themselves within the community, thereby defining social stratification more clearly. Benjamin Franklin Clarke's M.A. thesis *Case Studies of the London Elite* indicates how, later in the nineteenth century, wealthy families established social status through inter-marriage within their own ranks, sending their children to private schools, participating in the militia and holding memberships in exclusive clubs.[5] One of the

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[1] John McCallum, "Urban and Commercial Development until 1850," *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, ed. R.D. Francis and D.B. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1986), 374.

[2] Anna Bromwell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, ed. James. J. Talman and Elsie McCleod Murray (Toronto: Thorn Press, 1943), 95.

[3] McCallum, 374.

[4] McCallum, 373-78. As London was the economic epicentre of the Southwestern Ontarian peninsula, it attracted more "men with capital to invest" in this early period than its neighbouring communities.

[5] Benjamin Franklin Clarke, "Case Studies of the London Elite" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1978), 202-14.

earliest of these systems of social definition was established by the creation of select fraternal and patriotic associations, which relied on music and dance as an integral part of their activities. By studying London's nascent social world, one can develop a clear picture demonstrating how music was used to solidify a cohesive middle class network in which these founding families were securely placed. A study of this nature is warranted not only for its regional historical significance, but answers musicologist Ivo Supicic's call to use the sociology of music to create a "specific body of material rich in characteristic facts."[6]

Recent studies have used sociological principles to interpret music history by examining the intimate relationship between music and society. Musicologists such as Supicic have contemplated the means by which music is integrated into social activities, specifically in their relationship to social classes.[7] Supicic's analysis demonstrates that music is a powerful participant in the formation of prestige and, as such, becomes in any society a symbol or a means of social affirmation.[8] It is essential, therefore, to study the influences affecting music within its social context.[9]

Economic forces can be an influential factor in the development of musical tastes, although financial concerns obviously do not constitute the sole motivation for artistic development--the artist's creative impetus plays a crucial role in defining the state of music in society as well as effecting change within these boundaries. Theodor Adorno comments that these two forces, which he qualifies as "musically productive" and "circumstances of production," are not antagonistic, but in fact interact in "many reciprocal ways."[10] Such considerations are important when analysing the development of music in regions that are essentially isolated from international trends and developments. During the nineteenth century, recently settled areas in Canada could not easily rely on the availability of a diverse range of musical expression

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[6] Ivo Supicic, *Music in Society: A Guide to the Sociology of Music* (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1987), 74.

[7] Supicic, 57.

[8] Supicic, 275.

[9] Supicic, 49.

[10] Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), 219.

that was accessible in regions with a higher population base; furthermore, reliable communication links to these areas did not exist. In short, the musically productive element was not a significant force. Consequently, those with economic control were able to influence profoundly the presentation of music in their sphere of economic and social influence by sponsoring music that they preferred. Thus, an exploration and analysis of the economic base supporting musical endeavours is essential to an understanding of the factors that define artistic expression; the regulation of performances, the payment of artists, even the development and dissemination of musical forms.[11] In areas such as London, which, during the early to mid-nineteenth century were situated on the periphery of Canadian (or perhaps more aptly British) society, those who paid the performers, who imported and presented music, effectively dictated public taste.

Any inquiry using these guidelines is assisted by a class-based, or even a Marxist approach. Jurgen Habermas provides one such system that sub-divides human interactions into spheres of influence; in contemporary society, the primary division distinguishes between the public and the private. The public sphere functions as a mediator between society (Habermas calls this public opinion) and state (those who hold political power) based on a free exchange of ideas.[12] Habermas concludes that this sphere, providing a forum in which all classes enjoy an equal voice, has not always existed. The public sphere developed in order to facilitate the growing economic power of the middle class and help negotiate the social and political position to be accorded to them in this new social context. In pre-industrial European society, however, these concepts of social interaction were radically different. A private sphere, where individuals can stand apart from the state's control and exert private autonomy, existed only for those with economic and political power--the upper classes. The democratic principles of the public sphere did not exist. Those in power held ultimate control; therefore, any interactions with the lower classes were based on

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[11] Adorno, 222.

[12] Jurgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)," trans. by Sara and Frank Lennox, *New German Critique*, vol. III, (1974), 50. The following discussion of public, private, and representative public spheres is based on this article.

demonstrating power and control. Consequently, the state related to the public through the "representative" public sphere, in which the ruling classes *presented* themselves to the public. This arena gave only those with power a voice; thus there was no dialogue between state and public opinion. Religion, as well, constituted an essential support for the representative sphere, and was a powerful participant in supporting the supremacy of the upper classes.[13] For the North American upper-middle class this circle of influence held specific importance; by modelling their social presentation after practices established by the European elite, they could justify their often precarious position in the less clearly defined colonial class spectrum. Thus, in this period, when the middle class voice in Europe was first beginning to assert its power, wealthy individuals in newly settled areas such as London imitated archaic representative sphere practices in order to impose order on their burgeoning society.

With regard to music, these sociological categories pivot on economic factors. Music in the public sphere is most certainly controlled by the circumstances of production; someone is responsible for attracting performers, a concert hall must be procured and the artist must be paid. The larger public plays an integral role, however, in dictating the success of a musical presentation. Their function as the group that finances the endeavour, through ticket sales, allows them to dictate partially the nature of music presented in a given locale. Thus, a free exchange occurs between the musical tastes of those who present and those who attend. Music within the representative sphere does not rely so heavily on the artistic opinions of a paying audience. Although tickets are generally required for such affairs--usually at a price high enough to give the organizer significant control over who attends--the music is presented in tandem with the political message of the group which finances the operation. Artistic expression, although an essential component of the presentation, therefore assumes an almost secondary position. Furthermore, those presenting the music do not rely solely on the proceeds gained from the musical presentation; their financial backing is

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[13] Habermas claims that the separation between church and state, achieved at the end of the eighteenth century, made religion one of the first endeavours that the bourgeoisie could enjoy as private sphere activity, leading to a fuller realization of their position as an identifiable tier in the class spectrum. However, at this point in Canada's social development, the Family Compact supporters borrowed from older elitist practices to create a sense of nobility. Habermas, 51.

assured by wealthy patrons and members of the societies promoting the entertainment and, in turn, promoting the specific political ideology. Thus the audience does not exclusively determine the event's economic success. As well, any form of criticism directed toward the music chosen for a representative sphere occasion essentially becomes a critique of the group that presented it. In a social context, the representative sphere becomes an important way for one particular group to identify itself, by advertising the boundaries and the power of its class.

Musical presentations in London, therefore, will be categorized according to these principles. As a basic designation, music presented in a public sphere event, where some sort of financial transaction occurs, and where the sponsor uses the musical presentation as the primary means of securing monetary return, generally appears in a concert format. In turn, the audience's reaction determines the event's success and the likelihood of presenting such future events. Conversely, the representative occasion can feature an economic transaction, in the form of ticket sales (again, typically at a higher cost than that of a concert ticket), but this is not obligatory--membership in a particular association may allow one to enjoy the musical presentation gratis. Furthermore, as a member of the association that presents the music, one functions as both "attendee" and sponsor, and consequently has a vested interest in ensuring the event's success. Thus, there is no free dialogue between those who attend and those who present, because many of the former are also sponsors. Moreover, the event may be seen as successful even if financial losses are incurred. Events such as balls and dinner meetings sponsored by any of the fraternal or patriotic societies fall under this latter designation.

Wealthy Londoners used music and dance in the representative sphere as an important way of defining social hierarchy. Nationalistic and patriotic societies, established early in the settlement's development, were one of the more conspicuous means by which London's prominent citizens displayed themselves before the wider community. The Church of England was also an active participant in these events. In London's formative years, religion played a significant role in defining class structure, at least until the 1860s, with London's most privileged families almost invariably belonging to the Anglican Church, which in turn supported their favourite causes. Music formed an integral feature of representative

sphere presentations in London and was utilized during the ceremonial parades that typically preceded these events. Such a spectacle presented ordinary citizens with a clear view of London's "elite," arranged hierarchically in the parade's marching order. The musical accompaniment, provided by marching bands, led the procession and focussed the attention of onlookers, thus demonstrating the crucial role that music held as an indicator of the status of these patriotic and fraternal societies. Furthermore, the bands were employed during these societies' meetings, typically punctuating the obligatory presentation of toasts with musical interludes. Basically, these nationalistic and fraternal societies presented concerts to an invited audience, signifying that music was a privilege to be enjoyed only by a select portion of the population. Anglican church services were typically integrated into these representative sphere occasions as well.

One of the most significant social events throughout this period was the ballroom dance, or ball, which most often was hosted by one of the elite's patriotic societies. Again, the positioning of guests at the dinner preceding the dance, the presenting of toasts--beginning with royalty and progressing downwards according to social rank--and the displaying of elaborate outfits against the backdrop of the ballroom's well-appointed decor all emphasized the superiority of this entertainment in comparison to that available to the average settler. Moreover, reports of these upper-middle class representative sphere activities were disseminated to the public through local newspapers, thus helping to promote a class structure that less than a generation earlier had not existed.

Settlers in London evidently regarded journalism as an important aid in the development of the area. Early newspapers (more than ten appeared in London between 1831 and the late 1860s) are essential sources in any attempt to re-create the social world of this rapidly maturing settlement. Fortunately, partial runs of seven of these journals have survived, contributing greatly to our understanding of London's social development. The earliest extant paper is *The True Patriot and London District Advertiser*, published by John and George Busteed. Since only one copy survives, from 23 May 1834, details concerning its founding and duration are uncertain. The paper was also one of the first conservative mouthpieces in the area, making it unique in comparison to other contemporary journals that were decidedly liberal in

ideology.[14] Following the disturbances of 1836-37, *The London Gazette* published by Thomas and Benjamin Hodgkinson, appeared irregularly until the spring of 1842, and maintained a strongly conservative stance. A single liberal paper appeared in the late 1830s, *The Canada Inquirer*, which commenced publication in 1839 under Thomas Parke and George Heyworth Hackstaff[15], and continued until approximately 1844. Two more conservative newspapers appeared in the 1840s: *The London Herald* commenced publication in January of 1843, circulating for less than one year;[16] and *The London Times and General Advertiser*, which ran between 1845 and 1849 under Joseph Cowley, and between 1849 and 1856 under H. Lemon and D.W. Hart. Towards the end of October, 1845, George Brown, editor and publisher of the *Toronto Globe*, began publishing a special edition of the paper, titled *The Western Globe*, which covered issues concerning the London District. The journal was likely discontinued in 1851. Finally, *The Canadian Free Press*, printed by William Sutherland, was introduced in January 1849, to represent the Reform political voice in the area. In 1852, the paper was sold to Josiah Blackburn, renamed *The London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, and, as the name implies, transformed into a daily newspaper. *The Canadian Free Press* continued as a Saturday edition of the journal well into the 1860s. Blackburn did not openly espouse partisan political ideologies, but his paper usually sympathized with conservative policies.[17]

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[14] The London Sun, first published in 1831, and the Canadian Wesleyan, which first appeared circa 1831. Two other liberal papers were published in the 1830s: *The Upper Canada Times*, beginning in 1835, and *The Freeman's Journal*, a Reformist paper initiated in 1836.

[15] Orlo Miller, "The History of The Newspaper Press in London, 1830-1875," *Papers and Records, Ontario Historical Society*, vol. 32 (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1937), 114. After 1842, Parke severed connections with his printer Hackstaff, and the paper was renamed *The London Inquirer*. It is interesting to note that liberal papers dominated before the Upper Canadian Rebellion, while after this event the situation was reversed, with conservative papers dominating.

[16] On Saturday 12 July the paper announced that it would commence a tri-weekly publication; however only one paper was produced using this new format.

[17] Two other journals were consulted: *The Prototype*, which appeared between 1851 and 1853, was published by Freeman Talbot and followed a conservative policy (the name "Prototype" was used for at least seven other papers that appeared intermittently until the 1870s); and *The London Atlas*, published by Hamilton Hunter and John Culbert, which circulated for less than a year (1856-57). Few copies of these papers survive and thus they will be referred to only occasionally.

Other references to London's developing social world can be obtained from the Harris family diaries and personal correspondence. John and Amelia Harris settled in London in 1834 and represent an ideal example of the typical colonial Canadian upper class family; Amelia Ryerse descended from a United Empire Loyalist heritage and John was a hydrographer with the British Navy. Five manuscript journals written by women from the Harris family survive, from which excerpts were published in 1994. Although the diaries vary in intention and compass, all provide a vivid portrait of London's early social world.[18]

A survey of these newspapers provides a general chronology of the type of music available to London audiences and the means by which it was presented.[19] By comparing the number of public versus representative sphere musical performances, a relatively clear picture emerges demonstrating that music was prevalent in London during this period, but was utilized, and in a sense controlled, by London's wealthy families. A distinct shift occurred, however, in the 1860s, when music became accessible to a larger, public audience, thus laying the foundations for the later flourishing of London's public music scene as described by Frances Ruth Hines in her M.A. thesis *Concert Life in London, Ontario, 1870-1880*: "By 1880 London was firmly established as one of the most active musical centres in Ontario."[20] Such a change in the position of music in London also demonstrates a transformation in the composition of London's ruling classes, which, after 1860, increased in number, adopted a more democratic political and social view and relied less heavily on music as a means of defining its standing in the city's society. Thus, music in London until 1860 was used by those with economic control as a primary means of defining their social rank; which, rather than encouraging the growth of a strong local musical tradition, impeded the development of public concerts in the city.

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[18] The diaries are preserved at the J.J. Talman Regional Collection located in D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario.

[19] Missing issues from virtually all of the previously mentioned newspapers make a definitive listing of musical occasions in London difficult to achieve.

[20] Frances Ruth Hines, "Concert Life in London, Ontario, 1870-1880" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977), iii.

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY OF LONDON AND THE NATURE OF ITS UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS

Popular mythology holds that the Forks of the Thames, originally surveyed on 3 March 1793 by Lord Simcoe, was intended as a potential national capital whose situation was "eminently calculated for the metropolis of all Canada."[1] A letter written by Simcoe, dated 22 December 1795, reveals that he had never envisioned such a purpose, but instead hoped to create a well-populated settlement that would act as a boundary between the Loyalist Mohawk settlement on the Grand River (Brantford), aligned with the British, and the still powerful Six Nations to the south, who had political ties with the newly independent American colonies. At the time, native American nations were essential allies in larger political manoeuvres and any move to reunite these two Iroquoian nations would have meant the end of the Mohawk and British alliance. Apparently Joseph Brant, the Loyalist Mohawk chief who founded a reserve near Brantford, had hinted at such ambitions in a letter to Simcoe stating that a federation of this nature would act as a "barrier between the British and the Western Indians."[2] Brant most likely sought to create a separate nation free from any European influence. Unfortunately, almost immediately such a strategy proved irrelevant; a large increase in European settlement and the devastating effects of the diseases they brought with them decimated the Amerindian nations and effectively ended the power they had wielded only a few years earlier. As a result, no decisive action was taken to populate the site surveyed at the Forks of the Thames River, and the area remained virtually untouched for nearly thirty years.

In January 1826, the Forks of the Thames was chosen as the administrative centre for all of the London district, an area carved out of the immense Western District in 1800, and in May and June of the same year a party under Mahlon Burwell and Freeman Talbot again surveyed the site. Four months later,

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[1] Violet M. Cunningham, *London in the Bush, 1826-1976* (London, Ont.: London Historical Museums, 1976), 2.

[2] John Graves Simcoe, *The Correspondences of John Graves Simcoe*, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Toronto: Ontario Historical Association, 1923), 165.

Peter McGregor constructed London's first residence, which also served as its first business enterprise, a tavern.[3] By 1829 the regional courthouse had been completed. The design of the building is reputed to be based on a scaled-down version of Thomas Talbot's ancestral home in Malahide, Ireland.[4] Talbot became the London District's first land speculator and by the 1830s held an empire which included an estimated 38,500 acres.[5] The settlement grew so rapidly that by 1834 the population had risen to 1,100 people, allowing the area to become, in 1836, a separate electoral district. Burwell, a staunch Tory and fierce supporter of the Family Compact,[6] won the first seat in the legislature.[7] London was incorporated as a town in 1840 and, after a large surge of settlement in the latter part of the 1840s, achieved civic status in 1854.

From the outset, London attracted a broad range of settlers. A large artisan population settled in the area and catered to the needs of a rapidly expanding city; thus construction and related trades predominated. At the same time, however, some of London's most prominent families arrived, families who would later become central figures in local political development. Clearly delineated political divisions

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[3] Violet Cunningham. *London in the Bush, 1826-1976* (London, Ont.: London Historical Museums, 1976), p.3. Cunningham describes the tavern as merely a tree stump outside the front door that served as a counter from which to buy whiskey.

[4] Thomas Talbot was not related to Freeman. The latter came from a family deeply rooted in the field of newspaper publishing. Freeman ran *The Prototype*; his brother Edward Allen founded *The Sun*, and *The Freeman's Journal*; and the youngest brother John was editor of the radical paper *The Liberal*. John's newspaper was rather short lived; in 1837, soon after the paper's inception, the Tory leadership of the London District suppressed its circulation and the editor was forced to flee to Detroit.

[5] Frederick H. Armstrong, *An Illustrated History of London, Canada* (London, Ont.: Windsor Publications, 1986), 23.

[6] The Family Compact refers to an "unspoken alliance" of those who controlled the development of Upper Canada's early economy. After the War of 1812, this oligarchy of influential families used the newly settled United Empire Loyalist element to further enhance their position as a sort of colonial nobility. Although recently the term has been disputed, the Family Compact's control over early nineteenth-century Canada's political and economic spheres was strong enough for Lord Durham, in his 1838 visit to Canada, to recognize the need to divest them of their power by suggesting "Responsible Government." However, this democratic principle was not implemented until Confederation. The term "Family Compact" does not appear in the Harris diaries, but Amelia Ryerse mentions the "ten families" of Toronto.
Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1983), 34-35, 41.

[7] Cunningham, 5.

existed from the earliest period, most often based on differences of economic states and religious convictions. A demonstration of this rift between political factions occurred during the first London District election in 1836. The contest proved ill-timed as both Upper and Lower Canada verged on an open confrontation between Conservatives and Radicals. Despite the majority of Reform sympathizers in the area, Burwell campaigned with a hard-line Tory platform and was elected to the seat.[8] His policies indicated his desire for this new district to be in full support of the Family Compact and the privileged standing of the Church of England. The Reformers, who included much of the agrarian sector as well as members of the growing Methodist and Presbyterian population, were incensed by the results of the election; they soon began to organize meetings and distribute arms and ammunition. An open conflict ensued which included a torch-lit parade of Tory Orangemen, who advertised an "award of five pounds for every cracked Liberal skull."[9] The campaign excited such hostility and violence that an investigation led by a select committee from the provincial legislature was ordered.[10] Frederick H. Armstrong, one of London's most prolific historians, reports that the Tories had, in fact, instigated much of the violence surrounding the election.[11]

London was not directly involved in the 1837 Rebellion, but the event certainly shaped London's future development. Although no further open conflict occurred at the Forks of the Thames, the London District was assigned a rebel military leader, Dr. Charles Duncombe, who worked closely with William Lyon Mackenzie, and Reform sympathizers were apparently ready to organize an offensive from the Presbyterian church located at York and Richmond streets. While London saw no open battles, skirmishes

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[8] Armstrong, 45.

[9] Orlo Miller, *London 200, an Illustrated History* (London, Ont.: London Chamber of Commerce, 1992), 26.

[10] Cunningham, 5.

[11] Armstrong, 45.

did occur in Sparta and in Brant county.[12] The situation seemed threatening enough to compel some of London's leading citizens, including Burwell, to petition the sheriff of the London District for a "public meeting to adopt measures to prevent the assembling of great numbers of misguided individuals bearing firearms and other dangerous weapons."[13] Ironically, this very group of concerned citizens met with the detachment that had crushed William Lyon Mackenzie's forces at Montgomery Tavern on 12 December 1838, and together they proceeded to the Niagara Area.

In 1913, an oral testimony describing this episode in London's history was recorded by Finley Perrin, an early settler who came to the area in 1830. Perrin portrays the political uncertainty of this period:

> The year of the rebellion was an anxious time...The country around was unsettled. It was expected that at any time there might be trouble, and a guarded toungue and wise counsel were necessary to avoid an open rupture with the authorities...The inhabitants here remained loyal during the trouble, at least in expression and outward act, but there were doubtless a great many who believed a larger share of self-government should be given to Canada...[14]

The accuracy of these reminiscences, transcribed more than seventy years after the 1837-1838 unrest, are perhaps questionable; however, the extensive detail Perrin gives concerning other aspects of London's development throughout the nineteenth century lends credibility to his remembrances.[15] It seems clear that the unrest of this period seriously restricted liberal and democratic political expression.

The perceived threat of future unrest most likely motivated the Upper Canadian government to hold the treason trials of forty-four of the "patriots" at the London courthouse. Forty-three were sentenced

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[12] Armstrong, 57. A skirmish involving "no more than ten men" in Lobo Township was also reported in *The London Gazette* of 18 November 1837.

[13] *The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Robin S. Harris and Terry G. Harris (Toronto: The Champlain Society in Co-operation with the Government of Ontario), liii. *The London Gazette* of 28 October 1837 lists the names of the men who petitioned James Hamilton, the district sheriff.

[14] *A Miscellany of London, Part II*, Occasional Paper no. 24, compiled by Elizabeth Spicer (London, Ont.: London Public Libraries and Museums, 1978), 3.

[15] Spicer comments on his "acute memory for details of the early settlement." Perrin also describes the importance of the regional courthouse, the establishment of the market, the arrival of the British troops, the fires of 1845, and the extensive land speculation of the 1850s.

to death; however, only six were hanged in the courthouse yard, while the others were deported either to Van Diemen's Land or the United States.[16] In order to further discourage Reformist sentiments in the area, London was chosen as the new home for the Imperial Garrison in 1838. Many of the Radical supporters who had not been arrested in the months after the conflict had abated sold their property and emigrated to the United States. The Liberal voice had been effectively quashed in the London district, leaving the Conservative forces in almost undisputed control of the city. This ascendancy was rather long lived and, in fact, London remained almost exclusively a Tory seat throughout most of the nineteenth century.

In London, as was the case in most of Upper and Lower Canada, the memory of the 1837 rebellion was rekindled by the debate that raged ten years later over the Rebellion Losses Bill, passed in 1849 by the Reform government in power at the time, which sought to compensate those who had sustained damages from the uprising. Although London Conservatives were not as incensed as were English speaking Tories in Montreal, who burned the parliament buildings there in April 1849, debates raged between the Tory paper *The London Times* and the liberal *Canadian Free Press*. Thus, the fear of the Radical voice remained firmly implanted in the conservative conscience well into the 1850s and any liberal political expressions were likely to brand their author as a radical traitor seeking to sever ties with Britain and the monarchy.[17]

The years following this political instability were prosperous ones in London. The Forks of the

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[16] Cunningham, 5.

[17] Archie Bremner, author of an illustrated history of London, relates a personal discussion with the celebrated circus master P.T. Barnum, who claimed to visit London "some years after the troubles of 1837." He writes, "The circumstance was impressed on his mind by the proximity of the hall [Mechanic's Institute] to the place of the executions of 1837, and by reason of the fact that his party had excited the ire of the townspeople because one of his performers had played 'Yankee Doodle,' and they were obliged to make a surreptitious departure." Barnum's earliest visit to London, in April 1851, occurred more than a decade after the 1837 Rebellion, demonstrating the powerful hold the event held over the town and Londoner's distrust of "Yankee-style" democracy--even in the realm of entertainment.

Archie Bremner, *City of London, Ontario, Canada: The Pioneer Period and the London of Today* (London, Ont: The London Printing and Lithographing Company, 1900; reprint edition, London, Ont.: The London Public Library Board, 1967), 31.

Thames thrived in its role as a regional economic centre and, despite a severe national depression sparked by the 1837 disturbances and a devastating fire in 1845 which destroyed more than two hundred buildings and much of London's downtown, the area grew and prospered. The settlement's growth was enhanced by the presence of both the Imperial Garrison and the regional courthouse, which added to its political prestige. By the 1850s, London was home to four bank branches, two building societies, a Mechanics Institute, two reading libraries, three newspapers, three foundries, two tanneries, several insurance companies, three breweries and two distilleries, a grist and saw mill, as well as a competitive wholesale business. The first train arrived in 1853, connecting London with the Great Western Railway; it was followed by the London and Port Stanley line, in 1856, giving the city access to a port on Lake Erie and the Grand Trunk Railway two years later.[18] These essential transportation and communication links, coupled with several steamship lines based in Port Stanley, helped to solidify London's position as a focal point for the Southwestern Ontario peninsula and led to an economic boom in the 1850s.

An article from *The London Free Press* outlines the rather sudden burst of economic activity. The commentary reports that the taxable income of 1855 was 113,704 pounds as compared to only 85,650 pounds in 1854. Furthermore, the total value of real and personal property in the city rose from 48,335 pounds in 1854 to 95,000 pounds in 1855.[19] Orlo Miller claims that a census taken in 1854 reveals that in less than seven years London's population had "more than trebled," while by 1855, 16,000 people lived in the city.[20]

This expansion did not go unchecked. In 1857 an international depression seriously affected the Upper Canadian economy, and had a particularly severe impact on London. Locally, the causes were

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[18] Frederick J. Armstrong and Daniel J. Brock, "The Rise of London: A Study in Urban Evolution in the Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 92. Even later, in 1875, the London, Huron and Bruce Railway linked the city to the northern part of southwestern Ontario.

[19] *The London Free Press and General Advertiser*, 2 February 1856.

[20] Orlo Miller, "The Fat Years and the Lean: London (Canada) in Boom and Depression, 1851-61," *Ontario History*, vol. 53, no.2 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1961), 76 and 73.

largely a result of the city's unprecedented growth earlier in the 1850s, which, in turn, fuelled an intensely competitive real estate boom. Orlo Miller, one of London's foremost local historians, claimed that approximately seventy-five percent of the city's businesses declared bankruptcy, while the population decreased by approximately four thousand people.[21]

Despite the economic turmoil characterizing this period, the city was able to recover after only two years and regain its earlier prosperous momentum. Much of the recovery, again, can be credited to international developments, but on a local level the discovery of oil in Sarnia helped to stabilize London's economy. By the 1860s, the city's population had surpassed pre-1857 levels, and new industries were added to London's economic network, including oil refining, food processing and cigar production. One of the most visible signs of this new prosperity can be found in the Tecumseh Hotel, located on the southwest corner of York and Richmond Streets. Construction of the edifice had begun probably in 1855 under the supervision of a group of stockholders named the "Hotel Company," but the building was put up for auction on 4 March 1856.[22] Apparently, the directors of the company worked "energetically to bring the undertaking to a successful issue," but underestimated the "vastness" of the project and were forced to abandon the idea.[23] The unfinished building was sold for 9,500 pounds and finally completed by 1859.[24] The hotel was advertised as a "substantially built" brick edifice of five stories, providing "first class" services that equalled the opulence of the large hotels of New York. At the time, the Tecumseh was credited as being the largest hotel of its kind in British North America.[25] Perhaps the most interesting

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[21] Miller, 1961, 79. Miller claimed that London was affected by the "world-wide boom and depression of the 1850s perhaps more severely than any other city in North America."

[22] *Free Press*, 14 February 1856.

[23] *Free Press*, 5 March 1856.

[24] London historians have traditionally placed the opening of the hotel as occurring in 1856, but a notice from *The Free Press* of 9 December 1859 announced that, "A meeting was held last evening at the Tecumseh Hotel, for the purposes of initiating the preliminary steps to celebrate the opening of the hotel, which has proved itself to be, in every way, so worthy of London."

[25] Cunningham, 10.

aspect of its completion was that the bulk of the work on the edifice was carried out during the height of the depression. The hotel became a symbol of London's prosperity after the economic uncertainty of 1857, and as such played host to the city's most prestigious social and political events. In 1860, Canada's first royal visit, by the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), included London on its tour schedule; the city provided a lavish public ball at the newly constructed hotel. An enormous display of public patriotic fervour ensued. The success of the proceedings seemed to herald a new confidence in London's abilities and gave a sense of official recognition in the wider international sphere (see plate 1).

Before beginning a closer analysis of London's social structure during this period of growth, a general comment can be made concerning Ontario's Victorian economy. Canadian historian John McCallum concludes, after extensive research into the nature of Ontario's economic structure in the nineteenth century, that the province was based on an economy tied inextricably to wheat. In his book *Unequal Beginnings: Agricultural and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870*, McCallum reports that, in the years leading to Confederation, wheat made up about three-quarters of the total cash sales of Ontario farmers. Furthermore, a thriving export economy provided firm support for the province's economy with almost half of its total production absorbed by external markets, with wheat, Ontario's "classic staple product," being the dominant product exported.[26] A key aspect of this nineteenth-century economic structure was the presence of strong regional centres which not only processed and shipped agricultural produce, but developed a diversified manufacturing sector. Many of the tools and machines essential to the success of the province's agricultural network were manufactured locally, thus avoiding a lengthy importation process. London, Upper Canada/Canada West, was one such prosperous community and grew to become the hub for most of Southwestern Ontario, with a sphere of influence that radiated south to Windsor, west to Sarnia, north to Goderich, and East to Woodstock.[27]

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[26] John McCallum. *Unequal Beginnings: Agricultural and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 24.

[27] John McCallum, "Urban and Commercial Development until 1850," *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, ed. R.D. Francis and D.B. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1986), 373.

Plate 1: Mechanics' Institute (Courtesy of J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

It is hardly surprising, then, that a noticeable contingent of upper-middle class families, linked primarily with business affairs, or with the law, or with the many Imperial Garrisons stationed in the city between 1838 and 1853, settled in the area. These latter institutions, not directly dependent on business or trade, seemed to give wealthy London families a sense of privilege over their neighbouring communities of Southwestern Ontario as well as delineating social hierarchy within the community, itself.[28] An editorial from the London liberal weekly newspaper *The London Inquirer* (20 September 1844) outlines this social stratification found in Canada and, although unmistakable agrarian and labour sympathies can be detected in this social critique, it sheds light on the economic divisions present in the country's social fabric:

> Canada is a country whose influence and advancement depends perhaps more on the industrious classes of the community than any other--it is a country more essentially dependent upon manual rather than mental labor. The Farmer and the Mechanic are more useful in it, if industrious, than either the Lawyer or the Doctor with all their skill, and yet it has often struck us as a singular fact that the latter class of individuals, particularly the Lawyers, not only multiply and increase in a ratio almost proportionate to their comparative inutility, but arrogate to themselves exclusively the *haut ton* of Canadian society. The Minister and the Schoolmaster form a class of themselves. The Merchants, Bankers, and Storekeepers, may be classed promiscuously, according to circumstances--The Military form a class *sui generis*.[29]

This classification most likely was aimed directly at their London readership. As one of the last remaining left-wing newspapers in the area, *The Inquirer* adhered to a policy of social commentary and thus hoped to imbue Canadian society with more liberal and democratic principles. Its motto, "The rights and Interests of Man," evidences the democratic ideal which was antithetical to the Family Compact ethos.

London's elite could not function as a cohesive unit solely by absorbing those directly involved in legal affairs--its population base was not large enough. Thus the wealthy manufacturers, merchants, and wholesalers were aggregated "promiscuously" with the *haut ton* of London society. Such an elevation of caste could occur with relative ease. A satirical poem from the *Canadian Free Press*, the liberal

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[28] Miller, 1961, 73. Miller states that although these two important institutions arrived in London "largely due to luck," they grew to become two of the most stable foundations of the city's early economy.

[29] *The London Inquirer*, 20 September 1844.

predecessor of *The London Free Press* published by Josiah and Stephen Blackburn, derides this easily procured social transition,

> There was a little village boy--
> Oh! but his heart was full of joy,
> Had he a stick to whittle on,
> A bag of marbles and a kite,
> Surely there never was delight
> Like that of Johnny Littlejohn.
>
> But time grew on--a boy no longer,
> Up he grew, taller, stouter, stronger,
> And then you would admire:
> For he had made a splendid marriage,
> And he rode in a shining carriage--
> John Littlejohn, Esquire.[30]

The use of "Esquire" seemed to be the hallmark of success in London's developing cultural life and, interestingly enough, was used throughout this period by both Liberal and Tory papers. Although in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century the term would be used liberally as a polite means of addressing men of virtually any class, it seems that in this early period "Esquire" advertised that a particular citizen held land, wealth, and therefore prestige. An article from the *Middlesex Prototype* of 9 September 1856 describes the origins of the term, tracing its various meanings throughout history. The commentary claims that the title is used as "an expression of respect" in North America, however, it provides a detailed account of the term's meaning in Britain:

> Another class, feudal esquires, consisted of those who had a right to claim knighthood, but had not been dubbed. The sons or younger sons of dukes and marquises, the younger sons of viscounts, earls and barons, and their eldest sons, with the eldest sons of baronets and of knights of all orders, are regarded in England as esquires by birth, though their precedence which differs widely, is regulated by the ranks of their respective ancestors. Officers of the queen's court and household, her army and navy, down to captain's [sic] inclusive, doctors of law, barristers, and physicians, are reputed esquires. A justice of the peace is only an esquire during his term in office; but a sheriff of the county holds the title for life.

In London, professional business men, merchants or governmental employees adopted this title, but despite the sense of uniformity the label implies, the select segment of London's society came from surprisingly

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[30] *The Canadian Free Press*, 14 October 1852.

diverse backgrounds. A description of all the significant wealthy families that lived in London in this early period proves difficult because of both the scarcity of sources and their large number. However, a survey of some of the more important men who settled in London during this period helps underline the diversity of these founding family's origins.

Any such list must inevitably begin with the Harris family. Just as Edith Wharton's novel *The Age of Innocence,* reveals that New York society in the mid-nineteenth century as well as the prestige and almost unassailable power of family clans like the VanderLeydens rested upon a complex web of social interactions and relationships, so too did London have a family that represented an almost noble status. John Harris, his wife Amelia and their eight children--two were born later in London--moved into their newly constructed Georgian home, which they named Eldon House, in 1834. The family embodied the quintessential requirements of the respectable early Canadian upper-middle class: John Harris had worked his way through the British miliary infrastructure to become the official hydrographer for the Great Lakes water system, while Amelia Ryerse was the eldest daughter of a United Empire Loyalist Family. Despite the distinction of both their genealogies, John's history remains somewhat shrouded in mystery. He was born on 21 June 1782, at Dartington in Devon to a local curate named John Harris. The church records from St. Mary the Virgin church in Dartington list his mother as Mary and rather cryptically describe John junior as "the son and base child of Mary."[31] What this terminology implies is not clear, but the family made at least one genealogy search, in 1888, which was never fully pursued. Furthermore, his early life proved similarly unconventional, as he ran away from home at the age of twelve to become a cabin boy. By 1803 he had been impressed into the Royal Navy and from this point he was able to rise through the naval ranks relatively quickly, serving in the Mediterranean, South America and finally North America. His marriage into the Ryerse clan, founders of Port Ryerse, was advantageous, giving him the wealth, landholding and prestige needed to secure a respectable position in Upper Canadian society.

Despite this patriarch's perhaps inconvenient history, the Harris' became one of London's most

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[31] Harris, xxxi.

distinguished families throughout much of the nineteenth century. Amelia describes their position in a diary entry from 19 May 1859:

> we knew that our connections were better and our position as good as that of anyone in the country, and that *we* thought we paid anyone a compliment that we asked to the house, and that our invitations were few and select.[32]

Politically, John Harris was instrumental in regulating local affairs. He was a church warden at St. Paul's church, one of the founding members of the Mechanics' Institute, he was appointed Inspector of Weights and Measures and by the 1840s he acted as the district treasurer, a position he held until his death on 25 August 1850. Harris was also one of the men who petitioned the government in 1838, and actively participated in the London based militia unit that fought in the Niagara area--a feat which added to his local reputation and prestige.[33] In 1845, he was appointed, despite his partisan role in the 1837-1838 disturbance, as one of two commissioners to determine the extent of the damage incurred by Reform sympathizers in the area in preparation for the Rebellion Losses Bill.[34]

Two others directly involved in this 1837 disturbance were Colonel John.B. Askin and Lawrence Lawrason. Askin was born in Detroit and descended from an Irish father and a mother of native American ancestry.[35] At the time his background could have been considered rather unorthodox; however, Askin's connection with the militia allowed him to maintain a prestigious position in the city's society; indeed, he was a regular visitor at Eldon House. Lawrason's history is more conventional. He was born on 10 August 1803 in Ancaster to a United Empire Loyalist family from New Jersey. In 1832, Lawrason came to London and held an astonishing number of jobs: he worked variously as a wholesale merchant, a real estate agent, a police magistrate, the president of the London and Port Stanley Railway, an agent for the Bank of Upper Canada, a Tory member of the Legislative Assembly, and he was also London's first

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[32] Harris, 107.

