

**Discursive Formations of Community Music and the
Production of Canadian Citizens in Toronto's
Settlement Movement, 1900s-1930s**

by

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Faculty of Music
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the discursive formations of community music through the history of Toronto's settlement house movement, from the opening of University Settlement House in 1910 to the onset of World War Two. Settlement houses created community-based educational and leisure programs for poor and immigrant residents with the objective of citizenship training, and music permeated settlement work, including the establishment of Canada's first community music schools. Settlement organizers reconfigured music not as an end in itself, but as a tool in fostering 'civic betterment' of poor, working class, and immigrant neighborhoods.

Using primarily Foucaultian archaeological methods, this study examines how settlement music practices contributed to the discursive formation of community music with two central arguments: first, the ways in which settlement organizers used and described music through its social purpose contributed to the discursive production of community music through an emerging *social rationality*; second, given the explicit focus on citizenship training, different kinds of musics articulated to different ideas of citizenship in a mutually conditioning

relationship. The ensemble of music practices paradoxically challenged and reinforced musical and social hierarchies by emphasizing cultural uplift without social mobility.

The dissertation comprises four studies that collectively explore the multiple, contingent, and often competing practices and rationales that contributed to the formation of inter-connected discourses of citizenship and community music. The first study examines how settlement movement proponents used culture and recreation as solutions to the social problems they saw emerging from Toronto's urbanization. The second study focuses on specific music practices used within settlement democratic and social clubs to foster self-governing behaviours among participants differentiated by gender and age. The third study takes up the rationales and practices of the settlement music schools, analyzing how the trope of good music contributed to the repeatability of conservatory music training as a technique in the cultivation of citizens, while also exalting Western European Art Music within a musical hierarchy, articulated to a corresponding social hierarchy. The final study examines how settlement house workers began integrating musics of immigrant participants to construct the social rationality of music in terms of cultural difference.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first want to recognize the three settlement houses of the study that still operate today: St. Christopher House (now West Neighbourhood House), University Settlement House, and Central Neighbourhood House. The first two houses continue to operate music schools, and while Central Neighbourhood House closed its music school in 1946, the agency has continued to provide arts-based programming. This dissertation is not intended as a direct critique of their programs (either historically or currently) but rather focuses on the historical moment of settlement work in the early modern era to question present-day assumptions underpinning community music as a scholarly field. I do believe there is a role for arts within social services and community development, while also believing that role should be questioned, and I deeply respect and thank all three houses for continuing to champion a role for arts in the face of neo-liberal pressures that devalue arts altogether (perhaps another research topic). In particular, I would like to thank Sherry Squires and Anne Yardley, who each generously shared their time with me in the preliminary stages of my dissertation project. Thanks also to Victoria Medeiros and Philip Unrau who helped secure copyright permissions for images.

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PREFACE

It's a matter of shaking this false self-evidence, of demonstrating its precariousness, of making visible not its arbitrariness but its complex interconnection with a multiplicity of historical processes, many of them of recent date.¹

I consider myself a community music educator, having worked with adult and youth singers in community music schools and other settings. As both practitioner and academic, I have placed enormous faith in the transformative work of a kind of musical practice that I understood as *community music*, a practice that “lays the groundwork for social justice and the transformation of our communities.”² In short, I argued that the power of community music lies not necessarily in the music itself, but how music can contribute to social change, whether personal, community-based, or even global; and, that this social change is always good, always inclusive.

The emerging scholarly field of community music appears to share this faith with me that community music is largely an inclusive and positive phenomenon defined through its social use.³ Whether community music is framed as a mechanism for accumulating social capital,⁴ creating equal opportunity,⁵ or transforming passive consumers into active producers,⁶ these arguments position community music as only and always positive.

¹ Michel Foucault, “Questions of Method,” in *The Essential Foucault : Selections from The Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, ed. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas S. Rose (New York: New Press, 1980), 248.

² Deanna Yerichuk, “Transforming Our World Through Song,” *Women and the Environments International* 72/73 (2006), 36.

³ Important exceptions include Bradley (2009) and Bowman (2009), who note music’s “urge to merge” can lead to negative effects as easily as positive ones.

⁴ Patrick M. Jones, “Lifewide as Well as Lifelong: Broadening Primary and Secondary School Music Education’s Service to Students’ Musical Needs,” *International Journal of Community Music* 2, no. 2–3 (2009), 201–14; Thomas W. Langston and Margaret S. Barrett, “Capitalizing on Community Music: a Case Study of the Manifestation of Social Capital in a Community Choir,” *Research Studies in Music Education* 30, no. 2 (2008), 118–38.

⁵ Lee Higgins, “Growth, Pathways and Groundwork: Community Music in the United Kingdom,” *International Journal of Community Music* 1, no. 1 (2007), 23–37; Kari Veblen and Bengt Olsson, “Community Music: Toward an International Overview,” in *The New Handbook of Research on Music Teaching and Learning : A Project of the*

I have come to question the claims of community music's social power, not so much in that I think these claims are untrue or invalid, but when left as normative statements, they ignore the ways in which communities may be formed through exclusions as much as inclusions. My questioning turned historical: I began to wonder when the term community music began to circulate and what kinds of music practices the term organized. How did claims of social development through music emerge? Who was developing? And who was being developed? In short, I began to think of community music not merely as a description of a field of practice, but as a discourse that *constructed* how we think about the field, perhaps even constructing the field itself.

My questions led me to the settlement house movement in the early 1900s, which used music as a tool in social reform, producing the first community music schools across North America. As I dug into the topic, focusing more narrowly on Toronto's settlement house movement, I found that all settlement houses used music in multiple ways toward their efforts of cultivating the civic betterment of Toronto's immigrant and working classes. I was stunned to learn that all four houses in my study established community music schools in partnership with Toronto's largest classical music conservatory, the Toronto Conservatory of Music (now called the Royal Conservatory). However, what I also discovered is that settlement house workers did not at first call their schools *community* music schools but rather *settlement* music schools. My research became an archaeological project in the Foucaultian sense: investigating the conditions

Music Educators National Conference, ed. Richard Colwell and Carol P. Richardson (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 730–44.

⁶ Heather Chetwynd, "Releasing Voices, Reclaiming Power: The Personal and Collective Potential of Voice," in *Wild Fire: Art as Activism*, ed. Deborah Barndt (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2006), 37–45; Yerichuk, "Transforming Our World Through Song."

of possibility that produced community music as a particular discourse out of a range of possibilities.

This study is a result of my historical investigation into the conditions that made community music possible in one historical moment, tracing how settlement house workers began articulating the idea that music could be used as a tool toward social ends. In line with the standpoint of Foucault's philosophical-historical work, my project was executed as "an interrogative *practice* rather than a search for essentials."⁷ In other words, given my own locatedness as a community music educator, as well as a scholar within the field of community music, I engaged in this historical project as a critical inquiry into a history of which I am a part. While I heed Foucault's warning that history is not a teleological march to the present, I also heed his insistence that by seeing the past as strange, I may also begin to see the present as strange, questioning assumptions that I make in my current practice.

⁷ Alec McHoul and Wendy Grace, *A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power, and the Subject* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), viii (italics theirs).

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

And yet in that ‘dark land,’ you have the temperamental, artistic Italian, the melancholy Pole, the intellectual Jew, the mystic Russian, and their innumerable progeny. Any spring night you may hear a group of ‘pick and shovel men,’ with chairs tilted back against a hospitable shack, playing snatches of Italian opera and folk-song or even the latest ‘rag’ caught in the street, on guitar and concertina. Half a dozen boys on the steps of a grocery store will hold you with their harmonies, and from the houses where the Shabas candles burn, strange Oriental chants will come. And it is the children of such that musical Toronto, for the most part, leaves to its hand organ for inspiration and education.¹

When Vera Parsons took her readers on a tour of the musically “dark land” of St. John’s Ward around 1917, she evoked a dynamic musical scene in what was Toronto’s most ethnically diverse and impoverished neighbourhood. Parsons, a middle-class woman who would become one of Canada’s first female criminal lawyers,² lived and worked at Central Neighbourhood House, a social settlement house in the heart of “the Ward.” She would have known the scene well. Her musical description painted a rich soundscape, with boys singing in harmony for recreation, and working-class men playing the popular music of ragtime on folk instruments after the day’s hard labour of pick and shovel work. She drew readers’ attention to the music of religious or sacred rituals inside homes, even if those rituals were misunderstood. As problematic as her racialized observations read through a present lens, what Parsons’ account tells the contemporary reader is that the inhabitants of Toronto’s poorest and most ethnically diverse neighbourhood had lively musical cultures.

Yet, Parsons’ final sentence negated these cultures by tacitly framing them as non-musical in relation to, and distinct from, *musical* Toronto, or the classical music of the city’s more affluent neighbourhoods. If the existing music practices in the Ward had any value at all, it

¹ From “Music in the Ward,” by Vera L. Parsons [ca. 1917], 10, Fonds 1005, SC5, File 4. City of Toronto Archives.

² Mary Jane Mossman, “Telling the Stories of Women in Law,” *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 26, no. 2 (2014): 454.

was in immigrants' musical *potential*, which could not be developed without the benevolent intervention of settlement house workers. Even while she acknowledged the kinds of temperaments that she felt predisposed particular immigrant groups toward excelling in music, her assumptions at best rested on stereotypes, and at worst indicated the condescending albeit well-meaning attitudes of settlement house workers, who were middle-class, Anglo-Celtic,³ and Protestant, in regards to racial and religious 'others.' Parsons' plea for musical "inspiration and education" signified the larger project of the settlement house movement overall, in which settlement house workers lived in Toronto's burgeoning 'slums' to foster the social, cultural, and moral uplift of Toronto's poor and immigrant inhabitants through cultural education.

While music was not the central focus of any settlement house or the movement overall, Toronto's settlement houses⁴ used music throughout all of their social programs, from recreational activities to democratic training clubs, permeating activities designed to cultivate citizenship. Out of these dispersed musical practices, settlement workers established community music schools that enlisted classical musicians to provide residents with conservatory-style training in Western European Art Music. Within the context of settlement houses, music performed a kind of social work, intimately bound up in the production of citizenship. From the

³ Through this dissertation, I use the term Anglo-Celtic to describe the dominant Toronto class with British heritage, following the work of James (1997), Strange (1995), Chen (2005), and Valverde (2008). This is not necessarily a better choice than 'Anglo-Saxon,' a term more common in the archival records. However, 'Anglo-Celtic' more accurately captures the cultural influences of Scottish and English philosophers on Toronto's middle class of the time, as well as more accurately captures the legal differentiation of the 'preferred race' categories of Canada's contemporaneous immigration policy, namely English, Irish, Scottish, and 'foreigner.' The term 'Anglo-Celtic' still has problems, particularly in the way it obscures power relations among British settlers. Neither term fits perfectly, and both tend to stand in for Whiteness, both in my dissertation and in other research. For a more complete discussion on these terms within a Canadian context, see C. P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Katrin Urschel, "Towards Diversity within Ethnic Majorities: Deconstructing the Anglo-Celt," in *Travelling Concepts: Negotiating Diversity in Canada and Europe*, ed. Christian Lammert and Katja Sarkowsky (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften / GWV Fachverlage GmbH, 2010), 13–23.

⁴ Throughout this dissertation, I also use the terms "settlement houses," "social settlements," and "settlements" interchangeably to refer to the individual organizations that operated as social settlement houses within particular neighbourhoods of Toronto. The term "settlement movement" refers more broadly to the collective philosophies, principles, structures, and processes that guided the work of all the social settlement houses collectively.

opening of University Settlement House in 1910 to the onset of World War II, settlement workers used music as a tool to foster the civic betterment of Toronto's poor, working class, and immigrant neighborhoods, constructing a social rationality of music that in turn contributed to the discursive formation of community music.

In this dissertation, I use a set of analytical tools drawn primarily from Michel Foucault's archaeology to examine how settlement house workers articulated their music practices as tools in service to social ends. I make two central arguments throughout the thesis. First, I argue that the ways in which settlement organizers used music toward social ends contributed to the discursive production of community music, created the conditions that made possible this emerging social rationality that music was a tool that could make people better. However, given the explicit focus on citizenship training within the settlement houses, I make a second related argument that different kinds of musics were ascribed to different ideas of citizenship in a mutually conditioning relationship. While the members of the houses were mostly poor or working-class non-British immigrants, the organizers were middle-class, Anglo-Celtic and mostly Protestant, and the particular musics used in particular settings both negotiated and reinforced musical and social hierarchies.

About the Settlement House Movement and the Social Work of Music

Concerned middle-class citizens established settlement houses in Toronto's poorest neighbourhoods. Each house acted partly as social service agency, partly as community centre, and, central to this dissertation, partly as "cultural outpost in the slums."⁵ The launch of Evangelia House (1902-1922) in Toronto's east end marked the beginning of Canada's settlement house movement, with five more houses opening in Toronto alone over the next ten

⁵ Cathy L. James, "Practical Diversions and Educational Amusements: Evangelia House and the Advent of Canada's Settlement Movement, 1902-1909," *Historical Studies in Education* 10, no. 1/2 (April 1, 1998), 48.

years, including: University Settlement House (1910-present); Central Neighbourhood House (1911-present); St. Christopher House (1912-present);⁶ Memorial Institute (1912-1942); and Riverdale Institute (1913-1916) (see Appendix 1 for an overview of each settlement house). The organizers of these houses—who were predominantly middle-class, Anglo-Celtic and Protestant,⁷—aimed to improve urban ‘slums’ in part by providing educational and recreational programs to local residents. Importantly, many of the residents were not only from poor and working classes, but were also immigrants, and, for the first time in Toronto, immigrants from non-British countries. The settlement organizers aimed to reform these poor and immigrant individuals into Canadian citizens, a project that the settlements referred to as “civic betterment,”⁸ “civic unity,”⁹ or “Canadianizing.”¹⁰

International Settlement Movement

The settlement house movement was not unique to Toronto, or to Canada, but was an international phenomenon that followed on the heels of industrialization. The first settlement house was Toynbee Hall, established in 1884 by Canon Samuel Barnett in one of London’s most impoverished neighbourhoods. Barnett established Toynbee Hall on the central idea of bringing

⁶ In 2014, St. Christopher House changed its name to West Neighbourhood House to reflect the fact that they are not affiliated with any religion (the house stopped its affiliation with the Protestant Church fifty years ago). See <http://www.westnh.org/our-new-name/> accessed February 18, 2015.

⁷ While Canada’s settlement movement was dominated by Protestant groups, there were a few settlements established by Catholic and Jewish communities, but those efforts were not formed into a movement or coordinated effort either regionally or nationally; see Allan Irving, Donald F. Bellamy, and Harriet Parsons, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1995), 50. For research on the Jewish-run services in Toronto, see Stephen A. Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto: A History to 1937* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 185. For an in-depth history of Catholics in Toronto in the same time period (focusing on Irish Catholics in particular), see Murray W. Nicolson, *Catholics in English Canada: a Popular History* (Toronto: Life Ethics Information Centre, 2000); Murray W. Nicolson, *The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto* (Guelph, Ontario, 1980).

⁸ From University Settlement House goals of 1912, quoted in Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteneys, “A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958: An Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation” (D.S.W., University of Toronto, 1975), 19.

⁹ From Central Neighbourhood House goals of 1911. Quoted in Patricia J. O’Connor, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986* ([Toronto]: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986), 5.

¹⁰ From St. Christopher House goals of 1911, quoted in *The Story of St. Christopher House 1912-1984* ([Toronto]: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986), 6.

students in contact with the working-class to educate the former and uplift the latter. He set three purposes for the settlement house, including: education and recreation opportunities for people in poor districts of urban centres; observing conditions of the poor by students and upper classes; and developing and implementing plans to improve the welfare of the urban poor.¹¹ Cathy James notes that these objectives set the direction of settlements worldwide “to bridge the ever-widening gap between the emerging middle class and the working poor.”¹² Arts figured prominently in the work of Toynbee Hall, as Canon Barnett believed that the entertainments of the middle class “would ‘elevate’ the poor and inspire them to work harder to improve their situation.”¹³ Further, Barnett felt that arts could bridge the upper and lower classes as the upper classes shared their cultural knowledge with the lower classes. As Ruth Gilchrist notes, “The arts were perceived as a way of educating people, lifting expectations, promoting conversation, stimulating debate, teaching new skills, building community and improving social conditions.”¹⁴

Progressive-Era reformers in the United States quickly picked up not only the social settlement model of Toynbee Hall but its use of arts, and settlement houses cropped up first in New York and then spread west.¹⁵ One of the most well-known houses, and one that directly

¹¹ Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 34.

¹² Cathy Leigh James, “Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation: The Role of Toronto’s Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902 to 1914” (Ph.D. diss, University of Toronto, 1997), 26.

¹³ Shannon Louise Green, “‘Art for Life’s Sake’: Music Schools and Activities in United States Social Settlements, 1892--1942” (Ph.D. diss, The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998), 8.

¹⁴ Ruth Gilchrist, “Settlements and the Arts,” in *Settlements, Social Change and Community Action: Good Neighbours*, ed. Ruth Gilchrist and Tony Jeffs (Philadelphia, PA: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2001), 173.

¹⁵ Allen Davis’ book *Spearheads of Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) is widely recognized as launching historical scholarship on the settlement movement in the United States. See also Mina Julia Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); or for perspective on the movement from Jane Addams’ writings see Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House: With Autobiographical Notes* (New York: Macmillan, 1910). For a British context, see Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914*. Arthur C. Holden discusses the conditions in both British and American cities that led to settlement houses in *The Settlement Idea* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922; repr., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970).

inspired Toronto's organizers, was Hull-House in Chicago. Established by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in 1889, Hull-House served both men and women in ways similar to Toynbee Hall. Yet, unlike London, Chicago had an influx of immigrants, which shifted the settlement approach of Hull-House toward explicit forms of citizenship training. Influenced by Britain's Arts and Crafts Movement, Addams used performing arts generally, and music specifically, as "antidotes to the dehumanizing effects of industrial culture on laborers."¹⁶ Addams advocated for performing arts as a way to not only draw the interest of young people in particular, but as an effective technique to encourage cooperative work among the immigrant and working-class residents of the neighbourhood. Mina Carson attributes Addams' penchant for performing arts to educational and psychological theories that stressed experience and active participation, in which "the amateur actor, technician, or scene painter became an active purveyor of beauty."¹⁷ Carson points out that Addams' emphasis on performing arts is also in part an extension of settlement philosophy of sharing (or bestowing) artistic culture with disadvantaged populations as a moral imperative based on "the Ruskinian tradition" that entwined art and social use.¹⁸

Toronto's Settlement House Movement

The settlement movement reached Canada nearly twenty years after Toynbee Hall, with the establishment of Evangelia House in Toronto in 1902, followed by another five houses over the next ten years. Toronto had as many as six houses in the mid-1910s, and these houses were established by middle-class, Anglo-Celtic, Protestant Torontonians who were influenced by Hull-House in its democracy training and performing arts, and also by Toynbee Hall in its

¹⁶ Derek Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1873-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 98.

¹⁷ Mina Julia Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 115.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 116. The 'Ruskinian tradition' refers to the philosophy of English art critic and philosopher John Ruskin who wrote extensively on the social function of art.

emphasis on neighbourly sharing and cultural uplift. However, the social gospel movement in Canada inflected Toronto's settlement movement with an overt moral imperative that distinguished Toronto from its British and American counterparts. Hortense Wasteney defined the social gospel movement thus:

The social gospel's premise was that Christianity was a social religion, concerned with people and their relationships, and, translated into the Canadian idiom, this message called on the Christian churches to broaden the scope of their responsibilities from exclusively saving souls to include responding to human needs through social service.¹⁹

While many of Toronto's settlement organizers were religious leaders, all adopted a non-sectarian approach to their work, insisting that their houses were open to all regardless of "race, creed, or language."²⁰

Yet through the social gospel, their settlement approach was strongly influenced not just by social but moral imperatives to address what they saw as the degeneration of the individuals, neighbourhoods, the city, and nation. In part, the moral degeneration they perceived was a result of class divisions, with Toronto's working class concentrated in downtown neighbourhoods close to factories while the upper classes fled to outlying neighbourhoods of the Annex and Rosedale. Partly, settlement organizers feared the proliferation of 'commercial entertainments,' from vaudeville to burlesque houses to penny arcades, places they felt at best developed "leisured minds"²¹ and at worst were harbingers of moral disaster.

However, perceptions of moral degeneration were as much about immigration as they were about geographic class divides exacerbated through industrialization. Settlement

¹⁹ Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteney, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958: an Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation" (DSW thesis, University of Toronto, 1975), 18.

²⁰ Central Neighbourhood House 1920 Report, Fonds 1005, Box 10, File 1. *City of Toronto Archives* (hereafter *CTA*).

²¹ University of Toronto Professor Edward Johns Urwick warned that popular entertainments would lead to "mental indolence and effortless occupation of our leisured minds." E. J. Urwick, *The Social Good* (London: Methuen, 1927), 26.

proponents initially focused on preserving the Anglo-Celtic ‘character’ of Toronto, a hegemony threatened by the substantial increase in non-British immigration in the early 1900s, or what Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons describe as the “beginning of a multi-culturalism that was perhaps the most significant new social phenomenon of the first decade of the century.”²² ‘Multicultural,’ with its contemporary sheen of tolerance, does not accurately describe the cultural climate of Toronto regarding non-British immigrants at the turn of the century: Toronto’s Anglo-Celtic middle-class citizens were concerned that this new kind of cultural pluralism signaled the degradation of their city, and perhaps even the nation. Facing cultural pluralism and intensifying class divisions, settlement organizers established educational and recreational programs to improve the social and moral conditions of Toronto’s poor neighbourhoods, which settlement organizers called either slums or more euphemistically, neglected areas.

The organizers aimed to reform the poor and immigrant residents of these so-called neglected areas into Canadian citizens, and the overall citizenship focus set the frame for settlement educational and recreational programming, even with imperatives to improve social conditions of the neighbourhoods. Collectively, Toronto’s settlement houses initiated a mind-boggling number of programs and initiatives to serve their neighbours, including baby clinics, English language training, temporary work programs, parenting classes, organized sports, crafts, summer camps, and parties. Several houses created the city’s first playgrounds to provide safe and clean places for children who would otherwise play in the streets. Many of their programs were taken up by the municipal government to operate as a city service, such as libraries and playgrounds, and public health initiatives like the baby clinics that organized doctor check-ups to address Toronto’s mortality rates. In this way, settlements saw their work as conducting social

²² Allan Irving, Donald F. Bellamy, and Harriet Parsons, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1995), 33. It is worth noting that ‘multi-culturalism’ is a term used by the researchers, but was not used within the historical context, a point that is addressed in Chapter 5.

experiments: they piloted new kinds of programming that, if successful, could be taken over and operated by the appropriate municipal agency.²³ Further, as settlement workers pioneered pragmatic approaches to fostering social betterment of Toronto's so-called neglected neighbourhoods, these workers began to study at the University of Toronto to train in settlement work, while headworkers often taught university classes, and this combined developing education and professionalization of settlement work began to form social work as a profession. While settlement house workers ran many programs and services with a focus on performing arts, music permeated their activities. From 1910 to 1939, organizers engaged in multiple music practices in service of their social work. That settlement houses produced not only the field of social work, but also produced Canada's first community music schools, suggests a significant historical moment in the formation of community music. This dissertation takes up musical practices and the rationales for music's role in settlements to examine how settlement workers articulated music as a tool that could build community, uplift the lower classes, and cultivate the civic betterment of Toronto's poor, working class, and immigrant neighbourhoods.

The Dissertation Project

In this research study, I use analytical tools drawing primarily from Michel Foucault's archaeology to investigate how Toronto's settlement house movement contributed to the discursive production of community music by examining their musical practices and rationales within their overall objective of citizenship training. I investigate how settlement organizers described music's role in their citizenship training efforts, arguing that settlement house organizers used arts as a kind of cultural work, or as 'education for life,' that could level out the

²³ The settlement houses handed over programs and services to such an extent that organizers wondered whether they might no longer have a role, as was demonstrated in a 1936 meeting of the Federation of Toronto Settlement Houses, which discussed the agenda item "Will there still be a place for Settlements in the Community when Nursery Schools, Music Schools, Recreation, etc. have been taken over by other organizations." (Meeting minutes, March 18, 1936, Fonds 1014, File 1. CTA)

inequalities they saw between classes, religions, and ethnic groups, as well as contribute to the moral uplift of disadvantaged populations. Yet paradoxically, the ways in which settlement organizers constructed social problems and solutions produced the very hierarchies they sought to address.

I focus on the four settlement houses that launched community music schools and hence institutionalized the role of music in their social work. These four houses include: University Settlement House (1910-present); Central Neighbourhood House (1911-present); St. Christopher House (1912-present); and Memorial Institute (1912-1942). Each house served a different downtown neighbourhood with slightly different groups of immigrants (see Figure 1). The study focuses primarily on the time period between 1910 and 1939, or from the opening of the first of four settlement houses until the onset of World War II, which significantly altered Toronto's social problems and possibilities for the settlement houses. The dates are, however, approximate, and the first study (Chapter 2) focuses on the decade before 1910 to describe the conditions that produced the settlement houses.

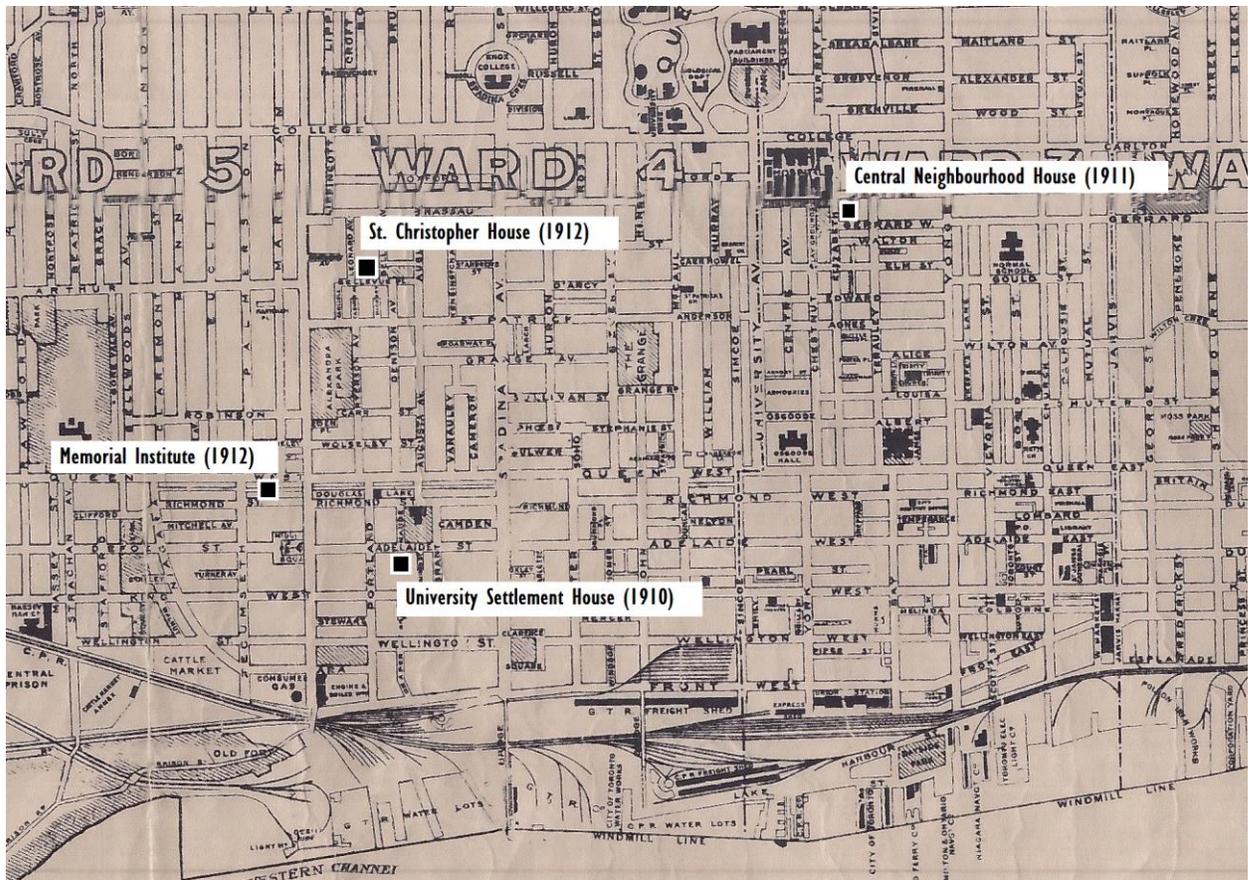


Figure 1. Map of the City of Toronto (downtown only), 1912, modified to show original locations of settlement houses.²⁴

Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of the study is two-fold: first, to analyze the kinds of music practices that Anglo-Celtic Protestant middle-class workers used to organize Toronto's poor and immigrant neighbourhoods toward an objective of civic betterment. In other words, I examine how different kinds of musics articulated different ideas of citizenship; the second broader goal of this dissertation is to historicize the term 'community music.' In extant literature, the term rests on two relatively consistent assumptions: first, that community music is a form of music education

²⁴ *Plan of the City of Toronto [map], compiled by City Surveyor and City Engineer; Alexander & Cable Lith. Co. Ltd. Toronto: City Engineer, 1912. Image courtesy of the Map and Data Library, University of Toronto.*

taking place in non-institutional contexts (for example, outside of schools); and second, that community music aims toward social ends instead of, or in addition to, musical ones. I focus on Toronto's settlement house movement to explore the conditions that made these two assumptions possible.

The overarching question that guided my analysis emerged from my observation that Toronto's settlement houses worked primarily with poor and/or immigrant residents, as well as from the foundational question guiding Foucault's archaeological project of how a particular discourse emerged out of a broad range of possibilities, or, using his terminology, how it is that one statement²⁵ arose rather than another. What I did not see at the outset of my project was just how central the production of citizenship was to the work of the settlement houses. Therefore my focus necessarily expanded to examine not just the music practices themselves but the ways in which those music practices organized social relationships, which produced particular notions of citizenship. The research question and sub-questions guiding my inquiry were:

Given the settlement house objective of fostering civic betterment among Toronto's poor and immigrant residents, how did settlement music activities organize social relations in ways that contributed to the emergence of community music as a discourse?

- What social problems did settlement proponents hope to solve through their programming, and how did they articulate the role of music as part of their solution?
- To what extent did music practices in the settlement houses gain intelligibility in relation to other musical practices, such as conservatory music training, and musical past-times excluded from settlement programs?
- In what ways did settlement house programming negotiate, validate, and exclude particular musical practices circulating among settlement participants and organizers?

²⁵ By statement, I follow Sara Mills in defining Foucault's term as the 'authorised utterance' that contributes to the formation of discourse. These concepts are unpacked in the methodology section of this chapter. See Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London: Routledge, 2003), 24.

To investigate these questions, I focus on multiple settlement houses within Toronto's settlement movement because, extending James's argument that Toronto's settlement houses were part of a *movement* rather than a collection of individual initiatives²⁶—community music similarly and simultaneously emerged as a part of the larger settlement movement across North America.

Key Concepts

The following section provides an overview of the key concepts for this dissertation. Arguably, the most important concept, yet most vexing to define, is the concept of *social*.

Social

The term *social* that appeared in so many of the initiatives at the time—social reform, social gospel, social work, social ministry, social good—pointed to the central concern of the settlement workers, namely the relationships between the city's inhabitants. Settlement proponents saw social interactions as the way to either save or morally condemn the city and the nation. My understanding of the term *social* borrows from Xiaobei Chen's study on child welfare in Toronto during the same time period, in which social indicates increased government intervention, surveillance, and moral concern for individuals and families.²⁷ Drawing from the scholarship of Jacques Donzelot²⁸ and Mariana Valverde,²⁹ Chen argues that turn-of-the-century Toronto was “the era of ‘the social,’” in which many problems, whether political, urban, or personal, were constituted as social, such as emerging state concern for the welfare of children in homes. Chen suggests that “the social” marked the mentality of rule in terms of Foucault's bio-power, or power over life, largely because the era was “characterized by an unabashed

²⁶ James, “Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation,” 10.

²⁷ Xiaobei Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

²⁸ Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

²⁹ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

philosophy of interventionism and accompanying expansion of governmental and societal intervention into the private sphere of family and life in general.”³⁰

In a slight yet compatible shift from Chen’s understanding of “the social,” Barbara Cruikshank emphasizes the dimension of class embedded within the term by arguing that *social* was employed by reformers to simultaneously designate society as a whole as well as to distinguish the poor from the rest of society, in which “[t]he welfare and progress of society as a whole were linked to solving the poverty of some of its members.”³¹ The proliferation of the word social may have also been a tactic on the part of settlement organizers to distinguish their work from economic understandings of poverty and immigration. In part, settlement workers eschewed religious practices of charity, which merely left the poor dependent on the generosity of Toronto’s well-off. Instead, settlement house workers endeavoured to create reciprocal relationships through mutual sharing, in which they volunteered their time and gave their knowledge and skill, while the local residents contributed fees on a sliding scale to participate in programming at the houses. As St. Christopher House’s first headworker Helen Hart described: “a settlement is not a charity; it is not a case of one set of people giving something that another receives, it is a pooling by all of us the best we know how to share. It is a living and a sharing of life.”³² This impulse to share resonates with Cruikshank’s argument that “the social” reconstituted boundaries; the relationship between settlement workers and members was neither about creating autonomous citizens nor about domination. Rather, she argues, “the social confuses and reconstitutes the boundaries between the personal and the political, the economy

³⁰ Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship*, 10.

³¹ Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 7.

³² Helen Hart, “Statement to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada,” 1915, as quoted in O’Connor, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986*, 17.

and the state, the voluntary and the coercive.”³³ The difficult task of defining the various valences of “the social” may precisely point to its power; the ways in which the term could slip between the particular and the general, between problems and solutions, between the personal and the political, were precisely the mechanisms by which small-scale musical activities could be joined to large-scale ideas of citizenship and nationalism.

Work (and Social Work)

For settlement proponents, the term *social work* pointed both to their goal and technique. The term was a specific phrase circulating in the early days of the settlement houses that should be clarified, given the current professional and scholarly field of social work. While a direct effect of the settlement house movement, social work has become constituted as a field, thereby losing the ways in which each of the words comprising the term signaled the particular approach of the settlement houses. In the early 1900s, social work was a term that settlement proponents used to describe the kinds of activities they used to make some kind of impact on a poor neighbourhood.

The word *work* pointed to purposive activity that settlement organizers undertook in the hopes of bringing about desired effects, namely to cultivate friendly relationships among the classes, and to foster moral and cultural uplift of the lower classes. Clearly, work indicated a broader field than contemporary notions of work that tend to focus on paid labour. Instead settlement organizers used the term to indicate their deliberate efforts to create change. The purposive intent of work can be seen at the first meeting of the Toronto Federation of Settlements, which set up standing committees to report on kinds of work carried on in the

³³ Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower*, 6.

house, including a standing committee on musical work.³⁴ Whether they were paid staff or volunteers, they called themselves settlement *workers*, signaling that it was the settlement workers who did the work, whereas the targets of their work—the lower classes and immigrant neighbourhood residents participating in programming—were called *members*, signaling that the latter group belonged to the settlement house, but did not engage in settlement activities as workers, only as objects for the work. The idea of work highlighted not only purposive activity but also called attention to the workers themselves and the ways in which their activities produced their worker subjectivities, grounded in Anglo-Celtic Protestant grids of specification.

The *social* of *social work* referred to the focus on the relationships between people, both in the immediate sense of actual relations between actual people within an actual neighbourhood, but also to larger social relations. A focus on the social also allowed workers to separate their efforts from economic questions and activities. In short, the social of social work called in many of the valences already described, including the whole of society, the specific group of the poor, but also in this case, the *kind* of work that settlements undertook; that is, they were attempting to modify the social relations within poor neighbourhoods as well as between the classes.

Social Rationality

Social rationality is an analytical term that I deploy throughout the dissertation, rather than a term that circulated within the settlement houses. The simple definition of social rationality refers to the assemblage of rationales settlement workers used that enabled music to be known as a tool to make people better—that music was a tool designated for *social* ends. Here *rationales* refers to the justifications settlement workers used for their activities, or the ways in which they framed the purpose or significance of their educational and recreational projects. My

³⁴ Harriet Parsons describes the principles guiding the settlement houses that formed the Federation in an unpublished paper from 1976 entitled “Evolution of a Canadian Federation of Settlements.” Fonds 92, File 23. CTA.

analytical focus begins with the assemblage of rationales employed by settlement workers, noticing how rationales were coordinated, how they diverged, and how they transformed, but with an eye to the ways in which these rationales contributed to an over-riding social rationality.

Of course, the word *rationality* suggests more than a group of relatively consistent rationales. By rationality I draw on Foucault's analytical work to refer first to a conscious and relatively systematic set of statements about music's purpose. Foucaultian sociologist Mitchell Dean describes rationality as "any form of thinking which strives to be relatively clear, systematic and explicit about aspects of 'external' or 'internal' existence, about how things are or how they ought to be."³⁵ At the same time, the rationality produced by these normative statements constructed an over-riding logic that became naturalized to seem universal and self-evident, suggesting that while statements about music's social purpose might have been common, those statements seemed rarely to be questioned.³⁶

Yet, as Foucault points out, the hallmark of a rationality is its aspiration to universalism while developing in contingency, a point that opens up the analytical richness of this historical moment: music was used throughout settlement work from their inception, but rationales for music's role in settlement work were less evident in the early days of the settlement movement. Social rationales emerged over the course of decades, finally institutionalizing music's role through the establishment of settlement music schools. The focus on rationality is an analytical focus that recognizes the mentality that formed the taken-for-granted notion that music could make people better while also analyzing the formations of statements that gave rise to that specific rationality rather than other possibilities.

³⁵ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2010), 18.

³⁶ See Deanna Yerichuk, "'Socialized Music': Historical Formations of Community Music through Social Rationales," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 13, no. 1 (2014), 126–54.

Culture

Culture is also a slippery term that was both analytically troublesome and productive for the purposes of this research project. At times in this thesis, culture refers specifically to the artistic practices and activities of the settlement workers, such as performing arts. However, settlement workers also used culture in a broader sense that bore more resemblance to “the social” in its focus on society more generally, resonating in many ways with English anthropologist E. B. Tylor’s 1871 conceptualization of culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capacities or habits acquired by man [*sic*] as a member of society.”³⁷ The slippage between the narrower definition of culture as art and the broader definition of culture as society was precisely what gave the term its power, and opened up the possibility for settlement workers to use music toward social development. Engaging in music practices was also engaging in social relations; learning music was learning how to live. This was perhaps most evident in their phrase cultural uplift in which upper classes volunteering at houses shared their artistic knowledge for the benefit of the lower classes, who would simultaneously learn about the good music of Western European Art Music, while also developing cultured subjectivities.

Music functioned as a form of cultural education, regardless of whether the musical practice was a recreational activity like the folk dances in the social clubs, or a kind of music training within the settlement music schools. The educative work of music pursued by the settlement organizers was the process of cultivating citizens, a process that Lise Vaugeois refers

³⁷ E. B. Tylor (1871), quoted in Michael A. Elliott, *The Culture Concept: Writing and Difference in the Age of Realism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 5.

to as the education of feeling,³⁸ and Derek Vaillant calls music as a process of cultivation, or musical progressivism.³⁹

Social and Musical Hierarchies

Settlement workers saw social divides that they aimed to bridge, but their language of ‘uplift,’ ‘progress,’ and ‘levelling’ suggested that the divides were ranked and hierarchical, in which workers understood their own culture and values as superior to the members. Yet the very terms of uplift and progress suggest that members might have some kind of mobility, while levelling suggests some sort of equalization between groups. Given that workers framed their levelling project in terms of citizenship building, the concept of social and musical hierarchies in relation to nation-building becomes central to my analysis.

Drawing from the work of scholar Sunera Thobani, I use the concept of hierarchies to make sense of the segmentation, organization, and ranking of people and musics within the project of civic betterment. Thobani theorizes that Canada’s national identity, and indeed the nation-state itself, is constructed through a hierarchy with three main subject positions. At the top are national subjects, in the exalted position. These are naturalized Canadians constituted through processes of colonialism that also constructed Canada as, in her apt description, a “settler society-cum-liberal democracy.”⁴⁰ The exalted subject is formed because the venerated characteristics of the Canadian nation are inscribed onto the figure of the national subject, “the

³⁸ Lise C. Vaugeois, “Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education: Studies in the Education of Feeling” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2013), 31.

³⁹ In his 1999 dissertation, Vaillant uses the phrase ‘music as a process of cultivation’ to distinguish from ‘cultivated music’ as a way of framing social reformers’ uses of music as tools rather than as products. In his 2003 monograph *Sounds of Reform*, Vaillant uses the term ‘musical progressivism’ to describe this process. See Derek Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1873-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

⁴⁰ Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 73.

personification of [the nation's] values, ethics, and civilizational mores.”⁴¹ Thobani frames the citizen as a trope of the national subject, and this citizen-as-national-subject “is universally deemed the legitimate heir to the rights and entitlements proffered by the state.”⁴² Below the national subject is the category of the immigrant, who is an outsider, supplicating to become a national. The exalted subject is the insider against which the ‘outsider’ of the immigrant is cast as a troublesome stranger who wants to have what the national subject has, but is understood as not possessing the values and characteristics of the nation. At the bottom of the hierarchy are subjects “marked for physical and cultural extinction or utter marginalization (Indians)”⁴³ and although the focus of this dissertation rests on the relationship between the ‘outsider’ immigrants and the ‘exalted’ nationals, these two positions are only intelligible in the frame of colonization, in which the exalted nationals must extinguish First Nations and aboriginal peoples to claim and naturalize their ownership of the land and nation.⁴⁴

Settlement organizers clearly saw themselves as Canadian citizens and their British subjectivity was naturalized as the exalted national subject; but what was perhaps distinctive from how Thobani would analyze their subjectivity, was their desire to level the hierarchy, or to develop immigrants. It was a paradoxical project in which the very act of cultural uplift served to reinscribe the exalted status of the settlement organizers themselves, who became the arbiters of successful social and cultural progress of their members. Cultural uplift was a technique toward social progress without promoting social mobility.

⁴¹ Ibid., 3.

⁴² Ibid., 4.

⁴³ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 9. For a fulsome and important analysis of how music was bound up in the relationship between Canada's Anglo-Celtic Protestant ‘nationals’ and the aboriginal groups during this time period, see Vaugeois, “Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education.”

Because settlement workers used music as a form of cultural uplift, their musical work produced musical hierarchies that produced and were produced by social hierarchies. I use the term musical hierarchies as an analytical device that points to the ways in which settlement workers naturalized the categorization and ranking of particular musics that articulated particular music practices to particular social hierarchies. Just as British subjects were exalted as Canadian national subjects, so too were musics associated with British subjects—Western European Art Music specifically—exalted as more developed. Further, this was predicated on the exclusions of other kinds of musics that were also tied to racial and class differences. Western European Art Music (WEAM), cast as good music, did not simply construct a binary, but produced an exalted music that in turn ordered ‘other’ musics, always beneath WEAM’s exalted status. What settlement organizers called folk music ranked quite close to WEAM but still beneath it. Folk music, defined by a settlement music administrator as “a song made up by ordinary people for the fun of doing it and handed on by word of mouth,”⁴⁵ was perhaps the centrepiece of most informal musical activities at Toronto’s settlement houses. British folk music was ranked just below WEAM, and below that, the folk musics of immigrant settlement members (all immigrant musics were considered folk music), which in part could be used to bridge differences among ethnic groups, and also indicated a natural talent that could be developed through conservatory training of the community music schools.

Jazz music and popular music (where these were different categories)⁴⁶ were at the bottom of the hierarchy. Of course, these musical distinctions were not free-floating categories.

⁴⁵ *Course in Music Appreciation*, 4, Fonds 1484, Series 1657, File 30. CTA.

⁴⁶ It is outside of the scope of this research project to parse out the specific social status of jazz and popular music during the time period. For a historical perspective of jazz music in Canada, see Mark Miller, *Jazz in Canada: Fourteen Lives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Mark Miller, *Such Melodious Racket: The Lost History of Jazz in Canada, 1914-1949* (Toronto: Mercury Press, 1997). For a history of popular music in Toronto at the time, see Robin Elliott, “Ragtime Spasms: Anxieties over the Rise of Popular Music in Toronto,” in *Post-*

Jazz was not merely another kind of music, but music largely produced by, and associated with, African Americans. Even ‘highbrow’ and ‘lowbrow’ as references to high culture and low culture grew out of the racist terms ‘highbrowed’ and ‘lowbrowed’ in phrenology to designate racial types ordered from civilized down to savage.⁴⁷ Musical hierarchies were intimately bound to social hierarchies, and good music was an effective, inconspicuous mechanism for establishing and normalizing truths about the rightness of two orders that reinforced each other: a musical order in which WEAM was cast as the highest form of music and a social order in which Anglo-Celtic Protestant subjects were cast as the most evolved form of citizen. In other words, within English-speaking Canada, WEAM and Anglo-Celtic Protestant subjects each confirmed the other’s exalted status in their hierarchies. At the same time, folk music was cast as social music, which was not quite as musically developed as WEAM, but was nonetheless a useful tool in their citizenship work of cultivating social cohesion and personal responsibility to the group.

Conceptual Framework and Methodology

Foucault’s philosophical-historical work investigates inter-relations of knowledge, power, and subjectivity, and as such, his methods constitute a conceptual approach to historical investigation as much as a methodological one. Given that my dissertation is grounded in an epistemological concern with how community music emerged in one particular form rather than another through the specific historical moment of Toronto’s settlement house movement, Michel Foucault’s archaeology⁴⁸ forms the springboard for both my conceptual framework and my

Colonial Distances: The Study of Popular Music in Canada and Australia (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2008), 67–89.

⁴⁷ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 222.

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Routledge, 1970); Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* ([S.l.]: Pantheon Books, 1972);

methodology. This methodology also draws from other Foucaultian scholars to build an analytical framework that can simultaneously examine rationales (what was said) and practices (what was done). The purpose of archaeology is to analyze the complex relations that define regularities creating the conditions of possibility for the formation and transformation of discourses—what Roland Sintos Coloma characterizes as a systematic ordering of functions and transformations based on inclusions and exclusions.⁴⁹

Archaeology and the Formation of Discourses

In conducting my research, I have drawn substantially from Foucault’s archaeology and its central concern of how discourses are formed and transformed, or what Sara Mills describes as an analysis of the system of unwritten rules that contribute to formation of discourses in the production of knowledge.⁵⁰ While Foucault’s conceptualization of discourse shifts throughout his writing, I take as my entry point Foucault’s definition of discourse as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.”⁵¹ Lise Vaugeois frames this notion of discourse as “a group of statements which provide a conceptual framework for thinking and talking about a particular topic at a particular historical moment,”⁵² highlighting how ways of thinking are consolidated and constrained through conceptual frameworks that normalize particular ideas. In short, how things get talked about constructs our knowledge about them, but also governs our ability to think or act in particular ways.

Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from The Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, ed. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas S. Rose (New York: New Press, 1971), 351–70; Foucault, “Questions of Method.”

⁴⁹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 41; Coloma, “Who’s Afraid of Foucault?,” 205.

⁵⁰ Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London: Routledge, 2003); Sara Mills, *Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁵¹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 49.

⁵² Lise Vaugeois, “Music as a Practice of Social Justice,” in *Exploring Social Justice: How Music Education Might Matter*, ed. June Countryman et al. (Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Music Educators’ Association / Association canadienne des musiciens éducateurs, 2009), 4.

However, as Vaugeois, Mills, and Foucault point out, discourses are not stable or fixed, nor are they unified in any given moment, and new discursive statements emerge in particular historical moments. Archaeology is concerned not with determining the nature of a given discourse but with describing the conditions that make the formation of discourse possible, asking the central question of how it is that one (discursive) statement appeared rather than another.⁵³ Mills defines statement as the “authorised utterance,” pointing simultaneously to who has the authority to speak and that what is said is taken to be ‘true.’⁵⁴ McHoul and Grace approach statements as “functional units”; in other words, statements “do things, bring about effects rather than merely ‘represent’ states of affairs.”⁵⁵

Analyzing Social/Musical Practices as Discursive Formations

Following Foucault in understanding discourse as the set of relations which create the conditions of possibility for knowledge, I also understand discourse to point towards more than simply the meanings of words, or even the systems of language that construct knowledge about the material world. Rather, discourse emphasizes the *relationship* between words and things. While scholars mostly distinguish Foucault’s earlier archaeological work from his later genealogical study largely by the former’s focus on systems of language in the production of discourses,⁵⁶ social practices contribute to discursive formations as much as systems of language. As Emma Pérez cogently notes, while the purpose of archaeology is to “reconstruct ‘things

⁵³ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*; Roland Sintos Coloma, “‘Destiny Has Thrown the Negro and the Filipino Under the Tutelage of America’: Race and Curriculum in the Age of Empire,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 4 (September 1, 2009), 495; Roland Sintos Coloma, “Who’s Afraid of Foucault? History, Theory, and Becoming Subjects,” *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (May 1, 2011), 184.

⁵⁴ Mills, *Michel Foucault*, 23.

⁵⁵ McHoul and Grace, *A Foucault Primer*, 37.

⁵⁶ See Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault’s Archaeology of Scientific Reason* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). for a thorough examination of Foucault’s archaeological methods. Most scholars distinguish archaeology from genealogy in its focus on systems of language (see for example, Mills 2003; Pérez 1999; McHoul & Grace 1993). Kendall and Wickham (1999) are among the few scholars that define archaeology as a relationship between words and social practices.

said,’” that reconstruction project necessarily includes embodied social practices, given “that ‘things said’ are always an inscription upon the body.”⁵⁷ Her assertion points to the recursive relationship between social practices and systems of thought enacted on bodies, wherein social practices of bodies say things, while the things said constrain and enable embodied social practices.

This understanding of discourse as a relationship between words and social practices binds discourse to the production of subjects, suggesting that archaeology’s focus on systems of language is interconnected with, rather than separate from, Foucault’s genealogy, his later conceptual approach concerned with how discourses are inscribed on the body. His very definition of discourse connects words and practices, in which *practices* form the objects of which they speak. Conceptualizing the formation of discourse through both what is said and what is done forms the basis of my analysis, in which musical/social practices had what Wickham and Kendall call a “mutually conditioning relationship”⁵⁸ with both community music and with the production of citizenship.

Archaeology opens up a conceptual space to focus less on community music itself *per se* and more on analyzing the conditions that made the term community music possible. An archeology-inspired conceptual framework enables my examination of statements that contributed to the conditions that made possible the emergence of community music’s social rationality. The framework brings together a broad set of social conditions that gave rise to emergence of community music *as a discourse* during a particular historical moment, embedded in, and interconnected with, the discursive production of citizens.

⁵⁷ Emma. Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), xvi.

⁵⁸ Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham, *Using Foucault’s Methods* (London: Sage, 1999), 25.