[33] Harris, xliv.

[34] Harris, xliv.

[35] Clarence T. Campbell, *Pioneer Days in London* (London, Ont.: Advertising Job Printing, 1921), 26.

postmaster, in 1825.[36]

One of London's wealthiest citizens, George Goodhue was born in Putney, Vermont, on 1 August 1799, the son of a doctor and grandson of a Congregationalist minister.[37] In 1822, he moved to Canada and worked in St. Thomas as a clerk, then moved to London in 1826 and opened a general store, located on Ridout street, north of Dundas; immediately after his arrival, he converted to the Church of England.[38] His achievements in the city are impressive: he manufactured "black salts" (potash), operated a distillery, worked in real estate and as a general solicitor, became postmaster in 1830, was appointed as the first president of the Board of Police, was elected director of the Bank of Upper Canada, and finally in 1841 was appointed a justice of the peace.[39] In his capacity as a land speculator, he profited from the 1837 rebellion by buying many of the rebel estates sold at low prices by families anxious, or impelled by political instability to leave the country.[40]

It is interesting to compare Goodhue's achievements with those of an early rival wholesaler, Dennis O'Brien. Born in Fermoy, Ireland, in 1792, he initially settled in Maine in 1811, but came to Canada in the 1820s. In 1827, he established a store in London and built the city's first brick building a few years later on Dundas street, west of Ridout.[41] In 1837, these buildings were occupied by the Imperial Garrison until the completion of the permanent barracks. He was appointed a justice of the peace, but, despite his wealth and success, did not receive the many honorary positions that Lawrason and Goodhue did, perhaps because of his strong affiliation with the Roman Catholic church.

Other prominent citizens included Mahlon Burwell, the son of a United Empire Loyalist family;

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[36] Miller, 1992, 29.

[37] Armstrong, 36.

[38] Campbell, 36.

[39] Campbell, 30.

[40] Armstrong, 36.

[41] Campbell, 30. In 1845, the edifice was re-opened as the Western Hotel, but a fire, in 1850, destroyed the entire block of buildings.

Thomas Talbot, who descended from Irish aristocracy and was a personal friend of Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington); and Benjamin Cronyn, London's first bishop of the Church of England, born in Kilkenny, Ireland, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin.[42] Manufacturing interests were also represented: Simeon Morrill, a tanner from the United States, became London's first town mayor; Elijah Leonard, from Syracuse, N.Y., ran an extensive iron foundry in London; John McClary, another iron founder, was born in Nilestown to a family of Scottish descent; and Thomas Carling, founder of the Carling brewery, from Yorkshire, England. Others affiliated with this early elite were involved in skilled trades: Freeman Talbot, from Tipperary County, Ireland, worked in newspaper printing and publishing, road building, contracting, and was appointed county engineer--he later left London to become an American state senator; Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski, a Polish emigre, who worked as an engineer in London, and was later knighted and appointed administrator, or acting lieutenant-governor of Ontario; and Dr. William King Cornish, an English lawyer who took up the practice of medicine in Canada and upon his arrival in London, in 1831, acted as surgeon to the jail, district coroner, justice of the peace, surveyor, road overseer and land agent--a popular legend at the time held that Cornish set fire to the original Catholic Church in London, dedicated to St. Lawrence, in order to obtain the land.[43] These pioneers of London's early business and governmental affairs reflect the diverse social status of London's upper-middle class.

A common link among these diverse elements can be found in their political beliefs, namely conservatism. A fragmentary excerpt of *The London Free Press*, probably from December of 1849, describes the political situation at the time:

> In the London District then the leaders--such as Lawrason [several others are mentioned including the current mayor Thomas Dixon]...and similar characters, and a considerable number of officials appointed under former Tory administrations--have been the pet men of former governments. They obtained this preference not through any peculiar qualifications they possessed--nor for any influence which they were supposed to have with the intelligent part of the population;--but it was their sycophancy to those in power--and (most of them holding prominent places in Orange Lodges) on account of the ease

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[42] Cronyn also holds the distinction of being the first Canadian bishop to be elected, and not appointed by the crown.

[43] Miller, 1992, 40. The Catholic church was burned more than a year after Cornish died in 1850.

by which they could lead the deluded members by an old prejudice or a party cry.[44]

Again, the bias of the early *Free Press* under William Sutherland's editorial hand is unmistakable, but the presence of a select group governing the city seems most evident. The "old prejudice or a party cry" refers to the 1837 Rebellion which had recently been rekindled by the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill. Lord Elgin, the Governor General who signed the contentious bill, quickly fell into disfavour with the conservative element in Canada; on a visit to London, on 3 October 1849, he met with a hostile reception. The disturbances during this official visit were led by Thomas C. Dixon, the town mayor, and his actions included attempting to put a stop to work on ceremonial arches spanning the city's streets and, when this failed, organizing an Orangemen's meeting and distributing axes to destroy these decorations; preparing an abusive "minority address" for Elgin , quite devoid of any customary official tact; and not standing on the balcony of the newly constructed Robinson Hotel with Elgin but taking his place among the rabble below and assuming a part in the seditious activity that punctuated the Governor-General's speech.[45] Dixon's actions, although not indicative of the ordinary behaviour of London's politicians, show the firm allegiance among Tories in Upper and Lower Canada, and were most certainly influenced by the burning of the Parliament buildings in Montreal. The following council, under Mayor Simeon Morrill, was chosen perhaps as a moderating and less dramatically political response to Dixon's impulsive reign, and included Lawrason, Goodhue, Carling and the newly arrived John Kinder Labatt, founder of the Labatt brewing dynasty.[46]

London was well prepared to become a city in 1854, with a select corpus of men ruling each of London's six wards. Miller states that among the "illustrious twenty-eight [men elected] there were seven future mayors, two knights, and a senator."[47] These seven men who later held the mayoral position

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[44] *Free Press*, fragment, December 1849.

[45] Miller, 1992, 60.

[46] Miller, 1992, 61.

[47] Miller, 1992, 70.

dominated the city's political sphere until 1867, holding of the post variously for the ensuing thirteen years (with the exception of 1857, and 1861-1864).[48] Elijah Leonard, a close ally of London's upper-middle class network was mayor in 1857, and Francis Evans Cornish held the position for the remaining years, 1861-1864. Cornish, the son of "old Dr. Cornish," was heir to one of London's early founding family names and, despite his rather flamboyant behaviour in office,[49] certainly held political and religious views common among London's elite. London's political arena, in its early years, was ruled by a set of closely allied men.

Religious affiliation was an essential element of this governing body of Londoners. Being a member of the Church of England intimated not only a particular association with a distinct Protestant code of beliefs, but perhaps more important, aligned one with an equally distinct political code. The wealthy patrons of London's society were intent on making the church a wealthy and powerful landholding institution in the city. *The London Herald* of 15 April 1843 lists the annual subscriptions for the Church of England diocese in London, at St. Paul's, and demonstrates the close connections held between wealth and the high Anglican church. Among the highest donations are those proffered by Gzowski, at 6 pounds; Goodhue, Lawrason, Askin, Harris, Freeman Talbot and Cronyn, at 5 pounds; John Harris donated a further 25 pounds to liquidate the debt of St. Paul's church; and Burwell, Goodhue, Lawrason, Askin, and Cronyn donated a total of 1,412 acres of land to the church glebe. These magnanimous offerings underline the firm allegiance of these families to the English church. When the new St. Paul's was completed in 1846, the brick structure stood as one of the most imposing churches in the province.[50] In 1857, the edifice was designated as a cathedral for the newly created Diocese of Huron.

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[48] Those who held this position were, Murray Anderson, 1855; William Barker, 1856; David Glass, 1858; William McBride, 1859; James Moffat, 1860; McBride, 1865-66; and Frank Smith, 1867.

[49] Miller describes his "colourful" participation in public office which included bribing the electorate with free beer, a fist-fight with a British military officer to defend the honour of his wife, and, in his capacity as mayor, fining himself for public drunkenness.
Miller, 1992, 85.

[50] Orlo Miller, *Gargoyles and Gentlemen, A History of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), 62.

One of the greatest accomplishments of the earlier founding families was the creation of the Mechanics' Institute in London. Such institutions originated in Britain and catered to the rising working class' demand for a broader education.[51] In Canada, mechanics' institutes appeared in many civic centres and were seen as a means of establishing a civilized order in the New World. John Harris tried to found an institute in London in 1835 to "promote the intellectual cultivation of an important and numerous class of individuals in this town and its neighbourhood," but his plans were not realized.[52] By 1838, however, a reading library had been established and in 1842 a permanent building was constructed adjacent to the courthouse (see plate 2). Built of wood in a pseudo-Grecian style, the first floor of the building served variously as a day school for children, an evening school for adults, and a library, while the auditorium above functioned as a hall for meetings and lectures, a concert hall and ballroom.[53] An essential tenet of this institution, as with all such foundations, was to allow admittance to all classes of citizens in a democratic manner.

Such a genial relationship between classes appears not to have been strictly maintained. Harris's wish to promote the intellectual advancement of "an important and numerous class of individuals," as expressed in his presidential address for the aborted 1835 opening, seems suspicious in its use of the singular "class" and not a pluralized form. The intention may well have been a polite gesture, implying that within the confines of the institute all were equal. However, various articles and letters submitted to *The Canada Inquirer* concerning preparations for the annual St. Andrew's Day dinner[54] of 1840 foreshadow future class-based tensions in the Mechanics' Institute. Apparently a select committee, chosen

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[51] Frances Ruth Hines, "Concert Life in London, Ontario, 1870-1880" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977), 4.

[52] Harris, xliii.

[53] Campbell, 54.

[54] The societies of Sts. Andrew, George, and Patrick were popular in London throughout the 1840s and 1850s. They were essentially nationalistic social clubs, but did tend to be affiliated with political issues. They co-existed in London with other societies such as the Masonic Lodge, the Orange Hall, and the Odd Fellows Association.

in an arbitrary fashion during the dinner meeting, attempted to bar certain members from attending. This coalition which included John Birrell and William Gunn, esquires, denied any such actions in the 7 December *Inquirer*, but the editorial staff saw fit to print a comment:

> We are very sorry that the good understanding heretofore prevailing in our Town between all classes and orders of people should have been marred...But, Mechanics [who] were at the dinner by invitation say these persons censured...were only such as could not come within the limits of a reasonable boundary line, as it could not be expected that all should be admitted. The Mechanics think that no boundary line should be drawn in society as respects the commemoration of a national day...This no doubt is the right way and a pity [illegible word] it is that this had not been the unanimous opinion of those who took the management of the affair connected with the dinner.[55]

Further problems arose when the first council elected to bestow honourary memberships on a number of London's prominent citizens, and thus began a tradition of accepting members who had no connection to standard mechanic's trades. Soon, the non-mechanical element outnumbered all others, and established a majority, known as the "seats of the mighty."[56] A splinter group, run by dissatisfied mechanics, established a rival foundation, the London Mercantile Library Association, but was plagued by financial troubles and disbanded in the late 1850s. This group left only a small collection of books which were incorporated into the Mechanics' Institute library.[57]

The politicized nature of the Mechanics' Institute is evident in an incident described in the *London Times* (5 December 1851). A group of "Irish Reformers" had apparently planned to hold a meeting at the Institute to petition the crown to release a group of "Irish State prisoners." The assembly, to be held on 3 December, unfortunately did not take place:

> The meeting was to have been held at the Mechanic's Institute on Wednesday evening and on our repairing to the spot we were astonished to find that the President had issued forth an edict prohibiting the use of the Hall for the occasion, alleging for his reason that it could not be given for a political purpose and that the Committee were not consulted. We boldly affirm that a grosser insult was never given to the inhabitants of any town or to any respectable body of people by a man assuming to himself the sole control of a public institution.

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[55] *Inquirer*, 7 December 1840.

[56] Campbell, 54.

[57] Campbell, 54.

Plate 2: Tecumseh Hotel (Courtesy of J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

Such a hierarchical mandate was not part of the original constitution of the Institute, but in London the association had become a stronghold of partisan political sentiment.

Finley Perrin comments, somewhat sarcastically, on the social exclusivity of this early set of prestigious families.[58] An anecdote exemplifying the strict divisions drawn between classes is included in his remembrances:

> Society began to assert itself in 1841, when the line was drawn pretty tight to preserve intact a select few of the better class of businessmen as being the only ones qualified for admission to the drawing rooms, which were always open to military tinsel, from colonel to captain. Upon a certain occasion an assembly was invited which admitted none of the citizens proper, but such as had (or were supposed to have) a good bank account. All right so far, but the cards of admission were collected and it was discovered that one of them [the name is omitted] smelled very strongly of soap or fish oil, it raised a tempest in a teapot, which nearly upset the whole affair. The creme de la creme, finding their olfactories were at fault, drew in their horns, and Pompey Smash, who was well-known at the time as the son of his father, had to eat humble pie.[59] The mantle of charity forbids the narration of many incidents, harmless though ludicrous, because some of the plebeians of that day and generation, who are now the leaders of fashion, might possibly go into fits were it known that they had not always been accustomed to the very best society.[60]

Perrin's account might not qualify as historical fact, yet his description of the social environment of the time provides valuable insight into social stratification during this period.

London, in this early period of expansion, appears to have been guided by a group of wealthy patrons who were firmly allied with conservative political principles, as manifested by the Family Compact. They were a relatively diverse group ethnically and held positions in the governmental, military and mercantile realms, but found unity through common political visions, religious beliefs, and in institutions such as the Mechanics' Institute. The latter, an institution initially designed to transcend a hierarchical class system, was absorbed by London's upper-middle class element to become a visible sign of their class

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[58] Perrin's social position at the time is unknown. Spicer found reference of "Finlay Perrin" registered as a tinsmith, in the 1856 London Directory. If this refers to Finley Perrin, such an occupation would likely place him outside of London's exclusive set of upper-middle class citizens. In 1913, the directory lists Finley E. Perrin as a barrister. Again, it is uncertain whether this describes the narrator of these reminiscences. Spicer, 1.

[59] Perrin could either be describing the man who attempted to intrude upon this event, or, more plausibly, the "gentleman" who hosted the event. In this latter scenario, it seems as if Pompey Smash was chastised for allowing an "inferior" to infiltrate the assembly.

[60] Spicer, 10.

consciousness. Perhaps the most dominant event to influence their outlook occurred during the 1836-37 period. The threat of an armed insurrection, the spectacle of the treason trials, and the revival of the Rebellion's memory with the Rebellion Losses Bill all left an indelible mark on the consciousness of London's elite until the 1860s. A distrust of American-styled democratic principles and the need to band together and protect a sense of class hierarchy were the results.

CHAPTER II

THE IMPERIAL GARRISON AND MILITIA ORGANIZATIONS IN LONDON

In May of 1838, the first regiments of the Imperial Garrison arrived in London and were stationed temporarily in Dennis O'Brien's set of brick buildings on Dundas street. O'Brien's wife, Jane, wrote that London "is one continued sea of confusion, the city [sic] is crowded with soldiers, and many are billeted in each house."[1] The turmoil of these initial months soon eased and the military quickly grew to become an integral aspect of London's society, transforming the early settlement both economically and socially. London played host to several different regiments of the Imperial Garrison. They included,

1838-41	32nd and 83rd
1841-43	1st Royal and 14th
1843-45	23rd Welsh Fusiliers
1845-46	82nd
1846-47	81st
1847-49	20th
1849-53	23rd, for a second time

Of primary importance were the economic rewards gained because of the military's presence in London. Trade increased and the military's demands for food, supplies and domestic help created a market that had not existed previously. Orders for basic supplies were filled locally, and contracts such as a request for sealed tenders for 100 birch brooms and 500 "split brooms," as advertised in the *London Gazette* in 1841, stimulated a growth in London's small businesses.[2] The construction of the barrack buildings between 1838 and 1839, located in the Victoria Park area, solidified the military's position in London and helped open the north end of London for settlement. The first set of buildings, made of rough hewn logs, consisted of thirty-six buildings, while the second set, located on the same site and known as the "frame barracks," was completed in 1843 (see plate 3). This latter complex cost the British Government close

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[1] Archie Bremner, *City of London, Ontario, Canada: The Pioneer Period and the London of To-day*, 2nd ed. (London, Ont.: The London Printing and Lithographing Co., 1900; reprint edition, London, Ont.: London Public Library Board, 1967), 49.

[2] *The London Gazette*, 23 January 1841.

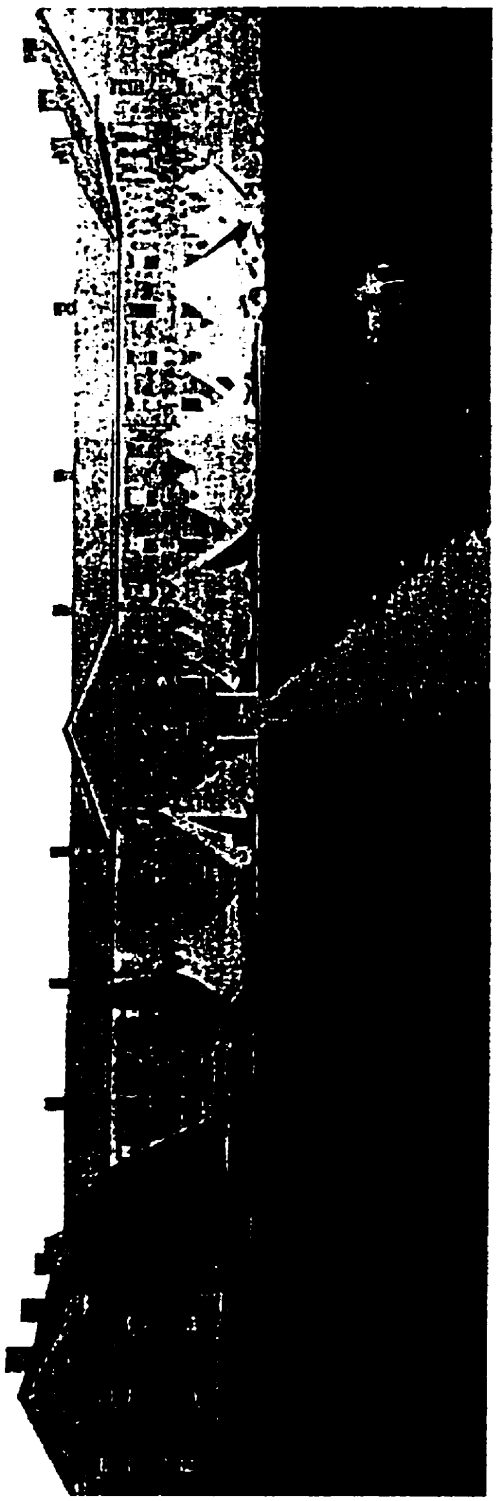

Plate 3: British Imperial Garrison Barracks (Courtesy of J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

to 100,000 pounds, a price which Orlo Miller calls "a truly enormous sum for the time and place."[3] One London citizen who prospered through a military contract was Ellis W. Hyman, an American tanner who settled in London in the 1830s. Although he did not file for British citizenship until 1849,[4] Hyman received the contract for the British army leather and founded one of the most important and long-lasting industrial establishments in the city's history.[5]

The military presence not only helped stabilize London's early economy, but created a whole new social climate that elevated the prestige of the village's exclusive set of founding families. Thus, as a result of the 1837-38 unrest and the introduction of the British military, London acquired a new political direction, gained economic stability and enjoyed an increase in social activity. Their presence is most appropriately described in a poem allegedly written by a commissariat officer and presented to Miss Lizars, a daughter of another of London's early prominent families:

> Sing the delights of London society--
> Epaulette, sabretache, sword-knot and plume;
> Always enchanting, yet knows no variety--
> Scarlet alone can embellish a room.
> While spurs are clattering,
> Flirting and chattering,
> Bend the proud heroes that fight for the crown;
> Dancing cotillions,
> Cutting civilians,
> These are the joys of a garrison town.
>
> Little reck we of you black-coated laity;
> Forty to one upon *rouge* against *noir*
> On soldiers we lavish our favours and gaiety,
> For the rest we leave them to feel *desespoir*
> Odious vulgarity,
> Reckless barbarity,
> We have for such *canaille* as these but a frown;

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[3] Orlo Miller, *London 200, An Illustrated History* (London, Ont.: London Chamber of Commerce, 1988), 36.

[4] Frederick Armstrong and Daniel Brock, "The Rise of London: A Study of Urban Evolution in Nineteenth-Century Southwestern Ontario," *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 90.

[5] Frederick Armstrong, *The Forest City, An Illustrated History of London, Canada* (London, Ont.: Windsor Publications, 1986), 48.

While flirting with fusiliers,
Smiling on grenadiers--
These are the joys of a garrison town.[6]

London suddenly witnessed an influx of a significant number of young men who often came from well connected English families[7] and thus were acceptable matches for the daughters of the town's upper-middle class. Eldon House, which accommodated at least five eligible young women, became a popular destination for military visits. In fact, in 1851, two of the Harris daughters, Charlotte Owen (1828-1854) and Eliza Bayfield (1825-1898), were married to army officers.[8]

The garrisons stationed in London played a considerable role in founding local social institutions. Sports of all kinds were organized, the steeplechase and cricket matches proving the most popular. These annual events were continued after the removal of the British Garrisons in 1853. An example of the garrison's effect on the development of London's character--or perhaps more aptly as a testament to their excess of free time--can be found in the 20th Regiment's creation of an extensive park and man-made lake on the block presently surrounded by Richmond, Picadilly, Waterloo and Central streets. Lake Horn, named after the colonel of the regiment, was fashioned by levelling a thirty-foot hill originally found on the site and using the earth to dam the natural creek that threaded through the north end of the property.[9] The lake was deep enough to accommodate small pleasure boats, and wide enough to encompass several small islands.[10] The park, finished by the summer of 1849, was later, in 1861, transformed into the city's fairgrounds.

Perhaps the garrison's most enduring legacy, as described by historian Frederick H. Armstrong,

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[6] Clarence T. Campbell, *Pioneer Days in London* (London, Ont.: Advertiser Job Printing, 1921), 57.

[7] Miller, 61.

[8] Robin S. Harris and Terry G. Harris, *The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views of the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: The Chaplain Society in co-operation with the Government of Ontario, 1994), xlviii.

[9] Bremner, 49. The creek is still visible today. The site of Lake Horn was drained in the late nineteenth century, the park was subdivided by Hyman and Pall Mall streets and zoned for housing. More recently, the north end of the area was transformed into a public park.

[10] *The London Times and General Advertiser*, 3 August 1849.

was the establishing of a link to "imperial power structures" in a manner that would not have been possible if London had remained merely a district capital.[11]

Finally, the garrison period left its mark on London's cultural and artistic life. This contribution will be explored in greater depth in the following chapter, but a brief survey here will introduce the garrison's role in London's social fabric. Theatricals and music were an important part of the military's participation in the town's society. Beginning on 7 December 1839, the military sponsored a theatre season, establishing a tradition that was carried on by each successive division for almost a decade. Under the title of the Theatre Royal, the garrison reportedly used the unfinished shell of a Wesleyan Methodist church, located on the corner of Queens Avenue and Wellington Street, as their Covent Garden Theatre.[12] The theatre was apparently transferred to a garrison officer named Raynor by Thomas Talbot, the purveyor of Government lands in the district.[13] Talbot, quite vocal in his contempt for the "non-conformist sects," reallotted the land by simply erasing the penciled in name of the Wesleyan group and substituting that of Raynor.[14] The theatricals appear to have been popular, quickly becoming a tradition adopted by each of the newly arrived companies.

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[11] Armstrong, 60.

[12] Frances Ruth Hines, "Concert Life in London, Ontario, 1870-1880" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977), 74.

The theatre used both Theatre Royal and Covent Garden in its advertisements. In the "Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte," by Harriet Priddis, London and Middlesex Historical Society Transactions IV (1913), the theatre is described, "Standing trees supported the board roof and stumps, sawed off pretty evenly, supported the rough board seats." Orlo Miller claims the theatre "was an old former frame barn that held an audience of about two hundred." Miller, 36.

Bremner claims that in 1844, the original theatre burned and was replaced by using a barn "fitted up as a temporary theatre," that was situated near the police station, on Richmond Street. Bremner, 32. However, in the 15 May 1851 issue of the *Canadian Free Press*, a fire located at the British Tavern (Dundas and Wellington, also called the Royal Exchange Hotel), "adjacent to the Theatre Ground" is described, thus locating the entertainment facility on its original site. Apparently only the hotel was damaged.

[13] Herman Goodden and Michael Baker, *Curtain Rising: The History of Theatre in London* (London, Ont.: London Regional and Historical Museums, 1993), 49. Goodden and Baker, quoting from Orlo Miller, claims that the site was seized from a group of Methodists who had recently commenced constructing the edifice but ran out of funds.

[14] Goodden, *et al.*, 49.

The military also made a significant musical contribution to London's social institutions through the presence of the garrison bands. Each regiment had a body of performers who played at a variety of local functions. Balls, concerts, musical interludes at garrison theatricals, political or social meetings, religious functions, parades, and picnics all used the services of the various military bands and undoubtedly kept these musical groups well occupied.[15]

Reconstructing the exact configuration of instruments in these bands is difficult, as only a few references survive in London's local newspapers. In 1843, trumpets and other "brass instruments" are mentioned[16], while three years later an article mentions the "E-flat clarionet" (clarinet) and the cornopean (cornet).[17] In this latter review, a reference is made to the "alto part" in one particular band piece, although the instrument is not named specifically. In 1846, at a Mechanics' Institute ball, a bassoonist is described playing the air *The Harp that once thro' Tara's Halls*.[18] Finally, at the laying of the cornerstone for the Union School (1849), a procession featuring the fifes and drums of 20th regiment was employed.[19] These brief references are consistent with the membership of contemporary British military bands, which generally employed an augmented orchestral wind and percussion grouping, amplified by extra brass instruments.[20] However, only a basic configuration of instruments can be obtained from contemporary British models, which employed cornets, trumpets and fifes for the soprano line, natural horns and clarinets on the inner parts, bassoons, serpents, and trombones for the bass line, and a bass and

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[15] Further details concerning the extent of their participation in London's social sphere are presented in the following chapter.

[16] *The London Herald*, 27 May 1843.

[17] *The Western Globe*, 6 March 1846. The author may have intended the B-flat "clarionet," which was used more frequently in bands during this era.

[18] *Globe*, 27 February 1846.

[19] *Times*, 26 June, 1849. After London was incorporated as a town, the various private and common schools in London were unified in a single Union School. The imposing brick structure was located on King Street north of Clarence, and demolished in 1890.

[20] Harold C. Hind and Anthony C. Baines, "Military Bands," *New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publications Ltd., 1980), 313.

side drum as the percussion unit. Unfortunately, the number of instruments used in each section is unknown, even in documented British sources. Nevertheless, this basic model most likely was typical of those used in North America.

The presence of the Imperial Garrison bands certainly stimulated growth in musical and dramatic presentations in London, but their influence exerted an almost detrimental effect on London's local artistic maturation. In this peaceful period in Upper Canada/Canada West, between the 1836-1837 disturbances and the Crimean War, the garrison bands could devote much of their spare time to rehearsing and practising. Furthermore, their continuance as a musical group did not depend solely on performances. Although no records survive describing financial transactions between the military bands and their patrons, excerpts from the diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, such as the following, indicate that the military bands enjoyed strong financial backing:

> The Fusiliers...are all musical and like dancing, and bestow as much money as other regiments usually spend in wine, in giving balls, and concerts, which makes them very popular in this place where dancing is so favourite an amusement.[21]

Although Mrs. Simcoe's writings discuss the garrison's activities in Quebec in a much earlier period, between 1791 and 1796, this financial stability was most likely still present several decades later. An earlier entry from Mrs. Simcoe's diary, from 21 November 1791, specifically indicates that the military's bands received official support:

> Prince Edward's band of the 7th Fusiliers played, and some of the officers of the Fusiliers. The music was thought excellent. The band costs the Prince eight hundred [pounds] a year.[22]

While these diary excerpts do not deal with the garrison bands during their first stay in London, it is clear that the military bands received official financial backing. Moreover, this economic stability enjoyed by individual regiments would have allowed the bands either to volunteer their services or perhaps to receive

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[21] *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, 1791-1796*, ed. J. Ross Robertson (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911; reprint edition, Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1973), 79.

[22] Mrs. Simcoe, 55.

only small honoraria.[23] Some miltary bandsmen did settle in London, to be described below, and provided a valuable impetus for the creation of local ensembles; however, in the early garrison years their presence likely provided formidable competition. Thus, the financial security afforded to these bands, coupled with ample time for practising and rehearsals, allowed them to achieve an almost professional level of expertise.

The local militia also played a large part in London's musical life. The first of these organizations was basically a continuation of units formed during the War of 1812.[24] By 1830, there were at least five units from Middlesex county, a sprawling area that encompassed much of Southwestern Ontario, and many of London's foremost family names can be found in their rosters, including Lawrason, Askin, Thomas Talbot and Freeman Talbot. The fourth regiment, which drew from London and its surrounding area, was the foundation for the group that actively participated in the affairs of 1837. With the arrival of the Imperial Garrison and the creation of the London District, a separate militia, organized by Askin, maintained two companies in London.[25] Later in 1841, the London Independent Volunteer Artillery was formed, but seems not to have had resources equal to those of the garrison. They apparently had no "artillery" for their practice drills and instead used stovepipes tied to a table, consequently receiving the nickname the "stovepipe artillery." They were organized by their captain, Duncan Mackenzie, who maintained the unit at his own expense for fifteen years.[26] As well, an independent company of rifles was

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[23] Later, in the twentieth century, musicians in the British military were accorded tradesmen's pay, which was graduated in three levels. To progress to a higher level, and thus receive a higher salary, the instrumentalist had to pass a performance jury. It is improbable that this process was in effect during the mid-nineteenth century; however, musicians often enjoyed other privileges. Traditionally they were not used in active service, serving instead as stretcher carriers during periods of open combat.

[24] *History of the County of Middlesex Canada* (London, Ont.: W.A. and C.L. Goodspeed Publishers, 1889; reprint ed., Belleville, Ont.: Mika Studio, 1972), 148-49.

[25] Fred Landon, "London in Early Times," *The Province of Ontario--A History, 1615-1927*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Dominion Publishing, 1927), 1055.

[26] Bremner, 49. Goodspeed's survey of Middlesex County indicates that MacKenzie, born in Scotland in 1787, had served during the Battle of Waterloo, and after immigrating to Canada in 1817 became a militia captain in 1837, then was appointed militia magistrate in twenty years later. These distinctions made him a central figure in the militia's activities in London during the 1840s and 1850s, allowing him to assume virtual control over all

organized during the 1840s.

Although these institutions did not have the same financial stability as the military, an article from the *London Times* indicates that the requirements for holding commissions in the militia were quite stringent. A colonel was required to possess 1,000 pounds a year in landed property, or be heir apparent to 2,000 pounds a year; a lieutenant colonel needed 600 pounds in property or to expect an inheritance of 1,200 pounds; while a major and captain, 400 and 200 pounds in property, or heir to 800 and 400 pounds respectively.[27] Thus, the higher positions in the militia were accessible only to a wealthy contingent of London's society.

Few records survive indicating the extent of the militia's activities during the 1840s, encouraging historians such as Fred Landon to claim that enthusiasm for London's regional volunteer companies "was not great."[28] However, contemporary newspapers provide some clues to the militia's achievements. A letter to the editor of the *London Times* describes the activities of the militia in 1846 and outlines the capable performance of its volunteers:

> On my arrival in town the other evening I had the good fortune to stop at the splendid Hotel, "The London Coffee House," kept by Mr. Joyce.[29] Among the rest of the good things I was much pleased to witness the zealous exertions of between 50 and 60 of Captain Smith's Volunteer Rifle Company, which is composed of a fine set of active young men; and I was not less surprised at observing the efficient manner in which they went through the various parts of exercise adopted to the rifle service. I have no doubt--should events transpire to require their services in the field--but they will sustain that intrepidity and valour for which British soldiers are so eminently renown [sic] in every part of the globe. And, led by their veteran captain, will always be found, ready and willing to support the authority of their Queen and Constitution and defend the province

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aspects of the Volunteer Artillery.

[27] *Times*, 20 March 1846.

[28] Landon, 1055.

[29] The London Coffee House was opened by Jeremiah Henry Joyce and Alexander Scott Armstrong some time before 1845, in the courthouse square and featured a dining room, reading room and several hotel rooms. The building was damaged in the fire of 1845 leading both owners to declare bankruptcy in July of 1845, and to dissolve their partnership on 17 November 1845. Joyce assumed ownership of the building, renovated it and hosted London's first Valentine's Day Ball on 13 February 1846. The establishment closed a year later. Another coffee house appeared in the 1850s, in the Market Square, and survived for more than a decade.

from internal anarchy and external violence.[30]

A VISITOR

This efficiency apparently resulted from a strict schedule of regular drills. A poem submitted to the London Inquirer in 1844, signed by an anonymous "volunteer," decries the relentless devotion expected of the militia volunteers. The literary submission is titled "Lines Addressed to a Well-Known Character" and most likely describes either Captain MacKenzie or Captain Smith,

> The proverb says, that "always work
> and never any play
> Makes Jack a dull boy," and *your* "boys,"
> are *anything* but gay!
>
> No balls, no plays, no any thing
> But everlasting drill--
> They would be all as gray as you
> If you could have your will...
>
> The merry youths who would enjoy
> A harmless ball or play,
> Whose cheerful influence would make
> The dullest village gay;
>
> Beneath your iron rod and rule
> Find all their spirits broke...[31]

Despite, or perhaps because of, the militia's severity and the moral virtue expected of the volunteers, both companies continued to attract members, surviving into the 1860s.

In 1854, soon after the departure of the garrison and under the influence of the militaristic fervour created by the impending Crimean War, London added a new cavalry regiment to its existing volunteer companies, introduced a new rifle company, and in 1856 founded the London Field Battery.[32] The formation of these new volunteer companies in the 1850s solidified the popularity of the militia in London, allowing these organizations to assume many of the social roles previously performed by the British military.

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30 *Times*, 9 January 1846.

31 *The London Inquirer*, 4 October 1844.

32 Goodspeed, 153.

The militia companies organized bands that achieved some success in London's society. The London Independent Rifle Company was the first militia organization to form a band under the capable directorship of Herr F. Beyer.[33] Beyer first appeared in London in 1849, but soon after relocated to Woodstock, assuming control of that town's band, where "in the short space of about four months" he had drilled "a number of young men into a style of playing which would do credit to old Musicians, shewing how completely he must understand the science of Music and the formation of a band."[34] By 1851, he had returned to London and assumed control of London's first militia musical ensemble. However, the Independent Rifle Company seems to have flourished only briefly, despite favourable reviews. A rare description of perhaps their only "Grand Concert" summarizes the band's technical capabilities:

> The Band of the London Independent Rifle Company intend giving a concert of vocal and instrumental music on Tuesday evening next, in the Mechanics' Institute assisted by Herr Beyer. The Rifle Band has made very rapid progress under the able superintendance of Herr F. Beyer, and can boast of some of the best performers in the province. The well known celebrity of the above gentleman as a musician will we hope, secure a good attendance on that night.[35]

Unfortunately, soon after both Beyer and the Independent Rifle Band disappear from the newspaper reviews.

Elizabeth Spicer's *A Miscellany of London, Part II* includes the memoirs of J.W. Holland, the son of a bandsman of the 83rd Regiment, which illustrate the structure of this first militia band:

> A dozen or more of the old army musicians, some with their sons, formed a band. My father [Charles] and William McMullin and one or two others played clarinets. There were two or three cornets or conronpeaus [sic], as they were then called. James McMullin and another used opheclides, afterwards joined by Christopher Teale. Mr. Ollerenshaw played a serpent (another old-fashioned instrument). I was given an alto horn, and George McMullin a tenor horn. There was a french horn and other instruments besides the drums. Thus, I think, was the only band in the city at the time and we were kept quite busy...I don't remember when or how this battalion and band

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[33] Herr Beyer's first name does not appear in any of the newspaper reviews, nor is he mentioned in Goodspeed's history of Middlesex county. As well, his name does not appear in the Middlesex County death records, indicating he did not settle permanently in the London area.