The Production of Power, Knowledge, and Ethics

The analytical work of Ian Hacking⁵⁹ is helpful in illustrating how the formation of discourses is intimately tied to the formation of subjects. Hacking uses Foucault's frameworks as the basis for an historical ontology, an approach that examines how practices of naming interact with the things that are named, focusing on three interconnected axes that form Foucault's *oeuvre*: power, knowledge, and ethics. By power, he refers to the ways in which relations struggle for dominance, and in this way, power is always exerted, never held. By knowledge, Hacking points to the ways in which ideas are put together and taken as given even while predicated on subjugated knowledges, or experiences that are ignored or invalidated because they counter the normalized assumption of what is true. Finally, ethics refers to the ways in which humans inscribe or internalize their own moral conduct. This triple-focus is necessary because power, knowledge, and ethics are all interconnected, and indeed produce each other.

In terms of power, an analysis of discursive formations is a way of thinking through the organization of social relations among all players and not simply the settlement workers exercising power over the members. Instead, social relations act as a nexus of power relations between children and adults; between workers and members; between conservatory training and settlement music school training; and between different kinds of music practiced within and outside the settlement houses. Perhaps the most salient example of this point is that the musical work taken on by the settlement workers produced their own subjectivities. By making choices in their musical activities, they constructed their position as middle-class, Anglo-Celtic, and Protestant, and produced themselves as social workers. Moreover, through the years, the

⁵⁹ Ian Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002).

settlement music teachers produced themselves as community musicians.⁶⁰ By the 1940s, the settlement music schools had created a training course to give community music school teachers the unique skills they would need to teach successfully in this combined musical and social environment. Foucault's conception of discourse, shot through with flows of power in the organization of social relations, compels me to consider how relationships formed various subjectivities, rather than merely oppressed or freed one group at the expense of, or thanks to, another.

Further, Foucault refuses to extricate power (and subjectivity) from the production of knowledge. Knowledge and power are bound together, although importantly not collapsible into each other. The "knowledge-power nexus" produces both regimes of truth (what can be known) and regimes of practices (what can be done). Power interpenetrates knowledge so that discourses simultaneously produce who we are and what we know. It is important to note that knowledge, similar to power, is not a singular phenomenon. Knowledge does not stand outside of us waiting to be known, but is discursively produced out of irrational, contingent, and conflicting possible conditions. Foucault distinguishes between two forms of knowledge: *savoir*, implicit knowledge that is dispersed and unorganized (for example, institutions, practices, social mores); and *connaissance*, formal knowledge of bodies of learning (such as science, philosophy, religion). *Savoir* is what makes possible the appearance of *connaissance*, more formal bodies of learning. The musical social work of the settlement houses produced knowledge about subjects and about musics, knowledges predicated on exclusions of particular cultures as much as on the inclusion of others. The myriad musical practices among the residents living in Toronto's so-called neglected neighbourhoods collectively constitute the *savoir*, the complex whole of cultural and

⁶⁰ Mariana Valverde (2008) makes this point in *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water* that the civilizing efforts of the middle-class reformers produced themselves as citizens by organizing their own behaviours in very particular ways that differentiated themselves from the lower classes.

social knowledges situated and embodied among dispersed relationships. However, the settlement houses used very specific musical practices as techniques of civic betterment, techniques that grew more formal, more specific, and more exclusive as the music practices were organized and consolidated through the music schools, working toward the *connaissance* that normalized specific music practices as constitutive of community music.

The final component of Hacking's analytical framework is concerned with ethics, which he defines as the processes of inscribing or internalizing moral conduct. Given the moral concerns that undergirded settlement workers' citizenship work, the practice of internalizing moral conduct was an explicit focus not only in their education programs for members but for themselves. For example, the cultivation of the "communal self" I discuss in Chapter 2 was a philosophy in which workers cultivated their own personal responsibility to the collective whole by serving Toronto's poor districts as neighbours. Their educational programming in turn endeavoured to cultivate the communal self of the members in which musical activities organized individual and group behaviours, while fostering personal responsibility to the group. That settlement workers used techniques toward internalizing moral conduct within the context of citizenship training suggests that the kind of ethics practiced and produced in settlement houses manifested as a kind of governmentality, or cultivating the conduct of conduct. Mitchell Dean defines governmentality as "any attempt to shape with some degree of deliberation aspects of our behaviour according to particular sets of norms and for a variety of ends."⁶¹ His definition highlights that while power still pervades relations, the forms of that power operate not through force or control but through guidance. Similarly, Cruikshank defines governmentality particular to democratic governance, contending that democracy is not the antithesis to unequal power

⁶¹ Dean, *Governmentality*, 18.

relations but a reconfiguration of power relations in which governance aims to mold the behaviours of citizens:

In this broad sense, governance includes any program, discourse, or strategy that attempts to alter or shape the actions of others or oneself. It includes but is not limited to programs conducted by the liberal state, for governance can also involve internal and voluntary relations of rule, the ways we act upon ourselves.⁶²

Governmentality emphasizes that governing is not only the domain of governmental institutions, but is dispersed through multiple relationships at institutional and personal levels, all constituted through power-relations. Governmentality also requires some deliberation in the regulation of behaviours. In the case of settlement houses, whose organizers were not acting as government representatives, their efforts to engender self-governance, particularly through the democracy clubs I discuss in Chapter 3, was a deliberate effort as Dean suggests, to mold behaviours with some degree of forethought—to use club structures to educate members how to conduct their own conduct, managing their *selves*.

An investigation of the musical practices of settlement houses would seem a quotidian environment for Foucaultian questions of power, knowledge, and ethics. And yet, it is precisely the ‘everydayness’ of this participatory music activity that lends the inquiry its weight. Foucault reminds us that it is precisely those things that are most normalized and banal that require scrutiny, suggesting that “what we have to do with banal facts is to discover, to try to discover, which specific and perhaps original problems are connected with them.”⁶³ The Foucault-informed historical framework of this research project enables an analytical focus on the conditions that gave rise to emergence of the discourse of community music during a particular historical moment, embedded in and interconnected with other discourses circulating at the time.

⁶² Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower*, 4.

⁶³ Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from The Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, ed. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas S. Rose (New York: New Press, 2003), 128.

Archaeology as Methodology

I undertook archival research of primary documents over a period of eighteen months, primarily at the City of Toronto Archives, which houses the lion's share of archival materials pertaining to Toronto's settlement houses. The Canadian Baptist Archives at McMaster University housed records for Memorial Institute, and archives on the Toronto Conservatory of Music were split between the University of Toronto Archives and the Royal Conservatory archives. I also conducted research at Library and Archives Canada, which holds fonds dedicated to Sir Ernest MacMillan.

However, in conducting the archival research as well as in my analysis, I drew substantially from archaeology as my methodology. Foucault offers a succinct overview of the four analytical tasks of archaeology, and I have used these tasks to structure my analytical work:

[W]e must grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement it excludes.⁶⁴

The tasks of (1) determining conditions of existence; (2) fixing limits of discourse; (3) establishing correlations with other statements; and (4) looking for exclusions collectively form the core analytical framework for this research study.

Determining Conditions of Existence

The archaeological project of examining discursive formations, or the emergence of particular forms of discourses, requires a focus not on the discourse itself but on the conditions that made that discourse possible. Consequently, while the community music schools arguably offer the obvious locus of study in their institutionalized musical practices, I pay attention to the historical moments that contributed to the conditions through which the music schools emerged.

⁶⁴ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 30.

Similarly, in examining how the statement emerged that music had a social use, I need to analyze the conditions that made not only the cultural work of settlement houses possible, but the production of the settlement houses overall.

I approached the archival research by investigating what Kendall and Wickham describe as a historical snapshot “through a discursive nexus,”⁶⁵ or what Scheurich and MacKenzie describe as a vertical slice through a particular historical moment.⁶⁶ This particular historical moment is characterized not by a time frame but by a discontinuity or a break in which a certain kind of statement forms rather than another. Foucault characterizes this break as a problematization, suggesting that archaeology examines discontinuities as problematizations rather than as solutions, recognizing that “a discontinuity is never anything more than to register a problem that needs to be solved.”⁶⁷ At the turn of the twentieth century, there was an abundance of problems for social reformers to address, exemplified in their overarching term ‘the problem of the city,’ and Chapter 2 approaches this historical moment as a problematization.

Correlations with Other Statements

The inter-connection of music, citizenship, social work, and community at the heart of this research project best demonstrates Foucault’s task of correlating statements. Rather than, for example, analyzing the musical and social work of the settlement music schools as internally coherent, archaeology demands an examination of the emergence of settlement community music schools as sites of complex interworkings of culture and social policy, where both competing and mutually complementary discourses interact and play out. For example, cultural contestation and negotiation was evident when juxtaposing music instruction in the settlement

⁶⁵ Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault’s Methods*, 30.

⁶⁶ James J. Scheurich and Kathryn B. MacKenzie, “Foucault’s Methodologies: Archaeology and Genealogy,” in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research, Third Edition*, ed. N. Denzin and Y Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 841–68.

⁶⁷ Foucault, “Questions of Method,” 248.

music schools, which used conservatory-style training and Western European Art Music, with the recreational inter-cultural settlement music, which used folk musics of various cultures with less formal learning processes. Another example of the correlation of discursive statements within this historical moment is that the settlement houses did not operate as sites of coordinated institutional oppression: rather, they acted independently of governmental policy or funding and from each other, yet frequently coordinated their objectives through inter-settlement meetings that worked in the interests of the relatively young nation of Canada as a settler society-cum-liberal democracy. Similarly, the settlement music schools were not institutionally obligated to use particular curricula as in the formal education system, although were significantly shaped by the pedagogical developments and ideological stances of the musicians at the Toronto Conservatory of Music. These examples also demonstrate that the task of analyzing correlations of statements eschews the reification of statements in favour of an analysis of contingencies and contradictions out of which some correlations are made rather than others.

Fixing the Limits of Discourse

As part of the archaeological analysis, to focus on transformation is to analyze the possibilities not just of the emergence of discursive formations but also of discursive shifts that simultaneously mark the limits of a discourse. In this dissertation, I frame this ‘fixing’ process as a discursive threshold, described by McHoul and Grace as “the limits of its capacities to modify itself, and the ‘threshold’ from which it can bring new rules ‘into play’.”⁶⁸ The discursive threshold marks the edge of a discourse, demanding an examination of the ways that a discourse can change or transform, open up new possibilities, and bring new rules and new conditions into play for what counts as true. At the same time, however, a discursive threshold also marks the

⁶⁸ McHoul and Grace, *A Foucault Primer*, 44.

limits of the discourse that constrains its ability to change. The clearest example of an analysis of discursive thresholds in this thesis is the focus on the inter-cultural music practices of immigrants taken up in Chapter 5, in which the assimilationist musical practices shifted toward those predicated on statements of tolerance for cultural differences, pointing to the possibilities for new authorized utterances about music and citizenship. Yet at the same time, the tolerance for cultural differences was predicated on a national subject that was a British settler, pointing to the limits of the discourse to transform.

Exclusions

The fourth and final methodological feature that I will discuss here is to search for statements that *were not included* in the circulating statements. Given archaeology's central question of how one statement (meaning a discursive formation) arose *rather than another* demands an analytical focus not just on the musics that were included in the settlement houses, but the music practices and rationales that were excluded to produce particular discursive formations. Roland Sintos Coloma underscores the importance of delineating not just the "regularities of inclusion" but also those of exclusion to trace the conditions of existence for the emergence of a particular phenomenon or discourse.⁶⁹ The focus on exclusions offers space to consider musical practices that were not considered part of the discursive group of statements that formed music's social rationality in settlement houses, which, broadly speaking, were two kinds of music practices. The first exclusion was the musics that immigrant members practiced outside of the settlements. For example, the Chinese community served by Central Neighbourhood House also launched wildly successful Cantonese operas through the 1930s, complete with theatres that were purpose-built. Yet, the settlement archives contained no

⁶⁹ Coloma, "Who's Afraid of Foucault?," 205. Coloma is referring specifically to his own archaeological research that examines the emergence of public education in the Philippines.

mention of these operas. Within the discursive production of community music, the cultural practices embedded in Cantonese opera, and many other musical practices of immigrant groups, were excluded from the practices and the writings of Central Neighbourhood House and other settlement houses, and therefore excluded from the production of community music overall. The second category of excluded practices was popular musics, such as ragtime and jazz. Settlement organizers tended to fixate on popular music associated with commercial establishments as the particular musical source of moral degeneration that their musical activities sought to mitigate. Yet, as I will argue, jazz and ragtime were intimately bound to race and class. Locating these subjugated musics as part of my analysis not only broadens the scope of music practices circulating at the time but also more sharply identifies the boundaries marking community music, which depended on the exclusion of certain practices to gain intelligibility as music toward social development.

Foucaultian sociologist Xiaobei Chen⁷⁰ eschews inclusions and exclusions in favour of dividing practices—or, perhaps more aligned with genealogy—as systems of differentiation. In part, the language of differentiation helpfully neutralizes the power differentials embedded in terms like binaries or even thinking through inclusions and exclusions, in that the latter terms often assume one side of a binary holds power over the other side, rather than that power flows through and constitutes both sides of the relationship. I approached my analysis both in terms of inclusions/exclusions as well as in terms of differentiations, which has led to an analysis of musical and social hierarchies that normalized differentiations and exclusions at the same time. For example, the settlement music schools differentiated their music training that of conservatories: settlements offered music training to develop the individual socially rather than to develop musicians *per se*.

⁷⁰ Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship*.

These social and musical differentiations nuance the analysis of subjugated knowledges, which were not always summarily excluded. This ambivalence was most obvious in the musical practices of immigrants, which at times were excluded, at times merely represented music potential, and yet other times were celebrated as contributions to Canadian culture. A focus on both inclusions/exclusions and on differentiations makes vivid an examination of how settlement houses organized social relations in terms of power relations and in terms of constructing the knowledge produced through the normalization of particular statements and practices rather than others.

Situating the Study in Scholarly Literature

I situate this study in the specific discipline of community music within the scholarly field of music education. However, the study crosses several disciplinary boundaries, drawing from scholarship in critical studies of Canadian nationalism/musics, historical music studies, and social reform history. I will first discuss literature specifically on music in settlement houses, and then examine the literatures which focus on music and citizenship in ways that inspired and influenced my own work. Finally, I will look at research in Canada's social reform era, as well as scholarship on Canadian music history.

Research on Music in Settlement Houses

There is only a small body of scholarship that focuses on music of settlement houses, and most scholarship looks specifically at the music schools associated with settlement houses. In the Canadian context, there are two such pieces of research. The first is a mid-century Masters thesis on Toronto's University Settlement House Community Music School, authored by William

Dorricott in 1950.⁷¹ Dorricott examines the historical development of University Settlement Music School, where he was also employed. While we part ways methodologically in that Dorricott takes as given the music school's assertion that conservatory training contributes to social development, the data that he gathers about the development of the school, as well as the information about similar schools in the United States and Britain, provided historical information on operations of schools and settlements that shaped my data collection early on in the research process. The second piece of Canadian-focused research is a Canada-wide survey conducted in the 1980s on non-University conservatory training conducted by G. Campbell Trowsdale,⁷² which also offered some preliminary information in my initial research related to University Settlement Music School, as well as the Royal Conservatory of Music (formerly the Toronto Conservatory of Music).

There is a larger body of research examining settlement music schools in the United States, particularly with a historical focus. This slightly larger body of scholarship tends not to take critical approaches to examining music training in settlement work, but also tends to adopt a narrow case-study model of research. One kind of case-study approach is to focus on one particular settlement music school, such as Stephen Baranski's PhD dissertation on Neighborhood Music School in Connecticut,⁷³ Mary Pagano's DMA thesis on Third Street Music School Settlement in New York City,⁷⁴ Silvia Zverina's monograph on the Cleveland

⁷¹ William Merrick Dorricott, "The Music School in the Settlement: A Study of the Background and Program of Music Schools in Settlements in England, the United States and Canada with a Detailed Survey of the Music School at the University Settlement, 23 Grange Road, Toronto Canada" (MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1950).

⁷² G. Campbell Trowsdale, *Independent and Affiliated Non-Profit Conservatory-Type Music Schools in Canada: A Speculative Survey* (Toronto: Canadian Music Council, 1988).

⁷³ Stephen Michael Baranski, "In the Settlement House Spirit: A Case Study of a Community Music School" (PhD diss., New York University, 2011).

⁷⁴ Mary Josephine Pagano, "The History of the Third Street Music School Settlement, 1891-1984. Music School and Social Settlement: The Dual Identity of the Original Music School Settlement" (DMA thesis, Manhattan School of Music, 1996).

Music School Settlement,⁷⁵ and Gary Palmer's dissertation on the Hochstein School of Music and Dance in Rochester, New York.⁷⁶ The other case-study approach is to focus on one particular individual who was influential in one or many community music schools, such as Pamela Elrod's study of Eleanor Smith, who was the founder of Hull-House Music School,⁷⁷ and Elza Viles' study of Mary Louise Curtis Bok Zimbalist, who founded the Curtis Institute of Music.⁷⁸ While both kinds of case studies offer important contributions to the relatively small body of literature on settlement music schools, a case study approach (of either an individual or an institution) does not analyze settlement-initiated community music as a *movement*.

To date, two pieces of scholarly literature examine the emergence of America's community music schools as a broader phenomenon. In his 1975 PhD dissertation, Nicholas Cords examines the emergence of music training in the settlement movement of the United States, arguing that the schools followed the overall settlement strategy of experimentation, and aimed toward both social and artistic goals, which he characterizes as a "democratic-esthetic approach."⁷⁹ Robert Egan's monograph also focuses on historical emergence of community music schools in the United States, tracing the development of music instruction in community

⁷⁵ Silvia Zverina, *And They Shall Have Music: The History of the Cleveland Music School Settlement* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cobham and Hatherton Press, 1988).

⁷⁶ Gary Louis Palmer, "The Hochstein School of Music & Dance: History, Mission, and Vision" (PhD diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 2010); Victoria Von Arx, "The Third Street Music School Settlement: The Grand Tradition as Social Practice on New York's Lower East Side," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5, no. 1 (February 1, 2011), 61–93; Jeffrey Brian Davis, "Capable of a Miracle: Meanings and Purposes in an Urban Community School of Music" (DMA thesis, Arizona State University, 2004).

⁷⁷ Pamela Gail Elrod, "Vocal Music at Hull-House, 1889-1942: an Overview of Choral and Singing Class Events and a Study of the Life and Works of Eleanor Smith, Founder of the Hull-House Music School" (DMA thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001).

⁷⁸ Elza Ann Viles, "Mary Louise Curtis Bok Zimbalist: Founder of the Curtis Institute of Music and Patron of American Arts (conservatory, Settlement, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1983).

⁷⁹ Nicholas John Cords, "Music in Social Settlement and Community Music Schools, 1893-1939: A Democratic-Esthetic Approach to Music Culture" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1970).

music schools.⁸⁰ Egan approaches American community music schools as a movement, emphasizing the overall work in terms of ‘high quality’ music instruction without financial barriers. Both researchers importantly expand the focus with an eye to overall trends and developments, yet their approaches are similar to the other studies in normalizing the claims of community music’s social purpose. Further, all of these studies tend not to situate developments within social, cultural, and political contexts, and certainly do not suggest that the music practices of the settlement houses emerged in a recursive relationship with specific social, political, and cultural relations. While my research will contribute to the existing literature on community music schools, my focus will complement rather than extend previous research by focusing on the social, economic, and political conditions that produced community music as a discourse, and will set it in conversation with the production of citizenship.

Several scholars focus on music in a broader historical context of social reform, and both have influenced the work of this dissertation. Shannon Green examines multiple settlement house music schools and activities in American settlement houses between 1892 and 1942,⁸¹ framing her research around a primary tension within the schools between developing musical excellence and using music as a means to produce what she terms ‘social effects.’ Green’s scholarship offers important analyses on philosophical and practical distinctions in music making, and while the tension she notes does not play out in the same way within Toronto’s settlement houses, the differentiation between music as recreation or music as training became a significant distinction in this study. The second scholar is Derek Vaillant,⁸² whose work focuses on the uses of music in Progressive-Era Chicago including settlement house music programs.

⁸⁰ Robert F. Egan, *Music and the Arts in the Community: The Community Music School in America* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1989).

⁸¹ Green, “Art for Life’s Sake.”

⁸² Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*; Derek W. Vaillant, “Musical Publics: Progressive Reform and Music Making in Chicago, 1869-1930” (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 1999).

Vaillant argues that musical practices and policies of progressive reformers served to transform public spaces and public cultures, and while his work is not cited frequently throughout this dissertation, Vaillant's scholarship significantly shaped the research trajectory of this project, particularly by how he highlighted subjugated music practices in his analysis. Finally, in his article on music and social reform in America, Gavin Campbell⁸³ argues that music educators pushed municipal, state, and federal governments to support music initiatives on the basis that music could “impart tangible moral and mental benefits to the listener and performer.” His overall argument that music's social use was a concerted effort among music educators at the turn of the century has set the groundwork for my approach to music as a consciously employed tool to social ends.⁸⁴ The historical work on music and multiculturalism developed by Terese Volk⁸⁵ laid significant foundations for how examining how American music teachers and settlement workers alike integrated folk musics and dances of immigrant populations into pedagogical practices. Similarly, Roberta Lamb and Sondra Wieland Howe have published important research on women music educators in America's settlement movement,⁸⁶ demonstrating often-overlooked work of women in music in music education, particularly in community settings.

⁸³ Gavin James Campbell, “‘A Higher Mission than Merely to Please the Ear’: Music and Social Reform in America, 1900-1925” 84, *The Musical Quarterly*, no. 2 (July 1, 2000), 259–86.

⁸⁴ Vicki Eaklor's scholarship on music in Antebellum America also provided useful methodological and substantive insight to this study, as did Eve Pasler's monograph on music as a public utility in Third Republic France. See Vicki Lynn Eaklor, “Music in American Society, 1815-1860: An Intellectual History” (PhD diss., Washington University, 1982); Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

⁸⁵ Terese M. Volk, *Music, Education, and Multiculturalism: Foundations and Principles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Terese M. Volk, “Folk Musics and Increasing Diversity in American Music Education: 1900-1916,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 42 (December 1, 1994), 285–305.

⁸⁶ Roberta Lamb, “Where Are the Women? And Other Questions, Asked within an Historical Analysis of Sociology of Music Education Research Publications: Being a Self-Reflective Ethnographic Path,” *Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education* 13, no. 1 (2014), 188–222; Sondra Wieland. Howe, *Women Music Educators in the United States: A History* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2014).

Not many music education scholars have employed Foucault-inspired frameworks to examine music in particular historical moments, and among those that have, two have carved out important territory for the work of this dissertation. Ruth Gustafson conducted an archaeology of vocal instruction and music appreciation in America in the 1800s,⁸⁷ elucidating the emerging discourse of comportment in terms of race and citizenship. Gustafson's analysis demonstrates how race was central in determining worthy citizens through musical and physical comportment in ways that were then normalized in American music education. The second Foucaultian scholar is Lise Vaugeois, who has deployed Foucault's genealogical tools in her critical approaches to historical-philosophical research in music education, drawing also from postcolonial and feminist frameworks.⁸⁸ Particularly influential to this study is her dissertation on music and processes of colonization in Canadian history, in which she analyses how the nation-building efforts of Canada's classical musicians were predicated on the oppression of First Nations and aboriginal peoples.⁸⁹ Our work bears many affinities and I draw substantially from her research, but where Vaugeois focuses on the relationship between the exalted nationals and the indigenous peoples, I look at the role of immigrants in the construction of Canadian nationalism through music. Also, where Vaugeois takes up the nation-building work of prominent Canadian musicians, I focus more on the community-based practices of settlement workers and their pragmatic approaches to cultivating citizens.

⁸⁷ Ruth Gustafson, "Merry Throngs and Street Gangs: The Fabrication of Whiteness and the Worthy Citizen in Early Vocal Instruction and Music Appreciation, 1830-1930" (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2005).

⁸⁸ In particular, see Lise Vaugeois, "Social Justice and Music Education: Claiming the Space of Music Education as a Site of Postcolonial Constestation," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 6, no. 4 (2007), 163–200.

⁸⁹ Vaugeois, "Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education."

Canadian Social Reform

This thesis draws significantly upon scholarship on social reform in English-speaking Canada. Perhaps most influential to my own work has been the scholarship of Cathy James,⁹⁰ whose analysis of the settlement house movement in Toronto remains one of the most comprehensive.⁹¹ It was through James' insistence on approaching settlement houses as a collective movement that I began to notice the ubiquitous presence of music throughout activities among all of the houses. Further, her focus on the ways in which settlement workers endeavoured to foster the 'communal self' opened up a very direct connection between social work, music making, and formations of community not only in practice but in a kind of imaginary.

Other researchers have similarly focused on the practices of the Anglo-Celtic middle-class Torontonians who collectively engaged in social reform efforts in a number of ways; however, while some scholarship has analyzed the work of leaders in social reform and the effects of their work,⁹² this study draws from the scholarship of Sara Burke, Mariana Valverde, and Xiaobei Chen in the ways that their research knits together discourses and social practices

⁹⁰ James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation"; James, "Practical Diversions and Educational Amusements"; Cathy L. James, "'Not Merely for the Sake of an Evening's Entertainment': The Educational Uses of Theater in Toronto's Settlement Houses, 1910-1930," *History of Education Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (October 1, 1998), 287-311; James, "Practical Diversions and Educational Amusements."

⁹¹ Other publications have detailed the history of one or several of Toronto's settlement houses, including: Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*; Wasteneys, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958"; Patricia J. O'Connor, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986* (Toronto: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986); Patricia J. O'Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House 1912-1984* (Toronto: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986); Patricia J. O'Connor, *The Story of University Settlement, 1910 - 1984* (Toronto: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986); Mary-Jane Lipkin, "Immigrants and Education for Citizenship, 1900-1919: The Experience of Central Neighbourhood House and Frontier College" (master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1975).

⁹² Paul Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase, 1880-1920: an Anthology of Early Articles on Urban Reform* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Leonard Rutman and Andrew Jones, *In the Children's Aid: J. J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Brian Fraser, "Theology and the Social Gospel among Canadian Presbyterians: A Case Study," *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses* 8, no. 1 (March 1, 1979), 35-46; Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo, Ont., Canada: Published for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988).

within Canada's social reform era. Sara Burke⁹³ situates her research of University Settlement House at the point of connection between policy, or the rationales produced officially by institutions such as University of Toronto, and the practices that attempted to enact those policies, and at times, affected the development of policies. In her more elegant words, her study examines the space between "formal systems of thought and the world of social action."⁹⁴ While Burke pursues a different line of questioning than my study here, I have learned much from this particular way of framing the recursive relationship between what was said and what was done. Valverde's groundbreaking book, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water* (reprinted in 2008),⁹⁵ offers a remarkable blend of analytical techniques to investigate the moral regulation of Toronto's poor and immigrant populations during the same time period as my study. Her analysis moves between practices, knowledges formed through those practices, and material culture. Further, her insistence that middle-class reformers actually constituted themselves as middle-class reformers through this work became a central focusing idea for my own work, predicated on a central (what I see as Foucaultian) assumption that power flows rather than is held. That is to say, that exerting influences onto other people is not (only) a mechanism to create subjects out of those people; it is a way to constitute the subjectivity of the self. This became helpful in thinking through not only the distinctions between classes but also how power flows between and among to produce those very classes. Xiaobei Chen's research on the emergence of Ontario's child welfare system in a similar time period offered not only methodological exemplars for this study, particularly in the chapter on democratic and music-focused clubs, which uses and extends Chen's governmentality methodology to the self-governance work of settlement organizers, but

⁹³ Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁵ Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*.

also conceptualized children as human subjects in a Foucaultian analysis that influenced the analysis in this study.⁹⁶

Canadian Music History

The history of community music in Canada has not been well researched, but there are a few important contributions that have initiated what is perhaps a growing body of scholarship that, while decidedly not post-modern in historical methods, has laid significant groundwork for this historical research project. Paul Green and Nancy Vogan's 1991 overview of the development of music education in Canada⁹⁷ offers a sweeping yet regionally and historically specific analysis, in which music education is broadly understood as both conservatory-style training and as a part of public school system curricula. They also pay attention to the informal and non-formal practices out of which sprang these more formal systems, although their history is decidedly not post-modern in its epistemology. While community-based music practices are perhaps under-explored in their analysis, their approach to music education situates music making and learning within larger social and cultural processes that have informed this study. Within a North American context, the history of music education has received significant scholarly attention, and much of that research, while focusing on the developments of formalized public school-based institutions, situates those developments with social and cultural developments. For example, Michael Mark and Charles Gary⁹⁸ analyze the formation of music education in America in its antecedents, including choral societies and singing schools in the late eighteenth century, as well as the emergence of community singing within the Progressive Era. Several scholars have examined the work of music educators within Progressive Reform in ways

⁹⁶ Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship*, 39.

⁹⁷ J. Paul Green and Nancy F. Vogan, *Music Education in Canada: A Historical Account* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

⁹⁸ Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2007).

that have been immensely useful to this study. William Lee⁹⁹ examines the Music Supervisors National Conference between 1907 and 1932, and details the ways in which music educators (called music supervisors at the time) sacralized Western European Art Music in its ability to provide cultural uplift, coining the term ‘social rationale’ that opened up the analytical possibility to consider these rationales forming a social *rationality*.

Kallman¹⁰⁰ and Ford¹⁰¹ approach Canada’s musical history largely as a process of classical music development, and where they address folk music, they refer largely to non-classical music practices of British and French settlers such as trappers and *voyageurs*. McGee¹⁰² pays some attention to the musics of First Nations and aboriginal peoples in Canada, but still seems to posit the idea of progress from primitive to the seemingly more advanced composed music of classical genres.¹⁰³ Keillor¹⁰⁴ delves more substantively into multiple forms of music making, including the music of Black Canadians and indigenous peoples, the rise of minstrel shows, and some mention of revues and vaudeville shows, although does not address the music practices of non-British/non-French immigrants. For this dissertation, I have drawn from the scholarship of Robin Elliott,¹⁰⁵ who focuses on musical Toronto in the late nineteenth and early

⁹⁹ William R. Lee, “A New Look at a Significant Cultural Moment: The Music Supervisors National Conference 1907-1932,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 18, no. 2 (April 1, 2007), 93.

¹⁰⁰ Helmut Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

¹⁰¹ Clifford Ford, *Canada’s Music: an Historical Survey* (Agincourt, Ont.: GLC Publishers, 1982).

¹⁰² Timothy J. McGee, *The Music of Canada* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985).

¹⁰³ For a critical analysis of the trends in these three Canadian music history publications, see Beverley Diamond, “Narratives in Canadian Music History,” in *Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, ed. Beverley Diamond and Robert Witmer (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1994), 139–72.

¹⁰⁴ Elaine Keillor, *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ Robin Elliott, “Ragtime Spasms: Anxieties over the Rise of Popular Music in Toronto,” in *Post-Colonial Distances: The Study of Popular Music in Canada and Australia* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2008), 67–89; Robin Elliott, “Toronto: The Social and Artistic Context,” in *Weinzweig: Essays on His Life and Music*, ed. John Beckwith and Brian Cherney (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), 29–46; Robin Elliott, *Counterpoint to a City: The First One Hundred Years of the Women’s Musical Club of Toronto* (Toronto, Ont.: ECW Press, 1997).

twentieth centuries, and his analyses of the social contexts that produced both classical and popular musics have laid significant groundwork for this study.

Existing historical scholarship on music education in Canada has focused primarily on school and university music, or on elite music training and performance.¹⁰⁶ One exception is a national study that examines community music schools in Canada in the 1980s,¹⁰⁷ but only in the context of a larger research project focusing on non-university conservatory training across the country. This study aims to contribute to Canadian music history by focusing on the largely unrecognized, yet pivotal, role of community music schools in the development of music education in Canada. Further, given the involvement of prominent Canadian musicians in the establishment and operation of the community music schools, such as Sir Ernest MacMillan, Healey Willan, and Elie Spivak, research on Toronto's community music schools will also offer a unique perspective on Toronto's classical music history by focusing on non-professional and non-institutional work of key historical figures in Canada's musical development.

I also examine the social, economic, and political conditions that gave rise to the musical practices and rationales emerging out of the Progressive Era in Toronto as part of a global settlement movement, contributing to the field of Canadian music history by focusing on socio-culturally produced musical practices and discourses within a Canadian context that is distinctive from, but intimately linked to, historic global trends in music, education, economics, and even politics. By examining the musical work of Toronto settlements, the dissertation will offer both a unique perspective on the Canada's social and cultural development while at the same time considering Canada's development as a part of, and distinct from, transnational social and cultural developments.

¹⁰⁶ McGee, *The Music of Canada*; Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914*; Ezra Schabas, *There's Music in These Walls: A History of the Royal Conservatory of Music* (Tonawanda, NY: Dundurn Group, 2005).

¹⁰⁷ Trowsdale, *Independent and Affiliated Non-Profit Conservatory-Type Music Schools in Canada*.

Contribution to the Field

While this study draws from fields outside of music, including history, social work, sociology, and cultural studies, I situate this research project within the scholarly field of music education, and within the particular scholarly discipline of community music, and this thesis offers post-modern theoretical approaches in the study of community music, as well as knowledge about the historical production of community music schools as a movement. Secondly, I believe that this research contributes to the knowledge base of historical studies in Canadian music by offering research on diverse musical practices and musicians within community settings.

Community music as a scholarly discipline has experienced substantial growth since the International Society for Music Education (ISME) established the Community Music Activity Commission 1983. Within the most recent decade, the Laurier Centre for Music in Community was established in Ontario, the *International Journal of Community Music* was launched, and the Community Music Activity Commission (ISME) has substantially increased its global reach.¹⁰⁸ As recently as 2015, the International Centre for Community Music opened in York St. John University (England).¹⁰⁹ The scholarly field of community music is a growing one. Yet, despite this proliferation of scholarship there has been little focus on historical developments of and in community music particularly in North America.¹¹⁰ This thesis will fill a substantive gap by

¹⁰⁸ For a detailed history on the Community Music Activity Commission, see Marie McCarthy, “The Community Music Activity Commission of ISME, 1982-2007: A Forum for Global Dialogue and Institutional Formation,” *International Journal of Community Music* 1, no. 1 (2008), 39–48.

¹⁰⁹ See the International Centre for Community Music’s website: <http://www.yorksj.ac.uk/iccm/iccm.aspx> (accessed April 18, 2015).

¹¹⁰ Notable and welcome exceptions include: Andrew Krikun, “Community Music during the New Deal: The Contributions of Willem Van de Wall and Max Kaplan,” *International Journal of Community Music* 3, no. 2 (July 1, 2010): 165–73; Bush, Jeffrey K. and Krikun, Andrew, “Community Music in North America: Historical Foundations,” in *Community Music Today*, ed. David J. Elliott et al. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2013), 13–14; Lee Higgins, *Community Music: In Theory and in Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); George McKay and Ben Higham, “Community Music: History and Current Practice, Its Constructions

investigating an important national and international moment in the history of community music in North America, with a particular focus on the roles of community music schools in the historical development of community music as a field of practice as well as a scholarly field. Additionally, while the field of community music is growing rapidly, theoretical frameworks are nascent at best, and I believe that this study's contribution comes most strongly with its theoretical and methodological approach that examines the epistemological underpinnings that have made the term "community music" intelligible. Lee Higgins has theorized community music through its participatory ethos,¹¹¹ and I see my critical approach to community music as complementary to, rather than a part of, Higgins' work. My focus on how settlement houses contributed to the emergence of the term community music is an effort to historicize community music as both a concept and a practice that continues to proliferate in North America. My research aims to engage post-modern, deconstructionist, and critical historical methods to build a methodological and theoretical framework for historicizing community music as both a concept and as a set of practices.

While I situate this study within the specific field of community music, I believe that this research also contributes to the development of music education as a scholarly field. As music education scholars begin to situate music education within broader social and cultural questions,¹¹² music education has become increasingly framed as a form of, and technique

of 'Community', Digital Turns and Future Soundings" (Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2012), <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/Funding-Opportunities/Research-funding/Connected-Communities/Scoping-studies-and-reviews/Documents/Community%20Music%20-%20History%20and%20Current%20Practice.pdf>.

¹¹¹ Higgins, *Community Music*; Lee Higgins, "The Creative Music Workshop: Event, Facilitation, Gift," *International Journal of Music Education* 26, no. 4 (2008): 326–38; Lee Higgins, "Safety without Safety: Participation, the Workshop, and the Welcome," *Sounds of Identity: The Music of Afro-Asians*, no. 2 (2006): 65–84.

¹¹² Questions largely opened up through the groundbreaking work of feminists in music education, including: Elizabeth Gould, "Women Working in Music Education: The War Machine," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 17, no. 2 (2009): 126–43; Elizabeth Gould, "Writing Trojan Horses and War Machines: The Creative

toward, civic engagement or development of democracy.¹¹³ I hope this study contributes a means by which the connection between music and citizenship can be critically examined so that this “new” framing of music education as citizenship does not become yet another normalization that elides the differential power relations embedded in the process of socialization through music.

Finally, this research project addresses the historic role of community music in the development of Canada’s social and cultural history—a perspective rarely undertaken in either music education or Canadian studies. By documenting how music was used in early citizenship training and social reform efforts, my research situates both informal musical practices and formal musical training within significant Canadian cultural and social policy developments, extending the current body of research on the role of the settlement movement in Canadian policy development.

Overview of the Four Studies

While this dissertation is not exactly chronological, it is not exactly *not* chronological. In an attempt to balance, on the one hand, keeping events in their proper dispersion, and on the other, writing against history as a teleological march to the present, I have organized the research into a collection of studies focusing on particular themes that are roughly organized into time

Political in Music Education Research,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 43, no. 8 (October 1, 2011): 874–87; Elizabeth Gould, “Thinking (as) Difference: Lesbian Imagination and Music,” *Women & Music - A Journal of Gender and Culture*, 2007, 17–28; Julia Eklund Koza, “Aesthetic Music Education Revisited: Discourses of Exclusion and Oppression,” *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 2, no. 2 (October 1, 1994): 75–91; Roberta Lamb, “Feminism as Critique in Philosophy of Music Education,” *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 2, no. 2 (1994): 59–74; Roberta Lamb, “Discords: Feminist Pedagogy in Music Education,” *Theory Into Practice* 35, no. 2 (1996): 124–31.

¹¹³ See for example, Paul Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education: Liberalism, Ethics, and the Politics of Practice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Randall Everett Allsup, *On Pluralism, Inclusion, and Musical Citizenship* (Norges musikkhøgskole, 2011). An important counterpoint is Elizabeth Gould, “Social Justice in Music Education: The Problematic of Democracy,” *Music Education Research* 9, no. 2 (July 1, 2007), 229–40.

periods, some of which overlap, such as the music schools (roughly 1920 to 1939) and the inter-cultural musical work of the settlements (also roughly 1920 to 1939).

Each chapter operates as a study of a particular ensemble of music practices or rationales about music's social purpose, deploying specific Foucaultian analytical tools. In Chapter 2, I examine the changing social conditions of Toronto's early modernization in terms of the problematizations, examining how settlement movement proponents viewed urban changes as social problems, constructed through assumptions of race and class. I then examine the emergence of the settlement house movement as a social response to the problem of the city, discussing British and American influences on the Canadian movement, as well as the specific settlement houses established by social reformers, examining the rationales that organizers used to articulate the role of cultural work in settlement houses in their efforts to transform Toronto's poor and immigrant populations into Canadian citizens.

In Chapter 3, I turn my focus to specific practices in settlement democratic and social clubs through the 1910s and 1920s, and how those musical and social practices contributed to the discursive formation of music's social rationality. Clubs were differentiated by age and gender with the explicit aim of fostering self-governing individuals, and so this chapter uses the Foucaultian concept of governmentality to analyze the ways in which music articulated recreational activities to the production of gendered citizens. The self-governing work also deployed particular music practices that would contribute to the emerging musical category of 'social music,' in which music was a means to cultivate self-governing individuals and groups, distinguished from music training of settlement music schools.

I take up the social rationales and practices of the settlement music schools in Chapter 4, analyzing how the schools institutionalized conservatory-style music training in partnership with the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Using the Foucaultian concepts of institutionalization and

repeatability, I examine how the trope of good music contributed to the relatively stable idea that conservatory music training was an effective technique to cultivate citizens. Settlement workers articulated the social rationality of conservatory training in ways that exalted Western European Art Music within a musical hierarchy, while also articulating the musical hierarchy to a corresponding social hierarchy.

Chapter 5 focuses on the ways in which settlement house organizers took up the music practices of particular immigrant members in stark contrast to the training of the settlement music schools discussed in the previous chapter during the same time period. Settlement workers began integrating musics of particular European immigrants to reconstitute the social rationality of music in terms of cultural difference. As the final study of my examination of the emergence of particular discursive statements about music's social rationality, I approach settlement 'inter-cultural' work in terms of a discursive threshold that simultaneously brought new discursive rules into play while also setting the discursive limits of music's social rationality.

Through these four studies, my intent is to analyze the multiple, contingent, and often competing practices and rationales that contributing to the possibility of community music to emerge through a social rationality. I do not claim that the four studies of this dissertation present a comprehensive analysis of all activities, rationales, or conditions concerning the settlement houses and their musical practices. However, I hope by examining various musical practices and rationales, I have managed both to demonstrate the relatively consistent and stable emergence of an overall social rationality to music while showing how certain statements emerged in contingency, competing, colluding, excluding, and reinforcing other kinds of statement.

CHAPTER 2.
**‘AS TOOLS NOT AS RESULTS’: THE SETTLEMENT HOUSE SOLUTION
 TO SHIFTING SOCIAL RELATIONS, 1900S – 1910S**

... in Canada we have followed closely the English tradition of the Settlement as a common meeting ground, in which activities are carried on not as ends in themselves, but as means for bringing about the levelling of social inequalities and promoting a happier outlook. ... Music, dramatics, hand work and so on have been used as tools not as results, offering opportunities for enlarging lives cramped in narrow surroundings, as ways of assisting the process of levelling through raising powers of appreciation and execution.¹

In 1935, Mary Jennison gave a speech to a Montreal conference of settlement workers from around the world. In the excerpt above, she expressed not only the central purpose of settlement work, but also the role of music and other arts in the Canadian context. Jennison suggested that arts programming was not used to achieve artistic ends, but instead used as tools toward social ends. The social ends that she described were both to level out social inequalities, and to enlarge lives of residents living in Toronto’s poor neighbourhoods who presumably lacked the music, drama and arts programs that settlement houses provided. What was clear in Jennison’s speech was that by 1935, the idea of music as a tool to achieve particular social ends had become normalized over the previous thirty years, constituting the discursive statement of music’s social rationality. What was less clear in her words was the organization of social relations that made her claims possible: who exactly was enlarging lives, whose lives did they think they were enlarging, and through what particular music practices? Moreover, how did these activities contribute to the possibility that music could be a means toward social ends?

This chapter examines the shifting conditions in Toronto that contributed to the emergence of the social rationality of music through the cultural work of settlement houses. The settlement house movement was not unique to Toronto, or even to Canada. It began decades

¹ Mary Jennison, “Current Trends in Canadian Settlements,” 1935, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 626. *CTA*.

earlier in England with the establishment of Toynbee Hall in 1884, spreading quickly to the United States, of which Hull-House in Chicago is perhaps the most well-known example. Within Toronto, six settlement houses opened between 1902 and 1913, spearheading the ensuing social settlement movement throughout Canada.² Broadly speaking, settlement houses were part social service agency, part community centre, part residence for middle-class workers and volunteers (‘settling’ in the neighbourhood), and, central to this study, part venue for community-based arts education. Settlement organizers used arts as a kind of cultural work, or as ‘education for life,’ that could level out the inequalities between classes, religions, and immigrant groups largely through the moral uplift of disadvantaged populations, yet paradoxically, the ways in which settlement organizers constructed social problems and solutions produced the very hierarchies they sought to address.

The social rationality of music produced by settlement houses was constructed through the paradox of transcending yet reproducing social hierarchies. By rationality, I refer here to Mitchell Dean’s definition as forms of thinking that were relatively systematic and explicit about “how things are or how they ought to be.”³ Because the focus for this chapter is not so much on the rationality itself but the conditions that made music’s social rationality possible, I begin my analysis with Foucault’s concept of problematization to examine how Toronto’s industrialization shifted class, race, and gender relations at the turn of the twentieth century, focusing on how Toronto’s settlement leaders articulated these changes as social problems. I then turn to the settlement house movement as a particular social and cultural response to them, examining the rationales that organizers used to articulate the role of cultural work in settlement houses toward the social uplift of Toronto’s poor and immigrant populations in relation to the idea of

² James, “Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation”; Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*.

³ Dean, *Governmentality*, 19. See the section on key terms in Chapter 1 for a more fulsome discussion of rationality.

citizenship. Through that examination, I then analyze the specific social and musical hierarchies that were both challenged and reinforced through settlement work, closing with an examination of the musical and social exclusions that made the statement of cultural uplift possible.

Problematization in ‘The Problem of the City’

When the settlement house movement swept through Toronto beginning in 1910, organizers were responding to massive changes to the city over the previous decade brought on by industrialization. However, rather than simply presenting social conditions as pre-existing causes that led to the rise of settlement houses, I approach these changing social conditions as a series of interconnected *problematizations*, a term that Foucault defines as the historical moment in which “certain things (behavior, phenomena, processes) became a *problem*.”⁴ This historical moment is located not in terms of time frame but in terms of a discontinuity, or a break, in which a certain kind of discursive statement forms rather than another.⁵ There are two aspects to the analytical work of problematizations which I address in the following two sections of this chapter: the first section analyzes the moment of industrialization as a discontinuity or break that significantly shifted social relations that made a new discursive statement possible. The second section examines how settlement organizers framed these shifting social relations as problems. The changes were highly visible to the city’s predominantly British Protestant citizens, who grew increasingly alarmed at the concentration of poverty and immigration in particular neighbourhoods, sometimes euphemistically referred to as neglected areas, and other times more bluntly called slums.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, ed. Joseph Pearson (Los Angeles, Calif.: Semiotext(e), 2001), 171.

⁵ Foucault characterizes this break as a problematization, suggesting that archaeology examines discontinuities as problematizations rather than as solutions, recognizing that “a discontinuity is never anything more than to register a problem that needs to be solved.” See Foucault, “Questions of Method,” 248.

The Economic and Social Changes of Industrialization

The Anglo-Celtic Protestant leaders who established settlement houses witnessed rapidly intensifying urban poverty marked by deplorable living conditions that rightly needed to be addressed. Toronto was at the forefront of massive change in urban Canada through processes of industrialization that were already well under way in Britain and America.⁶ A major effect of industrialization was intensive and sudden population growth: Toronto's population grew a staggering 82 percent between 1901 and 1911, straining Toronto's infrastructure and creating intensified areas of poverty.⁷

Immigration was also changing the face of Toronto, thanks to Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's federal policy that encouraged immigration as a primary mechanism to develop Canada's resources and industry. Before the 1900s, only 5 percent of Canadians were recent immigrants; by 1911, new immigrants comprised 25 percent of the Canadian population.⁸ What was unusual about this particular influx of immigration to Toronto was not merely the increased numbers, but the influx of non-British immigrants, mostly from Eastern and Southern European countries, which visibly altered Toronto's dominantly Anglo-Celtic society.⁹ These new non-British immigrants settled in the downtown neighbourhoods already marked by poverty. As working-class and immigrant populations concentrated downtown, Toronto's middle class moved north of Bloor Street to the more upscale neighbourhoods of the Annex and Rosedale, segregating the city into rich and poor districts that also divided the city along ethnic lines, in

⁶ Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979), 79.

⁷ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 33.

⁸ James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation," 80.

⁹ Ezra Schabas notes that the 1890-91 census reported that 91 percent of Torontonians were first or second-generation British, and "their traditions and values clearly prevailed in education and the arts." Ezra Schabas, *There's Music in These Walls: A History of the Royal Conservatory of Music* (Tonawanda, NY: Dundurn Group, 2005), 14.

which “the old large houses of central Toronto became the crowded homes of thousands of immigrants from Russia, Austro-Hungary and Italy.”¹⁰

That immigrants and the working class moved into specific neighbourhoods was no accident. With no transit system, these families needed to live close to employment, but had limited housing options and often paid exorbitant rents on properties owned by absentee landlords or land speculators uninterested in maintaining basic health and sanitation conditions. Workers and families crowded into inadequate living spaces with no bathrooms or running water.¹¹ Such appalling living conditions were matched by poor working conditions, exacerbated by few labour regulations and even fewer support mechanisms to assist poor families:

There was no family welfare service at that time in Toronto. The House of Industry gave a minimum of food to the destitute. The Y.W. & Y.M.C.A. were still in their infancy. The Girl’s Home and the Boy’s Home took in children but had no responsibility with those left with their parents. The Children’s Aid Society was just starting service for neglected children. The Churches did what they could.¹²

The city faced intense change and no mechanisms to address it. However, while these material problems were of concern to settlement organizers, their worries were shot through with anxieties about race, class, and morality that made the settlement house movement not (just) a poverty-ameliorating mechanism, but an ideological approach predicated on emerging discourses of Canadian citizenship.

¹⁰ Elspeth Heyworth, “The Toronto Settlement House Movement: An Overview,” in *The Story of the Toronto Settlement House Movement 1910-1985* (Toronto, ON: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986), 17.

¹¹ For more on the sanitation issues in these neighbourhoods, see Hortense Catherine Fardell Wasteneys, “A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958: an Exploration of the Social Objectives of the University Settlement and of Their Implementation” (DSW thesis, University of Toronto, 1975); Cathy L. James, “Reforming Reform: Toronto’s Settlement House Movement, 1900-20,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (March 2001), 55–90; Robert F. Harney and Harold Martin Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto: Van Nostrand, 1975).

¹² “Evangelia,” *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book B, S54. Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library (hereafter BR). Note that ‘Y.W. & Y.M.C.A’ referred to the Young Women’s Christian Association and the Young Men’s Christian Association.

Immigration and Poverty as Problematizations

The changes in Canada's urban landscape were widespread and well documented. These changes included immigration, population growth, industrialization, and infrastructure, as well as the proliferation of commercial and popular culture. The phenomena of widespread deteriorating living conditions, intensified urban poverty, new forms of cultural pluralism, and physical separation of upper and lower classes collectively pointed to undeniable and irrevocable change in the social and physical character of Toronto, and undoubtedly posed significant challenges to urban living. However, the processes by which settlement house organizers rolled these issues together into the problem of the city conflated social, health, and economic concerns within a moral framework. Poverty was constructed not just as a social issue but a moral one. Mariana Valverde points out that Toronto's so-called 'slums' were as much a social construction as a material reality, in which "the slum was defined not only as an economic or public-health problem but as an essentially *moral* category."¹³ Similarly, Sara Burke stresses the combined moral and economic construction of the problem of urban poverty, the gravity of which affected not just the city's moral standing, but threatened the moral demise of the entire nation: "For some critics, the problem of urban poverty had as much a moral as an economic significance, and the evils of the slum, with its seemingly unlimited degree of crime and vice, had raised possibilities of moral dissipation on a national scale."¹⁴

The conflation of poverty and vice naturalized a discursive statement of the character of poor people in relation to the British middle-class, a statement that took on the sheen of national importance because to the minds of Toronto's leaders, the moral degeneration of an urban neighbourhood threatened the morality of the entire nation. The problem of poverty was

¹³ Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 132.

¹⁴ Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 4.

constructed as a problem threatening the very democratic fabric of Canadian society. Yet as Cruikshank notes of the era, the construction of poverty as a problem also constructed poverty as a site for possible actions: “solutions to the problems of poverty and need can be tried out only after the problem of poverty is transformed into a set of possible actions.”¹⁵ The concentration of urban poverty concerned Toronto’s middle-class citizens, and in that concern constructed poverty as a field for actions.

Race was as concerning as poverty for settlement organizers. While Toronto did not have the racial diversity of Chicago or New York,¹⁶ Carolyn Strange points out that this relative homogeneity did not reduce the anxiety that Anglo-Celtic Torontonians felt in relation to the influx of non-British immigrants, whose presence was most obvious in the downtown neighbourhood of St. John’s Ward, or “the Ward”:

Class was the prime signifier of character in a city where the vast majority of citizens came from the same British stock. Italians, European Jews, the tiny black and Chinese communities, and the very poor—in short, the inhabitants of “the Ward”—could be easily identified by the majority of white, native-born [*sic*], and British Torontonians who readily identified such people as morally suspect.¹⁷

The Ward seemed to exemplify the worst of Toronto’s ‘neglected areas;’ it was the harbinger of moral degeneration of the city. High crime rates within the Ward offered evidence to Toronto’s religious leaders of the inherent violence of immigrants. The Board of Moral and Social Reform, established by the Presbyterian Church in 1907, undertook a two-year study of Canadian cities that found the increase in non-British immigration to Canada “would lead to anarchy, vice and

¹⁵ Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 40.

¹⁶ Piva notes that while non-English speaking immigration increased by over 180 per cent in the early twentieth century, this still represented only 6.8 per cent of the population by 1921. *The Condition of the Working Class*, 9.

¹⁷ Carolyn Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem: the Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 92.

crime unless the problems of the city were solved.”¹⁸ In 1913, an article in *The Canadian Magazine* not only conflated violence and immigration, but attached forms of violence with particular immigrant groups:

An Italian and a Pole seldom see eye to eye when they happen to be sufficiently interested in each other to try it; and both exhibit little reluctance in filling up the chasm of conversation with a knife or pistol. The Swede prefers his fists, the Italian a knife, the Pole and Russian a revolver, and the Hungarian uses anything from a rock to his teeth.¹⁹

As hyperbolic and almost satiric as the passage reads through a contemporary lens, the writer exhibited not only the racist assumptions circulating as common knowledge among Anglo-Celtic readers, but also raised the spectre of inter-cultural violence based on ethnic difference. This was another wide-spread fear that threatened not only the safety of the city, but its very social fabric, a fabric that was as much moral as it was social. As Harney and Troper observe, “the Ward, situated as it was, was a visible alien presence in a highly homogeneous society, and it would have to pay with its life for this flaunting of its foreign-ness.”²⁰ As much as settlement organizers sincerely endeavoured to improve the welfare of the poor, Toronto’s social settlement movement grew as much out of a need to affirm and protect a racial hierarchy, in which the Anglo-Celtic organizers themselves were superior, demonstrated in Canada’s emerging immigration policies that categorized newcomers as ‘English,’ ‘Scottish,’ ‘Irish,’ or ‘Foreigner.’²¹ The presence of ‘foreigners,’ marked visibly by race and cultural habits, and marked audibly by non-English languages, contributed to the urgency of the citizenship training undertaken by the settlements.

¹⁸ O’Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House 1912-1984*, 3.

¹⁹ W. Lacy Amy, in “The Life of the Bohunk,” *The Canadian Magazine* (January 1913), qtd. in Harney and Troper, *Immigrants*, 74.

²⁰ Harney and Troper, *Immigrants*, 48.

²¹ See Carolyn Strange, *The Working Girl Problem*, 1995; Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, 2008; Richard Day, *The Problem of Diversity*, 2000.

As with poverty, the emergence of immigration as a problem also produced the possibility of solutions, of actions upon the problem of ‘foreignness.’ O’Connor points out that Anglo-Celtic Torontonians perceived the ‘foreignness’ of non-British European immigrants as the cause of vice, crime, and appalling living conditions in Toronto’s poor areas, and the solution was seen to be “the complete Canadianization of foreigners,” a task for “educators, civil servants, social workers, religious leaders, and public health officials, most of whom worked with one goal in mind: to remake the immigrant in their own image.”²² James corroborates this point, and noted that when social reformers established settlements between 1910 and 1914, their programming reflected their preoccupation of assimilating immigrants into “Canadian ways” through educational and recreational activities that largely focused on “training immigrants for their roles as Canadian citizens.”²³

However, this was not merely a process of workers passing on their fixed Canadian identity onto immigrants. Through settlement work, organizers contributed to the production of national identity. In other words, the presence of ‘foreigners’ demanded that middle and upper-class Anglo-Celtic Torontonians assert themselves as the Canadian ideal that must be defended through the task of Canadianizing immigrants to share their social and moral values. The work that Anglo-Celtic Protestant settlement workers did to educate immigrants in citizenship produced not just immigrant citizens, but also the middle and upper classes that did the education; their work on others in fact produced their own subjectivity not just as moral citizens, but as Canadians, or exalted subjects, to use Sunera Thobani’s analytical term, in which settlement workers were in the exalted position of the national subject.”²⁴ In sharp distinction,

²² O’Connor, *The Story of University Settlement, 1910 – 1984*, 4.

²³ James, “Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation,” 19.

²⁴ Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*, 3–4.

immigrants formed a supplicant position of the stranger, seeking to be granted the status of the national subject.²⁵

The production of national subjects was most evident in the circulating term “Canadian race” as a marker for the ideal citizen. Valverde argues that the idea of a Canadian race had multiple overlapping meanings, the first of which assumed the valuation of Anglo-Saxon at the top of a hierarchy of races ranked by skin color, nationality, and religion (for example, Catholics ranked below Protestants, but above Asians, who in turn were ranked above African Canadians and aboriginal peoples). The second assumption of race was a general human race, but Valverde suggests that the two overlapping definitions allowed reformers not only to speak of collective humanity but also place their own positions as British subjects on the vanguard of humanity. Finally, the Canadian race referred to a kind of Canadian culture, but a culture predicated on the Anglo-Saxon race.²⁶ Valverde emphasizes that these overlapping meanings were connected to the urgent question of what exactly the Canadian race was, in which Canada was loyal to, but different from, Britain, having achieved its independence only forty years earlier in 1867. The resulting discourse of a Canadian race used ideas of nativism to claim long-standing associations with Canada, and in the process, erased aboriginal people from the discourse, while also claiming native status against the influx of what they termed “foreigners.”²⁷ Ideas of citizenship and civic betterment within settlement work slipped between notions of race, community, morality, and urban living, and the overlapping associations lent power to the project of citizenship work that cultivated the very idea of Canadian citizenship through the on-the-ground

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 113.

²⁷ Ibid., 107. See also Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects* (2007), for historical analysis of the hierarchization of citizens that placed immigrants above aboriginal peoples; and Lise Vaugeois, *Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education*, whose dissertation uses Thobani’s theoretical framework toward an examination of formations of ‘the hierarchy of the human,’ specific to Canada’s classical music in the same time period.

pragmatic approaches of the settlement houses. That settlement work focused on artistic practices as a central strategy in civic development work embedded musical practices in these complex interconnected discourses of community, city, and nation.

Ideological Shifts in Moral Approaches to Social Problems

Toronto's middle-class Anglo-Celtic Protestant leaders were concerned with preserving their own moral and cultural superiority, or what Harney and Troper call "social normality,"²⁸ but settlement house organizers were also genuinely concerned about the conditions facing Toronto's poor. Their moral efforts were as much driven by a turn in religious thinking that focused on improving the lives of people in the world rather than focusing on personal salvation in the after-life: "Observers began to view social conditions in the city in less personal ways and ultimately started to focus less attention on the problems of poor individuals than on what they also identified as the 'Problem of the City.'"²⁹ While the turn in religious thinking will be taken up later in the chapter, a significant part of it was brought on by the effects of industrialization. Toronto's Protestant leaders saw the deteriorating material conditions created by industrialization and population growth, and began to consider the possibility that poverty could be caused through environmental and industrial factors, rather than just a result of personal moral failure.³⁰ This ideological shift replaced notions of charity with an emerging concept of social welfare—what would become a cornerstone to Canada's national identity. John Joseph (J. J.) Kelso, a leader in Canada's movement and a key figure in establishing Central Neighbourhood House,

²⁸ Harney and Troper, *Immigrants*, 25.

²⁹ James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation," 78.

³⁰ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 36.

defined social welfare as “the recognition of the rights of every human being no matter what the condition of birth or material possessions.”³¹

For Toronto’s middle-class Anglo-Celtic Protestant leaders, slums represented a dense conflation of predominantly moral concerns about neighbourhood, city, and nation in the face of industrial, social, and cultural changes. At the same time, changes in philosophical and religious thinking created the possibility that change was possible, and reformers were optimistic that the right approach of social reform would bridge class divides, create citizens, and solidify Canada as a moral and unified nation. While many initiatives were launched to address the problem of the city under the larger umbrellas of social reform and social gospel, settlement houses were arguably the most prominent, the most persistent, and the most prolific in efforts to transform slum residents into citizens, build communities, and preserve the moral standing of the city and the nation.

The Settlement House Solution

The organizers of Toronto’s settlement houses were responding to massive physical, social, cultural, and ideological changes in the city’s urban landscape at the turn of the twentieth century, changes that they understood to be problems that not only *should* be solved but *could* be solved. There was a paradoxical mix, on the one hand, of optimism in the idea that social problems could be solved through scientific observation and intervention, and on the other hand, of a prevalent fear that the influx of immigration and increasingly visible poverty and crime would threaten ‘Toronto the Good’ in its relatively homogenous Anglo-Celtic and Protestant character, sparking what Mariana Valverde terms a “moral panic.” The combination of moral panic and faith in rationalization consolidated into the idea that individuals could and should be

³¹ Ibid., 46.

cultivated into citizens, a project that settlement house organizers framed as an exercise in friendship and sharing, while providing educational and recreational programming that organized relationships between their members along racial, classed, and gendered lines. In short, these disparate yet connected phenomena contributed to the conditions that made the cultural work of settlement houses possible.

The settlement house movement in Canada, similar to other industrializing countries around the world, was predicated on principles of ‘sharing’ and ‘levelling’: that is, the advantaged groups in Toronto, namely citizens who were middle-class, British, and Protestant, lived in a neighbourhood house in so-called slums to share their friendship and culture with the poor and immigrant residents. Settlement proponents hoped this sharing would strengthen social bonds across classes and between immigrant groups while also providing social, cultural, and moral uplift to Toronto’s disadvantaged, who were simultaneously defined through their lack of civilization and their potential to be civilized. However, the social work of the houses tended to focus on reforming people to fit better into society, rather than on systemic reforms, focusing on the relationships between the city’s inhabitants.

To understand the particular approaches that Toronto’s settlement movement took toward addressing the problem of the city as simultaneously social and moral is to examine the particular conditions of each settlement house and the ways in which organizers described their settlement work. The following sections introduce the settlements in the context of two broad categories of social reform and social gospel, as well as influences of the British and American settlement movements (for a more complete and chronological overview of Toronto’s six settlement houses, see Appendix 1), although it is important to emphasize that there was considerable overlap between social gospel and social reform to the point that the differences seem more of degree than of kind.

Secular Settlement Houses and Social Reform

Organizers established two secular settlement houses in Toronto: University Settlement House (1910-present) and Central Neighbourhood House (1911-present). These houses could be categorized under the broad umbrella of social reform, directly influenced by both the English and the American settlement movement.³² University Settlement House took England's Toynbee Hall as its model and inspiration, whereas Central Neighbourhood House was modeled after Hull-House in Chicago. The influences of these two international movements situate many of the differences between the two houses.

University Settlement House

University Settlement House was established in 1910 by key figures at the University of Toronto: President Robert Falconer; faculty members in the department of economics; and a group of male students from the Victoria College Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Falconer was a Presbyterian scholar and a university administrator who was introduced to Britain's settlement movement through his matriculation at Edinburgh University in 1889.³³ Through his British ties, Falconer and his colleagues modeled University Settlement House on Toynbee Hall in Britain, the first settlement house that launched a worldwide movement.

Toynbee Hall was opened in a poor neighbourhood of London in 1883 by Canon Samuel A. Barnett with the intent of settling university men into the neighbourhood so that lower-class men could be uplifted culturally through personal relationships, while the students in turn could learn about the social problems of poverty first-hand. Fostering community was a central purpose

³² The settlement movements in America and in England were enormous, each with hundreds of houses established by the twentieth century. Clearly, any movement that large will have wide variations and circumstances, and while the leading houses of those movements (Toynbee Hall and Hull-House)—sometimes erroneously stand in for the entire national movements in scholarly literature; in the case of Toronto's settlement houses, these two houses and their organizers directly influenced Toronto's settlements.

³³ James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation," 95.

to the work of Toynbee Hall; however, Standish Meacham argues that Barnett's concept of community was predicated on hierarchy rather than equality, in which community "was a set of vertical relationships, bound together ... by obligations and responsibilities that were mutual yet governed by an authority that emanated from the top down."³⁴ Meacham suggests that the workers of Toynbee Hall pursued a goal of social reintegration by building community on the presumption that the workers themselves act as both teachers and governors to the lower classes, "thereby benefiting not only them and their community but the community of the nation as well."³⁵

These ideas of sharing predicated on authority were transported directly overseas to Canada not just by Falconer, but also by political economy professor W.J. Ashley, a Toynbee follower, who shared faith in the theological philosophy of Idealism with Falconer. Together they encouraged male University of Toronto students to foster their own social responsibility by spending time with men of lower classes to inspire cultural uplift of the latter group. University students could share their education and culture with Toronto's working-class males,³⁶ engaging in a similar project of 'spiritual uplift,' also modeled on the Toynbee approach in which the act of settling university men into London's impoverished east end was an attempt to enculturate, as Sara Burke argues:

Above all else, university men could share with the poor their own knowledge—their enjoyment and appreciation of art, literature, and music. "Culture spreads by contact," Barnett would write in 1905. "The friendship of one man of knowledge and one man of industry may go but a small way to bring together the Universities and the working

³⁴ Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform, 1880-1914*, 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, x.

³⁶ Falconer believed, in line with British university settlements, that men's participation in settlement work was more important than women's because unlike women, men would go on to hold powerful and influential positions in society. Note that University Settlement House opened its doors to women members and women workers within two years of operation. See James 1997, 97; see also Burke 1996 for an analysis of gendered social relations specifically at University Settlement House.

classes, but it is such friendship which prepares the way for the understanding which underlies co-operation.”³⁷

The discursive connection between arts, culture and social relations was embedded in the settlement philosophy from the start. While the trope of citizenship circulated in the British context, the settlement approach in Britain focused primarily on class distinctions as the key marker of citizenship, and cultural education of the lower classes as the key technique to the goal of social uplift.

However, Toronto had not only class differences to contend with, but also racial and ethnic differences due to immigration. University Settlement House in its first year attempted to follow the singular focus on class relations deployed by Toynbee Hall, vaguely identifying its dovetailed purpose of educating local residents while also “develop[ing] students’ characters.”³⁸ By the fall of 1911, the goals had been more clearly defined to underscore the necessity of University work in the city, and also to articulate settlement work that would “establish in the community a permanent socializing agency for bringing about civic betterment.”³⁹ Burke suggests that this shift was in part due to the influence of headworker Milton Hunt, who hailed from Hull-House and hoped to include a similar focus on democracy and social investigation.⁴⁰

Central Neighbourhood House

Central Neighbourhood House opened in 1911, one year after University Settlement House, to serve Toronto’s most notorious downtown area, the Ward. J. J. Kelso, well-known social reformer (as well as the instigator of Ontario’s child welfare system)⁴¹ had planned to

³⁷ Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 12.

³⁸ James, “Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation,” 108.

³⁹ Wasteneys, “A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958,” 80.

⁴⁰ Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 71. Note that Hunt left University Settlement House after only two years, and Burke wonders whether his vision was implemented into University Settlement beyond the philosophical goal.

⁴¹ For an analysis of Kelso’s writings in terms of discursive rationales that emerged to produce the contemporary child welfare system, see Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship*.

establish a settlement house in Toronto ever since he had attended the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Chicago in 1893. There, he had visited Hull-House and met Jane Addams, and returned to Toronto convinced of the need of a similar settlement within the Canadian city. While Kelso was also involved in the development of University Settlement House, he was interested in initiating a house in the centre of the Ward that would more fully address the struggles of immigrants in the neighbourhood. Consequently, Central Neighbourhood House adopted an adamantly secular approach, as well as an explicit focus on citizenship training, both ideas modelled on Hull-House.

Hull-House was the leading settlement house in the United States, and Jane Addams' approach to settlement work became the vanguard of the American movement.⁴² Unlike Toynbee Hall's focus on reforming the individual through personal relationships between classes, American settlement workers felt that "the social environment" was the correct starting place in their attempts to improve city neighbourhoods.⁴³ Addams championed a secularized approach, and unlike the British movement, included women and immigrants in her firm commitment to an understanding of democracy in which classes depended on each other. While Addams may not have been radically anti-hierarchical, Valverde points out that she continually questioned whether the upper classes were superior and mobilized Hull-House members toward political action and social change in ways that could be seen as the beginning of community development.⁴⁴ Further, Addams strongly encouraged immigrants to continue the artistic cultures

⁴² See Carson, *Settlement Folk*. Note that Hull-House may not have exemplified the American settlement movement overall. Stritt (2006) argues that many American houses were driven by the social gospel. See Steven B. Stritt, "Faith in Reform: The Rhetoric of Social Progressives in Historical Perspective" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2006).

⁴³ Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 16.

⁴⁴ Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 140.

that they brought with them to America (such as music, dance, and hand crafts), in ways that would take Toronto settlements a decade to initiate.

Taking Hull-House as its exemplar, Central Neighbourhood House was also avowedly secular, its first board of directors including leaders of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faiths. Similar to Hull-House, the Toronto initiative focused explicitly on democracy through social interaction. The organizing committee set four broad goals for the work of the house: (1) that it would be a democratic meeting place; (2) that it would be a social centre that would provide residents with opportunities for self-expressions, development, and sharing their distinctive contributions; (3) that it would be a site to gather information about the neighbourhood and the people who live there; (4) that it would test ‘methods’ (i.e., pilot programs and services) for advancing social reform.⁴⁵ The last two methods were also inspired by Hull-House, which pioneered a scientific and rational approach to addressing social problems, one that University Settlement House also adopted. As Carolyn Strange argues, this scientific approach was manifested in surveys and metrics under the firm belief that “the city [was] a social problem to be alleviated through rational management and social action,”⁴⁶ and the settlement approach grew out of a faith in science as much as a faith in religion, which was also evident in the religious settlement houses.

Religious Settlement Houses and Social Gospel

Canada’s settlement movement, more so than its British or American counterparts, was strongly influenced by the social gospel movement, led primarily by the Protestant churches. Canada’s Protestant intellectuals were themselves influenced by Scottish religious philosophers, so much so that Fraser calls Canada “an intellectual colony of Scotland in the late nineteenth

⁴⁵ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 104.

⁴⁶ Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem*, 102.

century.”⁴⁷ In particular, the Neo-Hegelian Idealism of Edward Caird offered an intellectual framework to justify religion in an increasingly secular era, but also provided the philosophical basis for the social gospel, a new approach to poverty that implemented practical and pragmatic social interventions within both service to God as well as within a scientific and rational framework. This focus on moderate and rational methods to address poverty was not in contradiction to religion, as might be construed in contemporary terms. Rather, scientific study combined with pragmatic approaches offered Protestantism new mechanisms to engage in religious work, creating what Strange describes as “Christianity and science [meeting] in their hopes for a New Jerusalem.”⁴⁸ The two religious settlement houses, St. Christopher House and Memorial Institute, also demonstrate a continuum of settlement work rather than a uniform approach, even within the social gospel.

St. Christopher House

St. Christopher House was emblematic of the social gospel influence in Canada’s settlement movement. Financed by the Presbyterian Church of Canada, St. Christopher House was established in 1912 by the church’s Board of Moral and Social Reform, a group of white male Presbyterian Church leaders, including James A. MacDonald, John G. Shearer, and University of Toronto President Robert A. Falconer. O’Connor describes this collection of men as using their “positions as academics, clerics, lobbyists and writers to promote their vision for a moral and civilized nation guided by Christian influences and standards,”⁴⁹ and the Board pursued its Christian vision of social reform in two fundamentally different but complementary ways. First, by pressuring municipal and federal governments to adopt social reform policies that

⁴⁷ Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, 39.

⁴⁸ Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem*, 102.

⁴⁹ O’Connor, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986*, 1. Valverde (2008) is much less measured in her analysis of the staunchly conservative ideologies of the leaders, describing John G. Shearer in particular as being solely responsible for causing a “sex-and-race’ panic” in Toronto about Winnipeg. (57).

would in part improve the lives of the poor in Canada's urban centres, and in part preserve what the Board collectively saw as Canada's moral (read: Protestant) character.⁵⁰ The Board's second reform strategy would focus on the social and moral development of the individuals living in urban neighbourhoods, to be pursued through settlement work.

The Board decided to set up several social settlement houses across Canada, with Toronto's St. Christopher House acting as the lead house. However, the Presbyterian settlements differed from secular settlement houses in seeing settlement work not just as a social task, but as a spiritual one. The Board determined that the purpose of a social settlement was "to humanize, civilize, and Christianize."⁵¹ As the minutes from a Board meeting on November 16, 1910 detail, "The Social Settlement seeks to humanize and civilize; that is good, but it is not enough for our purposes. We must not seek merely to humanize and civilize but also definitely Christianize. The Church must tackle this problem as a Church."⁵²

The settlement houses initiated by the Presbyterian Church were therefore mandated to focus not just on Canadianizing their members, a term used to describe the process by which immigrants could become assimilated into Canadian life (assumed to be Anglo-Celtic), but also to Christianize, a distinction that Valverde argues was blurred because reformers understood Canadians to *be* Christian.⁵³

⁵⁰ Ethel Dodds Parker reports that the Board campaigned to improve "Juvenile Courts, probation, indeterminate sentences, and industrial farms. It began campaigning for compulsory school attendance up to fourteen years, the use of truancy officers rather than police for enforcement, and broached the need for a modern system for caring for the feeble-minded." Excerpted from "Things in Common to the Three Toronto Settlements." Fonds 92, File 7. CTA. . However, the Board also appeared to have conservative moral aims in its broader social reform efforts, including protecting 'the Lord's Day' and preventing the 'looseness' of girls and women; see Patricia J. O'Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House* (Toronto: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services), 2.

⁵¹ Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, 93.

⁵² Executive minutes, Board of Moral and Social Reform, Presbyterian Church in Canada, November 16, 1910, United Church Archives, quoted in Fraser, "Theology and the Social Gospel among Canadian Presbyterians," 35.

⁵³ Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*; see Chapter 5 in particular, in which she connects race and immigration to moral and social reform.

St. Christopher House was organized by Sara Libby Carson, an American who had already established Evangelia House, which was Toronto's first settlement house, in 1902.⁵⁴ Carson could be considered the third influence on Toronto's settlement movement (in addition to Samuel Barnett of Toynbee Hall and Jane Addams of Hull-House), in part because the club structure that she implemented became a central feature to Toronto's houses, emphasizing carefully organized social interactions segmented by age and gender, as well as modelling democratic procedure (the central topic in Chapter 3). Further, St. Christopher House was modeled on an idealized Protestant home, under the assumption that the "industrious middle class Anglo-Saxon family"⁵⁵ was the ideal manifestation of Presbyterian values to be transmitted through settlement work. In this way, the (predominantly female) settlement workers living in the home modelled the Christian Canadian, and through their work produced their own subjectivities as citizens as much as they attempted to build citizenship among their members. This is not to suggest that the religious mandate went unquestioned. Rather, there were tensions around the purpose of the religious settlement, suggesting settlement work was never finalized or determined, but was a contested space in which programs, approaches, and ultimately, ideologies and discourses, competed with each other.⁵⁶ At St. Christopher House for example, Sara Libby Carson pushed against the proselytism desired by the (largely male) Board of Directors. As headworker of the house, Carson, along with her successors Helen Hart and Ethel Dodds Parker, experienced tremendous pressure from the Board to convert members to Christianity, to the extent that they were mandated to report numbers of members attending weekly church services. However, the headworkers and the staff resisted the pressure, arguing that attending to the

⁵⁴ See Appendix 1 for an overview of Evangelia House.

⁵⁵ O'Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House 1912-1984*, 6.

⁵⁶ As Foucault would note, the production of discourse is never stable or inevitable, but is a struggle over, and emerges in contingency. See Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History."

immediate needs and interests of members was more important than Christianizing, adamantly insisting “that a settlement served all creeds in the community, and should offend none.”⁵⁷ In this way, settlement workers engaged in a complex negotiation of assumptions, needs, expectations, and practices that were not entirely practices of indoctrination nor of liberation—or perhaps both at once.

Memorial Institute

Memorial Institute, like St. Christopher House, was established in 1912, but unlike St. Christopher House was explicitly and unequivocally evangelical. Established and funded by Walmer Road Baptist Church, Memorial Institute operated as a “church settlement,” as much a church as a settlement house. The organizers of Memorial Institute exhibited no trepidation about the task of conversion. Located in Toronto’s west end, Memorial planned to minister to the low-income neighbourhood of predominantly Polish immigrants, described by a 1909 *Canadian Baptist* article as “thickly populated with people of the poorer classes, many of whom have reached the lowest strata of society. Sin, suffering and sorrow are prevalent, poverty and disease abound.”⁵⁸ The institute ran church services, hosted Mission Bands, and ran Christian Youth groups.

However, Memorial Institute also followed the basic tenets of the settlement movement. Not only did Memorial Institute have live-in workers and volunteers in the residences of the house, it also aimed to attend to the social needs of the surrounding community and it did so regardless of race, class, or even religion of potential members. Their single goal, appearing frequently throughout the years of the institute’s operation, became their slogan: “all the gospel

⁵⁷ Ethel Dodds Parker, “Stories of my Time.” Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 624. CTA.

⁵⁸ “A New Departure in the Work of Memorial Church,” *Canadian Baptist*, April 1, 1909.

to all the people, in all their need, in all ways.”⁵⁹ Memorial’s organizers, including a Reverend Brown who led the church portion of the settlement, referred to the Institute’s work as a “social ministry,” in which workers and volunteers could introduce local residents to the Baptist Church *through* social services rather than direct indoctrination. Memorial’s organizers did not require members to attend church services or convert to Christianity to participate. Instead, they used their programming as an enticement, and then through those programs, hoped to introduce their members to “the message of the Gospel”:

... that message [of the Gospel] has been institutionalized and is being declared in a language that can be understood by all and in a way that forces itself on the attention of those who are indifferent to the work of the churches and sometimes even antagonistic to them. Through numerous social ministries, such as clubs, library, music school, health clinic, language classes and Fresh Air Camp, our Gospel is given expression to the community, with the hope that verbal explanation of it would be sought in preaching and teaching or given in private conversation.⁶⁰

Memorial also followed the footsteps of the other settlements in engaging in what its organizers called foreign work, partly through organized clubs that “include training in self-government, recreation, education, opportunity for social intercourse and religious teaching.”⁶¹ The Institute’s goals and approaches, so much in line with the settlement philosophies yet in service of Christianizing rather than Canadianizing, demonstrate some important differences within the settlement movement, particularly in Memorial’s unabashed proselytism. Yet even its conversion efforts produced effects that might have targeted immigrant members more effectively than other settlements, such as offering services in Polish, and translating settlement materials into multiple languages, a practice that did not appear to be commonly used by other settlements in Toronto. At the same time, perhaps those very differences also serve to underscore the conflation of Christian (Protestant) ideals and Canadian identity in Memorial’s exclusive focus of

⁵⁹ *The Story of Memorial Institute* (n.d.). CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. Canadian Baptist Archives (hereafter *CBA*).

⁶⁰ Memorial Baptist Church and Institute brochure, 1929. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

⁶¹ Memorial Institute pamphlet, 1924. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

Christianizing. Memorial's programming did not vary substantively in structure or in content from the programs offered at the other settlement houses, and Memorial's inclusion at the Federation of Toronto Settlements suggests that its Christian approach to settlement work was not really at odds with settlement work overall.

The Work of Cultural Uplift in the Production of the 'Communal Self'

Music was a significant component of the overall performing arts work of settlements and was used throughout all of their social programs, contributing to the formation of the discursive statement that music could be used as a tool to cultivate immigrant and working-class inhabitants into citizens. Citizenship was a formidable trope predicated on social hierarchies that exalted Toronto's inhabitants as national subjects, while casting immigrants and the working poor as supplicants to become citizens.⁶² Settlement workers took up the task of what they called cultural uplift as a part of their citizenship training project. It was a paradoxical project in which the very act of cultural uplift served to reinscribe the exalted status of the settlement organizers themselves, who became the arbiters of successful social and cultural progress of their members toward an elusive goal of citizenship. Arts-based activities, both inherently social and a particular form of culture, proved to be particularly useful to settlement workers, who understood citizenship in terms of responsibility to community. The social demands of performing arts, combined with the pleasurable diversion that the arts offered, proved to be exceptionally useful in cultivating communal selves among all actors at the settlement houses.

The Communal Self

The approach of the communal self was a theological concept imported from the English settlement movement. Scottish theological philosopher T. H. Green created an alternative

⁶² See Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*, 9. Refer to Chapter 1 (page 29) of this thesis for an overview of Thobani's conceptual framework of the formation of national subjects.

Christian theology based on Idealist metaphysics, in which the project of Christianity was not inward personal salvation, but outward demonstration of good works to others. The communal self referred to each person's obligation in developing their own 'highest' self through service to others, and in particular those who were more advantaged had the responsibility of sharing their gifts with disadvantaged people to strengthen community.⁶³ Arnold Toynbee took Green's idea one step further to argue that broader social betterment was achievable when all social classes shared a collective sense of citizenship, which became a cornerstone of Toynbee Hall, and would influence settlement work in Toronto. It is worth reiterating that while building community through collective understandings of citizenship was central in settlement houses, the idea of community was predicated on a hierarchy, in which settlement workers themselves acted as authorities on knowledge, values, and behaviours to share among the working-class and immigrant members.

In Toronto, fostering the social self or the communal self was the key idea that connected Toronto's settlement work to a broad citizenship project. While often throughout this thesis I emphasize how organizers articulated their work in cultivating citizens among the immigrant and working classes, the very idea of the 'communal self' underscores Valverde's cogent point that social reform produced the middle-class as much as it endeavoured to improve the lower classes. Workers cultivated their own highest selves and engaged in work that reinforced their own values, professionalizing their values into what would become the field of social work. However, not only did settlement workers and volunteers consider their work to be a form of cultivating their own higher selves, but they understood the very heart of settlement work was in turn to cultivate a personal sense of responsibility to the collective of the people with whom they

⁶³ For a fulsome treatment of Green's influence on the settlement approach of University Settlement House, see Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*.

worked. The social work of the settlements aimed to produce citizens in all classes that while not questioning their role in the hierarchy would contribute to the overall social betterment of the city, which in turn produced a better, more civilized nation.

The focus on building social relationships was predicated on normative ideas of morality as well as citizenship. This was clearly articulated by Helen Hart in 1915 when she presented her report on St. Christopher House to the General Assembly of the Protestant Church. As head worker, she oversaw one of six settlement houses in Toronto, and her collaborations with headworkers at other houses gave Hart authority to speak on the purpose of the settlement movement overall and justify to the men assembled that their financial investment was well spent. She characterized the settlement approach as a “‘sharing’ rather than a giving,” in that settlement workers lived in the house, and did not “swoop down upon the community from another sphere to change its ways.” Instead, by becoming neighbours within Toronto’s so-called neglected neighbourhoods, the settlement philosophy of sharing eschewed charity work in favor of fostering relationships between the middle-class Anglo-Celtic Protestant settlement workers and the immigrant working-class residents of the neighbourhood.

This sharing did not, however, indicate an equality within the relationships between workers and residents. Hart walked a narrow line in her speech: settlement work was distinguishable from charity work in its emphasis on mutual relationships, indicated by the words “sharing,” and “neighbourly.” Yet she also carefully indicated that while these relationships might have been mutual, they were not equal. Instead, by living in working-class neighbourhoods, settlement workers could bestow their own cultural and moral gifts to Toronto’s poor. From her perspective, residents had little by way of culture or morality to share with the workers. What workers gained from the residents was insight into the social conditions of poverty, insights that could be used to make more improvements in the city. This mutually

beneficial yet unequal relationship was written into the very mission statement of University Settlement House, which characterized the sharing relationship as bringing university students “into direct contact with those living amidst the unfortunate conditions of our modern cities and thus broaden the one and elevate the other.”⁶⁴

In her speech, Hart also describes settlement work as having spiritual benefits rather than material improvements within the neighbourhood by providing programs and activities as “a concrete expression of the spirit of neighborliness and goodwill.” Hart listed several practical examples of how settlement workers expressed their benevolence through specific activities, such as providing books, places to play, and also, in her words, “good music,” but along with these practical activities, settlement workers also bestowed intangible gifts upon their members, such as self-control, courage, knowledge, and skills-building.⁶⁵ In this list of gifts, representing what Hart describes as “the very best in the hearts and lives” of the workers, there was considerable slippage between material items, cultural work, education, and moral values, suggesting that the stated priority of strengthening social relations also held moral imperatives that could be realized through the educational and cultural work undertaken by the settlement houses.

Hart’s speech and report were compelling enough to set the tone of the settlement house’s work for years to come: the speech would be cited in St. Christopher’s Silver Jubilee in 1937 as defining the cornerstone philosophy not only of the house’s approach in the immigrant and working-class neighbourhood of Toronto, but as the fundamental philosophy of Toronto’s settlement movement.⁶⁶ The approach to this social work was based on an ethos of caring, but set firmly on reformers’ terms. Within the settlements, the organizing work of the trope of

⁶⁴ Quoted in Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 85.

⁶⁵ “St. Christopher House Silver Jubilee 1912-1937.” Fonds 1484, Series 1727, File 7. CTA.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

citizenship depended on a distinction that juxtaposed the exalted position of the British Protestant organizers against the assumed outsider status of the settlement members. Settlement organizers clearly saw themselves as Canadian citizens, but they aimed to level the hierarchy, or to develop immigrants through uplift.

The Role of the Performing Arts in Cultural Uplift

Toronto's settlement programs focused on groups rather than individuals, a strategy that James suggests would "reinforce the notion that the ideal citizen was not a self-interested entity who stood separate from the neighbourhood and must therefore 'rise above' it by dint of individual effort, but was, instead, one who had deep ties to the local community and felt a duty to enhance it."⁶⁷ She further argues the importance of culture in the pursuit of this communal vision of citizenship. Proponents believed that:

a capitalist democracy could only endure if all citizens understood themselves to be an integral part of the body politic and felt able to share, collectively, in the cultural benefits available to the middle class—in other words, only if everyone had access to the opportunities and the tools necessary for the development of their 'best selves.'⁶⁸

By approaching the problem of poverty in terms of fostering self-improvement through culture, the cultural work of settlement houses was intimately tied to the social welfare project that J. J. Kelso defined, in which every human had fundamental social and cultural rights, regardless of circumstances, but again, the right was to access the superior culture of the organizers.

There was clearly slippage between definitions of culture, but in ways that proved useful to settlement workers. Edward Johns (E. J.) Urwick, a philosopher and professor of economics at the University of Toronto who sat on the advisory committee for University Settlement House, developed a philosophy predicated on the importance of art and culture in civilization. His

⁶⁷ James, "Reforming Reform," 76.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

philosophy influenced not only University Settlement, but Toronto's cultural approach overall.

Urwick defined civilization as:

connoting the condition reached by any society which possesses a certain undenied modicum of the arts and graces and refinements of life, together with a complex heritage of laws, customs and institutions, and whose members have, on the whole, realized enough 'citizenship' to ensure a fair stability for the whole group, and generally peaceful co-operation among most of its units.⁶⁹

Urwick's belief in education was one that envisioned culture simultaneously as arts and as social relations, opening up the possibility of the artistic production of Canadian citizens. This conflation of artistic culture and culture as social relations was not unique to the settlements. Across Canada, musicians, arts critics, and reformers alike advocated for arts education as an important mechanism that simultaneously built Canada's nationalism while also engendering a moral centre into the nation's citizens. Settlement proponents fervently believed that cultural education was key in the moral uplift and civic development of the nation, in which "either passive or active involvement in cultural activity could 'refine and elevate' and, as another early twentieth-century commentator put it, exert a 'splendid influence upon national character.'"⁷⁰

Performing Arts as 'Education for Life'

For settlement proponents, not just in Canada, but in the United States and in Britain as well, the uplift of the lives of the poor was achievable through education and opportunities for social and personal development. Edward Caird, one of the Scottish philosophers influential in Canada's social gospel movement, argued that a city's disenfranchised citizens could improve their living conditions through an introduction to the cultural pursuits of the middle classes, what

⁶⁹ Urwick, *The Social Good*, 66.

⁷⁰ Maria Tippett, "'An Identity of Tastes and Aspirations': Educating Performers and Their Audiences," in *Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, ed. Beverley Diamond and Robert Witmer (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1994), 46. See also Vaugeois (2013) who describes the musical processes that contributed to nation-building. Campbell (2000) provides compelling evidence of similar musical work, which he calls 'musical reform,' happening in the United States.

he more generally referred to as ‘things that are beautiful’: “The general condition of the life of the poor could not be raised unless they were given the opportunities of social and intellectual progress and of contact with things that are beautiful. They must be provided with the means of rational and refined amusement.”⁷¹ Caird described not only how beauty would uplift the poor, but distinguishes the particular form of culture as both rational (of the mind rather than the body) and refined (rather than “coarse”).

The settlement movement in Britain, America, and Canada all focused on cultural work broadly interpreted, including visual arts, crafts, drama, dance, and music. Organizers approached communities of poor and immigrant residents assuming a fundamental lack in culture, in which their lack of exposure to specific forms of artistic culture indicated an equivalent lack of socialization. While workers in settlement houses could only make modest attempts to provide material improvements for their neighbours, they felt quite certain that they could provide moral and spiritual uplift. Ruth Gilchrist, writing in a British settlement context, argues that the arts held great potential toward the individual and social development of working-class people, drawing from Ruskin’s theories that connected art to “a social and moral framework” in which arts offered not only release and uplift from what must have been a daily drudgery, but also provided a morally superior alternative to commercial culture, such as penny arcades, public houses, and music halls. “The arts,” Gilchrist suggests, “were perceived as a way of educating people, lifting expectations, promoting conversation, stimulating debate, teaching new skills, building community and improving social conditions.”⁷²

While the arts were only a component of the work of the settlement houses, Toronto’s settlement workers integrated arts throughout their programming. They made particular use of

⁷¹ Edward Caird quoted in Fraser, “Theology and the Social Gospel among Canadian Presbyterians,” 42.

⁷² Gilchrist, “Settlements and the Arts,” 173.

the performing arts—music, drama, and dance—in part because the performing arts were inherently social, offering an efficient technique, as Gilchrist suggests, to practice social skills and develop positive feelings of participation within a group. This was based on the assumption that the arts could bridge or even transcend differences in religion, ethnicity, and language.⁷³ Performing arts, as a particular form of cultural work, were viewed by settlement workers as having educative powers, particularly for children and youth in Toronto slums. Kelso felt that education was “the most essential remedy” for immigrant and poor youth lacking parental guidance, and he defined education not “in the narrow sense of mere intellectual instruction; but education which cultivates the heart and the moral nature, which inculcates truthfulness and gentleness and modesty and calls out the purest and noblest instincts of humanity.”⁷⁴ The performing arts, with attendant discourses of beauty, offered a particularly salient valence to the educative rationale of recreational activities for children and youth.⁷⁵ As Carson suggests, around 1900, the philosophy of arts in settlement work did not change, but the process did by using performing arts as “education for life” which provided artistic environments to practice social skills and personal development. When Central Neighbourhood House began holding monthly concerts at the nearby Orde Street Public School, settlement volunteer Vera Parsons held it up as an example of the effective combination of entertainment and instruction in cultivating the moral character of children specifically.⁷⁶

⁷³ Gilchrist, “Settlements and the Arts”; James, “Not Merely for the Sake of an Evening’s Entertainment.”

⁷⁴ “Neglected and Friendless Children,” J.J. Kelso, in Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase, 1880-1920*, 115.

⁷⁵ Enrico Cumbo makes the important point that settlement workers genuinely believed in the value of play; while recreational activities certainly had educative intents, play “was by no means a ruse.” See Enrico Thomas Cumbo, “‘As the Twig Is Bent, the Tree’s Inclined’: Growing up Italian in Toronto, 1905-1940” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1996), 261.

⁷⁶ “Music in the Ward” *Ward Graphic* [ca. 1917], 10, Fonds 1005, SC5, File 4. CTA.

The connection of good art to good moral conduct within Toronto's settlements was equally influenced by Jane Addams. After 1900, Hull-House activities shifted from visual to performing arts of dance, drama and music, because the performing arts offered "education for life."⁷⁷ Addams encouraged Hull-House workers to use performing arts as a technique to encourage cooperative work among a group. Similarly, Toronto settlements offered music lessons, dance festivals, group singing activities, and even concerts featuring well-known classical musicians, enacting what Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons call a "a deep-seated belief in the importance of aesthetic experiences in human development."⁷⁸ While many different art forms were used across the settlement movement, music was the most ubiquitous, employed in all settlement houses within Toronto in the first half of the twentieth century.

The Production of Musical and Social Hierarchies

The project of cultural uplift that would develop immigrant and working-class Torontonians and 'level out' the classes articulated musical hierarchies to social hierarchies. Just as British subjects were exalted as Canadian national subjects, so too musics associated with British subjects were exalted as more developed, predicated on the exclusions of other kinds of musics that were also tied to racial and class differences. With the arrival of the settlement movement in the early 1900s, settlement organizers' uses of music were deeply inflected with social and moral regulation that focused on the cultivation of Toronto's 'neglected areas.' Music held the potential to bring together different groups and create "community spirit" as characterized by Mary Joplin Clarke, headworker of Central Neighbourhood House. She mused

⁷⁷ Carson, *Settlement Folk*, 1990, 116. Lise Vaugeois (2013) analyzes Western European Art Music in Canada as "education of feeling," 31.

⁷⁸ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 210.

that the model of an instrumental orchestra might offer a uniquely powerful way to build community:

No attempt has yet been made in Canada to develop neighbourhood orchestras, but very successful work has been done in this line in several cities of the United States. This would seem to be a powerful aid in the development of community spirit, as well as providing an excellent outlet for the emotional forces which so often find no other channel than that of the morbid and melodramatic ‘serial’ of the movies. It is also particularly valuable in that it provides a means of drawing together young and old of all nationalities in a common effort at expression, which only music can provide where the medium of a common speech is lacking.⁷⁹

Clarke linked a few ideas together very succinctly: that instrumental collaborations might build social relations without needing a “common language,” but more importantly, that orchestral music education could draw residents away from the more pernicious commercial entertainments. Clearly Western European Art Music occupied the exalted position of the musical hierarchy. Certainly, the terms *good music* and *beauty* confirmed the aesthetic tastes of the organizers themselves. However, by considering these assertions within a broader discourse of citizenship development, the normalization of Western European Art Music as good music posited the liberal democratic trope of citizenship primarily as British settler imaginary, casting the national subject as an Anglo-Celtic Protestant subject with potentially pernicious effects on immigrants and working-class Torontonians.

The following sections in this chapter examine the musical cultures that were excluded outright because of their implied badness in relation to the musical and social goodness of Western European Art Music. As well, they provide a brief discussion of exclusions of musical practices of particular ethnic groups—although ones more ambivalently positioned in relation to either Western European Art Music at the top or popular musics at the bottom of a musical

⁷⁹ “Report of the Standing Committee on Neighbourhood Work” (1917), Mary Joplin Clarke, in Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase, 1880-1920*, 185.

hierarchy—which suggests that the musical practices of some immigrants had the potential for some kind of mobility through the musical hierarchy.⁸⁰

Racialized and Classed Exclusions of Popular Musics

Settlement organizers tended to fixate on popular music associated with commercial establishments as the particular musical source of moral panic. Clark described popular music as morally pernicious because of the sole focus on profits, and suggested that orchestras offered a morally superior “emotional outlet.” Clark felt that exposing residents to “music, art, literature, and the drama” would build the right kind of taste, or more directly, “produce a distaste for the inferior thing, and it is the duty of the neighbourhood worker to guide the people in this direction, rather than to agitate fruitlessly against the thing that he [*sic*] knows to be objectionable and demoralizing.”⁸¹ In two short sentences, Clark equated musical taste with social standing, calling to mind Pierre Bourdieu’s often-cited assertion that “nothing more clearly affirms one’s class, nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music.”⁸²

In the early twentieth century, popular music was ragtime, a form of music associated with mass-produced culture but also associated with African Americans, and within Toronto, distrusted by Anglo-Protestant leaders as much for its racial associations as for its commercial ones. Robin Elliott describes ragtime as a music that scandalized Victorian Toronto between 1910 and 1930, not only through its syncopated rhythms but through the dance associated with the music, which emphasized body contact between couples “rather than foot movement and

⁸⁰ See Chapter 5 for an in-depth analysis of Western European Art Music practices in settlement music schools. See Chapter 4 for an in-depth analysis of how settlement workers began working with the music practices of immigrants.

⁸¹ “Report of the Standing Committee on Neighbourhood Work” (1917), Mary Joplin Clarke, in Rutherford, *Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase, 1880-1920*, 185.

⁸² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 18.

group choreography.”⁸³ Elliott’s description of Victorian Toronto’s moral panic, shot through with assumptions of race and gender, echoes Valverde’s assertion that it was related to sexual purity. Musics were bound to classed, gendered, and racial hierarchies in which the relative merits of classical and popular music were not merely about listening preferences, but as Elliott argues, an intensely moral concern, in which “[a]n affinity for ragtime music was the first step on a slippery slope that led to idleness, sexual promiscuity, and ultimately the decline of an entire society.”⁸⁴ The claims that settlement organizers like Mary Joplin Clark made regarding the civilizing potential of Western European Art Music, and to a lesser extent, British folk music, were possible through these associations of race and class that negated popular music not only in its perceived musical inferiority but also in its threat of moral degeneration.

The disdain for popular and informal music was a common theme throughout the settlement movement beyond Canada. The connection of good art to good moral conduct within Toronto’s settlements was influenced by Jane Addams, who was much more explicit in her disdain for street music, feeling it was both blatant and vulgar, characterized by “trivial and obscene words” and “meaningless and flippant airs.” She firmly positioned music within a moral context:

We totally ignore that ancient connection between music and morals which was so long insisted upon by philosophers as well as poets. The street music has quite broken away from all control, both of the educator and the patriot, and we have grown singularly careless in regard to its influence upon young people. Although we legislate against it in saloons because of its dangerous influence there, we constantly permit music on the street to incite that which should be controlled, to degrade that which should be exalted, to make sensuous that which might be lifted into the realm of the higher imagination.⁸⁵

Commercial entertainment was not only inadequate; it encouraged immoral behaviours at worst, and at best dumbed down the artistic, cultural, and intellectual potential of the young

⁸³ Elliott, “Ragtime Spasms,” 68.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁸⁵ Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1909), 19.

members at Hull-House. Addams advocated instead for performing arts as a way not only to draw the interest of young people, but as an effective technique to encourage cooperative work among a group. Mina Carson attributes Addams' penchant for performing arts to educational and psychological theories that stressed experience and active participation, in which "the amateur actor, technician, or scene painter became an active purveyor of beauty."⁸⁶ Carson points out that art was both new and old—performing arts tied to new ideas of juvenile education, but also extended the settlement philosophy of sharing (or bestowing) artistic culture with disadvantaged populations as a moral imperative that entwined art and social development/use.⁸⁷

Ambivalent Position of Immigrant Musical Cultures

In the early years of Toronto's settlement movement, organizers excluded informal and non-formal music practices of the people in the neighbourhoods. In some cases, these practices were related to particular immigrant groups—for example, the playing of the concertina by Italian immigrants.⁸⁸ In other cases, music practices, such as harmony singing on the street corner, might have been associated with low-income communities. Often, citizenship (i.e. immigrant or not) and class were conflated. However, because organizers and social reformers focused on popular music as anathema to good moral behaviour, music linked to particular non-British cultures was less obviously demonized. Yet, the music practices of the various cultural groups using the settlements were differentiated through their exclusion from the musics at the settlement houses. This differentiation positioned 'other' music practices as less worthy not by virtue of their overt condemnation but by virtue of their omission. Settlement workers and organizers were almost completely silent on the musical and cultural practices of the many

⁸⁶ Carson, *Settlement Folk*, 115.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁸⁸ Cumbo, "As the Twig Is Bent, the Tree's Inclined."

immigrant families in Toronto's poor neighbourhoods. Their silence not only excluded those practices from the early citizenship work within the settlement houses, but it also enabled organizers to naturalize the discourse of benevolently endowing 'culture' onto households that, in their view, lacked culture.

Immigrant communities in Toronto were not lacking in musical activities. Rather, they had very lively musical cultures that appeared to be largely ignored by settlement house organizers. Historian John Zucchi contends that within the Italian community in the Ward, musicians were the wealthiest: "There was always demand for their services, which range from playing at vaudeville shows to entertaining at the afternoon tea parties of upper-class Toronto families."⁸⁹ Cantonese opera was popular with Toronto's Chinese communities, and several music groups and dramatic societies were formed beginning in 1918, including the eventual development of a 250-seat theatre dedicated to Cantonese opera.⁹⁰ These are just two examples that demonstrate that Toronto's 'foreign-born' did not lack music or culture generally but rather the specific culture of the Anglo-Celtic Protestant settlement organizers.

And yet, organizers did recognize the musics of immigrants insofar as those musics indicated a natural talent that needed to be cultivated as part of the cultural uplift project. When Vera Parsons described the music of the neighbourhood served by Central Neighbourhood House (see Chapter 1), she did not just describe kinds of music heard in the neighbourhood, but also ascribed character attributes to differentiate groups of immigrants as indicators of a kind of innate musical talent, such as the "temperamental, artistic Italian" or the "mystic Russian."⁹¹

⁸⁹ John Zucchi, *The Italian Immigrants of the St. John's Ward, 1875-1915: Patterns of Settlement and Neighbourhood Formation* (Toronto, Ont.: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), 21.

⁹⁰ Arlene Chan, *The Chinese in Toronto from 1878: From Outside to Inside the Circle* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011), 76.

⁹¹ From "Music in the Ward," by Vera L. Parsons [ca. 1917], 10, Fonds 1005, SC5, File 4. CTA. See the opening of Chapter 1 for the full quotation excerpted from Parsons' article.