[34] *Times*, 8 June 1849.

[35] *Times*, 22 August 1851.

broke up. They disintegrated anyway.[36]

This testimony demonstrates not only the wide range of instruments used by the ensemble, but shows how the British military influenced local musical development. Holland's father, Charles, had settled in London after marrying Miss Marjory Brown, a local citizen. Although the garrison bands provided competition for this local ensemble, possibly explaining the band's demise, their presence was instrumental in establishing a local musical tradition.

An article from *The Middlesex Prototype* of 25 March 1857 describes a renewed effort to start a militia band, and provides a unique portrayal of the procedures employed to finance such an endeavour. The column describes the proceedings of a meeting held by a select committee appointed to report on "the probable expense of musical instruments" for a new militia band. The committee, composed of officers from various militia organizations in London, discussed "some of the leading musical instrument importers in the Province and in New York," taking into consideration the price entailed for outfitting a band of sixteen to twenty performers. As well, a representative from A. and S. Nordheimer's, in Toronto, was present to explain "the advantages of some kinds of instruments over others." After deciding to purchase either English, French or German brass instruments and not silver ones (brass being the less expensive option), the committee passed several resolutions including,

> That a committee of ten members, at least, be appointed, who shall at once proceed to raise funds by subscription for the purchase of instruments and the formation and the general management of the militia band...The formation of rules, mode of raising funds, appointments in the band etc., etc., will all be within the sphere of the duties of the committee.

Although the names of those finally appointed do not survive, an interim board composed of the captains of the various militia companies in the city was appointed, including Captains Chisholm[37] and McBeth,

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[36] *A Miscellany of London, Part II*, Occasional Paper no. 24, compiled by Elizabeth Spicer (London, Ont.: London Public Libraries and Museums, 1978), 16. The opheclide was a bass instrument of the brass family consisting of a long tube, bent back on itself, and included finger keys. It was later replaced by the tuba.

[37] Probably Andrew Chisholm, who was one of the founding members of the London Mutual Fire Insurance Company, established in April 1860.

and the "Messers." Street,[38] (Thomas) Carling and Ward. It is perhaps surprising that none of the musicians, nor even the bandmaster were present, especially considering the powerful control that the committee exerted over all aspects of the band's activities. Undoubtedly, the bandmaster would be chosen as a later addition, yet it seems clear that, at least in this instance, economic interests dominated over musical concerns. In 1859, *The London Free Press* describes this new Artillery Band as "quickly becoming a London Institution"; however, the ensemble disappeared soon after the return of the Imperial Garrison in 1861. Further comments concerning the reinstatement of the military bands in London's social activities will be described later in this chapter.

In the 1860s, a typical volunteer militia ensemble featured one piccolo, four B-flat clarinets, up to six cornets (generally B-flat), three E-flat natural horns, two trombones, two tubas, one bass drum and one side drum.[39] Advertisements from London's first music store, opened by Herman Kordes in July 1853, confirm the market for these instruments among London musicians. As well as stocking pianofortes, melodeons, "accordeons," violins, violoncellos, bows, strings and rosin; his firm sold "clarionets," flutes, flutinas (piccolos), sax horns,[40] ophicleides, trombones, horns, keyed bugles, signal bugles, and "very fine cornopeans."[41] A later advertisement, mentions bugles, french horns, and fifes.[42] The store prospered until 1859, and most likely provided instruments for the city's various local bands. Ordering instruments from other stores in Canada, or the United States was also possible, as evidenced by the 1857 *Prototype* article mentioned earlier.

Spurred on by the fear of an invasion by the Fenians in the early to mid-1860s, a threat which at

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[38] Either Thomas or William. The Street family was another of the wealthy clans in London, and were on intimate terms with the Harris family.

[39] *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, ed. Helmut Kallmann, Gilles Potvin, Kenneth Winters (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 54.

[40] A surprisingly early appearance of this instrument which was invented by Adolphe Sax between 1842-45, and patented in France 1845.

[41] *Times*, 5 August 1853.

[42] *Times*, 21 October 1853.

the time was considered quite a serious challenge to national security, voluntary militia groups continued to flourish. They included Buckley's Artillery Corps, the Merchants' Rifle Company, and Major Bruce's Volunteer Corps; among the leading officers during this period was Colonel Askin and Lieutenant Colonel Lawrason.[43] A Highland Scotch military company was formed in 1862, while the local fire company, the Phoenix Fire Brigade, was converted into a Home Guard Rifle Company. Fire companies were an important institution in London. They were organized after the great fire in London of 1845 to provide more efficient service than that previously provided by the British garrison. By the early 1850s, four companies functioned in the town, each of which enjoyed a favourable social position. Manifestations of their status in the community are evidenced by the success of the annual Fire Brigade Balls and the creation of the Phoenix Band, named after the company's Phoenix fire carriage purchased in 1854. Both of these social institutions were modelled directly on the garrison's example. In 1866, the various rifle, artillery, and voluntary companies were merged into the Seventh Battalion, or the Seventh Fusiliers.[44] Amalgamating the confusing myriad of militia companies allowed the Seventh Battalion to evolve into a well organized, cohesive presence in the city.[45]

The Phoenix Fire Brigade Band flourished briefly in the late 1850s, but faced difficulties maintaining a set roster of performers, which seems to have compromised their artistic capabilities. A letter submitted to *The London Free Press* in 1858-- signed under the pseudonym "Drumstick," in response to the harsh criticisms of an earlier letter penned by "Desideratum"--outlines some of the problems faced by local ensembles:

> We do not consider ourselves perfect in the art of "sweet sounds," and would gladly be instructed as to our faults; but the letter of "Desideratum" shows that his knowledge of music is very limited and whatever faults we have, he is not the person qualified to correct them...As a band, we do believe our leader to be [in] every way qualified in his profession; and the best band teacher in *London*. We are borne out in these assertions

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[43] Goodspeed, 153-54.

[44] Goodspeed, 158.

[45] Landon, 1056. The Seventh Battalion survived into the twentieth century, participating in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, and in World War I.

> by musicians second to none in the Province.[46] If the harmony is imperfect, let "Desideratum" correct it if he can...He asks, "What have they achieved up to the present time?" We will ask him, in reply, what have we not achieved? The band was organized in October, 1855, and since that time we have gained a reputation superior to that of the much applauded Woodstock Band. The disadvantages we labor under are great. Members every now and then leave the City, and new ones take their place, thus retarding, in a great measure, the progress of the band. Only one member belonging to the band at the present time was in it at the commencement.[47]

Drumstick continues by correcting Desideratum's assertion that the Woodstock Band gave twelve concerts per year, "The Woodstock band gives only four...and latterly only two." Unfortunately, the anonymous member of the Phoenix Band fails to list the number of performances his ensemble presented each year; advertisements from *The London Free Press* and *The Middlesex Prototype* indicate that the fire brigade's band did not regularly schedule a concert series. The Phoenix Band continued to perform, mainly at the fire company's annual balls held in April, until 1860, when the last mention of the band in a London paper appears. Presumably, the group disbanded soon after.

Finally, between 1861 and 1869, the British army again stationed companies in London. These included the 63rd, 47th, 53rd, 29th, 16th and the 69th regiments, a battery of artillery, sappers and miners and a hospital ambulance corps.[48] They immediately resumed their participation in London's musical and theatrical scene; however, the public reaction to these renewed artistic endeavours demonstrate the changes that had taken place in London's society during their absence. Efforts to revive the garrison farces were not well received, perhaps reflecting a change in the public's theatrical tastes. However, the military bands immediately regained their former distinction in London, participating perhaps even more actively in public sphere music.

Throughout this period, London maintained a strong connection with the military. The flourishing

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[46] Drumstick describes either William, James or George McMullen, although J.W. Holland claims his father "organized and conducted" the fireman's band. The *History of the County of Middlesex* claims "Mr Sheiller, a German," organized the band in 1858, but most likely refers to Mr. Schiller who attempted to establish another militia band in the mid-1850s. This latter impresario will be introduced in chapter four.

[47] *London Free Press*, 8 January 1858.

[48] Bremner, 50.

of both British military and local militia organizations exerted a powerful impact on the character of the city, especially in the upper-middle class element of London who held a strong affinity for these institutions. Benjamin Clarke's *A Case Study of the London Elite* verifies this connection, primarily in relation to the dominant role London's prominent families played in controlling the militia's governance.[49] Such a conclusion would support Orlo Miller's assertion that the departure of the garrison in 1853 went almost unnoticed.[50] London's developing economic boom, fuelled by the Great Western Railway's arrival in the city, serves as the primary explanation. Thus, the city's economy had diversified to such an extent that it was no longer so entirely dependant on the Imperial Garrison. Furthermore, after 1853, London's elite was able to transfer its allegiance from the British military to its own local alternative. By assuming control of high ranking positions, the local upper-middle class could infuse the new militia units with the same level of prestige as had been accorded to the garrison.

The various voluntary militia groups most certainly flourished in reaction to external forces: in this early period they were most active in 1837, 1853 and in the 1860s, all periods when either the threat of invasion or the absence of the Imperial Garrisons left the city in a more or less vulnerable state. Despite these factors, the success of the militia tradition and its longevity are at least partially due to reasons other than political expediency. The social prestige accorded to these institutions by the upper-middle class accounted for much of their popularity.[51] The militia soon replaced the garrison as an essential pillar supporting London's social network by continuing the traditions established by their military fore-runners and populating prominent offices in the various local militia organizations with members of the upper-middle class. Thus, with the departure of the garrison prominent Londoners used the militia as another important means of defining their standing in the city's social hierarchy.

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[49] Benjamin F. Clarke, "Case Study of the London Elite" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1978), 206.

[50] Orlo Miller, "The Fat Years and the Lean: London (Canada) in Boom and Depression, 1851-61," *Ontario History*, vol. 53 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 76.

[51] Clarke, 205.

Within the London's artistic circles, the British Garrison quickly established a thriving musical tradition unequalled by the city's neighbouring communities. The financial stability afforded by the military allowed the garrison bands to achieve almost a professional level of proficiency, yet they were most definitely amateur organizations--after all, defending the British possessions from internal or external threats was their primary function. Aside from regular drill exercises the duties of the garrisons in London were relatively light and thus an active role in London's society was easily managed. The close affiliation between upper class and the military meant that the former could more or less dictate usage of the military bands, thus control their participation in both public and representative spheres. Despite stable financial backing, the military bands still had to secure an audience in order to survive artistically. The militia, which also held strong ties with London's upper-middle class, relied even more heavily on this regional elite to sustain their artistic presence in the city. However, these ensembles faced difficulties in securing funding, maintaining a set roster of performers and even in assuring their survival. The return of the less expensive garrison bands forced the militia and the Phoenix groups to disband. London had a head start on its musical development in comparison to other Southwestern Ontario communities, yet the influence of the elite dictated the forum within which they performed and in a sense contained its development. In the following chapters, musical and theatrical presentations given in London will be analysed more fully; demonstrating that for London's wealthy and influential families, public performance--one might say music for music's sake--was not the preferred option. Instead, music in the service of political or social agendas, both essential characteristics of the representative sphere, was favoured.

CHAPTER III

THE GARRISON YEARS, 1838-1853

Contemporary newspapers provide an ideal representation of the music available to London audiences and the manner in which it was presented during the first garrison period, 1838 to 1853. These documents span most of the period in question, chronicling the town's social as well as physical development. The diary of Charlotte Owen Harris, written between 1848 and 1851, offers a rare glimpse at the participation of the upper-middle class in and their impressions of these forms of entertainment. Drawing from these sources, one can form a reasonably clear impression of the musical activities that took place in London during the mid-nineteenth century.

The theatre, initiated by the garrison's Theatre Royal, was one of the earliest forms of entertainment to appear in London. The first advertisement of such an event appeared in December 1839:

> We are requested to state that the Garrison Theatre at this place will be opened on Monday the 16th instant, when the Officers will perform the Comedy of *Sweethearts and Wives*, and *Bombastes Furioso*--Further particulars will be given next week.[1]

Unfortunately, the ensuing editions do not survive, making any analysis of the event's success or uncovering any "further particulars" about the performance impossible. The choice of two comedies for the inaugural performance heralds future trends, as virtually all of the following theatrical seasons pursued a similar agenda of presenting burlesques, farces and comedies. Usually two or occasionally three plays were presented at each performance, which, as a rule, were shown for only one evening and not repeated.

Presumably, much of the comic appeal of these shows was found in the characterization. All female roles were taken by the military officers whose gender transformation was sometimes executed with great success:

> "Emma Leslie," [from *Nabob for an Hour*] (Mr. Lyons, Royals) wore the petticoats with an ease and grace well becoming the character. Every emotion, every gesture, and movement, indicated a familiarity with the peculiarities of womankind, that does not fall to the lot of most men. Had we not known that he was a *man*, it would have been almost

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[1] *The London Gazette*, 7 December 1839.

impossible to have convinced me to the contrary.[2]

The critique of another female character from this same evening is less laudatory:

> "Lucy," (Mr Wells, Royals,) from her queer figure and dress excited considerable mirth. We did not discover anything in her acting worthy of note.

Perhaps more interesting is the fact that many officers, regardless of rank, took part in these productions. This suggests an interesting levelling effect, again often in the service of comic appeal. In this same performance of 15 February 1843, a certain Captain Caddy, R.A., played "Sam Savoury, the prince of cooks," and his "vulgar obesity and natural assurance" were apparently "quite *apropos*."

Although the performances tended to be light-hearted the garrison took these affairs seriously, expending much time and effort on their productions. In 1841, a review from the *Gazette* indicates that the Royal Regiment had a pending debt to be paid off to cover the expense of the theatre.[3] In 1842, during the inaugural season of the newly arrived 14th regiment, the *London Inquirer* states that the "Amateurs have been at considerable expense in fitting up the Theatre for the accommodation of the Public," which "earned for themselves no inconsiderable share in public estimation."[4] Surviving reviews and advertisements indicate that the military produced at least two shows in 1841, four in 1842, two in 1843 and four in 1844. In this latter year, local amateurs began participating and, as will be discussed later, essentially supplanted the garrison in controlling London's public theatre for the next three years.

The theatre's "season" is discussed in some of the articles and reviews, but the plays generally did not take place in a rigidly set pattern. The majority of performances were presented in late December and January, while performances as early as October and as late as April are recorded. In the 1844-1845 "season," performances occurred in November (1844) and September and October (1845). These latter shows, which enlisted the services of local amateurs, exhibit a divergence from the military's influence in scheduling performances. In general, the theatricals were probably presented at the garrison's convenience,

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2 *The London Herald*, 18 February 1843.

3 *Gazette*, 2 January 1841.

4 *The London Inquirer*, 28 October 1842.

and depended heavily on the dedication of the particular regiment stationed in the town.

Music appears to have been an integral feature of these early theatricals. Traditionally, the band of the regiment hosting the evening's entertainment would play at the entr'acte; additional background music may also have been provided for the performance. These musical inclusions were always reviewed most favourably in surviving critiques. In a *Gazette* review from 2 January 1841, the musical interlude is described: "The music, which consisted of the Band of the Royals, was as might be expected appropriate and beautiful." The *London Herald*, 18 February 1843, describes the "noble band of the Royals'" who apparently "delighted the audience with several beautiful orchestral pieces at intervals, and contributed not a little to [the] enchanted pleasures of the evening." In the *London Times* of 19 March 1847, "the music of the gallant 82nd Regt's Band lent its powerful aid in carrying through the night's entertainment, to the complete satisfaction of a numerous audience. " Given such ingeniously worded platitudes, it is tempting, especially in the case of the latter *Times* review, to conclude that the musical element may have been the highlight of the evening.

The *Herald*'s review of 18 February, 1843, also includes a rare glimpse of the structure of these musical interludes:

> Between the first and after piece [*Nabob for an Hour* and *Fish out of Water*] the audience were [sic] entertained by several popular glees, which were remarkably well sung, by a noble band of gypsies dressed in character. They were vociferously "encored," and kindly complied with the unanimous wish of the audience. *The Troubadour*, and *The Poachers* were sung with excellent effect.

The reviewer of another set of performances, in late December 1847, comments briefly on the interlude and claims that "different amusements, such as music, dancing and so forth, enlivened the evening between pieces (*Aspiring Farmer* and *The Mysteries of Odd Fellowship*).[5] These performances seem to have been quite diverse, providing musical accompaniment that most likely suited the character of the theatrical pieces. Despite these well-received musical inclusions, the dramatic presentation held a superior position and any surviving review devotes more attention to the drama than to the entr'acte entertainment.

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[5] *London Times and General Advertiser*, 31 December 1847.

The volunteer militia seems to have experimented with theatricals at least once as well. The notice advertising this particular event states that the artillery, cavalry and rifle companies, along with the band of the 82nd regiment will perform *Lady of the Lake; Love, Law and Physic* and the *Soldier's Return*, as well as presenting "an original prologue, written by a gentleman of this place."[6] The latter is perhaps the first example of a theatre piece written in London. Fortunately the text survives, as presented and most likely penned by a Mr. Powell:

> What! talk of giving't up? Why, zounds you're mad!
> We've better prospects *now* than e'er we had!
> I tell thee, nonsense! there are here enough
> To patronize us--wherefore then such stuff?
> Stuff! yes! i'faith! just look! was ever known
> So good a house? why man! we've half the town!
> And more than *that*, we've all the beauty [and] is
> Waiting to give *applause*--if you but win it
> You talk at random! sitting at your ease!
> And say tis useless our attempts to please:--
> That since the days of Roebuck, Street & Currie
> All taste is gone, and we but fret and worry
> Ourselves in vain--I tell thee, we have here
> As good as they, the "*buskin*" yet to wear!
> "*You're but noviciates* [sic]" well, this all we'll own
> But when each does his *best*, more *can't* be done!
> Perchance next night, our Bill of Fare will give
> Some "new recruits" to hit the drama live
> For I have heard there's some "can fret their hour
> Upon the stage," as we have done before
> And they are here!--whoever yet has reckoned
> Without his "*host*"! the gallant Eighty Second!
> "The 82nd! heavens"! I hear you say,
> "Are here tonight?" then we our best must play
> To you, my friends! who wait on our "*debut*"
> We look for favor, whilst your smiles we sue,
> Not conscious of our faults, the critic's *art*
> Perchance may find a *flaw* in every part
> Well then! What more? my friends in "*green*" and "*blue*"
> We are but "*volunteers*" as well as you![7]

While original sources reveal the type of plays that were performed, establishing who attended these presentations proves more difficult. The majority of the reviews from the period state that "the house

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[6] *Times*, 10 July 1846.

[7] *Times*, 17 July 1846.

was well attended," and often includes by a "respectable audience." These comments offer few clues indicating the class structure of the audience. Similarly, the Harris diaries offer no comments as to the nature of these early performances. A letter does survive, sent to Mrs. John Harris from Colonel Richard Airey (the nephew and heir to Thomas Talbot), dated 13 May 1844, inquiring whether Amelia attended the theatricals and "found them entertaining and stimulating"; however, Airey comments that he did not appreciate them in the least and "found them wanting as entertainment endeavours."[8] Amelia's reply, unfortunately, does not survive. References, however, can be obtained from contemporary newspapers. The earliest surviving review of a garrison theatrical describes one incident that occurred on Tuesday, 29 December 1840:

> In fact the amusement of the evening passed off well, and the audience seemed well pleased; but in reference to the accommodation of visitors to public exhibitions of this sort, we would remark [that] there should be no exclusiveness shown. We think it very unfair for example to open one door, which is known to a select few, and give them admission to a choice of seats, while others at the main entrance are kept waiting after the hour; and even more unfair to object to individuals of respectability taking possession of certain seats after being admitted; nay, establish a Sentry to keep them out, because they have been reserved for certain Officers of the Garrison...Yet such we understand was the fact on the above occasion, and that even Ladies were objected to occupying the three or four seats kept vacant: in fact in two instances [they were] turned out of them in pursuance of the orders given to the Sentry.[9]

This affair seems to indicate that people of "respectability" did attend these shows, but the fact that only three or four seats were reserved for this class of citizen is perhaps more telling. Another review from the following season comments on the seating policy:

> With reference to the accommodations in the Theatre, we are assured by one of the officers connected with the performance, that both doors were simultaneously thrown open; and that one of the seats had been reserved for Colonel Wetherall. The misunderstanding then, consisted in not knowing that a seat had been reserved,--or even then, in not knowing which one it was. The seats are all alike; and this one [Col. Wetherall's] is in the midst of the rest; hence it is natural for any person seeing the vacant seat, to possess himself of it;...Private seats for the convenience of families, or

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[8] "Harris Family Papers," a letter from Col. R. Airey of the 34th Regiment to Mrs. John Harris, 13 May 1844. J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London; quoted from James L. Henderson, "A Study of the British Garrison in London, Canada West (Later Ontario), 1838-1896 (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1967), 25-6.

[9] *Gazette*, 2 January 1841.

> even a small circle of friends, are really necessary; or rather it is more pleasant for them to sit together than to be scattered about at random; ...it is certainly annoying to the feelings of a gentleman--to say nothing of a lady--who being rather delicate about intruding upon those which are occupied lest he should meet with a repulse, to be turned out of all the vacant ones in succession.[10]

Although the reviewer concludes that the rule of commerce stating "all having paid equal...*are equal*" should be strictly enforced in this case, his call for a fixed seating plan or different prices for reserved seating shows a more reasonable solution--one which was more representative of the typical seating plan for nineteenth-century audiences in North America. The absence of theatre boxes, or even a dress circle, as confirmed by this *Gazette* review, and the democratic "first come first serve" seating policy in effect would likely not have appealed to London's wealthy families. Austin Caswell, a musicologist who has analysed popular music in nineteenth-century American culture, comments that in the United States, theatres routinely employed a segregation policy in seating, often using different street entrances to denote a hierarchy among its patrons.[11] The presence of various classes within the theatre was seen as acceptable, mainly out of financial necessity on the theatre's part, but some sort of division between class groupings was necessary in order to ensure the attendance of a community's elite. Although Caswell comments specifically on theatrical and musical traditions in the United States, a similar condition could be proposed in regards to London's audiences at the time. One might presume, then, that this form of entertainment might not have been particularly attractive to London's wealthy families. Subsequent theatrical ventures in the 1850s, to be described in the following chapter, worked towards amending these seating policies in order to attract a wider range of classes.

The single performance presented by the militia, in 1846, as reviewed in the 17 July issue of the *London Times*, provides a brief description of the audience composition. It claims that "the house was a bumper, graced by the beauty and fashion of the town and neighborhood--a full muster of the 82nd were

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[10] *Gazette*, 9 January 1841.

[11] Austin Caswell, "Jenny Lind's Tour of America: A Discourse of Gender and Class," *Festa Musicologica, Essays in Honour of George J. Buelow*, ed. Thomas Mathiesen and Benito Rivera (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995), 321.

present." This review affords the clearest picture of the audience composition during this period and although the presence of London's "beauty and fashion" could be open to various interpretations, it seems likely that the town's elite considered this a worthy entertainment.

Other issues probably tempered the attendance at these early garrison productions, including the suitability of the play's subject matter. Many of the productions were based on social satire and might not be considered appropriate for a discriminating audience. An article in the *London Times* broaches this issue:

> It has been said, and it is the general opinion of many, that the Theatre had the tendency of corrupting the morals of youth and of leading them to dissipate their time and thought upon subjects in themselves frivolous and trifling, to the exclusion of duties of a higher and more instructive kind.[12]

The author continues by defending the dramatic tradition as one that "yields amusements both instructive and pleasurable," and comments on the high moral tenor of the featured performances. Again, the audience is described as "crowded by a very highly respectable company" despite the fact that "if anything the weather was unpropitious." Describing a standard audience at these early performances proves difficult, but given the success of the performances in the early part of the military's stay in London and the status that they enjoyed within the community, the audience most likely included a range of classes. There are indications, however, that the seating policy and the questionable content of the performances would have perhaps deterred some upper-middle class citizens.[13]

In the midst of these garrison productions an interesting amateur, non-military drama troupe seems

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[12] *Times*, 31 December 1847.

[13] David Grimstad's article "Melodrama as Echo of the Historically Voiceless," provides a convincing case explaining the appeal of Melodrama for nineteenth-century American audiences. The crux of his argument describes this theatrical form as a strong proponent of democratic ideology, "The melodrama taught that knowledge and virtue came from the intuitive impulses that Nature vouchsafed the uncorrupted heart. Feeling was the certain guide to truth, and the simplest man had access to it as readily as the greatest." Although this study applies directly to audiences in the United States, a similar reading of the melodrama could possibly have occurred for London's audiences. If so, the elite would not have shared in this elevated idealization of democracy. Such a factor would apply to later amateur productions (described in the following paragraph) that introduced melodramas to London.

David Grimstad, "Melodrama as Echo of the Historically Voiceless," *Anonymous Americans: Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Social History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 88.

to have flourished briefly. In January of the 1844 season a notice appears in the *London Inquirer* advertising a garrison production of *Oliver Twist, or the Parish Boy's Progress*, a somewhat rare appearance of a theatre piece that was not a farce or a comedy. A notice just below, using the same Theatre Royal letterhead, introduces "the much admired play" *The Heir at Law*, followed by "the laughable farce *High Life Below the Stars* (it should read "Stairs")."[14] These latter productions, presented by a group calling itself the "Gentlemen Amateurs," seems to be the first local attempt at establishing a non-military dramatic society. On 1 February, the garrison performed Richard Sheridan's *The Rivals* and revived *Bombastes Furioso*, relying on "the valuable assistance of the Gentlemen Amateurs of London."[15] Finally, in a review from 15 November 1844, of the Gentlemen Amateur's production of the "tragic drama" *Gambler's Fate*, a husband-and-wife team, Mr. and Mrs. Powell, are mentioned for the first time.[16] These two are praised highly in the review; Mr. John H. Powell apparently deserved the highest commendation for "getting up the piece," while Julia, his wife, "acquitted herself to admiration."[17] As well, the newspaper outlines the diversity of the Powell's Entr'acte entertainment:

> The Gentlemen Amateurs sustained their parts exceedingly well, and we may say with more than their usual tact and spirit. After the [first] representation, Mr. Powell treated the audience with a view of Statuary, which we have not seen equalled in this country, it was after the style of Duerow...The house was the fullest and gayest we have yet seen.

Criticism is rare in these early newspaper reviews; thus the comments directed at the company could perhaps be an indication of their questionable acting capabilities. However, the praise given to the Powells, who had previously assisted in garrison productions in Kingston and Toronto, was probably well deserved.[18] Although they have been called "London's earliest resident professionals," there are

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[14] *Inquirer*, 5 January 1844.

[15] *Inquirer*, 26 January 1844.

[16] *Inquirer*, 15 November 1844.

[17] Mrs. Powell has the distinction of being the first female to act on a London stage.

[18] Herman Goodden and Michael Baker, *Curtain Rising: The History of Theatre in London* (Aylmer, Ont.: The Aylmer Express Limited, 1993), 7.

indications that the theatre was not their only employment. Newspaper advertisements from the *London Times*, beginning on 25 July 1845, indicate that J.H. Powell had purchased the Old Bee-Hive Inn, on the corner of York and Richmond, and renamed the hotel the Victoria Cottage Inn. Whether this was the same Mr. Powell cannot be positively confirmed--Powell's first name never appears in the newspaper reviews--but the Victoria Cottage Inn advertisement announces that a "Free and Easy will be given every Monday evening at 8 o'clock" where "the social sons of wit and humour are respectfully invited to attend," suggests a theatrical connection. Compared with the formal tone of the established London hotels, such as the Mansion House or Robinson Hotel, the announcement is rather unexpected.

Further developments in 1845 establish a firmer connection. On 14 March 1845, an article from *The London Times* announced that construction of a new theatre was under consideration:

> We understand from good authority that a Building is contemplated, which is to be devoted to the Drama.
>
> "To useful mirth and salutary woe"
>
> We are glad to hear this; the Drama, properly represented, is not only a rational, but a very useful amusement. We have no doubt of its success, as it will be under the superintendence of Mr Powell. It could not be in better hands.

By 3 October an advertisement had appeared in *The Times* indicating that plans for the "Victoria Theatre" were well under way, and proposals for the "building of a theatre in a central situation in this town" would be received by Mr. Powell and a "Committee of Management" at the Victoria Cottage Inn. This establishes clearly that the Powells who owned the hotel were, in fact, the instigators of London's first amateur theatrical company. Despite the creation of construction plans and the formation of a "select" building committee, the public edifice was not constructed.[19] The Powells continued to produce plays now under the title of the Olympic Theatre, presumably located at the garrison's Theatre Royal. By 5 December 1845, the ensemble had transformed into the "Shakespeare Club" and under this name performed at least five more plays in 1846, three of which were benefits for the Powells. This last benefit, on 2 October 1846, is the final appearance of the club; after this point, and despite favourable reviews, the

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[19] It is perhaps ironic that London's first music hall was constructed on this corner twenty years later in 1865.

company seems to have disbanded. The Powells continued to perform a brief while longer and, perhaps as an attempt to attract larger audiences, began using the military at the close of this season--using the 81st band on their second benefit of 1 May 1846; and the 82nd band on 17 March 1847, their apparent final appearance on the London stage in "Theatricals and Relief for Ireland."[20] In this latter performance, amateurs from London were employed, but under the title "Amateur Society." Soon after, their names disappear from the newspaper reviews and presumably they left London. An isolated advertisement appears in the 17 December 1847 *London Times*, describing a performance by the London Dramatic Society, but this is the final listing of this group, and for almost ten years local theatrical productions in London were virtually non-existent.

A review from the *London Times* of 19 March 1847, suggests a potential cause of the theatre's waning popularity in London:

> The Drama--one of the most innocent, and at the same time one of the most intellectual sources of amusement, should at all times receive the support of an enlightened community, and kept up in London chiefly by the exertions of Amateurs, it is to be regretted that the encouragement they look forward to is usually doled out with a niggard hand. Instead of a sharp, caustic criticism, they should receive, at least, the thanks and approbation of those whom they endeavour to amuse.[21]

The demise of the Powell's brief role in London's entertainment sphere seems to have been mirrored by the garrison theatricals. There are no surviving reviews or advertisements for the 1848-1853 seasons, either resulting from an apathetic stance towards theatricals on the part of the later regiments stationed in London, or because the garrison theatricals had become so poorly attended that they were no longer practical. Similar explanations could be posited to account for the apparent failure of the Powells's scheme. In addition, the devastating effects of the 1845 fire, which levelled at least two hundred buildings in the downtown core, perhaps made entertainment a lesser priority.[22] However, the fire began on 13

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[20] The donations in aid of the Irish famine victims were exacted by members of the board of police, who "rigidly adhered to it in this instance!"

[21] *Times*, 19 March 1847.

[22] Goodden, *et al.*, 7. Gooden claims that the fire was a likely cause for the Powell's artistic demise in the city.

April 1845, and the plans for construction were well under way six months after this event; furthermore, the Powells continued to perform for at least another two years. Undoubtedly, the fire complicated the planning of any entertainment facility as other buildings were needed, including houses, businesses and places of worship. It is possible that the garrison theatre, which had a more stable financial basis, provided too much competition, but both traditions seem to have ended almost at the same time. For the Gentlemen Amateurs another downfall may have been that Mr. and Mrs. Powell alone provided much of the management, artistic vision and talent.

A handbill survives from one of the early Gentlemen Amateur performances and provides an interesting glimpse at the configuration of the acting troupe. The 17 December 1844 production of *Heir at Law* and *High Life Below the Stairs* reveals an impressive cast that includes the sons of many of London's foremost families.[23] Mr. Henry Corry Rowley Becher and Mr. James Shanly, both lawyers, performed, while Mr. John Askin, Mr. Charles Leonard, Mr. William Street, and Mr. Graves Simcoe Lee were included in both performances. All these men were heirs to London's successful businesses or were slated for the legal professions.[24] An anecdote survives concerning Mr. Lee, son of Dr. Hiram Davis Lee (a physician who had bought the home of Peter MacGregor), that occurred during the second farce, *High Life Below the Stairs*. Apparently Graves Simcoe Lee had taken the part of "Chloe," and Dr. Lee, who had planned to prepare his son for a career in law, was less than pleased. The father was so enraged that he interrupted his son's debut by physically yanking him from the stage and marching him home.[25] Graves Simcoe Lee eventually returned to the stage, as both an actor and playwright, and forged a career in both Canada and the United States that spanned forty-five years.[26] Lee was able to pursue a successful career in the theatre, but the other "gentlemen" involved did not share a similar goal. With a corps of

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[23] Goodden, *et al.*, 6.

[24] It is perhaps interesting that the term esquire does not appear after these names.

[25] Archie Bremmer, *City of London Ontario, Canada* (London, Ont.: The London Print and Lithographing Company, 1900; reprint, London, Ont.: London Public Library, 1967), 32.

[26] Goodden, *et al.*, 7.

actors who most likely had no intention of planning for a career on the stage--a sentiment probably felt or indeed demanded by their parents--the Powells would not have had a very dependable set of actors on which to rely. Furthermore, a strong connection between the offspring of London's elite and the failure of the theatre seems evident. Presumably, as they grew older and entered into professional life, the theatre assumed secondary importance.

The final review of the Powell's "Theatricals and Relief for Ireland" provides a further proof of the instability of the various amateur societies in London:

> We remark that these gentlemen who have made their appearance for the second or third time, exhibited a decided improvement on old times; some of them indeed, give good promise of making very respectable performers...While the juniors, presenting less conspicuous characters, we would say with the best intention, that although at [times] they did remarkably well, they shewed...that they did not possess the intimate acquaintance with their parts so essential to excelling in the higher traits of acting.[27]

Even after performing regularly in London for almost four years, the Powells had assembled a group with only very limited experience.

Public concerts in this early period of London's social evolution were held infrequently and featured, at least until the late 1840s, only travelling performers. The first of these that survives in contemporary newspapers occurred on 8 December 1840 when Mr. and Mrs. L.A. Burriss, "vocalists, reciters, dancers, equilibrists, etc." appeared.[28] As well, a concert was held on 2 December 1845 by M. and Mme. Canderbeech who were the "best practitioners on the violin and harp that ever visited this town," although, in the article advertising this event, the reviewer admits to a very limited knowledge of music.[29] On 25 February 1846, a vocal and instrumental concert was given by Baron de Fleur, the former conductor of music for the Emperor of Russia, and J.D. Humphreys, of the Royal Academy of Music. Amateurs from Toronto and "elsewhere," as well as the 81st Band contributed their services.[30] At least two

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[27] *Times*, 19 March 1847.

[28] *Inquirer*, 8 December 1840.

[29] *Times*, 28 November 1845.

[30] *Times*, 20 February 1846.

performances were held in London in 1847. The first, on 2 January, featured Messrs. Ambrose and Chapman and was apparently well attended, with all parties being "highly gratified," including the promoters who made a "handsome amount of proceeds." Charles Ambrose was a pianist from Toronto, while Chapman had performed at the Concerts of Ancient Music in London, England and was employed in the Royal Chapel. Their programme included music by Henry Bishop, Gioacchino Rossini and a composition written by Chapman.[31] The second, offered by a Mr. Mooney, was advertised not by his talents nor his choice of music, but by stating that "many of the officers of the Garrison will patronize this gentleman's entertainment--we have no doubt it will be a brilliant assemblage"; [32] enticing people to this concert by mentioning the garrison's presence, and not the musical selections on the programme, was perhaps a wise advertising ploy at the time. Unfortunately, descriptions of Mooney's programme or the configuration of the ensemble do not survive. Another two performers appeared in 1848, Rev. J. Durand, lecturing on music, and Mrs. Stevens, the "celebrated pianist." 1849 offered three travelling shows: Gardiner's Musical Entertainment, a touring theatrical troupe who would return to London in the 1850s; the Messrs. Distin who introduced the town to the sax horn;[33] and a Mr. Arthurson, who apparently had appeared in the theatres of Italy, France, and England, and performed to a "somewhat small but respectable audience."[34] The Messrs. George Strathy (piano), Henry Schallen (violin), and James Dodsley Humphreys (vocal) performed on 12 August 1850 at the Mechanics' Institute.[35] Also on 31 December,

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[31] *Times*, 8 January 1847.

[32] *Times*, 30 April 1847.