While Parsons was perhaps pointing to what she saw as ‘natural’ talent and musical inclinations among particular groups of immigrants, her observations were indicative of a phenomenon that historian Carolyn Strange describes as being endemic to Anglo-Celtic assertions of the superiority of whiteness. She suggests that Canadians were conceptualized as a “morally and physically superior Northern race, cultivated through British lineage and nurtured through the adversities of the Canadian climate,” conflating biology, culture, and geography into a national identity ultimately predicated on the superiority of the Canadian ‘race’:

Prominent Torontonians ... openly subscribed to a racial schema in which Jews were ‘neurotic,’ southern Europeans ‘hot-blooded,’ Chinese ‘degenerate,’ and native peoples and blacks ‘savage’ and ‘primitive.’ In contrast, Protestant Anglo-Celtic Canadians sat at the top of the racial hierarchy, principally through their civilized sexual mores (Catholic French Canadians, with their higher birth rate, were accordingly assigned a lower rank).⁹²

The racial schema that Strange notes is equally obvious in Parsons’ description of race-based temperaments. Parsons’ conclusion that ‘musical Toronto’ left these immigrant communities with only a hand organ for inspiration assumed not only that the Ward was not musical, but that its inhabitants required an education that was beyond their grasp. Her closing remark suggests that the musics associated with non-Anglo-Celtic races were inferior to what was commonly referred to as ‘good music,’ and that, despite the lack of overt exclusion of any immigrants at the settlement houses, the notion of good music was as much predicated on an idea of a British-derived Canadian ‘race’ as it was on moral compunction or aesthetic preference.

Conclusion

Industrialization at the turn of the century shifted social relations in Toronto along classed, gendered, and racialized lines. These shifting conditions contributed to the emergence of settlement houses, as well as the emergence of a discursive statement in which culture was a kind

⁹² Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem*, 16.

of social work, designed to educate immigrant and working class neighbourhoods for life.

Settlement organizers articulated the role of culture in their social work as both a tool toward the uplift of lower classes, yet through their musical attempts at uplift and leveling, produced social and musical hierarchies. Where this chapter focused on the kinds of social conditions, discursive shifts, and emerging rationales/rationalities that created the possibility for music to have a role in settlement work, the next chapter focuses in on the music practices of settlement democracy clubs, in which music was normatively integrated in overt efforts to train members in self-governance.

CHAPTER 3. SOCIAL MUSIC AND SELF-GOVERNANCE IN CLUBS, 1910S-1920S

Musical activities permeated settlement house programming in the early decades, especially before the spread of radio and recording technologies. Informal music-making, particularly singing, could be heard daily in all of the houses. Ethel Dodds Parker, head worker of St. Christopher House from 1917 to 1921 remembers “there was always a great deal of singing.”¹ Settlement organizers periodically hosted concerts for members that featured classically trained Toronto musicians, and organized annual spring festivals that showcased dances and songs by children of all ages. Social gatherings frequently featured music, dance, and singing. The most prevalent space for music-making, however, was also the most ubiquitous feature of settlement houses: the clubs.

As the most explicit form of democracy training among all settlement activities, clubs were arguably the defining feature of settlement houses for the first two decades.² Clubs organized members by age and gender, and the members of each club conducted formal weekly meetings followed by recreational activities. Clubs in the 1910s were called democracy clubs, set up and run explicitly as “training grounds for democracy”³ by strictly adhering to democratic procedure, such as electing officers and following rules of order. Music was not the central focus of the democratic clubs, but instead was integrated throughout meetings and in the recreational activities that followed, which articulated particular musical practices to ideas of democracy training by association rather than conscious intention. Further, as democracy clubs continued through the 1920s, settlement workers added other kinds of clubs that did not follow democratic

¹ “Things in Common to Three Toronto Settlements, prepared by Ethel Dodds Parker for the History of Canadian Settlements” (1963), Fonds 92, File 7. *CTA*.

² James, “Reforming Reform,” 79; Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 97.

³ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 92.

procedure and focused on specific recreational activities, in particular music activities, such as bands and dance classes. However, while the democratic procedure was less evident in these music-focused clubs, workers still hoped these social clubs could train members how to manage their own conduct within their groups in preparation for managing their behaviours in Toronto's society at large.

Settlement workers called their club-based programming 'club work,' pointing to their hope that the clubs would do more than organize recreational activities by age and gender; workers hoped the clubs would teach settlement members what they called self-government. Workers used the term *self-governing* in the narrow sense of teaching members how to run their own club meetings, but they also had an eye to a broader kind of club work in which self-governing behaviours in clubs would also teach members how to behave as citizens. Yet, despite the focus on democratic procedure, the work of the clubs was not so much to teach members how to be politically active but how to govern and regulate their own behaviours and values in Toronto society to ensure the smooth functioning of Canada's liberal democracy. The overt emphasis that workers placed on the cultivation of self-government I read as a clear example of *governmentality*, Foucault's concept of cultivating the "conduct of conduct."⁴ The efforts of settlement workers to engender self-government of members through clubs was a deliberate effort, as Mitchell Dean suggests, to mold behaviours with some degree of forethought—to use club structures to educate members how to conduct their own conduct, managing their *selves*. In this chapter, I use Foucault's analytical concept of governmentality to examine the work of democracy and recreational clubs of the settlement houses, and the ways in which particular musics contributed to the self-governing work of clubs toward the cultivation of citizenship. I

⁴ To reiterate what I discuss in Chapter 1, Mitchell Dean defines governmentality as "any attempt to shape with some degree of deliberation aspects of our behaviour according to particular sets of norms and for a variety of ends." Dean, *Governmentality*, 18.

explore how various yet particular musical practices organized bodies as gendered subjects who could govern their own behaviours, modelled on a loyal British Protestant subject. My deployment of governmentality marks a departure from my overarching archaeological focus on how certain discursive statements about music appeared among the many possibilities. There are two reasons for a shift toward governmentality within this specific context. First, the explicit work of clubs was to cultivate members who could govern themselves. Understanding this enables an analysis of how the social rationality of music played out in explicit democracy training, and offers insight on how the discursive statement of music's social rationality (assumed to be the relationship between words and things) constituted ideas of citizen subjects. Second, an analytical focus on governmentality highlights the recursive relationship between rationalities and social practices: as the problematizations of industrialization created the conditions of possibility for the work of settlement houses, so too the self-governing practices of settlement clubs contributed to the conditions of possibility for music as both a mechanism and a site to work on the conduct of conduct. The focus on governmentality was intimately connected to the production of discourse in what Kendall and Wickham call a mutually conditioning relationship.⁵

Self-Government Work of Clubs

Sara Libby Carson introduced the club model to Toronto's settlement houses, structuring group recreational activities into clubs that were segmented primarily by age and gender. Carson, in partnership with her friend Mary Bell, established Evangelia House in 1902, Toronto's first social settlement house. The house served girls and young working women in an east-end

⁵ Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 26.

working-class neighbourhood, ⁶ aiming “to keep clientele in school and away from the morally perilous world of paid employment for as long as possible.”⁷ Carson grouped girls by age and interest to form clubs, in which members elected their own executives, and held weekly business meetings chaired by the club president to decide their group activities. Each club had its own name, color, and song to “encourage a sense of pride in belonging.”⁸ Evangelia opened its doors to males within a few years but continued to organize clubs by gender and age, carefully structuring social activities between clubs under close supervision. Carson went on to organize St. Christopher House and re-organize University Settlement House, implementing the club model to organize recreational activities. By the time Evangelia closed its doors in 1922, all of Toronto’s settlement houses were using clubs to structure members’ social interactions, regardless of particular mandates.

Settlement workers lauded the club structure as an effective way to foster social relationships within groups of peers while also cultivating self-government among club members. Central Neighbourhood House, founded as “a democratic meeting place where people of all races, creeds and stages of culture could get together and come to a better understanding of each other,”⁹ perhaps most overtly linked club work to a democratic project, most obvious in the Boys Parliament established by head worker Elizabeth Neufeldt in 1912 that had its own

⁶ For an in-depth look at Evangelia House, and Sara Libby Carson’s efforts to keep girls in training and away from working, see Cathy James, “Practical Diversions and Educational Amusements: Evangelia House and the Advent of Canada’s Settlement Movement, 1902-09” (1998), *Historical Studies in Education* 1/2, 48-66. Worth reiterating, Carson also organized St. Christopher House, and was brought in by the organizers of University Settlement House in 1916 to re-structure their house’s programs (Heyworth 1986).

⁷ James, “Practical Diversions and Educational Amusements,” 56. For a scholarly analysis of working girls in Toronto during the early twentieth century, see Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem*. Strange argues that Torontonians were particularly concerned with the relatively new phenomenon of young women with jobs, identifying that this cohort was simultaneously cast as victims and as perpetrators of moral degeneracy.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁹ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 103.

Criminal Code, including fines and suspensions for smoking, misconduct, and bad language.¹⁰

University Settlement House had 24 clubs for members of all ages as late as 1938, and Memorial Institute, the Baptist settlement house, ran as many as sixteen clubs by the 1920s that focused on a combination of religious and civic training, offering “training in self-government, recreation, education, opportunity for social intercourse and religious teaching.”¹¹

Settlement club work pursued the self-governing objective in two primary ways: fostering a sense of belonging among peers through participatory activities, and cultivating personal responsibility to the collective, what was sometimes called ‘communal self.’¹² In fostering a sense of belonging, music occupied a central, although largely taken-for-granted, role. Singing and dancing offered a shared social experience, and settlement workers felt that developing a commonality among the group members would also engender a sense of personal responsibility to the group, which by extension would contribute to larger social order and strengthen Canada as a nation-state. James highlights the importance settlement workers placed on shared experience, or what she terms “common identity”: “in order for the developing Canadian state to be stable and robust, as settlement workers maintained, some sense of common identity—of community—had to be fostered.”¹³ Club members shared a common repertoire of club songs, folk songs, music games, and anthems, all of which contributed to the idea that members shared a common identity. In short, shared musical practices and repertoires were a way of fostering community within clubs. Because clubs adhered to democratic procedure, including elections and rules of order, settlement workers framed the work of the clubs in terms

¹⁰ O’Connor, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986*, 8.

¹¹ Memorial Institute pamphlet, 1924. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

¹² See Chapter 2 for an in-depth discussion about the concept of the communal self.

¹³ James, “Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation,” 219.

of training participants how to monitor their individual and group behaviours toward productive outcomes, such as making decisions.

However, fostering community through a shared identity and shared procedures was only the beginning of club work. Clubs emphasized what O'Connor calls "democratic responsibility";¹⁴ that is, individuals learned not simply to participate in groups, but learned their personal responsibility towards the group as a whole, a "mutual obligation."¹⁵ This focus on self-regulation of behaviours and values appropriate to a group is a key aspect of governmentality, described by Dean as attending "to the form of self-direction appropriate to certain situations."¹⁶ As the 1930 yearbook of Central Neighbourhood House explained, "It is not easy to learn the lesson of the group not the individual, especially when all of life about one is a struggle for individual existence"; but it noted that their club members "are learning it, and team-spirit and fair play are beginning to have real significance."¹⁷ Norman Ware, head worker for University Settlement House in 1912,¹⁸ suggested that the club model accomplished what a class might, but that the club *did more*: "The club may do exactly what the class does, but it does more. It is a *self-officered, self-governing and self-supporting body*."¹⁹ That members exercised a measure of control over their club activities, leadership, and treasury highlights another key aspect of governmentality: while governing necessarily requires someone to govern and someone to be governed, these roles can exist within the same actor, and in modern democratic states are

¹⁴ O'Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House 1912-1984*, 8.

¹⁵ James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation," 219.

¹⁶ Dean, *Governmentality*, 17.

¹⁷ Central Neighbourhood House Yearbook, 1930, Fonds 1005 Box 10, File 4. *CTA*.

¹⁸ Sara Libby Carson was brought in to reorganize University Settlement House in 1915 and so it is possible that the club structure was initiated by Carson, and Ware became a strong proponent to develop that work further.

¹⁹ Quoted in Irving, & Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 92. Italics mine.

ideally located in the self,²⁰ who has the ability to reflect on personal conduct to change. Equally applicable to collectives as to individuals, Ware's observation that clubs organized members to govern their collective activities and finances suggest that the work of clubs was indeed a technique in democracy training, in which both individuals and groups learned and practiced self-regulation of their personal and collective conduct.

A final key feature of governmentality is the necessity of freedom embedded in the very idea of self-governance. Dean emphasizes the necessity of freedom within the concept of governing, in which subjects can exercise the capacity for thinking: "The notion of government as the 'conduct of conduct' presupposes the primary freedom of those who are governed entailed in the capacities of acting and thinking."²¹ Dean's point should not be taken as a claim that settlement members had free will or unfettered agency, but that their very ability to choose, to act, to reflect, and to modify their own behaviour individually and collectively was precisely what self-governance required. These aspects of governmentality constituted much of the self-governing work of the clubs, and particular forms of music were used as the techniques, to varying degrees of conscious deliberation.

The Work of Social Music in Self-Governing Clubs

Musical activities permeated club work, from singing Canada's national anthem, to singing folk songs during meetings, to folk dancing and musical games in post-meeting social activities. Singing was the most common form of music-making, followed by dancing and musical games. The kinds of music used in clubs for the most part encompassed British and American folk music, Victorian-era parlour songs, as well as songs composed by settlement

²⁰ See Dean, *Governmentality*, 19. Cruikshank notes, however, that a democratic state is marked simultaneously by rule of self by self and rule of self by others, a point made clear in Foucault's paradoxical use of the term 'subject,' See Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower*, 21.

²¹ Dean, *Governmentality*, 24.

workers in these musical traditions. Little classical music was sung, certainly among the children, and there was even less music from cultures outside of Britain and America. At the beginning stages of club work, settlement workers did not categorize these kinds of musics in any particular way, but as club work developed into the 1920s, the musics used in democratic and recreational clubs began to be identified as ‘social music.’

Social music was understood to be the music of and for amateurs in that the music easy to teach and to learn, with no specialized musical knowledge required (or, knowledge in Western European Art Music), although several American scholars note that social music leaders did require instead skills and knowledge of social workers.²² The social of social music highlighted how workers understood music as a recreational activity rather than a form of musical training. They did not focus on music skills development in the democracy clubs; the songs chosen were easy to teach to the groups and songs that club members wanted to sing. That social music was considered the music of amateurs suggests that the function of social music was participatory, similar to American settlements. America’s settlement music educators considered social music to be “amateur activities,” distinguished from the music training of their conservatory-style settlement music schools, which they characterized as providing “a full range of musical instruction and activities.”²³ The musical practices that collectively constituted social music gained their intelligibility as social music in distinction from Western European Art Music training of the settlement music schools.²⁴

Yet, social music also became a category in relation to popular music. However subordinate social music was in relation to Western European Art Music, social music was

²² Green, “Art for Life’s Sake,” 44; Cords, “Music in Social Settlement and Community Music Schools, 1893-1939,” 104.

²³ Green, “Art for Life’s Sake,” 3.

²⁴ See Chapter 4 for an analysis of the settlement music schools.

differentiated from and was understood as being better than popular music, not only aesthetically but also morally. The popular musics of jazz and ragtime were completely excluded from the democracy and recreational clubs. Their complete absence suggests that whatever musics cultivated desirable citizens, it was not these forms of popular music. The distinction between social music and musics of the non-British European groups was less clear, less distinctive. At times, their musics were included as a part of social music; at other times, musics of immigrants were not included in settlement music practices, demoting their social standing not by overt condemnation as with popular music, but rather by their omission. Some settlement houses organized ethnicity-based clubs that also included music and dance of the cultural groups, but those clubs were not considered democracy clubs, and appeared to serve a different purpose—different enough to warrant a separate focus, which is the central topic of Chapter 5.

However, that the musics of immigrants were excluded from democracy clubs, along with popular music, points to the normative work of social music within the clubs. That is, the British and American folk musics, along with national anthems, were particular musical choices that contributed to settlement work of self-government, but choices that appeared to go unnoticed and unquestioned. While the remainder of this chapter focuses on the clubs and the kinds of musics used toward citizenship training, pointing out the exclusions upon which these normative music practices were predicated makes clear the discursive statements forming about the necessity of self-governance within Toronto's urban landscape, and indeed the kind of model national citizen, within a country that was a British-settler-cum-liberal-democracy.

While all settlement houses used clubs and particular forms of social music to structure the self-governing work of 'Canadianizing' their members, I will focus primarily on St. Christopher House as an in-depth study of music in the democratic clubs, drawing from the club work of other settlement houses periodically to note similarities and differences. St. Christopher

House preserved meeting minutes from many clubs of all ages over decades, most of which were written by the members themselves. These comprehensive documents offer detailed clues into the rituals of the clubs, as well as the differentiations of gender and age through their social activities and musical practices. Further, given its dual mandate ‘to Christianize and Canadianize,’ St. Christopher House social clubs frame the discourse of citizenship in ways that intersect moral and social rationales.

Democracy Clubs of St. Christopher House

All of the clubs at St. Christopher House held weekly meetings according to a tightly prescribed democratic procedure that was followed regardless of age or gender of club members, which apparently remained unchanged for decades. Every meeting first opened with a salute to the flag, which was likely the Canadian Red Ensign, the unofficial national flag in the early twentieth century (see Figure 2).²⁵ Following the salute, young members sang their club song, while adult clubs sang the Canadian national anthem, “O Canada.” After the club song or anthem, roll was called, dues were collected, and committees gave reports before the meeting was adjourned for social activities. This club format was followed so strictly that the house circulated a script detailing meeting procedures, including standing to address the President, giving and receiving motions, and taking votes. A settlement worker or volunteer was always present to oversee the meeting and ensure adherence to the prescribed rules of conduct.

²⁵ Canada’s official flag was the Royal Union Flag, or the Union Jack; however, the Canadian Red Ensign was widely used and accepted as the Canadian flag, flown on all national buildings, and as of 1892, was flown by Canada’s navy with permission from the British admiralty. See the Government of Canada: <http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1363610088709/1363610249607> (accessed September 5, 2014)



Figure 2. Canadian Red Ensign, used from 1871 to 1921, courtesy of the Department of Heritage, Government of Canada

Clearly, music was not the focus of these clubs, but the fact that singing was systematically integrated into club structures, particularly in the opening ritual of the salute to the flag, suggests that music was bound to the discursive production of patriotism and loyalty not just among members and to their clubs, but also, building patriotism and loyalty to the nation of Canada. Settlement workers themselves articulated club work as a microcosm of, and training for, Canada's liberal democracy: "Emphasis on work with adult groups has always been an outstanding aspect of Canadian settlement work, but the past few years have seen considerable expansion of adult programmes and a consequent growth in democracy."²⁶

The specific kinds of music differed, however, on whether the clubs were for children or for adults, and also according to gender. While most of this chapter focuses on clubs for children and youth, I first examine two adult clubs: the Sir James Woods' Men's Club, and the parallel White Shield Club for women. These clubs were deeply gendered in terms of music,

²⁶ Mary Jennison, *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book D, S54. BR.

constitutions, attitudes, and practices. Thus, they offer a useful counterpoint to the club activities undertaken by the younger members.

Men's and Women's Clubs

Most adult clubs at St. Christopher House were also organized by gender, and the specific gendered ontology of citizenship was evident in the kinds of activities and policies that each kind of club took up. Given Canada's juridical status as a Dominion of Britain (an independent country with strong legal ties to the British governance and legal systems), the club structures articulated gendered discourses of citizenship to gendered roles of Canada as a nation-state. This is not to argue that settlement workers created gendered forms of citizenship, nor that the larger social order was merely reflected in the clubs, but that the social organization of the clubs had a recursive relationship with larger gender formations, in which each produced the other.

Singing National Anthems

The White Shield Club—the club for mothers—invariably opened its meetings with ‘O Canada,’ singing of true patriot love, and pledging to stand on guard for the True North strong and free.²⁷ The women's club also closed its meetings singing “God Save the King,” considered Canada's other national anthem, given its status as a commonwealth country of Britain.²⁸ By book-ending their meetings with songs pledging allegiance to Canada, God, and the ruling British monarch, the format of the women's club discursively constructed citizens as British subjects. Perhaps this should not be a surprise, given that Canada's constitution at the time

²⁷ While the history of Canada's national anthem is intriguing with several different versions of the English words, the club members likely sang the words that are still used today, penned by Robert Stanley Weir in 1908. See the Canadian Heritage website of the Government of Canada for a brief historical overview: <http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1359402373291/1359402467746#a2>. For an in-depth critical analysis of ‘O Canada’ in the early twentieth century, see Vaugeois, “Hierarchies of the Human,” 64-67.

²⁸ ‘God Save the Queen’ remains Canada's ‘Royal Anthem,’ played in the presence of members of the British Royal Family, for Canada's Governor General (the Queen's representative in Canada), and other official national ceremonies. See <http://canadiancrown.gc.ca/eng/1396290117227> (accessed February 12, 2015).

legislated Canadians as British subjects, and most English Canadians referred to their country as the Dominion. However, the conflation of juridical construction of citizenship and the communal practice suggest that ties to the British Empire were simultaneously real and imagined, calling to mind Benedict Anderson's theory that nations are imagined political communities: nations do not simply awaken to a national consciousness; rather, nationalism "*invents* nations where they do not exist."²⁹

The interplay between juridical and imaginary can be seen in the constitution of the Sir James Woods Men's Club, in which only men of British citizenship could be members. While this might be surprising given the house's overall mandate to Canadianize—why would they establish a men's club of presumably already Canadianized members?—the insistence on British citizenship was perhaps because the club was established for veterans of World War I (eligibility to fight was restricted to British citizens) to provide "a place of meeting for the men of St. Christopher neighbourhood, where they could come together for recreation, the cultivation of good fellowship, and also for the discussion of such subjects as might improve the minds and increase the knowledge of the members."³⁰ It is also possible that the men's club was modelled on upper-class men's clubs operating throughout Toronto, such as the Arts and Letters Club established in 1908 for "educated white men, particularly those of British extraction."³¹ Regardless of the reasons why the club restricted its membership, the effect was to define and protect an exclusive (white) British space. Two years later, amendments in the constitution further clarified and restricted the membership by rewriting the section to assert that not only

²⁹ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991), 6.

³⁰ Sir James Woods Men's Club Constitution, St. Christopher House Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 149. *CTA*.

³¹ Vaugeois, "Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education," 68. Vaugeois devotes Chapter 4 of her dissertation to an analysis of the Arts and Letters Club as exclusive colonial white male space dedicated to making "artistic pioneers and artistic leaders."

shall members be British subjects, but also must be “of British parentage”³² (see Appendix 2 for an excerpt of the constitution of the Sir James Woods Mens’ Club).

This air of exclusion in membership was not apparent in the women’s White Shield Club, whose membership was restricted only by numbers (100 members per section) and by geographic area (members must live within a specified area for each of the two sections). Unlike the men’s clubs and some of the older boys’ clubs, the White Shield Club did not even appear to reject any members for membership. There was a wait list, but when new members were proposed, they were consistently approved for membership. Membership was rescinded not as a reprimand, but because the member had stopped attending, had resigned, or had “returned to the Old Country.”³³

The White Shield dedicated themselves to their community and family. The object of their club, written in verse, extolled the virtues of purity, sacrifice, and responsibility (see Appendix 2 for the full transcription). The women’s club pledge was a commitment to serving their own families, the settlement house, and their community, and their activities demonstrated that pledge. Members sent flowers to community members in the hospital, raised funds to sponsor a bed at Women’s College Hospital and at the Sick Kids Hospital, and knit sweaters for children. In wartime, club members took up activities to support the war effort, such as adjourning from the September 3, 1914 meeting “for a patriotic sewing bee, the object being to make 25 night shirts for our wounded soldiers.”³⁴

³² Sir James Woods Men’s Club Constitution, Fonds 1484, series 1714, File 149. *CTA*.

³³ Several meeting minutes document specific members being removed from the rolls because they had returned to their Old Country, which suggests that migration might have been more permeable than research often acknowledges. That important point is unfortunately out of the scope of this particular project, but warrants its own study.

³⁴ White Shield Club I meeting minutes 1914-1915, Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 121. *CTA*.

The women's club integrated singing throughout its meetings and social activities. In addition to singing the two anthems to open and close each meeting, by the end of World War I, the club members also sang "Good Night White Shield Club" to close them. Within each meeting, club members frequently performed songs or recitations for other members, and almost always after the meeting, the social activities involved singing or dancing games. Social activities were voted on in the meetings and perhaps surprisingly, the White Shield played similar games as the children's clubs, including "Virginia Reel," "Captain Jinks," and "Crested Hen."³⁵ Women's social interactions, their comportment, and their responsibilities to the home and the house, were all organized through social activities and through formal meetings of democratic procedure.

The White Shield Club was also active in hosting events for other clubs or for the house as a whole, emphasizing personal responsibility to the collective as care-takers. To some extent, the White Shield Club was, more so than any of the other clubs, the hub of St. Christopher House. Headworkers frequently dropped in to announce new programs, concerts, or initiatives, and often house donations of eggs or milk were distributed among White Shield members to take home to their families. Perhaps the women's commitment to be self-sacrificing and build community contributed to this central role. It is also notable that devotional meetings and prayers frequently followed each meeting, suggesting that the women's commitment to God was exercised through the club structure as much as their commitment to each other, to their families, and to the larger community.

³⁵ Why the women's club engaged in children's songs and games and not men is not explicated through the archival documents. Possibly, mothers were infantilized by the workers and no doubt mothers would have been fairly young and seen as barely older than the older girls participating in other clubs. However, it is just as possible that the members enjoyed participating in active games or that this was a common activity among women the way that billiards was for men.

Conversely, while the Sir James Woods Men's Club periodically hosted parties and talks for female members of the house, the male club protected its homosocial space, referring to each other with the title of 'Brother,' and holding 'smokers'—male-only initiation parties for new members. The men apparently knew how to throw a party for themselves, which included singing as a social activity: "judging from the harmonious strains of 'Sweet Adeline' that issued from the Mens [*sic*] Club room on Friday Dec. 6 the smoker was a success."³⁶ While the men had only one official meeting per week, members socialized up to four other nights, and had their own rooms complete with a billiards table. Women were allowed into the club space in only the most exceptional of circumstances. The very appearance of St. Christopher House's new female head worker Gwendolin Goldie at a meeting in 1927 was noteworthy in the minutes: her presence was an 'invited' visit and the club members offered assurances of their support of her new role as head worker.³⁷ Women, even staff, were generally not present within the men's club space.

Where the Sir James Woods Men's Club was exclusive, the White Shield Club's lengthy roster of 200 women plus a waiting list suggests that the women's club produced a very different idea of citizen than did the men's. Where women were self-sacrificing and care-taking, men were exclusionary and relatively isolated. Where the women's club operated as the member hub of the house, the men's club was off-limits to women, children, workers, and even non-British men. While the basic democratic procedure was the same between men's and women's clubs, the kinds of activities and interactions shifted, suggesting that engendering a democratic citizen

³⁶ "The News from St. Christopher 1929-1930." Fonds 1484 , Series 1727, File 3. *CTA*.

³⁷ An excerpt from the January 21, 1927 meeting minutes: "At this point Miss Goldie the new head worker was invited to come in that the club as a whole might have the opportunity to assure her of our support and genuine welcome. ... A formal vote of confidence in Miss Goldie as the new head resident of St. Christopher House was heartily passed by the club." Fonds 1484 Series 1714, File 155. *CTA*.

remained the central goal, but a citizen that settlement workers rationalized could be cultivated to fulfill specific gendered roles.

Children's Democracy Clubs

What is striking about the clubs is how many were organized for children and youth. While settlement houses had programming for all ages living in Toronto's 'neglected neighbourhoods,' workers increasingly focused their civilizing efforts on children and youth, the segment of the population that they felt held the most potential for change on personal and social levels. Children were seen as 'in formation,' which meant that with proper guidance children could make choices that would not only stabilize their own lives, but the lives of their families and their future children, which in turn would stabilize the city, and perhaps the nation. "When you save a man or a woman you save a unit," claimed child welfare advocate J. J. Kelso, "but when you save a boy or a girl, you save a whole multiplication table."³⁸ Settlement workers focused their club work on children, who they felt held the most potential to learn self-government, often characterized as character-building, and participate in Toronto society as active citizens.

Chen argues that children were seen by Toronto's reformers as citizens-in-the-making: children did not at that time have individual rights as they do today, but they were understood to be in a stage of development toward adulthood. Using Foucault's work on the formation of the human subject, Chen contends that the idea of disciplining children was coterminous with the emergence of the Enlightenment idea of the human subject who had a soul and a consciousness and therefore could be molded. Children were understood to be in formation, developing toward a fully formed human subject, and their 'in process' status meant that children were perceived as

³⁸ J. J. Kelso quoted in Cumbo, "As the Twig Is Bent, the Tree's Inclined," 261. Kelso was also a central figure in organizing Central Neighbourhood House, see Chapter 2.

particularly malleable: “Childhood was conceived as a stage when the character was most responsive to external influences. Thus how children were parented would largely determine what kinds of citizens they would become.”³⁹ Chen’s analysis extends the analytics of government developed by Dean, in which children could practice their self-governance “entailed in the capacities of acting and thinking,”⁴⁰ even while children were not recognized as citizens outright. In short, settlement workers felt that children and youth were most likely to learn the art of self-government.

Settlement workers were committed to molding their young members not just into citizens, but into gendered citizens who could regulate their own behaviours. Settlement workers felt the clubs offered the right mix of supervision and self-government for boys to channel and control their impulses, perhaps becoming more trustworthy than adults: “We are looking forward,” wrote Lawrence W. Tew of Central Neighbourhood House in 1917, “to the time when self-government under proper supervision will be the means of control of these fellows. Authority modified properly and properly placed in the hands of boys is less likely to be abused than in the hands of adults.”⁴¹ Similarly, constructive outlets for the leisure time of girls would serve not just to divert them away from inappropriate, immoral, or outright dangerous activities, but would also cultivate girls into women who valued service to others, particularly to husbands and children, as well as to their neighbourhoods, as the White Shield Club demonstrated. Canada as a liberal democracy depended on governing ‘others’ without coercion, and as Valverde argues, controlling one’s sexual impulses “was central to the formation of gender” to participate

³⁹ Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship*, 15. Demos and Demos also suggest that youth were seen as particularly impressionable, described with words like ‘pliant’ and ‘formative.’ See John Demos and Virginia Demos, “Adolescence in Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 31, no. 4 (November 1, 1969): 637,

⁴⁰ Dean, *Governmentality*, 24.

⁴¹ Lawrence Tew, “Boy Life in ‘The Ward,’ *Ward Graphic* [ca. 1917], 9, Fonds 1005, Box 10, File 10. CTA.

in the democratic society that Anglo-Celtic reformers so fervently defended.⁴² Clubs offered the right mix of recreation and group work to transform depraved boys and potentially compromised girls into upstanding citizens. Culture in general and music in particular played an important role in cultivating boys and girls into male and female citizens.

The children's democracy clubs at St. Christopher House used just this mix of group work and recreation, structured through democratic procedure. Workers integrated music throughout the meetings and recreational activities to help bond the group to each other, to the club, to the nation, and perhaps to God. I will examine three specific instances in which music was structured into the children's democracy clubs at St. Christopher House: club songs, singing in meetings, and musical games following the meetings.

Club Songs

Each children's club had its own club song, likely written by a staff member at St. Christopher House.⁴³ The club songs ritualistically followed the salute to the flag to open each meeting, sonically and procedurally connecting club loyalty (through the song) to national allegiance (through the salute to the flag). This is readily apparent in the song for the Marigold Club of twelve-year-old girls. The lyrics of the Marigold club song were transcribed by two of its young female members, and while the music was not transcribed, an examination of the catchy lyrics suggests that the kind of citizen that was discursively constructed through music tended to assume an Anglo-Celtic Protestant norm by musically associating club loyalty with nature, the club, the settlement house, and even God:

*The Marigolds are flowers
The Marigolds are name*

⁴² Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 105.

⁴³ In *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book B (S54, BR), there is a note that the staff at Evangelia House wrote club songs. Given that Carson organized both Evangelia and St. Christopher House, it is likely that the latter also composed their club songs internally.

*We do all in our power
 To bring our club to fame
 St. Christopher St. Christopher
 To thee we all be true
 To thee and to the Marigolds
 With collers [sic] gold and
 Blue.⁴⁴*

The content, meter, and rhythm of the lyrics of the song suggest that it was composed from a British standpoint. The song was in English, and the use of ‘thee’ recalls an archaic or elevated Old English. Yet the metric flow of three weak/strong syllabic patterns per line lends the song a cadence of a varsity cheer. The song also pledges an enthusiastic allegiance to St. Christopher, rather than to St. Christopher *House*. While the elimination of the word ‘house’ might have been simply a poetic decision within the rhythmic meter of the song, the omission opens up an ambiguity of meaning between the Saint and the House, which holds both connections open so that members simultaneously pledge allegiance to a Christian saint as well as to the House.

If the Marigold Club song is any indication, club songs were enthusiastically taken up by their young members, more so than the recitation of the pledge of allegiance to the flag. The Marigold book of meeting minutes contained two loose sheets of paper tucked in among the pages, each sheet containing lyrics of the song fully transcribed by two different members. Both papers also began with a transcription of the salute to the flag, but the salute was only partially written, and given the transcriptions, the members may not have even understood the words of the pledge. One young author wrote: “I sent alegents to my flag. And to the Britishens...”⁴⁵ At that point, she abandoned her transcription of the pledge to copy the words of the entire club song. In contrast, the club song was taken up enthusiastically, fully transcribed by two different girls. The song was frequently sung by request at the end of meetings, and even heard beyond the

⁴⁴ Marigold Club 1914-1915, Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 38, *CTA*.

⁴⁵ In 1914-1915 Marigold Club meeting minutes, Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 38, *CTA*.

confines of the settlement house in neighbourhoods and schoolyards. Local teachers reported to St. Christopher House's headworker that "The children at school talk of their clubs, play the games and sing their club songs, and we simply had to come and see the place that is of such great interest to them."⁴⁶

The club songs provided an opening singing ritual in the democratic clubs that invoked community, neighbourhood, religion, and nation that was enthusiastically taken up by young members. The combined opening ritual of a sung salute to the Canadian flag followed by a club song that pledged enthusiastic allegiance to both the club and the house, and perhaps to Christianity, bound club members to each other, conflating club, community, and the nation through singing.

Singing in the Formal Club Meetings

Most of the children's clubs also sang songs during their meetings. Ethel Dodds Parker, headworker for St. Christopher House from 1917 to 1921, enthused that the club members were "usually in the process of learning one or two new songs while enjoying the old familiar ones."⁴⁷ Children tended to sing Christmas songs from November until the end of the year, most often practicing carols to be sung at the house Christmas party in December. The time spent on Christmas carols in St. Christopher House clubs distinguished the religious influence of the house, especially in contrast to Central Neighbourhood House, whose head worker Elizabeth Neufeldt elected not only to refrain from singing carols, but refrained from Christmas celebrations altogether, opting instead to hold parties in January to avoid all religious holidays.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Sara Libby Carson, "Report of the Board of Social Services and Evangelism to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada," 1913, quoted in O'Connor, *St. Christopher House*, 1986, 9.

⁴⁷ Ethel Dodds Parker, *Three Toronto Settlements*, 1963, 33.

⁴⁸ The Annual Report from 1915 detailed how Central Neighbourhood House clubs produced plays for their 'mid-winter celebration.' Fonds 1000, File 3. CTA.

St. Christopher House clubs sang other seasonal (not necessarily religious) songs depending on the month, such as “Jack Frost” in the winter or “Hallowe’en” in October. These songs and others were taken from songbooks such as the Hollis Dann graduated series of children’s songs to teach by rote,⁴⁹ or *The Children’s Year: Short and Simple Songs for Very Little Children* edited by American Grace Wilbur Conant.⁵⁰ All of the songs in these collections were either composed by an American for children or were English-derived folk songs, suggesting that the musics sung within the meetings associated English and Anglo-Celtic cultures with the task of citizenship, whether the content was also Christian (such as carols) or secular (such as Hallowe’en songs).

There were gendered distinctions between the kinds of songs sung in the meetings. Songs used at boys’ club meetings tended to emphasize war, occupation, and travel or activity. For example, the Little Lads Club sang songs with titles like “The Miner” or “See My Soldiers All So Fine,”⁵¹ and the slightly older Jolly Chums Club sang songs such as “The British Grenadier” and “The Merry Soldier.”⁵² The Pontiacs Club, for boys in their mid-teens, sang “good songs” at the behest of their settlement house leader named only “Mister Dean” in the minutes:

Our meeting started by saluting the flag. It was 4.15 o’clock. There where [sic] 17 boys present. Mister Dean told us to sing good songs. We sang Dina and Blow the man Down and Eddie played the peano [sic]. Mr Meecke told us a new song a song Over the Ocean.⁵³

⁴⁹ See for example, Hollis Dann, *First Year Music: Rote Songs for Kindergarten and First Year*, (New York: American Book Co., 1914).

⁵⁰ Grace Wilbur Conant, *The Children’s Year: Short and Simple Songs for Very Little Children* (Springfield, MA: Milton Bradley Company, 1928.) The original book was published in 1915, although several editions were produced over the next fifteen years. There appears to have been several publications of games and songs for children produced in North America around this time period, perhaps in conjunction with the Progressive Era and John Dewey’s progressive education. The music education materials published in this time period deserve a separate historical study, but this is unfortunately out of the scope of this research.

⁵¹ Listed in the minutes for 1914-15 as well as 1925-26, Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 7, CTA.

⁵² Jolly Chums Club minutes 1914-15, Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 24, CTA.

⁵³ Pontiacs Club minutes [n.d.], Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 128, CTA.

While it is unclear from the minutes why Mister Dean exhorted the boys to sing ‘good songs,’ or what indeed distinguished a ‘good song’ from a presumably ‘bad song,’ the songs listed in the minutes from 1930, which included “Row Row Your Boat” and “Clementine” in addition to the two mentioned above, suggest good songs did not include musics (or cultures) outside of British and American folk songs.

The girls’ clubs similarly sang British and American folk songs, but were more likely to sing about spring, animals, or, for older girls, love. In a meeting in 1912, the Marigold Club voted on the songs they would sing together: “The motion was made by Minnie Ward and seconded by Margaret Pierce that the Club should sing these songs after its meeting: The Owl [*sic*], Tulips, The Tea Kettle Song, The Club Song. That motion was carried.”⁵⁴ The songs sung in the girls’ clubs tended to emphasize nature or domestic themes, rather than the themes of travelling, occupations, or war that were prevalent among the boys. The gendered aspects of the songs were perhaps not surprising given that settlement workers had distinctly gendered roles in mind for boys and girls to become citizens. Through the clubs, “settlements encouraged boys to prepare themselves to be sober, law-abiding voters and breadwinners, and directed girls towards becoming efficient and respectable homemakers.”⁵⁵ The subtle differences in song choices underscore the gendered conceptions of citizenship circulating within the settlement houses, and within society at large, and the production of gendered citizenship within the clubs both reflected and produced social relations at large. That is, the assumptions circulating within the clubs were a product of assumptions in urban society at large; yet, the segregated clubs engaging in gendered social and musical activities also meant that the children practiced their gendered roles

⁵⁴ Marigold Club minutes, 1912, Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 35, CTA.

⁵⁵ James, “Reforming Reform,” 80.

that they would inhabit in the future as adult citizens, contributing to the discursive production of gendered citizenship.

Musical Games Following the Meetings

The social activities following the formal meetings were a consistent and important component of citizenship training within the democratic clubs. Not only did games, sports, songs and/or dancing always follow the meeting, the specific social activity was chosen during the meeting, structuring recreational activities into democratic procedure. First, the social committee, comprising three members appointed by the Club President, would meet in advance to choose social activities. They then presented their choice in a report to the members during the meeting, and their recommendation was voted on by the entire membership. Younger clubs and girls' clubs tended to accept the reports, but the older boys' clubs periodically rejected the recommendation of the social committee. In one particularly contentious meeting of the Young Citizens Club in 1918, several proposed activities were defeated before the group of teen-aged boys finally agreed:

The Social Committee's report of Blindfold Boxing and Musical Chairs was defeated. The motion was made by George Wiggins, seconded by Earnest Stanley that we have Farmers and Tramp, and Are You There? It was defeated. The motion was made by Andy Drummond, seconded by Geo. Wiggins and carried, that we have Flower Pot Race and Volley Ball.⁵⁶

Perhaps this suggests an early example of the kinds of exclusionary practices of the Men's Club, in which boys learned how to be arbiters of content and membership to define their (masculine) citizenship, whereas the girls, much like the women of the adult clubs, tended to act as care-takers, open to a wider range of social activities and welcoming everyone who wanted to join,

⁵⁶ Young Citizens Club Meeting Minutes, March 28, 1918, Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 56, CTA.

suggesting that even the process of selection may have been a technique in the cultivation of gendered citizens.

Notably, in the contentious instance of what activity to play within the boys' club, the members defeated motions involving musical activities in favour of physical activity. While boys' clubs did engage in musical games and songs following the meetings, such as "music magic" and "musical chairs," boys tended to choose physical activities, such as races, bowling, and sports, more often. Girls' clubs were more likely to participate in singing and folk dancing games.⁵⁷

Regardless of how gendered the activities were, the group games and activities—articulated as 'social activities'—served an important role in emphasizing and reinforcing social behaviours organized in the formal meetings. Many of the activities were folk dances, such as the English "Chimes of Dunkirk" and "Greensleeves," or American singing games such as "Jolly is the Miller" and "Captain Jinks." These musical social activities would become 'social music,' in which the goal was to use music as a tool toward self-governance, and not music skills training. Through folk dances and musical games, settlement workers exposed children to what they considered to be appropriate personal and social skills, such as learning physical comportment and social graces through the game "Clap, Clap, Curtsey." In reflecting on the value of the clubs toward the moral cultivation of children, an unknown author felt that the "dignified" meetings in clubs, followed by recreational activities and classes, offered a way for children to be physically and mentally active, while straightening out their "whole moral fibre":

Little girls troop in for dignified Club meetings followed by games and folk dances, and return at other times for gymnasium classes, story hours, dramatic rehearsals and chorus training. Small boys find an outlet for their amazingly active little minds and bodies in

⁵⁷ James argues that Evangelia House, originally only for girls, broke new ground by emphasizing 'physical culture' for girls and young women, one of the only organizations in the city at the time that offered athletic classes and activities to females. See James, "Practical Diversions and Educational Amusements."

Clubs, gymnasium work, games and story hours. Older boys often have their whole moral fibre straightened and strengthened by the qualities of courage, endurance and fair play developed through their sports and gymnasium work.⁵⁸

Girls could be dignified and boys could be mentally and physically active through the outlets of the clubs. In the eyes of settlement organizers, democratic procedures combined with musical and other recreational social activities, forming citizenship discourses within moral frameworks in which children could self-regulate their behaviours and contribute more productively to their group, and ultimately to society. While settlement workers did not overtly rationalize the purpose of music in the democracy clubs, the clubs organized particular music practices toward the ends of self-governance, creating the conditions that would produce the concept of social music: social in its group focus but also that its purpose was to cultivate social behaviours rather than musical skills.

Supervised Social Gatherings Between Girls and Boys

One evening a week is held as a social night for the young men and young women of the district when, under healthy supervision, they are able to enjoy each other's company.⁵⁹

The headworkers and staff of the settlements did not entirely eschew an intermingling of the sexes. Instead, the headworkers tended to launch their own versions of dances, movies, and other forms of popular culture, perhaps in part to try to attract and retain their younger clientele, but also because these activities, executed under the moral authority of the settlement houses, could be sure to contain the right kinds of decorum in content and form by organizing social relations between male and female adolescents. These interactions were frequently characterized by workers as wholesome and healthy, conflating physical and moral health with social interactions. From the quotation above from an October 1922 article in *The Toronto Daily Star*,

⁵⁸ "The Relation of a Social Settlement to Community Life," *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book D, S54. BR.

⁵⁹ "Help to Canadianize Overseas Citizens," *The Toronto Daily Star*, October 14, 1922, 3.

it is apparent that even the supervision itself was healthy, casting the settlement workers as the role-model national subjects, who not only demonstrated healthy living, but could determine right and wrong ways of interacting among their young members. The healthy environment of settlement events was formed partly in relation to the harmful commercial establishments.

Central Neighbourhood House held supervised dances between clubs of older boys and girls, “giving normal social intercourse away from the harmful influence of the public dance hall.”⁶⁰

These recreational spaces not only organized relations between boys and girls, but also offered a morally superior alternative to commercial establishments.

Settlement dances were particularly successful and well attended. At Evangelia House, Saturday evenings were the nights for all kinds of social activities with boys and girls together, including singing, games, and folk dancing, all likely similar to the kinds of songs and dances within each club of St. Christopher House.⁶¹ In 1923, the annual report of Central Neighbourhood House noted, under the subtitle of ‘Social Events’ that each (gendered) club held seasonal parties throughout the year, such as Halloween and Valentine’s Day parties, but in addition, dances were held, and the older girls’ clubs “were also guests at dances given by the older boys.”⁶² These dances were carefully supervised to provide the necessary ‘wholesome’ atmosphere, while establishing the correct kind of social interactions between boys and girls. The settlements endeavoured to structure their dances and co-educational activities as techniques to practice gender relations to cultivate the right kinds of social relationships that produced the right kinds of families, the right kinds of communities, and ultimately the right kind of nation. At times, the practice of mixed-gender relationships produced exactly the kinds of long-term heterosexual relationships that the settlement workers hoped for. A former participant of

⁶⁰ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book D, S54. BR.

⁶¹ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book B, S54. BR.

⁶² Central Neighbourhood House Annual Report, 1923, Fonds 1005, File 4. CTA.

Evangelia House reminisced that the co-educational parties in the house resulted not just in good citizens, but in good married citizens: “Two of the boys turned out to be ministers, and some of the girls married boys that they had met at the club.”⁶³ Practicing and normalizing heterosexual relationships reinforced the gendered roles that were practiced through social music at the settlement houses.

Music-Focused Clubs

The function of clubs in settlement houses shifted through the 1920s, particularly in relation to music. Where the democratic clubs integrated music in meetings and recreational activities, new kinds of clubs emerged in the 1920s that focused specifically on music activities. Music became the substantive focus as well as a technique of self-regulation. At the same time, the democratic procedure of democracy clubs was much less rigorously followed in these newer music-focused clubs, and the vocabulary of the settlement workers noticeably shifted from that of ‘self-governing’ to ‘character-building.’ The links to democracy building and citizenship were less clear in the language of ‘character,’ but the hope of using group work of music clubs toward the cultivation of self-governance, or what I read as governmentality, remained consistent in their sustained attention on the cultivation of self-regulated behaviours. The term character also underscored the moral conviction of settlement workers, in which club members participated ostensibly to build personal character, or, to cultivate their ethical and moral sensibility. In the settlement houses’ efforts to cultivate moral citizens, there were very clear ideas of gendered roles, in which boys could become active citizens who participate in public life, whereas girls would become citizens that served their future husbands and families, as well as their local communities. The recreational clubs continued to segment boys and girls, and the particular

⁶³ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book B, S54. BR.

activities within each club, both musical and non-musical, tended to produce distinctive tropes of gendered citizenship.

Music-Focused Clubs for Boys

Settlement workers felt the most effective techniques for the cultural education of boys rested on sports and physical activities more so than musical or artistic training. “Older boys,” argued a worker, “often have their whole moral fibre straightened and strengthened by the qualities of courage, endurance and fair play developed through their sports and gymnasium work.”⁶⁴ Athletic recreation seemed to be of particular importance for boys, and structured sports and group activities that not only conditioned their bodies, but socialized them, as Mary Jennison pointed out, toward fair play among their cohorts.

An entire section of Central Neighbourhood House’s 1917 circular *The Ward Graphic* written by Lawrence W. Tew focused on the “boy problem,” in which boy gangs were an issue “almost entirely of the under-privileged class.” Tew attributed the bad behaviour of boys to their neglectful yet well-meaning parents who simply did not understand what their sons needed. The basic issue facing adolescent boys, he argued, was that they were highly physical. If boys did not have appropriate outlets to develop their physical abilities in “clean wholesome play,” then their excess energies would “result in vices that will wreck the system.”⁶⁵ The destruction of ‘the system’ suggests that the stakes were high: boys’ (im)moral behaviours were not simply about their own moral degeneracy, but about the ability of the entire system of the city to function. Settlements could develop the character of these boys of the “under-privileged class” through wholesome recreational activities that their active minds and bodies required.

⁶⁴ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book D, S54. BR.

⁶⁵ “Boy Life in ‘The Ward,’ *Ward Graphic* [ca. 1917], 10, Fonds 1005, File 10. CTA.

Tew felt that clubs were especially effective for boys because of the emphasis on social interactions between boys. Boys, he argued, valued their peers above all else, and if left to their own tendencies, quickly descended into immoral pursuits such as gambling and theft. However, he suggested that clubs worked through channeling peer pressure within groups of boys toward greater self-regulation of behaviours, often much more effectively than any adult intervention could. He recommended the strategy of recruiting gang leaders to become club leaders, which, Tew argued, would effectively transform gangs into self-governing, respectable groups of citizens: “The boy fears nothing so much as his chums and playfellows. Let him know that he is going to ‘get in wrong’ with the ‘bunch,’ and you have a weapon more powerful for good than any juvenile court, reform school or detention home can ever be.”⁶⁶ Only through fostering boys’ abilities to govern themselves and each other, could boys be molded into active citizens.

While democracy clubs addressed group participation, settlement workers increasingly turned to instrumental bands as a musical technique to cultivate personal responsibility to a larger group. Instrumental ensembles were open only to boys. With antecedents in European military bands, early twentieth-century bands in Canada were an exclusively masculine pursuit, associated with both sport and the military. In Elizabeth Gould’s analysis, bands were deployed specifically as a nation-building technique in North America, which was a task for men alone. Boys who participated in bands were fulfilling “an essential role in creating national identities and democratic citizens.”⁶⁷ Within Toronto’s settlement houses, all organizers established varying kinds of boy-focused instrumental ensembles, such as the Beginner and Senior Bands for

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Elizabeth Gould, “Re-Membering Bands in North America: Gendered Paradoxes and Potentialities,” in *Critical Perspectives in Canadian Music Education*, ed. Kari K. Veblen and Carol Beynon (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 101–21. Gould notes that music was a contested site, in which defining certain musics as masculine was a deliberate and political project.

Boys at St. Christopher House, and the ukulele and mandolin bands at Memorial Institute. All settlement houses established harmonica bands, alternately called mouth organ bands.

Toronto's settlement workers remained largely silent on why they launched bands for boys, but the close ties to American music practices and social policy suggest that similar discourses were at play within the settlement houses, whose workers, like the American and other Canadian counterparts in Gould's analysis, were concerned with using music as a tool to cultivate boys into active citizens. Settlement workers felt that harmonica and other instrumental bands, along with physical activities, contributed not just to the cultivation of future citizens but made positive impacts to the immediate concerns of juvenile delinquency.⁶⁸ Memorial Institute, the church settlement that by virtue of its Christianizing focus most explicitly sought moral betterment as the cornerstone of their social betterment work, depended on a worker identified only as a "Mr. E. Majury" to oversee their "boys' work." Organizers were pleased with Majury's work with over 200 boys annually,⁶⁹ observing that activities such as "Indian tribal games,"⁷⁰ wood carving, and a harmonica band, contributed to a noticeable drop in juvenile delinquency in their neighbourhood. The activities, noted a 1934 report to Memorial's sponsor Walmer Road Baptist Church, were effective to "build boy-character and stimulate normal growth."⁷¹

The Role of Dance in Clubs for Girls

Activities for girls tended to be more arts-focused than activities for boys, although it should be noted that girls were also introduced to 'physical culture,' playing basketball,

⁶⁸ Gould notes the axiom that underpinned boys' bands (work that was endorsed by police) was "Teach a boy to blow a horn, and he won't blow a safe." *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶⁹ Memorial Institute Organizations, 1932-33. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

⁷⁰ I could find no further information about 'Indian tribal games,' but it seems unlikely that these games had anything to do with any aboriginal people living in Canada. Much more likely, these 'games' likely assumed racist notions of the 'Noble Savage'. For a detailed analysis of the relationship between music, national identity formation, and colonization of aboriginal people in Canada, See Vaugeois, "Hierarchies of the Human."

⁷¹ Memorial Institute Report presented at Annual Meeting, Walmer Road Baptist Church, February 21, 1934. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

swimming, and participating in other physical activities in what sometimes proved to be divergences from gender norms. Overall however, girls were much more likely to engage in creative activities, such as singing, dancing, and folk games.

Dance was a particular focus for girls at Central Neighbourhood House, and the dance classes begun in the 1920s retained strong attendance, expanding in the 1930s to offer several levels of classes for all ages. While younger boys did participate in some of the junior dance classes, these classes seemed to focus primarily on girls, and they offered both interpretive dance and various kinds of folk and social dancing. An uncited newspaper article reported that the dance classes offered value in “bringing into play a natural impulse and in creating the point which is so essential to a well-balanced personality.”⁷² In other words, these dance classes, similar to the physical activities of the boys, physically conditioned girls to hold their bodies and move in practiced ways, but in ways that were distinctly gendered that would prepare the girls for the feminine roles they should take up as adults, just as sports were felt to prepare boys for their assertive yet team-based masculine roles they were expected to take up as men.

Not only did the dance classes foster kinds of artistry and perhaps even creativity, given that the young dancers contributed to some extent to the development of the dances that were performed, but the dance classes also disciplined the bodies of the girls in ways that articulated idealized notions of femininity and womanhood among Toronto’s middle classes. A reporter from *The Toronto Daily Star* newspaper visited a dance class at Central Neighbourhood House’s satellite location at Orde Street School in 1921, asking the question: “what’s the use of teaching them dancing and physical culture?” The reporter observed the “dumpy, stolid, stiff, little

⁷²“Successful Concert Given by Girls of Clubs in Orde Street School.” Uncredited newspaper clipping [ca. 1923], *History of Canadian Settlement Houses*, Book D. BR.

abilities” of the children trying to imitate their teacher Evelyn Beahan, described as “the most graceful sprite that one could wish to find,” and answered the question thus:

The pathetic earnestness of some of the children seemed the best reply to the question. They have so little time to play, and before they have learned to play they are loaded with home responsibilities, which leave them grave and sober. So the step, glide, hop, and the step, glide, turn, plays an important part in the community service program of the workers among those whose lives are founded by a drab grey horizon.⁷³

The reporter suggested that the purpose of dance training for girls of poor families was not to cultivate citizens, but was instead to provide an opportunity to play and have fun in what would otherwise prove to be a long life of hard work. It would seem that the discourse of entertainment as a diversion was circulating in relation to, and in a tension with, discourses of citizenship. Perhaps fortunate for the children, the settlement workers seemed more hopeful for the young members’ futures, and pursued their aims with fervor, not content even to instruct girls in classes alone, but worked towards public performance of the training and corporeal skills that the girls had cultivated.

In 1923, Central Neighbourhood House gave a particularly spectacular entertainment in the Orde Street Social Centre on the stage of the Kindergarten classroom. Hours before show time, girls of all ages applied powder, lipstick and makeup “with a practiced hand” to transform themselves “into dainty flowers or beautiful snowflakes.” A newspaper report of the performance describes the young female performers by emphasizing their particularly feminine qualities, in which little girls dressed in crepe paper costumes to dance a flower dance, and older girls danced a “most delightful” skating dance in white costumes “bordered with ermine.”⁷⁴ The white costumes were significant in symbolic value. The performance, in 1921, occurred in the heart of the brief four-year period of Ontario’s Prohibition, legislation led by the Women’s

⁷³ “Kiddies Much Enjoy Learning to Dance,” Uncredited newspaper clipping, 1921, Fonds 1005, File 2. *CTA*.

⁷⁴ “Successful Concert Given by Girls of Clubs in Orde Street School.” Uncredited newspaper clipping [ca.1923]. *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book B. *BR*.

Christian Temperance Union who had used the colour white to represent moral purity.⁷⁵ The girls wearing white in performance symbolized a moral purity, not only for each other, but for the broader public watching the event and reading about it in the paper.

Central Neighbourhood House was not, of course, the only house to cultivate the ‘character’ of young female members through music. For the more explicitly Christian settlements, domestic training was also a cornerstone to the work with girls, such as Memorial Institute’s Domestic Science Department. However, at Memorial, the moral and social development of girls had the added valence of service to God through selfless dedication to family and to community. Memorial Institute ran the “CGIT”—Canadian Girls in Training—in which the young female participants pledged:

As a Canadian girl in training
Under the leadership of Jesus,
It is my purpose to -
Cherish health,
Seek truth,
Know God,
Serve others,
And thus with His help become the girl God would have me be.⁷⁶

Each Friday evening, the CGITs met from 6:45 to 8:30 and while the group work focused on a worship service, singing and games figured into the weekly structure as an important part of their meetings. Songs tended to draw from Baptist hymnals and served the purpose of fostering worship, conflating devotion to family, devotion to community, and devotion to God. Memorial Institute also focused on social activities for girls that were not (just) focused on worship. The Institute operated a choir under the guidance of someone identified only as Mrs. Piersol. The end of year performances in June, which marked the closing of Memorial’s Gym and school-year

⁷⁵ See Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, who argues that the colour white was used metaphorically to indicate sexual and moral purity, while also retaining racial superiority of Anglo-Saxons.

⁷⁶ Report of the Canadian Girls in Training for the year beginning February 1, 1940 to January 31, 1941. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. CBA.

activities, also demonstrated the combined musical and moral education of the young female members of the Institute, such as this review of the 1926 closing concert:

Girls in crisp, white middies, dancing an old folk game, performing a graceful wand drill, striving hard in relay races; boys, erect and shining of eye, marching, racing, playing games, depending on memory's aid alone in a wand drill; a gay shepherd and a coquettish shepherdess in the 'Dresden China Gabotte;' these are our happy recollections of the Gym Closing.⁷⁷

This small article generously reviews a children's concert while simultaneously confirming the musical and moral education of its boys and girls through word choices that gender the performance. The girls were described by their outfits: crisp and white in an era where the colour white was associated with moral purity; their wand drill was performed with grace whereas the boys' drill was noteworthy because it was memorized. The girls tried their best at racing, suggesting that perhaps they just aren't very good at it, whereas the boys did not *try* to race and march; they just raced and marched.

Limits of Self-Governance

This section considers the discursive thresholds of the self-governing work of clubs in terms of its limits: where it broke down, or did not do the things workers hoped. Workers used the clubs in the hopes of cultivating self-governance of their members to contribute more fully to their neighbourhoods, their city, and their nation. Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons uncritically contend that the self-governing clubs enabled members to plan their own programs, suggesting that the clubs empowered their members to participate and take leadership roles.⁷⁸ To some extent, the self-governing focus of clubs did organize people to make their own decisions in ways that contrasted significantly from previous notions of charity that assumed the indigent were merely objects of pity. However, the fact that settlement workers or volunteers were always

⁷⁷ "M.S.C. Concert," *Memorial Monthly* [n.d.]. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. CBA.

⁷⁸ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 26.

present at the meetings, and that clubs ran at the discretion of the workers who could overturn any decisions made by club members, suggests that the members' leadership was consistently framed by the settlement organizers. Wasteneys argues that the settlements did not include members on the board of directors for University Settlement House, an omission that "continued to reflect the paternalistic attitude of the founders towards members of the Settlement community, to the lower classes and to the neighbourhood."⁷⁹ However, in the case of University Settlement, it appears that settlement workers did establish councils to coordinate with workers on issues and plans for the House:

Two house councils help to co-ordinate the efforts of all the clubs, the Womens [*sic*] and Girls Council and the Senior Boys and Mens [*sic*] Council, with representatives from the Board of Directors, the Staff and the clubs. These two councils meet once a month to report on club activities, straighten out difficulties and make plans for the House as a whole.⁸⁰

Notably, however, the settlement workers structured members' participation in decision-making through the addition of 'house councils' rather than including members in the governance of the house at the staff or board level, highlighting the over-riding logic that the workers, and not the members, set the terms for participation and leadership.

Within the terms set by the workers, their own documentation highlighted the enormous success of clubs in teaching children and youth how to behave individually and collectively. Only a few references indicated that the attempts at self-government and character-building were not always successful. At a University Settlement House meeting in December of 1927, the board discussed the case of "sub-normal children in clubs," without defining who was considered sub-normal, or indeed how sub-normality was defined or recognized. However, their discussion assumed that regardless of the characteristics that defined children as sub-normal, this particular

⁷⁹ Wasteneys, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958," 244.

⁸⁰ "The Framework of the Settlement," Frances Crowther (1938), Fonds 1024, Series 613, File 1. CTA.

set of children appeared to be unable to learn to govern themselves. The Board collectively decided that in cases where these children posed “a difficulty to the club,” workers were instructed “to ask the parents to keep them at home.”⁸¹ The very distinction of subnormal children indicated not only that self-governance training was limited in its effectiveness on particular bodies, it also suggests how workers categorized certain behaviours as appropriate demonstration of citizenship, while excluding behaviours that could not become well-tempered subjects or might threaten the self-governance work of the entire group of members.

The social music of the clubs exposed limits to music’s social rationality in the specific project of self-government in their terms, or governmentality in my analytical terms. The music repertoires and practices largely excluded musics and dances of any immigrant participants, producing an Anglo-Celtic Protestant norm through the music choices, and articulating that norm to the very idea of democracy and citizenship. This is not to say that the musics and dances of immigrant members was excluded from settlements *en masse*, but these cultural practices were segmented from the work of the democratic clubs and articulated through a different social rationality.⁸²

Democracy training in the clubs may have acted as a microcosm of national democracy, but it did not seem to translate into democratic participation in Toronto’s political landscape in any obvious or immediate way. Instead, the procedures organized the social activities of members, which suggested that clubs did not so much act as mechanisms for broader political participation, but rather club organizers approached recreational activity as a kind of social work in which recreation was not (just) to have fun, or to keep members busy, or to build relationships among the group, although the clubs did all of these things. Within the organizing mechanism of

⁸¹ University Settlement House Board minutes, December 8, 1927, Fonds 1024, Series 614, File 1. CTA.

⁸² The rationality and music practices of clubs for particular immigrant groups are taken up in Chapter 5.

democratic decision-making procedures, social music, as a part of recreation, became a technique toward self-governance of settlement members to practice behaviours they should use in Toronto society at large to fit into their roles more fully.

Conclusion

Music had an integral role in clubs. While settlement workers did not overtly describe music's role in the democratic clubs during the 1910s, by the 1920s, they more purposefully used music as both a technique and a focus of specialized music clubs for children. Clubs were segmented by age, partly perhaps as a strategy to manage the populations attending the houses,⁸³ but also because settlement workers felt that children and youth had the greatest chance of learning and internalizing self-regulation, and club work increasingly focused on these segments of the population.

Music was an effective technique in supporting the work of clubs to organize individuals into peer groups and practice social interactions as an explicit technique in self-governance at both individual and collective levels. These musical social activities would become *social music*, in which music skills training was not the goal but instead a tool toward self-government. While settlement workers did not overtly describe the purpose of music in the democracy clubs, the clubs organized particular music practices toward the ends of self-government, creating the conditions that would produce the idea of social music: social in its group focus but also that its purpose was to cultivate social behaviours rather than musical skills.

Yet, just as the citizenship efforts of organizers were increasingly formed through the objects/subjects of children and youth, so too musical practices were increasingly organized into

⁸³ In this way, the management of populations calls to mind Foucault's concept of biopolitics, defined in part by concerns with population and the mechanism of 'regularization', differentiating particular groups that exist within a population. See Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, ed. Mauro Bertani et al. (New York: Picador, 2003), 245-255.

the institutionalized form of settlement music schools, which used Western European Art Music and conservatory-style training toward the social development of children and youth. The next chapter explores the social work of these music schools—Canada’s first community music schools—which more firmly entrenched Western European Art Music in the production of moral citizens through the trope of good music.

CHAPTER 4. SETTLEMENT MUSIC SCHOOLS: THE SOCIAL WORK OF GOOD MUSIC, 1920S TO 1930S

Settlement music schools emerged through the 1920s at the intersection of urban poverty and elite music training. Toronto's settlement houses continued their efforts to ameliorate widespread poverty and class divisions through programs for immigrants and the working poor, efforts that were coalescing into the field of social work. At the same time, the houses initiated various partnerships with the Toronto Conservatory of Music, an elite training and performance institution, to provide music lessons to children in Toronto's poor neighbourhoods. The resulting settlement music schools were among the first community music schools in Canada. In this chapter, I analyze how settlement music schools institutionalized conservatory-style music training as a kind of social work, predicated on the trope of good music.

The Toronto Conservatory of Music was considered the epicenter of classical music training and performance in English-speaking Canada.¹ The institution was renowned for its world-class musicians and performers, contributing substantially to Toronto's reputation as the national centre of classical music performance: "for music, people automatically thought of the 'Con' in the same way that rural people identified with the CNE or hockey players with Maple Leaf Gardens."² Perhaps the biggest pedagogical accomplishment of the Toronto Conservatory of Music (TCM) was the standardization of conservatory-style training for instruments such as piano, violin, and voice. The TCM devised a set of standardized and sequential curricula that required examinations to advance through the levels of each instrument. Graduates of TCM

¹ The Toronto Conservatory of Music has been studied historically by several scholars, including Schabas, *There's Music in These Walls*; Green and Vogan, *Music Education in Canada*.

² Green and Vogan, *Music Education in Canada*, 239.

training were then certified as teachers by the Conservatory.³ The training system developed by the TCM transformed conservatory training in Canada, and continues to regulate conservatory-style music education at the time of this writing.⁴

All of Toronto's six settlement houses partnered with musicians from the TCM and its antecedents to provide affordable music lessons to children and youth in poor and immigrant neighbourhoods.⁵ While Evangelia House and its sister settlement, Riverdale Institute, only offered music lessons as one recreational option among many, the remaining four houses partnered with the Toronto Conservatory of Music to organize music lessons into music schools as a feature of settlement house programming. The nature and extent of the partnerships varied from house to house, from Central Neighbourhood House, whose organizers struggled to secure volunteer teachers among Conservatory students for over a decade, to University Settlement House and St. Christopher House, whose head workers each convened a music committee comprising prominent musicians and administrators from the Conservatory, to Memorial Institute, whose music director handed her fledgling music school over to the TCM in 1922 to operate as one of its many branches.

While the particular partnerships varied, all settlement music schools defined their community-based music education in relation to the conservatory-style training of the Toronto

³ Throughout this dissertation, I use terms 'Toronto Conservatory of Music,' 'TCM,' and 'Conservatory' (capitalized) interchangeably to refer to the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Where 'conservatory' appears without capitalization, it refers to the generic category of music conservatories or style of training, of which TCM was arguably the most prominent.

⁴ The Toronto Conservatory of Music was granted the title of The Royal Conservatory of Music in 1947. The institution is now the Royal Conservatory, perhaps to indicate a broader focus on the arts rather than just music, but its music curriculum is seen as the cornerstone of the Conservatory's work, framed in 2015 as an effective technique in personal and social development: "The mission of The Royal Conservatory, to develop human potential through leadership in music and the arts, is based on the conviction that the arts are humanity's greatest means to achieve personal growth and social cohesion. The curriculum for the study of music developed by The Conservatory has become Canada's national standard and its broad use has served to bind together the people of the nation with the thread of shared creative experiences" (from <http://www.rcmusic.ca/about> accessed May 4, 2014).

⁵ Evangelia House and Riverdale Institute did not partner with TCM directly, although notably did offer music lessons as early as 1902 in partnership with the Toronto College of Music (amalgamated with the Toronto Academy of Music in 1918, which was then taken over by the Toronto Conservatory of Music in 1924).

Conservatory of Music. While the settlement music schools used the Conservatory's Western European Art Music (WEAM) techniques and repertoires in their music training, they also differentiated their purpose from the Conservatory, asserting that the goal of each music school was not to create professional musicians but to "encourage the love of music for its own sake, and to give to those who would not otherwise have it an opportunity to enjoy the beauty that music can give."⁶ Framing music as beautiful and an exercise of love pointed to the organizing power of the trope of good music—a term that normalized Western European Art Music as good while tacitly excluding many other music practices.

The trope of good music did more, however, than exalt one particular kind of music over others; it produced regimes of truth about music's role in the civic betterment of Toronto's poor and immigrant youth, and contributed to the conditions that made settlement music schools possible. I use the term *regime of truth* in the Foucaultian sense to indicate both the production of one specific truth over other truths as well as its contingent nature. As Mills argues, truth "is something which societies have to work to produce, rather than something which appears in a transcendental way."⁷ The production of settlement music schools emerged out of and contributed to the production of particular truths that become normalized and accepted as true, namely that Western European Art Music was the best, most developed, and most civilized form of music, and that learning how to play and listen to WEAM made people better citizens. However, as Foucault argues, "[a]ny discourse exists to express certain truths, but once we're submersed enough in it, we forget that these truths were constructed through discourse rather than existing independent of discourse."⁸ I begin the chapter with an analysis of the trope of good music and how it functioned as a regime of truth that sutured Western European Art Music to the

⁶ University Settlement Music School Annual Report, 1938-39, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. CTA.

⁷ Mills, *Discourse*, 16.

⁸ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 220.

idea of building moral character in poor and immigrant youth, predicated on rationalities of race and class. I then turn to the settlement music schools, examining how the trope of good music produced discursive statements about the cultivation of moral citizens through WEAM and conservatory-style training. I close with an examination of the particular techniques that conservatory-style training used to cultivate citizens musically, culminating in recitals that made visible the social work of ‘good music.’

Unpacking the Trope of Good Music

Like the tip of an iceberg, the trope of good music was an inconspicuous and ubiquitous phrase resting on top of a dense tangle of assumptions and associations lurking below the surface. In a way, the trope of good music functioned similar to the metaphors of purity and light used by Canadian social reformers at the time, which operated as “inconspicuous vehicles in which truths about moral and social reform were conveyed.”⁹ However, good music did not merely represent or convey (although it did both of these things); good music was a function of the regime of truth that Western European Art Music could cultivate citizens. By function, I mean that the trope brought about effects, it ‘did things,’¹⁰ and what the seemingly simple phrase good music did was simultaneously obscure and mobilize a complex of assumptions and associations between musical and social hierarchies. In this section, I unpack the trope of good music and how it constructed a musical hierarchy and a social hierarchy, and how those hierarchies existed in a mutually conditioning relationship. I then examine how the trope engaged in the paradoxical task of transcending and ameliorating these hierarchies while reproducing them.

⁹ Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 35.

¹⁰ By function, I refer to the Foucaultian concept of statements, which operate as, what McHoul and Grace call, “functional units”; i.e. statements “do things, bring about effects rather than merely ‘represent’ states of affairs.” McHoul and Grace, *A Foucault Primer*, 37.

The Musical Hierarchy Embedded in Good Music

The trope of good music circulated well beyond Toronto's settlement houses, producing a regime of truth that Western European Art Music was not just good, but the highest, most developed form of music.¹¹ In Canada, as in the United States, good music was a normative trope that cast Western European Art Music (WEAM) as aesthetically superior to other forms of music. The word *good* not only framed WEAM as good, but also tacitly constructed an opposing category of *bad* against which good music gained intelligibility. WEAM was sacralized through the exclusion of other musics, whether overtly, as was the case for jazz or popular musics associated with public houses and vaudeville, or by complete omission, as was the case for many of the music practices of immigrants (see Chapter 2).¹² This musical distinction was neither inevitable nor universal but was produced in North America through a variety of social and cultural changes that segmented and ordered cultural activities into sacralised culture of the elites and popular culture of the masses.¹³

Good music did not simply construct a binary, but produced a musical hierarchy that ordered various musics, with WEAM in the exalted position. The hierarchical construction of music was clear in the kinds of terms that suggest an upwards direction, terms like *high arts* and *highbrow*. Other musics were ranked on the scale beneath WEAM. Perhaps most notably, the category of music that was designated folk music ranked quite close to Western European Art Music but still beneath. As Western European Art Music emerged at the settlements, its goodness bracketed off folk music from the music schools, categorized and ranked as social

¹¹ For an analysis that questions the continued dominance of Western European Art Music, see Judith Becker, "Is Western Art Music Superior?" 72, no. 3 (January 1, 1986), 341–59.

¹² The focus on exclusions is a part of Foucault's archaeological project that asks the central question of how one statement (the goodness of WEAM) appeared rather than another (for example, that all musics have value, or perhaps the goodness of folk music in its mass knowledge and appeal).

¹³ For a historical analysis of the social processes that produced cultural hierarchies out of previously mixed and non-hierarchical cultural experiences, see Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

music, which had the important, although lesser, role of providing recreational opportunities for social bonding rather than the more serious project of musical skills development.¹⁴

Jazz music and popular music (where these were different categories)¹⁵ were perhaps at the bottom of the hierarchy. As I discussed in Chapter 2, music of immigrants was often simply omitted, but given the presence of some musics at settlements and the frequency with which reformers lauded what they called the “natural talent” of immigrants, at least some musics may have ranked above jazz and popular music because these musical practices at least indicated *potential*, a point to which I will return.

Musical hierarchies were intimately bound to social hierarchies, and good music was an effective, inconspicuous mechanism for establishing and normalizing truths about the rightness of two orders that reinforced each other: a musical order in which WEAM was cast as the highest form of music and a social order in which Anglo-Celtic Protestant subjects were cast as the most evolved form of citizen. In other words, within English-speaking Canada, Western European Art Music and Anglo-Celtic Protestant subjects each confirmed the other’s exalted status in their hierarchies.

Good Music Signified Good Citizens

Music critic Ezra Schabas makes the simple yet perhaps naïve observation that because most Torontonians in the early twentieth century were British, “their traditions and values clearly prevailed in education and the arts. Immigrants from other lands were quick to adapt to British-

¹⁴ See Shannon Green, *Art for Life’s Sake*, for an in-depth study of the tension between social music and what she terms ‘musical excellence’ circulating in American settlement houses.

¹⁵ It is outside of the scope of this research project to parse out the specific social status of jazz and popular music during the time period. For a historical perspective of jazz music in Canada, see Mark Miller, *Jazz in Canada : Fourteen Lives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Mark Miller, *Such Melodious Racket : The Lost History of Jazz in Canada, 1914-1949* (Toronto: Mercury Press, 1997). For a history of popular music in Toronto at the time, see Robin Elliott, “Ragtime Spasms”: Anxieties Over the Rise of Popular Music in Toronto,” in *Post-Colonial Distances: The Study of Popular Music in Canada and Australia*, edited by Bev Diamond, Denis Crowdy, and Daniel Downes, 67-89. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Canadian ways of life, including its music.”¹⁶ While Schabas naturalizes English-speaking Canada as a British nation and ignores processes of colonialization, his analysis also assumes that Western European Art Music was a form of British culture. This normative association with British models of democracy implicated WEAM in a colonial project, given Canada’s status as a colonized land.¹⁷ Vaugeois argues more forcefully that cultural initiatives like music expanded rather than replaced domains of colonial violence in Canada. The project of civilization, in her analysis, merely shifted explicit domination into a paternal attempt to help ‘lesser beings’ progress while still serving colonial interests.¹⁸ In English Canada’s colonial context, a good citizen was a British settler subject—the dominant British culture that Schabas names—the exalted position in the social hierarchy. Racial and musical hierarchies reinforced each other, and normalized through the trope of good music. However, not only did good music bind musical hierarchies to social hierarchies, the ‘goodness’ of good music articulated a normative relationship with morality.

The Morality Embedded in Good Music

WEAM was naturalized not only as aesthetically superior, but also morally superior through the adjective ‘good’ that conflated aesthetic and moral hierarchies. The associative relation, indeed slippage, between aesthetic and moral goodness was precisely what constructed Western European Art Music as *morally* good, contributing to its utility in the social work of the settlement houses. Settlement house organizers, mostly from Protestant institutions, assumed that

¹⁶ Schabas, *There’s Music in These Walls*, 14.

¹⁷ Valverde notes that Canadians drew from both American and British models of democracy, while also trying to distance themselves from each country to carve out what they hoped would be a uniquely Canadian national identity. That said, English Canada was strongly aligned with Britain, juridically and ideologically, and Canadian leaders sought to model what they took as a rational and dispassionate approach to democracy of Britain.

¹⁸ Vaugeois, *Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human*, 43.

their citizenship project was a deeply moral one, and assumptions of moral superiority infused both the musical superiority of WEAM and social superiority of the British national subject.

To make sense of this aesthetic-social-moral conflation, I turn to a speech delivered by prominent classical musician Sir Ernest MacMillan, who simultaneously headed the Toronto Conservatory of Music and the University of Toronto's music department, conducted the Toronto Symphony of Music, and also assisted in the development of two settlement music schools: University Settlement Music School and St. Christopher House Music School.¹⁹ In a speech he delivered to the Canadian Club in Toronto in 1937, then again to the Montreal Canadian Club in 1938, MacMillan discussed 'Problems of Music in Canada.'²⁰ MacMillan framed the good music of Western European Art Music in relation to jazz music, which he felt contributed to the moral sin of idleness, particularly for youth. Perhaps a case of damning with faint praise, MacMillan suggested that "indulging" in jazz periodically was not necessarily troublesome, if not educational (note here how he distinguished jazz as non-educational, unlike WEAM, which he assumed was highly educative). However, too much jazz, he warned, would contribute to the denigration of Canada's moral character "if these diversions in their multifarious degrees of coarseness or refinement become the measure of our fundamental tastes." Musical tastes indicated moral character, not merely superior aesthetic judgement. Echoing the sentiments of Jane Addams who felt that young people's musical interests if left unguided were

¹⁹ A caveat: my focus on MacMillan is not to suggest that he is personally responsible for shaping the claims of classical music as a form of nation-building and moral salvation. Rather, I use MacMillan as a key figure who is at once a product of the discourses at play in that historical moment while also a voice of authority whose words legitimated particular ideas about good and bad, music and nation, and culture and morality.

²⁰ Except where noted, all quotations in this paragraph are from "Problems of Music in Canada," Canadian Club Toronto Dec. 20, 1937, Canadian Club, Montreal Apr. 4, 1938 delivered by Sir Ernest MacMillan. MUS 7-3 D, 140. *Library and Archives Canada* (Ottawa). This speech has also been published in Carl Morey, ed. *MacMillan on Music: Essays on Music by Sir Ernest MacMillan* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997): 77-92.

likely to produce “all sorts of malignant and vicious appetites,”²¹ MacMillan characterized jazz as coarse in distinction from the refinement of WEAM. By demarcating and ordering musics in relation to a parallel ordering of cultures and moral values, MacMillan’s valorization of WEAM also valorized the Anglo-Celtic Protestant culture that claimed WEAM as its music.

Finally, MacMillan suggested that these concerns of musical taste were best understood as a social issue particular to the civic development of youth. He felt that WEAM cultivated “intellectual and spiritual faculties.” Good music referred at once to something practicable and entirely human while also transcending the very quotidian living of the everydayness of humanity. He again raised concerns about the leisure time of youth, worrying that their time was filled with “cheap amusements” that would demand “little or no mental or emotional response” to the extent that “our capacity for living life to the full becomes atrophied.” The work of good music in his statement was the way in which classical music training defended against mental and emotional idleness, whereas mass-produced culture fostered idleness to the point of atrophy. He employed the metaphor of a healthy diet in which jazz was presumably like sugar: a little in moderation was okay as long as the diet on the whole had the more nutritional intake of classical music. He closed his speech by suggesting these concerns were not merely private or individual, but that as many kinds of music pervaded the lives of “young people,” it would become “not a private matter, but a public function to see that musical tastes and musical talents, great and small, are given proper direction.”

MacMillan’s words offer one particular example of how the trope of good music organized and repeated statements about the aesthetic and moral goodness of Western European Art Music in relation to the civilizing project of nation-building, a project predicated on musical

²¹ Addams, *Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, 6. See Chapter 4 for a full discussion of Addams’ approach to music and youth.

distinctions—such as jazz and popular musics—that were intimately tied to racial and class distinctions. What also emerges from MacMillan’s speech is the possibility that good music could be a mechanism to civilize youth. In this way, his speech indicates the larger perspective held about good music: while it was the music of the exalted British nationals, it could and should be shared with lower-order subjects, not only for their personal aesthetic development, but as both marker and technique of civilization.

Good Music and the Paradox of Transcendence

While the work of good music reproduced musical, social, and moral hierarchies, it also aspired to transcend those very hierarchies in its universalized language. The vagueness of the term good music, and associated feel-good terms like ‘beauty,’ ‘fulfillment,’ and ‘happiness,’ constructed Western European Art Music as a transcendental phenomenon, that both existed over and above humanity and was the very soul of humanity. Vaugeois notes that music has been framed problematically as an art that “lies outside of the realm of the political; rather it is the universal site of the soul.”²² She contests this contemporary regime of truth, arguing that music can render visible the divisions of race, class, and gender. “Music-making,” Vaugeois suggests, “is an engagement with sounds, movement and representation, produced by and through the body.”²³ In the context of music and/as social reform, this impulse to characterize music through its transcendental nature obscured the hierarchies that good music reproduced, normalizing the very hierarchies that it supposedly transcended. However, by framing Western European Art Music as both transcendental and universal to all people, good music became something that could belong to all of the people, since music was described as a universal language. This logic contributed to the possibility that Western European Art Music could civilize the under-classes.

²² Vaugeois, *Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human*, 5.

²³ *Ibid.*

A second related paradox was embedded in the trope of good music, particularly within the settlement work to ‘Canadianize’ their members. Civic betterment, like good music, was something that could be shared with the lower classes. The project of citizenship was predicated on the notion of progress, that people could move toward citizenship, and given the hierarchical construction of civilization, tantalizingly suggested that as the lower classes learned to be citizens and gained knowledge of good music, they could ‘progress’ up the social and musical hierarchies. Yet, the settlement workers appeared largely uninterested in challenging or changing the status quo, but rather endeavoured to help members become contributing citizens in their existing roles. This paradoxical position perhaps contributed to the vague language of ‘good,’ ‘happy,’ and ‘beauty,’ and perhaps also contributed to the focus on cultivating character—an idea that was certainly moral, but also claimed the possibility of personal progress without any claims to social mobility. The entire settlement project was predicated on the faith in education to develop Toronto’s working poor to fit better into society.

The Repeatability of Good Music as Social Work in Settlement Houses

The trope of good music, articulated through social and musical hierarchies, contributed to the conditions that made conservatory training highly compatible to the overall settlement project of Canadianizing the poor and immigrant youth in Toronto’s indigent neighbourhoods. In this section, I provide a high-level overview of the four music schools (see Appendix 3 for detailed information about each school) and their various partnerships with the Toronto Conservatory. I then examine how the trope of good music, and its truth-effects, emerged through the kinds of rationales that the settlements used in providing conservatory-style music lessons as a part of their settlement work.

Emergence of Settlement Music Schools

Musicians from the Toronto Conservatory of Music partnered with each settlement house in varying ways to provide classical music training to Toronto's poor and immigrant youth. These partnerships were possible through the repeatability of the statement of good music as an effective technique to cultivate moral citizens. By repeatability, I refer to the ways in which the trope of good music enabled the production of conservatory-style music lessons across all of the settlement houses in relatively similar ways.²⁴ All of Toronto's six settlement houses offered individual music lessons in Western European Art Music in the early 1910s. Evangelia House, Riverdale Institute, and Central Neighbourhood House all provided private lessons in piano and voice followed by University Settlement House, St. Christopher House, and Memorial Institute. While Riverdale Institute closed in 1916, followed by Evangelia House in 1922, the remaining four houses consolidated their music lessons into schools.

The trope of good music contributed to the relatively stable sets of assumptions that produced conservatory-style music schools in all of the houses, but this is not to say that the schools were inevitable. Not only did the schools emerge in the context of other musical practices within and outside the settlement houses, such as the recreational singing and dancing discussed in previous chapters, but the music schools developed in contingent and piecemeal ways, rather than systematically organized *en bloc*. That is to say that the trope of good music undoubtedly contributed to the relatively consistent use of conservatory-style music training in schools, but neither the Conservatory nor any settlement organizer *systematically* implemented lessons across all houses.

²⁴ As part of the archaeological project, identifying the rules for the repeatability of statements is part of the analysis of discursive formations. See Kendall & Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 26.

Instead, the schools each emerged in contingent ways, with varying degrees of structure. University Settlement Music School and St. Christopher House instituted the most active partnerships with the Toronto Conservatory of all the settlement music schools. Both schools had strong organizing committees comprising both settlement staff and musicians from the Toronto Conservatory, including prominent musicians, such as Ernest MacMillan, pianist Norman Wilks, violinist Elie Spivak, baritone opera singer Campbell McInnes, Eurythmics specialist Madeleine Boss Lasserre, and renowned child piano pedagogue Boris Berlin. Even still, there were differences between these two schools. University Settlement Music School established a Music Committee in 1930 to oversee operations and fundraise for the school, which hired teachers and an administrator for weekly lessons. St. Christopher House Music School arranged a partnership in which conservatory students would give music lessons to members of the settlement in exchange for room and board.²⁵ While both schools had classes in sight-singing and Dalcroze Eurythmics,²⁶ St. Christopher House tended to emphasize group classes more as a part of their overall commitment to the club structure (see Chapter 3).

Memorial Institute Music School seemed less of a partnership and more of an extension of the Toronto Conservatory of Music. The school was established in 1920 by Memorial's

²⁵ Retrieved from http://www.stchrishouse.org/100%20Anniversary/SCHCentury/Music_School.php April 23, 2014. Note that I have not been able to substantiate this claim through archival documents. However, St. Christopher House made this claim in a few of its centennial documents, which it pieced together through existing research (such as O'Connor's publications from 1986) as well as oral histories of people associated with the school, so it is likely that student-teachers did offer teaching in exchange for room and board. Also, given that each settlement house had residences for workers and volunteers, and a University Settlement report from a 1930 meeting had decided to bring in a teacher from the Conservatory to live in the house and help with music and club work (minutes from Mar 10/27), it is not too far-fetched to see this as likely exchange of resources.

²⁶ Madeleine Bosse-Lasserre championed Dalcroze Eurythmics through the Toronto Conservatory as well as through her volunteer work at University Settlement Music School and St. Christopher House Music School. Birkenshaw-Fleming describes Bosse-Lasserre's work as the beginning of early childhood music education at the conservatory, and describes Dalcroze Eurythmics as: "the complete involvement of the whole body in learning music. Emile Jacques-Dalcroze believed that rhythm is the primary source of music, and the source of all rhythm could be found in the body. He felt that training in music should begin with using the body as the instrument to express the music." See Lois Birkenshaw-Fleming, *A History of Early Childhood Music Education at the Royal Conservatory of Music* (Toronto: Royal Conservatory of Music, 2002), 3.

immigrant outreach worker Florence Mabee who had previously worked at the Greenwich Settlement Music School in New York. She likely modelled the strong conservatory structure of her school on American settlement music schools that aimed to find and train undiscovered talent in poor and immigrant communities, rather than providing music lessons for all children who wanted to study, like the other Toronto settlement schools. Mabee established a strong partnership with the Toronto Conservatory of Music to such an extent that in 1922, the Toronto Conservatory of Music took over Memorial Music School to operate it as one of its satellite branches.

In contradistinction to the music schools at University Settlement House, St. Christopher House, and Memorial Institute, the music school at Central Neighbourhood House never had strong organizational support, funding, or structures to consolidate the music lessons that the settlement had been offering to local residents of the Ward since 1915. However, while music training continued to grow through the 1920s, Central Neighbourhood House constantly struggled to operate the school. Unlike the other settlement music schools, there was no sustained involvement from the Conservatory to organize or support the Central Neighbourhood House music school, nor did the school establish a committee or hire an administrator to oversee school operations, although there was a worker dedicated to hiring teachers and managing accounts. The house engaged in very little fundraising, largely depending on the small fees from pupils to compensate teachers, which meant that the school paid unpredictable and inconsistent wages, likely contributing to the troubles of retaining teachers at the school.

The schools were not inevitable nor universally planned and implemented, but instead emerged out of contingent conditions, largely possible through the trope of good music. The differences between the four music schools demonstrate that while the trope of good music contributed to the conditions that produced citizens through conservatory-style training, the

discursive connection was at play rather than determined or fixed, calling to mind Foucault's central point that discourses form in specific historical conditions rather than standing over and above history. As McHoul and Grace note, discourses emerge in "the piecemeal, the local and the contingent," and each discursive statement formed is "neither absolutely fixed (because it varies historically) nor ... open to the whims of the moment."²⁷ That each music school emerged in contingent ways draws attention to how the trope of good music may have seemed over-riding but was also created, negotiated, and defended in the very quotidian work of establishing each of the music schools.

What is perhaps most striking is that all four remaining settlements established conservatory-style music schools during the 1920s, independently of each other. Good music was a powerful trope that contributed to the emergence of not just schools but powerful discursive formations about music's role in the production of citizens. Good music normalized the assumed aesthetic and moral superiority of Western European Art Music, which was predicated on rationalities of race and class. The settlement music schools became surfaces of emergence that brought together classical music training, techniques of social development, and moral ideas about citizenship.

The Trope of Good Music in the Settlement Music Schools

The settlement music schools defined their community-based music education in relation to conservatory-style training: on the one hand, the settlement music schools used the Conservatory's Western European techniques and repertoires in their music training; on the other hand, the settlement music schools differentiated their purpose from the Conservatory, asserting that the goals of the music schools were not to create professional musicians but to "encourage

²⁷ McHoul and Grace, *A Foucault Primer*, 40.

the love of music for its own sake, and to give to those who would not otherwise have it an opportunity to enjoy the beauty that music can give.”²⁸ The houses called their schools ‘settlement music schools’ partly because the schools were located within their local neighbourhoods rather than in educational institutions or conservatories. However, there was also a discursive function in the term ‘settlement music school’ because the schools insisted that their purpose was different from conservatories: that is, music was not an end in and of itself but rather a tool to cultivate social and human development. The following section examines the particular rationales that music school proponents used to describe how good music cultivated social betterment.

Social/Musical Deficiency of Settlement Members

In William Dorricott’s 1950 research study on University Settlement Music School (where he also worked), he contends that the school brought good music to the people, an assertion intelligible through the assumption that immigrant and working class members, cast as ‘the people,’ did not already have good music, nor could they gain access to it without the benevolent assistance of the settlement music schools. Good music enabled settlement organizers to frame their young members in terms of musical deficiency, which was articulated to social deficiency. Despite clues that suggest poor neighbourhoods were very rich in musical cultures (see Chapter 1), music school proponents felt that because immigrant and poor youth did not have Western European Art Music, they did not have *any* music or culture, nor access to WEAM’s goodness. Workers framed good music as a manifestation of beauty and happiness, qualities that they felt were lacking in the lives of the city’s working poor. Within the settlements, the organizing work of the trope of good music depended on this distinction that

²⁸ University Settlement Music School Annual Report, 1938-39, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

juxtaposed the cultural endowment of the Anglo-Celtic Protestant organizers against the assumed cultural lack of the settlement members.

By associating good music to beauty and happiness, settlement workers could articulate WEAM as very personal as well as social. On the personal level, the beauty of good music could offer solace to Toronto's working poor as individuals, each of whom deserved a musical escape from their hard lives. Even if that escape was temporary, music was seen as a kind of 'bright spot': "To many of these people, music provides a happy tho' [*sic*] momentary escape from the harsh realities of their lives,"²⁹ claimed an annual report from the University Settlement Music School. However, the next sentence belies the kinds of music already in the lives of members by dismissing those very musics as inadequate or perhaps at best a stepping stone to the superior music of WEAM: "...it is constantly being borne in upon me ... the necessity of bringing more and *better* music into the lives of our people is an urgent one."³⁰ Bringing good music to the people was not necessarily about providing music to residents who had no music at all, but about providing what they thought was *better* music, suggesting that while good music overtly referred to transcendental ideas of beauty and happiness, the trope elided musical practices that may have already existed in the lives of Toronto's poor and immigrant communities.

WEAM as an Exemplar to Transcend Social Differences

Toronto's Anglo-Celtic Protestant reformers likely felt, similar to their American counter-parts, that the diversity of nations and styles within the Western European Art Music canon demonstrated the ability of WEAM to unite and transcend difference. As Gavin Campbell contends, music reformers felt that "just as Mozart and Tchaikovsky had widely divergent styles

²⁹ University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1942-3, K.M., Morris, secretary, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, italics mine.

but had bounded their works by certain divinely inspired compositional rules, so too could the nation, divided by class, ethnic, and religious loyalties, create a unified citizenry through the judicious use of music.”³¹ WEAM was the musical exemplar for a (British) citizenship that transcended difference in a united whole: “As a ‘universal language,’ music had unique power to bridge racial, cultural, and social divides and ‘promote the social consciousness by effecting a sense of fellowship with others in a refined experience.’”³² While Campbell writes specifically about music and social reform in an American context, Canadian reformers had a similar faith in good music to bridge and transcend racial, cultural, and social divides, a key function given the settlement effort to bridge social classes by educating the upper classes while elevating the working classes, as the University Settlement House mission statement claimed to do.³³ Settlement organizer Mary Jennison claimed that music contributed to the “process of levelling” between classes “through raising powers of appreciation and execution.”³⁴ Good music, organizers felt, could bridge divides because it could transcend them.

Good Music as ‘Cultural Reinforcement’ for Immigrant Families

While the gift of Western European Art Music as good music set discursive groundwork for the ubiquitous presence of conservatory-style music training and performance in settlement houses, the trope of good music did more than merely distract members from their hard lives, nor was it framed only as an aesthetic gift to share with settlement members as a part of the overall sharing philosophy of the settlement houses. Good music was bound up in the musical

³¹ Campbell, “A Higher Mission than Merely to Please the Ear,” 265.

³² Ibid.

³³ One of the founding purposes of University Settlement House was bringing university students “into direct contact with those living amidst the unfortunate conditions of our modern cities and thus broaden the one and elevate the other” (quoted in Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 85). See Chapter 2 in this dissertation for analysis of the founding purposes of the settlement houses.

³⁴ Mary Jennison, “Current Trends in Canadian Settlements,” 1935, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 626. CTA.

production of citizen subjects, clearly seen in the rationales school and settlement organizers employed in providing music lessons to youth from immigrant families.

Organizers recognized what they felt was an inherent musical love and talent of immigrants, but saw this as a natural talent that needed to be refined and cultivated. Vera Parsons posed a pointed question about the Central Neighbourhood House community as early as 1917: why bury genius under environment?³⁵ Her question was predicated on the wide-spread belief that immigrants—assumed to be non-British European immigrants—had natural talent for and love of music, but they required training and guidance to cultivate those inclinations, which would otherwise be buried. Her assumption, commonly held among settlement organizers, assumed a musical hierarchy in which the music practices of immigrants indicated potential that could not be fully realized except through training in Western European Art Music. Memorial Institute also espoused the idea that some immigrants, particularly immigrants from Central Europe, demonstrated “splendid talent” and that, as far as their music school was concerned, “it is a Christian service to give these children the opportunity to develop and use that talent.”³⁶ Memorial had a similar imperative to cultivate raw talent in its pupils, but as a service to God, rather than a secular focus of bettering the self and the community.

Music school proponents felt that good music could reinforce a more desirable ‘culture’ within the intimate space of the immigrant household, assuming Anglo-Celtic Protestant culture as the basis of Canadian culture. A 1938 University Settlement Music School describes as part of its purpose exactly this cultivation of raw talent, but toward the production of citizens, reinforcing the British culture underpinning Western European Art Music, particularly in immigrant homes:

³⁵ “Music in the Ward,” *The Ward Graphic* [ca. 1917], 10, Fonds 1005, File 4. *CTA*.

³⁶ Manuscript for using with Memorial Institute Slides, 1944. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

In a neighbourhood such as that in which the settlement is situated—largely foreign born population—parents and children show talent and appreciation of music in all its phases. Families in poor neighbourhoods benefit from cultural reinforcements through the pleasure music brings to the home.³⁷

University Settlement Music School framed their training as a benefit, and perhaps more importantly, as “cultural reinforcement,” recognizing music as a form of culture, and linking culture to socialization by suggesting music school training fostered changes in the home. In both subtle and overt ways, good music conflated Western European cultures into a unitary colonial culture that was assumed to be the central organizing culture of Canadian identity. Providing cultural reinforcement in homes was not only a question of immigration, however; it was equally a question of class. As an annual report for Central Neighbourhood House claimed, the aim of their music school “has been to make music a possible cultural influence for children in families of low wage earners and in families receiving city relief.”³⁸ Cultural reinforcement was not only about inculcating particular values and behaviours in immigrants unfamiliar with a Canadian way of life; Toronto’s lower classes required similar cultural training, despite presumably being familiar with Canadian culture given they were born and raised in Canada. The slippage in the word *culture* created associations between class and ethnicity in which culture could indicate both class and ethnicity without overtly naming either.

The trope of good music was entrenched in the connection settlement organizers made between the development of culture and the development of moral citizens, laying the discursive ground for the social work of good music: that exposure to WEAM, either by listening or through training, could cultivate morally upstanding citizens. Edward Johns (E.J.) Urwick, the University of Toronto faculty member also involved in overseeing University Settlement House,

³⁷ University Settlement Music School Annual Report, 1938, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

³⁸ Central Neighbourhood House 1938 Annual Report, Fonds 1005, File 16. *CTA*.

articulated the connection between beautiful art and moral goodness, which Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons claim formed the philosophical foundation of University Settlement Music School:

[Urwick] wrote that ‘the soul of the young must be steeped in beauty and attuned to beauty in every form if it is to be firmly set in the first principles of goodness. That is the first step in the formation of character.’ This inspirational reflection, so typical of Urwick, was often cited as the embodiment of the spirit that lay behind the University Settlement’s music school.³⁹

Settlement organizers asserted that access to good music was necessary for personal and civic betterment of Toronto’s poor families as well as Toronto’s immigrant families. As James points out, educational efforts focused on both Anglo-Celtic working class and non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants to teach “the benefits and responsibilities of citizenship in a classical democracy,” a project that demanded not just “instructing prospective voters in the workings of Parliament and the laws of the land, but also the fostering of a hegemony of middle-class ideals, values, and culture.”⁴⁰ Not only was the goodness of Western European Art Music understood in relation to the “bad” music of vaudeville and public houses associated with Toronto’s working poor, training in good music could inscribe the values of discipline, hard work, and refined comportment onto the bodies of the poor and immigrant youth, values that middle-class Anglo-Celtic Protestant workers felt would better strengthen Toronto’s poor and immigrant families individually while also contributing to the smooth functioning of Toronto society overall.

Good Music and the Cultivation of Young Citizens

As I have demonstrated, the settlement music schools institutionalized music’s role in the social work of the settlements, producing a regime of truth that articulated the exalted position of Western European Art Music to the commensurate exalted position of Anglo-Celtic Protestant

³⁹ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 134.

⁴⁰ Cathy James, “Practical Diversions and Educational Amusements: Evangelia House and the Advent of Canada’s Settlement Movement, 1902-09,” *Historical Studies in Education* 1/2 (1998), 49.

subjectivity in a social hierarchy. This musical-social relationship was normalized through the trope of good music, which created an equivalency between the high art of WEAM and the higher self claimed by Anglo-Celtic Protestant subjects. While the previous sections focused on the ways in which the trope of good music organized and produced the settlement music schools, this section takes up the specific musical practices used in settlement music school training that inscribed these social and musical hierarchies onto the bodies of the students. In the way that good music articulated ideas of citizenship to ideas of musical development, so too, pupils acquired musical skills to practice social relations. However, through the exclusive use of WEAM and the subjugation of other musical practices, pupils practiced music that signified the British settler subjectivity of the music school organizers themselves. I will examine some of the training and pedagogies of the settlement music schools, and will then focus on pupil recitals, which made visible organizers' claims of social-musical development in and through WEAM.

While I have described these forms of citizenship and how they are linked to WEAM through the trope of good music, what remains is an analysis of the specific kinds of musical techniques, repertoires, and performances that were employed in service of the cultivation of citizen subjectivity. An examination of kinds of training and performances in the settlement music schools offers a culminating instance of the recursive relationship between what Kendall and Wickham call “the sayable and the visible,”⁴¹ which are implicated in the production of knowledge. This chapter closes with an examination of training, rehearsal, and performance techniques to analyze how Western European Art Music was used in a settlement context to organize individual and collective bodies within ideas of citizenship.

⁴¹ Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 27.

Building Personal Responsibility through Financial Contributions

Toronto's settlement music school organizers asserted their commitment to providing poor Torontonians access to music lessons by relieving the financial burden, which distinguished the schools from the Toronto Conservatory of Music: "The delights of music, however may be a closed world to a vast multitude of children. . . . For these children who because of lack of money or friends have no opportunity to learn the meaning of music, and to interpret it for themselves, the Music School primarily exists."⁴² While the settlement music schools charged fees for lessons, the rates at the school were significantly lower than at the Conservatory, and the school offered full scholarships and partial subsidies called "grants-in-aid"⁴³ to pupils under the assumption that "[b]ecause of social and economic conditions, children are so often left to their own resources with no opportunity for constructive creative effort in their own homes."⁴⁴ Fees were set at rates that students from low-income families could afford: in the 1920s, University Settlement charged 25 cents or 50 cents per lesson, similar to Memorial Institute, which charged 25 cents for a piano lesson, an amount that the *Evening Telegram* called "a nominal fee."⁴⁵ Central Neighbourhood House set similarly low fee structures, charging a registration fee of 50 cents, and then 10 cents per class lesson, or 25 cents for a private lesson. However, Central Neighbourhood House organizers were quick to point out that they would not turn anyone away for lack of funds:

...registration fee is 50c, with a weekly charge of 10c a class lesson or 25c a private lesson. These charges cover books and membership and include also attendance at the Children's Symphony concerts, but often the parents cannot afford even this small amount.⁴⁶

⁴² University Settlement Music School Annual Report, 1939-40., Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

⁴³ University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1937-38, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

⁴⁴ University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1938-9, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

⁴⁵ "Celebrating 40 Years' Work," *Evening Telegram*, February 18, 1928. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

⁴⁶ Central Neighbourhood House brochure (n.d.), Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 626.