[33] Henry and John Distin led a brass quintet composed entirely of their own family members. They also ran a publishing house that would later be taken over by Boosey and Company (1868). The Distins were the first group to employ the sax horn--they knew Adolphe Sax personally--and they toured widely throughout Europe and North America promoting this newly invented instrument. The sax horn was patented in 1845, so the appearance of the Distins in London in 1849 is significant.

[34] *Times*, 2 November 1849. The concert occurred on 9 November.

[35] *Times*, 2 August 1850. These men were active in Toronto's music scene in the 1840s and 1850s. Strathy conducted the Toronto Philharmonic Society between 1849-50, Schallen was also active in the society and is thought to have composed music as well, and Humphreys taught extensively and was active in producing oratorios in Toronto between 1853-73.

the Messrs. Vaulieu, Wilson and Granton presented a vocal and instrumental concert at the Town Hall.[36] In 1851, a Scottish musical entertainment was "got up" at Robinson Hall, by a Mr. McIntyre and his wife.[37] Reviews from the next year indicate that the Mechanics' Institute held two concerts: on 7 January 1852 a Mohawk family, under charge of Mr. Youmans, presented a musical performance and a Mr. R.G. Paige, and his daughter Georgina, both from Ireland, sang a selection of vocal music that included an aria from Giuseppe Verdi's *Ernani*.[38] In 1853, Mrs. Lawrie, a local professor and teacher of music, held a concert with the assistance of Gentlemen Amateurs;[39] and Signor Martinez performed on guitar, accompanied by Herman Kordes on piano.[40] Finally, perhaps the most significant visitor to appear in London was Anna Bishop, wife of Sir Henry Rowley Bishop, who performed on 27 October 1853.

London appears to have played host to a reasonable number of travelling performers; however, such visitors were common in other Ontario communities.[41] These performers worked a circuit in each area and it is unlikely that they made special visits to London. Although detailed surveys of other local centres do not exist, Anna Bishop is known to have performed in Ottawa as well during her tour.[42] London's minor standing in the touring circuit is perhaps most vividly demonstrated by the fact that North America's most successful travelling performer, Jenny Lind, appeared in Toronto between 21 and 23

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[36] *The Canadian Free Press*, 3 January 1851.

[37] *Canadian Free Press*, 23 October 1851. The concert was held on 27 October.

[38] *Canadian Free Press*, 8 January and 10 June 1852. The latter review includes the programme featured at the 14 June concert.

[39] *Times*, 5 August 1853.

[40] *Middlesex Prototype*, 21 September, 1853. Kordes' contribution to London's music scene will be discussed later in this chapter, and in chapter four.

[41] Helmut Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 69.

[42] Lucien Brault, *Ottawa Old and New* (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946), 291.

October 1852, but by-passed London.[43] Bishop, on the other hand, toured extensively throughout Europe, North America, the Caribbean, South and Central America, South Africa, Australia and the Far East;[44] thus a visit to London, Canada West, is perhaps not extraordinary. Furthermore, the halls that sponsored these performers seem to have gained only small financial benefits from the visits; Goodspeed's history of Middlesex County indicates that in 1843, the Messrs. Raymond, Rivers and Company paid only four dollars for their first performance at the Mechanics' Institute, and one dollar for each succeeding night.[45]

Again, it is difficult to establish who attended these concerts. Charlotte Owen Harris's diary does not record patronizing any of the above performers.[46] A review of the McIntyre's Scottish entertainment from the *Canadian Free Press* provides a rare description of those who attended:

> We give full credit for his [McIntyre's] decided course in putting an end to the 'noise' of some of our 'gentle folk,' who evidently imagined that the entertainment was got up for their display. Mr. McIntyre showed in this a proper respect for himself and for those who had [trusted] to him and his lady only, for the evening's entertainment.[47]

Perhaps this rowdyism was only an isolated event, but one detects a desire on the "gentle folk's" part to transform this public concert into more of a representative sphere-type occasion. Instead of the quiet

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[43] A letter from the 17 April, 1851, issue of the *Free Press* decries the level of visiting exhibits at the Mechanics' Institute. His criticism was caused by a recent visit from the P.T. Barnum circus exhibition which featured a "hydrocephalic negro boy," which he found most distasteful. The anonymous writer called for higher quality in the guest performers who graced the town, specifically asking for Jenny Lind. J.W. Holland claims Lind gave one performance at the Royal Exchange Hall, however, evidence for this does not survive in local newspapers. He probably refers to Anna Bishop's concert.

[44] Nicholas Temperley, "Bishop [nee Riviere], Anna," *New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 12, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishing, 1980), 741.

[45] *History of the County of Middlesex, Canada* (London, Ont.: W.A. and C.L. Goodspeed, 1889; reprint edition, Belleville, Ont.: Mika Studios, 1972), 359. Unfortunately, references to this performance troupe, which visited London on 2 October 1843, do not survive in London's newspapers. The standard price for tickets to such performances were generally around twenty-five cents, while ball tickets could reach up to three dollars, as was the case for the 1844 Mechanics' Ball.

[46] Charlotte mentions attending only one performance, on 2 November, 1849, however, the concert seems to have been a student's recital, which featured her sister, Helen, as one of the performers. Charlotte comments that "the room was crowded," but complains that there was too much music.

The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views of the 19th Century, ed. R.S. and T.G. Harris (Toronto: Champlain Society in Co-operation with the Government of Ontario, 1994), 22.

[47] *Canadian Free Press*, 23 October 1851.

attentiveness expected of a concert audience, the unruly contingent at this particular performance might have sought to draw attention to themselves, thereby imitating the hierarchical principles of the representative sphere (where the music plays a secondary role and the emphasis is instead placed on the prestige of those who attend). It seems evident, in this case, that London audiences were not familiar with the standard procedures expected of an audience at a public concert.

On a local level, far fewer concerts appear to have been organized. One of these rare performances, reviewed in the 27 May 1843 issue of the *London Herald*, describes perhaps the only public concert given by the garrison during this period. The concert, held at the Mechanics' Institute, marked the departure of the Royal Regiment from London. What is perhaps most exciting about this concert is the presence of a "Philharmonic Society" which was incorporated six months before the performance; but unfortunately this association was "composed of the members of the band, sergeants, etc., of the Royal Regiment." The removal of the garrison, therefore, meant the society would be discontinued.[48] The evening's entertainment consisted of a mixture of band and vocal music and the detailed review, though lengthy, provides an accurate representation of this early performance:

> The first piece, *Fra Diavolo*, was performed by the excellent band of the Royals, with remarkable taste and concord; indeed, though an old favorite of our own, one which we have heard always with particular delight, the combination of the trumpet and other brass instruments occasionally, in the progress of the piece, gave it an effect, to our ears, of singular grandeur and harmony.
>
> "Round my own pretty Rose," was sung by the whole choir in excellent voice and time, with accompaniments on the piano by a gentleman of the society. "My native Highland Home," was sung remarkably well by a colour sergeant, and elicited the approbation of the audience by loud plaudits. *Mother Wagtail's Party*, a comic glee, was sung by four men of the band with very good effect, the whole house evidently appreciating the jolly humor of the piece. It was encored, and kindly repeated. The *Huntsman's Chorus* closed the first part of the performance, and was followed by an interlude, by the band in a set of Waltzes, of whose merit we are utterly incompetent to form an opinion, the intricacy and diversity of sounds, being, to our inexperienced ears, nothing more nor less than a delightful confusion. The *Troubadour*, by about twenty voices, went off well. *The Minute Gun at Sea*, one of the best duets of the old school, was sung by two of the band tolerably well; the *prima* being rather out of voice from the previous exertion. The laughable trio of the *School-master*, was very effectively accomplished: the little *scholars* acquitting themselves of their share in the fun with truth

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[48] The article indicates that some of the members were instrumental in forming the first choir at St. Paul's church. However, only two amateurs, who remain anonymous, participated in the service.

> and nature.
>
> *Will Watch the Bold Smuggler*, an excellent ditty went off satisfactorily. *The Poacher*, with a full chorus, was very well received, as it deserved to be. Another set of Waltzes by the band closed the second part.
>
> Next came a glee, *The Watchman*, by three gentleman amateurs, accompanied by the piano. In consequence of a severe cold, the basso voice was not in harmony, and the diffidence of the treble was manifest. However, it went off tolerably well.
>
> *The Days When We Went Gipsying*, in full chorus was capital, lively and cheering. The air is very spirited, and sung as it was, by so competent a choir, was remarkably pleasing.
>
> The glee--*The Wreath, or Shepherds, Tell Me Have You Seen*, a beautiful arrangement, and so sweet an air, was not so well sung...The Comic chorus--*Laughing Trio*, of course excited the risibilities [sic] of all present by mere sympathy. It was sung by four of the band, and gave so much delight as to elicit an "encore"... Lastly *God Save the Queen* was sung, all standing, with the same thrilling effect it has always produced in British hearts.
>
> After the concert, the singers in a body, preceded by a lanthorn [sic], marched in order to the barracks through Dundas Street, singing *The Days When We went Gipsying*, to the great delight of the inhabitants.[49]

Although the evening was apparently successful, no other public performances of this nature occurred in the 1840s. Only one other reference survives concerning the existence of military public concerts: a "card" sent out to the "beaux and belles" of the town, appeared on 12 September 1845, in the *London Times* announcing that "the military band will perform at the usual place every Tuesday at 4:00." This development seems promising, but no further references to these sets of concerts appear in either the *Times* or the *Western Globe*, which commenced its circulation in October 1845. The virtual absence of public music seems unusual considering the talent of the military ensembles and the large musical repertoire the garrison seemed to have had at their disposal.

In the early 1850s, the London Independent Rifle Company had established a band which appears as the only local group to have ventured into public entertainment during this period. In an advertisement for perhaps its first "Grand Concert" of vocal and instrumental music they are described as making "very rapid progress" and could apparently boast of "having some of the best performers in the province."[50] They were led by a Herr F. Beyer, who had appeared in London earlier in 1849 at the Mechanics'

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[49] *Herald*, 27 May 1843.

[50] *Times*, 22 August 1852.

Institute, and presented a vocal and instrumental concert using amateur performers from both London and Woodstock. However, it is difficult to evaluate the success of this event. The notice of this concert, scheduled for 10 May 1849, appears again in a later issue of *The Times* with exactly the same format but advertises that the concert will take place on 25 May.[51] Because of missing issues, it is impossible to establish whether the concert was postponed or repeated. Beyer's career in public concert performances appears to end after the performance of 22 August; his talent, however, was utilized more fully in other representative sphere endeavours and it is his participation in these events that provide a clearer description of his involvement in the arts.

An ideal contrast in levels of amateur, local musical development can be found in a *London Times* review of a concert held on 2 November 1849 in Paris, Canada West. The report, reprinted from the *Hamilton Spectator,* claims the evening "promised a real musical feast, and certainly the audience were [sic] not disappointed."[52] Among the musical "offerings" was an instrumental rendition of Handel's "Hallelujah" chorus, an unidentified excerpt from Handel's *Water Music* and Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*; several solo pieces, including "Fallen is Thy Throne Israel," and the solo and chorus piece "Strike the Cymbal," as well as vocal duets, trios and quartets. All the singers and performers were local amateurs and it is interesting to find the relatively elevated choice of music for the event. The only equivalent performance in London, the 27 May 1843 concert, provides a striking contrast in musical tastes with a programme favouring popular sentimental pieces, waltzes and comic pieces. No public performance similar to the scale of the Paris concert occurred in London at this time.

To summarize, public music in London was performed throughout the late 1830s and 1840s, although intermittently. Several significant travelling performers made an appearance in the city, which were most likely well attended. One might assume that travelling performers, if they were talented enough, were favoured over local ventures. Conversely, concerts performed by native Londoners were not as

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[51] *The Canadian Free Press* advertised the 25 May concert, but not the earlier one.

[52] *Times,* 19 October 1849.

successful despite the presence of the many talented garrison bands. There is only one reference to a philharmonic society, in 1846, but it was merely the product of an individual garrison regiment; subsequent regiments did not continue this tradition. Herr Beyer's name appears as a potential rallying point around which a public musical legacy might have been established, but he too disappeared after only a brief period of activity. This absence of music in early to mid-nineteenth-century London was not a unique phenomenon. Helmut Kallmann's survey entitled *A History of Music in Canada, 1853-1914* describes an urban population more concerned with "clearing the bush, searching for mineral wealth and supplies of raw material, building roads and railways, and establishing democratic self government" than with "artistic pursuits."[53] Other circumstances, such as economic depressions, fires and cholera, are described as shaping the fate of early musical endeavours.[54] In London, however, a significant amount of music was presented outside of the private sphere and seems to have held an important position in the town's society. Although public music was scarce, the representative sphere provided the forum in which musical advancement occurred, and it seems that these venues, so firmly connected with defining a local upper class network, held the true allegiance of the moneyed elite.

The first description of a formal ball appears in one of the earliest newspapers printed in the London District, the *True Patriot and London District Advertiser*.[55] The only issue to survive (23 May 1834) fortunately reports on an anniversary banquet and ball celebrating the founding of the Talbot Settlement (St. Thomas). In reality, these were an extension of Thomas Talbot's autocratic control in the area.[56] The ball, which "embraced the most respectable portion of both sexes," was held at Mansion

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[53] Kallmann, 68.

[54] Kallmann, 91.

[55] As the title indicates, it was a Tory paper and its motto, "Pro Rege, Lege, Grege," (For the King, the Law, the People) describes its strong affiliation with the Imperial ideal and its manifestation in the Canadas, the Family Compact.

[56] Frederick Armstrong, *The Forest City: An Illustrated History of London, Canada* (London, Ont.: Windsor Publications, Limited, 1986) 24.
Armstrong describes the founding of the Talbot Settlement, in 1803, and outlines his notoriously "autocratic system" of controlling the region; including the practice of pencilling settlers names in the land register, then erasing them

House Hotel, south of the Thames River in Westminster[57] and commenced with a four-course dinner for one hundred and fourteen--a lavish spectacle considering that this area had been settled for less than ten years. After the meal, several toasts were given, first to the king, the queen and royal family, and then twelve others. Each toast was succeeded by a song, sung either as a solo or by the entire company, including *God Save the King, Old Honest John Bull, The Land of the Queen, The King and Constitution*, and *Here's a Health to all Good Lasses*. This incorporation of music in the ceremonial presentation of toasts was an important feature of mid-nineteenth-century political and social gatherings; indeed, virtually every occasion of this sort recorded in contemporary local newspapers follows a similar format. The detailed account of the ball following the dinner depicts an unexpectedly opulent affair:

> The party shortly after withdrew to the ballroom, which was tastefully laid out, with the orchestra formed in the middle of, and against the front wall;--the room was festooned with green wreathes, interspersed with numerous artificial roses, lilies, etc., of unfading hue, with the crown in a similar wreath at the head of the room, and the letters "W.IIII.R." [William IV] formed in it.
>
> [At] about 9 o'clock two couples led off a country dance, each containing about 40 couples; one was opened by the Hon. Col. Talbot and Mrs. Burwell; the other by the president [Burwell[58]] and Mrs. Ermatinger [wife of St. Thomas area politician Edward Ermatinger[59]]; and country dances and quadrilles gave constant employment to the busy group, until the advance of the morning intimated to them that all enjoyments must draw to a close, and obliged them reluctantly to withdraw to their respective couches to ruminate over the pleasures of the preceding hours.[60]

The "orchestra" employed on this occasion is, unfortunately, not described and one can only guess at the configuration of the instruments. A more fortunate inclusion is found in the description of the dances chosen for the ball. This article provides one of the few references to country dances from a London area

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if they displeased Talbot by "neglecting their duties."

[57] Goodspeed claims the Mansion House was located in Strathroy, but the hotel was likely situated much closer to the forks of the Thames. In 1841, the Westminster bridge was located at the foot of York street, and the Mansion House might possibly have been situated near it, or along Wharncliffe Road. This area, presently known as "Old South," was not located within London's boundaries and was simply called Westminster Township.

[58] The article does not indicate exactly what Burwell's presidency entailed; presumably he organized the anniversary celebration.

[59] Edward Ermatinger wrote *The Life of Col. Thomas Talbot and the Talbot Settlement* in 1859.

[60] *True Patriot*, 23 May, 1834.

paper and reflects a decline in this dance form similar to that found in Britain.[61] The quadrille was a relatively new dance form, which became a staple fixture in European ballrooms until the turn of the century. It was first introduced to England in 1816 and popularized by various publications in 1819-20.[62] Thus, this Talbot Anniversary ball was perhaps surprisingly contemporary in its choice of dances; most likely the evening's proceedings would have been similar to contemporary balls in Britain. This celebration became an annual event and ran at least until 8 January 1847. These later assemblies, however, did not include dancing, but featured musical accompaniment throughout the course of the evening.[63]

Information concerning representative public sphere events in London during the latter half of the 1830s proves elusive, but it is likely that the three major nationalistic associations, Sts. George, Andrew and Patrick Societies, that thrived in London during this period held large-scale functions. Establishing the exact dates when these societies were founded is difficult, but the St. George's society might have developed from gatherings at London's first substantial hotel, Robinson Hall (on Ridout Street, opposite the courthouse), which in the 1830s served as a "British clubhouse[64]." By 1840, it is at least certain that the St. Andrew's dinners were held, while the first advertisement for a St. George's dinner appeared in 1842,[65] and in 1843 for the St. Patrick's society.[66] Representatives from both St. Andrew's and St. George's were present at the latter's inauguration; however, such an amicable relationship between clubs did not last. A poem from the *London Times*, dating from 1845, describes the popular impressions of the function and manner of entertainment that these important social clubs provided:

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[61] Cecil Sharp and A.P. Oppre, *The Dance: An Historical Survey of Dancing in Europe* (London: Halton and Truscott Smith Limited, 1937) 28. Most technical books on the country dance were published between 1810-1825.

[62] Sharp, *et al.*, 30.

[63] *Times*, 8 January 1847. A description is also found in the 27 May, 1843, issue of the *Herald*. Talbot died in 1853, thus ending the anniversary celebrations.

[64] *Gazette*, 28 October 1837.

[65] *Inquirer*, 29 April 1842. Goodspeed claims that the St. George's Society was organized as a "social club" in 1847. Goodspeed, 352.

[66] *Times*, 25 March 1843.

ST GEORGE every year gives our town a short call,
When all the light footed ones dance in the Hall [Mechanics' Institute][67]
ST ANDREW may tune up his pipes if he wishes,
Give his fling in the Hall, and his cares to the fishes;
ST PATRICK so fond of his "Whiskey galore,"
May drink and dance here till he falls on the floor.[68]

Although all three associations thrived in London well into the 1860s, the three societies were not accorded equal status. Despite the congenial early St. Patrick's society celebrations, divisions seemed to occur. It is perhaps telling that the first two societies, celebrating the national heritage of the British and the Scottish inhabitants of the town, are mentioned in connection with the "Hall" from the Mechanics' Institute, despite the fact that they usually did not hold their meetings and social events there.[69] A close affiliation seems to have existed between the St. Andrew's, St. George's and Mechanics' societies, while the St. Patrick's society, aligned with London's Catholic community and in support of liberal political doctrine, did not receive a similarly favourable treatment. The barring of a St. Patrick's meeting at the Institute, as described in chapter one, was perhaps not an isolated event. As well two of London's most prominent Irish-born citizens, Thomas Talbot and Benjamin Cronyn, were not affiliated with the St. Patrick's society, but instead were supporters of the English and to a lesser extent the Scottish societies.[70]

The first advertisement for one of these patron saints' day functions appears in 1842, and continued to be an important method of announcing regular meetings as well as annual dinners into the 1860s. A detailed description in *The Western Globe* of the St. George's Day dinner of 1 May 1846 portrays clearly the significant position music held in these gatherings. The celebration began with a procession to St. Paul's church that was headed by the "splendid band of the 81st regiment" and the banners of St. George and St. Andrew. The members of the society then held a service, led by the

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[67] Earlier in the poem the Mechanics are described, who, "by dint of much labour," saved from "their hard earnings" and "built themselves a Hall."

[68] *Times*, 11 April 1845.

[69] The soirees were often held at Balkwill's Inn (described later in the chapter). In December, 1845, both associations held their dinners at the London Coffee House.

[70] *Times*, 5 December 1845.

Reverend Benjamin Cronyn, and following this processed to Mr. Balkwill's Tavern (southwest corner of Dundas and Talbot Streets) for a dinner meeting.[71] The ensuing twenty toasts each featured airs accompanied by the regimental band. Occasions such as these inevitably demanded a sizeable musical contribution in addition to the marches required for both processions. The music accompanying the series of toasts includes many patriotic tunes, *God Save the Queen, British Grenadiers, Rule Britannia*; marches dedicated to Prince Albert and the Earl of Cathcart; as well as popular folk melodies, *Home, Sweet Home*, and *Canadian Boat Song*. Foremost among these musical selections are two works, *Money in both Pockets* and *Les Jolies Filles du Roi*. The first selection was offered after the toast to "The president and board of police in the town of London" and featured a modified libretto, created by Mr. Thomas Charles Crozier, Esquire. The president of the board of police, in his reply, apparently admired the musical talents of Crozier, but could not "say much" for his talent in adapting the words, as the board of police had "not a copper in either pocket." The latter song, given in honour of the "fair of Canada," was "a clever polka" composed by Crozier specifically for the occasion. The reviewer claims that "it is a most fascinating air, and we do not wonder at 'les jolies filles' of our Canadian London being bewitched by it--we hope some day to see it published."[72] The dance tune was, in fact, printed by Norheimer's in 1848, although other information regarding the talents of this elusive musician remain obscure.[73] However, Crozier does appear again in connection with other representative public functions.

On 25 February 1846, the church of St. Paul's was officially opened with an elaborate ceremony that included a significant musical contribution by the 81st regiment band and Crozier. *The Western Globe*

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[71] The centrepiece of the decorations was an oil painting of St George and the Dragon. It is presently displayed at the old Middlesex County Courthouse.

[72] *The Western Globe*, 1 May 1846.

[73] Crozier also published *Le Songe de Crozier* in 1846. He descended from Scottish-Irish parentage, and probably came to Canada with his brother St. George B. (Baron le Poer) during the 1837-38 disturbance. St. George Crozier was an active bandmaster, composer, teacher, conductor and organist. In 1855 he led an orchestra in Hamilton which performed Haydn's *Surprise Symphony*, and, three years later, participated in several Toronto concerts, conducting the Metropolitan Choral Society on one occasion.

Helmut Kallmann, "Crozier, St George B. (Baron le Poer)," *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, second edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 344.

provides a detailed narrative of the occasion:

> The band of the 81st regiment, which has been brought to such a high state of cultivation by the band master, opened the service of the day by the performance of that beautiful anthem of Mozart--"Judge me O Lord"--the mournful and plaintive melody of which was touching and elegant...The *Venite* and *Gloria Patri*, both by Lord Mornington, were beautifully executed. The *Te Deum* by Fletcher, was magnificent, particularly the alto part in the minor key. Martin Luther's hymn with a symphony, on a military trumpet, was a striking performance. The responses to the commandments in the Gloria were new to us, being composed for the occasion by T.C. Crozier...In the anthem by Chappel, before the sermon, there were two duets by two highly gifted ladies (amateurs) which would have done credit to any professionals;--but the *chef d'oeuvre* was the chorus "Joy and Gladness," nothing could exceed its correct and rapid execution...After a collection had been made the band performed Handel's Hallelujah Chorus. The introduction of the E flat clarionet and cornopean,[74] at first deceived us into the belief that there were voices in it.[75]

Classifying this presentation as a representative sphere activity might seem questionable, but London's upper-middle class held a strong connection with the Anglican Church, and indeed it was one of the essential institutions that defined their standing in London's society. Religion and politics were inextricably linked together in this era and in London the erection of St. Paul's church, one of the largest edifices of its kind in Southwestern Ontario, stood as a monument to the pre-eminence of the conservative element in the area. The service was certainly impressive, but again one notices the over-representation of the military in the service's proceedings; only two amateurs are mentioned, albeit they apparently sang with a high degree of technical ability. Crozier again shows his skill in composition here and is lauded as presenting a "sacred concert of the highest order," but, unfortunately, in his role as a local musical impresario, he did not leave a lasting imprint on London's cultural development. He disappears soon after this concert--most likely departing with the 81st upon their removal from London. Crozier does not appear in any sort of public entertainment either, and his musical commitment most likely was focussed solely on the representative sphere.

One of the foremost events in London's social calendar was the Mechanics' Balls. These events

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[74] The reviewer most likely means a B-flat clarinet, which was the standard tuning for this instrument later in the 1850s. The cornopean is the nineteenth century term for a cornet.

[75] *Western Globe*, 6 March 1846.

were held at the Mechanics' Institute Hall in December, but instances of it being held as late as January or February are recorded. In the 1840s they were well attended and seen as the apex of the season. Although establishing exactly who attended is impossible, advertisements from the 1840s usually list the names of the organization committee, among which families such as the Harris's, Lawrasons, Askins and Bechers appear frequently. An article from 1847 briefly describes the Mechanics' annual homage to "this season of hilarity" and claims that the "worthy veteran, the Hon. Col. Talbot, and Mrs. Harris" led a company of seventy couples in dancing.[76] J.H. Powell was credited for the "tasteful manner in which the Hall was decorated."[77]

The institution of the Mechanics' Balls began in 1841, and from 1842 onwards the dances were held at the newly constructed Mechanics' Hall. One of the earliest commentaries describing a Mechanics' Ball is found in the 5 January 1844 issue of the *London Inquirer*. The journalist describes in the most glowing of terms how the Ball exceeded even his "most sanguine anticipations." An excerpt from the review demonstrates the apparent extravagance of the occasion:

> The company commenced assembling [at] about 8 o'clock, and on entering the hall, we could not but observe with satisfaction the surprise and delight which seemed to evince itself on the faces of every one at the taste and elegance of the decorations of the splendid room they had entered. It is impossible to convey an idea of the magic effect these decorations produced, the selection of pictures, their arrangements on the walls, and the festoons of evergreen which hung gracefully around them, were only exceeded by the company itself; the light hearts, beaming countenances, the gay attire of the assembled throng, who by nine o'clock were winding the mazes of the light fantastic in its most varied, animated and exciting style.

Fortunately, the article describes the dances featured at this event:

> The arrangements of the evening were worthy of the occasion--the ball was led off by a country dance--a quadrille succeeded, and then a waltz, and in this order the dancing was continued till a late or rather early hour, when the more lively reel shewed that to the last the spirit was unabated.

As with the Talbot Ball of 1834, the dances are fairly representative of those used in Britain at the time,

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[76] *Times*, 8 January 1847.

[77] *Western Globe*, 8 January 1847. One might read a note of resignation in this his only recorded involvement with a local ball. Such a viewpoint seems magnified by the departure of both Mr. and Mrs. Powell from London in 1847 after the apparent failure of their ambitious plans for the town's theatrical domain.

although the presence of a country dance as an entree was, by 1844, a little archaic. The music chosen for the evening is not mentioned, but apparently four performers were employed including Master Peters and Mr. Sales, who volunteered their services. It is unfortunate that these two musicians, evidently not connected with the military, do not appear again in the contemporary newspapers, but apparently the "style and spirit of the performance were [sic] truly admirable."

After a lengthy narration of the proceedings of this "fairy land" type soiree which resembled "the inspired dream awakened by the wand of an enchanter," the reviewer describes how the blending of all classes and opinions was kept in the "bond of harmony" and "the link of pleasure." Yet of the 250 people who attended, only 100 of these held tickets, sold at the rather high price of three dollars,[78] indicating that some form of segregation must have been employed. The hall, located on the second floor of the institute, could not have accommodated all 250 people, and it seems logical that only those who bought tickets would have been able to ascend to the dance floor.[79] On these occasions, as in the theatre, the mixing of classes was permissible as long as there was some indication of a hierarchy in the admittance policy.

An article from the *London Times* concerning the 1848 Mechanics' Institute Ball outlines a less harmonious blending of London's citizens:

> The introduction of politics has banished from the Institute that liberality of feeling such institutions in all other places proudly sustain. Nothing could have given us greater pleasure than to have mingled in the social circle at the "soiree" on Friday night, had not the exclusiveness apparently practiced in the management of the institute debarred us from participating in the enjoyment of the fete.[80]

The review was written in response to a *Free Press* commentary that criticized the actions of London's "would be aristocrats" during the ball of 1848, and protested the barring of their own *London Times*

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[78] The cost of an average theatre ticket in the 1850s was fifty cents as were concert tickets. Ball tickets usually ranged around one dollar during the same period; even in 1860, St. Andrew's Day tickets were only two dollars.

[79] Card tables, and the buffet meal were situated on the first floor.

[80] *Times*, 7 December 1849.

journalists from the occasion. Both articles, especially the one found in the conservatively oriented *Times*, indicate that these later Mechanics' Balls had grown increasingly exclusive; an attempt to bar the press may evidence an attempt to transform the Institute's Balls into a private sphere activity. Despite these internal divisions the Balls continued as an annual event until the mid-1850s.[81]

Another Mechanics' Institute Ball, held on 20 February 1846, provides an additional glimpse at Crozier's involvement in London's social entertainment. Again he is mentioned in connection with the 81st band, an ensemble which the author terms as "one of the most obliging bands he has ever heard"; Crozier again composed original music for the occasion. The dances performed are described briefly:

> The celebrated Scotch quadrille followed--this was a positive piece of wickedness: we expected nothing less than to see Scotia's lads and bonnie lasses clear the decks for a stand-up. The clever performance of Moore's exquisite melody, "The Harp that once thro' Tara's Halls," upon the bassoon, was deservedly much applauded...the company were again entertained by the band, which continued at intervals to perform some exquisite pieces--among which was a magnificent march composed by Mr. Crozier.[82]

As well as indicating the wide range of instruments available to these military bands, this article shows that the dances featured at these events were evolving. The absence of an opening country dance is notable and mirrors a similar abandonment of this dance in England, although the "Canadian" London was several years behind this European development. Another sign of an evolutionary progression of the dances used in London appears with the qualified "Scotch" quadrille and demonstrates a historically characteristic elaboration on this popular form. The apparent wildness of the dancers is typical, and reflects the fast paced nature of the early quadrille, before it was slowed and generally tamed in the late nineteenth century.[83]

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[81] *The Times* of 17 January 1851 indicates that the Mechanics' Hall had been renovated, refurnished, and the library expanded. Support for the Institute likely peaked in this period, with 132 members paying annual dues. In 1855, the Mechanics' Institute was moved, on rolling logs, and re-located at the corner of Talbot and Queen's Street. Further details concerning the institution will be given in the following chapter.

Eleanor Shaw, *A History of the London Public Library*, Occasional Paper no. 4 (London, Ont.: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1941; reprint edition, 1968), 12.

[82] *Western Globe*, 27 February 1846.

[83] Sharp, *et al.*, 32.

In general, these presentations seemed to have functioned as concerts within a ritualized and exclusive form. Public concerts are most certainly ritualized forms of entertainment, but the presence of a paying audience, whose opinions concerning the musical presentation determines the success of future endeavours of this kind, creates a form of democratic dialogue. The music is presented *for* the audience's appreciation, regardless of class distinction; thus, it is in the producer's best interest to fulfil the tastes of both upper and lower classes in order to achieve a margin of profit. Music in representative sphere activities, however, is presented *by* a distinct group of individuals for another distinct group. Music in this latter case serves a secondary purpose and is inextricably linked with the presentation of a political or social concept. Consequently, it is essential that the control and practice of the art form remains available only to this select elite. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising to find that the finest musical entertainment occurred mainly in these affairs that were based on segregation, and hierarchy. The *Globe*'s commentary describing the 1846 Mechanics' ball expands on this subject:

> Among the many advantages derived from the well conducted Mechanics' Institutes of the Old Country, is that arising from the cultivation of music in classes, which enables them to give occasional concerts, and also to help them in funds. We trust the day will come when our Institute will have its music classes.[84]

During this early garrison period, such a democratic approach to music was not explored, nor was it even an objective for the elite that controlled the Mechanics' Institute.

A host of other associations and societies were established in the 1840s, whose meetings were held at various locations in London. The Town Hall, located on Talbot Street facing the Market Square, occasionally served as a site of assembly, but the Mechanics' Institute was used far more frequently. A second popular location was in London's first "luxury" hotel, the Robinson Hall Hotel and British Club-House situated opposite the old courthouse which "commanded a beautiful view of the Thames."[85] It was

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[84] *Globe*, 27 February 1846.

[85] *Gazette*, 28 October 1837. The hotel, located on the south-east corner of Dundas and Ridout Streets, was named after Sir John Beverly Robinson, the chief justice of Upper Canada/Canada West from 1830 to 1862 and one of the leaders of the Family Compact. The business was damaged in the 1845 fire, but was rebuilt, on the same site, immediately afterwards.

Descriptions of London and its Environs, 1799-1854, Occasional Paper XVII, ed. Elizabeth Spicer.

enlarged and repaired in 1837 and continued to maintain a prominent position in the community until 1859, when its position as London's foremost inn was superseded by the monumental Tecumseh Hotel. Mansion House occasionally was chosen for dinners and balls, despite its location outside of the town.[86] By 1845 there were several other hotels including the Golden Ball Hotel on Dundas; the Western Hall Hotel, on Dundas and directly opposite to the Covent Garden Market; the Free Mason Arms Inn, near the Blackfriars Bridge; and the St. Andrew's Hotel at the corner of York and Richmond.[87] Despite the luxurious descriptions of these businesses included in their advertisements and the use of names that allude to upper-middle class representative sphere events or societies, they did not regularly host such social gatherings. The London Coffee house briefly hosted balls, and meetings of the St. George and Andrew's Societies, but again it closed only a few years after its inauguration. Balkwill's Inn, also known as Hope Hotel, on the southeast corner of Dundas and Talbot Streets, was one of the most popular sites for dinner meetings throughout the 1840s, even though the business did not advertise in local newspapers. Evidently it was popular enough to survive on word-of-mouth advertisement, or perhaps the ploy belies an effort to retain a sense of exclusivity. It is perhaps significant that the proprietor, William Balkwill, Esquire, was elected to city council in the 1840s, thus securing the allegiance of London's prosperous fellow esquires. Finally, the Royal Exchange Hall, located on Ridout Street, was built in the early years of the 1850s.[88] This edifice functioned as London's second multi-purpose hall--besides the Mechanics' Institute--and hosted balls, meetings and lectures, and was the location where visiting artists performed, including Anna Bishop.

Two of the most significant social institutions to hold yearly balls during this period were the St.

(London, Ont.: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1970), 38. The information concerning the hotel is taken from a footnote attributed to Dan J. Brock.

[86] An advertisement from *The Gazette*, 19 May 1838, advertisement describes its location on North Street, in Westminster.

[87] A full description of London's hotels during the 1840s can be found in Goodspeed's *History of the County Middlesex*.

[88] Advertisements for the Royal Exchange Hotel, also known as the British Tavern, situated on the corner of Dundas and Wellington Streets, appear during the 1850s.

John's Masonic Lodge, number 209, and the Odd Fellow's Association. Freemasonry first appeared in the London area in 1829 with the Mount Moriah Lodge, number 773,[89] but the establishment of the St. John's Lodge in the 1840s gave the association a stronger presence in the town. Masonic Lodges thrived in London, with at least fifteen other lodges appearing throughout the nineteenth century.[90] The first newspaper review of a St. John's Lodge meeting, from the *London Gazette* of 2 January 1841, claims that approximately forty sat down "to a sumptuous and elegant dinner," at the Mansion House. Following this, the toasts commenced:

> Dinner being over, the cheerful glass succeeded, and the hilarity of the evening was kept up with many a bumper toast, in which the loyalty, love, and good feeling of the company duly participated.

Next, a "splendid ball succeeded," and the scene is described:

> The merry dance and song went gaily around, the jocund smile and jest were passed, and everything with beautiful effect went on till the late or rather the early hour of parting, when each lad and lass with merry heart and social glee departed to their homes, delighted and inspired with the enchanting entertainments of the evening.

The Masons also celebrated St. John's Day in late June with a similar format, beginning with a procession that was headed by a regimental band. Other meetings which included music were organized as well. In 1852, a "Masonic Soiree" is described with musical accompaniment provided by the local music impresario Herman Kordes on piano and the "accomplished" Miss Anderson singing.[91] Kordes, of whom more will be said in the fourth chapter, "acquitted himself with his usual efficiency," while Anderson received "a warm vote of thanks" that testified to "the pleasure received from the performance of this young lady." Both these bi-annual balls continued throughout this period.[92]

Descriptions of the Odd Fellows' Balls (of the Manchester Unity) begin in January 1847, but the

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[89] *History of the County of Middlesex, Canada.*(London, Ont.: W.A. and C.L. Goodspeed, 1889; reprint, Belleville, Ont.; Mika Studio, 1972), 322.