However, in line with the settlement philosophy of sharing and personal responsibility rather than charity and handouts,⁴⁷ the schools strongly encouraged all of their pupils to contribute financially to their lessons or to instrument rentals. The music school organizers lauded the dedication of those students who worked hard to earn money to contribute to their lessons, such as a girl described in a University Settlement report who paid for her piano lessons “with the fifty cents that she earns each week on odd jobs.”⁴⁸ The most successful pupil was one who graduated and became a teacher at the music school, such as Grace, who studied piano at St. Christopher House to become a piano teacher there in 1937. A report noted how proud Grace was to earn money from teaching, even without much support for music pursuits from her family:

...to buy herself a pair of shoes with her own money, earned by teaching music here. We hope her work as a pupil teacher will make her family less opposed to her going on with her music and we certainly think it is an accomplishment for music school to have one of its own pupils teaching here.⁴⁹

Clearly, St. Christopher Music School organizers were proud of Grace’s trajectory from pupil to teacher within the school, describing her success as an accomplishment not just for herself, but for the music school, and indeed for the settlement house overall.

The Disciplinary Functions of Music Training

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the settlement music schools mostly used the developing syllabi and curricula of the Toronto Conservatory of Music and most teachers had been trained through the Toronto Conservatory of Music, suggesting that the musical demands outlined in the Conservatory syllabi likely guided the music lessons in the schools. Whether pupils were learning violin, piano, or voice, the settlement music schools emphasized that their

⁴⁷ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 47.

⁴⁸ University Settlement Music School Report May 1946, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 25. CTA.

⁴⁹ St. Christopher House Music School Report 1937, Fonds 1484, Series 1675, File 2.

training was a technique in social and human development, “where the aim is not to teach music as a subject; but to develop the individual through music.”⁵⁰ No school was more adamant of this distinction in their reports than University Settlement Music School, which characterized their musical training as a “mental discipline”:

By actively participating in a field of interest as well as submitting to the mental discipline required in the study of music the individual is better equipped to meet the obligation and need of society as an active citizen, a responsible adult and a directed human being.⁵¹

According to the report author, music lessons were not just as a way to train minds and bodies in Western European musical techniques, but how to fulfill their personal responsibility to society more generally. Given how few pupils could afford even the reduced rate of a weekly lesson, the cultivation of disciplined, hardworking citizens implicated class in the production of citizens.

That being said, each music school trained pupils whose families immigrated from an astonishing variety of countries year after year. As one small example, a 1934-35 Annual Report for University Settlement Music School listed 28 “nationalities” served that year, including Jewish, Hungarian, “Czecho-Slovak,” Finnish, “Ukranian,” and “coloured.”⁵² The demographic statistics from the other schools and houses suggest similar ethnic diversities, although the exact make-up of each location varied. St. Christopher House did not keep as meticulous a record as University Settlement the students who were taking lessons, but a 1937 music school report noted an increase in African American girls participating in the school:

January has been a month of new registrations. Most of them are little coloured girls. They were in the choir at Christmas time and sang at the Christmas music recital, so that their parents heard our pupils and made inquiries as soon as we reopened.⁵³

⁵⁰ The University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1940-41, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

⁵¹ Short History of University Settlement Music School, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

⁵² Music School Annual Report 1934-35, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*

⁵³ St. Christopher House Music School Report for January 1937, Fonds 1484, Series 1675, File 1. *CTA*.

The economic and ethnic diversity among the pupils suggests that the cultivation of discipline was a technique in managing cultural pluralism, albeit on a very small scale, given each music school trained approximately 100 pupils annually at their peak. Pupils such as the African Canadian girls joining St. Christopher House Music School were expected to conform to the weekly discipline of lessons. The rigor of weekly lessons demanded mental and corporeal habits in pupils that reproduced this middle-class hegemony. Corporeal discipline was in part cultivated through bodily comportment necessary to play piano or violin, but a kind of social discipline was cultivated through regular participation. Pupils were expected to organize their lives to attend weekly lessons according to rigidly organized schedules in part as a technique to practice personal responsibility.

Pupils were also expected to practice in between their weekly lessons. Each music school did what it could to provide instruments for their students to bring home, but this was not always possible, particularly in the case of piano students. Most music schools had several pianos, and made them available for practice throughout the week. However, even practicing was monitored to ensure that pupils engaged in the activity with the correct kind of comportment and individual focus expected in Western European Art Music training. A report from St. Christopher House Music School noted not just the increase in African Canadian girls participating in the school, but the author expressed delight at the enthusiasm for music that these new pupils brought. At the same time, she observed with bemused consternation that practising was a chaotic group affair, an approach that she felt needed to be rectified:

Several of these new pupils practise at St. Christopher. When you are just beginning it's quite a pleasure so some of them want to go on for an hour and a half or so. If some one else comes in you just practise together. I went in one day to find three at the piano and two observers who don't take piano lessons jealously watching from the floor—all five

were coloured. It was with considerable difficulty that I persuaded them that people practised better with just one at the piano and no observers on the side-lines.⁵⁴

What stands out most in the excerpt is the disciplining of behaviors and comportment through correction toward right ways of practicing. Practicing an instrument was to be a systematic and ordered activity, executed individually and alone. Practicing piano was as a disciplining technique not only in producing (Western European Art) music, but also in cultivating these African Canadian girls more fully into the kind of refined/restrained personal comportment and social organization that defined an Anglo-Celtic Protestant sensibility, an overarching goal of St. Christopher House at the time.

However, this passage also points out that African Canadian families participated at St. Christopher House, suggesting that unlike many or most American settlements that disallowed black families from participating,⁵⁵ settlements in Toronto had fewer explicit segregationist policies. That is not to suggest that some ‘races’ weren’t preferred over others, if not in policy than in practice, or that paternalism was not present; rather, the settlements were committed to keeping their doors were open to everyone, regardless of race or creed.

Repertoires

Programmes from pupil recitals in the 1930s suggest that the repertoire of the settlement music schools focused almost entirely on music within a Western European Art Music tradition. A programme from a pupils’ recital at University Settlement Music School on April 9th, 1931, lists pieces composed by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Edvard Grieg, and the English composer Thomas Dunhill. The programme did not comprise composed music entirely; it also included

⁵⁴ St. Christopher House Music School Report for January 1937, Fonds 1484, Series 1675, File 1. CTA.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Lash-Quinn argues that American settlement workers discriminated against Black families and Black communities, largely due to their unrelenting policy of secularism in the settlement houses. See Elisabeth Lash-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

folk songs, such as a Breton folk song and an English folk song (the titles of which do not appear on the programme). What is clear from this programme is that, while pieces were performed by pupils studying piano, violin, and voice, all of the pieces were either composed within a Western European Art Music tradition, or were folk songs or folk song derivatives drawing from Anglo-Celtic cultures.

Certainly it bears noting that concert programmes likely did not reflect all of the music-making undertaken within the music schools, but it does indicate the kinds of repertoire deemed worthy of performance, suggesting that the music schools endeavoured to promote Western European Art Music, and perhaps Anglo-Celtic folk music, as the cultural touchstones to beauty and good music that were to be demonstrated by their pupils in performance.

The repertoire confirmed the exalted status of Western European Art Music, and the almost exclusive use of this repertoire distinguished Toronto's settlement music schools from a few American schools, perhaps most notably Hull-House. Notwithstanding my earlier argument that some American settlement music schools focused more resolutely on training classical musicians, the music director of Hull-House Music School, Eleanor Smith, managed both to insist on musical excellence of students while also undertaking musical activities that were intensely political, such as a piece that she composed for music students about sweatshop labour in Chicago.⁵⁶

Toronto's settlement music schools may not have aimed to produce musical virtuosi, but neither did they aim to politicize members or issues through music as Hull-House. The schools rarely even acknowledged other forms of music-making, including music creation, improvisation and diverse cultural music practices, even when these practices occurred within settlement

⁵⁶ See Elrod, "Vocal Music at Hull-House, 1889-1942."

houses (but not in the music schools themselves).⁵⁷ Instead, their almost ubiquitous use of Western European Art Music repertoire substantiates the idea that good music confirmed the cultural hegemony of Western European Art Music, along with the British subjects who claimed the music as their own.

Cultivating Social Relationships through Good Music

While the particular ends of music training shifted slightly among settlement houses, the settlement music schools were united in their confidence that music socializes people, and children in particular. The discipline of weekly lessons and practice sessions, and the hard work of learning and mastering progressively more difficult music skills contributed to music's socialization work. As discussed in Chapter 2, Toronto's settlement houses focused on strengthening social relations, and the music schools were particularly effective not just in disciplining individuals, but also in creating social opportunities for all members of the houses, through musical ensembles, group classes, and performances that involved pupil performers and family audience members. The settlements aimed to build community within the so-called slums as well as help those residents fit better into society at large. While music education within the Conservatory focused on training students toward professional music careers, the music schools remained philosophically committed to the overarching settlement goals of serving the social needs of residents by emphasizing the social aspects of music-making. St. Christopher House, for example, held monthly student recitals to encourage children to perform while also providing opportunities for parents to see their children's progress in public space. Central Neighbourhood House held regular concerts for its members, which featured musicians from the Toronto Conservatory. All three music schools periodically held joint pupil recitals, extended the

⁵⁷ As a reminder, other classes outside of the music schools did incorporate improvisation and creation-based pedagogies, such as the dance classes at Central Neighbourhood House discussed in Chapter 3. Also, several clubs integrated the music practices that immigrants brought with them, discussed in Chapter 5.

community of each neighbourhood to build a larger sense of community across the city. It is to these pupil recitals that I now turn, to examine how pupils performed their musical citizen subjectivities.

Pupil Recitals

The value of the music school in providing means of self-expression can scarcely be over-estimated. The joy which parents and children alike gained from the music lessons was evident to all at the annual recital.⁵⁸

The central argument of this chapter is that the trope of good music produced regimes of truth about the ability of Western European Art Music to cultivate moral citizens out of delinquent youth. I contend that the recitals offered public moments to make these claims visible, and to legitimate the exalted status of both Western European Art Music and British settler subjectivity.

Recitals were a part of the settlement music schools from the beginning. Each school held student recitals on a regular basis, some as frequently as once a month. However, beginning in the 1930s, in part due to the formalization of the music schools and in part because of the need for more activities for communities out of work during the Depression, the pupil recitals increased in frequency and scope, culminating in recitals held jointly between the music schools of Central Neighborhood House, University Settlement House, and St. Christopher House. In distinction to ‘concerts,’ the term ‘recitals’ tended to describe less formal student performances held for friends and family. The materials produced for students performing in recitals were frequently typewritten programmes and hand-drawn posters (see Figure 3 below). However, these recitals maintained an air of formality to them, with a set concert order listing performer, song, and composer. The purposes of these monthly and annual recitals served two

⁵⁸ “One-Two-Three-Four,” Uncredited newspaper clipping [n.d.]. *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book D. BR.

discursive functions: demonstrating progress, and cultivating social relationships among local residents in particular embodied forms.

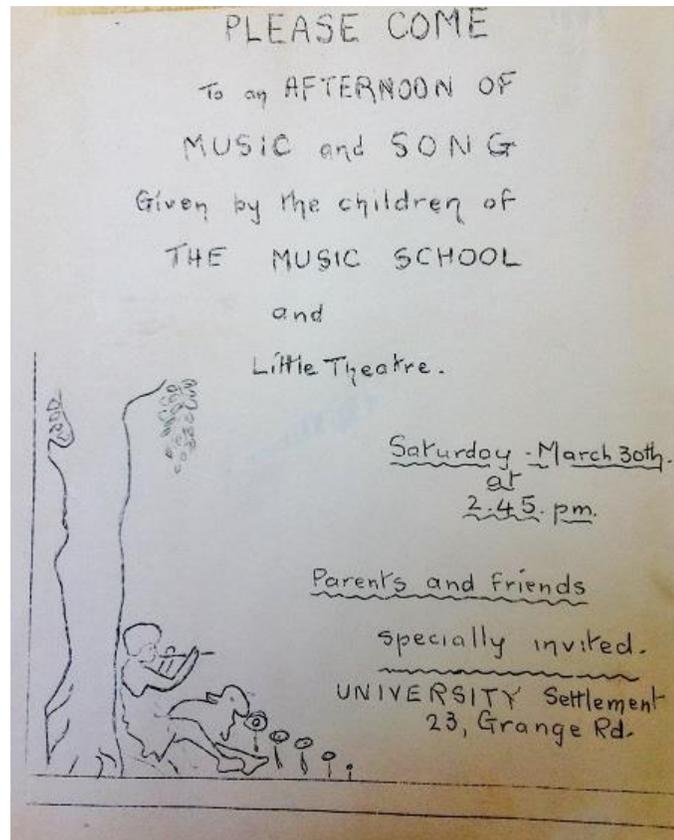


Figure 3. Poster for recital at University Settlement Music School and Little Theatre. Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 190. CTA.

For music school organizers, the recitals offered opportunities for students to demonstrate their musical accomplishments, most often framed as progress. Central Neighborhood House noted in its annual report that a recital was held “at which each of the children performed, the parents were invited to attend so that they could see what progress the children were making.”⁵⁹ Similarly, St. Christopher House noted in its 1937 annual report that “excellent progress was made and at the combined recital held in May by the three settlements, our pupils were highly

⁵⁹ 1926 Annual Report for Central Neighborhood House, Fonds 1005, File 6. CTA.

praised by the presiding musical officials.” The 1935 music school report at University Settlement House asserted that the “progress shown by the playing of the Music School pupils at the Recitals has been judged to be satisfactory according to the reports of those of the Committee who have attended.”⁶⁰ While all three reports used the word progress to describe their music students in performance, exactly what kind of progress demonstrated was never overtly defined. Certainly, the music schools were likely referring to the development of musical skills, but the demonstration of musical skill in performances also demonstrated *social* skill by showcasing pupils who studied and worked hard, pupils who embodied disciplined music skills and could advance in their musical progress.

Given the settlements’ mandate of civic betterment, recitals emerged as sites that constituted a particular kind of citizen subjectivity, perhaps best examined through the repertoire that was performed at recitals, which, perhaps unsurprisingly, featured Western European Art Music almost exclusively. In a recital held by Central Neighbourhood House Music School (see Figure 4 below), the recital opened with “God Save the King,” considered Canada’s ‘second national anthem.’⁶¹ This anthem, declaring fidelity to the British crown, effectively marked the performance space as British before any pupils performed. Following the anthem, pupils performed pieces composed by Mozart, Haydn, Bach, Beethoven, Debussy and Schumann, among other well-known composers. In this concert, the only pieces composed by Canadians were: “Russian Cradle Song” and “Monkeys in the Tree” by Boris Berlin, and a folk song arrangement by Healey Willan. This trend held across all pupil recitals; other programmes included only a few songs by Canadian composers, such as Healey Willan and Donald Heins.

⁶⁰ University Settlement Music School. Report to Committee on work of Music School from June 1934 to January 1935. (February 25, 1935), Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. CTA.

⁶¹ Refer to Chapter 3 of this dissertation for an in-depth analysis of the anthems used in the settlements to cultivate loyalty to the nation of Canada and to the empire of Britain.

However minor a role this ‘Canadian’ repertoire had, the Canadian composers were part of the Western European Art Music tradition, which mostly confirmed that for the schools, ‘Canadian’ music was situated within the WEAM tradition.⁶²

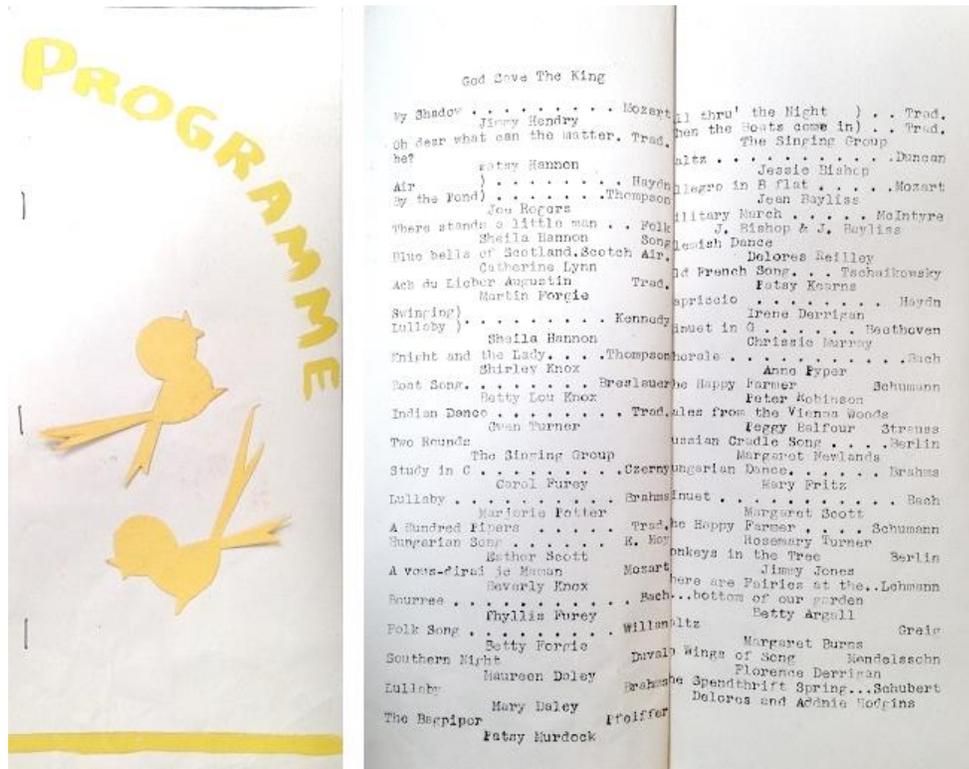


Figure 4. Programme from Central Neighbourhood House Music School Recital. Fonds 1005, Box 5, File 2. CTA.

In a few instances, however, pieces had no composer listed, instead labelled either “folk songs” or “traditional.” Given the song titles, such as “All Through the Night,” “A Hundred Pipers,” and “Mary Had a Little Lamb,” the folk and traditional songs appeared to be mostly of British origin. These folk or traditional pieces may well have been simple compositions written for beginner players to streamline them into more difficult repertoire from the WEAM canon. What is

⁶² This was likely an assumption widely held in Toronto. See Tippett, “‘An Identity of Tastes and Aspirations’: Educating Performers and Their Audiences.”

noticeably excluded from the pupil music recitals are music performances from outside the WEAM tradition, whether those musical practices and repertoires came from non-Western European cultural traditions, or even from jazz and pop repertoires. In this way, pupil recitals verified the students' abilities to conform to the cultural content and expectations imbued in WEAM repertoire, and rehearsal/performance techniques. Performers stood out not for their own cultural backgrounds or for their inventiveness, but for conforming to the musical and social codes embedded in Western European Art Music and culture.

Recital performances also endeavoured to strengthen social ties among community members. Nearly all recitals served tea to guests either before or after the performance, providing an air of cordiality and hosting that was consistent with settlement values of an Anglo-Protestant home. In this way, parents and friends practiced social behaviours appropriate for hosted concerts, learning how to act like guests and like audience members. This suggests that the performances offered sites for all members to practice a particular set of social relations that constituted the settlements' ideas of a Canadian citizen. Just as students performed social development through their musical performances, the audience members performed social development by enacting their expected roles in Anglo-Celtic Protestant-informed social relations.

Joint Recitals: 'Bringing out the Various types of Work'

Three settlement music schools coordinated efforts to hold joint recitals in the mid-1930s, the biggest of which was the recital held on May 8, 1936. Central Neighborhood House, St. Christopher House, and University Settlement House hosted the recital in the auditorium of St. Christopher House, an event that received a substantial amount of press. For this particular

concert, auditions were held in April to “select the children who were to take part,”⁶³ choosing about 75 children out of 300 auditions, suggesting that the performance was carefully curated. A pre-show article in *The Globe* observed that choosing who would perform was not merely a matter of determining the most accomplished musical performers. A Mrs. Carleton Robinson of St. Christopher Music School informed the reporter that performers were chosen:

...with a view to bringing out the various types of work undertaken among these children who are so eager to study music, and who, through the facilities offered by the Settlement Houses, are having music brought to them at what they can afford to pay, said Mrs. Carleton Robinson, head of St. Christopher's music school.⁶⁴

Exactly what the “various types of work” were and how they would be brought out through the joint recital is left tantalizingly unanswered, refusing foreclosure on any of the musical or social possibilities that might condition the valences of that statement. Perhaps Robinson was referring to the various kinds of musical training at the different stages of children’s musical education. Certainly the programme substantiates diversity in musical levels and pedagogies, from a children’s rhythm band, to a Chopin piano solo, to demonstrations of Eurythmics, solfège and instrument class work (see Figure 5 below). The repertoire ranged from “Mary Had a Little Lamb” performed by University Settlement’s piano class, to “Gigue in B flat” by Bach, performed by a solo pianist from St. Christopher House Music School. Like the pupil recitals, the concert also featured a chorus of “God Save the King,” although this time at the end of the concert, to close the performance singing loyalty to the British crown.

While internationally renowned classical singer Campbell McInnes presided at the concert, there is no information about what he might have said to introduce the performers or the concert overall. Similarly, the archives remain frustratingly silent on what topics Norman Wilks addressed in his speech mid-way through the programme. However, the careful curation of

⁶³ Central Neighborhood House Annual Report, 1936, Fonds 1005, File 14. *CTA*.

⁶⁴ “Music Tuition in Settlements is Fostered.” *The Globe*, April 27, 1936, 10.

performances for this inter-settlement performance suggests that while organizers may well have been looking for musical competency or some measure of what they felt was artistry, the diversity of performers, particularly the inclusion of classes performing basic melodies, suggests that the “various types of work” also featured, albeit subtly, a focus on creating citizens out of immigrant and poor children and youth in Toronto’s slums. A review in *The Globe* following the concert, entitled “Underprivileged Give Program: Work in Settlement Music Schools Demonstrated,” lauded the performance as proof of the work settlements did to introduce “the finer arts” to disadvantaged children: “Ranging in years from 5 to 14, the young artists demonstrated what is being done by the settlement music schools to bring music to children who live in the crowded areas and have little opportunity of studying the finer arts in their own homes.”⁶⁵ The journalist’s observation rested on the foundational idea that children needed the music schools to be introduced not just to music but to the *finer* arts, suggesting that this recital legitimated the regime of truth that music schools provided access to the superior Western European Art Music to improve the lives of Toronto’s immigrant and working poor.

⁶⁵ “Underprivileged Give Program,” *The Globe* May 9, 1936, 8.

THE MUSIC SCHOOLS OF CENTRAL NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSE, UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT AND ST. CHRISTOPHER HOUSE REQUEST THE HONOUR OF YOUR PRESENCE FOR TEA AND MUSIC AT ST. CHRISTOPHER HOUSE, 67 WALES AVENUE, ON FRIDAY, MAY THE EIGHTH.

Tea 3.30 p.m. Music 4.15 p.m.

PROGRAMME

RHYTHM BAND	"The Bridge"	<i>L. de Rusette</i>	C.N.H.
PIANO TRIO	"Frère Jacques"	<i>Folk Tune</i>	U.S.
PIANO CLASS WORK	"Mary had a little lamb"	<i>Folk Tune</i>	U.S.
PIANO SOLO	"Pussy"	<i>Folk Tune</i>	C.N.H.
VIOLIN CLASS WORK	"Pierrot"	<i>Folk Tune</i>	U.S.
PIANO DUET	Minuet	<i>Haydn</i>	St.C.
PIANO SOLO	Cradle Song	<i>Schubert</i>	St.C.
PIANO SOLO	"Polly Oliver"	<i>Folk Tune</i>	U.S.
	<i>Ecossaise</i>	<i>Schubert</i>	
PIANO TRIO	"Nun danket alle Gott"	<i>Bach</i>	St.C.
VIOLIN DUET	Allegro Moderato	<i>Pleyel</i>	U.S.
PIANO SOLO	Rondo	<i>Mozart</i>	St.C.
Address --- MR. NORMAN WILKS			
CHOIR	"I Know a Bank"	<i>Martin Shaw</i>	U.S.
	"Ye Spotted Snakes"		
PIANO SOLO	Waltz Op. 70	<i>Chopin</i>	C.N.H.
PIANO TRIO	Sonata in C—Allegro	<i>Mozart-Grieg</i>	St.C.
VIOLIN SOLO	Andantino	<i>Martini-Kreisler</i>	U.S.
	Berceuse	<i>Tor Aulin</i>	
PIANO SOLO	Gigue in B flat	<i>Bach</i>	St.C.
	Lullaby	<i>Frank Bridge</i>	
PIANO SOLO	"The Girl with the Flaxen Hair"	<i>Debussy</i>	U.S.
EURHYTHMICS AND SOLFEGE			U.S.

GOD SAVE THE KING

Erect Tobacco Hous & Mann Limited, Toronto

Figure 5. Programme for the joint recital and tea, May 8, 1936.
Fonds 1005, Box 5, File 2. CTA.

Similar to smaller pupil recitals, this performance also hosted a tea prior to the concert. However, unlike smaller affairs, this concert's tea was hosted by the headworkers, suggesting that the settlement houses had a significant stake in the success of the concert. Tea was served by

Frances Crowther, headworker of University Settlement House along with long-standing Central Neighborhood House volunteer Ruth Gray, assisted by music school staff and volunteer workers. Guests were received by Mina Barnes, the headworker of St. Christopher House. That the headworkers were present, hosting and serving, fostering relationships, embodied the very idea of settlement houses as neighborhood homes that welcomed guests using particular sets of decorum and social codes. Even the tables with tea were decorated with lace, featuring arrangements of tulips, irises and daffodils. Gendered divisions of work were evident, in that only women hosted and served tea, according to the write-ups in the newspapers, whereas any men involved had officious roles: namely that Campbell McInnes and Norman Wilks hosted the formal concert itself.

The schools invited 300 guests to “witness what can be done toward supplying musical education for children who lack many of the privileges of life.”⁶⁶ Considering that parents and friends had already attended a formal dress rehearsal held days before the performance, one wonders who exactly was invited to attend the concert itself. The only clue is in a 1936 report from Central Neighborhood House, which stated that “members of the Boards and friends of the Settlement attended in large numbers.”⁶⁷ This suggests that the performance itself was reserved for the organizers and patrons of the settlement houses overall, which in turn suggests that the performance was strategic: a visual confirmation of the social and musical accomplishments of the settlement houses. Settlement organizers demonstrated the value and worth of the social work of settlement houses through the evidence of an entertaining musical performance featuring the youngest members of the houses. The performance of musical and social progress at pupil recitals legitimated the regime of truth that good music could cultivate Western-European-

⁶⁶ “Music Tuition in Settlements is Fostered,” *The Globe*, April 27, 1936, 10.

⁶⁷ Central Neighbourhood House 1936 Annual Report, Fonds 1005, File 14. CTA.

derived citizen subjectivity, in which cultivation of musical talent and skill also cultivated citizens.

Conclusion

The music schools at the settlement houses institutionalized music's role in social work. What before had been largely effective rather than deliberate uses of music became formalized through the organization of music practices into music training, and the organization of music training into music schools. The language of citizenship disappeared in the music schools through the 1930s; however the work of the trope of good music remained strong, maintaining a relationship to the idea of citizens even without the explicit terms that had been circulating in the settlement houses for the decades before. The music schools were not simply physical locations that delivered music lessons as a part of settlement work, but were also sites that bound together discursive statements discussed in previous chapters in this thesis, including the moral construction of citizens, the role of culture in social work, the cultivation of community through personal responsibility, and the educative function of recreational activities. At the same time, the settlement music schools fused these discursive formations to Western European Art Music, all organized and normalized through the trope of good music.

CHAPTER 5.
**‘A MINIATURE LEAGUE OF NATIONS’: DISCURSIVE THRESHOLD OF
 MUSIC’S SOCIAL RATIONALITY THROUGH CULTURAL DIFFERENCE,
 1920S-1930S**

Jew, Italian, Pole, Greek, Chinese, Russian and British, all are welcome and all come bringing their difficulties, seeking advice or opportunity of self development. To show these new citizens the best meaning of Canadian nationality, to help them to preserve the best in the heritage they bring with them from the Mother Country, to teach all that it is possible to live and work in harmony together in spite of the difference of race, creed or language, this is the task of the settlement and this we seek to achieve through the means of recreation, instructive and neighborly service.¹

This passage, written by headworker Helen Austin for the Central Neighbourhood House 1920 annual report, suggests a counter-narrative to the assimilationist work of settlement democracy clubs and their conservatory-style music schools. Austin asserted that not only were all nationalities welcomed to the house, but that their various heritages—meaning music, dance, and crafts—were also welcomed, perhaps even contributed to Canadian nationality. Settlement work, she argued, was tasked with bridging differences of ethnicity, religion, and language, and it did so through recreational and educational programming.

Yet, while her words shifted discursive formations of citizenship, her wording also suggests that this shift was not a complete transformation away from an assumed superiority of the workers themselves. For example, by emphasizing “self development” rather than self-government, Austin bracketed immigrant-focused programming off from the direct task of self-government training in the democratic clubs. She was also careful to suggest that these “new citizens” should preserve only the *best* of their heritage, which presumes that some aspects of immigrant cultures were incompatible with Canadian citizenship. Perhaps most importantly, her words suggest that the task of figuring out how to live cooperatively among racial, religious, and

¹ 1920 Central Neighbourhood House Annual Report, Fonds 1005, File 1. CTA.

cultural differences was a task fit only for the Anglo-Celtic Protestant settlement workers themselves, rather than for the residents of the neighbourhood.

Through the 1920s and 1930s, several settlement houses launched programs centered on the musical practices of immigrant groups. In this chapter, I argue that these immigrant-focused programs not only contributed to the possibility that cultural difference could be tolerated, but also marked a significant shift in the emerging discourse of music's social rationality away from the more assimilationist musical and social techniques of the settlements. Instead, these settlement musical activities depended on, rather than erased, cultural difference, reconfiguring notions of Canadian citizenship and music's use in the production of citizenship. To conduct this analysis, I deploy Foucault's concept of *discursive threshold*, which simultaneously analyzes the possibilities and limits of a discourse to transform.² This equivocal approach enables an analysis that can examine, on the one hand, how immigrant-focused programming brought new discursive rules into play regarding the kinds of cultures that constituted notions of citizenship, perhaps even contributing to the conditions that made the idea of Canadian multiculturalism possible. Yet, on the other hand, the ways in which settlement workers included certain immigrant practices while excluding other kinds of differences suggested that their inter-cultural music activities pointed only to allowable differences. Further, the settlement workers continued to (re)produce themselves in the exalted position of the national subject. I analyze the possibilities and limits of transforming the social rationality of music through an examination of three key historical moments in immigrant-focused settlement programs: the emergence of the National Clubs at Central Neighbourhood House; the development of inter-cultural work through the

² See McHoul and Grace, *A Foucault Primer*, 44. As a reminder of the archaeological methodology, to locate a discursive threshold is to identify a historical moment marked by rupture or transformation, which can elucidate what can be said, what was said, and who could say it. Refer to Chapter 1 for more information about the methodology.

International Clubs at University Settlement House; and the spring festivals of University Settlement House, which extended the discourse of inter-cultural difference into the public realm. I begin by examining the how settlement workers shifted their approach to immigrant cultures that in turn shifted discursive statements about the relationship between music and citizenship.

Settlement Approaches to Immigrant Cultures

In her analysis of multiculturalism in Canada, Eva Mackey argues that Canada's development as a nation-state did not (and still does not) rely on the erasure of difference like many other nations, but instead *depends* on difference. This "proliferation of difference" enshrined in Canada's legislation³ obfuscated the kinds of differences that were excluded while celebrating other kinds of what she calls "allowable difference":

The exclusions of Canadian nationalist discourse are subtler, less obvious. A settler colony with official policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism, Canada has an official national culture which is not [what Paul Gilroy calls] '*homogenous* in its whiteness' but rather replete with images of Aboriginal people and people of colour. The state-sanctioned proliferation of cultural *difference* (albeit limited to specific forms of allowable difference) seems to be the defining characteristic of Canada.⁴

Two ideas should be taken from Mackey's observation in relation to the historical development of Toronto's settlement house programs for immigrants: first, while Mackey and other scholars⁵ pinpoint the discursive formation of multiculturalism to effects of World War II, Toronto's settlement workers were grappling with cultural differences as early as the 1910s with the first influx of non-British immigrants. Through their programs, settlement workers began forming programs and rationales that contributed to the production of discursive statements about culture

³ Canada adopted multiculturalism as official state policy in 1971. See Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*, Chapter 4.

⁴ Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 8. Italics hers.

⁵ See Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2000), 10; Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*, 146.

and immigration in relation to the formation of national identity. Settlement work contributed to the conditions of possibility that produced ideas of multiculturalism through the twentieth century. To be clear, settlement workers did not use the term ‘multicultural’ to describe their strategies to promote the acceptance of cultural differences through music; they instead used words like “international,” “inter-cultural,” or “cosmopolitan.” However, the kind of inter-cultural exchange that workers developed situated settlement work within the conditions that made Canadian multiculturalism possible.

The second idea Mackey raises is that multiculturalism is predicated on *specific forms of allowable difference*, suggesting a cultivation process that separated allowable differences from those that are presumably disallowed, or excluded, from nationalist discourse. Further, the process of cultivating allowable rather than disallowed difference emerged through the immigrant-focused work of the settlement houses, contributing to the rules that formed and transformed the idea of allowable difference. Settlement house programs encouraged particular knowledges and skills of immigrants, particularly musical and artistic skills and knowledge. At the same time, workers discouraged other attributes, or more accurately, endeavoured to cultivate alternate behaviours and attitudes that they felt were more commensurate with Canadian life, such as learning English and supervising children’s play.⁶ Mackey identifies a tension between the mythology of tolerance and the kinds of exclusions practiced, suggesting that the liberal idea of tolerance was (and is) mobilized to manage populations as much as to create identities. This tension can be traced through shifts in settlement workers’ approaches to working with diverse immigrant groups.

⁶ This also underscores Foucault’s fundamental argument that power is productive and not just repressive. As Mackey articulates, “power functions not only negatively—as we have often thought—through denying, restricting, repressing, or prohibiting, but also positively, through producing ‘forms of pleasure, systems of knowledge, goods and discourses’.” See Mackey, *The House of Difference*, 18, 42.

Each of Toronto's settlement houses grappled with differences among their members in terms of race, language, and cultural background. Ethel Dodds, headworker of St. Christopher House from 1917 to 1921, described the different ethnic groups served by each of the settlement houses in 1924⁷: Memorial Institute had workers dedicated to a "unique Polish work" that she attributed to "a gradual change in the nationality of part of their district," or an influx of Polish immigrants. Immigrants were characterized as foreigners, and foreigners were something other than British, most evident in Dodds' explanation of the changing neighbourhood served by University Settlement House, in which the "British population is being replaced by foreigners" (mostly Finnish, she notes) because of nearby factories. 'Foreigners' were constructed as such in relation to the 'British,' who were not considered foreign, naturalizing an equivalency between British and Canadian.⁸ Finally, Dodds characterized the Ward, the neighbourhood served by Central Neighbourhood House, as "a sore trial to Toronto's pride." While other sources indicate that the Ward did indeed suffer under appalling living conditions and infrastructure, as well as high levels of poverty and crime, Dodds framed the "trial" of the Ward in terms of the diverse ethnic groups residing there, effectively eliding race and immigration with issues of poverty, sanitation, and crime. Dodds indicated that Central Neighbourhood House was "filled to overflowing with a motley group of people in which Italians and Jews predominate." Through her very descriptions of the racial make-up of the neighbourhoods served by settlement houses, Dodds presumed a social hierarchy in which the workers occupied the exalted position, but also positioned to help immigrants improve their own lives.

The productive forms of power were evident in the production of the subjectivities of the workers themselves: the ways in which workers differentiated and cultivated immigrant

⁷ All quotations in this paragraph are attributable to "Canadian Settlements," Address to National Settlement Conference in 1924 by Ethel Dodds, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 620. *CTA*.

⁸ In the early 1900s, immigrants who were not British or American were categorized as 'foreigners.' See Chapter 2.

members produced *themselves* as exalted national subjects who could determine which behaviours, skills, and knowledges counted as Canadian, and which did not. In this sense, settlement workers' efforts to manage, negotiate, and celebrate cultural differences of immigrants distance them from these cultural differences by producing an Anglo-Celtic Protestant norm over and above cultural differences. Toronto's social hierarchy as it manifested in the settlements was constituted as a difference from difference.

In describing her own St. Christopher House, Dodds' words suggested not only social hierarchies, but also musical hierarchies, in which (particular forms of) immigrant musical cultures were constructed not at the bottom but in the middle of the hierarchy. Non-British European cultures were clearly below upper-class British culture, but ranked above the popular cultures of the working class, who were, in Dodds' words, "a very poor type of Anglo Saxon whose economic and cultural status is of the lowest" compared to immigrant "Europeans whose economic status may be low but whose cultural status is of a much higher order."⁹ Settlement workers were beginning to articulate an appreciation, if not for the social differences and economic troubles they associated with immigrants, at least for the artistic practices of immigrants, sometimes referred to as heritages.

Despite Dodds' assertion of the superior cultural status of Europeans in relation to working-class Anglo-Saxon Torontonians, St. Christopher House did not appear to incorporate many musical or artistic practices of immigrants in the neighbourhood during the 1920s.¹⁰ However, the other settlements did shift their approaches to incorporate the artistic practices that

⁹ "What changes have taken place in the neighbourhood of your settlement since 1911?", 1937, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 621. CTA.

¹⁰ This appeared to shift in the 1940s in part because of World War II, and in part because of a new influx of immigration from the West Indies. St. Christopher House began incorporating diverse cultures into its programming, one of the more high-profile activities being a Sunday Afternoon Jazz series in the 1950s begun by Connie Carrington, the house's first Black social worker. See http://www.stchrishouse.org/st-chris/100birthday/SCHCentury/sunday_jazz.php accessed December 4, 2014.

immigrants brought with them to Toronto. Memorial's 'unique Polish work,' for example, was in part a result of staff member Florence Mabee, who was both the Immigrant Outreach Worker and the Music Director of the settlement. Mabee frequently encouraged members to sing in their native languages, or play music from their birth countries. In June of 1921, Mabee organized a 'Polish Concert' in the auditorium of Memorial's sponsor, Walmer Road Baptist Church. She held this concert-cum-symposium to "illustrate the foreign work" to the congregation through performances by Polish composers and performers, along with speeches about "the work amongst the foreigner who comes to the Dominion."¹¹ Mabee's colleague, a Mr. Tuzek, also launched a school specifically for Polish children, and the school held a concert in December of the same year as Mabee's concert:

More than 200 non-English speaking folk of Richmond street west community were made happy Wednesday night by a Christmas entertainment provided by the Polish School of Memorial Institute. [Sixty] numbers—including choruses, recitations, violin and piano selections—were contributed by 75 Polish children. Among the many numbers rendered in the Polish language were the Polish Christmas carols, that brought reminiscent smiles to the faces of the fathers and mothers, who had sung those same carols in the homeland.¹²

While it remains unknown how "the work amongst the foreigner" was presented in these concerts, what is clear through these examples is that the music of the Polish community was a feature of the concerts, which was not evident in other settlement programming. Mabee and Tuzek incorporated the music of their Polish members not only to draw in more members from the surrounding community, but also to demonstrate the value of Polish music and culture within a Canadian context.

University Settlement House took longer to shift their assimilationist approach. Through the 1920s, the various cultures of the participants likely crept into settlement activities, as

¹¹ "Polish Concert Given by Choir," *The Globe*, June 18, 1921, 16.

¹² "Polish Children Given Great Time," *The Globe*, December 30, 1921, 15.

indicated by a worker describing the mothers' meeting to a newspaper reporter in 1922: "It is always interesting to attend the mothers' meetings to see them dance their folk dances and to hear their songs of the old land. . . ."¹³ The inclusion of non-Anglo-Celtic Protestant music did not seem to be the official policy through the decade, however. As late as 1927, the house's Board of Directors, who had already refused to let a group of Jewish mothers hold a Chanukah party, also refused the group's request to post a notice for the party that was being held elsewhere.¹⁴

University Settlement House directors changed their approach to immigrants in the early 1930s, and began to welcome the cultural practices of the immigrants living in the neighbourhood, a shift that O'Connor attributes to a new vanguard of house workers who themselves were European immigrants.¹⁵ An article from *The Toronto Daily Star* in 1939 painted a very different picture of the Jewish community in relation to University Settlement House from ten years before, suggesting that the house had changed its initial restrictive policy considerably:

Amid lighted candles and singing of songs, a group of Jewish mothers last night attended the Chanukah party given in their honor at University Settlement. Following the telling of the Chanukah story they sang native songs and danced the 'Sher.' The evening closed with refreshments and games.¹⁶

Now University Settlement was hosting a Chanukah party in honour of the Jewish mothers in the neighbourhood. By the end of the 1930s, University Settlement House also had an Italian Club and a Chinese Club among its 24 clubs, and launched International Clubs and Spring festivals, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹³ "Help to Canadianize Overseas Citizens,' 3.

¹⁴ "Mrs. Wilson reported that she has been requested to allow a Chonuka party to be held at the Settlement House but has refused this request, only to be asked to post a notice on the bulletin board of a party for the Jewish children. It was decided after discussion, not to post up a notice." Fonds 1024, Series 614, File 1, CTA.

¹⁵ O'Connor, *The Story of University Settlement, 1910 – 1984*, 20.

¹⁶ "Chanukah Party Honors Mothers," *Toronto Daily Star*, December 19, 1939, 27.

Of all of the settlement houses, Central Neighbourhood House acknowledged and incorporated the diverse cultural backgrounds of members the earliest, beginning in the 1910s. Mary-Jane Lipkin argues that Central Neighbourhood House only offered tokenistic nods to the cultures of its members, preferring instead to inculcate Anglo-Celtic middle-class Canadian culture.¹⁷ While Lipkin is correct to a certain extent, particularly in the kinds of activities that Central Neighbourhood House used to cultivate gendered citizens through some of their clubs, the house's organizers also launched clubs focusing on specific immigrant groups and their music, which counters the ideas that immigrant cultures were merely tolerated. These clubs were called National Clubs, shifting the club structure and the musical programming in ways that nudged the construction of citizenship toward cultural pluralism.

National Clubs

National clubs at Central Neighbourhood House organized immigrants into bounded groups. The 'national' of National Clubs referred to 'nationality,' a term used by workers to sort and organize immigrants into groups that slipped between countries of origin (e.g. Italy or China); religion (e.g. Jewish immigrants from various European countries); language; and, in their terminology, 'race.' For example, the "Annual Report of Italian and Slavic Work" that Central Neighbourhood House produced in 1920 referred to "a dozen different races, the majority not speaking English" and in the next paragraph detailed the "nationality of heads of various households," listing "Jews, Italians, English, Poles, Galaician, Chinese, Roumanian, Austrian, Irish, Russian, West Indian, French Canadian."¹⁸ These categories of immigrants did not necessarily precede the National Clubs. In his research on Italian immigrants in Toronto during the social reform era, John Zucchi argues that emigrants of Italy likely thought of their

¹⁷ Lipkin, "Immigrants and Education for Citizenship," 41.

¹⁸ "Annual Report of Italian and Slavic Work 1919-1920." Fonds 1005, Box 149132, File 1.

origins in terms of specific regions, or even hometowns, rather than a coherent nation-state.¹⁹ It was only through living in Toronto that Italy's ethnic groups began to consider themselves as a more or less coherent group of 'Italians.' Perhaps the slippage in categorization suggests that both immigrants and workers did not exist in coherent or stable categories, but that the process of categorization through clubs contributed to the production of more or less stable categories.

Settlement workers considered National Clubs of Central Neighbourhood House as a kind of social club that differed from the democracy clubs because they focused less on democratic procedure and more on recreational activities and social interactions among group members. Workers at first attempted to operate the clubs like the other democratic clubs, but they reported that the diverse languages made formal meetings difficult, and perhaps more importantly, found that immigrants had a "lack of experience in democratic methods," made parliamentary procedure difficult to follow within the club: "Although they have an active and intelligent executive the difficulty of language and lack of experience in democratic methods make self government a problem although there has been improvement."²⁰ This suggests that settlement workers felt immigrants from non-English-speaking countries had only limited abilities to participate in democratic governance, the implication being that self-governance was difficult or impossible among certain (non-British) groups, casting immigrants in the outsider position in relation to the exalted position of national subjects.

Workers attempted to educate their members about citizenship very early on. As early as 1913, headworker Elizabeth Neufeldt launched several lectures on citizenship in Italian for local Italian residents, and advertised the lectures in Italian. They had to "abandon the plan" due to

¹⁹ John E. Zucchi, "Italian Hometown Settlements and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1935," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, ed. Robert F. Harney (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 121.

²⁰ University Settlement Annual Report 1940, Fonds 1024, Series 617, File 1.

lack of interest, suggesting that the immigrant communities selectively participated in settlement activities.²¹ However, in the same report, Neufeldt observed that Italian residents flocked to the settlement to attend concerts, and it was perhaps musical approaches that might entice immigrants to participate in settlement activities.

Because members were organized by cultural background in addition to age and gender, their collective cultures became the focus for the social activities of these clubs, suggesting that the ‘social’ in the category of ‘social club’ incorporated a cultural valence, in which social relations were organized within ethnic diasporic communities of the neighbourhood to foster social relations through cultural similarities. The clubs afforded opportunities not just to converse in languages familiar to settlement participants, but to practice music and dance of ‘Old Countries’ while offering respite and friendship to immigrants often isolated by language, customs, and poor material conditions of the city. Frances Crowther, headworker of University Settlement House from 1934 to 1946, observed that the National Clubs often brought in “a number of forlorn and lost souls, desperately lonely for their countries, and pretty ignorant of the language and customs of this new world.”²²

Music activities figured prominently in the National Clubs to foster community among isolated members. Settlement workers outlined several purposes for the clubs, which offer clues to the prevalence not just of music, but the music of the members rather than of the workers. First, settlement workers felt that National Clubs provided a regular space for immigrants to find companionship and comfort in a new foreign city. Sharing dance and song among groups of immigrants provided a technique to combat isolation and promote social bonding among individuals that shared similar cultural backgrounds. However, settlement workers never lost

²¹ Central Neighbourhood House Headworker Report, October 1913 Board Minutes, Fonds 1005, File 2.

²² University Settlement Annual Report 1937. Fonds 1024 Series 617, File 1. CTA.

sight of their goal of cultivating citizens who not only felt a sense of belonging but actively contributed to their neighbourhoods, their cities, and, by extension, their (new) nation:

One of the problems of urban life, especially in a district made up largely of the foreign-born and of people on relief, is that so many lose all sense of community responsibility. Among crowds of strangers they feel isolated, lonely, and either sink into apathy or become actively anti-social. Through membership in the House, people tend to satisfy that human urge toward belonging to a definite community. They acquire new leisure time skills, they gain a heightened pleasure in life through recreation, they make new friends and find an outlet for energies of the mind and heart.²³

From this excerpt, it is clear that settlement workers were concerned not just for the well-being of immigrants in a new city, but worried that if immigrants remained alone and isolated, they may pose threats to the social order by becoming, as noted above, “actively anti-social.” The National Clubs opened up the possibility that artistic practices of immigrants could be used as techniques to build community. The National Clubs combatted apathy through group contact that was grounded in familiar languages and cultural practices of the ‘Old Country,’ while simultaneously introducing immigrant members to settlement programming that might integrate them more smoothly into society.

At the same time, certain habits of immigrants were clearly not desirable in a Canadian context, as indicated in another report that suggested Toronto living was difficult for immigrants “clinging to their old world customs.”²⁴ Through the National Clubs, settlement workers attempted to manage the local populations of immigrants in part by including particular desirable “Old World customs” of music, while changing customs that were seen as incompatible with Canadian life. As an example, the Italian Women’s Club offered programming that endeavoured to be sensitive to Italian culture and custom while also nudging members toward what workers called “Canadian life.”

²³ Newsletter [ca. 1933], Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 626. *CTA*.

²⁴ Annual Report of Italian and Slavic Work 1919-1920, Fonds 1005, File 1. *CTA*.

Italian Women's Club

Central Neighbourhood House workers structured the Italian Women's Club around the cultures and customs of the participants, which differentiated the club from democracy clubs that structured members around the cultures and customs of Toronto's settler-society-cum-liberal-democracy. For example, workers structured the Italian Club meetings in the afternoon to accommodate the women's "unbreakable custom to be at home in the evenings."²⁵ Workers appeared to structure the content of the meetings around the needs and interests of members, who gathered not for skills training but for recreation, in which "the business in hand was to make merry."²⁶

This merry-making usually took the form of singing and dancing together. Members spent a portion of each meeting sitting in a circle and singing Italian songs, characterized by a reporter as "Grand Opera style" in which "neither unwieldiness [*sic*] of form, nor inelegance of costume could detract from the force and beauty of the dramatic gestures."²⁷ The reporter commented twice within the short article on the prevalence of laughter among the members, marking the club as an effective way for members not only to connect with residents who shared a common culture, but also to escape their difficult lives and experience joy, or in the reporter's words: "Forgotten were the sordid facts of existence in that unpoetic district, the struggle to live—just live. They were back in sunny Italy; the grapes were growing on the hillsides, and the villages rang with laughter and music."²⁸

Another journalist visited the club whose report differed from the first review, arguing that club members could not dwell in thoughts of their homeland, that at the club there was "no

²⁵ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book C, S54. *BR*.

²⁶ "Hard Times Quickly Forgotten as Toronto Italian Women Dance," [uncredited newspaper clipping, ca. 1921], Fonds 1005, File 1. *CTA*.

²⁷ Uncredited and untitled newspaper clipping [n.d.], Fonds 1005, SC5, File 1. *CTA*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

useless longings for the blue skies of sunny Italy. Reminiscences were taboo.”²⁹ From the perspective of this second reporter, the singing and dancing offered a way for the women to “weav[e] into the drab pattern of existence a thread of gold.”³⁰ The purpose of the club was to experience and enjoy a shared culture in the here-and-now rather than longing for another time and place, even while the reporter wove (romanticized) images of Italy through the text, suggesting that music bridged cultures, times, and places.

Singing was not the only musical activity of the club. The women frequently danced in their meetings, and perhaps the most popular dance was the tarantella (see Figure 6).

Accompanied by a gramophone, the women danced the tarantella and played percussion instruments. The reporter described the lively and participatory dance thus:

At once the enchanted song stirs the pulse of the listeners and they rise. Joyously they interpret the naïve spirit of the dance as they move to the throb of the rhythm. Each dancer holds a tiny tambourine between thumb and finger and with exhilarating abandon snaps off the lilting measures as they pass. Forgotten are life’s handicaps!³¹

Clearly, singing and dancing were key activities in the Italian Women’s Club, as with other National Clubs. While these clubs did not suggest an inter-cultural approach to settlement work, the National Clubs contributed to a discursive statement that countered the assimilationist approaches of democratic clubs. By contrast, these National Clubs addressed cultural differences by including the musics of immigrant members rather than ignoring or erasing them.

²⁹ “Hard Times Quickly Forgotten as Toronto Italian Women Dance,” [uncredited newspaper clipping, ca. 1921], Fonds 1005, File 1. CTA.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.



Figure 6. The Italian Club dances the tarantella
(picture from Central Neighbourhood House 1930 Yearbook)
Fonds 1005, SC5, Box 10, File 4

The clubs at Central Neighbourhood House did not attempt to bridge different immigrant groups, but there were moments that settlement workers attempted to bridge gaps between immigrant parents and their children. For example, in 1930, a Central Neighbourhood House girls' club hosted a Mother and Daughter party as "an experiment," in the words of the settlement workers, to address the tensions between first- and second-generation immigrants:

Foreign-born women, it is well known, are unwilling to leave their homes for functions of this sort, but a goodly number accepted their daughters' invitation. There was a touch of pathos in the contrast between the up-to-date Canadian daughters with their high heels and lip-stick and the old country mothers, some of them ill at ease even with the Canadian language.³²

The purpose of the event was to bridge cultural divides between generations, which also meant bridging cultural differences between "Foreign-born women" and their "up-to-date Canadian daughters." The evening was a success in the worker's eyes, who observed that the mothers

³² *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book D. BR.

began to enjoy themselves, and one taught the group a song-based folk game that the worker compared to the English game “Oranges and Lemons.”³³ Even in this event, settlement workers continued to cultivate a sense of personal responsibility while also attempting to bridge cultural and generational divides. The young club members acted as hosts and entertainers for the party, preparing and serving supper to their mothers, and staging a program of songs, piano solos, dances, and poetry. The workers considered their experiment a success: girls demonstrated their service to their elders through food and performance, and the event bridged differences between cultures and generations to create and strengthen the community.

The ways in which Central Neighbourhood House attempted to value cultures and bridge some cultural differences in their National Clubs heralded the emergence of a shift in the overall settlement approach to cultural pluralism. Workers felt that the National Clubs provided sanctioned spaces within neighbourhoods for immigrants to find companionship in a new foreign city. The National Clubs opened up the possibility that artistic practices of immigrants could be used as techniques to build community and bridge difference. At the same time, settlement workers began valuing the artistic practices of immigrants as cultural contributions to the construction of Canadian identity, and these two discursive shifts emerged more fully in the work of International Clubs at University Settlement House in the 1930s.

International Clubs

In 1929, settlement volunteer Muriel Boyle³⁴ launched a new International Club at University Settlement House, which soon spawned a Senior International Club and a Junior International Club. The International Clubs endeavoured to bring together multiple cultures with

³³ “Central Neighbourhood House 1930 Yearbook,” *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book D. BR.

³⁴ Muriel Boyle was a musician affiliated with the Toronto Conservatory of Music, and volunteered for decades at University Settlement House, contributing to their music school. The Conservatory and the settlement music school are discussed in Chapter 5. Unfortunately, Muriel Boyle’s specific contributions to the school and the house are out of scope of this dissertation.

the intention of bridging those cultures through song, dance, and socializing. What settlement organizers described as “a real adventure in friendship”³⁵ could also be seen as the production of a citizen subject predicated on tolerance for differences, both for the immigrants, who learned how to tolerate or even transcend differences amongst themselves, and for the settlement workers and volunteers, whose taken-for-granted status as national subjects could be reconfigured as a benevolent subject tolerant of cultural differences. University Settlement headworker Frances Crowther suggested that the many “nationalities” represented among their members demonstrated the settlement “attitude” of “active friendliness and good will”:

Last year thirty-two nationalities were represented and the manner in which we can all play and work together happily in spite of events in the old country, is one of the finest proofs that an active spirit of friendliness can break down any barrier, including the nationalistic one. In one of our adult clubs we have Finnish and Russian members, Poles, Czechs, Germans, Austrians, and Jews, all dancing and enjoying themselves together, without bitter remarks about the war, accepting the fact that they are now all Canadians. This spirit of active friendliness and good will is one of the Settlement attitudes most worth preserving.³⁶

By Crowther’s remarks, a Canadian subject was marked not just by tolerance but by transcending rivalries and (real and imagined) ethnic divisions to accept a common identity of Canadianness predicated on “friendliness and good will.” Crowther also noted that through their International Club for adults, dancing was the technique that built friendliness and broke down barriers, pointing to the emergence of using artistic practices of immigrants as a technique to manage cultural differences. Said another way, cultural difference became the solution to the problem of cultural difference. The International Clubs bridged cultural differences by bringing ethnic groups together to share songs and dances with each other. The inter-cultural musical work of the International Clubs differentiated older members (the Senior International Club) and

³⁵ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 133.

³⁶ Settlement Activities and Attitudes, 1937, Fonds 1024, Series 613, File 1. CTA.

younger members (the Junior International Club), and each club operated under importantly different assumptions.

Senior International Club

The Senior International Club comprised adults that had emigrated from various countries, including Finland, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Ukraine, and Austria. The need for the Senior International Club in part grew out of the concern that University Settlement workers had regarding “the problems of the foreign born”: they felt that newcomers were isolated by language and perceived or real cultural difference, which left members “open to exploitation.”³⁷ However, settlement workers also indicated the “foreign born” should have “pride in preserving their National Arts,”³⁸ which represented a shift in the construction of Canadian citizenship. The International Clubs offered a new approach in settlement work that encouraged members to practice and share their arts and crafts, or as workers described, their “heritage,” rather than assimilate fully into the Anglo-Celtic Protestant culture of the workers.

The discursive shift toward encouraging cultural difference through sharing music had the effect of dispersing the teaching/learning relationships, although still bounded within a club structure supervised by a settlement worker. Unlike the other social and democratic clubs, in which the settlement worker or volunteer led games and activities, members often taught the songs and dances to each other. Muriel Boyle created song books for the senior club that featured songs provided by the participants. The discursive shift toward embracing cultural differences through musical practices opened up an alternative educational model in which participants learned from each other, and even shifted the relationship between member and worker. The

³⁷ University Settlement House newsletter, 1933, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 626. *CTA*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

shifts in pedagogical relationships worked toward the goal of engendering self-pride among immigrant members, according to a reflection by prominent settlement organizer Mary Jennison:

Many, if not all, of these settlements found one great principle of working with the immigrant population was to stimulate pride in themselves. If the tongues of these newcomers were not agile enough in the new language to command respect, their fingers held secrets of the crafts and skills of older lands. The understanding and sympathy of Club leaders drew these forth and, in exhibitions of handicraft, they saw not only the admiration of their new Canadian friends but also, by degrees, the more subtle and sincere flattery, of attempts to imitate their skills.³⁹

Jennison suggested that settlement workers encouraged newcomers to continue their artistic practices in part because those practices were valued in a Canadian context, juxtaposing the adept work of members' artistic traditions against their fumbling English language. The differentiation acted as a moment at which artistic practice was cleaved from the languages and other "Old World customs" seen as incompatible in Canadian society. Artistic practice stood in for culture, and could become the technique to celebrate multiculturalism while continuing to exclude non-artistic practices that stood in the way of a unified national identity.

While the Senior International Club shared music between members as a kind of intercultural exchange that could foster self-pride and bridge ethnic differences between club members, the Junior International Club produced compatible, but slightly different, discursive statements about the relationship between musical practices and cultural differences.

Junior International Club

The Junior International Club, comprising youth aged 16 to 24 of immigrant parents, had a similar shift in approach to citizenship in which settlement workers began encouraging children

³⁹ "The Settlement Response to Changing District Needs," *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book A, S54. BR.

to be proud of their heritage.⁴⁰ However, Crowther felt the difficulties facing young people of “foreign born parentage” were importantly different from their parents:

Most of them have grown up in this country, have gone to our Public Schools, but they have suffered not only the humiliations which most young people suffer to-day of unemployment, shabby clothes, lack of pocket money, and in consequence of this, an unnatural diffidence of the other sex, but they have grown up under a dual set of standards, the frequently strict standards of the old-fashioned European parents, and the freer, often lax standards of the Canadian street. Adolescence, which is a difficult period of adjustment between children and parents under any circumstances is made more so by such divergence in viewpoints and the economic difficulties of the day.⁴¹

Crowther saw these young adults sandwiched between the “the frequently strict standards” of their “old-fashioned” parents and Toronto culture, which she characterized as “lax.” Beyond her observation that youth were caught between different cultures, Crowther further observed how poverty exacerbated their experience, which she identified as humiliating. The Junior International Club, she felt, could offer respite from their difficult lives, as well as a kind of cultural reconciliation with parents.

Youth from diverse ethnic backgrounds participated together in the club, suggesting that the inter-cultural exchange aspect of the Senior International Club remained a foundational component of the junior version. The members of the Junior International Clubs appeared to engage in similar activities as their parents, namely sharing folk songs, dances, and games, but the Junior International Club distinguished its work from the senior club in its public performances, extending music-as-inter-cultural-exchange into public places. They performed songs and dances particular to each individual’s ethnic background, and these performances simultaneously confirmed the youth’s acceptance of their own cultural heritages and acceptance of each other’s. Their parents in the senior club also participated in these public performances, but not on stage; instead, parents exhibited arts and crafts. Performances occurred periodically

⁴⁰ O’Connor, *The Story of University Settlement, 1910 – 1984*, 20.

⁴¹ University Settlement Annual Report 1937, Fonds 1024 Series 617, File 1. CTA.

throughout the 1930s, and as late as 1940, *The Toronto Daily Star* reported on the fine display of crafts from the International Clubs as well as a concert that featured youth and children performing a variety of musical traditions:

The concert featured several brilliantly-costumed dances by a Polish group, and a piano accordion solo by pretty little Wanda Stankiewicz, clad in a shimmering white silk coat trimmed with light green fur, which her mother made. Jimmy Pattaki, a young Hungarian pupil of Eli Spivak, played the violin, with his sister Alice as accompanist. Helvi Vuori sang Finnish songs; John Evanylo swung into a rollicking Ukrainian dance, and a group of John Madsen's dancers—Eddie Carlson, Bill Jensen, Eleanor Weir and Dorothy Tinker—performed Danish folks dances to lilting music.⁴²

By the reviewer's assessment, the entire event was a celebration of many nationalities through crafts and musical performance, showcasing music and dance of Poland, Hungary, Finland, and Ukraine. This public exhibition operated as a performance of multiple cultures, featuring only non-British music and dance. One of the more notable moments was the coat worn by young Wanda, made by her mother: the moment not only brought together the cultural efforts of Senior and Junior Clubs through parent and child collaboration, but also publically confirmed that the Junior Club members were indeed valuing the cultural practice of their parents, materialized in a coat made by a mother and worn by a daughter in performance.

The International Clubs of University Settlement House piloted new approaches to cultural differences that could be seen as a kind of prototype of contemporary multiculturalism. Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons argue that these clubs were “an important step in the multi-cultural approach of the Toronto to the ethnic groups in their neighbourhoods.”⁴³ The pragmatic multi-cultural approach did more, however, than pilot the integration of multiple cultures. The inter-cultural exchange work signaled a discursive shift toward tolerance of cultural difference, rather than an assimilationist approach. However, the standpoint of tolerance reproduced the social

⁴² “International Clubs Stage Fine Display,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 4, 1940.

⁴³ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 133.

hierarchy that exalted the position of the workers and reinforced the ‘outsider’ status of immigrants and their cultures. As Mackey argues, “tolerance actually reproduces dominance (of those with the power to tolerate), because asking for ‘tolerance’ always implies the possibility of intolerance. The power and the choice whether to accept or not accept difference, to tolerate it or not, still lies in the hands of the tolerators.”⁴⁴

However, the inter-cultural exchange of the International Clubs suggests that workers were not in fact the only subjects able to tolerate or not, but that members also tolerated (or not) difference between each other, as well as between generations. This is not to argue that members exercised a greater degree of agency, but that in their exercise of freedom to choose between tolerance and intolerance, members could become more like national subjects; yet their differences marked them as outsiders.⁴⁵ The entire project of tolerance was constructed through a framework established and implemented by the settlement workers, who tolerated/allowed/celebrated cultural difference from an Anglo-Celtic Protestant norm, a frame that was clearly seen in University Settlement’s spring festivals.

Spring Festivals at University Settlement House

University Settlement Headworker Frances Crowther described the spring festival as a way to celebrate many cultural backgrounds of their members because many of their “homelands” mark the arrival of spring through celebrations: “As pointed out by Mrs. Frances Crowther, head resident of the settlement, a majority of the people in the community are foreign born and ‘in most of their homelands spring is celebrated in some form or other.’”⁴⁶ Where at Central Neighbourhood House the spring theme was manifested largely in stories about fairies

⁴⁴ Mackey, *The House of Difference*, 16.

⁴⁵ As Mitchell Dean notes, governing works through “practices of freedom *and* states of domination, forms of subjections *and* forms of subjectification.” Dean, *Governmentality*, 46.

⁴⁶ “32 Nations Will Parade to Mark Joy of Spring,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 26, 1939, 10.

and nature, Crowther articulated the spring theme as an annual rite celebrated by different cultures in different ways, which constructed University Settlement's spring festival as a performance space that celebrated the cultural differences through a perceived common theme of spring. Notably, Western European classical music was completely absent from University Settlement's festivals, and British folk music was less prominent. Instead the spring festivals at University Settlement House were set in Grange Park in downtown Toronto, with as many as 3,000 spectators looking on as the participants of University Settlement House performed music and dance from their homelands. The festivals significantly shifted the discursive terrain in the musical production of citizens, extending the inter-cultural exchange work of the International Clubs into a public display.

Through their spring festivals, University Settlement House publically celebrated cultural differences in ways that were taken up by the broader public, such as a newspaper article that characterized the festival as "a miniature League of Nations."⁴⁷ In the article, the journalist considered the dances and musics performed in terms of contributions to Canada's "cultural life," asking:

What influence will the national dances and the national music of other countries exert on the future cultural life of Canada? What are the youthful new Canadians to contribute toward development of the artistic soul of this new country? The thought is aroused by the remarkable scene presented on Saturday afternoon in the beautiful setting of Grange Park, Toronto, under the auspices of the University Settlement.⁴⁸

That the author found the scene of the festival 'remarkable' suggests that the cultural differences represented through music performances would contribute to Canada's cultural life in positive ways; the idea that cultural differences could strengthen rather than weaken Canada as a nation-

⁴⁷ "2000 Dancers Perform in Colorful Spectacle," uncredited newspaper clipping, University Settlement House, Fonds 1484, Series 619, sub-series 2, File 189. *CTA*.

⁴⁸ Newspaper clippings 1928 – 1935, Fonds 1024, Series 619, sub-series 2, File 189. *CTA*.

state had begun to proliferate into a wider public conscious. While I am not arguing that settlement houses were wholly responsible for the public uptake of this discourse, the spring festivals offered a public site that could promote cultural differences, in the form of artistic practices, as a contribution to national identity.

James suggests that settlement workers were anxious to demonstrate that immigrants were as naturally predisposed to artistic excellence as any Torontonians, and perhaps these spectacles offered a highly public forum to display just that.⁴⁹ An article reviewing the 1935 spring festival suggested that while immigrants' countries of origin might be experiencing upheaval, there remains a rich cultural heritage that will stay with them even while being assimilated in Canada:

It was all very artistic and enlivening. Old World countries may be accustomed to troublous times, familiar with wars and rumors of wars, but they are rich in national tradition and in community folklore; and with fine music, art and beautiful dances they are richly endowed. Even some of the poorest children are familiar with the paintings of great artists, and the influence of this environment never fades.⁵⁰

The article goes even further to suggest that these immigrants, children in particular, will “contribute something worth while in the national character of their new home” through their art, music, and dance. Cultural difference was celebrated through artistic practices, the allowable difference of particular ethnic groups. Notably, the variety of ethnic groups participating in the spring festivals diversified significantly through the 1930s.

The programme for the spring festival of 1935 indicated an impressive diversity of musics and dances on display, perhaps unlike any of the previous kinds of performance of any settlement house, including the International Club performances. A simple printed poster from 1935 (see Figure 7 below) announced dancing and singing from various countries, listing

⁴⁹ James, “Not Merely for the Sake of an Evening’s Entertainment” (1998), 304.

⁵⁰ “The Nations’ Dances,” uncredited newspaper clipping [1935], University Settlement House, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 189. *CTA*.

“Chinese, Canadian, Danish, English, Jewish, Macedonian, Ukranian [*sic*]” above the bolded words “EVERYBODY WELCOME.”⁵¹ The spring festival showcased the dances, music, and cultures of diverse nationalities including a curious entry of ‘Canadian,’ which will be discussed further below.



Figure 7. Poster for 1935 Spring festival, University Settlement House.
Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 190.

A newspaper review of the festival indicated that the Chinese members of the settlement participated for the first time in 1935, describing their involvement vividly:

Two Chinese actors from the Elizabeth Chinese Club, were among the most colorfully garbed performers. Vested as if for priestly ceremonial [*sic*], with enormous headresses

⁵¹ Series 619, sub-series 2, File 190. CTA.

[sic] of roses on a silver crown, and accompanied by a Chinese orchestra with peculiar instruments that operated on a five-tone scale, they gave some elaborate action songs that were well received.⁵²

The description stressed the strangeness of the performance, demonstrating Thobani's assertion that the category of immigrant is cast as "perpetual strangers." Their performance was notable in its very difference, difference that only became intelligible against the norm of the exalted national subject. The very foreignness of the Chinese performers "reveals the heterogeneous nature of the population by drawing attention to the presence of racial Others within the nation's psychosocial and physical space" yet through their racialized difference, the Chinese performers "paradoxically help sustain the myth of the nation as homogenous, by constructing as perpetual strangers those to whom the category is assigned."⁵³ Performances of other cultures were described in less detail but also were marked in their difference, named 'unusual' by the journalist: "Equally picturesque in their way were the Ukrainians in the Katerina and other numbers; the Danish performers in the unusual Ox dance, and a stately waltz; the Jewish dancers in the Palestinian Hora, and the Macedonians in characteristic episodes."⁵⁴

Yet, among the cultures celebrated in this 1935 festival, there was a Canadian group. *The Toronto Daily Star* described the Canadians as "women in sun-poke bonnets and old-time flouncy skirts, [who] confined themselves to old barn dances."⁵⁵ Two years later, the same festival broke from previous international traditions because participants wanted to express "their feeling of Canadian citizenship": "On Saturday afternoon Grange park will be the scene of country dances. At former festivals, international dances have been performed but this year those

⁵² "2,000 Dancers Perform in Colorful Spectacle." Uncredited newspaper clipping, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Sub-series 2, File 189. CTA.

⁵³ Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*, 76.

⁵⁴ "2000 Dancers Perform in Colorful Spectacle," uncredited newspaper clipping, University Settlement House, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 189. CTA.

⁵⁵ "Many Folk Dances Seen at the Festival," *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 28, 1935. Newspaper clippings, 1928-1935, Fonds 1024 Series 619, sub-series 2, File 189. CTA.

taking part felt that they would like to express their feeling of Canadian citizenship by doing old English country dances.”⁵⁶

The inter-cultural celebrations of these public spring festivals were framed against an assumption of Canadian subjectivity that naturalized an English ‘settler’ or colonial culture as the national subject. Despite a significant discursive shift in the construction of the citizen through performance, the spectacle of multiple cultures, and even the assertions of cultural contributions to Canadian identity were framed within a fundamental assumption of the Canadian subject as Anglo-Celtic and Protestant. This discursive framing was mirrored by the physical space of the 1935 performance. The performances took place in the green space of Grange Park in downtown Toronto, which was framed in a cultivated portico decorated with garlands: “The whole performance, enacted against the background of the old Grange House portico, with its pillars decorated with garlands of green, was artistic to a fault and was illustrative of the many strains of culture available for the Canada that is in the making.”⁵⁷

The various cultures were framed—literally—by Grecian-style pillars, which brings to mind the fact that Greece is frequently heralded as the birthplace of democracy and has been evoked by Western European and colonized nations to mark their own civilization. The performance space itself was one that cultivated nature into a civilized space—a groomed city park.

The public celebration of cultural differences indicated the threshold of the discursive transformation in terms of its limits. The cultural experiences and backgrounds of University Settlement House members were highlighted through the spring festivals in an incredibly public way, which shifted the discursive statements about the musical cultivation of citizens away from complete assimilation into Anglo-Celtic Protestant culture toward something that could be

⁵⁶ “Strike English Note in Settlement Show,” *Toronto Daily Star*, May 29, 1940, 32.

⁵⁷ “2000 Dancers Perform in Colorful Spectacle,” uncredited newspaper clipping, University Settlement House, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 189. *CTA*.

understood as a crucible for the modern Canadian construction of a multicultural citizen, but always-already predicated then and now on a continued assumption of a colonial-settler subjectivity. Indeed, as Thobani argues, the colonial-settler national subject was constructed through its difference from the cultural differences marking immigrants. As Vaugeois cogently observes, “while multiculturalism signifies a commitment to ‘inclusion,’ it actually creates *definitional exclusion*. It is used to maintain distinctions between those who are the original founders of the nation state and those who are defined as adjuncts and outsiders.”⁵⁸

It is worth noting the absence from University Settlement Music School at the spring festivals. While the school may have had some peripheral involvement by providing musicians for a few of the performances, the school classified these spring festivals as social music, and therefore fell outside of its jurisdiction to be the responsibility of the settlement house at large. The distinction made by the term social music bracketed off particular forms and intents of music-making, preserving conservatory-style training in Western European Art Music as the milieu for the music school, but also discursively constructing music *training* (within the jurisdiction of the music school) as the most exalted musical practice.

The Discursive Threshold of Inter-Cultural Work

The National Clubs opened up the possibility that artistic practices of immigrants could be used as techniques to build community, while the International Clubs marked the emergence of a new idea of the citizen subject predicated on tolerance for cultural difference. That tolerance operated on two levels: first, among ethnic groups for each other, enacted through the sharing of song and dance to help appreciate each other more through musical practices. Second, and perhaps more importantly, there was also tolerance on the parts of settlement workers for cultural

⁵⁸ Vaugeois, “Social Justice and Music Education,” 173.

differences as not only a necessary educative tool, but even a desirable component of Canadian identity. Settlement workers, already cast as national subjects, reconfigured their own subjectivity as a benevolent subject that accepted cultural differences, although only allowable differences of artistic practices.

Yet this shift toward appreciation of immigrant heritages was also predicated on racial and class exclusions. For example, Toronto's settlements may not have outright excluded African Canadians from participation as happened in many American settlements,⁵⁹ but there were some indications that they were not necessarily welcomed with open arms at the beginning of settlement work through the 1910s and 1920s. All settlements performed minstrel shows as part of their entertainments, which included dressing in blackface and singing extremely offensive lyrics about an African American character Little Willie.⁶⁰ At St. Christopher House, Mina Barnes recalled efforts to prevent African Canadians from participating in clubs during her tenure as headworker in the 1930s.⁶¹ Mackey suggests that early Canadian nationalism movements tried to construct Canada as a "Britain of the North" to differentiate Canada from "South peoples (races)" and also from America and its "large Negro element,"⁶² suggests that beyond separating certain aspects of immigrant cultures into allowable (such as arts) and not-allowable (such as 'Old World customs'), some 'cultures' seemed to be valued more than others, namely European immigrants over African Americans in both the United States and in Canada. The musical construction of citizenship at the settlement houses represented a dense tangle of ideas and assumptions constantly being negotiated and reinforced, transformed and reproduced.

⁵⁹ See Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbor*, for an insightful analysis of the systematic exclusion of African Americans from the settlement house movement in America.

⁶⁰ For an in-depth examination of minstrel shows and racism in Canada, see Lorraine Le Camp, "Racial Considerations of Minstrel Shows and Related Images in Canada" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2005).

⁶¹ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 127.

⁶² Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter. Russell (Montréal: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1966), 17, quoted in Mackey, *House of Difference*, 31.

Conclusion

Through the work of the national and International Clubs, and the spring festivals at University Settlement House, settlement approaches to integrating immigrant music practices signaled a discursive shift toward tolerance of cultural difference and away from the assimilationist approach that settlement workers had used for the previous decades, and still used in other programs, such as the settlement music schools. However, this new tolerance of cultural differences marked a discursive threshold and reproduced a social hierarchy that exalted the position of workers and reinforced outsider status of immigrants and their cultures. The terms for tolerating were set by the workers.

While the kinds of musics shifted through the National and International Clubs, along with the rationales for those musical practices and the construction of the citizen subject, music continued to be framed as a tool toward social ends. However, the complex assemblage of musical practices and rationales within the settlement houses suggest that the notion of Canadian citizen was not fixed, although shot through with a colonial “settler” imaginary. The musical practices of the settlements, and their emerging rationales, produced both recreational and educational sites to reinforce, negotiate, contest, and transform not just individuals, but the very notion of what it meant to educate toward citizenship.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

The success or failure of any educational project, musical or otherwise, must to-day be measured in terms of its ability to further the social development of all those who fall within its sphere of influence. Its aim must be the development of the personality as an integral part of the dynamic whole called Society.¹

From the opening of University Settlement House in 1910 to the onset of World War II, settlement workers increasingly described music's purpose as a tool to foster the 'civic betterment' of Toronto's poor, working-class, and immigrant neighborhoods, constructing a social rationality of music that in turn contributed to the discursive formation of community music. In the early operations of the settlement houses, organizers used music in clubs and recreational programs without much reflection or rationale, but by the end of the 1930s, music's role in civic betterment and community building had consolidated into the settlement music schools, whose organizers articulated music as an educational project directed toward the social development "of all those who fall within its sphere of influence." In the thirty years leading to University Settlement Music School report excerpted above, the musical work of Toronto's settlement houses contributed to the conditions that made the report's statement of music's social purpose possible.

Summary

This dissertation has attempted neither to prove nor disprove the validity of the claims made in the music school report. Instead, I have set my focus on the social conditions that made these claims possible, examining how the practices and rationales used by Toronto's settlement houses contributed to the production of community music not just as a musical field, but as a

¹ University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1940-41, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

discourse, historically bound up in the production of citizenship. I used analytical tools from Foucault's archaeology to study four of Toronto's settlement houses: University Settlement House, Central Neighbourhood House, St. Christopher House, and Memorial Institute.

The two interlocking purposes of this dissertation have been: first to analyze how Toronto's settlement house workers used music toward their objective of cultivating the civic betterment of Toronto's poor and immigrant neighbourhoods; my second, broader, goal was to historicize the term community music by examining how music's role in Toronto's settlement houses contributed to the emergence of community music's social rationality within the modern era. My analysis consequently focused on the central question of how Toronto's settlement house movement contributed to the discursive production of community music by examining their musical practices and rationales within their overall objective of citizenship training. I pursued my main question through three distinct lines of inquiry: (1) how settlement workers enunciated music's role in settlement approaches to social problems; (2) how settlement music practices gained intelligibility in relation to music practices outside of the settlements; and (3) how various musics differently organized social relations in relation to the production of citizenship.

These three lines of inquiry guided my analysis through a complex intersection of assumptions, ideas, practices and relations. Through the four studies comprising this dissertation, what becomes clear is that music was not only a technique toward citizenship, but a site in which notions of citizenship were constituted through race, class, age, and gender relations. By considering the ways in which power relations interpenetrated discursive formations of citizenship and music, my analytical project became too unwieldy to attend to every dynamic at play in every historical moment that I examined. Instead, I chose to foreground more prominent dynamics in each of the four studies, even while intersections of race, gender, class, and age were always at play in a field of overlapping and shifting moral, cultural, and social discourses.

In the first study, I examined the ways in which settlement house organizers characterized the fall-out of Toronto's industrialization as social and moral problems, but problems constructed through race and class. Organizers hoped settlement houses in poor neighbourhoods could bridge class divides as well as differences among groups of immigrants, largely by offering programs that focused on cultural work, or "education for life." Settlement house proponents endeavoured to reconfigure race and class divisions by launching group-based educational and recreational programs that would cultivate personal responsibility to the larger whole, characterized as the communal self. However, the community that workers sought to cultivate was a hierarchical concept, in which the workers were the authority on values and behaviours appropriate to community, city, and nation. The interlocking focus on developing community and citizenship pursued by settlement workers exalted their own status as national subjects, namely Anglo-Celtic, middle-class, and Protestant.

While gender figured only briefly in the first study, the gendered organization of relations became more central in the second study, which analyzed the uses of music in democratic and recreational clubs. Organizers structured these clubs so that members would use democratic procedure to run their own meetings. However, workers hoped that club work would extend self-governing yet gendered behaviours beyond the confines of the club, in which male members would become active participants in public life and female members would take care of home, family, and community. Workers segmented clubs not only by gender but by age, with the overriding logic that children exhibited a kind of plasticity that could be molded more effectively than adults into behaviours appropriate for liberal democracy. The uses of music in democratic clubs were largely effective rather than deliberate, in which British and American folk music produced a British settler construct of Canadian identity while simultaneously fostering a sense of belonging and loyalty to club, and by extension to community, city, nation, and God.

Music classes and clubs grew more prevalent during the 1920s, and by 1930, all four settlement houses had launched conservatory-style music schools in partnership with the Toronto Conservatory of Music, institutionalizing music's role in settlement work. The third study in this dissertation examines the social work of the music schools, particularly in how the trope of good music not only contributed to the repeatability of conservatory-style training as a tool for civic betterment, but constructed mutually reinforcing hierarchies of music, race, and class. The settlement music schools endeavoured to facilitate the 'uplift' of their pupils through training in Western European Art Music (WEAM), paradoxically producing the very hierarchies that the music training was endeavouring to transcend. Good music was an effective, inconspicuous trope that established and normalized truths about the rightness of both musical and social hierarchies that reinforced each other: a musical hierarchy in which WEAM was cast as the highest form of music and a social hierarchy in which Anglo-Celtic Protestant subjects were cast as the most evolved form of citizen—the national subject.

In the final study, I examined the music practices of the National and International Clubs, which reconfigured the trope of citizenship through cultural difference rather than homogeneity. Unlike the music schools or even the democracy clubs, the clubs for immigrants used music and dance of the members' cultural backgrounds with the hopes that this sharing would bridge differences and create a sense of belonging among group members. As International Clubs began performing in public, music became a technique through which celebration of cultural difference could be promoted publicly, producing a discursive statement that national subjects were tolerant of difference. While the approach shifted the discursive terrain to include musical practices of immigrants, the terms of acceptance were set by the settlement workers themselves.

Key Themes

While the specific conditions shifted through each of the four studies in terms of musics, participants, and rationales, what emerged consistently was an over-riding social rationality for the work of music in settlement houses. That is to say, music's purpose was not just to foster social cohesion but to regulate social relationships within poor neighbourhoods and strengthen relationships between classes. Through the studies of this research project, from music in democracy training clubs to settlement music school training to inter-cultural festivals, settlement workers consistently used and increasingly articulated music's purpose through its social utility. Yet the various kinds of music practices were used in specific recreational and educational sites so that the musical citizenship work sutured musical practices to social hierarchies, producing a musical hierarchy.

Community Music and the Production of Musical Hierarchies

Settlement workers' notion of community was a paradoxical combination of levelling inequalities and reinforcing hierarchies, and their music practices contributed to this paradoxical idea of community. On the one hand, settlement organizers considered music to function as a kind of education for life that could level out the inequalities between classes, religions, and ethnic groups through fostering social interactions and cultivating the communal self. However, their idea of levelling was largely through the cultural uplift of disadvantaged populations in which the culture and values of the workers themselves was re-produced as the most exalted because the workers themselves set the music practices and the terms for participation.

Workers understood levelling and uplift processes embedded in their musical work as a form of education, regardless of whether the music practices were considered recreational, such as the social music of the democracy clubs, or a form of training, such as the music education of the settlement schools. However, different musics were used to varying ends in different

contexts. The self-governing clubs normatively used British folk music throughout their clubs, which was considered social music. Social music, distinct from the music training of the music schools, pointed to an ensemble of musics derived from British and American folk traditions that were easy to learn and encouraged broad participation rather than focusing on musical skills development. Music was an effective technique in supporting the work of clubs to organize individuals into peer groups and practice social interactions as an explicit technique in self-government as both individual and collective levels. The specific musics used in clubs articulated self-governance in terms of an assumed British Protestant subject that was gendered.

The distinction between social music and musics of the non-British European immigrants was less clear. At times, their music cultures were included as a part of social music; at other times, musics of immigrants were not included in any settlement music practices, devaluing their social standing not by overt condemnation as with popular music, but rather by their omission. The ways in which National Clubs and International Clubs integrated and celebrated cultural differences through the music cultures of various ethnic groups did mark a shift toward tolerance of cultural difference through celebration and sharing of music and dance, yet the terms for tolerance were set by the Anglo-Celtic Protestant settlement workers, suggesting that the musical practices of immigrant residents occupied an ambivalent role in the musical hierarchy: not as exalted as Western European Art Music, not as developed as British folk music, but certainly more acceptable and useful than popular musics. In this way, the inclusion of immigrant music practices in settlement programming contributed to the conditions out of which emerged multiculturalism, which has since become commonly held to be a characteristic of Canadian identity.

The music schools institutionalized music's role in social work. Conservatory-style music training in WEAM was rationalized by settlement organizers as an effective socializing tool that

could teach discipline, comportment, and hard work, while also offering beauty and happiness that workers felt was not otherwise possible for their music students. The institutionalization of music was the institutionalization of WEAM as the exalted music. Because WEAM was sacralized as the highest form of music, social reformers largely assumed that WEAM was the music of the most civilized nations. Further, because English Canada predicated its national identity on an Anglo-Celtic Protestant or British settler subjectivity, WEAM was claimed by English Canada as a musical marker of civilized society.

Here was marked a paradoxical project in which settlement workers framed (Western European Art) music as uplift, progress, and development, all of which suggested social mobility up musical and social hierarchies, yet at the same time the very project of social and musical uplift depended on the reproduction of social and musical hierarchies. Settlement house workers used music in their efforts to level social relationships between classes and immigrant groups while also producing the social hierarchies that distinguished race, class, and gender. The very act of cultural uplift contributed to the exaltation of the national subject and the exaltation of WEAM, in which settlement workers produced themselves as national subjects (Canadians) through acting as the arbiters of successful social and cultural progress of their members.

Throughout this dissertation, I have attended to the language used by settlement workers and how their word choices regarding community, social, and citizenship continually reconfigured the relationship between music and civic betterment. Terms used to describe their project were constantly shifting between houses and over time, which posed an analytical problem in my attempt to locate specific discursive constructions that each term produced. However, I soon realized that the slippage between terms was precisely what imbued music's role in civic betterment with such potency. The clearest example of this slippage is how settlement house proponents variously described their educational project: as 'citizenship

training’ and ‘Canadianizing’ (which is more overtly a nation-building concept); ‘civic betterment’ (which suggests a relationship to nationalism but more as a trope of citizen within a liberal democracy); ‘social development’ (which suggests a focus on relationships between people understood as non-political); and ‘human development’ (which could mean either an individual focus or an abstracted universal notion of humanity).

The slippage between these terms is not something to clear up and categorize. Instead, the confusion between the terms was precisely what connected all of these ideas together and made each term so powerful in seemingly simple guises, tying a universalized notion of ‘human development’ to a clear nation-building project indicated in ‘Canadianizing.’ The associations between concepts of social development and Canadianizing also created the discursive space for the seemingly simple term of good music to appear as both an effect and an instrument in the production of social and musical hierarchies without naming those processes as such, but instead using vague and positive-sounding terms such as ‘uplift’ and ‘beauty’ to describe the purpose of conservatory-style training in settlement contexts.

Constructing Hierarchies through Race, Morality, and Class

Also throughout this dissertation I have characterized settlement workers of the four houses as Anglo-Celtic Protestant middle-class, and an examination of each of these descriptors offers insights into how settlement work produced particular social and musical hierarchies. The term Anglo-Celtic (or Anglo-Saxon, which was more commonly used in the era) refers directly to the workers’ British colonial subjectivity, which I have argued constructed Canadian citizenship as British. However, the term points to the racial construction of the exalted national subject; that is to say, ‘Anglo-Celtic’ was code for white. Postcolonial scholars have effectively argued that Canadian nationality has been constructed through the exaltation not just of Britain

but of whiteness, against which ‘other’ races are measured.² In the early 1900s, the racial hierarchy was explicit, in which the exalted “Canadian race” was configured as white and British. As I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation, music was bound up in racial hierarchies, in which Western European Art Music was the most advanced form of music and therefore the music of Canada’s British subjects. On bottom of the music hierarchy was popular music of ragtime, which was associated with African Americans, and settlement workers unequivocally felt popular music was not only inferior but deleterious to the cultivation of citizenship among members. The music of immigrant groups was ambivalently viewed and the attempts that settlement workers made to cultivate immigrants into citizens implies a social mobility, calling to mind the supplicant status that Thobani argues is a defining feature of immigrant subjects.

Given Canada’s history as a colony of England, combined with the emerging phenomenon of non-British immigration, any discussion of Canada’s nation-state is predicated on the colonization of indigenous peoples, and the settlements appear to have ignored that aspect altogether. This perspective aligns with Vaugeois’ study of hierarchies of the human in which music is explored as a tool of colonization in Canada,³ by insisting that the relations between British settler-cum-national-subjects and aboriginal peoples were also bound to the newcomers participating in the settlement houses. While the relationships between settlement houses and indigenous peoples clearly warrants further study, in the context of discursive constructions of citizenship through musical practices, the absolute exclusion of indigenous people ultimately constructed the Canadian citizen as a colonial subject.

² Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*; Mackey, *The House of Difference*; Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation*; Vaugeois, “Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education”; Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

³ Vaugeois, “Colonization and the Institutionalization of Hierarchies of the Human through Music Education.”

The moral fears of popular music suggest that the term ‘Protestant’ also conditioned the emergence of particular subjectivities. Memorial Institute and St. Christopher House were overtly Christianizing as well as Canadianizing in their objectives, yet even in the secular houses of Central Neighbourhood House and University Settlement House, workers had moral concerns if not religious objectives. The emphasis on character building and cultural uplift were attempts to inscribe particular values onto the bodies and habits of the members of the houses. Workers were concerned with the moral conduct of their members, fearing what they called “white slavery,” or prostitution of girls and “gang life” for boys. Music associated with lower classes, in particular popular music, was discussed in terms of moral degeneracy. Conversely, Western European Art Music, by virtue of its so-called inherent beauty might also encourage listeners and pupils to *be* good. From Foucault’s perspective, questions of morality are questions of how behaviour is inscribed on the self. In this way, the self-governing work of the democracy clubs, and the character-building work of the music schools were also moral projects in terms of governmentality through attempts to govern behaviours, and more importantly, to encourage individuals to regulate their own behaviours.

The final phrase within the descriptive phrase of settlement workers is *middle class*, and the production of class was as important as race and morality in the exaltation of national subjects, although issues of class have been difficult to foreground when racial hierarchies were pervasive in the archives as well as a central focus of postcolonial Canadian scholars theorizing the construction of nationalism. However, race alone cannot account for the disdain that settlement workers had for what they called lower-class entertainments. Workers often lauded Europeans who they felt exhibited a higher cultural status, such as the St. Christopher report that argued the “Anglo-Saxon tenants” of certain houses in the neighbourhood had the lowest cultural status in comparison with European immigrants whose culture, they felt, was “of a much higher

order.”⁴ A singular focus on race cannot account entirely for this denigration of popular music, or the disdain of the working class *en masse*. Class and race cannot be separated from each other, yet neither are they collapsible into each other.

The work that Anglo-Celtic Protestant middle-class settlement workers undertook to educate immigrants in citizenship produced not just immigrant citizens, but also produced the middle and upper classes that did the educating; their work on others in fact produced their own subjectivity not just as moral citizens, but as Canadians. However, the notion of the Canadian citizen was not fixed, nor were music practices systematic or unified. Music practices proliferated in various ways, from the informal to formal, from active to passive, from mono-cultural to multi-cultural. It was through the proliferation of multiple musical practices that the production of Canadian citizenship was negotiated, reasserted, and at times contested. While the musical work of the settlements converged into community music schools by the end of the 1930s, the music schools were not an inevitable outcome of the combined musical and social practices, but instead emerged from a proliferation of musical practices, beginning informally and normatively. The largely separate but parallel emergence of immigrant-focused clubs points to the shifting discursive formations of citizenship.

By shifting music from an ends to a means, music became a quotidian yet powerful site to produce the very notion of Canadian citizenship. While it may seem like an overstatement to suggest that settlements had a significant hand in forming Canadian identity, Toronto’s settlements were attended by thousands of people each year through to the 1940s, suggesting that settlement programs and activities had far-reaching effects within Toronto, working on a practical and intimate level to establish, educate, and perform Canadian citizenship.

⁴ “What changes have taken place in the neighbourhood of your settlement since 1911?”, 1937, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 621. CTA.

Reflections on the Research Project

My investigation into the various music practices of the settlement houses was an endeavour to address an understudied phenomenon that brings together music, community, and citizenship in one historical moment. This dissertation sits at the intersection of these various historical threads, and many more. However, the substantive focus of the dissertation opened up analytical possibilities through critical historical research techniques. The techniques of archaeology enabled an analysis of the interplay between diverse discourses that would perhaps be less possible in traditional historical methods, particularly in examining correlations between statements and examining which ideas and practices are excluded as well as which are included. That I had to pay attention to (and in some cases, had to hunt for) activities and ideas that were *not* mentioned in archival documents offered a technique to draw a different body of evidence outside of settlement house archives, which would contribute to an analysis of musical constructions of citizens within settlement houses. By considering which musics were not included in settlement activities, I could better understand the kinds of values and assumptions that underpinned the assertions made by settlement workers, which in turn began to shape what could be known about music education in community contexts.

Similarly, archaeology also demands an interdisciplinary approach through the directive of looking for how a certain discursive statement correlates to other statements. This directive has the distinct methodologically vexing problem of unearthing ever-sprawling ideas, happenings, and sources, but at the same time puts various disciplines in conversation with each other, such as music education, citizenship studies, and social work. Archaeology defies rigid delineation between disciplines and ideas. The task for me then became one of selection, of deciding which stories to tell, which threads to follow, which necessarily meant that some threads were left unfollowed. For example, by focusing on the inter-relationship between musical

practices and social relations, I did not focus on how economic relations conditioned both. I also did not focus on the relationship between Aboriginal people and settlement houses, despite that relationship making intelligible the entire project of nation-building in Canada. I chose to focus on the relations of immigration and class because there appeared to be less scholarship that examined the circulation of music in these particular ways, but further study on the real and imagined relationship between settlement house proponents and Aboriginal people would only deepen the understanding of music's role in the production of citizens.

Another limit of this research project was the dearth of voices from the members themselves: the working class and the poor who participated in these programs. I have endeavoured not to make claims about whether members 'actually' became citizens, instead focusing on the rationales that settlement workers used and the ends that they hoped to achieve. Nonetheless, the perspectives of the members are less prevalent through this study. What I hope this study was able to demonstrate was that participation in settlement house activities was neither an act of freedom nor an act of domination, but both at once. As Cruikshank suggests about the cultivation of democratic subjects, "even the most democratic modes of government entail power relations that are both voluntary and coercive."⁵ In examining paradoxical phenomena, Foucault's analytical project opens up the space to consider possibilities and constraints simultaneously. That is to say, while this dissertation certainly has a critical approach that questions assumptions made about music and citizenship, the point of the work is not to make a judgment on whether particular sets of actions are good or bad but to ask how a given idea has come to be thought of in that way rather than another.

I found that archaeology posed a limit in trying to analyze how music activities were deployed to regulate behaviours, which was a key purpose to many of the musical activities used

⁵ Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower*, 3.

by settlement workers. While my central concern remained firmly set on the formation of discourses, the ways in which bodies were arranged to produce self-governing behaviours demanded that I draw in tools derived from Foucault's theory of governmentality. Music is an embodied practice and as such calls attention to the ways in which discourses are marked on the body. However, in my research focus, I was more concerned with the ways in which bodies were organized to produce discourses. My use of governmentality within an archaeological project points to the mutually conditioning relationship between ideas and bodies. That is to say, the formation of subjects is simultaneously the effect *and* the instrument of discursive formations.

Finally, archaeology demands a focus on how certain ideas arose historically and came into circulation, became normalized and taken as true might provide insight into the kinds of contemporary assumptions made about how things are or how things ought to be. Emma Pérez emphasizes archeology as an effective method by which to interrogate an historical project, or indeed the act of writing history altogether.⁶ For Pérez, Foucault's emphasis on discontinuity opens up silences and what she calls interstices that disrupt linear historical narratives, which in turn opens the possibilities in present-day subjectivity. From this perspective, constructing, questioning, and/or reconstructing historical narratives is a compelling act for the present. I heed Gordon Cox's call to use historical research as a way to engage with the present by addressing contemporary questions with historical methods to produce a "usable past,"⁷ or as Pérez succinctly articulates: "History is, after all, our understanding of the present through the past."⁸

⁶ Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*.

⁷ Gordon Cox, "Transforming Research in Music Education History," in *MENC Handbook of Research Methodologies*, ed. Richard Colwell (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 457.

⁸ Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, 56.

Areas for Further Research

This research project opened up rather than foreclosed historical questions about the intersection of music, social order, and citizenship, suggesting many avenues for further research. There are broadly three kinds of research areas: the study of formation of subjects; widening the geographic scope; and critical analyses of related historical topics.

Study of the Formation of Subjects

While this study examined the general relations between settlement workers and settlement members and how music organized these social relations, further research could delve into each of these two groups connected to settlement houses. In particular, research into the musical practices of immigrants in Toronto during the early twentieth century would provide a much needed social history of the musical practices in Toronto's poor communities, including musical practices of ethnic groups as well as studies that built on the work of scholars like Robin Elliott⁹ to examine the various popular musics in Toronto, particularly in relation to the construction of race, class and gender.

As a subset of the settlement membership, children and youth represented an intense concern and possibility for settlement workers. Further research is needed to examine the ways in which settlement work in general and musical work in particular focused on the cultivation of children and youth as citizens in the making. A specific focus on youth would yield particularly useful insights for music educators, especially given the emergence of the concept of adolescence at the turn of the twentieth century, which also produced a groundswell of concern about how to manage adolescence, a question that has dogged social service workers and educators arguably to present day.

⁹ Elliott, "Ragtime Spasms."

Widening the Geographic Scope

By focusing on a group of settlement houses in Toronto, this study aimed to approach the musical practices of settlements as a movement. The settlement movement, however, was national in scope, and while Toronto was the first city in Canada to open settlement houses, which set the tone for the settlement movement nationally, additional research could examine the movement as a phenomenon that unfolded across the nation as a whole, with particular attention to the ways in which organizers in different cities used and rationalized music in similar or different ways to Toronto. Extending beyond Canada, comparative research could connect the historical scholarship on settlement music practices across the globe, beginning with Britain and the United States, both of which used music, albeit in slightly different ways. An examination of the emergence of community music through the settlement house movement might provide insight into the relationship between music, citizenship, modernization, and perhaps colonization, given the spread of the settlement movement largely through European and colonized nations emerging in the modern era.

Critical Analyses of Related Topics

Community music schools have been under-studied in music education scholarship. This study offers only a small contribution to research on Canada's music schools, and there is significantly more research that could be undertaken to explore, question, and support music schools. Further historical work may find discursive correlations as well as discursive breaks. Perhaps music schools formed in different time periods might reveal shifts in musical practices or rationales. Even among the four settlement music schools discussed in this study, there remains a large yet important historical lacunae beginning with World War II. Settlement houses faced shifting immigration patterns, shifting social divisions as a result of the war, and other municipal changes, such as the establishment of community centres. All of these factors suggest

significant changes that might offer compelling discursive shifts in the work of the settlement houses and their music schools.

The Discursive Production of Community Music in the Contemporary Moment

While the musical practices of Toronto's settlement houses in the early twentieth century offer a rather small case study arguably buried in the depths of the past, the idea that music can make people better remains central to many community music initiatives and scholarship. The proliferation of *El Sistema* projects in the United States, across Canada, in Britain, and other places around the world promote instrumental music ensemble training as a form of social development.¹⁰ A similar program called "Conductors without Borders" was launched in 2007 by the International Federation for Choral Music to spread "the social values of choral singing" in majority-world countries.¹¹

All of these projects use Western-European-derived musical practices and repertoires as the tool towards social and human development. I do not mean to suggest that the historical practices of Toronto settlement houses are the same as current community musical practices around the globe. However, this historical study offers some analysis of the kinds of assumptions that were made that may be relevant to contemporary thinking around the kinds of assumptions that might currently be circulating about music as a tool towards social or civic betterment. Historicizing these contemporary assumptions might lead to important contemporary questions of practice and scholarship: what kinds of citizens are being made, and who is making better

¹⁰ *El Sistema* is a national orchestral training program in Venezuela that purports to lift children out of poverty through intensive musical training. Many music educators around the globe have launched *El Sistema*-inspired projects to provide orchestral training to children in low-income urban neighbourhoods as a form of social uplift. For an ethnography and critique of Venezuela's system, see Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹¹ See <http://www.ifcm.net/public/doc/504.pdf> accessed April 25, 2015.

citizens of whom? My hope in analyzing community music historically is not to trace a clear line from past to present, but to use history as a way to trouble present-day assumptions.

EPILOGUE

What I say ought to be taken as ‘propositions,’ ‘game openings’ where those who may be interested are invited to join in—they are not meant as dogmatic assertions that have to be taken or left en bloc.¹

Through the project of researching Toronto’s settlement houses and their music practices, I have endeavored to follow Foucault’s lead in analyzing discursive formations without second-order judgements; that is, without describing how things ought to have been or should be now. Besides agreeing with his argument that the past is not connected to the present in any straight line, and that rendering contemporary claims out of historical research is at best banal and at worst fallacious, I also hoped that an analytical, as opposed to judgmental, approach might allow me to be measured, neither to love nor critique the settlement workers too much. I have little doubt, however, that my project has landed quite firmly on the critique side.

And so I must confess (the act of confession begging another Foucaultian analysis that I will leave to someone else) that I have become more than a little enamored with the settlement houses and their music schools. The workers fought city officials to create playgrounds for children who otherwise played on streets. Settlement house workers were on the vanguard of shifts in attitudes toward racialized ‘others.’ The settlement houses created mechanisms for women to participate in, and shape, civic life, albeit in their own Anglo-Celtic, middle-class likeness. Even within the music schools, I grew fond of the individuals who dedicated hundreds of volunteer hours to their operation: like pianist Norman Wilks, who chaired the Music Committee at University Settlement Music School for a decade and worked tirelessly and warmly to support the settlement music school, even performing in fundraising concerts and attending music school recitals. Barbara Cass-Beggs, the director of University Settlement Music

¹ Foucault, “Questions of Method,” 246.

School in the 1940s, was a Christian Socialist who provided space in the music school for the Communists to meet. She also launched musical programs in public schools that brought world music artists into classrooms so that children could learn about cultures through music.

I heed Cruikshank's words about democracy in this particular context of settlement house work, in that the discourses at play were both constraining and enabling. "The will to empower others and oneself is neither a bad nor a good thing. It is political; the will to empower contains the twin possibilities of domination and freedom."² The purpose of this dissertation never was to attack or defend the musical work of the settlement houses but to examine how what they did shaped what could be known about music as a social tool.