[90] Goodspeed, 321-52.

[91] *Canadain Free Press*, 16 September 1852.

[92] Other references to Masonic events are found in *The Times:* 18 Dec/46, 10 July/46 first "St John's Day" reference, 8 Jan/47, 28 June/49, 14 dec/49; and in *The Herald*, 2 Jan/44, 22 Dec/48.

association seems to have established a presence in the city earlier.[93] In the next year, the organization began celebrating its anniversary in April or early June with elaborate dinners. The Odd Fellows maintained a loyal following at its yearly balls, and perhaps even enjoyed a higher degree of success than the older Masonic order. However, both associations held yearly dinner meetings and balls throughout the early garrison period in London.[94] The first anniversary of the society was celebrated on 5 April 1848, and included an assembly at the association's lodge, a procession to St. Paul's where a church service was held by the Reverend Cronyn, another procession back to the lodge and the celebration concluded with a dinner meeting. The band preceded the return procession and later played throughout the evening, punctuating the toasts with musical accompaniment. All fourteen toasts will not be listed but a sample indicates the nature of this typical nineteenth century social meeting:

1st. The Queen--Tune, God Save the Queen
2nd. Prince Albert and the Royal Family--Tune, Cobourg March
3rd. The Governor General--Tune, Bruce's Address
4th. The Army and Navy, Tune--Rule Britannia...[95]

The band on this occasion was not directly linked with the military. Instead, we see here for the first time the "London Amateur Brass Band," who "livened [sic] the scene by playing a number of national and other appropriate tunes." The toast ceremony includes *Home, Sweet, Home, Green Grow the Rushes O, Auld Lang Syne*; as well as several glees, including *Here's a Health to all Good Lasses*. Presumably the music used for the procession further augmented their repertoire.

The second anniversary of the Odd Fellows was held on 5 June 1849, and included an even more elaborate musical presentation. The procession, accompanied by "some excellent marches," featured once

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[93] An advertisement in *The Times* of 5 December, 1845, calls for the founding of a lodge in London. The association was introduced into Canada in 1843, and espoused a "belief in a Supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of all Things, that He is the Father of the entire human race, and that all men are brothers." *Odd Fellowship in Ontario up to 1923*, ed. W.S. Johnston and Cl.T. Campbell (Toronto: The MaCoomb Press, 1923), 7.

[94] Other references to Odd Fellows' events can be found in *The Times*: 22 Dec/48, 27 Feb/49, 8 June/49, 22 Dec/48, 2 Apr/52.

[95] *Times*, 7 April 1848.

again Herr F. Beyer, but now with the Woodstock Amateur Band. Apparently Beyer had assumed control of this organization and in the short space of four months had "drilled a number of young men into a style of playing which would do credit to old musicians, shewing how completely he must understand the science of music and the formation of a band."[96] During the dinner, Brother Herman Kordes played a Stoddart and Dunham piano, beginning his performance with an arrangement of the overture of Carl Maria von Weber's *Die Freizschutz* [sic]. The Woodstock Band then played a series of pieces, that were augmented by vocal contributions by Lady and Gentlemen Amateurs from the "London Glee Club."[97] These included *Blow Gentle Gales, Oh! Fair Lady, Hail Smiling Morn, Of All the Birds, The Marseilleise[sic], Una voce poco fa, The Ivy Green* and the requisite *God Save the Queen*. This latter piece was sung with a soloist taking the first verse, a duo singing the second which was then repeated in chorus, apparently creating an "excellent effect." A further vocal performance by an anonymous musician occurred:

> A sense of delicacy forbids us to do more than allude to the vocal performance of a Lady, who probably would not like to see her praises publicly proclaimed, but whose exquisite singing will long be remembered by those who had the privilege of hearing her. The same reason keeps us silent on the subject of a Piano Forte accompaniment, played by a Lady, to Herr F. Beyer's Clarionet solo, which was a gem.[98]

This particular occasion offers an example of the rich diversity of music chosen for these celebrations. The appearance of a neighbouring community's band--one that was also not connected to the garrison--at

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[96] *Times*, 8 June 1849.

[97] Unfortunately, this is the only reference to this ensemble. Groups such as this--as well as the anonymous gentlemen amateurs from Mrs. Lawrie's concert in 1853, and Master Peter and Mr. Sales, who played at the 1844 Mechanics' Ball--must be examples of informal private sphere musical ensembles that made brief forays into public events.

[98] *Times*, 8 June 1849. The author may refer to a compromising connection with the all male Odd Fellows' meeting, or could possibly allude to the impropriety of females performing in public. Musicologist Richard Leppert's article "Sexual Identity, Death and the Family Piano" convincingly portrays the "feminization" of private sphere music during the nineteenth century. Leppert even finds that piano-forte design emphasized the division between the male public sphere and the female private one. Leppert comments that through private music making, "She sees that she is the weaker vessel, that next to the activities of her husband hers are trivial; she sees that all that she is, all the culture demands she be--'accomplished,' refined, and nurturing--depends on the radically opposite behavior of her mate." Females performing in public, in a sense, violates these unwritten principles.

Richard Leppert, "Sexual Identity, Death and the Family Piano," *Nineteenth-Century Music*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1992), 109.

such a prestigious local event is interesting, possibly demonstrating a temporary void in the availability of local bands.[99] In 1849, the militia band had not yet been founded, and the London Amateur Band was most likely disbanded.

A comparison can be made among these fraternal orders, that employed music as an integral aspect of its social ritual, the Temperance association, and the brief flourishing of the Western District Literary and Philosophical Association. Temperance societies appeared early in London's development and continued to assert their presence in London well into the 1890s.[100] The movement held a tenuous connection with London's elite, who saw the "civilizing" benefits of alcoholic abstinence, but also recognized the importance of drinking as part of their own recreational entertainment. Often there was an ambiguous association between temperance and perhaps less morally stringent societies. One meeting of the Daughters of Temperance, in 1852, mentions that many prominent wives were present, but does not print their names, thus maintaining anonymity.[101] A Temperance Hotel appeared briefly in the mid-1840s, but as might be expected did not survive for long.[102] However, social functions were an integral part of the society's activities. A brief article from *The Herald* of 20 July 1843 mentions a temperance procession and adds "we regret that the application for the services of the delightful band of the 14th was unsuccessful; without music and dancing, temperance excursions and picnics are rather tame affairs." By 1848, this oversight seems to have been rectified and a band was employed at a 24 March meeting. The 19 February 1852 Daughters of Temperance soiree shows that even this association had adapted a format similar to the other social meetings of the period. The evening's entertainment included a vocal duet, a piano duet by the Misses Anderson and Coombs, a solo *Music at Nightfall*, sung by a Mrs. Sterling and

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[99] The Woodstock Band remained popular well into the 1850s (see chapter two). It is interesting to compare this ensemble's apparent stability with the experiences of the numerous bands that appeared in London during this period.

[100] Goodspeed, 356.

[101] *Canadian Free Press*, 19 February 1852.

[102] The Temperance House was located on Ridout, between King and York Streets, perhaps where the Ridout Tavern is presently situated.

accompanied on piano by Mrs. Elizabeth Raymond, and a choir singing *The Social Glass* and *Sweet the Hour When Free'd From Labour*. Two of the performers mentioned, Miss Anderson and Mrs. Raymond, ran private academies for young women. The latter musician would stay in London well into the 1870s and became one of the city's foremost local performers.

The District Literary and Philosophical Association, formed in July, 1842, did not fare as well. Apparently this group, inspired by the example of the Mechanics' Institute, sought for the "advancement of general knowledge."[103] However, by June 1843, the association was poorly supported and their meetings were marked by a definite "thinness of attendance."[104] A letter to the *London Herald*, written by a concerned individual who used the pseudonym "Socius," laments the lack of interest in the enlightened ideals of this institution, especially when compared to the more successful Mechanics', nationalistic and fraternal societies. One major problem with the association was its failure to win the allegiance of London's upper-middle class. Yet the rapid dissipation of this literary society by 1844 could also have been caused by an over-abundance of like institutions in the town, and Londoners, presumably, could not add another social obligation to an already crowded agenda. One might posit that a potential cause of the Literary and Philosophical Association's demise in London's social gathering "market" was the absence of music. Although newspaper coverage of this group's formal gatherings was not extensive, it seems that music did not play a role in the group's social structure. When compared to its neighbouring associations, that integrated music into the very fabric of their social functions, the *London Herald* critique of the July 1843 Temperance meeting could possibly have been levelled against this ill-fated literary and philosophical association.

Charlotte Owen Harris's diaries afford a brief glimpse into the ball season in London, although the majority of these entries describe private balls. Her diary begins in October 1848, and two "private" dances are mentioned for that year's season. The first, which was given by the Harris on 17 November

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[103] *Herald*, 28 January 1843.

[104] *Herald*, 17 June 1843.

1848, was reported as being "excessively stupid--nearly all the ladies having come and very few gentlemen.[105] The music, at least for part of the evening, was performed by Charlotte on the piano. Another ball, given on 8 December by the Goodhues at their estate named Waverly was more successful; "Everyone was charmed by the ball, it was decidedly the best private one given in London and the Harris party stayed until three o'clock in the morning."[106] However, she qualifies this:

> there was the greatest collection of plain people I ever had the misfortune to meet. I danced very little...Mr. Pipon [an unknown acquaintance of the family] came out in a new character, waltzed and danced the polka beautifully.[107]

Not all were so complimentary in their estimation of the ball's success; the following Sunday the Reverend Cronyn preached against the excesses of the Goodhue's soiree by comparing it to "Balshezzar's [sic] feast." One particular occasion, in which Harris mentions an "election ball," indicates that London's elite consciously used these occasions for political purposes. The term was used in this case to deride a ball held on 16 December 1850 by the Becher family, in order to "court popularity."[108] Becher apparently was "rather taken aback and wanted to know who said so, we made him believe everyone said so."

Other entries describe the variations in format possible in these private balls: parties or picnics often including dancing; intimate private balls like the unsuccessful Harris ball of 17 November 1848; dances at the officer's barracks; and finally "Grand Balls," one of which was held on 31 December 1849 by Lawrason at his home situated on the corner of Colborne Street and Queen's Avenue. Charlotte also narrates the preparations that preceded the Odd Fellows' Ball of 1851, which consisted of a visit by one of the "patronesses" of the Ball to decide on appropriate attire and making floral wreaths to wear at the soiree. Unfortunately her diary ends just prior to the actual event, denying us a more intimate inspection of the Ball. Although private balls are not of primary concern in this study, they were held regularly in

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[105] *The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views* of the 19th Century, ed. Robin S. Harris and Terry G. Harris(Toronto: The Champlain Society in co-operation with the Government of Ontario, 1994), 12.

[106] Harris, 15.

[107] Harris, 15.

[108] Harris, 37. Becher was running for town council.

addition to their "public" representative sphere counterparts.

Finally, several other representative type entertainments appeared during the 1840s and virtually all of these relied on music as a part of the festivities. Balls held for special occasions were also common, and included "election balls," as well as those held to celebrate other important political events. Out of town balls were a significant phenomenon for London's elite, and excursions to Brantford, Windsor, Woodstock, Hamilton, Toronto and even Montreal were not unusual.[109] A network of wealthy families based in other Ontario settlements and who were supporters of the Family Compact allowed Londoners like the Harris' to undertake such ventures. Charlotte Harris also describes a shopping excursion by steamer from Port Stanley to Buffalo during which 300 people took part in a ball on board the ship, both there and back.[110] Within the city, an attempt to institute an annual Valentine's Day Ball at the London Coffee House occurred in February, 1846, but the failure of the business doomed the enterprise.[111] Although it only began to be celebrated on a larger scale in the late 1840s, Queen Victoria's birthday also appears as an integral facet of London's entertainment calendar, with celebrations that often employed dancing. The first announcement of these larger scale festivals occurred on 24 May 1849.

Another two groups instituted representative sphere functions in the late 1840s: the volunteer militia and the Orange Lodge. In 1848, the London Volunteer Artillery held their first ball with the mayor and the full town council present,[112] and, in that same year, the Volunteer Rifle Company held their first picnic.[113] Both became annual events in the 1850s, employing their own bands, when possible, for music

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[109] One of the more lavish occasion described in the London papers was a ball and series of festivities held in Brantford, in November 1848, to celebrate the opening of the Brantford canal. *Times*, 17 November 1848.

[110] Harris, 20. Apparently all on board had "great fun" until four o'clock in the morning, when the steamer arrived in Port Stanley. A series of steamer ships used Port Stanley, and connected the town, and London as well, to Toronto, Hamilton and the United States. Trips to Europe could also commence from this port, and, in the 1850s, passage to Australia could even be arranged. Charlotte does not mention whether the steamer had been specially hired for the occasion, so presumably the excursion was open to all who could afford it.

[111] *Times*, 6 February 1846.

[112] *Times*, 3 March 1848; the second occurs on 27 February 1849.

[113] *Times*, 15 September 1848.

accompaniment. The Orange Lodge certainly wielded an influential presence in London beginning in the mid-1830s, but public activities such as processions appeared much later, beginning in 1849. The celebration of 12 July 1849 included a "formidable" procession headed by the London Amateur Band, playing "spirit-stirring" music, members from seven area lodges, 200 horsemen and a "long train of wagons."[114] In all, 1,200 people attended.

The inclusion of the London Amateur Band is not surprising. Other than performing at official functions, the band seems to have performed only at occasions affiliated with a specific political, and not in a public sphere format, such as a concert. The bandsmen did entertain the public during the opening ceremony of Lake Horn in 1849, positioned on one of the islands centred in the man-made lake. Nevertheless, the group seems to have disbanded by 1850 and it seems probable that without Beyer's involvement--he had assumed control first of the Woodstock band and then later, the volunteer militia's band--it could not have sustained itself.

One is struck initially by the amount of music present in the city's social gatherings, and under the influence of men like Beyer and Crozier, London enjoyed what might be termed a flourishing musical culture. By comparing the reasons for presenting this music, whether for public consumption or as a means to enhance an exclusive social institution or a political agenda, it seems evident that music was a phenomenon controlled by the upper classes of the town and used according to their needs. Initially, the garrison bands dominated and virtually monopolized music production in the city. The subsequent rise of the militia's prestige in London and its ascendancy as a viable institution allowed it to establish a relatively healthy musical tradition, one which would develop further in the 1850s, and absorb civilian musical talents such as Herr Beyer. Although both the Imperial Garrison and the militia enjoyed a stable atmosphere in which to foster music production, the presentation of their art hinged on the available forum. Consequently, the large number of patriotic and nationalistic societies, all with a close link to London's

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[114] *Times*, 13 July 1849. Why there seems to have been a lack of Orange parades is not clear, but an article from the 14 July 1848 issue of *The Times*, indicates that up to 1849, they did not enjoy the same freedom to march as did other associations.

landed "gentry," became the principal medium in which musical endeavours were represented, while public performances received little backing. Furthermore, the strong affiliation that London's upper class fostered with the garrison and the even stronger control the elite held over the militia allowed at least a partial regulation of the band's conduct. The theatre was important for many years in the town, and hints at a public sphere form of entertainment, but it is debatable whether the upper classes attended regularly. The failure to provide an adequate division between classes in the seating plan could have dissuaded London's elite from attending or even from supporting such endeavours as financial patrons. Its gradual disappearance after 1846 could indicate that the initial curiosity of seeing officers performing farces had abated. Yet even the Powell's attempt to expand the dramatic experience in London by presenting popular melodramas and planning to build a new concert hall was not supported. This could possibly present a further example of Londoner's distaste for public entertainment. Kallmann concludes that in early Ontarian urban development "regular" local musical institutions, rather than the occasional "extensions" of regimental bands, began later in the 1850s and 1860s;[115] however, in London, the steady influx of garrison bands, and the development of a corpus of militia musicians enabled music in the representative sphere to flourish. It seems clear that in this period, although there was significant musical talent available to the London audience, it was at the service of ideology.

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[115] Kallmann, 69. Toronto founded a Philharmonic Society in 1845, but its large population base would explain this early appearance of such an institution.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN LONDON'S PUBLIC AND REPRESENTATIVE SPHERES, 1853-1870

With the departure of the Imperial Garrison, and the arrival of the first train in London, the city entered a new, more prosperous phase of its development. The rapid growth experienced by the city was checked, however, by the 1857-1859 depression. By 1860, the economic climate had changed, allowing the city to experience an era of renewed prosperity. Throughout this period, economic cycles of expansion and depression influenced the frequency of public concerts and theatrical presentations, as well as the number of performers who visited the city. Providing music for the private sphere,[1] however, remained a thriving trade for London businesses, even during the economic uncertainty following 1857. Despite a healthy industry in selling music and instruments, the number of public concerts remained insignificantly small, while balls and the formal gatherings of London's prestigious societies both continued to flourish, apparently unaffected by the depression. These latter presentations supported several locally based bands. Yet after 1860, a notable growth in the number of public concerts occurred, whereas music in the representative sphere declined. Such a shift in ideology suggests a change in the composition and attitude of London's ruling families.

London experienced rapid urban development in the 1850s, as demonstrated by changes in the city's physical appearance (see plate 4). An article from *The Times* elaborates on London's extensive real estate development:

> London is a very remarkable town; it is remarkable for its rapid growth, for its River Thames, and for more than one other striking resemblance which it bears to the other little town over the bay, from which it received its name...London contains a population of over 10,000, and there are 160 buildings, many of them fine brick edifices, now going up in town! An Hotel is being erected [Tecumseh Hotel] , which surpasses in size everything of its kind in British America...It has thirteen churches, some of them very fine buildings; a Mechanics' Institute, Library and Newspaper Room; its Covent Garden

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[1] Habermas describes the private sphere as an independent domain that stands apart from state authority, thus acting as a "genuine area of private autonomy."

Jurgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)," trans. by Sara and Frank Lennox, *New German Critique*, vol. III (1974), 51.

Plate 4: London C.W., 1855 (Courtesy of J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

> Market (a beautiful brick building;) and a brick and stone town hall of a large size and fine proportions is now going up, the stone for which was brought from Cleveland, Ohio. The Hotels are numerous, and some of them excellent houses...The space surveyed and laid out for the city embraces 1,400 acres... [2]

This article, reprinted from the *International Journal*, demonstrates from a non-native (thus, presumably a relatively unbiased) source, the favourable impression London presented in its new status as a city. Another description, proffered by the *Hamilton Spectator*, expresses a similarly positive estimate of London's growth:

> What a change has taken place in the "little London," of five years ago. Then it was renown [sic] only as the extreme Western receptacle for European emigrants, who found homes in its immediate vicinity, many of whom are now in possession of extensive tracts of fertile land. Since then it has grown into a city of 11,000 inhabitants, and has in all as fine buildings as are probably to be found anywhere in the Province. London is, in truth, a progressive place, and [promises] to become one of the most important cities in the West...the proximity of the [railway] depot to the business portion of the city has given an impetus to building, and a number of elegant structures are now in course of erection, among them a Hotel, which will have no superior in the Province. It is progressing rapidly.[3]

During the decade preceding London's proclamation as a city, music seems to have assumed a degree of importance in private sphere activities. During the 1840s, bookstores regularly sold music; for example, Thomas Craig's store on Dundas Street advertised in 1843 that a new selection of music had arrived.[4] In 1844, "a New Music Establishment in Toronto" advertised in London as well, claiming it had received "the latest waltzes and quadrilles."[5] This business, the Toronto pianoforte company, A. and S. Nordheimer, would open a branch in London in the late 1850s. Musical instruction was offered in several of the female private schools that were popular during this period. In 1845, one of the first of these academies appeared led by Mrs. Elizabeth Raymond who, among other subjects, included music at the

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2 *The London Times and Western Advertiser*, 15 Sept 1854.

3 *Times*, 3 November 1854, article quoted from the *Hamilton Spectator*.

4 *The London Inquirer*, 2 February 1843.

5 *Inquirer*, 5 July 1844.

price of one pound per quarter.[6] This talented musician figured prominently in London's future musical development well into the 1870s. In 1847, Miss Wigmore's private female academy offered music at one pound, five shillings per term,[7] while Miss Scott advertised "music on the piano" for two pounds per term at her school located in J. Buchanan's house on Ridout Street.[8] Miss Irwin continued this tradition in 1849.[9] Music was likely seen as an important part of a woman's education, but the higher prices commanded for instruction in this art--compared to other disciplines which were priced at a lower rate--made it accessible only to a select few. Finally, by the spring of 1846, one of London's foremost teachers, Herman Kordes, had arrived. Kordes would become a most significant musical figure in the city during the next decade. He commenced advertising music lessons in *The London Times* on 13 May 1846, commanding terms per quarter of two pounds for one student, three for two, four for three, etc. His residence at the time was on the corner of Clarence and Dundas, but students with pianos at home could "be waited upon at their residence."

Several articles from the local London papers in the 1840s indicate that the population of the town was, in fact, familiar with international musical issues. In the *London Herald* of 1843, the career of a Mrs. Wells, apparently a celebrated American vocalist, is chronicled, including her conversion to Catholicism and eventual entrance into a convent.[10] A discussion in the 6 May 1843 issue of the same paper queries the age of the famous English singer, Mr. Braham, finally establishing that he was only sixty-six and not an octogenarian, as had been suggested in an earlier article.[11] As well, beginning in 1850, the London papers demonstrated an avid interest in following Jenny Lind's tour of the United States. Finally, local

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6 *Times*, 5 September 1845.

7 *Times*, 23 April 1847.

8 *Times*, 14 May 1847.

9 *Times*, 2 June 1849.

10 *The London Herald*, 13 March 1843.

11 *Herald*, 6 May 1843.

booksellers began to import popular songs and airs featured in her performances.

Learning new dances formed a part of private sphere entertainment. The first surviving advertisement for a dancing master appears in the 5 October 1840 issue of *The Gazette*, introducing Mr. P. Burns, who offered lessons in "waltzing and dancing" to the ladies and gentlemen of London.[12] The lessons, which were held at "Mr. Balkwell's [sic] Tavern," segregated the sexes, with instruction for females between two and four o'clock, and for males from seven to nine. Terms by quarter cost one pound ten; as well, lessons were "given on reasonable terms to private families if required." However, the advertisement appeared for less than a year, and no other dance instruction advertisements appear until 1850, despite the significant number of balls held during the decade. Charlotte Harris's diary describes how dancing was incorporated into informal private gatherings. One entry portrays an intimate evening on 28 June 1850 when John Jacob Townsend, a lawyer from Albany and family friend, was taught the *deux temps valse* at Eldon house in a session that lasted until twelve o'clock.[13] Several weeks later, five of the younger Harrises received an impromptu invitation to an evening at the John Hamilton family home.[14] Charlotte qualifies the ensuing party briefly, "We had a little dancing, talking etc., and spent a very pleasant evening--a few people there."[15] Charlotte's narratives combined with the abscence of advertisements for dancing masters during the 1840s suggest that dancing was an art learned in the private sphere.

1850 heralded a new direction for music businesses in London, with intense growth developing in this area. Booksellers such as Robert Reid, at 45 Dundas Street, continued to import music, but added musical instruments to his selection of merchandise.[16] The music available for private music production

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[12] *Gazette*, 2 January 1841.

[13] *The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views of the 19th Century*, ed. R.S. Harris and T.G. Harris (Toronto: The Champlain Society in Co-operation with the Government of Ontario, 1994), 31.

[14] James Hamilton was District Sheriff, until his death in 1858.

[15] Harris, 31.

[16] *Times*, 11 October 1850.

expanded and diversified as well. Mr. Graham's bookstore advertised a new selection of opera libretti, and works by Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin and Mendelssohn.[17] Another bookseller, Mr. James Gillean, whose store was located on Dundas Street, advertised over sixty titles in 1852, among which were numerous quadrilles (including an *African Quadrille: Negro Melodies*), waltzes and many songs "as sung by Jenny Lind." Method books for the violin, flute, accordion, pianoforte, cornopean, sax horn, post horn, bugle, melodeon, etc. were sold as well.[18] Finally, Taylor and Wilson, another local firm located on Richmond Street, began selling sheet music, second hand pianos, and melodeons, beginning in 1859 and continuing into the 1860s.[19]

Perhaps the greatest stimulus in this area occurred when Herman Kordes, "having just returned to London," opened London's first music store in August 1853.[20] His store, located on the south side of Dundas Street,[21] advertised musical instruments of all kinds, including violins, violoncellos, clarinets, flutes, accordions and numerous band instruments; as well as guitar strings, violin and violoncello strings and bows. His selection of pianofortes included makers such as Stoddart and Dunham, Baron and Raven, and Gilbert Gales.[22] The well-appointed store continued to advertise throughout the 1850s until approximately 1858, when it seems to have closed (see fig. 1).

Another business catering to London's musical public, owned by William Gerolamy and located in the Smith's Block, appeared briefly in the city. Gerolamy's first advertisement, from 4 December 1855, indicates that he dealt mainly with pianofortes.[23] A notice of the store's closing in June 1859, however,

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[17] *Times*, 20 January 1854.

[18] *The Canadian Free Press*, 26 February 1852.

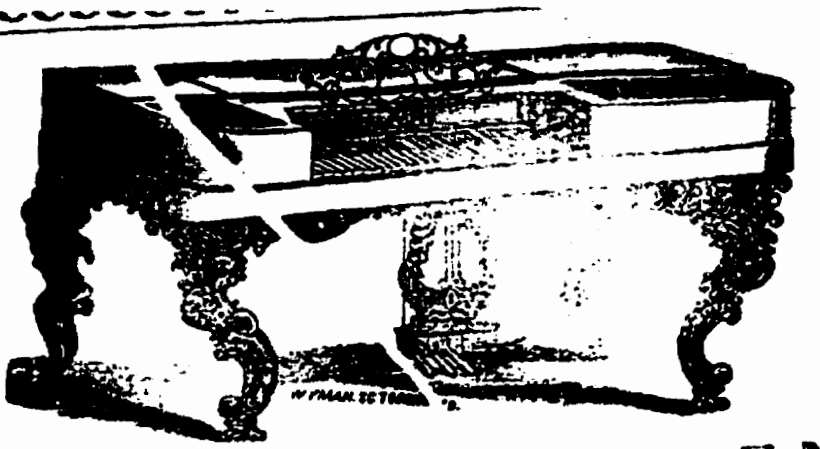
[19] *The London Free Press and General Advertiser*, 25 June 1859, and 6 May 1861.

[20] *Times*, 5 August 1853.

[21] The store was probably located between Ridout and Talbot Streets. The advertisements proclaimed that the store was opposite Raymond and Rowland Furriers.

[22] *Times*, 21 October 1853.

[23] *Middlesex Prototype*, 16 December 1856.



MUSIC ESTABLISHMENT.

South side of Dundas Street opposite Messrs. Raymond & Rowland, Furriers,

WHERE may be had SHEET MUSIC of every description. Instruction Books for all kinds of Instrumental Music, &c., as cheap as can be had in Toronto, Boston or New York.

All kinds of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, from a PIANO PORTE down to a FIFE.

STRINGS of all kinds and of superior quality; in short, every thing which can or may be found in a well and carefully selected *Music Store.*

The PIANOS are made by the following celebrated Gentlemen, viz:

CHICKERING STODDART & DUNHAM,

Acknowledged to be the best on this part of the Globe, as are the MELODIANS, manufactured by PRINCE & CO. PIANOS and MELODIANS sold as *Cheap* and on as favourable *Terms* as they can be procured in Toronto, or from the Maker's themselves.

Besides these Pianos of Chickering, Stodart & Dunham, Mr. Kordes keeps constantly on hand Pianos of other good makers, such as Baron and Raven, Gilbert, Gale, etc. Also second hand Pianos, from £10 upwards to £50. Old Pianos taken in exchange, and a liberal allowance made. Pianos Tuned and repaired. All orders from a distance promptly attended to.

Mr. Kordes has constantly on hand an assortment of very superior Brass Instruments, for the formation and use of Bands, as Ophiclides, Sax horns, Trombones, Conopeans, Bugles, Post horns, French horns, etc., which will be sold *low*, and on very favorable terms.

Mr. Kordes would just say a few words regarding the Pianos of Chickering, Stodart & Dunham, in the first place, they are warranted to keep good and sound in all their parts, for any number of years, provided they receive good treatment.

In the second place, any person having such a thing as what is called an ear for music, will, without looking at the makers name, be able to detect the difference between a Stodart, a Dunham or a Chickering, to a Piano from any other maker, without exception; the *woody, wiry, harsh* kind of sound, so predominant in other instruments, is changed into a mellow, sweet, full and brilliant tone in the Pianos of the above three makers.

As regards keeping in tune: these Pianos require a *good tuner* 3 times in 12 months and decent treatment, they never require more than this, may, however, sometimes require less. Care and attention is all they need.

HERMAN KORDES.

London, C. W., August, 1853. 37-tf

Figure 1: Advertisement for Herman Kordes's Music Store (*Times*, 21 October 1853)

shows that pianofortes (new and second-hand) "by the best makers," melodeons, harmoniums, concertinas, accordions, violins, violoncellos, brass instruments, as well as an assortment of dry and "fancy" goods were included in the store's stock. [24]

Other significant music stores and businesses related to music appeared in the area. An outlet of the Toronto piano manufacturers A. and S. Nordheimer opened in London on Richmond Street, with their first advertisements appearing on 2 November 1860, and they maintained a presence in the city until the turn of the century.[25] E. Rugemeyer, a piano tuner, first advertised in *The London Free Press* on 22 February 1856. In 1857, another local piano tuner, Lyman S. King, offered his services,[26] which also included importing pianos. His business continued until approximately 1860. Instrument makers also settled in London. F. Limprecht, an organ builder from Germany, took up residence in the city in June of 1850.[27] Orlo Miller claims that Limprecht had installed the organ for St. Paul's in 1846, for the cost of 453 pounds, fifteen shillings.[28] Presumably, this instrument was used until the cathedral installed their "grand organ," supplied by S.R. Warren, in 1874.[29] The Andrus Brothers also opened a melodeon factory on Richmond opposite St. Paul's church in 1860, relocating a year later to King Street, East of Clarence. Their product sold for seventy-five dollars.[30]

As well, several out-of-town music stores advertised regularly in *The London Free Press*, including

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[24] *Prototype*, 12 June 1859.

[25] *History of the County of Middlesex, Canada* (London, Ont.: W.A. and C.L. Goodspeed Publishers, 1889; re-print edition, Belleville, Ont.: Mika Studio, 1972) 386. The store was initially located on Richmond, then moved to the Odd Fellows' Hall on Dundas in 1875, and by the 1880s had re-located once again to Richmond Street, "next door to their first location."

[26] *Free Press*, 19 October 1857.

[27] His advertisements offered a six-stop organ that "was presently being used" at St. Paul's, but was for sale.

[28] Orlo Miller, *Gargoyles and Gentlemen, A History of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario, 1834-1964* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), 62.

[29] Frances Ruth Hines, "Concert Life in London, Ontario, 1870-1880," (M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977), 48.

[30] *Free Press*, 30 October 1861.

Messrs. Small and Paige from Toronto and A. and J. Keogh, pianoforte manufacturers, from Buffalo; both ran advertisements throughout the 1850s, even during the depression. On 13 May 1852, Coones and Company, a Boston Pianoforte agency, was temporarily located in London to take orders.[31] In the next year, an advertisement for J. Sage and Sons Music Establishment from Buffalo appeared in *The Times*.[32] In 1858, three more companies advertised in London: Prince's piano manufacturing company, from Buffalo; T.D. Hood located in Montreal; S.R. Warren organ and melodeon builder, also from Montreal; and Starr's piano agency, from upper state New York.

Several teachers continued to instruct Londoners in music. Private teachers included Mrs. Raymond, Miss Henry L. Shaw[33] and Miss Givins, whose advertisement claims she is "lately from England to teach piano forte." Another "select school for young Ladies" was opened by Mr. and Mrs. Stevens in 1857. In 1858, Edwin H. Longman, organist at St. Peter's Roman Catholic church, commenced instruction in organ, flute, violin, composition and "thorough bass." Longman resided in London until 1862, and was instrumental in organizing concerts during his five-year stay in the city. Miss Everett, another local vocalist, advertised private music classes in 1862. Finally Kordes advertised in the London newspapers continuously from his arrival in London[34] until the day of his death on 10 January 1866. Raymond and Kordes were both important accompanists in London during this period, took an active role in organizing concerts, and held, at various points, the organist position at St. Paul's church.[35] Raymond was also firmly linked with the temperance movement, and in this role founded a Temperance Choir in the

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[31] *Canadian Free Press*, 13 May 1852.

[32] *Times*, 4 August 1853.

[33] *Free Press*, 4 February 1856. Advertisements for the other instructors first appear in *The Free Press* on the following dates: Givens, 20 February 1856; Longman, 4 June 1858; Everett, 10 February 1862.

[34] Kordes made two brief sojourns from London: the first was made prior to the opening of his music store, and the second was in 1858.
Free Press, 18 September 1858.

[35] Kordes's announcement first appears in *The Free Press* on 14 December 1859.

early 1860s.[36] A group of performers were active in London during the 1850s, including Kordes, Raymond, Longman (who was an accomplished flautist), Herman Schiller (whom we will meet later in his roles as band leader and violinist) and St. John Hyttenrauch. This latter impresario was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, and received extensive training in piano and the clarinet at the Royal Chapel.[37] He first came to London in 1858, and immediately assumed an important role as a concert organizer, music teacher, band master and performer.

Thus, music seems to have been a thriving business in London throughout the 1850s. The fledgling city supported three music stores, one independent pianoforte dealer, an organ builder, at least three bookstores that sold sheet music, and, at the end of the decade, a melodeon manufacturer.[38] Furthermore, the numerous piano companies that actively advertised in London from Boston, New York, Buffalo, Toronto and Montreal indicate that purchasing a piano was a high priority for London households. Under the tutelage of instructors such as Kordes, Raymond, Stevens and Longman--all of whom performed regularly in the city--private music making must have flourished. Kordes's death notice in the *Free Press* describes the configuration of the mourners at his funeral, claiming that many of all classes attended, former students included.[39] It is clear that music was an integral business in London, and citizens of the city supported a thriving music market, one that seems to have been somewhat recession-proof. The world-wide 1857 depression may have forced the piano makers to advertise in distant markets, but the persistent appearance of Keogh's, Prince's, and J. Sage's advertisements throughout the decade evidences that consumers would not only buy a piano or melodeon, but pay the added expense of having it shipped to London. Given this evident respect for music and music making in the home, it is perhaps surprising

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[36] *Free Press*, 8 April 1861.

[37] Hines, 14.

[38] Goodspeed lists Charles W. Andrus's home one of the more prominent ones in London, and notes that he was responsible for erecting the Granite Block on the north side of York Street, east of Richmond. The family must have profited from making instruments. Goodspeed, 409.

[39] *Free Press*, 13 January 1866. 40 carriages were included in the procession.

that there was no concurrent rise in the number of public concert presentations.

Travelling theatrical troupes provided much of the entertainment in London during the 1850s; the most popular of this form of vaudeville theatre was most certainly the "Ethiopian" opera, or minstrel show. Kendall's Ethiopian Opera Troupe was one such group, which visited the city in January 1856, performing songs, glees, choruses, duets, and "Negro comedy."[40] Later in the 1860s, perhaps as a result of the American Civil War and its disruption of traditional theatrical circuits, the minstrel show became a regular occurrence in London. Advertisements for Wood's Minstrels and their "Marble Temple of Minstrelsy" appeared on 22 February 1861; on 24 April, for Duprez and Green's "Grand Ethiopian Concert;" two months later, on 1 June, for Mrs. Matt Peel's "Campbell Minstrel's Ethiopian Soiree"; and on 22 June, for Farr and Thompson's "Christy's Minstrel Soiree d'Ethiope."

Another performer, Mr. A. MacFarland from the Metropolitan Theatre in Detroit, visited the city in July 1854, giving performances at the Royal Exchange Hall.[41] Archie Bremner mentions another Detroit native, with a suspiciously similar name--John McFarlane--who apparently was one of the first managers to operate a theatre in London. Bremner writes:

> The *Gazetteer* [probably refers to William Henry Smith's The Canadian Gazetteer] also says that London possessed a theatre. This refers to the old town hall, which had been moved from the Market Square to the north-west corner of King and Talbot streets. This was fitted up as a theatre and opened under the management of John McFarlane, of Detroit, whose wife, Jessie was an actress, and also danced between the play proper and the after-piece. Many still alive can recollect when the McFarlanes used to play in the City Hall...[42]

It seems possible that these two impresarios were really the same person; Bremner's mistake may be a result of his heavy reliance on oral testimony. However, it is impossible to determine conclusively whether MacFarland was responsible for the re-location of the old City Hall. Furthermore, such an endeavour

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[40] *Free Press*, 10 January 1856.

[41] *Times*, 14 July 1854.

[42] Archie Bremner, *City of London, Ontario, Canada: The Pioneer Period and the London of Today* (London, Ont.: London Printing and Lithography Co., 1900; reprint edition, London, Ont.: London Public Library Board, 1967), 30.

would only have been possible in 1855, after the construction of the new City Hall on the west side of Richmond Street, between Dundas and King Streets. Unfortunately most of the issues from the London Free Press in the year 1855 are missing, so information concerning MacFarland's (or McFarlane's) theatre season does not survive. No references to either name appear in *The Prototype*. If a theatre season had been sponsored, it would not have been an extensive one and would probably not have covered the expense of moving a building and re-fitting it as a theatre.

Two travelling theatre companies visited London frequently in the 1850s. The first ensemble, the Buffalo Star Company, performed first in 1858, giving three separate sets of performances on 7 January, 9 February and 20 July[43] at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden Theatre. They returned on 19 September 1861. The second, and most important for London's local theatrical audiences, was the Holman Company. This troupe first appeared in London on 20 August 1858, in tandem with a travelling panorama representation,[44] and returned later in the same year, on 29 and 30 November. A selection of "Parlour Operas" brought them back to London on 6 and 7 July 1860, for three shows, but they extended the run until the 17th, which was to be their "positively last showing." The family appeared again in 9 May of 1861 for "three nights only" providing "chaste and amusing entertainment"; however, by 11 May the performances were extended, and on 1 June they gave their farewell concert supported by members of the Phoenix Band. The Holman family continued to perform regularly in London, and eventually they found the city suitable for a home base. They settled in the city in 1873, and assumed control of the London

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[43] All the dates included in this paragraph are taken from *The London Free Press*.

[44] Panoramas or Tableaus were popular touring attractions that visited the city during the 1840s and 1850s. The scenes recreated miniature images from the bible, historical episodes (Napoleon's defeat at Wellington), cityscapes (one depicted New York), or moral lessons ("The Evils of Drinking" was presented to Londoners on 3 April 1856 at the Royal Exchange Hall). J.W. Holland describes a panorama depicting the Crimean War, "A huge canvas of ten or twelve feet wide and hundreds of feet in length painted with a series of scenes gradually unrolled before the audience for a couple of hours, while a lecturer explained the various views. Land battles and naval engagements were made realistic by a lot of mechanical devices on the stage behind. You saw the flashing of guns and of lightning in battle and storm, heard the booming of cannon, the rattle of musketry and the rolling of thunder as you looked on the scene. I was taken behind the scenes to blow the bugle calls, and saw how the wheels went round. It was a great enterprise for that period and drew large audiences." *A Miscellany of London, Part II*, London Public Libraries and Museums Occasional Paper no. 24, compiled by Elizabeth Spicer (London, Ont.: London Public Libraries and Museums, 1978), 17.

Music Hall, converting it into the Holman Opera House.[45]

Visiting performers were generally welcomed in London; however, a criticism from *The London Free Press* in 1862 reveals that very little profit was gained locally. The article, announcing the plans to form a local dramatic society, which will be discussed later in this chapter, comments on the profit gained by visiting performers:

> Taking everything into consideration with the fact that large sums of money are weekly monopolized by travelling companies, we think it natural that the gentlemen of London should make a move in order to keep the funds within the city, using them beneficially to all concerned.[46]

Thus the presence of troupes from outside of London provided competition for local ensembles, and only a small portion of the profits made by their performances seem to have been accorded to the theatres and halls that sponsored them.

Two significant local endeavours demonstrate early and, unfortunately, unsuccessful attempts at founding a local theatre. Mr W.Y. Brunton and his wife Helen (nee Mathews) opened the Brunton's Variety, also known as the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in 1855.[47] Brunton had emigrated from England in the 1840s, lived briefly in Baltimore, then moved to London in 1849 with his wife, who had previous experience as a singer and actor.[48] The theatre was housed in the old Town Hall, originally located as part of the market square, but later was moved across the street and re-fitted as a public theatre. A review from *The Free Press* of 9 January 1858, terms the theatre as "our (wee) London Covent Garden," but concedes that the space is "clean, warm and cheerful, and with cushioned seats as comfortable as need

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[45] Hines's thesis gives a most detailed account of the family's touring schedule, their involvement in London after 1873, and lists the numerous productions included in their repertoire. The London Music Hall was completed in 1866.

[46] *Free Press*, 12 September 1862.

[47] Hines, 5. J.W. Holland calls Mr. Brunton "a clever English actor," and his wife "an excellent actress and singer." Spicer, 17.

[48] Hines, 5.

be."[49] On 18 April 1857,[50] W.Y. Brunton announced the opening season of his theatre. Beginning on 21 April, nightly performances were staged featuring a spectacular array of comedies, vaudeville, drama, and visiting artists. Performances continued throughout the rest of April, all of May, until 14 June; each night featuring a different show.[51] Included among the performances were versions of *Hamlet* (30 May), *Richard III* (2 June), and *Macbeth* (9 June), as well as a dramatic rendition of *Wacousta* (6 June). Guest artists were included in this season; for instance, Sliter's "Empire Minstrels' Soiree d'Ethiope" who claimed that while travelling in Toronto and Hamilton they attracted the "most enthusiastic and fashionable audiences, composed of the *elite* of society" (18, 19, and 29 April). Local talent appeared as well--the Phoenix Brass Band performed a benefit concert on 7 June.[52] Brunton provided a Dress Circle, that cost a reasonable fifty cents, and family seating for twenty-five cents. The theatre opened again during the summer, under Brunton's management, running from 15 to 25 August.

The Free Press ran advertisements for each show, but reviewed only a few of these dramatic presentations. One commentary, from 26 April, accords almost reluctant praise for the Brunton's scheme:

> The Theatre was opened on Thursday night [23 April]...Mrs. Brunton played last night and was very well received. There is nothing particularly novel to notice in connection with the Theatre--Mr Brunton seems determined to make it popular and the public will, doubtless[ly], reward him after the most approved fashion.

Despite the variety of performances and the immense number of them, Brunton did not produce another season again in London. In 1859, he announced that he was opening an auction house. Among the effects being auctioned were oil paintings, silver plate and one pianoforte.[53] Later in the nineteenth century, he

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[49] The building later became an auction house, then the Claredon Hotel, and stood until 1991 when Cambridge Shopping Centres Ltd. demolished the building. The structure, one of London's most significant surviving tributes to our artistic heritage, is now a parking lot.

[50] All references are taken from *The London Free Press*.

[51] Several issues from the latter part of 1857 are missing, thus it is possible that Brunton's season ran longer.

[52] J.W. Holland asserts that his father organized a theatre orchestra, but surviving advertisements do not support such a claim. He might refer to this presentation, as his father was a founding member of the Phoenix Band. Spicer, 17.

[53] *Free Press*, 2 November 1859.

was involved in local business affairs, which included sitting on trade councils and working on the board that co-ordinated the re-location of the London fairgrounds from the Victoria Park area to a site near Oxford and Talbot Street.[54] Mrs. Brunton, however, continued to participate actively in local musical endeavours for another twenty years.

On 30 August 1858, the *London Prototype* reported that Mr. E.T. Sherlock announced his intention "of again opening the Covent Gardens Theatre for a short season," employing Daniel Waller, who had toured through Europe, the U.S. and Australia, and his wife Emma who had extensive experience acting in Shakespearean tragedies.[55] A year later, the theatre opened and ran shows from 15 to 22 June, with a final performance on the 27th. Mr. Milton Rainford acted as manager, employing a theatre troupe from New York and Detroit.[56] Although the first performance was touted an "immense success," by the 21st he had reduced the box seating prices to twenty-five cents and the "gallery" (termed "family seating" in earlier advertisements) to a mere fifteen cents. Rainford appears not to have produced shows in London again.

During the 1850s, theatre was most likely influenced heavily by the effects of the depression. This would explain the all too brief tenures of London's artistic directors and managers at the Covent Garden Theatre. However, it seems as if the theatre was a somewhat recession-proof commodity. All three managers assumed the responsibility of running the theatre between 1857 and 1859, during the height of the world-wide depression, and obviously believed that London's market for drama would allow them to reap some profit. This, unfortunately was not the case, for after only one season Sherlock and Rainford apparently departed from the city, and while Brunton remained, he evidently abandoned the stage completely, despite the unprecedented variety of entertainment proffered in his 1857 theatrical season. A review of the Buffalo Star Company's January 1858 performance offers some indication of the audience's

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[54] Goodspeed, 205 and 366.

[55] Herman Goodden and Michael Baker, *Curtain Rising, The History of Theatre in London* (Aylmer, Ont.: The Aylmer Express Ltd., 1993), 15.

[56] *Free Press*, 15 and 19 June 1859.

reaction to theatrical ventures:

> We should have thought that the pleasure seeking, sight-seeing public, would welcome the arrival among us of a theatrical troupe [in] these dull times. But if we may judge from the small amount of patronage the "Star Company of Buffalo" have already received, the "times" are indeed "harder" than we imagined, or the love of amusement is much at a discount! The company now performing at the Theatre is much superior to any former company that has attempted dramatic performance in this city since the palmiest days of Mr. Brunton's days [sic].[57]

The depression most certainly tempered the audience's attendance at such events; however, the article indicates that London still maintained a wealthy set of "pleasure-seekers" who presumably could well afford to patronize the theatre. In this case, economic instability does not completely explain the unsuccessful theatrical endeavours during the 1850s in London.

Only brief mention can be made of the theatrical presentations in London in the 1860s. The garrison resumed the tradition of staging theatricals. However, they were not as well received as were earlier performances given in the 1840s. A review from the *London Free Press* comments on a presentation staged on 10 July 1862:

> We cannot say that the amateur performers we have lately seen in this city, have exhibited qualities sufficient to inspire the population with any deep love for theatrical performance. When we pay our money to see amateur performers, we buy the privilege of criticism, and if it pleases us to express our disapprobation of any particular actor, to do so...We do not wish to particularise where all was bad, but the pre-eminence of badness ought certainly to be mentioned; and we can have no hesitation in assigning it to a "Box," a more wooden Box was never seen on any stage, not even an imitation of any previous Box.

Although neither military theatricals nor civilian local theatre garnered the esteem shown by earlier audiences, the latter was growing in importance. Mr. Charles Rumball was one of the first Londoners to perform in the 1860s. On 20 March 1861, he presented two solo pieces, "mainly comic," which included selections from *Henry IV* as well as the farce *Raise the Wind*. The success of this initial entertainment allowed him to present a second comic theatre piece titled "A Grand Shakespearean Comic Dramatic Reading," as well as presenting *The Disastrous Adventures of Baron Bhomberg*.[58] Rumball then organized

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[57] *Free Press*, 9 January 1858.

[58] *Free Press*, 8 April 1862.

the London Dramatic Society in 1862, and held their first meeting at the Tecumseh Hotel on 29 October:

> Last afternoon a meeting of gentlemen favourable for the Civilian Amateur Theatrical movement took place...a number of influential persons were present, offering some valuable suggestions to the promoters thereof.[59]

The proceeds from their benefit concert were donated to the "Lancashire Operative Relief Fund." In 1864, the company presented a set of four performances to mark the Shakespearean Tercentenary. Amelia Harris attended the troupe's production of *The Merchant of Venice* and wrote, "In the evening all of the Eldon House party went to see The Merchant of Venice murdered; the performance was worse than expected."[60] Finley Perrin claims, however, that "It is to be remarked the interest the public took: several letters written by the citizens of the time were published in the press, all of them showing the keen appreciation of a discerning public."[61] Local citizens were encouraged to submit prologues for the festival. One offering, penned by Dr. Henry Landor,[62] was found to be plagiarized from the Prologue and Epilogue of one of Ben Johnson's plays.[63] On 19 September 1864, *The Free Press* reported that Rumball had composed a "most laughable extravaganza" entitled *Our Amateurs, or The Star from N.Y.*, which was soon to be performed by his company. The Society continued to meet throughout most of the 1860s, but in the ensuing years, touring performers provided most of London's theatrical entertainment. For example, Goodden and Baker claim that between 1881 and 1900 over 300 shows were staged at the Grand Opera House in London. However, the amateur tradition survived into the twentieth century; in 1910, the London Dramatic Club performed Sommerset Maugham's *Jack Straw* at the Governor-General Earl Grey's

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[59] *Free Press*, 30 October 1862.

[60] Harris, 342.

[61] *A Miscellany of London, Part II*, Occasional Paper, no. 24, compiled by Elizabeth Spicer (London, Ont.: London Public Libraries and Museums, 1978), 7. Perrin also claims, "From the press notices of the time, the performances were enthusiastically received the actors showed very little trace of the amatuer." Apparently, Mrs. Brunton and Mr. Simcoe Lee were included among the actors, and Mr. St. John Hyttenrauch performed as accompanist.

[62] Landor was later appointed as superintendent of the London Asylum, and was still presenting prologues for the Dramatic Society in 1864.

[63] Harris, 242.

national amateur drama festival, winning the trophy for the best show as well as an award for the best actress.[64]

A number of visiting musicians stopped in London during the 1850s. Factors stimulating the growth of such visits can be credited to the economic prosperity prior to 1857, the advent of railway connections to London, and the construction of a new City Hall on the west side of Richmond Street, between Dundas and King Streets. The spacious hall located on the second floor of this edifice could seat up to 600 people, and provided a more suitable space for performing than any of the halls previously used for concerts (see plate 5). Reviews from *The London Times* report on the following entertainers: on 7 April 1854, J.S. Thomson of New York, a "lecturer on music," gave a concert at the Royal Exchange Hall; on 12 January 1854, the Baker vocalists performed (a review of the concert is printed in the 15 January issue), and also returned in 1855; on 13 October 1854, Mme. Devries gave a concert in which her voice "surpassed" the reviewer's expectations; on 3 November 1854, "The Celebrated Maddern Family Female Brass Band" entertained London audiences at the Mechanics' Institute.

In 1857, reviews and advertisements from *The London Free Press* reveal a significant rise in the number of visiting artists who performed in the city: on 27 January the Kneass family gave a concert and extended their run to 4 February, combining their talents with the Buxton family for their final performance; on 4 March, Mr. McEwan's Scottish Entertainment took place; on 30 March, a Grand Concert of vocal and instrumental music was presented by Mr. Whitehorse; on 11 September, Mr. Nicholas Goodall, "Le Petit Ole Bull," also gave a vocal and instrumental concert; on 18 September, Mr. Fergussen, a "blind performer on the Irish harmonic pipes," visited the city; and on 15 and 16 September Sliter's company performed. *The London Prototype* adds two more performers: on 22 June, Ole Bull gave a Farewell Concert before "returning to Norway;" and on 22 July, Mr. Petrie's Scottish Entertainment was presented at the city hall. Ole Bull, the Norwegian violin soloist, achieved international fame for his unique style of playing, further demonstrating the significant position London held in the touring circuit

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[64] Goodden, *et al.*, 38. Miss Patty McClaren won the award for best actress.

Plate 5: City Hall (Courtesy of J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

during this year.[65] 1858 provides an altered situation, as the number of visiting musicians recorded in *The Free Press* plummets. On 27 November, 1858 the Holmans aided in a Promenade Concert; the Starr Company made three appearances, and on 6 December 1858, and 13 August 1859 the Irish comedian and vocalist Gardiner Coyne made an appearance in the city. Another concert is recorded in *The Prototype*, given by Mrs. Gordon, on 25 April 1859. The number of performances given seems to have reflected the city's struggling economy.

On 1 and 2 July 1859, an opera troupe, led by Mr. Cooper, gave performances of *La Somnambula* and *Norma* at the Covent Garden Theatre. Cooper's company apparently had played "to immense audiences and with unbounded success."[66] A three-tiered price code was employed for seating, ranging from 25 cents for gallery seats, fifty cents for the dress circle and parquette, and one dollar for private box seats. Amelia Harris alludes briefly to this event--her sons Edward and George attended the 2 July performance--and states that it was the "first time an opera [h]as ever been given in London."[67]

After the depression had ended, travelling performers once again returned to the London stage. The concert given at the City Hall by Louis Gottschalk, on 5 February 1863, symbolizes London's importance as a destination for touring musicians and performers. Italian opera companies continued to perform in London, perhaps under the influence of Mr. Cooper's successful 1859 shows. On 2 and 3 November, *The Advertiser* announced that the popular second act of *Lucrezia Borgia*, and two acts from *Norma* would be presented by a troupe comprised of representatives from the conservatories of New York, Boston and Philadelphia.[68] The opera was staged in full costume. As well, Anna Bishop returned to the

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[65] "Bull, Ole (Bornemann)," *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, revised by Nicolas Slonimsky (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 266. Ole Bull (1810-1880) toured widely throughout Europe and North America. His technique has been termed as "eccentric," resulting mainly from his self-taught training, and also "experimental;" he whittled the bridge of his violin to the level of the finger board, to enable the sounding of four-note chords using all four strings simultaneously.

[66] *Free Press*, 29 June 1859.

[67] Harris, 115.

[68] The concert was held on 7 November.

city for another performance on 13 October 1864. However, London's stages were not completely exempt from demonstrating somewhat rustic characteristics; a review from *The Free Press* of 23 July 1860, describing the vocal and instrumental concert given by Mr. Fred Miller, and his "charming wife Hattie," concludes its complimentary description with an unusual note:

> Our attention had been called to the bearing of the Police during the Concert, [positioning] themselves in the front of the platform, and promenading with their hats on. The Police of London are privileged persons, and the correction of their demeanour is not in our department.

By 1862, travelling groups visited London on a weekly basis.[69] The construction of the Music Hall gave an added incentive to perform in the city.[70]

Public concerts during this period were held infrequently, mirroring the situation in London during the 1840s. On 27 and 28 September 1854, perhaps the most impressive set of concerts organized in London in this period was held as part of the Provincial Exhibition, presented in the city during this year. For each night, a different programme was set, which included solo arias accompanied by violin and piano (see fig. 2). The two concerts received much attention from the press:

> The Grand Provincial Concerts, which are to come off on the 27th and 28th inst. ...promise to be brilliant affairs. They are placed under the management of our very enterprising and worthy townsman, Herman Kordes, who is so justly celebrated for refined taste, judicious arrangement and unwearied exertions in musical matters. The conductor is G.A. Humphries, Esq., of Toronto, whose reputation as a musician and more particularly as a most eminent singer, is established throughout the Province. The greatest talent the Province claims as its own as vocalists as well as instrumental Performers has been secured for the occasion, and a treat is prepared for all lovers of really good music, for the above mentioned nights. Herman Kordes will, we are informed, if possible exhibit one of his Pianos, made at Paris, France, which is represented as a musical wonder, and to examine and hear which is itself worth the price of the ticket. The instrument is said to play the most difficult pieces which have been performed at Public Concerts by such Pianists as Leopold de Mayer, Thalberg, Liszt, Alfred Jael, Strakosh etc.[71]

Despite the ambitious nature of the programme, and the first appearance of a "player piano" in London,

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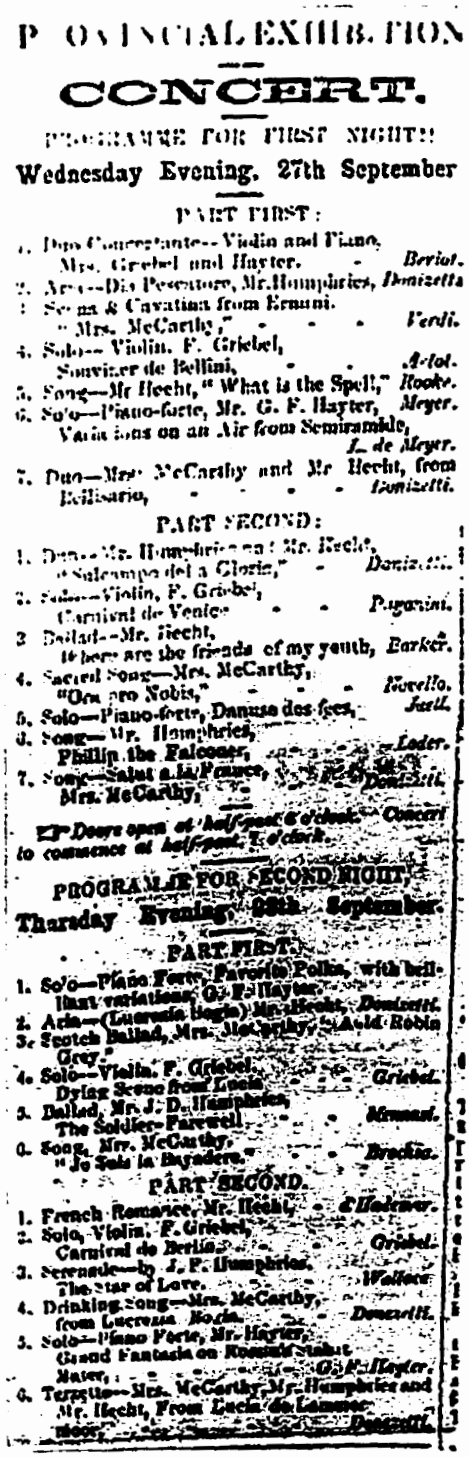
[69] *Free Press*, 12 Sept 1862.

[70] Herman Goodden and Michael Baker's *Curtain Rising, The History of Theatre in London* records the extent of later performances by touring groups.

[71] *Times*, 22 September 1854.



PROVINCIAL EXHIBITION

CONCERT.

PROGRAMME FOR FIRST NIGHT!!

Wednesday Evening, 27th September

PART FIRST:

1. Duo Concertante—Violin and Piano, Mrs. Griebel and Hayter. — *Beriot.*
2. Aria—Di Peschiere, Mr. Humphries, *Donizetti*
3. Scena & Cavatina from Ernani. "Mrs. McCarthy," — *Verdi.*
4. Solo—Violin, F. Griebel, Souvinier de Bellini, — *Artot.*
5. Song—Mr Hecht, "What is the Spell," *Rooke.*
6. Solo—Piano-forte, Mr. G. F. Hayter, *Meyer.* Variations on an Air from Semiramide, *L. de Meyer.*
7. Duo—Mrs. McCarthy and Mr Hecht, from Belisario, — *Donizetti.*

PART SECOND:

1. Duo—Mr. Humphries and Mr. Hecht, "Salompe del a Gloria," — *Donizetti.*
2. Solo—Violin, F. Griebel, Carnival de Venice — *Paganini.*
3. Ballad—Mr. Hecht, Where are the friends of my youth, *Barker.*
4. Sacred Song—Mrs. McCarthy, "Qui sero Nobis," — *Novello.*
5. Solo—Piano-forte, Danzas des fees, *Sarl.*
6. Song—Mr. Humphries, Phillip the Falconer, — *Leder.*
7. Song—Salut a la France, — *Donizetti.* Mrs. McCarthy,

☞ *Doors open at half-past 6 o'clock. Concert to commence at half-past 7 o'clock.*

PROGRAMME FOR SECOND NIGHT,

Tharsday Evening, 28th September.

PART FIRST.

1. Solo—Piano Forte, Favorite Polka, with brilliant variations, G. F. Hayter, — *Donizetti.*
2. Aria—(Lucrezia Borgia) Mr. Hecht, *Donizetti.*
3. Scotch Ballad, Mrs. McCarthy, "Auld Robin Grey," —
4. Solo—Violin, F. Griebel, Dying Scene from Lucia, — *Griebel.*
5. Ballad, Mr. J. D. Humphries, The Soldier's Farewell, — *Kinnaut.*
6. Song, Mrs. McCarthy, "Le Sole la Bayadere," — *Brochia.*

PART SECOND.

1. French Romance, Mr. Hecht, — *Hodsmer.*
2. Solo, Violin, F. Griebel, Carnival de Berlin, — *Griebel.*
3. Serenade—by J. P. Humphries, The Star of Love, — *Wallace.*
4. Drinking Song—Mrs. McCarthy, from Lucrezia Borgia, — *Donizetti.*
5. Solo—Piano Forte, Mr. Hayter, Grand Fantasia on Rossini's Stabat Mater, — *G. F. Hayter.*
6. Terzetto—Mrs. McCarthy, Mr. Humphries and Mr. Hecht, From Lucia de Lammermoor — *Donizetti.*

Figure 2: Programme for Provincial Exhibition Concert, *Free Press*, 22 January 1856 (Courtesy of J.J.Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

The Times indicates the concerts were not well supported:

> The Concerts--We regret to learn that the concerts got up for the Exhibition week were not remunerative; they certainly attracted a number of persons of taste, but [in] general the attendance was thin. The performers gave great satisfaction, and elicited much applause; the whole affair was well arranged and carried out by our very enterprising townsman Mr. H. Kordes. This gentleman deserves great praise and extensive patronage for his exertions at all times in musical matters.[72]

Concert music of this nature still seems to have been unpopular, and not well supported despite Kordes' "exertions" in "musical matters."

Unfortunately, missing issues from *The London Free Press* during much of 1855 render a full understanding of the music and theatre presented during this year impossible, while surviving issues from the *Prototype* yield only occasional references to local concerts. Nevertheless, one of the earliest allusions to a series of concerts in this period, from 9 January 1856, also helps explain the earlier failure of the Provincial Exhibition concerts:

> The Proposed Saturday Concerts--A correspondent, who signs his initials only, writes to enquire if the concerts were intended to include sacred music from the works of Handel, Haydn and Mozart--Such was not the intention. A more popular style of music would be necessary in order to make the concerts attractive--If some gentlemen who have the time would interest themselves in the plan it would doubtless succeed, but more apathy has been shewn in the matter than we gave credit for. The "Polka hug" is wanting, without which the accompaniment music does not seem to go down...

Perhaps to counteract this apathetic attitude towards "art" music and fondness for popular dance tunes, a meeting was announced in *The Free Press*, on 13 May 1856, calling for the formation of the London Philharmonic Society. The association was to meet at the Mechanics' Institute. Unfortunately, further references to the activities of this proposed coalition do not appear.

We know of two concerts given in 1856 and one annual performance sponsored by the militia in 1857, 1858 and again in 1859, which will be discussed in greater detail below. Finally, a public concert "got up" by Mrs. Brunton and Mr. Longman was staged late in December 1859. A fragmentary excerpt from *The Free Press* indicates that this latter affair was the "best entertainment we have experienced in a

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[72] *Times*, 6 October 1854.

long time."[73] Local public concerts of the 1850s, despite the creative energy of those who organized them, were sporadic and seem not to have gained solid public support. It seems that popular dance tunes, sentimental music, and patriotic melodies were the favoured musical style in London.

Several local brass bands were founded in this period. The first to appear was the German Musical Society, whose first concert was announced in February 1856. This "Grand Concert," scheduled for 1 March, was led by Mr. W.Y. Brunton and promised to present fifteen vocal and instrumental pieces. Admission was only twenty-five cents. On 24 March, another announcement appears, "Positively the last Benefit of the German Musical Society." The "Germania" band played again at the Merchant and Mechanics' Ball on 2 April 1856. No subsequent references to the musical ensemble have been found; Brunton most likely re-directed his energy towards the Covent Garden theatre. The organization may have been intended as a fund-raising vessel for future efforts in connection with the theatre; however, the apparent failure of the endeavour seems sadly typical of other ill-fated schemes to establish local musical societies. The brief appearance of this group gives further evidence of Brunton's diverse artistic vision, which after 1857, was not utilized again. Goodden and Baker suggest that perhaps his abilities as a manager were not as well developed as his creative imagination, a situation that would certainly have led to economic instability. However, his subsequent involvement in London's business affairs might suggest this was not the case. The intense burst of artistic activity, led almost single handedly by Brunton in 1856 and the summer of 1857, seems to indicate that had economic support for the arts been present in London at the time, he would have been successful in developing his musical and theatrical ventures.

Three other bands emerged during this period: the militia band, the Phoenix or Rescue Company Band and the band led by a local dance instructor, Mr. Charboneau. Calls to form a militia band in the latter half of the decade first appear in February 1856; by October of the next year Mr. Schiller had assumed the directorship of the ensemble. Schiller does appear in Goodspeed's history of Middlesex County; however, he is erroneously referred to as "Mr. Sheiller" and, again mistakenly, described as

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[73] *Free Press*, 29 December 1859.

organizing the Phoenix Fire Company Band in 1858. The only other information offered is that he was "a German."[74] Since the Middlesex County Death Records through to 1912 do not include his name, it seems he did not settle permanently in the London District. Schiller's militia band appears to have performed for only three years; however, he was active in performing concerts, accompanying theatrical pieces, and participating in representative sphere activities. The "Royal Volunteer Militia Company" band's first performance was held on 21 October 1857, at the newly constructed City Hall. No programme or review of the event survives. Presumably, they did not schedule a regular series of performances, since references to their concerts are few. On 7 January 1858, Schiller's band performed with the Buffalo Star Company, but the attendance at this venue was poor.[75] In March of the same year, his band performed at a benefit organized by the Masonic Fraternity as well as accompanying a presentation to S. McBride (the mayor at the time) at the Mechanics' Institute.[76] Finally in September, he scheduled a concert for 3 September,[77] but it seems not to have occurred until 22 September (see fig. 3). This latter date was postponed once again owing to the "other source of excitement" that had gripped the city--D'Arcy McGee was holding at lecture at the Royal Exchange Hall. The review of the concert, which was held on the 23rd, shows the promising potential of this musical figure:

> The concert given by Mr. Schiller on Wednesday evening was a great amusement--The City Hall was completely crowded, the majority of those present being ladies. Such a testimony to Mr. Schiller must have been very gratifying to him, and should encourage him to devote the whole of his energies to that which he has undertaken. Possessed of natural talents of a high order, Mr. Schillier [sic] need only pursue his profession with assiduity, in order to take a first-class position.[78]

Unfortunately, the audience, despite its predominantly female composition, seems to have reacted in a rather raucous manner:

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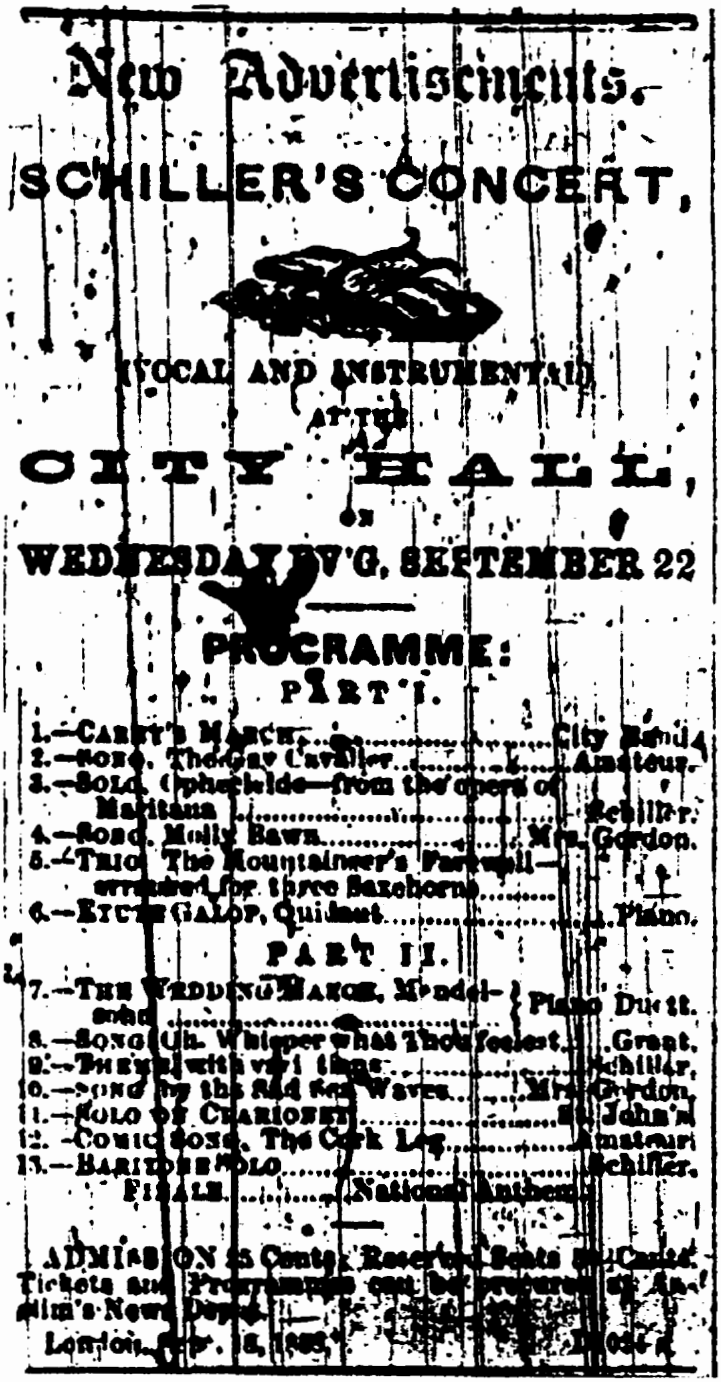
[74] Goodspeed, 362.

[75] *Free Press*, 9 January 1858.

[76] *Free Press*, 8 and 13 March 1858.

[77] *Middlesex Prototype*, 30 August 1858.

[78] Free Press, 24 September 1858.



New Advertisements.

SCHILLER'S CONCERT,

VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL

AT THE

CITY HALL,

ON

WEDNESDAY EV'G, SEPTEMBER 22

PROGRAMME:

PART I.

1.—CARR'S MARCH.....City Band.
2.—SONG. The Gay Cavalier.....Amateur.
3.—SOLO. Ophelide—from the opera of Maritana.....Schiller.
4.—SONG. Molly Bawn.....Mrs. Gordon.
5.—TRIO. The Mountaineer's Farewell—arranged for three Saxehorns.....
6.—ECCE GALOP, Quintett.....Piano.

PART II.

7.—THE WEDDING MARCH, Mendelssohn.....Piano Duett.
8.—SONG. Oh, Whisper what Thou feelest.....Great.
9.—THE [illegible] with veil thine.....Schiller.
10.—SONG. By the Sad Sea Waves.....Mrs. Gordon.
11.—SOLO OF CLARIONET.....St. John's
12.—COMIC SONG. The Cork Leg.....Amateur.
13.—BARITONE SOLO.....Schiller.
FINALE.....National Anthem.

ADMISSION 25 Cents; Reserved Seats 50 Cents.
Tickets and Programmes can be procured at Anglim's News Depot.

London, Sept. 18, 1858.

Figure 3: Programme for Artillery Band Concert (*Free Press*, 18 September 1858)

> We desire to remark, to some who seemed ignorant of the fact, that the use of "cat calls," whistling, and shrieking is a style of applause which would be far more suitable to hear in the beer garden than the concert room. The noisy demonstrations indulged in were most offensive, and however much the gentlemen who performed may have been indifferent to it, it was peculiarly unseemly when directed at a lady. Let us hope for amendment in the future.

It is perhaps telling that the audiences in London were not familiar with the etiquette developing around the concert experience, as so few had been presented. Schiller, despite the apparent success of this concert, disappears from the newspaper reviews.

The militia's band appears again at least twice on 15 April and 10 December 1859 under the name Artillery Band (possibly indicating it was re-organized), the latter concert given in tandem with Mrs. Raymond at a Temperance Association meeting.[79] The review of this event qualifies the group as "quickly becoming a London institution." On 24 May 1860, the band played again at the festivities marking the birthday of Queen Victoria; on 11 March 1861, it played for the Masonic Lodge Assembly, again with the support of Mrs. Raymond and her Temperance choir. The band performed for other venues, to be discussed below; however, these presentations did not include public concerts. By 1861, the Royal Canadian Rifles Band and the 63rd regiment's band provided stiff competition for the militia band, with the garrison's ensembles assuming responsibility for many of the social engagements which had previously used the militia's services. The Artillery Band died; however, by 1864, plans were in place for reorganizing another militia ensemble. *The Free Press* comments on these preparations:

> In a city like London--where there are a number of musical men--the difficulty [in setting up a band] would not be great, and it is hoped that those who are at present discussing the idea will not allow it to fall through or cease to work zealously, until the aim is accomplished.[80]

By 11 November 1864, a notice was printed in *The London Evening Advertiser* indicating that preparations for the new band, with stable financial backing, were well under way:

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[79] *Free Press*, 15 December 1859. The earlier performance is advertised in the *Prototype*, 15 April 1859, claiming that it is the Artillery Band's "first concert." Whether this refers to its first concert of the year, or the first performance by the band is uncertain.