In the opening quotation of this epilogue, Foucault suggests that his work operates as a game-opener or a proposition, not meant to be authoritative and final but to shift the ground and open up space to consider our assumptions in a new way. If this dissertation offers any 'call to action' I follow Foucault in suggesting it is not about finding solutions, but about engaging in the struggle. Political theorist William Connolly, who draws from Foucault among other theorists, persuasively argues *not* to resolve or rise above the tension of differences shot through with power relations, but rather to "insert a stutter in the faith," which would:

implicate oneself in a series of paradoxes and limitations. Such a stutter does not enable you to render everything in your faith perfectly transparent. Each existential faith comes to terms with itself in relation to a specific set of alternatives historically available to it. Much in the faith you share with others, then, will remain opaque to you and them. But it is nonetheless noble to sustain a certain torsion between the nourishment your faith provides and the periodic call to probe dimensions of its comparative contestability.³

Similar to the opening quotation by Foucault in which he frames his work as a game opener, Connolly suggests that questioning our own faith allows us to negotiate more fully the

² Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower*, 2.

³ William E. Connolly, *Identity/difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), xxii.

tensions and paradoxes therein. If there was a moral imperative embedded in my project, it was to insert a stutter into the unbreakable faith that contemporary community music scholars (including myself) have about our scholarly territory. I do not wish to suggest that positive transformations are not possible, not that we as educators and scholars should not strive for them. I do, however, wish to suggest that reflexive analyses such as this offer a moment to grapple with the impacts, positive and negative, of our practices.

When we question our own faith, we have to confront the paradoxes that shape our faith, suggesting a reflexive process in which we grapple with questions such as: who creates the terms for participation? What social claims are being made? Who is the object of those claims? Whose values underpin the work? We as researchers and practitioners must grapple with questions of power, of boundaries, to pay attention to the ways in which our actions and our language construct ourselves and others, indeed construct the very things we think. We must have faith, but we must also insert a stutter into that faith.

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APPENDIX 1: OVERVIEW OF TORONTO'S SETTLEMENT HOUSES

The following sections introduce each of the six settlement houses in Toronto, including the key actors that initiated the house, the founding missions, outside influences, and how citizenship was configured. Houses are introduced in chronological order, but information varies in detail due to uneven archival records.

Evangelia House (1902–1922)

Evangelia House, Toronto's first social settlement house, was established in 1902 by American settlement worker Sara Libby Carson, perhaps the most influential person in Toronto's early settlement house movement.¹ Carson, with her Montreal-born friend Mary Bell, opened Evangelia House in a residence at 716 Queen Street East with financial backing and volunteer support from the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Located in Toronto's predominantly Anglo-Celtic working-class neighbourhood of Riverdale, Evangelia not only exemplified Toronto's settlement house movement, but initiated many of the approaches that were taken up by the other five settlement houses in the ensuing decades.

Evangelia's 'neighbours,' which is to say, the people who participated in activities, were at first only Anglo-Celtic girls and young women. Working-class young women and girls posed a trying moral issue to social reformers concerned that these girls, without proper adult supervision and with disposable income and leisure time, were constantly under the threat of becoming both victims and perpetrators of moral degradation. Evangelia's organizers launched educational and recreational programs towards their central goal, which was "to keep its clientele

¹ Cathy James notes that Carson in many ways exemplified settlement organizers: she was religiously motivated yet welcomed all denominations to the house; she had tertiary education and was a member of the middle class; as a woman, she carved out an independent career yet upheld boundaries of acceptable gendered behaviour; and saw herself as acting for the beneficence of the working class. James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation," 22.

in school and away from the morally perilous world of paid employment for as long as possible.”²³

Yet, developing citizens was a key component in building morally upstanding women. To structure social activities for these girls, Carson introduced a club model, dividing women by age and, to a lesser extent by interest, to participate in social activities, but also to use parliamentary procedure to engage socially as a group (Chapter 3 discusses the democratic clubs in greater detail). The rooms on the main floor of the house hosted the clubs and classes, while the upstairs offered residences to Mary Bell, who was the headworker, and to other staff and volunteers.

By 1903, Evangelia had 600 members, with over 100 women and girls attending each day.⁴ Carson was remarkably effective at partnership building, and strategically approached women’s groups throughout Toronto to contribute funds or volunteers toward Evangelia’s activities. Within the first year alone, the settlement house had twenty-two volunteers comprising female students from colleges and university, as well as members of the female Round Table Club, a group of musicians and upper-class educated wives who met regularly to discuss topical issues of the city. Evangelia House expanded its programs to men and boys a few years after opening, and Carson went on to establish ten more settlement houses in the United States and in Canada (including St. Christopher House), leaving Evangelia in Mary Bell’s capable hands by 1908. While Evangelia closed its doors in 1922, the settlement house was largely responsible for launching the settlement movement in Canada, and its work carved out innovative approaches to social welfare that would be taken up and adapted by other settlement house organizers.

² James, “Reforming Reform,” 56.

³ James, “Reforming Reform,” 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

University Settlement House (1910-present)

University Settlement House was organized and sponsored by the University of Toronto, and as such was the first university settlement in Canada. In contrast to Evangelia House, when University Settlement House opened its doors at 467 Adelaide Street West in 1910, its exclusive focus was on boys and men as workers and as ‘neighbours,’ to “get in touch with the boys and men of the streets.”⁵ University Settlement House was established by University of Toronto President Robert Falconer with faculty of the University of Toronto who were interested in setting up practical volunteer social welfare experiences for their students, and a group of male students from the Victoria College Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). James describes Falconer as a Presbyterian scholar and a university administrator who was introduced to Britain’s settlement movement through his matriculation at Edinburgh University.⁶ Influenced by British idealism, and consequently driven as much by social gospel as by social reform, Falconer’s faith in academics and science gave a unique approach to their settlement efforts. Falconer championed student involvement in the “the problems of contemporary society”⁷ as a method both of bringing scientific study to social problems of the city and to give students practical experience to round out their matriculation. Perhaps more than any other Toronto settlement, University Settlement House was modelled on Toynbee Hall in Britain, which meant that the organizers focused on the educational and cultural betterment of their participants while also seeing the house as a training ground for students to get hands-on experience in social welfare work. The Toronto house also followed the British model in its male-centered approach. For Falconer, following British university settlements, men’s participation in settlement work

⁵ UTA Registrar’s Office, A73-0051/244(06) clippings – settlements, “University Settlement in Down-Town District” *Toronto World*, March 11, 1910.

⁶ James, “Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation,” 95.

⁷ Robert Falconer, “Inaugural Address,” *University of Toronto Monthly* VIII, 1(November 1907), 7-12.

was more important than women's because men would go on to hold powerful positions in society.⁸ Yet at the same time, men's involvement in settlement work was not an end goal, but an important stepping stone on their career paths toward these powerful positions.⁹

At the same time, however, University Settlement House was also influenced by the American settlement movement, and in particular Hull-House in Chicago. Hull-House, established and run by the formidable Jane Addams and frequented by educational philosopher and sociologist John Dewey, pioneered a scientific and rational approach to addressing social problems, an approach that University Settlement House adopted. As Carolyn Strange argues, this scientific approach was manifested in surveys and metrics under the firm belief that "the city [was] a social problem to be alleviated through rational management and social action."¹⁰

While University Settlement House opened its doors at the edge of the Ward, the house did not appear specifically to deal with the diverse 'foreign' populations of the Ward in an explicit way at first, or at least not beyond very general terms of elevating the population while educating the University of Toronto students in the realities of harsh city life. James argues that University Settlement House never clearly outlined its methods or goals in its first year, only vaguely identifying its dovetailed purpose of educating local residents while also "develop[ing] students' characters."¹¹ However, by the fall of 1911, the goals had been more clearly defined in a publication: the importance of University work in the city, giving students practice experience in social work, and a new third goal of focusing on civic betterment. University Settlement House had a rocky few years to begin, largely due to a lack of experience in operating a settlement house among the organizers and the first headworker J.M. Shaver, along with an

⁸ See James "Gender, Class and Ethnicity", 97; and Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*.

⁹ James argues that the group of men who organized University Settlement House often devalued Evangelia House, along with the work of the University of Toronto's female students. James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity", 98.

¹⁰ Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, 102.

¹¹ James "Gender, Class and Ethnicity", 108

apparent unwillingness to ask (female) organizers of Evangelia for advice.¹² There was quick turn-over of the first three (male) headworkers: J.M. Shaver, then Milton B. Hunt, then Norman Ware. Sara Libby Carson was brought in to reorganize the house in 1915, and upon hiring Ethel Dodds Parker, University Settlement House became a central fixture in the Grange neighbourhood in downtown Toronto.

Central Neighbourhood House (1911-present)

Central Neighbourhood House opened at 84 Gerrard Street one year after University Settlement House, in the Ward. Bordered by University Avenue and Yonge Streets to the west and east respectively, and by College and Queen Streets to the north and south respectively, the Ward, perhaps more than any other area of the city, had the densest and poorest population, and the highest levels of immigration. The material conditions were deplorable, exemplified by deteriorating housing and slum landlords, and the infrastructure was arguably worse, including poor sanitation, contaminated water, and no play areas.

These abhorrent conditions had been documented by two members of Victoria College's Student Christian Social Union, Arthur Burnett and George P. Bryce, in 1909 and 1910, and they were determined to make a social impact on the neighbourhood. They approached J. J. Kelso, who encouraged them to begin a Boy Scout group that emphasized "working with children in self-governing groups, and ... good citizenship,"¹³ but quickly turned to the idea of establishing a settlement that could reach more residents than just the boys.

Kelso had wanted to establish a settlement house in Toronto ever since he had attended the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Chicago in 1893. There, he had visited Hull-
House and met Jane Addams, and returned to Toronto convinced of the need of a similar

¹² James "Gender, Class and Ethnicity," 104.

¹³ O'Connor *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House*, 1986a, 4.

settlement within the Canadian city. While Kelso was involved in the development of University Settlement House, he was interested in initiating a house in the centre of the Ward that might more fully address the struggles of immigrants in the neighbourhood. Consequently, Central Neighbourhood House adopted an adamant non-sectarian approach, as well as an explicit focus on citizenship training, both ideas imported from Hull-House.

From the first meeting of its organizers, Central Neighbourhood House was avowedly non-sectarian and open to men and women of all ages, with an explicit focus on citizenship. Bryce's initial letter to potential organizers and supporters lauded the development of Canadian citizenship as the solution to the problems of the modern city, enthusiastically promoting the idea of a settlement in the Ward:

A proposal has been made to begin work on the lines of a social settlement in 'The Ward.' The idea is to proceed on broad and non-sectarian lines, and to meet the people of the vicinity, Jews, Italians, and others, as far as possible on common ground. Clubs, classes and other means would be utilized, and the ultimate aim would be the promotion of the best Canadian citizenship, and a contribution towards solving the problems of the modern city.¹⁴

The organizing committee established at that first meeting, consisting of a Catholic priest, a rabbi, a Unitarian minister, and several representatives from various Protestant denominations, set four broad goals for Central Neighbourhood House: (1) that it would be a democratic meeting place; (2) that it would be a social centre that would provide residents with opportunities for self-expressions, development, and sharing their distinctive contributions; (3) that it would be a site to gather information about the neighbourhood and the people who live there; (4) testing 'methods' for advancing social reform.

The organizing committee hired the indomitable Elizabeth Neufeldt as the first headworker of Central Neighbourhood House, described in *The Toronto Daily Star* in what could

¹⁴ Bryce, quoted in Rutman and Jones, *In the Children's Aid*, 129.

be described as a backhanded compliment as “a Jewess [*sic*] in appearance, a Russian in her soft accent, an Irishman to fight, and thoroughly Scotch when it comes to being interviewed.”¹⁵

Neufeldt was born into a Russian Jewish family, raised partly in the United States, and spoke four languages, which likely appealed to residents of the Ward, many of whom were Jewish and could converse with her in their own languages. Central Neighbourhood House was frequently accused of proselytizing its members,¹⁶ causing Neufeldt and the Board of Directors to reassert the house’s non-denominational principles to members and to the public at large, declaring that “Citizenship is their Gospel, Jane Addams is their John the Baptist and their Bible is the daily press when it knows enough to talk sense.”¹⁷ Given the Ward’s multi-lingual and religiously diverse population, Central Neighbourhood House instituted policies to keep the house as religiously neutral as possible, such as foregoing Christmas celebrations in favour of January holiday parties, and preparing only vegetarian meals so as not to isolate any children because of their religious-based dietary restrictions.

Neufeldt was outspoken and fought many progressive battles, within the settlement houses and beyond, including participating in Canada’s suffrage movement, and consequently her direction set Central Neighbourhood apart from the other houses by participating in systemic reform issues rather than focusing almost exclusively on reform of individuals in the neighbourhoods. The initial focus on citizenship training and a non-sectarian approach so firmly set the direction of Central Neighbourhood House that when the settlement moved out of the Ward and into the neighbouring low-income but mostly Anglo-Celtic neighbourhood of

¹⁵ “Eighteen Bodies are Doing Neighbourhood Work in the Ward,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, November 5, 1912, 15.

¹⁶ James wonders if Neufeldt’s Jewish identity was at the centre of the public outcry, noting that no other settlement house, including those that were evangelizing Protestant-run settlements, enduring as much scrutiny as Central Neighbourhood House, “Gender, Class, and Ethnicity,” 70.

¹⁷ “Eighteen Bodies are Doing Neighbourhood Work in the Ward,” 5.

Cabbagetown¹⁸ in 1928, citizenship training continued as a major focus for the settlement's work.

St. Christopher House (1912-present)

The Presbyterian Church of Canada formed the Board of Moral and Social Reform in 1907, which pursued social reform in two fundamentally different but complementary ways: first, by pressuring municipal and federal governments to adopt social reform policies that would better address the physical, financial and educational barriers that poor Torontonians faced, and also to reform the individuals of Toronto's low-income neighbourhoods, socially and spiritually, or as the founders of St. Christopher House articulated as their mission, to Christianize and Canadianize.¹⁹ The opening of St. Christopher House in 1912 demonstrated the strength of Canada's social gospel movement, and the ways in which the social gospel inflected and influenced Canada's social reform.

St. Christopher House was financially backed by the Presbyterian Church, and established by a prominent group of White male Presbyterian church leaders, including James A. MacDonald, John G. Shearer, George C. Pidgeon, Robert A. Falconer, Charles W. Gordon, and Thomas B. Kilpatrick. O'Connor describes this collection of men as using their "positions as academics, clerics, lobbyists and writers to promote their vision for a moral and civilized nation guided by Christian influences and standards,"²⁰ suggesting that the aims of this Presbyterian Board in their settlement work drew both from both a British tradition, which emphasized

¹⁸ O'Connor points out that Cabbagetown did not have the ethnic diversity of The Ward, but that there was still a significant amount of poverty, suggesting that these "poor conditions led novelist Hugh Garner to describe the area as North America's largest Anglo-Saxon slum." O'Connor, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986*, 26.

¹⁹ Brian Fraser notes that the Board determined that the purpose of a social settlement was "to humanize, civilize, and Christianize" (1988, 93).

²⁰ O'Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House* 1986b, 1. Valverde (2008) is much less measured in her analysis of the staunchly conservative ideologies of the leaders, describing John. G. Shearer in particular as being solely responsible for causing a "'sex-and-race' panic" in Toronto about Winnipeg. (57).

fairness and respect for authority, as well as from American approaches, which emphasized democracy and assimilation of immigrants, as well as initiative and enterprise.

Named after the saint who assisted travellers, St. Christopher House opened its doors in 1912 at 67 Bellevue Place near what is now Kensington Market, two years after University Settlement House and one year following Central Neighbourhood House. It was one of several houses to be established by the Presbyterian Church in Canadian cities (the other cities included Montreal and Vancouver), but St. Christopher House was to be the “Mother House,” training settlement workers who could then be exported to a growing network of Presbyterian-run settlement houses in Canada. In this way its mandate, unlike the other Toronto settlements, extended well beyond its neighbourhood or even the city of Toronto.²¹

Dr. John Shearer convinced Sara Libby Carson to organize St. Christopher House, who had at this point left Evangelia for New York in 1908. While Carson structured the programs into clubs similar to Evangelia House, the Presbyterian influence set up St. Christopher House in distinctively different ways. With the dual mandate of Christianizing and Canadianizing, St. Christopher House sought to develop the personal character of its members more overtly than the other settlement houses. The members of the Presbyterian Board feared the heterogeneous threat that incoming foreigners posed to an otherwise largely homogenous Anglo-Celtic Protestant culture, and their focus on Canadianizing was largely a tactic to protect the established social order.²² Character development was the role of education, but also the role of culture, or as Edward Caird, the Scottish Presbyterian philosopher who was so influential to the Canadian social gospel movement, articulated: “The general condition of the life of the poor could not be raised unless they were given the opportunities of social and intellectual progress and of contact

²¹ James 1997, 126.

²² James. “Gender, Class and Ethnicity,” 134.

with things that are beautiful. They must be provided with the means of rational and refined amusement.”²³

The conflation of education, recreation, culture, and religion through the emerging rationalism of an industrial age manifested in St. Christopher House programming in subtle yet specific ways. Under the assumption that the “industrious middle class Anglo-Saxon family”²⁴ was the ideal model and manifestation of Presbyterian values to be transmitted through settlement work, St. Christopher House workers modelled an idealized home in their efforts to act as good neighbours—“they do not swoop down upon the community from another sphere to change its ways.”²⁵

Memorial Institute (1912-1942)

Memorial Institute, like St. Christopher House, was established in 1912, but unlike St. Christopher was explicitly evangelical. Established by Walmer Road Baptist Church, Memorial Institute was a ‘church settlement’ that occupied four houses at 682-692 Richmond Street West, operating as much as a church as it did a settlement house to minister to the low-income neighbourhood of Polish immigrants. Memorial Institute’s jurisdiction was west of the other settlements, serving the area bounded by Bathurst Street and Shaw Street to the east and west respectively, and from Dundas Street to the north down to Lake Ontario. Nellie McFarland was the first resident worker, and Reverend Awdrey Brown was appointed the director of Memorial Church section of Walmer Road Church.

²³ Edward Caird quoted in Sir Henry Jones and John Henry Muirhead, *The Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird*, 1921, 115-16 quoted in Fraser 1979, 42.

²⁴ O’Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House*, 6.

²⁵ Helen Hart, first headworker of St. Christopher House, “Statement to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada,” 1915, as quoted in O’Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House*, 17).

Memorial's organizers, including Reverend Brown, referred to the Institute's work as a social ministry, in which workers and volunteers could introduce members of the local community to the Baptist Church through social services rather than through direct indoctrination, through their mantra of "all the gospel to all the people, in all their need, in all ways."²⁶ The institute ran regular church services throughout the week, hosted Mission Bands, and ran Christian Youth groups. However, Memorial Institute also followed the basic tenets of the settlement movement, enough to earn it a place at the table of the Toronto Federation of Settlements at the inaugural meeting on March 21, 1919. Not only did Memorial Institute have live-in workers and volunteers in the residences of the house, it also aimed to attend to the social needs of the surrounding community, and did so regardless of race or class of potential members. A 1920 annual report identified three "guiding principles" to bring the "Gospel of Christ" to the community of Polish and Czech immigrants: first of course, to preach the gospel, but second, to 'minister' the needs of the people regardless of their race or class. The third principle laid out was that the church must adapt services and approaches with the changing needs of the community, which for organizers meant that in addition to church-related activities, Memorial Institute also ran social clubs, health clinics, sports activities, and classes in "Domestic Science." The rationale was that the community members were not likely to attend church, and so offering these various activities offered an effective, if circuitous, route to bring the gospel to the people:

If the gospel were preached only from the pulpit and the church building, the constituency would be indeed a limited one. And so there are supervisors of women's work, of girls' work, and of boys' work contact with the people are multiplied, and the church's opportunity increased.²⁷

However, while Memorial Institute followed the basic principles of a settlement house, such as having live-in workers, providing services to anyone regardless of race or religious

²⁶ *The Story of Memorial Institute*, (n.d.). CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. CBA.

²⁷ Manuscript for slides, 1944. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. CBA.

background, and adapting to the needs of the community, on the whole it seemed much less invested in producing citizens, or developing citizenship as a central rationale of its work, than it did in cultivating Christian subjects. That being said, language of citizenship cultivation still crept into the work of Memorial Institute. Memorial followed the footsteps of the other settlements in engaging in what its organizers called ‘foreign work,’ partly through organized clubs that “include training in self-government, recreation, education, opportunity for social intercourse and religious teaching.”²⁸ Further, Florence Mabee took on the role of the “Missionary to Foreign Peoples”²⁹ (and also later ran the music school at Memorial Institute through much of the 1920s). However, it appears that her work was largely in the role of outreach worker, knocking on doors of new immigrants to encourage them to participate in Memorial Institute programs, presumably in the hopes of creating Christians.

Riverdale Institute (1913-1916)

Riverdale Institute opened its doors as a sister institute to Evangelia House in June of 1913 and closed down just three years later in December of 1916. Once Evangelia moved to its permanent home at River and Queen Streets, Riverdale Institute was the only settlement of Toronto to serve the eastern side of Toronto, from the Don River to the Beach and south of Todmorden, or ‘Over the Don,’ as the area was known to Torontonians.³⁰ The house, situated on the south side of Gerrard Street near Coxwell Avenue, offered a variety of recreational and musical social activities. Who was involved in organizing Riverdale and what its main goals were is information that is not available, but the Institute was likely Protestant-run, given that it

²⁸ Memorial Institute pamphlet, 1924. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

²⁹ Memorial Institute Annual Report 1920. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

³⁰ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book B, S54. *BR*.

chose not to offer church services “because churches were so near.”³¹ The reasons for Riverdale’s short existence are not entirely clear, but were likely because the war efforts of World War I led to a paucity of financial and human resources for activities not related to the war.

³¹ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book B, S54. *BR*.

APPENDIX 2: EXCERPTS FROM CLUB CONSTITUTIONS AT ST. CHRISTOPHER HOUSE

Sir James Woods Men's Club Constitution and By-Laws (Excerpts)

MEMBERSHIP

Article III.

Section 1--The membership of this organization shall be restricted to those who are British Subjects.

Section 2--Membership shall be classified as Honorary, Active and Inactive.

Section 3--Honorary Members shall be those to whom the freedom of the Club has been presented for important service to the Club or its representatives. They shall be exempt from paying dues and shall not be entitled to a vote.

Section 4--Active Members shall be those who are regular members of the Club in good standing, and they only shall have the privilege of voting.

Section 5--Inactive Members shall be such members of the active membership that, because of absence or illness or other similar cause, the Club desires to keep on the membership roll. They shall not pay dues and shall not be entitled to a vote.

Section 6--Election to any of the above classes of membership shall be by majority vote at a regular meeting. A member shall be proposed and seconded one week before initiation.

Section 7--The initiation fee shall be 50 cents and shall be payable upon election to membership.

Section 8--Any member who is unfaithful or who shall fail to attend 75% of the regular Club meetings shall be suspended unless he shall present valid reason for such absence. A member so

suspended shall be eligible for re-election as a new member providing all Club dues in arrears are paid in full.³²

White Shield I and II Constitution, Article 3 (Object)

We who are women, homemakers and mothers
 Here in St. Christopher House would serve others.
 In this, our club, joy and love shall increase,
 Those in distress we will strive to release
 Each lonely heart we will comfort with peace.
 Shields of white purity we must all be
 Higher ideals our own children shall see.
 Infinite pains shall we take for each friend
 Each for the other, right through to the end.
 Learning together to make and to mend
 Devoted to home, our love we'll extend.
 Children about us w'ell [sic] mother with care
 Love and good will with each club we will share
 Under God's guidance this house shall be known
 By all as a refuge, a comfort, a home.³³

³² Excerpted from Sir James Woods Men's Club Constitution and By-Laws, 1920. St. Christopher House Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 149. *CTA*.

³³ Excerpted from White Shield I and II Constitution. St. Christopher House Fonds 1484, Series 1714, File 121. *CTA*.

APPENDIX 3: OVERVIEW OF TORONTO SETTLEMENT MUSIC SCHOOLS

University House Settlement Music School: Conservatory Training in Service of Social and Human Development

University Settlement Music School was arguably the most active and most organized of all the settlement music schools, with a strong organizing committee comprising both settlement staff and musicians from the Toronto Conservatory of Music. The partnership began in an *ad hoc* manner in 1921, in which conservatory teachers first offered private lessons to two pupils at the settlement house.³⁴ University Settlement expanded these music lessons through the 1920s, bringing in Conservatory teachers to volunteer their time teaching over 100 students a year in piano and violin. By 1926, the settlement had six music teachers providing lessons in piano and violin, as well as voice, and through the next few years, expanded music offerings to include an orchestra, and free classes in eurythmics for all music school pupils taught by Muriel Boyle and Madeleine Bosse-Leserre. The demand for music lessons continued to increase, and as classes expanded to meet the demand, settlement organizers recognized a need for more structure and oversight to systematically organize music training, which might also be able to leverage the talents and connections of Toronto's classical music community. In short, settlement organizers began plans to create a music school.

In 1930, head worker Olive Zeigler brokered partnerships with prominent members of Toronto's elite classical music community, most of whom were part of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, to help guide the development of the music school in its fundraising efforts as well as its organizational structures and pedagogical practices. Notably, there was no official

³⁴ "The Music School dates back to 1921, when it began with two pupils at 95 Peter Street." University Settlement Music School Annual Reports and Short History, 1934-1946, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. CTA.

institutional partnership between the settlement music school and the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Instead, the school brokered individual partnerships with prominent leaders from the Conservatory, such as pianist Norman Wilks, violinist Elie Spivak, baritone opera singer Campbell McInnes, Eurythmics specialist Madeleine Boss-Lasserre, and renowned child piano pedagogue Boris Berlin. Zeigler convened these musicians as a new music committee that would oversee operations and fundraising semi-autonomously from the University Settlement House. In addition, Zeigler established an additional ‘honorary committee’ with Sir Ernest MacMillan, Healey Willan and Boris Hambourg, all of whom appeared to lend their names rather than their time to the music school.³⁵ These individual relationships may have created a close relationship between the institutions, but there is no record of an official partnership between TCM and University Settlement House on record in either the Toronto Conservatory of Music Archives or the University Settlement House Archives.³⁶

While the school formed its own internal structures and practices, it remained philosophically committed to University Settlement House’s goal of serving the social needs of the residents in the neighbourhood. On April 11, 1933, the Settlement’s Board of Directors passed the motion that “the Music Committee and the Board are united in a common aim, in the desire to work together for the good of the neighborhood and of the Settlement.”³⁷ Through its first twenty years, the music school pursued its goal of “further[ing] aims and purposes of

³⁵ Boris Hambourg was not from the Toronto Conservatory of Music, but a founder of its competitor, the Hambourg Conservatory (most famous at the time for the Hart House String Quartet). That Hambourg also sat on the Advisory Committee of the University Settlement Community Music School suggests that partnerships were brokered at the individual rather than organizational level.

³⁶ Most archives for University Settlement House and its music school are housed at the City of Toronto Archives (CTA). The University of Toronto Archives also have holdings related to University Settlement due to its initial involvement in setting up University Settlement House. Archives for the Toronto Conservatory of Music are split between the archival holdings at the Royal Conservatory, and the archival holdings at the University of Toronto. This split is due to the long, often tense relationship between those two organizations, which is documented in Schabas, *There’s Music in These Walls*,

³⁷ Minutes, Board of Directors, University Settlement House, Fonds 1024, series 614, File 1, CTA.

University Settlement as a social agency and a friendly centre in the neighbourhood” under the guidance of Toronto Conservatory musicians through four “opportunities”: (1) Through the musical training given to the pupils through weekly lessons; (2) Where pupils come with their parents to a friendly centre to enjoy music with other people, either by actual participation in a recital, or by listening to other children play; (3) Through attendance, often as families, at concerts held at the Settlement in which musicians are asked to be guest artists; (4) By attending many musical events through the generosity of the artist, other musicians, and interested individuals.³⁸

The first opportunity listed was arguably the school’s primary focus: providing weekly music lessons in a variety of instruments, such as piano, violin, and voice. However, the other three opportunities focused on performance, either participating in performances or listening to performances. The wording of these four opportunities suggest that the music school organizers understood their pupils to be children and youth; adults participated in the music school mostly by attending pupil recitals as parents, or attending other concerts and ‘musical events’ rather than participating in music lessons themselves.

The four opportunities described kinds of music participation provided by the school, but University Settlement also offered rationales for the settlement music school to distinguish its work from the Toronto Conservatory of Music. The school organizers emphasized that music training at the settlement music school was for the purposes of social and human development, rather than creating professional musicians. Organizers prioritized admission for three “types of pupils”: (1) The problem child, probably recommended by a Club leader or social agency; (2) The pupil (generally of foreign parents) who wishes to study music because it is part of his or her

³⁸ University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1937-38, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. CTA.

heritage; (3) A very few gifted students who might become teachers, orchestral players, and make music their profession.³⁹

While the school welcomed students who showed talent and might become professional musicians, most of their pupils fell into the categories of either ‘the problem child’ or pupils of ‘foreign’ parents. To serve the ‘problem child’ (the organizers did not describe what kind of ‘problem’ this child might pose), University Settlement Music School worked with the Ogden Public School or local agencies like the Jewish Big Brothers and Neighbourhood Workers to accept a ‘problem child’ by referral in the hopes that music might become “a special interest for a problem child and a socializing influence in his home.”⁴⁰

For the second ‘type’ of pupil, children of immigrant parents, the music school organizers felt that Eastern and Southern European “foreigners” brought with them a natural talent and love of music. No doubt, this assumption was reinforced with immigrant parents often coming to the settlement houses seeking conservatory-style music training for their children.⁴¹ However, organizers saw the musical talent and interest of the children as merely potential, a raw state that could be cultivated through the training provided by the music school that would contribute not just to their musical development, but to the civic betterment of children and their families: “Families in poor neighbourhoods benefit from cultural reinforcements through the pleasure music brings home.”⁴² The cultural reinforcement of conservatory-style music lessons trained children in Western European music, and served specifically as a reinforcement of Anglo-Celtic Protestant culture, a point more fully addressed in Chapter 5.

³⁹ *The University Settlement Music School Special Report to the Board of Directors of the University Settlement*, Fonds 1024, Series 619 Subseries 2, File 23. CTA.

⁴⁰ University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1937-38, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. CTA.

⁴¹ Dorricott 1950, 33.

⁴² University Settlement Music School Annual Report 1938, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. CTA.

Music's social purposes were also built into the structures of the music school. For example, University Settlement Music School tested pupils on their musical knowledge and skills, but the exams at University Settlement Music School were executed to determine progress rather than to score and rank. According to a 1932 *Mail and Empire* article: "The most experimental feature of the school is the fact that there are no competitive examinations. Every single child studying piano or violin has a personal examination once a year to determine his progress."⁴³ Pupils at University Settlement House did not receive a grade or ranking in the ways that Conservatory pupils did but instead received feedback on their successes and areas to work on through two reports: "A practical report is written for the teacher, another for the child's parents, thereby giving a stimulus for better work and the opportunity for supervised correction of faults."⁴⁴ In part, the social purpose of the schools trumped the musical evaluation. If music was to make individuals better, happier citizens, musical evaluation countered that very intent. In the words of the music school's secretary Elda S. Thompson in 1939, "Evaluation, in words, is difficult. In brief, music is for every one and the sharing of it brings happiness."⁴⁵ Yet, organizers felt that musical evaluation was necessary, as part of a greater necessity to measure musical progress. Perhaps because music was so intimately bound to social development, musical progress provided a means by which to measure the progress of a pupil's social development. Regardless of why, the music school continued to measure and evaluate musical progress of students through to present day.

As of this writing, University Settlement continues to operate a music school, although it is now the University Settlement Music & Arts School, with the mandate of providing

⁴³ "New Experiment Flourishes in Music for Community," *Mail and Empire* November 4, 1932, Fonds 1024, Series 619, Sub-series 2, File 189. *CTA*.

⁴⁴ 1938-39 University Settlement Music School report, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

⁴⁵ 1938-39 University Settlement Music School report, Series 619, Subseries 2, File 23. *CTA*.

“affordable, quality programs to children, teens, adults and seniors from the Grange Neighbourhood and Greater Toronto.”⁴⁶ While its mandate appears to have grown to include arts education beyond music, and also expanded to serve pupils of all ages, the fundamental belief in access to the arts continues to undergird their programming. The website claims: “We function in the belief that the arts should be a right, not a privilege, and that lessons should be available to everyone regardless of age, ethnicity, perceived talent, disability, or ability to pay.”⁴⁷ While teasing out the similarities and differences in this contemporary declaration in relation to the school’s historical trajectory is out of scope of this project (perhaps even antithetical to a Foucaultian analysis that eschews teleological assumptions), it is worth noting that the idea of arts as a right remains a strong rationale for the community music school.

St. Christopher House Music School: Extending Club Work through Music Classes

The development of the music school at St. Christopher House followed a similar timeline and trajectory to University Settlement’s music school. St. Christopher House first provided lessons in piano and violin, as well as classes in ‘chorus’ and ‘musical appreciation.’⁴⁸ As I discussed in the democratic clubs of Chapter 3, St. Christopher House used a club structure to organize their social activities, and through the 1920s, music lessons were offered as part of the clubs: the girls’ clubs had dramatic and singing classes as well as lessons in piano and violin.⁴⁹ The boys’ clubs had mouth organ bands, which took 2nd place “in several city-wide contests” in 1930.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See <http://universitysettlement.ca/music-arts-school/> accessed February 15, 2015.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ St. Christopher House 1922-23 annual report, Fonds 1484, Series 1669, File 1. CTA.

⁴⁹ St. Christopher House Annual Report 1930, Fonds 1484, Series 1669, File 2. CTA.

⁵⁰ *Music, Commitment and Community*.

http://www.stchrishouse.org/100%20Anniversary/SCHCentury/Music_School.php accessed April 25, 2014. The

St. Christopher House formalized these music lessons into a music school in 1930, which at first was called the ‘music department.’ Headworker Lally Fleming established the music school on a belief that “formal music instruction would have a positive, lasting impact upon the community,”⁵¹ and she recruited American Helen Larkin to be the first director of the music school. Larkin, a graduate from the Boston Conservatory School, corresponded with American settlements to research their music programs, and planned St. Christopher’s music school based on these American examples to create a conservatory-style music school that served the poor and immigrant children in the neighbourhood.⁵² Perhaps those American examples led Larkin to contact Toronto Conservatory of Music Principal Ernest MacMillan. Their conversations led to a partnership in which conservatory students would give music lessons to members of the settlement in exchange for room and board.

While Larkin based the school on American settlement music schools, the partnership with the Conservatory likely also influenced the structure of the music department. Within the first three months, the department had 56 piano pupils and seven violin pupils, but it also offered two classes in Eurythmics free for all enrolled music pupils,⁵³ a format that may have been modelled on the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Just two years earlier, MacMillan had introduced free classes for TCM pupils in ear training, sight-singing, choral singing, score study, and Eurythmics, to “enrich the TCM’s offerings.”⁵⁴ Given MacMillan’s involvement in the

significance of boy mouth organ bands, which were offered by all settlement houses during this period, warrants a separate study.

⁵¹ See http://www.stchristhouse.org/100%20Anniversary/SCHCentury/Music_School.php accessed April 23, 2014.

⁵² O’Connor *The Story of St. Christopher House*, 27.

⁵³ St. Christopher House 1930 Annual Report, Fonds 1484, Series 1669, File 2. CTA.

⁵⁴ Schabas *There’s Music in These Walls*, 61.

initial structure of the music school, it seems likely that the configuration of individual lessons and free group classes for enrolled pupils was borrowed from the Conservatory.

The group classes worked well for St. Christopher House's philosophical approach, extending the club structure by focusing on group music activities that could, like the clubs, also organize and practice social relationships (see Chapter 3). Music classes were not merely a parallel structure to the clubs; all pupils studying music at St. Christopher were required to belong to one of their clubs or maintain a connection with the house,⁵⁵ articulating clear links between the social and musical work of the house. St. Christopher House found that music classes for groups were well attended, and the music school expanded its classes to include an adult Eurythmics class in 1932 as well as ear training and theory classes. The house also ran a beginners band for boys 10-13 years old.

The focus on group music education at St. Christopher House may have been a product of its strong club structure and focus on group work with the aim of developing the 'social self' of its members, the sense of personal responsibility to the collective whole. The music department fit into the settlement's overall objective of cultivating the social betterment of local residents, an objective that was described in 1939 by head worker Mina Barnes as helping members develop a "tolerance for things other than their own," and in so doing, particularly with children, "we are able to turn the thoughts of the children into constructive channels and point the way to higher development along physical, mental and spiritual planes."⁵⁶

Similar to University Settlement House, the music school at St. Christopher House (renamed West Neighbourhood House in 2014) continues to operate today. The web site claims

⁵⁵ Statistic for Music Department (third year), September 15, 1932-June 20, 1933, Fonds 1484, Series 1675, File 1. *CTA*.

⁵⁶ St. Christopher House Annual Report 1939, Fonds 1484, Series 1669, File 2. *CTA*.

that “[t]he Music School at West Neighbourhood House has been providing the community with a chance to experience the joy and fulfillment that music can bring to one’s life since 1930.”⁵⁷

Central Neighbourhood House: Cultivating the “Mostly Untapped Talent” of Immigrants

In contradistinction to the music schools at both University Settlement House and St. Christopher House, the music school at Central Neighbourhood House never had strong organizational support, funding, or structures to consolidate the music lessons that the settlement had been offering to local residents of the Ward since 1915. Nonetheless, in retrospect, the larger settlement community credits the house with opening Toronto’s first music school in 1915, organized by Kathleen Booth and head worker Helen Larkin⁵⁸ with volunteer teachers from the Toronto Conservatory of Music. By the end of the first year, the school had registered between 30 to 40 pupils.⁵⁹ The 1920 Annual Report for the house noted that “thirty-two children were given music lessons by volunteer teachers from the Conservatory of Music and a mandolin club for boys was started and did very good work.”⁶⁰ The ambivalence of ‘very good work’ could have referred to the musical accomplishment of the club but was more likely a reference to the social accomplishment of the school, which served house’s overall objective of focusing on the social betterment and civic development of its members.

The ‘good work’ of Central Neighbourhood House music lessons was framed in relation to the immigrant children of the neighbourhood. In a 1917 article “Music in The Ward,” settlement worker Vera Parsons argued the importance of music to Toronto’s most ethnically diverse and impoverished area of the city: European ethnic groups, such as Polish, Jewish,

⁵⁷ See <http://www.westnh.org/programs-and-resources/school-aged-children/music-school/> accessed February 18, 2015.

⁵⁸ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book C, S54. *BR*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Note that Helen Larkin is also credited with beginning the music school at St. Christopher House in 1930.

⁶⁰ Central Neighbourhood House Annual Report 1919-20, Fonds 1005, Box 1, File 1. *CTA*.

Russian, and Italian communities, had an “innate love” of music, demonstrated in their various musical practices that could be heard on any evening throughout the neighbourhood. Central Neighbourhood House could serve the role of introducing residents of the Ward, and children in particular, to the *right* kind of musical inspiration and education, that is to say, conservatory-style training that focused on Western European Art Music. She wondered, “Why bury genius under environment,” suggesting that Central Neighbourhood House might open a music school similar to the American settlement music school.⁶¹ Historian Cathy James notes that settlement organizers felt that youth from Southern and Eastern European families had innate talents that that organizers felt with “mostly untapped” and if cultivated well, “could form the basis of a considerable contribution to Canadian culture as a whole.”⁶²

It bears noting that local residents chose to study music at the settlement music school, and based on the numerous registrations in the first year, and a growing registration list over the next few years, the residents of Central Neighbourhood House wanted conservatory music lessons. The new settlement music school filled a need or interest among community members, and their programming expanded. O’Connor reports that the music school grew, and in 1926 added more lessons by including four student teachers from the Conservatory to work under the direction of Central Neighbourhood staff member Miss Cavell.⁶³

When the Depression hit Toronto, the 1930s brought a decline in participation at the music school. To work around the scarcity of money plaguing the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, Central Neighbourhood House began to offer piano and violin lessons for groups of four to 12 pupils in an effort to offer cheaper instruction. However, Central Neighborhood

⁶¹ Music in the Ward,’ *The Ward Graphic* (n.d.), Fonds 1005, File 4. CTA.

⁶² Cathy James, “‘Not Merely for the Sake of an Evening’s Entertainment’: The Educational Uses of Theater in Toronto’s Settlement Houses, 1910-1930, *History of Education Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1998), 296.

⁶³ O’Connor, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House*, 9.

House had a continuing issue with recruiting volunteer teachers. The music administrator at the time, identified only as K. Dayment, reported that the house had recruited three teachers: one to teach private lessons, one to teach group lessons, and one to teach music appreciation. Over 50 children responded to a poster advertising lessons, but the school could only offer classes for 20 pupils in total, as well as six private lessons. Central Neighbourhood House's music school continued to struggle with consistent teaching staff through the decade, although at the same time expanded other kinds of musical activities, introducing a rhythm band, a boys' mouth organ band, a singing club, and a music appreciation class.⁶⁴

However, through the decades, Central Neighbourhood House constantly struggled to operate the school. Unlike the music schools at University Settlement House and St. Christopher House, there was no sustained involvement from the Toronto Conservatory or other musical institutions to organize or support the Central Neighbourhood House music school, nor did the school establish a committee or hire an administrator to oversee school operations, although there was a worker dedicated to managing the hiring of teachers and accounts (University Settlement and St. Christopher House each hired a part-time registrar to manage finances and registrations in addition to a director overseeing music school operations). The music school engaged in very little fundraising and the house did not appear to provide money for its operation. The music administrator largely depended on the small fees from pupils to compensate teachers, which meant that the school paid unpredictable and inconsistent wages, likely contributing to the troubles of retaining teachers from year to year. In addition, the school constantly struggled for space as rooms with pianos were frequently used by other programs in the house, precluding pupils from practicing outside of their weekly lessons.

⁶⁴ O'Connor, *Central Neighborhood House*, 1986a, 28.

The financial, personnel, and space-related troubles plaguing the school, combined with a lack of structure, meant that despite some claims that Central Neighbourhood House opened a music school in 1915, the workers at the house did not seem to see these music lessons as a formally organized school. As late as 1933 the workers from Central Neighbourhood House met with a Toronto-wide settlement music committee, the ‘Inter-settlement Music Committee,’ to “discuss ideas for a music school in our Settlement and in an endeavour to procure teachers for our work.” Certainly, this discrepancy begs the question of what exactly constituted a music school, which Dayment went on to describe:

The ideal music school, of course, would be one which could be self-supporting and able to meet any demands. Lacking that, we had to find teachers who would come for the small remuneration it is possible to pay them from the children’s fees. This means that the teacher has no guarantee as to how much she will get for her work.⁶⁵

Through Dayment’s description of an ideal music school, some clues surface about what distinguished a music school—ideal or otherwise—from the mere provision of music lessons. A music school had the ability to procure funding, and had structures in place that could meet the changing musical demands of the neighbourhood. Finances and structures were clearly related, as Central Neighbourhood House struggled to retain music teachers with inconsistent and low remuneration. Through these distinctions, it is possible to see how the formalization of music lessons into music schools in turn consolidated and institutionalized the music work of the settlement houses. The music schools legitimated conservatory-style music training, and gained the authority to conduct conservatory-style music training as a kind of musical social work.

In a Foucaultian analysis, the precarity of Central Neighbourhood House’s music school demonstrates the contingency of settlement music schools rather than their inevitability. By struggling with what exactly made a music school, the house highlighted the kinds of conditions

⁶⁵ Central Neighborhood House Annual Report, 1934, Fonds 1005, File 12. *CTA*.

that could in fact produce music schools in settlements: committee structures, organizational commitment, dedicated funding, and dedicated space. In 1946, the Board of Directors decided to close the music school, citing a lack of space along with the resignation of the school supervisor, but referred many of their pupils to University Settlement Music School, while the singing teacher, Betty Gemmill, continued to teach singing pupils at her private studio.⁶⁶

In a retrospective essay from 1965, leaders of the settlement movement felt that the closure of Central Neighbourhood House Music School was in fact evidence of the effectiveness of the settlement philosophy of piloting programs and then handing the programs over to another agency to continue to deliver, although they suggest the hand-off was not, as the minutes suggested, to another music school but rather to the *public* school system, which offered music as credited courses. There is little evidence that the music school contributed to music education in schools. Nonetheless the authors of the retrospective summary argue that the provision of music in schools “illustrates a fundamental tenet of Settlement work—demonstrates the need by doing what should be done, then pass the work on to the organization fitted to do it.”⁶⁷

Memorial Institute Music School: Music as ‘Social Ministry’

Memorial Institute, the church settlement operated by Walmer Road Baptist Church, established a music school in 1920, which it then handed over to the Toronto Conservatory of Music just two years later. The school was created by the Institute’s immigrant outreach worker Florence Mabee, who brokered a partnership with the Toronto Conservatory of Music to train pupils in Western European Art Music. By the end of the first year, the school flourished from its initial five students to training “130 pupils in violin, piano, vocal, and theory of music, under

⁶⁶ 1946 Central Neighbourhood House Annual Report, Fonds 1005, File 24. CTA.

⁶⁷ *History of Canadian Settlements*, Book C, S54. BR. In this summary, the authors erroneously state that the music school closed in 1948, rather than in 1946 as indicated in the archival documents of Central Neighbourhood House.

eight competent teachers.”⁶⁸ Unlike Central Neighbourhood House, the music school at Memorial Institute began with a clear conservatory-style structure and an ambitious array of music training options: within its first year, the school had twice the teachers of Central Neighbourhood House, which had been in operation for a full five years already.

The difference may well have been in Florence Mabee herself. Mabee was also in charge of Memorial’s social ministry work with Eastern European immigrant communities, what settlement organizer Ethel Dodds Parker referred to as “a unique Polish work.”⁶⁹ Mabee’s salary was paid not by Memorial Institute or Walmer Road Baptist Church, but by the Women’s Missionary Society of the Baptist Church, which likely helped stabilize the administration of the music school, since Mabee’s work at Memorial was split between coordinating the outreach efforts in the non-English-speaking communities and administering the music school.⁷⁰

Given Mabee’s previous experience in Greenwich Settlement Music School in New York, she likely had the American settlement music school model in mind when she set about creating Memorial’s music school. Unlike Canadian schools, American settlement music schools operated as music conservatories that found raw talent among immigrants to cultivate into musicians. What distinguished the schools as settlement-focused was that lessons were offered at low or no cost.⁷¹ Mabee similarly operated the Memorial music school to train and cultivate

⁶⁸ Memorial Institute Annual Report, 1920. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. *CBA*.

⁶⁹ Address presented before the National Settlement Conference, Toronto Ontario, 1924, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 620. *CTA*. Parker was likely referring to the door-to-door conversations that Mabee conducted in Polish neighbourhoods served by Memorial Institute to bring those families to Memorial Institute.

⁷⁰ It appears that this split in funding source caused some tensions that may have prevented united approaches or directives among Memorial staff. Parker noted that “A weak point in the organization arises from the fact that the two workers doing Polish work are not really under Mr. Waters’ direction, although working in the same building.” Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 620. *CTA*.

⁷¹ Given the large numbers of settlement music schools in America, there were of course differences in philosophies and approaches to music training, with some aiming to provide music to all while others aiming to discover and cultivate genius among America’s working class and immigrant communities. See Shannon Green, *‘Art for Life’s Sake’: Music Schools and Activities in U.S. Social Settlement Houses, 1892-1942* (1998, Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison).

musicians out of talented but impoverished pupils. This distinction set Memorial's music school apart from the other settlement music schools in Toronto, which tended to focus less on the cultivation of musicianship and more on music training as a tool in social development, emphasizing music as a program that all children should be able to access, regardless of talent.

Memorial's efforts to cultivate musical talent among immigrant children was widely applauded. An article from *The Globe* in 1922 celebrated the school's focus on cultivating musical talent in its very headline: "Search for Musical Talent Among Ambitious Children Meets Encouraging Reward."⁷² From the successes celebrated in the article, it is clear that Mabee's other role as Memorial's immigrant outreach worker was not separate from the work of the music school, in which most music pupils were "of foreign birth." The reporter goes on to note that Ms. Mabee wanted to "discover musical talent in the homes where there is little opportunity afforded for recognizing it," but that given the limited space and instruments in the school, "only those boys and girls who possessed genuine musical talent and were ambitious to work were admitted."⁷³

At the same time, the Toronto Conservatory of Music was equally celebrated for its part in 'recogniz[ing] the possibilities that lay buried like nuggets of gold in the downtown districts,'⁷⁴ and the reporter suggested that the Conservatory was eager to develop the talent among these immigrant children, noting that the Toronto Conservatory took over the music school in 1922 to operate as one of its many branch locations.

Once the Toronto Conservatory of Music took over the music school, Memorial Institute still continued to advertise music education opportunities to its young members through the 1920s, but the overall purpose of music training was framed as one of social ministry. A 1926

⁷²*The Globe*, Friday September 22, 1922, 18.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

newsletter indicated that, besides offering lessons in music theory, piano, violin, and voice, the school also had groups in banjo, guitar, mandolin, and ukulele, as well as running an orchestra, a band, and a choir. As a part of a church settlement, the music training offered a technique to bring people into the religious fold. Organizers considered all of Memorial's work, from music lessons to physical education to social clubs as 'experimental work' in which the social focus of activities was undertaken to achieve religious results. In short, the programs of Memorial were offered in the hopes of converting local residents into Baptists:

Through numerous social ministries, such as clubs, library, the music school, health clinics, language classes, and fresh air camp our Gospel was given expression to the community, with the hope that verbal explanation of it would be sought in preaching and teaching or given in private conversation.⁷⁵

By positioning the music school, along with other programming, as 'social ministries,' Memorial Institute also positioned music training as a kind of gateway to religious music-making.

Memorial operated as a church as well as a settlement, and much of its music education was a part of worship, not just recreation or even education. Memorial had several youth and adult choirs that were considered part of the church services rather than part of the music school. The institute also ran youth mission bands, which included instruction on instruments and ensemble playing, but was framed as part of their explicit gospel work, rather than as part of their social ministry: programming that might lead to gospel work. A 1934 report specified that "[f]or the young missionary enthusiasts we have a Mission Band which meets every other Wednesday afternoon alternatively with a Band of Hope meeting, which caters to the same group."⁷⁶ Mission band was clearly meant as a form of worship and not merely a form of musical

⁷⁵ Story of Memorial Institute, 4. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. CBA.

⁷⁶ Memorial Institute Report presented at Annual Meeting Walmer Road Baptist Church, February 21, 1934. CBA Accession 0-0481-pre99. CBA.

instruction/skills building, and Mission band was music education as a form of worship for youth who were already (or who had become) dedicated Christians, or ‘young missionary enthusiasts.’ Memorial’s efforts toward ‘social ministry’ come to bear on the thinking and aspirations of the youth that attend their programs. Uses of cultural tools—music in particular—in conjunction with other social activities such as physical education, provided the means by which youth could train their minds and bodies toward Christian ideals, with direction ‘of consecrated Christian personalities,’ or role models of Memorial’s staff and volunteers. Music was a technique of socialization, a form of worship, and a method of modelling behaviours and values.

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