[80] *Free Press*, 26 September 1864.

> It gives us great pleasure to be able to announce that the proper steps have been taken by the commanding officers of the different volunteer companies, in this city, for establishing the Volunteer Brigade Band on a permanent footing. Each company guarantees to furnish a fixed sum yearly for the maintenance of the band; and on the other hand, the musicians are to enrole themselves as members of one or [an]other of the companies, thus securing the two principal objects towards stability--sufficient funds for the payment of tuition and other incidental expenses, and a guarantee of permanency on the part of its members. We are also given to understand that the new drill shed will be opened by a grand promenade concert, or something of that description, at which the band will be expected to make its debut. A small sum will be charged for admission, and we anticipate that the band fund will be considerably augmented by the proceeds.

In 1866, under Hyttenrauch's direction, a band had been formed for London's re-organized militia company, the Seven Battalion.[81]

One of the first references to the Phoenix Fire Company Band, occurs in 1853, with the festivities that marked the opening of the Great Western Railway's arrival in London.[82] The procession in honour of the celebration was headed by the Phoenix Company's flag, followed by the band and the flags for the four other fire companies established in the city; the Woodstock Band, led by Captain Graham, followed behind. A dinner for 250 ensued at the Royal Exchange Hall. The Phoenix Band gained a complimentary description in *The Free Press*:

> We forgot to mention the very credible turn out of the Fire Companies, and the hospitable reception given by the Phoenix Company to the Woodstock Brass Band on its arrival here...his worship the mayor complimented the Fire Companies on their orderly and decorous conduct throughout this gala time...The city Marshals also added considerably to the procession, as well from their caparisciousd [sic] steeds as the order they maintained.

The fire companies apparently received "three hearty cheers" for their contribution to the ceremony. By this point the band had assumed a fairly prominent position in London's society.

In 1856 the fire company's band played at a city election celebration at the Robinson Hotel:

> At five o'clock last evening [8 January] the bar-room and adjoining apartments at the Robinson Hall presented a scene which, we will venture to say, for animation and merriment will not be excelled in London for many months. About 150 electors, who

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[81] Goodspeed, 362.

[82] *Times*, 16 December 1853. The event was held on 15 December. J.W. Holland claims that the militia band played for the opening ceremonies.

> were brim full of good humour and enthusiastic with the results of the elections, surrounded several of the successful candidates and marched them in triumph into the Robinson Hall. As soon as they had arrived within, the Rescue Company's Band struck up several favorite airs, and polkas, jigs and other dances were indulged in by not a few of the electors who cheered vociferously and gave other manifestation of joy. Messrs. Carling, Glass, Schramm, Phippps and other popular men were carried about the room in triumph and jolted up and down to the term of "See the Conquering Hero Comes."[83]

Basically, the Phoenix Band played only at functions that still had a strong emphasis on presenting London's wealthy ruling class.

A rare oral testament printed in *The Globe and Mail* of 18 July 1925, a series of articles which dealt with "backgrounds and horizons" in Ontario's musical and dramatic development, provides insight into the nature of the fire companies' activities in London. The article concerning London's artistic growth includes the reminiscences of Henry Gorman, a member of one of the early fire brigade bands:

> Henry Gorman...used to be a member of an old fire company's brass band in London...In those older days the fire-fighters were all volunteers, made up of the most prominent citizens of the town, who had to have some outlet for their energy in the intervals between conflagrations. The several companies had their jealously guarded memberships, like clubs, and were almost the only civic organizations of their day, so that four or five of them, on average, added to their prestige by forming bands which displayed the fire company's insignia on public occasions, and the rival musical bodies of this sort contested for prizes in band tournaments held in connection with the city or county fire-drill competitions. Mr. Gorman dates the close of this interesting phase of musical history, so far as London is concerned, about 1856, with the rise of the volunteer movement for service in the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny.

Gorman's recollections, given more than seventy years after performing with the fire company's band, seem somewhat inaccurate;[84] although the formation of a band for its prestige value is indicative of the importance of such musical organizations during this period. The "jealously guarded membership" of the fire companies, made up of "London's most prominent citizens," suggests that in the 1850s these

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[83] *Free Press*, 9 January 1856.

[84] The four fire companies continued to maintain service until the mid-1860s when they combined with the various militia companies to form the 7th Fusiliers, only one band seems to have existed. The rival fire bands and the "tournaments" they held are not evidenced by existing London newspapers. It may be possible that the Phoenix Brigade Band could be different than the Fire Rescue Band, this may be the case but it is impossible to distinguish this from surviving sources. In this case The Rescue Band appears to have flourished briefly after the Phoenix Brigade and may could possibly have been formed from members of its predecessor. J.W. Holland describes two rival brigades, the Phoenix and the Rescue Companies, but mentions only one band, apparently organized by his father.

organizations held a position of importance parallel to that of the militia. However, by 1860, the band had ceased to exist, and on a much celebrated excursion to Port Huron, Michigan, the Phoenix Fire Company utilized the services of the militia band to accompany their departure on the Great Western Railway line.[85]

Charboneau, who settled in London sometime in 1856, held his first "Dance Assembly" on 17 April 1856 at the City Hotel;[86] by March 1857 he had founded the City Quadrille Band. Charboneau's involvement in the city's entertainment pursuits included planning a "pleasure party" on 15 January,[87] which consisted of an excursion by train to Delaware with "the full band in attendance." The band is mentioned again on 25 August 1857, and on 12 September Charboneau hosted a Grand Opening Assembly at the Royal Exchange. By January 1858 his band was used to accompany the Mechanics' Festival. The ensemble is described in a review from *The London Free Press*:

> The band under the leadership of Mr. Charboneau added exceedingly to the pleasure of the evening. The ear was not assaulted by the harsh bray of ungovernable trumpets, but delighted with the dulcet notes of the violins, judiciously accompanied with one wind instrument.[88]

Charboneau's ensemble was likely smaller than either the fire companies' or militia bands, which used a more typical twenty-piece brass ensemble, while the use of stringed instruments gave the Quadrille Band a unique advantage over its competitors. By 1860, the band had secured the position of accompanying the Phoenix Company's 11th Annual Ball.[89] By 24 May 1860, the band had a new musical director, Mr. Smart, and played at a "Dancing on the Green" festival held at the military barracks in celebration of the Queen's birthday. The Artillery Band was scheduled to perform as well. In April 1861, in its final appearance, the band, now under the directorship of Mr. Sharpe, played for a ball at the City Hall,

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[85] *Free Press*, 5 July 1859.

[86] The hotel was built on the site of Balkwill's Tavern, on the south-west corner of Talbot and Dundas Streets, in approximately 1849.

[87] *Free Press*, 14 January 1857. The outing was postponed by one day, and had originally been planned for 14 January.

[88] *Free Press*, 23 January 1858.

[89] *Free Press*, 13 April 1860.

apparently still maintaining a smaller ensemble:

> It is much more pleasurable in such places as the Mechanics' Institute to introduce such music as was discoursed by this very efficient band, than to secure the services of a much larger number of musicians who make more noise and cause less pleasure.[90]

The City Quadrille Band seems to have secured a successful position in London's ball scene, most likely because of the modest number of performers. However, they too were overshadowed by the skill of the military bands of the Imperial Garrison, on the latter's return to London.

Although the city was fortunate enough to enjoy the presence of three local musical ensembles, they participated only rarely in public concerts. Primarily, these ensembles were employed during the ball seasons and in the service of exclusive organizations. The Militia Band, under Schiller's direction, staged at least three concerts at both the City Hall and the Royal Exchange Hall; however, there is little evidence that they maintained a regularly scheduled concert season. Their 1858 performance was superseded by a lecture given by D'Arcy McGee, a most important political figure at the time, and had to be postponed because of the excitement created by his presence in the city. The ensemble did endure in a sense; Goodspeed indicates that the Artillery Band formed the basis of the militia band for the re-organized Seventh Battalion. The City Quadrille Band shows how this local ensemble modified its structure in order to ensure a viable career in the city. By maintaining a small roster of performers, they were able to compete in London's entertainment scene. Despite the presence of three musical ensembles, public concerts were still not a profitable commodity in London.

Balls were still quite popular during this period, and an excellent description of the Grand Trunk Ball, held in 1854 in Guelph, provides a detailed description of the dances employed at the time. The gala event was held at the court house, and although this ball took place outside of the city, presumably a similar format would have been used in London:

1 Quadrille	Life Guard
2 Polka	Ogden
3 Waltz	Prima Donna
4 Quadrille	La Reine Jeanne

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[90] *Free Press*, 29 April 1861.

5 Galop	Queens
6 Polka	Post Horn
7 Quadrille	Sleigh Ride
8 Waltz	Rose Queen
9 Polka	Glasgow
10 Quadrille	Royal High
11 Schottische	Rochester
12 Galop	"Grand Trunk"
13 Polka	Retraite
14 Quadrille	Polka Sett
15 Waltz	Mandiland
16 Polka	Fire Fly
17 Quadrille	Lancer
18 Galop	Wire Bridge
19 Quadrille	Militaire
20 Schottische	Juliens
21 Waltz	Queen of the Ball
22 Galop	Railway[91]

The predominance of the quadrille, waltz and galop are quite typical of the mid-nineteenth-century European ballroom. One of the few surviving dance cards from a London ball, from a dance given in 1869 in honour of Prince Arthur, shows a similar preference for the standard triumvirate of dances, but adds the lancers (four out of twenty-one) to the list of popular dances.[92] A lone polka mazurka is also included. Again, the dances are quite in keeping with European fashions.

These new dances were taught to Londoners by a host of dance instructors. The first to teach in London, Mr. P. Burns, advertised in *The Gazette* on 5 October 1840, but it was not until 1850 that a definite growth in the number of instructors becomes apparent. In 1850 the Messrs. T. MacIndoe and R. Robertson opened a dance studio, which continued, except for a respite in Hamilton in 1859,[93] throughout most of the decade and well into the 1860s. In 1856 dancing and "deportment" were included in their lessons, and on 12 February their advertisement offered instruction in the galop. Three other academies

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[91] *Times*, 3 March 1854.

[92] "Dance Card from Ball Given in Honour of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, 1869" (J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London).

[93] *Times*, 29 November 1850; and *Free Press*, 28 November 1859.

appeared: in 1853, the Messrs. Ransier advertised lessons at the Royal Exchange Hall;[94] later, in 1857, an advertisement appeared for Hallet and Burns's Dancing Academy[95] (Hallet appears to have set up his own studio in 28 August 1858 on Burwell St. between Simcoe and Horton); finally, Mr. Collins established a dance academy at the Mechanics' Institute beginning in 25 November 1861, which offered "all the Fashionable Dances of the day," including "Payne's Quadrille, Lancers, Quadrilles, Caledonia Quadrilles, and Waltz Quadrilles, Polka Quadrilles, Valse a Trois Temps, Valse a Deux Temps...Polka Mazurka, La Esmeralda, La Galop, Schottische, Polka," for only four dollars per quarter. The price quoted for Collins's lessons was reasonable, being the same as the entrance price for the Tecumseh Ball held on 13 January 1859. However, it seems as if the Messrs. T. Macindoe and R. Robertson ran the most successful dance studio. In 1861, they still offered lessons to both "juveniles and adults" and they held an assembly on 22 October at the Tecumseh House in celebration of the hotel's anniversary (tickets were two dollars for the ball and supper, with music provided by the Royal Canadian Rifles' Band). Their advertisements still appeared in October 1864, now offering "Calisthenics" as well as dancing classes.

During this period, a larger segment of London's population began to have access to an entertainment previously reserved for London's wealthier families; thus, more dance instructors arrived to meet the demand. Furthermore, the reasonable rates charged by these instructors made dancing available to a wider portion of the public. This growth in dance instruction as a public rather than a private sphere activity seems to foreshadow future trends in London's balls, which became less and less exclusive.

The four Fire Rescue Companies, also known as the Phoenix Fire Companies, began holding "Grand Balls" in the mid 1850s, which quickly established a position equal to that of the earlier Mechanics' Institute balls. In late January 1856, the number two company held a ball, while two months later, the number four company did also.[96] The advertisement for this latter occasion, titled "Ready and Willing,

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[94] *Times*, 16 December 1853.

[95] *Free Press*, 22 January 1857.

[96] *Free Press*, 26 January and 25 February 1856. The number four Company's ball was held on 7 March.

First Grand Ball of the Season," proclaimed that

> under the distinguished patronage of His Worship the Mayor, and the Chief Engineer, this gallant Fire Company will give a grand ball on FRIDAY EVENING, 7th March, 1856, at the City Hall. It is the object of the Company in giving this ball to show the citizens of London that they can get up one surpassing in splendour and refinement any other ever given in the city.

The price of admission was somewhat expensive, at three dollars per person; however, a large number of citizens attended. *The Free Press* printed a favourable review two days later:

> The ball which took place...in the City Hall, was a splendid affair, and the manner to which it was conducted reflects the greatest credit on the Managing Committee. We understand that there were 300 persons present on the occasion, which is pleasing evidence that the valuable services of the Rescue Fire Company are fully appreciated by the public. The citizens of London have occasion to feel proud of the Fire Brigade. Whilst the Fire Departments of Hamilton, Toronto and Dundas, have been the source of much trouble to the Corporations of those cities, the Firemen of London are at peace and goodwill with the public, and pursue their avocations with a degree of application and quietude worthy of the motto of every true fireman.[97]

Maintaining a good relationship with the city was important because the civic "corporation" funded the four fire companies in London. However, the popularity of these events waned by the early 1860s.[98]

Representative sphere events, which still placed a strong emphasis on the musical accompaniment, continued to be held by London's established societies during this period. The Mechanics' Institute, even after the re-location of its Hall, sponsored at least one more ball: the Grand Ball held in 1856, which, interestingly enough, was qualified by including the name "Merchants." The Ball used the services of the Germania Band, led by Mr. Brunton, and included such prominent names as William Balkwill (the mayor at the time), John Kinder Labatt and John Carling.[99] In 1858 the Mechanics' Festival, held at the City Hall and not in the old Mechanics' Institute, was "the largest ever given in this city, more than 300 ladies and gentlemen being present." However, the tone of this event was shaped by the depression; *The Free*

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[97] *Free Press*, 10 March 1856.

[98] The firemen held a ball on 13 September, in honour of the Prince's visit. It was expected that he would visit this presentation given at the City Hall, however the Prince spent the entire evening at the Citizen's Ball at the Tecumseh House.

[99] *Free Press*, 28 March 1856. The ball was held on 2 April.

Press printed a lengthy oration given describing the responsibility of international banks (mainly American ones) in causing the economic crisis. The evening's entertainment did not include dancing, or even feature musical accompaniment.[100] By 26 October 1861, when *The Free Press* reports that the Mechanics' library had closed, the Institute had declined even further. Clarence T. Campbell claims that soon after 1855 "public interest in the organization seemed to be growing less," and it was "found advisable to dispose of the building and take rented quarters in an upper flat on the south side of Dundas Street, east of Clarance [sic] Street."[101] At a meeting on 8 November 1864, only eighteen to twenty people attended.[102]

On 21 January, a description of the Great Western Mechanics' Festival was published in *The Free Press*; however, the meeting and ball, held at the Tecumseh House, was not connected with London's original Mechanics' Institute. Representatives from the "London Locomotive Department" sponsored the occasion and infused the speeches and toasts with sentiments not at all typical of the Mechanics' Balls of the 1840s and early 1850s:

> Shortly after ten o'clock, the chairman, in opening the proceedings, remarked that he was proud of such a gathering as that which he saw before him. He was proud for many reasons; first, that there were present the principals of the [rail]road, who had come there to express their sympathy with the festival--and secondly, that it illustrated the desire of the mechanic to improve and elevate himself. Man is an improving animal, and among men none exhibited a greater tendency to improve than the mechanic--(Cheers.) Indeed they improve so fast, that they will soon take lead in the world. The reproach that formerly attached to them, that they did not look out beyond their daily routine, was now wiped away, and the mechanic is now recognised as one who can take his proper position in society and hold it. (Cheers.)

The ensuing toasts, songs and dance (the latter of which the "ladies seemed to enjoy ...in proportion, as they had been compelled to listen to the speeches of the evening up to so late an hour"), based exactly on earlier representative sphere balls in London, possibly implies a desire to imitate the presentations that the

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[100] *Free Press*, 23 January 1858.

[101] Clarence T. Campbell, *Pioneer Days in London* (London, Ont.: Advertiser Job Printing, 1921), 54. The Mechanics' Institute was re-organized in the 1870s, new hall was built in 1877 on the south side of Dundas, east of Clarence Street.

[102] *Free Press*, 9 November 1864.

city's founding set of families had used to gain prestige.

By 1861, others among London's established societies were disappearing or experiencing a transformation in their membership. Interest in the St. George's Society had died out; however, a call in March of that year was printed in *The London Free Press* urging Londoners to re-instate the institution.[103] On 18 April of the same year, a dinner in honour of St. George's day took place, but the association could not compete with London's Masonic Lodges and the Odd Fellows' Associations and seems to have disappeared sometime during the 1860s. The St. Andrew's Society continued throughout the 1850s, but, by 1861 the annual festival had assumed a new ideological direction:

> We discover that human beings of all climes and regions are very much alike, and the prejudice which veils the capacities and affections of men spring from localities different from our own, is like other prejudices alike hurtful to the eye... Grooped [sic] together as we are in this district, anything that tends to bind our common interests as citizens--to cultivate harmony of feeling--to evolve the great sympathies of humanity inherited by all of us;--anything capable of producing these results, and of extinguishing the petty jealousies springing from rare or national prestige, or religion, deserves a cordial welcome in our midst...We are all Canadians now and are bound to labour for the material and national development of Canada. The workman, the farmer, the mechanic, the merchant, the instructor, the writer, the legislator, the statesman, each has his own part to perform, and, fortunate[ly] for Canada...it is performed well.[104]

The society began to adopt a much more liberal or democratic outlook, focussing less on a segregationist policy. It is interesting to note that neither a procession nor any description of music or dancing occurs in this review.[105] The author does concede that "strictly speaking it is an annual national party;" however, "the members of the order cheerfully accept in a fraternal temper" non-members. Furthermore, he confirms that the public who are admitted "per favor," are no less generously treated than "those within the circle of membership." By the 1870s, this association, too, gradually disbanded. Goodspeed does not even mention the society in his history of Middlesex County.

The Orange Lodges continued to maintain a presence in the city. The celebration of 12 July 1856

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[103] *Free Press*, 22 March 1861.

[104] *The London News*, 6 December 1861.

[105] A meeting held on 29 November 1864 still included singing between toasts, but the only accompanying instrument described was a "shrill bagpipe." *Free Press*, 2 December 1864.

is typical of the festivities held throughout the 1850s. Beginning at nine o'clock the procession assembled, and began marching at eleven, accompanied by the Phoenix Band and other members of the four fire companies. After a church service at St. Paul's, the procession's extensive route is described:

> The company proceeded down Fullerton, through Ridout St., Dundas, Wellington, Grey St. and after passing through the lower end of Richmond, came back to Wellington where having formed into double file, with music and banners in the centre, they were addressed by John Wilson, the County Master.[106]

Basically, the parade route outlined the boundaries of the city at the time, clearly denoting their presence. The celebration did not include dancing. However, in 1860 during the visit to Canada by Edward, Prince of Wales, the association created a spectacle that seriously damaged their credibility in English Canada. In September 1860, the Loyal Orange Order of Kingston erected a triumphal arch, decorated with their flags and insignias, which provoked the Roman Catholics of the city to present a letter of complaint to the Duke of Newcastle, who was part of the Prince's entourage. The Prince, en route to Canada West by steamship, received the dispatch and reacted immediately. Amelia Harris describes what followed:

> Sept 5...the Duke of Newcastle...would not permit the Prince to land unless the party distinctions [the arch] were done away with. At last accounts the Orangemen had not given way and the Prince had not landed...
> Sept 6 The Prince did not land at Kingston but came on to Belville [sic]. There is a strong feeling of regret throughout the Province that anything so disagreeable should have occurred...
> Sept 7 The Orangemen from Kingston followed the Prince to Belville [sic] and joined their Brethren there. They would not give way but decorated the arches with their flags and insisted upon joining the procession and wearing their badges. The Prince would not land but steamed on to Cobourg where they had no party distinctions and all united in giving him a most enthusiastic welcome...
> Sept 8 The Prince is at Toronto and is most joyfully welcomed. No Orange Demonstration...[107]

The Orange Lodge of London wisely refrained from any such provocative tactics; yet, by the late 1800s, the order had certainly become a fringe group in the city. Goodspeed describes only one branch of the order as surviving in London, which compares poorly with the fourteen Masonic lodges, and the twenty-five Odd Fellows' orders that functioned in the city in the same period.

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[106] *The London Atlas*, 16 July 1856. This newspaper's motto was "A Weekly Political and Family Journal."

[107] Harris, 168-69.

The Odd Fellows, as well, were experiencing internal changes. On the fortieth anniversary of the "Introduction of Odd Fellowship into the American Continent," the usual church service, procession and dinner (with toasts and singing) were held, but no formal ball was advertised. This anniversary celebration of 1861, however, did feature music provided by Sharp's Quadrille Band, which, after a dinner meeting, played for the "quadrille party" that lasted until an "early hour" the next morning.[108] The meeting, held at the Mechanics' Institute, presented a new direction for the association: it is the first time that members' wives were accorded the title "Daughters of Rebecca," thus allowing them to attain membership, and the group seems to have rediscovered the Odd Fellows' original humanitarian precepts. An excerpt of the chairman's speech made during the meeting underlines this renewed sense of altruism:

> The changes and vicissitudes of life are frequent...as to reduce men who were once in circumstances of comparative ease to positive poverty and destitution, and many societies had been formed, having for their object, the alleviation of such discomforts [yet] most efforts have only secured a temporary relief in the exigency. The order of Oddfellowship was intended to accomplish more than this; while its members devoted themselves to the present relief of their suffering brethren, their great object was to secure, if possible, their future prosperity, and to this end they bound themselves together.

Thus, the Odd Fellows, like the equally well established St. Andrew's Society, began to concern themselves with charitable activities, probably as a result of the hardships experienced by many Londoners of all classes during the 1857 depression. The Harrises had already experienced economic uncertainty after John's untimely death in 1850, and their financial problems increased during the depression. Lawrence Lawrason, too, felt the devastating effects of the depression, which forced him to declare bankruptcy in 1857[109] and to sell his mansion on the north-west corner of Colborne and Queen's Streets, which was later converted into the Sacred Heart Convent. The Gzowski family also fell on hard times: Amelia Harris writes in 1860 that Mrs. Benjamin Cronyn had called and commented that "she thinks they are changed, and she fancies she likes the Gzowskis poor better than she likes them rich."[110] One also notes that less

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[108] *Free Press*, 29 April 1861.

[109] Frederick Armstrong, *The Forest City, An Illustrated History of London, Canada* (London, Ont.: Windsor Publications, 1986), 47.

[110] Harris, 165. The entry is dated 7 July.

emphasis was given to dancing and music as a vital aspect of their festivities. Aging membership in these older institution may have been one factor determining this new direction; yet, the general shift in ideology in both societies seems to indicate a rejection of earlier practises, which focussed primarily on providing a forum for social entertainment. The immense growth of the order in the late nineteenth century, an expansion experinced by the Masonic order as well,[111] attests to a much less exclusive approach to membership.

In the late 1850s, a new sort of ball seems to have been presented, not necessarily linked with any official organization, and thus functioning as a public sphere event. Indeed, the proceeds from each occasion provided the basis for subsequent presentations. Likewise, benefit balls for charitable organizations appear, which aimed to secure a profit for the cause in question. The first of these new "civic" balls was the Bachelors' Ball. Amelia Ryerse Harris describes one of the earliest of these balls, held on 30 December 1858:

> John, Edward, George, Teresa[112] and Sophia[113] went to the Bachelor's Ball. The evening was very wet. The rain fell in torrents and the Ball was anything but pleasant to Sophia and Teresa as the preponderating proportion of the company were shoemakers, dressmakers, grocers, etc.[114]

Another entry, concerning the 4 March 1859 Bachelors' Ball, was commented upon more favourably, "The Bachelors' Ball, the last of the season, my juveniles decided was a success--there were few strangers present."[115] Amelia's commentary underlines the definite class boundaries present in London at the time: having "few strangers present" was apparently an acceptable situation, so that a sense of class homogeneity could be maintained, while a "preponderating proportion" of lower class individuals was much less

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[111] The London St. John's Masonic Lodge, no. 209, fell into decline between 1856 and 1859, holding only informal meetings. However, Goodspeed claims that after 1861, the lodge "now began to show signs of prosperity." Goodspeed, 327.

[112] Four of Amelia's children.

[113] Sophia, Amelia's daughter-in-law, was the daughter of Egerton Ryerson.

[114] Harris, 89.

[115] Harris, 95.

desirable.[116]

In 1865, an entry from Amelia's diary reveals that the Bachelors' Balls were sponsored by local bachelors, who assumed all financial responsibilities. Amelia, still concerned with financial matters even in this late period when most of her surviving children were married (George excepted, of course), expresses anxiety when her son George accepted the responsibility of hosting a ball:

> Feb. 17 George is in a state of excitement about the Bachelors' Ball this evening. He is one of the bachelors and the expenses are going to fall very heavily on a few of them. It is great folly, their giving the ball...
> Feb 18 Both Edward & George thought the ball one of the best that has ever been given in London. What is a very uncommon thing, everybody appeared to be pleased.[117]

These balls, as with the lavish Tecumseh balls, did not rely on funding provided by a society of members who could absorb costs. The private sponsors who hosted a Bachelors' Ball needed to ensure that the evening would turn a profit. Their admission of any who could afford the ticket price explains, at least in part, Amelia's view that many of London's balls were not well received by the city's upper-middle class. Apparently, the city appreciated the entertainment provided by the set of bachelors, presumably drawn from London's wealthier set of citizens who could afford the financial risk involved, as evidenced by a "Return Ball" given on 15 May 1860. On this particular occasion, the ball was given "to the BACHELORS of this City, in return for their generous Entertainment given at the BACHELORS' ASSEMBLIES during the past winter."[118] The expectation of these civic tokens of appreciation likely acted as further impetus for ensuring that all who attended were satisfied.

The opening of the Tecumseh Hotel provided an important stimulus in the growth of these new

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[116] Susanna Moodie, in her second book *Life in the Clearings*, describes balls held in the Belleville area, and found a more congenial atmosphere: "Balls given on public days...are composed of very mixed company, and the highest and lowest are seen in the same room. They generally contrive to keep to their own set--dancing alternately--rarely occupying the floor together. It is surprising the goodwill and harmony that presides in these mixed assemblies."

Susanna Moodie, *Life in the Clearings* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853; Toronto: MacMillan Company, 1959), 64.

[117] Harris, 253.

[118] *Free Press*, 9 May 1860.

public occasions. The immense cost expended on construction of the edifice necessitated efforts to ensure future financial stability. Thus, balls needed to be lavish enough to overshadow earlier such presentations, but could not remain as exclusive; high attendance was required to ensure a sufficient profit. An advertisement for the hotel's first Christmas Ball emphasizes the Tecumseh's eagerness to appeal to a large portion of the population; consequently the event was touted enthusiastically:

> This, the gayest event of the season, will take place this evening, and all who are not crippled or cross, or object to a trip upon the well smoothed floor on account of conscientious scruples, should make it a point of being present. The arrangements have been placed in the hands of an active committee, who have provided all that is necessary to further the comfort and enjoyment of the dancers, as well as of those whose dancing days are over, but who can yet feel pleasure in witnessing the graceful movements, in which the young delight to engage. J.M. Bennett, the excellent lessee of the Tecumseh, will, it is expected, outdo himself on the occasion, and provide most sumptuously for those who may favour the Tecumseh with their presence.[119]

Amelia Harris does not mention this ball in her journals, but describes a ball given earlier in 1859 for the opening of the hotel. She is complimentary in her estimation of the ball's success:

> There were 5 or 600 people present, and all well dressed and well conducted, which I think speaks very well for London as everyone could go who could pay 4 dollars for a ticket. I as one of the Lady patronesses remained until after supper. The supper was the best and prettiest that has ever been given in London and the music (Pappenburg's Band)[120] was excellent...John came home very soon after I did, that is, about 1/2 past two. It was nearly 4 o'clock before Ellen,[121] Teresa and George came. Edward did not return until eleven the next day and I am sorry to say he had joined a convivial party and drank more than he ought to have done...
> Feb 11 Everybody looked very stupid this morning.[122]

Balls given by an independent business had to provide entertainment that would indeed turn a profit. Later balls of these sorts provided lavish competition for those held by the fraternal or patriotic societies.

The most well-documented ball held in London was certainly the one given in honour of Edward,

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[119] *Free Press*, 28 December 1859.

[120] References to this ensemble do not appear in contemporary newspapers. She could allude to a band from outside of London, perhaps the Woodstock band.

[121] Ellen Hamilton, daughter of James Hamilton, the District Treasurer. John Harris had held this position until his death in 1850. John, Teresa, and Edward were three of Amelia's children.

[122] Harris, 90.

the Prince of Wales on 13 September 1860. Discussions concerning the manner in which London would celebrate the Prince's visit began in the spring of 1860, and by 14 June a committee meeting was held. Almost immediately, clothing stores began an enthusiastic advertising campaign; one store announced, "Loyalty is the Canadian Motto...Ladies of London are prepared to do the honours of the city and in elegance of costume and tastefulness of style will be behind none in the province."[123] By July, a ball had been decided upon (13 July) and in August a list of over forty of London's most prestigious families was presented in *The Free Press* as the official committee to "undertake the necessary arrangements."[124]

London's "Citizen's Ball" was held on 13 September 1860 at the Tecumseh Hotel. The room is described in detail in the 15 September *Supplement to the Canadian Free Press*:[125]

> The ball was held in a new and splendid room 200 feet long by 50 feet wide (built for the occasion). The floor being new and perfectly smooth, added greatly to the comfort of the dancers. The room was beautifully decorated, under the personal supervision of G. Griffen, Esq. Opposite the entrance was the Prince's dais, which was placed upon a slightly elevated platform, with a canopy above. The Prince's plume and motto, and A.E. were prettily wrought in roses over the Royal chair. Fronting the dais, on a stage erected for the purpose, was placed the Band of the Royal Canadian Rifles. The band gallery was covered with red cloth, and decked with roses, and the motto "God Save the Queen." The walls of the apartment were covered with a glazed material of different colours, affording a very bright and cheerful appearance to the room. The ceiling was decorated with evergreens and strips of coloured cloth were hung across the room. A large number of mirrors were placed at intervals around, together with a collection of engravings and paintings lent for the occasion. At either end of the room were placed sofas and chairs for the accommodation of those who did not dance. The room was lit by gas, a pipe running round the entire apartment, studded with over a thousand burners, from each of which proceeded a jet of gas. Chandeliers likewise depended from the roof. The room altogether presented a most charming appearance.

It is perhaps surprising that a band from outside of London was employed, possibly indicating that London's Artillery Band was not of a high enough calibre to perform for the occasion. Twenty-one dances were featured at the ball, including four quadrilles, two polkas, six waltzes, four lancers', four galops, and

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[123] *Free Press*, 11 June 1859.

[124] *Free Press*, 7 August 1860. The committee included such names as Horton, Goodhue, Lawrason, Carling, Blackburn, Askin, Hamilton, Labatt, Harris, Meredith, Hyman, Hope, and Leonard.

[125] *The Canadian Free Press* was published as a weekly Saturday edition of *The London Free Press* well into the mid-1860s.

the evening ended with a spirited finale entitled "Sir Walter de Coverly."[126]

Amelia Harris indicates that during the preparations for the ball problems arose concerning who would act as master of ceremonies. Two days before the actual event, Amelia wrote:

> There has been a great rumpus amongst the ball committee today, 17 out of 30 met, and proposed that Mr. Becher [H.C.R.] should be master of the ceremonies instead of Mr. Griffin, who is first named, and has taken all the trouble of decorating the room. Everything has been managed by him or the ball would have been a failure. Mr. Becher has done nothing but make himself disagreeable.[127]

On the evening of the ball, Amelia describes the continued battle between these two men:

> The ball to the Prince was a success....Mr. Becher succeeded in offending every body, he would be the master of ceremonies and usurped Mr. Griffin's duties, Mr. Griffin's expostulations were useless. He must either give place to Mr. Becher or have a row in the ballroom. Mr. Becher altered the list of ladies who were named as partners for the Prince, and brought forth his own friends, and this has given mortal offence to all those who were not danced with. They threatened to kick Mr. Becher.[128]

The Free Press affirms Becher's assumption of control as the "Master of Ceremonies":

> Indeed, in truth, we might say the latter gentleman "made up the card" for the Prince. No one could dance with or approach the Prince unless Mr. Becher was consulted. Mr. Becher was decidedly the factotum of the evening. Everything had to filter through him.[129]

It is perhaps tempting to conclude that Becher, a member one of London's older prestigious families, desired to see London's own "elite" put in the dancing order. However, the diary of Sophia Ryerson Harris indicates that Becher sought to favour "friends from a distance...in lieu of townspeople."[130] A list of the women who danced with the Prince--he danced to all twenty-one numbers-

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[126] Becher claims the Prince requested to dance "Sir Walter de Coverly with his own party only." "Diary of H.C.R. Becher," J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London. Becher's diaries were published by *The London Advertiser* on 6 November 1926.

[127] Harris, 169-70.

[128] Harris, 171. Becher describes the ball in detail, focussing particularly on how "everyone seems incensed against" him "in the most violent way." He offers no explanation as to why he appropriated the duties of master of ceremonies, other than he did not "agree" with his original responsibility of "standing by a certain door of the ballroom and [having] nothing to do with the dancing."

[129] *Supplement to the Canadian Free Press*, 15 September 1860.

[130] Harris, 380.

- does include many prominent names, including Becher, Askin, Lawrason, Meredith, the Misses Gzowskis, and Hamilton.[131] However, the original dance list, printed in the 7 September *Supplement to the Canadian Free Press*, does not include any of these traditional London family names, excluding in particular those chosen by Becher.

Despite this controversy, the Prince's visit was a complete success.[132] Almost every business in the city was illuminated and festooned with Union Jacks, while over twenty floral triumphal arches, designed by the city architect Mr. Robinson, spanned London's streets. Other activities were also planned in honour of the Prince, including a public reception attended by 20,000 people, a Royal Dinner Party at the Tecumseh House, the singing of the National Anthem by a chorus of 2,000 school children (a superhuman feat arranged and conducted by Mr. Longman), a Fireman's Tournament as well as the latter's ill-fated ball. The "Citizen's Ball" at the Tecumseh was a financial success, with over 550 people in attendance. Sophia indicates how important this visit was to Mr. Bennett, the manager of the hotel: "Bennett had newly furnished the Tecumseh & said he would be ruined" if the ball did not occur.[133] The relatively smooth running of the ball, the beauty of the ballroom's decorations--which Sophia concludes were "no comparison prettier than [those] at the citizen's ball in Toronto[134]--and the immense number of Londoners who attended dressed in "gorgeous array," all seemed to herald a new more democratic atmosphere at London's balls.

The conclusion to the *Canadian Free Press* supplement of 15 September summarizes the visit most aptly:

That London did its duty, we feel bound to testify. The demonstration was not

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[131] *Supplement*, 15 September 1860.

[132] Becher claims Prince Edward commented that "It has been such a pretty ball." Apparently the royal visitor and his entourage thought the ball a "great success."

[133] Harris, 380. Rumours circulated in London that the Orangemen's demonstration might effect the Prince's visit to the city.

[134] Harris, 380.

> governmental or municipal, but personal. Everybody joined in it. Those who could afford the time and money to erect handsome arches, and to produce brilliant illuminations, did so with good will, but those who could not , run [sic] up their little piece of bunting ornamented with evergreen or flowers, so that no house was wanting in some token of satisfaction and respect. It has been this universality that has been the chief feature of the occasion, and has been noticed by no one more fully than by the Prince himself.

The "universality" of sentiment seemed present at the ball as well, despite Becher's attempt to rekindle the representative sphere procedures of the previous two decades.

Following the Prince of Wales's visit to London, civic balls and public entertainments involving dancing became more popular. Although the first of these occasions appeared in 1856, titled the "Fancy Dress and Civic Ball," and was sponsored by such eminent men as Labatt, Lawrason and Lionel Ridout, an increasing number of such presentations occurred after 1860. In 1861 several such balls were presented: on 27 September a "People's Ball" was held at the Tecumseh;[135] the first "Citizen's Midsummer Ball" was held on 19 July; in September two "Promenade Concerts" were held, the first attracting up to 3,000 people, and the second 1,600; and in October another two "Grand Promenade Concerts" were organized by the Royal Canadian Rifle company--the first, on 23 October, in aid of the Mercantile Library Association and the second, on 26 October, in aid of the nearly bankrupt Mechanics' Institute. Unfortunately, the rival Mercantile Library disbanded soon after their benefit.

In the 1860s, there was also an immense rise in the number of civic excursions. They generally occurred to mark the Queen's Birthday, on 24 May, but also began to be held on the beginning of September, for the civic holiday. In 1860, advertisements extolled the importance of "keeping the Queen's birthday" as an expression of loyalty. Excursions and picnics by train to Port Stanley, St. Mary's, Hamilton, Toronto and Niagara Falls were organized. Tickets ranged in price from twenty-five cents and one dollar; the inexpensive price of these excursions (when compared to earlier representative sphere

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[135] All references in this paragraph are taken from *The London Free Press.*

occasions) likely encouraged thousands of Londoners to participate.[136] The Artillery Band, and Smart's Quadrille Band played on the trains to entertain the passengers. In London, a "Grand Evening's Entertainment" was staged by the Artillery Band and consisted of a royal salute, fireworks and a "Dancing on the Green." Music and dance were becoming an important feature in Londoners' social expression, and were open to a wider audience than ever before.

Changes in public music also occurred with the growth of benefit concerts in London. These presentations, designed to minister to the growing number of impoverished people who had fallen victim to the depression, led to a new recognition of music in the public sphere. One of the first programmes reflecting this trend, entitled "Remember the Poor," was held on 18 February 1858 at the City Hall. The event proved successful; the proceeds from the concert amounting to 200 dollars. On 8 March the "Masonic fraternity" sponsored another concert in aid of Mrs. Rugemeyer, a local widow whose "sudden and painful bereavement" had "unfortunately brought her into notice."[137] The programme was varied and included violin and flute solos, "Why do the Nations" from Handel's *Messiah* and a comic duet executed by Messrs. W. Lawrason and S. Morrill. This programme combined the talents of a number of London's resident performers: Longman, Schiller, Mrs. Brunton and the Artillery Band all participated. The presence of two of London's most prestigious men, Lawrason and Morrill, who sang "with evident taste and finish," indicates the support lent by London's upper-middle class. The event too proved productive:

The concert came off on Friday night...and the spirit and energy of the kind friends was

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[136] Susanna Moodie relates a humorous anecdote concerning the price of concert tickets in the 1850s. Apparently she helped organize a concert in an unnamed town near Belleville. A farmer, upon discovering that tickets were priced at fifty cents, exclaimed "Well, it will be *expensive*. There's my wife and two darters and myself; and the gals never seed a con-sort." Moodie offered a discount for all four at a more reasonable one dollar and fifty cents, but the "shrewd" farmer managed to procure entrance to the event by bartering with a pail of butter. Public events in London during the 1860s, even at these lower prices, might have discouraged some from participating; however, the large number of citizens who did attend these events suggests a growing dissemination of wealth in the city.
Moodie, 98.

[137] This benefit concert foreshadows the Masonic Lodges' future involvement in charitable activities. This society, like the Odd Fellows, seems to have experienced a shift in its ideological direction during this period.

> rewarded by a crowded room, every available seat being occupied. A most attractive programme had been prepared, the selections being varied by Mr. Schiller on the violin, and Mr. Longman on the flute. Both these gentlemen deserved the applause bestowed upon them. The Military [sic] Band were [sic] placed in the gallery--a good arrangement,--the instruments sounding better there than on the platform, and their playing had the effect of enhancing the spirits of the audience.[138]

On 18 March 1861, Hyttenrauch (the article spells his name Hettenrauch) worked "indefatigably" on organizing a "Ladies' Benevolent Society Concert." The programme was varied, including a piano rendition of the overture to Bellini's *Il Puritani*; "The Motives" from *Il Trovatore*, *La Traviata*, and *Sicilian Vespers*; "A Serenade" by Schubert, as well as various popular melodies and a "Farewell to the Mountains" presented by Mr. Rumball in a "semi-sentimental and a semi-comic" style. The event was "very successful," the audience being "attracted doubtless as much by the benevolent object of the entertainment, as by the entertainment itself." On this particular occasion, members of London's wealthy families participated in the performance, with the Misses Horton, Goodhue, Wilson and Hughes donating their services on the pianoforte. Their "benevolent spirit, which prompted the Amateurs thus to sacrifice their own feelings and appear, some of them for the first time, before a public audience" was apparently particularly appreciated. Yet another concert of this sort, held in 1862, for the "Flockhart Benevolent Fund" was given for the widow of the "late Serjeant-Major Flockhart. Finally, on 14 November 1862 an "Amateur Concert in Aid of the Relief Fund" was organized. Mr. St. John Hyttenrauch conducted this "Grand Concert" using the services of the "London Musical Union."[139] This marks the first appearance of a stable musical organization in the city dedicated to the production of public concerts. In 1875, the association was re-organized and later was renamed The London Philharmonic Society.[140] These benevolent concerts of the early 1860s proved important, as they attracted a large audience, often including London's prominent citizens, and drew attention to the skills of these able local musicians. Although the organizers and participants most likely donated their services, these presentations, rather than exploiting

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[138] *Free Press*, 15 March 1858.

[139] *Free Press*, 11 November 1862.

[140] Goodspeed, 360.

the performers, enabled them to advertise and familiarize London audiences not only with their particular talents, but with the public concert experience as well.

Another development that popularized public music during in the late 1850s was the advent of the concert or promenade ball. Virtually all of London's established musical figures took part in these events. Using this qualified title seems to intimate a new recognition of the important position music held in London's balls. Although the inclusion of popular and patriotic music, played by the dance band, was typical of balls held in the 1840s, this aspect of the event was not acknowledged in advertisements. It was such hybrid presentations that provided much of London's entertainment during the depression and into the 1860s. The first of these events, titled "Grand Promenade Concert & Ball," was held on 26 November 1858. The event was sponsored by the mayor and other "leading citizens," and employed the services of the Phoenix Fire Company, as well as Mrs. Brunton, the Messrs. Schiller, Kordes, Longman, Smart and the Holman family troupe. Tickets for the concert were fifty cents, and one dollar and fifty cents for both the concert and ball, and the impressive array of performers gave "universal satisfaction" to those that attended.[141] *The London Free Press* implies that the affair was well supported, claiming "the Hall was as full as was convenient."[142] On 21 January 1860, a "Grand Soiree and Promenade Concert" celebrating Robbie Burn's birthday was held featuring Mrs. Raymond and the Artillery Band, and on 5 April 1861 a "Grand Promenade Concert and Ball" was presented, sponsored by the Phoenix Fire Company. For this latter occasion the Detroit Light Guard Band performed with Raymond, Mrs. Brunton and the "London Quartette Club."[143] The latter occasion offered tickets for the concert at fifty cents, for the ball at one dollar and fifty cents, and "a ticket admitting one Lady and Gentleman to both the concert and ball" at two dollars. The lower prices for these events, in comparison to the balls of the 1850s, likely made them more accessible to a larger segment of the population.

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[141] *Free Press*, 19 November 1858.

[142] *Free Press*, 27 November 1858.

[143] *Free Press*, 22 March 1861. Further references to the Quartette Club do not appear in *The Free Press*.

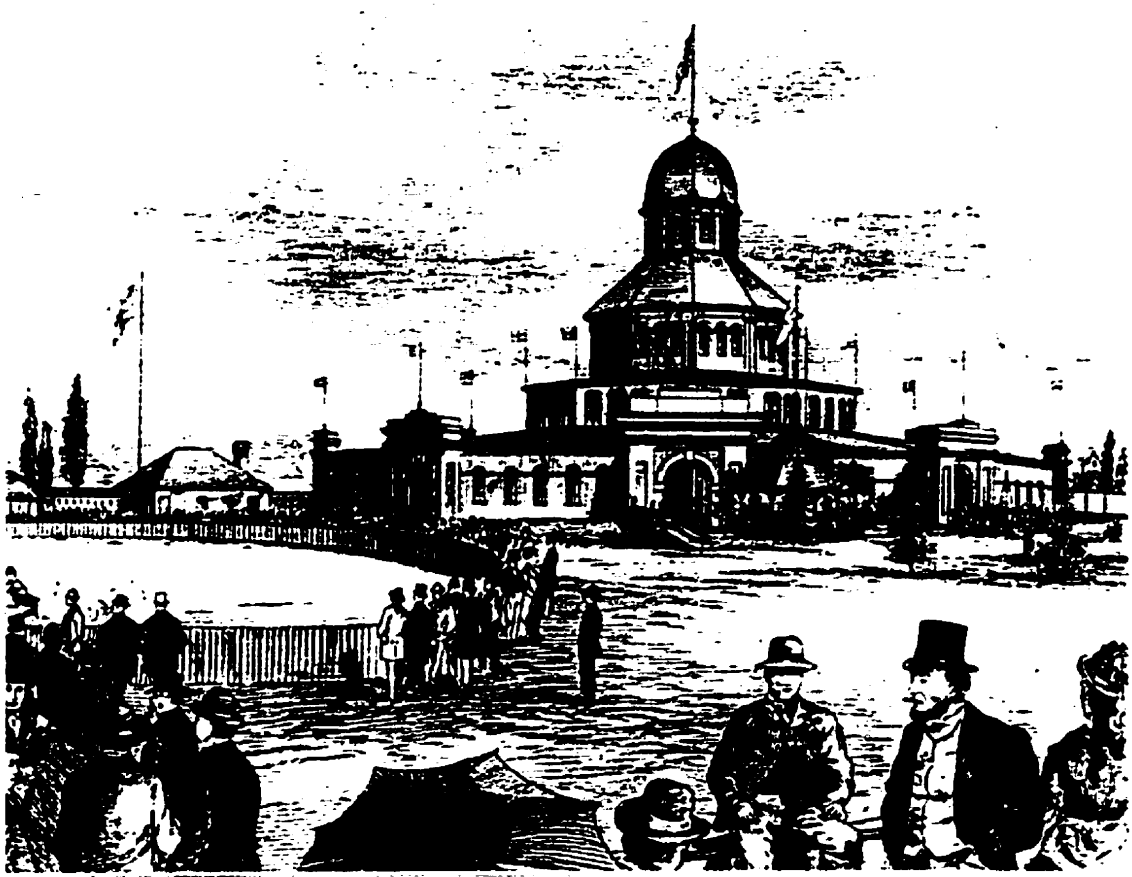

Plate 6: Crystal Palace (Courtesy of J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

In September 1861, two Grand Promenade Concerts were held, celebrating the opening of London's own "Crystal Palace." The structure was erected on the London fairgrounds as part of the provincial exhibition held in the city that year (see plate 6). Tickets for the exhibition concerts were priced at a reasonable twenty-five cents, with "thousands" of them being offered to the public. An article describing the occasion indicates that Mr. St. John had "kindly consented to act in concert with a number of others" to perform, but emphasizes that he was not the acting manager; this responsibility remained in the "hands of the executive committee." *The London Free Press* reported on one of the enormous endeavours:

> As we anticipated, the concert was a decided success. About 1,600 people were present, who seemed to thoroughly enjoy themselves. The Rifle Band played in their usual masterly style, though some of the finer passages of music were drowned by the noise occasioned by the promenade. After the concert, about 240 couples went upstairs to the ball, an additional fee of twenty-five cents being charged, though permission was freely accorded for those who chose to dance below to do so. The dancing was carried on with great spirit until nearly one o'clock, when the "National Anthem" was the signal for retiring...The proceeds, when the accounts are made up, will probably be in the neighbourhood of $150, and will all be devoted to the painting of the building.[144]

These exhibition concerts not only demonstrate that balls were now open to a much larger segment of the population than ever before, but served as a medium to popularize public concerts for London audiences. Although, as was the case with this latter promenade concert, the performers were not always paid for their services, the creation of a market for public sphere music in the 1860s helps explain why London experienced tremendous growth in both concerts and in the development of musical organizations in the ensuing decade.

Finally, in 1861, the return of the Military helped to develop a taste for public concerts in London. Upon their arrival the Royal Rifle Band, and later the 63rd Garrison's Band, immediately resumed artistic involvement in the city by staging weekly concerts at the cricket grounds (located in the barracks area) that were free of charge. The first concert, given in September 1861 after the exhibition concerts, was performed by the Rifle Band at the exhibition grounds. In advertising the presentation, *The Free Press*

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[144] *Free Press*, 17 September 1861.

thanked "Col. Bradford for his continued courtesy in permitting the band to perform so frequently for the gratification of the citizens of London."[145] These free concerts continued into October, and the programme for the performance given on the first of that month is representative of their varied selections:

March	Axevalla	Daustromme
Selection	Das Nachtlager in Granada	Kreutzer
Selection 2nd	Lucrezia Borgia	Donizetti
Valse	Olympic Tango	Launce
Duetto	Beatrice de Tenda	Bellini
Mazurka	Santa Lucia	[unattributed]

Popular dances were represented, yet renditions of current operatic arias held an equally important position on the programme. On 22 October, the attendance was reported as being "poor"; however, the weather could have been a deterrent to the audience's participation. A concert sponsored by the Rifle Band in January 1862 at the City Hall attracted an audience of over 600 people.[146] On 12 February 1862, Col. Bradford announced that the Royal Canadian Rifles would commence "weekly concerts at the city hall to benefit the poor." On 3 March of the same year, the 63rd Regiment arrived, and three days later they were scheduled to perform at a "People's Concert," in tandem with the Rifle Band. On 14 March, the 63rd performed a "Grand Concert" at the city hall, with all proceeds going to charity.[147] On 15 April, the 63rd performed their own benefit concert for the Flockhart Fund, which included the Overture to *William Tell*, selections from *Il Trovatore*, as well as a Comic Glee by Bishop, and a Valse and a Quadrille by D'Albert. By September, the industrious Garrison Band had continued the tradition of giving free concerts at the cricket grounds. A *Free Press* review from 4 September comments on that week's concert--which included works by Auber, D'Albert and Meyerbeer--claiming that "these weekly entertainments are duly appreciated by the public." In the last two concerts of September (24 and 26), the band included an new galop, titled "Skedaddler," which was composed by Mr. Miersch, the company's bandmaster, as well as *Fantastique Mardi Gras aux Enfers* by Schubert, and the overture from *La Traviata* by Verdi. The

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[145] Free Press, 25 September 1861. The concert was held on the 26th.

[146] *Free Press*, 3 January 1862.

[147] *Free Press*, 13 March 1862.

concerts continued until the mid-1860s.

One of the important factors in contributing to the later development of thriving musical institutions that could perform large scale works such as oratorios was the presence in London of church choirs. Paul George Fuller, in his M.A. thesis *Aspects of London's Cultural Development From the Turn of the Century to World War II*, credits church choirs with assuming "a dominant role in London's musical life."[148] However, references to church-based concerts, with the exception of the 1846 opening of St. Paul's church, are not recorded in the London newspapers until the 1860s. One of the first occurred in 1861:

> SOIREE THIS EVENING--We beg to call the attention of our readers to the public Soiree, this evening, in the Congregational Church. Short speeches on interesting subjects, interspersed with choir and congregational singing, in addition tea, coffee, etc. with opportunities for social greetings, are the order of the evening...admission 25 cents, to be paid at the door.[149]

The evident lack of sacred concerts is demonstrated in a letter submitted to *The Free Press* in March 1862 during the preparations for the Flockhart Fund concert:

> It has been agreed that a Secular Concert shall be held at the City Hall...But is there not talent enough in the city to undertake a good concert at one of our city churches, when sacred music would [appropriately] be given? Surely, the choirs of the diverse congregations could combine for such a charitable object, and give the public some really good sacred music. The Wesleyan Church on North street would be an excellent [space] for the concert, if it could be had. Who will move on this matter?[150]

On 9 September 1862, the situation was remedied by Longman, who co-ordinated a sacred "Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert." at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church. Longman, the organist at the Roman Catholic church, set an extensive programme which included clarinet, violin and vocal solos as well as choral pieces (see fig. 5). The concert was reviewed by *The Free Press* on 11 September:

> Sacred concerts in small cities are few and far between, and when one does take place the public should not be slow in availing themselves of it. The concert at the R.C.

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[148] Paul George Fuller, "Aspects of London's Cultural Development From the Turn of the Century to World War I" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1966), 47.

[149] *Free Press*, 8 October 1861.

[150] *Free Press*, 25 March 1862.

SACRED CONCERT.

A Grand Vocal and Instrumental

CONCERT

WILL BE GIVEN IN

St. PETER'S CATHOLIC CHURCH

THIS EVENING,

TUESDAY, 9th September,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

MR. E. H. LONGMAN, ORGANIST.

The choir talent of the city has been secured for the occasion, including the Choir of the Church; Sergeant Leffly of the 63rd Regiment; Mr. Pyatt, Violinist, and others.

PROGRAMME:

CHORUS. Memorare.....Lambillotte.
CLARIONET SOLO. Gen le whispers, with var. Reader.
SOPRANO SOLO. Ave Maria.....Longman.
DUETT. Hark! 'Tis the Vesper Bell.....Blockley.
CHORUS. Quid Retribuam.....Lambillotte
VIOLIN SOLO, Sounds from Home.....Guugl.
CHORUS, Laudate pueri Dominum.....Zingar. Ill.

FIFTEEN MINUTES INTERMISSION.

SECOND PART.

CHORUS Ecce quam bonum.....Lambillotte.
TENOR SOLO. Ave Maria, with Organ and Vio in accompaniment... } Lambillotte.
CLARIONET SOLO. Air from Gazza Ladra.....Rossini.
CHORUS, Pastorale.....Lambillotte.
CLARIONET SOLO.....
CHORUS, Magnificat.....Mozart.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

☞ Doors open at 7.30; Concert to commence at 8 o'clock.

Tickets 50 cents each; Family Tickets (to admit five) $1 50.

To be obtained at the book and music stores in the city.

Issued in Sept. 9, 1862. Office of

Figure 4: Programme for Sacred Concert Given at St. Peter's Catholic Church, *Free Press*, 9 September 1862 (Courtesy of J.J.Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London)

> Chapel, judging from the singing and not by the number present, we must characterize as a complete success--indeed, few went prepared to hear the difficult selections on the programme so truthfully and thoroughly rendered.

The programme was repeated in early October, however on this occasion *The Free Press* reviewed the concert in a less laudatory manner:

> Mr. Longman and all concerned must forgive our seeming neglect for not having earlier noticed the Concert which took place a few evenings since, and which proved so entertaining and successful. We are informed that over 800 cards of admission were disposed of...yet, in justice to all concerned, we are not going to say everything was admired or that everything elicited "wonderful applause"...we at once remark that the Concert would have really been admirable had the choir thrown more animation and fervour into their vocal efforts. This coolness of rendition was particularly noticeable in the sweet chorus "Laudate Puer Dominum," which, though well rendered, was spoiled by a seeming stiffness...We should have wished to hear "God Save the Queen" more truthfully sung; however, the effect might have been destroyed by many persons making a stir in leaving while the National Anthem was being rendered.[151]

Longman wrote a rebuttal to the criticism levelled by *The Free Press*, published the next day, which expressed his disgust at reading "the remarks of an incompetent judge...one who finds fault merely for the sake of being considered a fine critic." He defended his choir of seven members, all of whom were amateurs, and his method of instruction which he claimed was based on fifteen years of experience. He continued by justifying his guiding principles in musical interpretation:

> Certainly a choir would form an interesting medley, if every singer rendered his or her parts according to their own fanciful ideas. This doctrine, if admitted, must necessarily mislead public taste, and convey incorrect impressions of the finest music of the best composers that have ever lived. So utterly disgusted have I frequently been myself in listening to the flighty performances of some would-be elegant vocalists, in their vain attempts to immortalize themselves, by taking liberties with the time, and in many cases the melody, of such immortal composers as Handel and Mozart, that I have always set my face against such dangerous practice, and I denounce its perpetrators as being merely quack musicians.[152]

On 30 October 1862, *The Free Press* advertised a benefit concert was planned for Longman, as he had recently announced "his intention of leaving the city to take up residence in the Western States." Whether this decision was influenced by the critique printed in the Free Press cannot be ascertained;

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[151] *Free Press*, 10 October 1862.

[152] *Free Press*, 11 October 1862.

however, the rather abrupt nature of his departure seems unexpected, considering the success of his recent sacred music concerts as well as his earlier contributions to London's music scene. For his final benefit, Longman apparently had secured the "kind co-operation" of Mr. St. John Hyttenrauch, Mrs. Brunton, Miss Rierdon and several other local musicians. *The Free Press*, perhaps wisely, refrained from reviewing the event.

Despite the unfortunate consequences of the first major sacred concert, other congregations soon began sponsoring evening entertainment. They functioned as the creative force, not necessarily economically based, that helped strengthen later developments in London's artistic scene. In November 1862, a Baptist anniversary service is described and the two-hour series of lectures were interspersed with selections by a choir composed of five "first trebles," three "second trebles," three tenors, and six basses, all accompanied by Mrs. Raymond on the melodeon. On 25 February 1863, under the joint direction of Hyttenrauch and Raymond, a "Grand Concert of Sacred Music" was sponsored by the Temperance Organization of London in aid of the Lancashire Operative Relief Fund, and performed at the Wesleyan Methodist Church on Queen's Avenue. Hines claims that the presentation utilized nearly one hundred performers,[153] and the programme included selections from Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabeus*, as well as works by Mozart, Pergolesi, Spohr and Louis Lambillotte.[154] In fact, the review for the concert, published on 24 February 1863 in *The Free Press*, shared space with advertisements for a concert organized by the 63rd regiment in support of London's impoverished citizens, garrison theatricals also donating their services for relief of London's poor, and a notice for a Grand Concert sponsored by the St. Patrick's Society.[155] Music now assumed a much stronger position in the city's cultural life. By the late 1860s, most churches held sacred concert evenings and thrived under the tutelage of competent directors such as Elizabeth Raymond. By 1857, Raymond began hosting annual concerts, which proved immensely

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[153] Hines, 16.

[154] *Free Press*, 19 February 1863.

[155] The St. Patrick's Society also sponsored a concert reviewed in *The Free Press* on 19 March 1862, which was managed by Longman.

popular and continued to be produced well into the 1870s. Her creative energies enabled later presentations by the "London Philharmonic Society" to perform selections from Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabeus* on 11 April 1871, excerpts from the *Twelfth Mass, The Creation* and *Messiah* on 12 December 1871, and the first half of the *Messiah* with a one-hundred-voice choir on 7 and 8 July 1875.[156] Even larger presentations were staged later: in 1884, the entire *Messiah* was performed with a two-hundred-voice choir accompanied by an orchestra of sixty; in 1900, a performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* was given, which used the Boston Symphony Orchestra and a choir of four hundred voices, composed of singers from the city's twenty churches;[157] and the London Combined Chorus (which combined the forces of the Woman's Music Club, the London Male Chorus and the First Methodist Choir) and the Pittsburgh Orchestra performed in 1904 at the Grand Opera House.[158] This new support for the arts is chronicled by Frances Ruth Hines' M.A. thesis *Concert Life in London, Ontario, 1870-1880.*

In 1866, a physical representation of this new musical climate can be found in the construction of London's first music hall, on the north-west corner of York and Richmond Streets. The edifice, built by Ellis Hyman is described by Frances Ruth Hines:

> The design of the new Hall was characteristic of buildings of that time; it housed stores on the first floor and provided central access to a theatre on the second floor...The Music Hall had a capacity of about 580 and was considered to have properties superior to those of the City Hall.[159]

Hines also comments on the gasolier lighting, which employed "patent sunlight reflectors" made of polished metal and were the only "illuminating arrangement of the kind in any Music Hall or theatre in Canada."[160] Raymond and Hyttenrauch opened the theatre with a "Grand Concert of Vocal and

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[156] Hines, 20-28.

[157] Fuller, 36.

[158] "Saunders Family Papers," box 5429, no. 11, J.J. Talman Collection, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, London. The Grand Opera House, now used as London's Grand Theatre, was built by Ambrose Small and replaced the earlier opera hall, which was destroyed by a fire in February 1900.

[159] Hines, 6.

[160] Hines, 8.

Instrumental Music," employing the talent of local amateurs, as well as those of J.D. Humphreys of Toronto.[161] Other halls followed: In 1871 Spettigue Hall was constructed on the corner of Dundas and Clarence Streets; a new Mechanics' Institute was built in 1877; Victoria Hall, on Clarence between Dundas and King Streets, was erected in 1878; the Grand Opera House was opened in 1881 and replaced the Holman's Opera House; and in 1884 the Queen's Avenue Opera House on the corner of Queen's Avenue and Colborne Street first opened.[162]

Local musicians were instrumental in establishing this new renaissance of public music. Although Longman, Schiller, Kordes and Mrs. Brunton were pioneers in providing music for London audiences, the tenuous support they received frustrated the creation of lasting institutions. Raymond was the only impresaria able to survive into the 1870s, providing an immeasurably important contribution to the city's artistic scene, perhaps because of her affiliation with the Temperance Association. Thus, those who arrived in the 1860s benefitted from a London's new interest in publicly presented music. St. John Hyttenrauch is an example of one who was able to take an active part in London's future musical development, and receive stable backing for his activities. It is also worthy noting the close working relationship he and Raymond developed, allowing him to further explore the network of amateur performers that had she had amassed in her work with the Temperance movement.

Other musicians thrived in the next decades in London. Foremost among these was the Holman family troupe, that, after numerous visits to the city, decided to purchase and renovate the Music Hall, setting it up as their base of operations beginning in 1873. The Holmans were founding members of the London Amateur Operatic Association which staged productions until the turn of the century.[163] By 1864, Mr. L.H. Rink had established a new Germania Society which promised "to secure a deserved

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[161] *Free Press*, 2 May 1866.

[162] Hines, 75-76.

[163] Goodden, *et al.*, 27.

popularity."[164] The company established a solid reputation in London by accompanying Anna Bishop, and her daughter Louisa on 8 October 1864. In 1867, Dr. Charles Augustus Sippi moved to London, followed by his brother George Buckley in 1870.[165] These two brothers helped develop and expand instrumental music in the city, as well as actively participating in the London Musical Union. Roselle Pococke arrived in London in 1870, and in his role as a violin teacher and conductor, encouraged the musical development of William Saunders's six children.[166] This latter wealthy family was also instrumental in fostering instrumental music in London; three of the William's offspring, Percy, Henry and Charles, were capable string players, and formed the core of the London Arion Club, whose assistance in larger orchestral and choral performances was essential.[167] The Cortese and Brigalia family organized the London Harpers, a combination of harps, two violins and flutes, and toured extensively throughout Ontario.[168] London maintained a Symphony Orchestra, a Grand Opera House Orchestra as well as "several string bands."[169] In 1897, a presentation of Handel's oratorio *Sampson*, given in honour of Queen Victoria's sixtieth anniversary as monarch, demonstrates the wide range of talented musicians from which the city could draw. The orchestra for this "Grand Jubilee Concert," held at the First Methodist

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[164] *Free Press*, 1 December 1864. Rink also performed with Mrs. Raymond on 20 September and 16 October 1864.

[165] Fuller, 45-46.

[166] Fuller, 47. William's son Henry toured Canada and the Easter States as a solo 'cellist, became a member of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, and taught at the Toronto Conservatory. "Saunders Family Papers," Box 5429, nos. 1 and 11.

[167] "Saunders Family Papers." The family was heavily involved in local musical presentations. Two programmes from the London Arion Club survive from their 22 May 1885, and 17 February 1886 performances at Victoria Hall. As well as a one from a London presentation of Gounod's *Faust*. Other programmes from the Saunders's "Parlour Concerts," presented at their home, survive from 8 January 1886 and 12 April 1895. "Saunders Family Papers," box 5429, programmes.

[168] Fuller, 48. The three Cortese brothers continued their studies outside of Canada: Angelo studied in Philadelphia, Chicago, Paris and founded a harpists' school in Memphis, Tennessee; Jack studied in Detroit, Chicago and Paris; and Joseph studied violin in London, but completed his studies with the New York Symphony.

[169] Goodspeed, 362.

Church, included ten first violins, eleven second violins, two on a part for the wind and brass sections (oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, and trumpet--there were three trombones), one typmanist, one tuba, six violas, two violoncellos, four contrabasses and one pianist.[170] By 1889, Goodspeed claims the city also supported a militia band, the London South or Foresters' Band, the Forest City "(coloured)" Band, and a Salvation Army Band.[171]

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[170] "Saunders Family Papers," box 5429, programmes.

[171] Goodspeed, 362.

CONCLUSION

As early as the 1830s, music played a significant role in London's society. The arrival of the Imperial Garrison in 1838, whose regiments kept bands funded by high ranking officers, helped to increase the number of musical presentations in the growing frontier town. Their presence during the 1840s most certainly stimulated a similar growth in civilian musical enterprises. Artists such as the Powells, T.C. Crozier, and Herr Beyer, although affiliated with the military, made efforts to establish local musical and theatrical institutions. However, these people, representing the forces of creativity, generally found their only means of artistic expression through public representative sphere functions: balls, and meetings of exclusive fraternal and nationalistic societies. The number of public sphere concerts was negligible.

These latter events formed an integral means by which London's early wealthy families helped define the boundaries of their class within the city. Those who were affiliated with this group heralded from diverse origins in both cultural and social background. Thus, establishing institutions that could present lavish entertainment helped them establish, for themselves, who was part of their set, and, for outsiders, that their entertainment was superior to that in which the average settler participated. Other affiliations helped define a class network for this group, one of the prime indicators of which was membership in the Church of England. London was established as a settlement only in 1826, but by 1834 the settlement's prosperous families could present a dinner and ball that would have been typical of contemporaneous entertainments found in Britain.

In the 1850s, during a period of significant growth, a situation similar to that in the 1840s arose. Public sphere concerts, staged by local talent, were of insignificant proportions despite a truly thriving business in music and instrumental retail. Musicians attempted to establish musical organizations in this period: Herman Kordes, Edwin H. Longman, H. Schiller, and W.Y. Brunton; however, these active artists found the only support for their talents in representative sphere activities. Mr. Charboneau and his City Quadrille Band provides an example of how a local ensemble altered its form in order to survive in London's economic climate. The theatrical enterprises during this period experienced similar difficulties;

Mr. Brunton, E.T. Sherlock, Milton Rainford, and possibly Mr. A. Macfarland (John McFarlane) had only sporadic and limited success in local theatre ventures. Travelling performers certainly presented a diverse range of music to London audiences, yet the profit available to local theatres, or artistic institutions seems to have been small. London's socially privileged did give temporary allegiance to the fire brigade band, and later the militia, whose musical ensembles played for representative sphere events in this period.

In the aftermath of the depression, the social climate seems to have changed. The older societies like the Mechanics' Institute, Sts. George and Andrew's Societies and the Orange Lodges experienced either a decline in popularity or became extinct. The Odd Fellows, and the Masonic Lodges survived but a new, more democratic acceptance of members was the key to their success in the latter half of the century. A reflection of this change in these institutions can be found in the nature of their entertainment. Balls became more open, as, after 1859, they were increasingly sponsored by interests that needed large numbers in order to secure a profit. The Tecumseh Hotel most certainly played a role in this transition, and the ball for Prince Edward demonstrates a subtle shift in the control and influence exerted by London's wealthy set of families. After this event, "citizen's balls" became prevalent. The flourishing of public music in the early 1860s was undoubtedly a result of economic prosperity, yet in the previous decade until 1857, the city had also experienced marked growth. An increase in population does not explain this new rise in musical activity; in 1861 London's population was 11,555, while statistics from 1855 indicate that 16,000 people lived in London.[1]

The first appearances of public concerts, ironically, began with the introduction of promenade concerts, or concert balls. The inclusion of music, other than that used for dancing, was common in earlier balls, but in the 1860s, the acknowledgement of the concert portion of the programme indicates a new recognition of its importance. Adding music to the entertainment notice seems to have helped draw crowds. Likewise, the growth in benefits and concerts performed for charitable means, helped in two

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[1] Orlo Miller, "The Fat Years and the Lean, London (Canada) in Boom and Depression, 1851-61," *Ontario History*, vol. LIII (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1961), 73. Miller claims the population decreased sharply during the depression, so that by 1859, the population had plunged to 11, 000 people.

ways: they relied on upper middle class sponsorship and involvement, and secondly, they familiarized London audiences with music that was neither connected with dancing nor held patriotic implications, thus developing a market for operatic music and art music in general. Although the return of the British military regiments provided competition for local ensembles that did not have the same financial resources, their intensive participation in presenting public concerts--even ones that were free--further disseminated music popular in nineteenth-century European concert halls. Finally, with the growth of charity benefits, London's church choirs became active in public concerts. The first denominations to experiment with public concerts were the Roman Catholic, Baptist and Wesleyan churches; these fringe denominations were not tied so firmly to the interests of London's "elite." These religious institutions were essential components of London's later musical development.

In this new climate musicians who settled in London could work towards founding musical institutions. The successful careers of St. John Hyttenrauch, the Holman family, the Sippi brothers, and later Roselle Pococke, the Corteses, and the Saunders family all demonstrate this new economic support for creative endeavours. Elizabeth Raymond provides the isolated example of one who actively participated in London's musical culture throughout the period in question. From her arrival in London, in 1845, until the 1870s, when she was active in presenting large scale oratorio presentations at her yearly concerts. Her strong connection in the Temperance movement, however, partially explains the backing needed to organize her musical activities.

Hines concedes that "the development of an active concert life in London in the 1870s paralleled similar developments of ten years earlier in centres such as Toronto and Hamilton."[2] London's smaller population accounts for much of this delayed artistic development. However, given the number of musicians active in London during the 1850s, and the thriving market which catered to private music

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[2] Frances Ruth Hines, "Concert Life in London, Ontario, 1870-1880" (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977), 71. Kallmann records that *the Messiah* was first performed in Toronto in 1857, and *Judas Maccabeus* in 1858. Hamilton presented the Haydn's oratorios *The Creation* in 1858, and *The Seasons* in 1860. Helmut Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 177.

making in the city, one might posit that a similarly early growth in public concerts could possibly have occurred in London as well. Yet, at this point in London's development, there was apparently insufficient economic support for the creative cultural activities represented by concerts and theatrical productions, unless they also served the needs of their own class conscious institutions.

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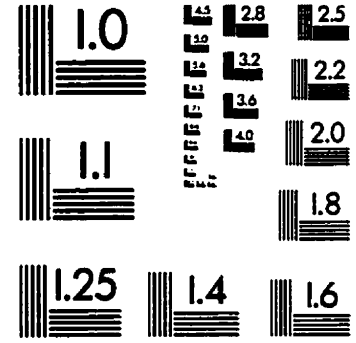

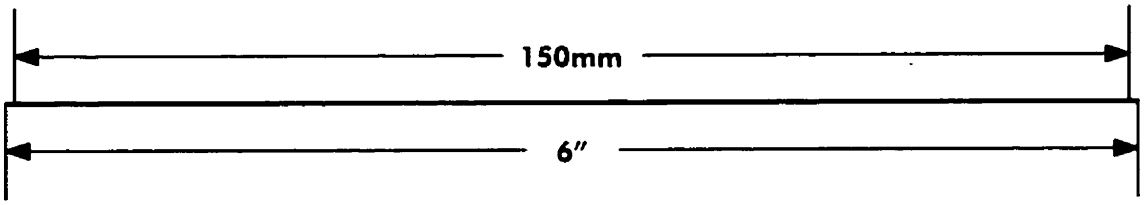

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